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A CHRONICLE of the KINGS OF ENGLAND From the Time of the ROMANS Government unto the Death of KING JAMES Containing all Passages of State and Church, With all other Observations proper for a CHRONICLE. Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancien and Moderne; and digested into a new Method by ST. RICHARD BAKER. Whereunto is now added 3 reigns of KING CHARLES, and the first fourteen years of the Reign of King Charles the II.

LONDON Printed for George Sambridge, at the Bible in Ludgate Hill. And Thomas Williams at his Bible in Little Britaine 1670.
A CHRONICLE OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND,
From the time of the Romans Government Unto the Death of King James.

Containing all Passages of State and Church, with all other Observations proper for a Chronicle.
Faithfully Collected out of Authors Ancient and Modern; and digested into a Method.

By Sir Richard Baker Knight.

WHEREUNTO IS ADDED,
The Reign of King Charles the First, AND
The first Thirteen years of His Sacred Majesty, King Charles the Second, That now Reigneth.

In which are many Material Affairs of State never before Published; and likewise the most Remarkable Occurrences relating to His Majesties most Happy and Wonderful Restoration, by the Prudent Conduct, under God, of George late Duke of Albemarle, Captain General of all His Majesties Armies;

As they were Extracted out of His Excellencies own Papers, and the Journals and Memorials of those employ'd in the most Important and Secret Transactions of that time. All which Additions are revised in this Fift Impression, and freed from many Errors and Mistakes of the former Editions.

LONDON,
Printed for George Sawbridge at the Bible on Ludgate-hill, and Thomas Williams at the Bible in Little-Britain without Aldersgate, M. DC. LXX.
A Chronicle of the Kings of England from the time of the Romano-Celtic line. The Reign of Edward II, King of the Second...
TO THE
Most August and most Serene Majesty
OF
CHARLES II.
King of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's kind acceptance of this Chronicle when first published by Sir Richard Baker, encourages me to present it to Your gracious Protection, as it is now by me Continued to Your Majesties Coronation; containing much of the History of Your Majesties own Life; a Life, which gives to the World the most Excellent Example any Age hath produced of True and Magnanimous Fortitude and Clemency; and speaks You as much a Monarch by Nature as Inheritance. Your Majesties indulgent kindness to all Your People, makes me not despair to obtain Your Pardon for the Mistakes, which perhaps through Ignorance, I may have committed: For there never was any History filled with more various and wonderful Transactions than these Late Times have brought forth: My chiefest design both in this, and all other my endeavours, is to have the honour of being esteemed,

Most Gracious Sovereign,

Your Majesties most Dutiful, and most Obedient Subject,

Edward Phillips.
The Epistle to the Reader.

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

The many Impressions that have been made and sold of the Book both before, and after the Addition, are a sufficient testimony of the kind acceptance it has had in the World: How necessary this present Continuation is (which alone might have made a Competent History) will best appear by the perusal thereof; and in that part which describes the Transactions of the Duke of Albemarle, there is not only so exact an Account as is nowhere else to be found, but also many secret Passages of particular remark, which could never have been known, but from his Excellencies own Papers, and several other private Collections of Persons active with him in that Service, which I had the permission to make use of; wherein I have been so faithful, that there is not any Letter, Speech, or Discourse in Publick Conferences, which are not exactly set down as they were written, or spoke, save only, that of Such Letters, or Speeches, as were very long, the most pertinent parts are only retained.

The wonderful Restauration of his Majesty, which is the Subject of that part of the Continuation; is one of the most extraordinary actions, that has been ever mentioned in Story, both for the Generosity of the Attempt, and the Prudent Conduct of it: For certainly, Nothing was ever enterprized with greater generosity and courage, than with * Nine thousand Six hundred Foot, and Fourteen hundred Horse and Dragoons (and those long train’d up in an aversion to Kingly Government) to preserve the whole Kingdom of Scotland in English bands, and to invade England, at a time when the Governing Power was in those that were irreconcilable to bis Majesties Person, and Government, supported by Thirty Thousand experienced and victorious Souldiers in England, of the same affections (besides what were at their devotion in Ireland, and Dunkirk) and a Militia of Trained Bands in all Counties, to a greater number than those in pay, all of chosen men, of the like Principles: and this at a time, when by the defeat of Sir George Booth, his Majesties greatest hopes were frustrated, and most of the Nobility and Gentry which were engaged with him, were disarmed, and their Estates confiscated, and ready to be divided amongst the enemies of Royalty, to alter, with the Riches, the Interest of the Kingdom, and when they were about to Enlist, and many of the Legislators themselves taken, an * Oath of abjuration of his Majesties Person and Family: But then his secrecy in the conduct of this great Affair is very remarkable, being obliged to act very differently from his intentions, to gain the confidence of those Jealous Masters whose Authority he pretended to obey.

* See pag. 625, where the numbers of his Forces are mentioned.

* Page 700.
The Epistle to the Reader.

...for if he had but once trod awry in any of the paths he mov'd, all had miscarried; and notwithstanding his greatest subtlety, many objected (thinking thereby to weaken his credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design.

His most prudent contrivances were often disappointed, but by his wisdom and dexterity as often retrieved; one of his greatest difficulties was to temper his own Officers and Souldiers to his purpofe, to which the opinion they had of his Conduct and courage, did much contribute, and when that was effected, he the easier modelled the rest.

...and many objected (thinking thereby to weaken his credit with the Army) That the King was in the bottom of his Design, and that he did, supposing it impossible alone without correspondence to manage so hazardous an undertaking; for he was to compass his ends by several and different means, which could not without great address be prepared and disposed thereof. And how necessary this Correspondence was, is apparent by many Transitions, but by none more, Then in the lucky contrivance of getting the Army out of London, and the quartering his Souldiers in their places, and dispersing the rest; whereby the Parliament, City, and Kingdom became at his Reverence, and without which his Majesties Restauration could never have been effected in this way.

...the consideration of these things leads me unto so great a labyrinth of Admiration, that I cannot easily desist from detaining the Reader too long from the perusal of the matter, which induces me to it: I shall therefore conclude this Epistle with that commendation of this Renowned Generals undertaking, which a Reverend and pious Prelate most justly delivered in a late Sermon, That it was A Generous, Glorious, and Heroical Design, whereby he hath at once redeemed his Country both from Slavery and Oppression, by restoring the King to his People, and the People to their King; and withal hath purchased unto himself, Honour without Envy, Greatness with Safety, and (which is the best reward of Vertue in this World) a perpetual satisfaction and complacency in himself, for having so nobly performed his duty.

E. Phillips.
A CATALOGUE
OF
WRITERS,
Both ANTIENT and MODERN.
Out of whom This
CHRONICLE
Hath been COLLECTED.

1. Ildus Britannicus, surnamed the
Wife, was the first Writer of our
English Nation; who amongst
other his Works and a Treatise,
De Excidio Britanniae: He
was born in the year 493, and
died in the year 580.

2. Nennius, a Monk of Bangor, writ the Story of
Britain, as also the History of the Saxons in
the year 660.

3. Venerable Bede, a Saxon, and a Priest, writ the
Ecclesiastical Story of the English Nation from
the coming of Julius Caesar to the year 733.

4. Ethelwardus, a Writer next to Bede the most
ancient, writ a general Chronicle from the Creation
to the end of King Edgar.

5. Radulphus de Diceto, who lived about the year
685.

6. Segeterus, King of the East Angles, writ an Institu-
tion of Laws, in his latter days became a
Monk, and was slain by Penda King of the
Mercians, in the year 657.

7. Cymbertius, Bishop of Lindesey, in the kingdom
of Northumbria, writ the Annals of that Country, and
lived about the year 730.

8. Daniel Wentulus, a Bishop, writ the History of
his Province: and the Acts of the South Saxons,
died in the year 746.

9. Abbot of Cornwall, Bishop of Salisbury, writ the Story of Britain, and
the Acts of King Alphred, and lived about the year 890.

10. Alphredus, the great King of the Angles,
founder of King Ethelwolph, destruc-
ted many other Works, a Collection of Chronicles, and
died at Winchester in the year 901.

11. Osbertus, a Benedictine Monk, writ the Life
of Archbishop Dunstan, and other Works: and
lived about the year 1020.

12. Culmanus Anglica, writ a Chronicle and a
Catalogue of the English Kings, and lived about
the year 1040, in the time of King Haralde the
First.

13. Guillelmus Gemetecensis, a Norman and a
Monk, writ the Lives of the Dukes of Normandy,
to William the First, to whom he dedicated his Work: and after enlarged it to the death of
King Henry the First, in the year 1135, at
which time he lived.

14. Marianus Scotus, a Monk, writ a Chronicle from the beginning of the World to his own times, and
died in the year 1086.

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

16. Veremundus a Saxon, and a Priest, but
who lived much in Scotland, writ the Antiquities
of the Scotch Nation, and lived about the
year 1090.

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

18. Ingolphus, Abbot of Colyton, lived from the
year 664, to the year 666, and died in the time
of William the First, whose Secretary he had
been.

19. Turgoth, an Englishman, first Dean of Dur-
ham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews in
Scotland, writ a History of the Kings of Scott-
land, also Chronicles of Durham, Annals of
him own time, and the Life of King Malcolm,
and lived in the year 1098, in the time of King
William the Second.

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

21. Gualtius Mappus, writ a Book De Nugis
Curialium, and lived about the Conquerors time.

22. William of Malmesbury, a Benedictine
Monk.
A Catalogue of the Authors.

Monk, writ a History of the English Nation from the first coming of the Saxons into Britain, to his own time, which work be Dedicated to Robert Duke of Glocester, base Son of King Henry the First, and lived in the first year of King Henry the Second.

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

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

25 Ranadoc was born in Wales, and wrote the All of the Britains, from Cadwallader to his own time, and lived in the time of King Stephen.

26 Gervasis Drovemberii, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1130.

27 Johannes Ferberus commonly called De Bever, writ the Annals of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1110 in the time of King Henry the First.

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

29 Geoffrey of Monmouth, a Benedictine Monk, and afterward Bishop of Asaph, writ a History of the Britains, and was the first that ever mentioned of Brutus, and of Merlinus Prophetus, for which he was much taxed by divers Authors of his own time, and after; he lived about the year 1150, in the time of King Stephen.

30 William of Newborough, born at the beginning of King Stephen's reign, writ a History of the English Nation, and bitterly inveighed against Geoffrey of Monmouth, as a Divisor of Fables.

31 Sylvester Gyraldus, born in Wales, and there-of called Cambreriensis, after long travel abroad was called home, and made Secretary to King Henry the Second; and after was sent to live to his Son John into Ireland; he writ the History of that Nation very excellently; also an Itinerary of Wales and Britain; the Life of Henry the Second; the Alls of King John; and a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1120, in the times of King Richard the First, and King John.

32 John of Haiguitis, a Town in the North, a Benedictine Monk in Durham, writ the most memorable things from the ninth year of King Henry the Second, to the first year of Richard the First, in whose time he lived, about the year 1150.

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

34 Johannes Tiberieni, a secular Priest, writ a History of the English Nation, and lived in the time of King Richard the First.

35 Richardus Cunicus, travelled with King Richard the First into Paleline; and writ of his Journey and Alls there.

36 Aluredus Rivallesius, or de Rivalles, a Cisterian Monk, in the Diocese of York, writ the Life of Edward of King of England, and David King of Scots; and died in the year 1166.

37 Simon Dunelmieni, a Benedictine Monk, writ a History of the English Nation, FROM the death of Verulam the Bepic, to the year 1164, and lived in the time of King Henry the Second.

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

39 Johannes Saribusiensis, writ an excellent Book De Nigis Curialibus; and lived about the year 1183, in the time of King Henry the Second.

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

41 Johannes Campobellus, a Scoluschman, writ the History of the Scots, from the first Original of the Nation to his own time, and lived in the year 1165.

42 John Breton, an Englishman, Bishop of Hereford; writ a Book De Juribus Anglicis, and lived in the year 1270, in the time of King Edward the Third.

43 Thomas Wyke, an Englishman, a Canon Regular of Oxney near Oxford, writ a short History, from the coming in of William the First to his own time, and lived in the year 1290, in the time of King Edward the First.

44 Thomas Langford, an Englishman, a Dominican Friar of Chelsea in Essex, writ an Universal Chronicle, from the beginning of the World to his own time, and lived in the year 1320, in the time of King Edward the Second.

45 Radulphus de Rizeto, an Englishman, writ a Chronicle of the English Nation, and lived about the year 1320, in the time of King Edward the First.

46 Robertus Montensis, a Benedictine Monk, writ a Chronicle from the year 1112, to the year 1210, at which time he lived.

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

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

49 Matthias Welmontsierieni, called Florilus, for collecting Flores Historiarum, chiefe of Britain, containing from the beginning of the World to the year 1307, about which time he lived.

50 Raimundus Higden, a Benedictine Monk of Chelster, writ a Book which he called Polychronicon, containing from the beginning of the World to the sixtieth year of King Edward the Third, in whose time he lived.

51 Matthew Paris, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ a History, chiefly Ecclesiastical, of the English Nation, from William the First, to the last year of Henry the Third, and lived about the time of King Edward the Third.

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

53 Bartho-
A Catalogue of the Authors.

53 Bartholomew Anglicus a Franciscan Frier, _writ a Book intituled De Proprietatibus rerum_, and a Chronicle of the Scots, and lived in the year 1360, in the time of King Edward the Third.

54 Nicholas Triver, _born in Norfolk, of a meritorious Family,_ became a Dominican Frier, _writ many excellent Books in Divinity and Philosophy_, also Annuals of the English Kings, from King Stephen, to King Edward the Second, and lived in the year 1307, in the time of King Edward the Third.

55 Alexander Ethelstenius Prior of the Monastery of Regular Canons, _writ divers learned Works_, amongst other, _an Epitome of the English History_, and lived in the year 1360, in the time of King Edward the Third.

56 John Froissart born in the Low Countries, _writ a Chronicle in the French Tongue, containing fourteen years_; namely, beginning with King Edward the Third, and ending with King Henry the Fourth, _in whose time he lived_; whose Chronicle, Sir John Bourchier Knight, translated into English, and John Selden _translated it into an Epitome_.

57 Thomas de la Mare, _born in Gloucestershire, in the time of King Edward the Fifth, by whom, as having Twenty pounds land, holden by Knights Service, he was made a Knight_; and afterwards being very inward with King Edward the Second, _writ a History of his life and death_.

58 Thomas Rodbourne _an Englishman, and a Bishop, writ a Chronicle of his Nation, and lived in the year 1412, in the time of King Henry the Fourth._

59 John Trevisa born in Gloucestershire, _a Priest, translated Polychronicon into English, adding to it an Eighth Book, intituled De Memorabiliaorum temporum, containing from the year 1342, to the year 1410_. He _writ also of the Acts of King Arthur, and Descriptions both of Britain and Ireland, and lived in the time of King Edward the Fourth._

60 John Harding, _a Canon of a good Family in the North, writ a Chronicle in Verfe, of the Kings of England, to the Reign of King Edward the Fourth_; wherein he _alleges many Records, which he had got in Scotland, that testify the Scottifh Kings feumitions to the Kings of England_; and _lived in the year 1448, in the time of King Henry the Sixth._

61 John Capgrave, _born in Kent, an Hermite Frier, writ many learned works in Divinity, and a Catalogue of the English Saints_, and _lived in the year 1464, in the time of King Edward the Fourth._

62 John Lydgate Monk of St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, _writ divers works in Verfe, and some in Prose_ : _as the Lives of King Edward, and King Ethelstan, of the round Table of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1470, in the time of King Edward the Fourth._

63 John Weathermedly _Abbot of St. Albans, in his work of English Affairs accompanied Geography_, of Monmouth, _of meer Exchanges_, and _lived about the year 1440._

64 Guillelmus Elphinston _a Scotchman, Bishop of Aberdeen, writ the Antiquities of Scotland, and the Statutes of Councils, and lived in the year 1490, in the time of James the Third, King of Scotland._

65 George Buchanan _a Scotchman, writ the Story of Scotland and Fergusius, Queen Mary, in what time he lived._

66 William Castron _an Englishman, writ a Chronicle to the three and twentieth year of King Edward the Fourth, which he calls, Fratæ Temporum: also a Description of Britain, the life of St. Edward, and the History of King Arthur, and lived in the year 1484._

67 Thomas Wallingham _born in Norfolk, a Benedictine Monk of St. Albans, writ two Histories; one shorter, the other larger; the first beginning from the year 1373, and continued to the year 1423. The other beginning at the coming in of the Normans, and continued to the beginning of King Henry the Sixth, to whom he dedicateth his Work._

68 Robert Fludd _a Sheriff of London, writ a Conciordance of Histories, from Brute the first King of the Britains, to the last year of King Henry the Second; and another work from King Richard the first, to King Henry the Seventh, in whose time he lived._

69 Sir Thomas More _born in London, Lord Chancellor of England, besides many other learned Works, writ the Life of King Richard the Third; and died for denying the Kings Supremacy, in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth, in the year 1535._

70 Hector Boethius _a Scotchman, writ a Catalogue and History of the Kings of Scotland, also a Description of that Kingdom, and lived in the year 1526 in the time of James the Fifth, King of Scotland._

71 Polydor Virgil _an Italian, but made here in England Architecton of Wells, amongst his other learned Works, writ the History of England from its first beginning, to the thirtieth year of King Henry the Eighth, to whom he dedicated his Work._

72 Edward Hall _a Lawyer, writ a Chronicle, which he calls, The Union of the two Houses, the Red and the White, containing from the first of King Henry the Fourth, to the last year of King Henry the Eighth, and died in the year 1547._

73 John Leland _a Londoner, amongst divers other works, writ a Book of the Antiquity of Britain, and of the Famous Men and Bishops in it, and lived in the year 1546, in the time of King Henry the Eighth._

74 John Rogers, _first a Pupil, and afterward a Protestant, amongst other his learned Works, writ a History from the beginning of the World; and lived most in Germany in the year 1548, in the time of King Edward the Sixth._

75 Philip Commites _a Knight of Flanders, writ the Life of Lewis, and Charles the Eighth, Kings of France, wherein he handleth many passages between them and the Kings of England their Contemporaries._

Of the Modern, These:

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

77 Raphael Holinshed _a Master, writ a large Chronicle from the Conquest to the year 1577, and...
and was continued by others, to the year 1586.

78. Delar Goodwin Bishop of Hereford, wrote the
Lives of King Henry the Eighth, King Ed-
ward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, and lived in
the time of Queen Elizabeth.

79. Delar Heyward wrote the History of the first
Kings, William the Conqueror, William Ru-us, and Henry the First; also the Reign of
King Henry the Fourth, and Edward the
Sixth, and lived to the time of King James.

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

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

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

83. Thomas Cowper Bishop of Winchester, wrote
Chronicle-notes of all Nations, especially of Eng-
land, from the beginning of the World to his own
time, and lived in the time of Queen Elizabeth.

84. William Camden King at Arms, wrote the
Lives of Queen Elizabeth and a Description of Brit-
ain, and lived in the time of King James.

85. William Martin Esq; wrote the Reigns of the
Kings of England, from William the First, to
the end of King Henry the Eighth; to which
was afterwards added the Reigns of King Ed-
ward the Sixth, Queen Mary, and Queen Eli-
abeth.

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

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

88. Nicholas Harpfield Archdeacon of Canter-
bury, hath written a Chronicle of all the Bishops
of England, to which Edmund Campian the
Jesuit, made an Addition.

89. John Stow Citizen of London, wrote a Chron-
icle from Bruce to the end of Queen Eliza-
beth, and is continued to this present time, being
the 18th year of King Charles the First, by Ed-
ward Hawes a Londoner.

90. John Speed a Londoner, wrote the History of
Britain, from the first beginning to the year
1605, being the second year of King James.

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

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

93. Andre du Cheyne a Frenchman, Geogra-
pher to the King of France, hath written the
History of England, Scotland, and Ireland,
from their first beginning, to the seventeenth year
of King Charles the First, 1641.

The End of the Catalogue of Authors.
THE
Beginning, Continuance, and Ending
OF THE
REIGNS
OF THE
KINGS
OF
ENGLAND
To this Year 1669.
After the time of the ROMANs Government.

1. Ing Perigern a Britain.
2. King Vortimer his Son, a Britain, reigned 4 years. Then deposed.
3. King Aurelius Ambrosius, a Roman, reigned 32 years.
5. King Arthur his Son, reigned 26 years.
6. King Constantine his Son, reigned 3 years.
7. King Aurelius Conanus, Nephew to King Arthur.
8. King Veriporus reigned 4 years.
9. King Malgo Conanus reigned 6 years.
10. King Careticus reigned 3 years.
11. King Cadman reigned 23 years.
12. King Cadmod his Son, reigned 48 years.
13. King Cadwalladar his Son, the last of The British Kings, who died at Rome in the year 689, after he had reigned 3 years. After which, Britain was a Colony of the Saxons; who divided it into Seven Kingdoms: But the Saxons before the death of King Cadwalladar took Kent from the British Kings, and had it in their possession: Which Kingdom of Kent began by Hengist the Saxon in the year 453, in the Reign of King Aurelius Ambrosius, before mentioned, and lasted 372 years, during the Reigns of Seventeen Kings of Kent: The last of which Kentish Kings was overcome by Egbert King of the West Saxons, who made Kent a Province
Province to his Kingdom in the year 827. The second Kingdom was of the South-Saxons, began by Ethelma 488, in the Reign of the same British King Aurelius Ambrosius, containing Sussex and Surrey, and continued 113 years during the Reigns of five Kings only; the last of which Kings was overcome by Ine King of the West-Saxons, and so became a Province to that Kingdom of the West-Saxons in the year 601. The third Kingdom was of the West-Saxons, which began by Ceretic in 519, in the Reign of the British King Arthur, containing Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Wilshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of Eighteen Kings; the last of whom Egbert became King of the whole Nation. The fourth Kingdom was of the East Saxons, begun by Erchenwin in the year 527, containing Essex and Middlesex, and continued 281 years, during the Reigns of Fourteen Kings; the last of which Kings, Egbert, King of the West-Saxons, subdued, and so made the Kingdom of the East-Saxons to be a Province to his own Kingdom. The fifth Kingdom was of Northumberland, begun by Ella and Ine in the year 547, containing Yorkshire, Durham, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of 23 Kings; after the last of which, this Kingdom yielded to the Protection of Egbert King of the West-Saxons. The sixth Kingdom was of Mercia, begun by Gilla in the year 522, containing Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwickshire, Leicester, Northampton, Derbyshire, Oxfordshire, Cheshire, Shropshire, Gloucestershire, Staffordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Hantsf irst county, and continued 220 years, during the Reigns of Twenty Kings; after which they were subdued by the West-Saxons. The seventh Kingdom was of the East-Angeles, begun by Offa in 575, containing Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Ely, and continued 553 years, during the Reigns of Fifteen Kings, and at last was subject to the Kingdom of the West-Saxons: But this Kingdom of the East-Angeles was enjoyed by the Danes fifty years before the West-Saxons had it; so the Kingdom of the East-Angeles continued distinct from the rest of the Nation in the whole 403 years: So it appears that after King Porgarene the first of the Britains Kings in the year 455, had called in the Saxons out of Germany to assist him in defending the Kingdom against the Invasions of the Picts and Scots, every Britain King who succeeded him, left some part or other of it to the Saxons; till at last in the year 689, Cadwallader the last Britain King left all at his death; and then the Saxons Kings striving amongst themselves for Sovereignty, they still gained one above another, till at last in the year 818, Egbert, or some under him, reduced them all under his subjection, who then caufed all the South of the Island to be called England; the Dominion whereof continued under him and his Successors, till the Danes in the year 1017, made the great interruption.

14. King Egbert began his Reign in 818, reigned 18 years, at whose time the Danes began first to infet England; he was buried at Winchester.

15. King Ethelwulf his Son, began his Reign in 836, reigned 21 years.

16. King Ethelbald his Son, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at Winborn in Dorsetshire, then an Episcopall See.

17. King Ethelbert his Brother, began his Reign 857, reigned 2 years, and was buried at the same place.

18. King Ethelred his Brother, began his Reign in 864, and was buried at Winborne in Dorsetshire.

19. King Alfred his Brother, reigned 27 years, who divided England into Shires; Hundred, and Tithings, and began the foundation of the University of Oxford in the year 895, and is accountant the Founder of the Town of Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire; and was buried in St. Peters in Winchester, but removed afterward.

20. King Edward the First, called Edward the Elder, his Son, began his Reign in 901, reigned 24 years, and was buried in the New Monastery at Winchester, which his Father and himself wholly finished.

21. King Athelstan his eldest Son, begun his Reign in 924, reigned 15 years, who was Knighted by his Grandfather King Alfred with his own hands in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a Purple Robe, and girdinghim with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. He caufed the Bible to be translated into the Saxon Tongue; then
of the Reigns of the Kings of England.

then the Mother Tongue of England. He was buried at Malmesbury in Wiltshire in the year 940, having never been married.

22. King Edmund the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 939, reigned 5 years and 7 months; he was buried at Glastonbury in Somersetshire.

23. King Ethelred, his Brother, began his Reign in 946, reigned 9 years; who was crowned King, for that his Nephew Edwin, son to King Edmund, was then in his Minority, the Title of Lord Protector unto a young King being not then in use; which King Ethelred died and was buried in the old Minster without the City of Winchester, when his said Nephew was but 14 years old, who notwithstanding, upon his death, was crowned King by the name of King Edwin. Which

24. King Edwin, his Nephew, began his Reign in 955, reigned 4 years, and was buried in the new Abbey of Hyde at Winchester.

25. King Edgar, his Brother, began his Reign at 16 years of Age in 959, reigned 16 years, and was buried with great funeral pomp in the Abbey of Glastonbury.

26. King Edward the Second, his Son, called Edward the Martyr, began his Reign, being but 12 years of age, in 979, reigned 37 years and 6 months; and was buried at Winchester, afterwards removed to Shaftesbury in Dorsetshire.

27. King Ethelwold, his half-brother, began his Reign at 12 years old in 981, reigned 34 years and was buried in St. Paul’s Church in London.

28. King Edmund the second, his Son, called Edmund Ironside, began his Reign in 1016, reigned 7 months; and was buried at Glastonbury.

29. King Cnut or a Dane, began his Reign in 1017, reigned 19 years, and was buried in the old Monastery at Winchester.

30. King Harold the First, his Son, named Harold, began his Reign in 1036, reigned 4 years and 7 months; and was buried at Westminster, afterwards thrown into the Thames, and then afterwards buried in St. Clement Danes Church at Temple-Bar, having never been married.

31. King Harthacnut, his half-brother, the third and last of the Danish Line, began his Reign in 1040, reigned 2 years; which Dane had afflicted the Kingdom for the space of 240 years, though in Regal Government but only 26: he was buried at Winchester, having never likewise been married.

32. King Edward the third, named the Confessor, half Brother by the Mother to the last King, King Harthacnut, began his Reign in 1042, reigned 23 years and 6 months; he was the First King that cured the Kings-evil, built the Abbey Church of Westminster, and St. Margaret’s Church there; he was buried at Westminster, who died in the Painted Chamber at Westminster.

33. King Harold the Second, began his Reign in 1065, reigned 9 months, and was buried in Waltham Abby.

34. King William the First, a Norman, began his Reign in 1066, reigned 20 years and 10 months; and was buried in Caen in Normandy, whose bones after in 1563, were removed out of his Tomb, and some of them afterward brought into England.

35. King William the Second, his Son, began his Reign in 1087, reigned 12 years and 10 months; he died August 1099, and was buried in St. Swithin in Winchester, having never been married.

36. King Henry the First, his Brother, began his Reign in 1089, reigned 35 years; he died December 1, 1134. and was buried at Reading as to part of his body, the other part at Roan in Normandy, where he died.

37. King Stephen, his Siftem Son, began his Reign in 1134, reigned 19 years and 10 months, he died at Dover Octob. 25. 1154, and was buried at Faversham Abby.

38. King Henry the Second, his Kinsman, named Plantagenet, the first King of that name, began his Reign in 1154, reigned 35 years; he died in Normandy, and was there buried at Fontevraud.

39. King Richard the First, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1189, reigned 9 years and 8 months; he died April 6, 1199, and buried as to part of his body at Fontevraud by his Father, and the other part at two other places.

40. King John, his Brother, began his Reign 1199, reigned 17 years and 6 months; he died Octob. 19. 1216, and was buried, as to part of his body, at Worcester, and the other at Croxton Abbey.
41. King Henry the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1216, reigned 56 years; he died November 16, 1272, and was buried at Westminster.

42. King Edward the Fourth, otherwise called Edward the First, being the first King Edward of the Norman Line, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1272, reigned 34 years and 7 months; he died July 7, 1307, and was buried at Westminster.

43. King Edward the Fifth, otherwise called Edward the Second, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1307, reigned 18 years; he was forced to resign, and then something more than half a year after, murdered in 1327, and was buried at Gloucester in the Monastery of St. Peter's.

44. King Edward the Sixth, otherwise called Edward the Third, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1327, reigned 50 years and 4 months; he died June 21, 1377; aged 65 years, and was buried in Westminster Church; who created Edward his eldest Son Duke of Cornwall. Anne Christi 1337, being the first Duke that ever was created in England.

45. King Richard the Second, his Grandson, his Son's Son, began his Reign in 1377, reigned 22 years and 3 months; he was forced to resign, and then shortly after murdered in 1399 aged 33 years, and was buried in the Church of the Fryers Preachers at Langley in Buckinghamshire, but after the remains of his body were removed to Westminster, who created Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Marquis of Dublin in Ireland, being the first Marquis that ever was created by a King of England.

46. King Henry the Fourth his Cozin, began his Reign in 1399, reigned 13 years and 6 months, he died March 20, 1413, aged 46 years, and was buried at Canterbury.

47. King Henry the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1413, reigned 9 years and 5 months; he died August 31, 1422, aged 38 years, he was buried at Westminster.

48. King Henry the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1422, aged 8 months, reigned 38 years, 6 months, and 4 days, then removed March 4, 1460, from the Government; after which, more than 11 years, viz. May 21, 1472, he was murdered in the Tower of London by Richard Duke of Gloucester, afterwards King Richard the Third; he was buried at Chelsea Abbey, but afterwards removed to Windsor, aged at his death 52 years, or thereabouts; who created the first Vicount that ever was created in England.

49. King Edward the Seventh, otherwise called Edward the Fourth his Cozin, began his Reign in 1460, aged 19 years, reigned 22 years and 1 month; he died April 9, 1483, aged 41 years, and was buried at Windsor.

50. King Edward the Fifth, his eldest Son, began his Reign in 1483, aged 10 years, reigned 10 weeks; then removed Jan. 18, 1483, shortly after which he was murdered.

51. King Richard the Third, his Uncle, the last of the Family of Plantagenets, began his Reign in 1483, reigned 2 years and 3 months; slain at the Battle at Bosworth August 22, 1485, aged 37 years; and was buried at Leicester in the Grey-Friers Church, but afterwards all or the most part of the Remains of his body carried none knows whither: he died without Issue.

52. King Henry the Seventh, his Kinman, of the surname of Ap Thomas ap Theodore, began his Reign in 1485, reigned 23 years and 8 months, he died at Richmond April 22, 1509, aged 52 years, and was buried at Westminster.

53. King Henry the Eighth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1509, reigned 37 years 9 months and 6 days; he died Jan. 28, 1546, aged 55 years, and was buried at Windsor.

54. King Edward the Sixth, his only Son, began his Reign in 1546, reigned 6 years, 5 months, and 9 days; he died July 6, 1553, aged 15 years, and was buried at Westminster.

55. Queen Mary, his eldest Sister of the half-bloud, began her Reign in 1553, reigned 5 years, 4 months, and 11 days; she died November 17, 1558, aged 43 years, and was buried at Westminster.

56. Queen
of the Reigns of the Kings of England.

56. Queen Elizabeth, her only Sister of the half blood, the last of the Family of Ap
Thomas ap Theodore, began her Reign in 1558, aged 25 years, reigned 44 years,
4 months, and 7 days; she died March 24. 1603, aged 69 years, 6 months, and
7 days, and was buried at Westminster.

57. King James her Cousin, the first of the Family of Stuart, and King of Scotland,
began his Reign in 1603, reigned 22 years and 3 days; he died March 27. 1625,
at Theobalds, aged 58 years, and was buried at Westminster, who in the year 1611,
the ninth year of his Reign created the Degree of Baronet of England, in that
year creating Sir Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave in Suffolk Knight, and others unto
the Dignity and Degree of Baronet of England.

58. King Charles the first, Christened by the name of Charles-James, his only Son
surviving, the second of the Family of Stuart, began his Reign in 1625, reigned
23 years, 10 months, and 3 days; he died Jan. 30. 1649, aged 48 years, 2
months, and 11 days, and was buried at Windsor.

59. King Charles the Second, Christened by the name of Charles-Frederick, his eldest
Son surviving, Reigns now in this present year 1670.
THE KINGS Pedigree
In a direct Line from
King EGBERT.

Egbert King of England.
King Ethehelwolph.
King Alfred.
Edward the First, called Edward the Elder.
King Edgar.
King Etheled.
Edmund the Second, called Edmund Ironside.
Edward call Edward the Outlaw, a private person, though son and heir to the last King.
Edgar Atheling likewise never enjoyed the Crown.
Margaret the Wife of Malcolm King of Scotland.
Mathilda the Wife of Henry the First, King of England.
Maud Empress of Germany, the Wife of Geoffrey Plantagenet Earl of Anjou.
Henry the Second.
King John.
Henry the Third.
Edward the First, alias the Fourth of that Name.
Edward the Second, alias the Fifth of that Name.
Edward the Third, alias the Sixth of that Name.
Lyonel Duke of Clarence, Third Son died in the life time of his Father, but his Issue were afterwards true heirs to the Crown.

Philippa
The King's Pedigree from King Egbert.

| Philipps his only Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. |
| Roger Mortimer Earl of March. |
| Anne his Daughter and Heir, the Wife of Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge. |
| Edward the Fourth, alias the Seventh of that Name. |
| Elizabeth his eldest Daughter and Co-heir, the Wife of Henry ap Thomas ap Thedore, called Henry the Seventh King of England. |
| Margaret their eldest Daughter, the Wife of James Stuart, called James the Fourth King of Scotland; the Issue of which Margaret were and are now true Heirs to the Crown. |
| James the Fifth King of Scotland. |
| Mary Queen of Scots, the Wife of Henry Stuart, Duke of Albanie, and Earl of Rossan, but before his marrying the Queen he was called Lord Darnely, as being the eldest Son of Matthew Earl of Lenox. |
| James King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland. |
| King Charles the First. |
| King Charles the Second, now Reigning. |
A CATALOGUE
OF THE
NOBILITY,
AND OF THE
Archbishops, Bishops, Barons, Privy
Councillors, Judges, and Baronets of
ENGLAND.

DUKES.

1. The most High, Potent, and Noble Prince, Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Earl of Arundel, Surrey, and Norfolk, Baron Howard, Fitz Allen, Maitrevoir, Mowbray, Segarowe, Blynde, and Clan; the Earldom of Arundel belongs to whomsoever is seized in fee of the Castle of Arundel: Baron John Howard, his Ancestor created Duke of Norfolk by K. Richard the Third, July 1483. 1 Rich. 3, whose Ancestor, Sir John Howard, Knight, was created a Baron in 1461, by K. Edward, and after wards by Richard the Third, was created Duke June 28, 1483, and Knight of the Garter, and was kill’d at Bosworth Field, Aug. 22, 1485, in the defence of Richard the Third.

2. William de St. Maure, alias Seancour Duke of Somerset, Marquis and Earl of Hartford, Vicount Beauchamp and Baron Seancour: Earl Edward of Hartford, his Ancestor created Duke by King Edward, Feb. 17, 1546. 1 Edw. who had been created Earl Octob. 18, 1537, by Henry the Eighth, 29 Hen. 8, Earl William his Great Grandson was created Marquis by Charles the First, June 3, 1641. 17 Car. 1.

3. George Villiers Duke, Marquis and Earl of Buckingham, Earl of Coventry, Vicount Villiers and Baron of Whaddon, and Knight of the Garter, and Privy Councillor: Marquis George of Buckingham, his Father created Duke by King James, 21 Jac. 1623, who was created Vicount and Baron Aug. 24, 1616. 14 Jac.

4. Charles Stour Duke of Richmond and Lenox, Earl of March and Lichfield, Baron of Leighton, Brummell, Stuart of Newby, Darley, Merivale, and St. Andrews, and Knight of the Garter: Duke James of Lenox, his Unkle created Duke of Richmond by the late King Charles the First, Aug. 8, 1641. 16 Car. 1, whose Father was created Earl of March, and Baron of Leighton, 17 Jac. 1619.

5. George Monk Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Tovrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Teyss, and Knight of the Garter, Lord General of all the Kings Land Forces, and Privy Councillor: Created Duke July 7, 1660, by King Charles the Second.


created Vicount Mansfield 1620. 18 Fac. and Earl of Newcastle, and Baron Bolsham 1627. 3 Car. 1.

Dukes in all 9.

The Kings Son, Brother, Uncle, and Nephew have precedence of all other Dukes, as appears by an Act of Parliament made 31 Hen. 8. Chap. 10. for the placing of the Lords in Parliament, and other Assemblies and Conferences of Councils; which King's Son, Brother, Uncle, and Nephew are the only Princes of the Royal Blood of England, which privileges ends with them, and descend not to their Posterity: wherefore the first Duke of England, according to antiquity, is the Duke of Norfolk.

Marquis's in all 3.

Earls.

1 The most Noble and Potent Prince, the Right Honourable John Pawlet, Marquis of Winchester, Earl of Wiltshire, and Baron St. John of Basing, whose Fathers Great-Grand Father Earl William of Wiltshire, was by King Edward 1551. created Marquis of Winchester in the fifth year of his Reign, created Baron St. John of Basing 30 Hen. 8. Earl of Wiltshire by King Edward in the third year of his Reign 1549.

2 Henry Somerset, Marquis and Earl of Worcester, Earl of Glamorgan, Baron Herbert of Chepstow, Ragland, and Gover: Earl Henry of Worcester created Marquis by King Charles the First, 18 Car. 1, died in 1646. Marquis Edward his Son died in 1667, unto whom succeeded the now Marquis Hen. his Son, created Baron Herbert, 15 H. 7. 3 Henry Peirseporp Marquis Dorchester, Earl of Kingstone upon Hull, Vicount Newark upon Trent, and Baron Peirseporp of Holme-Peirseporp; created Marquis March 25, 1645. 20 Car. 1. Robert his Father was created Vicount and Baron by Charles the First, in the year of his Reign.

The Title of Noble and Potent Prince is given to Marquises in the Stalls of Knights of the Garter at Windsor: and the other Titles given to the other Degrees of the Nobility and Peerage are allowed to them in the Stalls of Knights of the Garter at Windsor.

Marquis's in all 3.

9 William Herbert Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, Baron Herbert of Cardiff, Rest of Kendal, Malmton, St. Quinlain, Fitz-Hugh, and Shropshire, whose Fathers Great-Grand-Father William Baron Herbert of Cardiff was created Earl of Pembroke in 1551. 15 Edw.
10 Edward Fines, otherwise Tankesville, Earl of Lincoln, Baron Clinton, and Knight, and Knight of the Bath, whose Grand-Father's Great-Grand-Father Edward Baron Clinton was created Earl May 4, 1572. 14 Eliz.
11 Charles Howard Earl of Nottingham, and Baron Howard of Effingham, whose Father was created Earl 1599. 41 Eliz.
12 James Howard Earl of Suffolk, and Baron Howard of Walden, whose Father Thomas Baron Howard of Walden was created Earl in July 1603. 1 Jac.
13 Richard Sackville Earl of Dorset, and Lord Buckhurst, whose Great-Grand-Father Thomas Baron of Buckhurst was created Earl in 1609. 3 Jac.
14 James Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Vicount Cranborne, and Baron Cecil of Essex, whose Great-Grand-Father Robert Vicount Cranborne was created Earl 4 May 1605. 3 Jac.
15 John Cecil Earl of Exeter, and Baron of Burleigh, whose Great-Great-Father Thomas Baron of Burleigh was created Earl 4 May 1605. 3 Jac.
16 John Egerton Earl of Bridgewater, Vicount Buckley, and Lord Ellesmere, whose Father John Vicount Buckley was created Earl 17 May 1617. 15 Jac.
17 Robert Sidney Earl of Leicester, Vicount Lifte, and Baron Sidney of Penhurst, whose Father Robert Vicount Life was created Earl Aug. 2, 1618. 16 Jac.
18 James Compton Earl of Northampton, and Baron Compton of Compton, whose Grand-Father William Baron Compton was created Earl in 1618. 16 Jac.
19 Charles Rich Earl of Warwick, and Baron Rich of Leice, whose Grand-Father Robert Baron Rich was created Earl in 1618. 16 Jac.
20 William Cavendish Earl of Devonshire, and Baron Cavendish of Hardwick, whose Great-Grand-Father William Baron Cavendish of Hardwick was created Earl in August 1618. 16 Jac.
21 James Hay Earl of Carlisle, Vicount Doncaster, and Baron Hay of Sauley, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father James Vicount Doncaster, was created Earl September 13, 1622. 20 Jac. which James, the second Earl of Carlisle, died in 1660, without issue Male, whereupon all his Titles were extinct.
22 Basil Fielding Earl of Denbigh, Vicount Fielding, and Baron of Newham-packanfield, and St. Liz, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father William Vicount Fielding was created Earl by King James, 20 Jac. 1622.
23 George Digby Earl of Bristol, and Baron Digby of Shirborne, whose Father John Baron Digby was created Earl September 15, 1622. 20 Jac.
24 Lionel Cranfield Earl of Middlesex, and Lord Cranfield of Cranfield, whose Father Lionel Baron Cranfield was so created in 1622. 20 Jac.
25 Charles Villiers Earl of Anglesey, and Baron of Daventry, he died in 1669, without issue Male, Christopher his Father was so created, 21 Jac. 1623.
26 Robert Rich Earl of Holland, and Baron Kennington of Kennington, whose Father Henry Kennington was created Earl 1624. 22 Jac.
27 Gilbert Holles Earl of Clare, and Baron Haughton of Haughton; John Baron Haughton of Haughton and Knight his Grand Father was so created, Nov. 2. 1624. 22 Jac. and died in 1637, in the seventeenth year of his Age; Earl John his eldest Son died on Tuesday Jan. 2, 1665, unto whom succeeded the now Earl Gilbert his only Son.
28 Oliver Sr. John Earl of Bellingbroke, and Lord St. John of Blestoe, whose Grand-Father Oliver Baron St. John of Blestoe, was so created, 1624. 22 Jac.
29 Charles Fane Earl of Westmerland, Lord le de Spencer and Bramshill, and Knight of the Bath, whose Grand-Father Francis Fane Knight of the Bath, was created Earl in 1624. 22 Jac. Earl Munday his Son died in 1665, or 1666, unto whom succeeded the now Earl Charles his eldest Son.
30 Edward Montague Earl of Manchester, Vicount Mandeville, and Baron of Kimbolton, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father Henry Vicount Mandeville was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1, some days before the Coronation.
31 Charles Howard Earl of Barkshire, Vicount Andover, Baron Howard of Charleton, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father Vicount Thomas of Andover was (b 2) created
created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time, who died in 1669.

Thomas Wentworth Earl of Cleveland, and Baron Wentworth of Nestleshead, created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time; died March 26. 1667, without Issue Male, whereby that Earldom was extinguished.

John Sheffield Earl of Mulgrave, and Lord Sheffield of Butterwick; whose great Grand-Father Edmund Baron Sheffield of Butterwick was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time.

Henry Cary Earl of Monmouth, and Lord Cary of Leppington, died without Issue Male in 1661. Extintt: Robert his Father Baron Cary of Leppington was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1. at the same time.

William Ley Earl of Marleburgh, and Baron Ley of Ley; whose Father, James Baron Ley of Ley, was created Earl at the same time.

Nicholas Knows Earl of Banbury, Vicount Wallingford; and Lord Knows of Grey; whose Father William Vicount Wallingford was created Earl in 1625. 1 Car. 1.

Thomas Savage Earl of Rivers, Vicount Colchester and Rock-Savage, and Lord Darcy of Chich; whose Grand-mothers Father Thomas Darcy Vicount Colchester, was created Earl in 1626. 2 Car. 1.

Robert Barœ Earl of Lyndsey, Baron Willoughby of Eresby, and Lord Great Chamberlain of England; whose Grand-Father Robert Baron Willoughby of Eresby, was created Earl in 1626. 2 Car. 1. Earl Mountague his Son died in 1666, unto whom succeeded the now Earl Robert, the second Earl of that name, his eldest Son.

John Cary Earl of Dover, Vicount Rochford, and Baron Hanford, and Knight of the Bath, whose Father Vicount Henry of Rochford was created Earl in 1627. 3 Car. 1. and died in 1666.

Henry Mordant Earl of Pevtridge, and Baron Mordant of Tuveley; whose Father John Baron Mordant of Tuveley was created Earl 3 Car. 1.

Henry Grey Earl of Stafford, and Baron Grey of Groby, created Earl in 1627. 3 Car. 1.

Heneadge Finch Earl of Winchelsey, Vicount Maidstone, Baron Fitz-herbert of Elswell; whose Grand-mother Elizabeth Heneadge Finch, Vicountess Maidstone, was created Countess in 1628. 4 Car. 1.

Charles Dormere Earl of Carnarvon, Vicount Afoet, Baron Dormer of Wing, and Baronet; whose Father Baron Robert Dormer of Wing was created Earl and Vicount 4 Car. 1.

Blunt Earl of Newport, Baron Mountjoy of Thirveton; and Baron Mountjoy of Mountjoy's Fort in Ireland, whose Father Baron Mountjoy was created Earl 4 Car. 1. and died in 1665, or 1666.

Philip Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, and Baron Stanhope of Shelford; whose Grandfather Baron Philip Stanhope of Shelford was created Earl, 4 Car. 1.

Nicholas Tufton Earl of Thanet, and Baron Tufton of Tufton; whose Grandfather Baron Nicholas Tufton of Tufton, was created Earl 4 Car. 1. Earl John his Son died in 1664, unto whom succeeded the now Earl Nicholas his Son.

Ulick Burgh Earl of St. Albans, Vicount Tunbridge, and Baron of Somerhill, Marquis and Earl of Clancrake, Vicount Galloway, and Baron of Dunkellly, and Imancy in Ireland, he died in Octb. 1657, without Issue Male, Extint, whose Father Richard Vicount Tunbridge and Earl of Clancrake in Ireland was created Earl of St. Albans 4 Car. 1.

Thomas Weston Earl of Portland, and Baron Weston of Ne entertaining; whose Father Richard Baron Weston was created Earl 8 Car. 1. Earl Jerome his eldest Son who died in or about 1663. Earl Charles his only Son, who died in 1665, unto whom succeeded his Uncle the now Earl Thomas.

William Wentworth Earl of Strafford, Vicount Wentworth, Baron Wentworth of Wentworth Woodhouse, Newmarket of Oversley and Ruby, Baronet and Knight; whose Father Thomas Vicount Wentworth was created Earl in 1639. 15 Car. 1.

Robert Spencer Earl of Sunderland, and Baron Spencer of Wormington; whose Father, Henry Baron Spencer of Wormington was created Earl June 8, 1643. 19 Car. 1.

James Savill Earl of Suffex, and Baron Savill of Pontefract; and Vicount Savill in Ireland, whose Father Thomas Baron Savill of Pontefract, was created Earl Car. 1. Patrick Ruthen Earl of Branchford and Forib, and Baron Ruthen of Erick in Scotland, Extintt, created Earl Car. 1.

Francis

Francis Leigh Earl of Chichester, Baron Dunsmore, and Baronet: Extinct. created Earl 19 Car. 1.

Charles Goring Earl of Norwich, and Baron Goring ofhurst Feirrepoint, whose Father George Baron Goring of Hurs Comm. was created Earl 21 Car. 1. and died in January 1662.

Nicholas Leake Earl of Scardeale, Lord Daincourt, and Baronet; whose Father Francis Baron Daincourt was created Earl Nov. 15. 1645. 21 Car. 1.

Henry Wilmot Earl of Rochester, Baron Wilmot of Adderbury, and Vicount Wilmot of Ashborne in Ireland, created Earl 2 Car. 2.

Henry Germaine Earl of St. Albans, and Baron Germaine of St. Edmondsbury, created Earl 2 Car. 2.


Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon, Vicount Cornbury, and Baron Hyde of Hindon, Knight, created Earl on Saturday April 20. 1661. three days before the Coronation of the King.

Arthur Capel Earl of Essex, Vicount Maldon, and Baron Capel of Hadham; created Earl the same day.

Robert Brudenel Earl of Cardigan, Baron Brudenel of Stoult, Baronet, and Knight, whose Father Baron Thomas Brudenel was created Earl the same day; died in 1663.

Arthyr Annely Earl of Anglesey, and Baron Annely of Newport Pannell in England, Vicount Valentiis, and Baron Mount- Norris of Mount-Norris in Ireland, and Baronet of Ireland, created Earl the same day.

John Greenville Earl of Bath, Vicount Greenwold of Lansdowne, Baron Greenville of Killhamton and Beddierford, created Earl the same day.

Charles Howard Earl of Carlisle, Vicount Howard of Morpeth and Baron Darres of Gilford, created Earl the same day.


William Craven Earl of Craven, Vicount Craven of Uffington, and Baron Craven of Hampstead-Marshall and Knight, created Earl and Vicount in 1664, or 1665, and created Baron, March 18. 1626. 2 Car. 1.

Richard Boyle Earl Burlington of Burlington alias Bridlington, and Baron Clifford of Lansdowne in England, and Earl of Cork, and Vicount Dungarvan in Ireland, created Earl Burlington in 1664, or 1665, and created Baron Clifford, Nov. 4. 1664.

VICTOIRS.

He most Noble and Potent Leicester Devonseux Vicount Hereford.

Francis Brown Vicount Mountaine, 1 Q. Mary.

Robert Fillets Vicount Purbeck, and Baron of Stock-Pages; whose Father John was created Vicount 17 Jac.

James Fywnes Vicount and Baron Say and Seal; whose Father Baron William Say and Seal was created Vicount 22 Jac.

Edward Commy, Vicount Commy in England, and Kilnubibg in Ireland, and Baron Commy of Ragley in England, 3 Car. 1.

Baptist Noel Vicount Camden, Baron Noel of Redington and Elmington, 4 Car. 1.

William Howard Vicount and Baron of Stafford, 18 Car. 1. 1640, and Knight of the Bath.

Thomas Bellais Vicount Falconbridge of Henknowe, Baron Falconbridge of Tarin and Baronet, whose Grandfather Baron Thomas Falconbridge was created Vicount.

John Mordant Vicount Mordant of Aviland.
**A Catalogue of the Archbishops, &c.**

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<tr>
<th>Rank</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title</th>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Humphrey Hinchman</td>
<td>Bishop of London</td>
<td>28 October 1660</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Consecrated in 1665.</td>
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<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>George Morley</td>
<td>Bishop of Winchester</td>
<td>28 October 1660</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Translated to Winchester in 1662.</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>William Pierce</td>
<td>Bishop of Bath and Wells</td>
<td>1632</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Antienttest Bishop of England, both for age and consecration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Benjamin Laney</td>
<td>Bishop of Ely</td>
<td>1634</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Translated to Norwich in 1635, and translated to Ely in 1638. Died in 1667.</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td>John Warner</td>
<td>Bishop of Rochester</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
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<td>9</td>
<td>Henry King</td>
<td>Bishop of Chester</td>
<td>1666</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1666.</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>William Roberts</td>
<td>Bishop of Bangor</td>
<td>1637</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>John Hacket</td>
<td>Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Herbert Croft</td>
<td>Bishop of Hereford</td>
<td>1661</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1668.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Seth Ward</td>
<td>Bishop of Exeter</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Consecrated in the same year, translated unto Salisbury in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>William Fuller</td>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Anthony Sparrow</td>
<td>Bishop of Exeter</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Henry Glenham</td>
<td>Bishop of St. Asaph</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>Bishop of Lincoln</td>
<td>1667</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1667.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>John Wilkins</td>
<td>Bishop of Chester</td>
<td>1668</td>
<td>London</td>
<td>Died in 1668.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**Barons.**

1. The most noble Neville, Baron of Abergavenny, created by King Harold the second, whosever is seized of Abergavenny Castle, is Baron of Abergavenny.

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For a complete list of Archbishops and Bishops, please consult the above table.

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For the list of Barons, please consult the above table.

8. Conolders Darcy Baron Darcy and Conolders.
9. Edward Sutton Baron Dudley, which Title of Baron Dudley belongs to whomsoever is feized of Dudley Castle, 20 Hen.6.
16. Philip Wharton, Baron Wharton of Wharton, the same year.
17. William Willoughby Baron Willoughby of Parham, 1 Edw.
19. Dudley North Baron North of Carthage, and Knight of the Bath, 1 Mary.
20. William Bruges Baron Chandos of Dudley, the same year.
22. William Pete Baron Pete of Whistle, 13 May, 1603, 1 Fac.
23. Dutton Gerrard Baron Gerrard of Gerrards Bromley, 21 July in the same year.
24. Charles Stanhope Baron Stanhope of Harrington, 4 May 1605, 3 Fac. Sir John Stanhope Knight his Father was fo created.
25. Henry Arundel Baron Arundel of Wardour, and an Earl of the Empire, at the same time.
26. Christopher Reper Baron Tenham of Tenham, 9 July 1616, 14 Fac.
27. Robert Greville Baron Brook of Beauchamp's Court, 29 Jan.1620, 18 Fac.
28. Edward Montague Baron Montague of Boughton, 29 June 1621, 19 Fac.
30. John Roberts Baron Roberts of Truro and Baronet; Sir Richard his Father Knight and Baronet, created Baron Jan.26, 1614, 22 Fac.
31. John Lovelace Baron Lovelace of Hurley, Sir Richard his Father Knight, created Baron 31 May 1627, 3 Car.1.
32. John Powel Baron Powel of Hinton--St. George and Knight: John his Father afterwards Knighted, was created Baron 23 June 1617, 3 Car.1.
33. William Maynard Baron Maynard of Eslains and Baronet, and Baron Maynard of Wicklow in Ireland, 14 Mar. 1627, 3 Car.1.
34. George Coventry Baron Coventry of Alshurgh: Sir Thomas Coventry Knight, his Grand-Father was fo created 10 April 1628, 4 Car.1.
35. Charles Mohun Baron Mohun of Oakhampton, and Baronet, John his Grand-Father, in the life time of Sir Reginald his Father, Baronet, was created Baron Mohun of Oakhampton 15 April 1628, 4 Car.1.
36. Edward Howard Baron Howard of Esherick, and Knight of the Bath, 19 April 1618, 4 Car.1.
37. John Botteler Baron Botteler of Bramfield, Baronet and Knight, 10 July 1628, 4 Car.1.
38. William Herbert Baron Powys of Powys, and Knight of the Bath, 2 April 1629, 5 Car.1.
39. Edward Herbert Baron Herbert of Cherbury, and Baron Herbert of Castle-Island in Ireland: 7 May 1629, 5 Car.1, created Baron Herbert of Cherbury.
40. John Finch Baron Finch of Fordwich and Knight, created 7 April 1640, 16 Car.1. Extinct in 1660.
41. Francis Seymour Baron Seymour of Trembridge, 19 Feb.1640, 16 Car.1. Sir Francis his Grand Father Knight was fo created.
42. Francis Newport Baron Newport of High-Areal, 14 Oct. 1642, 18 Car.1. His Father Sir Richard, Knight, then created.
44. Richard Vaughan Baron Vaughan of Emlyn, and Earl of Carbury in Ireland, created Baron Oct. 25, 1643, 19 Car.1.
45. Smith Baron Castleton of Warton, and Vicount Castleton of Biresfore in Ireland, Sir Charles his Father, Knight, created Baron Oct. 31, 1643, 19 Car.1.
46. Henry Percy Baron Percy of Annick, Extinct, which Henry Baron Percy was Son and Brother.

Brother unto Henry and Algernon Earls of Northumberland, June 28. 1643.

19 Car. 1.

44 William Widdington Baron Widdington of Blakney Nov. 10. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
45 Thomas Leigh Baron Leigh of Stenely, and Baronet, July 1. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
46 Christopher Hatton Baron Hatton of Kirke, and Knight of the Bath, July 29. 1643.
19 Car. 1.

Ralph Hopton Baron Hopton of Stratton, and Knight of the Bath: Extinct, Septemb. 4.
1643. 19 Car. 1.


47 Richard Biron Baron Biron of Rochdale, and Knight: Sir John Biron Knight of the Bath, his Brother, was created Baron, Octob. 24. 1643. 19 Car. 1.

48 Humble Ward Baron Ward of Beringham, and Knight, Mar. 2. 1643. 19 Car. 1.
49 Thomas Culpepper Baron Culpepper of Thoresway; Sir John his Father, Knight, so created, Octob. 31. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
50 Asley Baron Asley of Reading; Sir Jacob Asley, Knight, his Grand-Father so created Nov. 4. 1644. 20 Car. 1.

51 John Lucas Baron Lucas of Shenfield, and Knight, Jan. 3. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
52 John Pellissi Baron Pellissi of Welaby, Jan. 27. 1644. 20 Car. 1.
53 Edward Wissen Baron Rockingham, and Baronet: Sir Lewis his Father Knight and Baronet, was created Baron Jan. 29. 1644. 20 Car. 1.

54 John Reed Baron Reed: A Dutchman, March 24. 1644. 20 Car. 1. died in 1669.

Robert Cholmundeley Baron Cholmundeley of Witch-Mabank, and Earl ofLemlter, and Vicount Cholmundeley of Kellu in Ireland, created Baron Septemb. 1. 1645. 21 Car. 1. Extinct.

55 Charles Gerard Baron Gerard of Brandon, November 8. 1645. 21 Car. 1.
56 Sutton Baron Lexington of Aram; Robert his Father so created, Nov. 21. 1645. 21 Car. 1.

57 Charles Kirkhoven Baron Whitle of Whilton, Car. 2.
58 Marmaduke Langdale Baron Langdale of Helme.
59 Charles Crofts Baron Crofts.

60 John Barkley Baron Barkley of Stratton, and Knight.

61 Denzell Holles Baron Holles of Ifield: Privy Counsellor to the King, and Lord High Steward of the Honours, Mannors, and Revenue unto the Queen, who was Embassadour Extraordinary in France in 1663, 1664, 1665, and 1666, and afterwards Embassadour and Plenipotentiary at Breda in 1667, who was the Second Son, only Brother furivant, and Unkle unto John, John, and Gilbert, Earls of Clare, who was created Baron Holles of Ifield on Saturday April 20. 1661.

three days before the King's Coronation.

62 Charles Cornwallis Baron Cornwallis of Eye, Knight and Baronet, and Knight of the Bath: whose Father Sir Frederick Cornwallis Knight and Baronet, was created Baron the same day.

63 George Booth Baron De-la-more of Dunham-Maffey, and Baronet, created Baron the same day.

64 Horatio Townsend Baron Townsend of Lynne-Regis, and Baronet, created Baron the same day.

65 Anthony Asley-Cooper Baron Asley of Winborne, St. Giles, and Baronet, and Privy Counsellor to the King: created Baron the same day.
66 John Crew Baron Crew of Stine, created Baron the same day.

67 Lucas Baronesf Lucas of Writtle, the Wife of Anthony Grey Earl of Kent, and the only Daughter and Heir apparent of John Baron Lucas of Shenfield: created Baronesf in or about April, 1663.

68 Henry Bennet Baron Arlington of Arlington alias Harlington, and Knight, Privy Counsellor unto the King, and one of the Secretaries of State, created Baron in 1664.

69 John Fresboville Baron Fresboville of Staveley, created Baron in the same year.

70 Richard Arundel Baron Arundel of Tresire, created Baron in the same year.

71 Thomas Butler Baron Butler of Morepark called by Writ unto Parliament, Sep. 18. 1666, eldest Son of James, Earl of Breckneck in England, and Duke of Ormond in
A Catalogue of the Privie Counsellors, &c.

in Ireland, which Thomas Butler was not called unto Parliament by his Father's Barony.

72 Henry Howard Baron Howard of Castle-Rising, 27 March 1669.
73 Benjamin Mildmay Baron Fitz-Walter summoned by Writ unto Parl. Feb. 14, 1669

Privie Counsellors.

James Duke of York, the King's only Brother survivant.
Robert Duke of Cumberland, Nephew unto the late King, and a Prince of the German Empire.
Gilbert Archibishop of Canterbury.
Sir Orlando Bridgeman Knight and Baronet, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.
John Lord Roberts Lord Privie Seal.
George Duke of Buckingham, Master of the Horse unto the King.
James Duke of Ormond, Lord Steward of the King's Household.
Henry Marquis of Dorchester.
Thomas Earl of Offery, Eldest Son unto the Duke of Ormond.
Edward Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household.
Robert Earl of Litchester.
Henry Earl of St. Albans.
Edward Earl of Sandwich.
Arthur Earl of Anglesey.
Charles Earl of Carlisle.
John Earl of Lauderdale, High Commissioner in Scotland.
John Earl of Middleton.
Richard Earl of Carbery, President of Wales.
Humphrey Bishop of London.
Henry Baron Arlington the Senior, Principal Secretary of State.
Francis Baron Newport, Controller of the King's Household.
Christopher Baron Hatton.
John Baron Berkley.
Denzil Baron Holles, High Steward of the Queen's Revenue.
Anthony Baron Asby, Chancellor, and under-Treasurer of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Clifford Knight, Treasurer of the King's Household.
Sir George Carew Baronet, Vice-Chamberlain of the King's Household.
Sir John Trevor Knight, Principal Secretary of State.
Sir William Morice Knight.
Sir John Duncombe Knight.

In all 32.

Judges.

Sir John Kereling Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
Sir Harbuttle Grimston Baronet, Master of the Rolls in Chancery.
Sir John Vaughan Knight, Chief Justice of the Common pleas.
Sir Matthew Hale Knight, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.
Sir Thomas Twifden Knight and Baronet.
Sir William Morton Knight, Justices of the King's Bench.
Sir Thomas Tirrell Knight, Rainford.
Sir William Wilde Baronet, John Archer.
Sir Christopher Turner Knight, Baron of the Exchequer.
Two places of Barons of the Exchequer vacant.

Principal Secretaries of State.

Henry Benet Baron Arlington of Arlington alias Harlington, and Knight.
Sir John Trevor Knight, the Younger.

BARONETS.

1 Sir R Nicholas Bacon of Redgrave in Suffolk, May 22, 1611. 7 Jac. Primus Baronetorum Angliae: at that time created into the Dignity and Degree of a Baronet of England.

2 Sir Richard Melville of Selsey in Lancashire, Baronet and Knight, and Viscount Melville of Marburgh in Ireland; created to the dignity and Degree of a Baronet of England the same day.

3 Sir Thomas Monson of Morgan in Glamorgan, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

4 Sir George Shirley of Stanston in Leicestershire, the same day. Sir Charles, Sir Robert, Sir Symon, Sir John, Sir Robert.

5 Sir John Stradling of St. Donats in Glamorgan, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

6 Sir Francis Leake of Sutton in Derby, Baronet and Knight: ut supra. Afterwards Earl of Stafford.


12 Sir George Clifton of Clifton in Nottinghamshire, Baronet and Knight: ut supra. who died in 1666. leaving his eldest son Sir George to succeed.

13 Sir Thomas Gerard of Brin in Lancashire, Baronet and Knight: ut supra.

14 Sir Walter Aston of Tixall in Stafford, Baronet and Knight: ut supra: and Baron Aston of Farfar in Scotland.

Sir Philip Knevet of Buckham in Suffolk, the same day. Extinct.

15 Sir John St. John of Edmond-Terrose in Wiltshire, Baronet and Knight, the same day. Sir John, Sir Walter.

16 Sir John Shell of Michelgrove in Sussex: the same day.

17 Sir John Savage of Rock-Savage in Chester, Baronet and Knight, June 29, in that year his Grandson John Vicomte Rock-Savage, was afterwards Earl of Rivers.

18 Sir Francis Barrington of Barrington-hall in Essex, Baronet and Knight, Sir Thomas, Sir John: ut supra.


21 Sir Edward Seymour of Bury-Castle in Devon, ut supra.


23 Sir Anthony Cope of Hanwell in Oxford, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

24 Sir Thomas Mansel of Carlton in Lincolnshire, Baronet and Knight, the same day. Sir John, Knight of the Bath.

25 Sir George Griffyn of Drakeston in Derby, the same day.

26 Sir Paul Tracy of Stanway in Gloucestershire, the same day.

27 Sir John Wentworth of Cusfield in Essex, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

28 Sir Henry Stelloce of Newborough in York, Baronet and Knight, ut supra: Sir Thomas, afterwards Viscount Falmouth.

Sir William Constable of Elrmarsh in York, Extinct, the same day.

29 Sir Thomas Leigh of Stonleigh, Baronet and Knight, the same day; and afterwards Baron Leigh of Stonleigh.

30 Sir Edward Nctel of Brook in Rutland, Baronet and Knight, the same day; Sir Edward, afterwards Viscount Camden.

31 Sir Roger Cotton of Connington in Huntingdon, Baronet and Knight, the same day; Sir Thomas, Sir John.

Sir Robert Cholmondeley of Cholmondeley in Chester, afterwards Earl of Lempster in Ireland, ut supra: Extinct in 1659.

32 Sir John Melchett of Tosorhall in Nottinghamshire, the same day.

33 Sir Francis Worley of Worley in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

34 Sir George Savill, the elder, of Thorne Hall in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

35 Sir William Kenyon of Misterton in Derby, the same day.

36 Sir Philip Woodhouse of Witterhall in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

37 Sir William Pope of Wike in Oxford, Baronet and Knight; afterwards Earl of Denny in Ireland, the same day.

38 Sir James Harrington of Ridlington in Rutland, Baronet and Knight, the same day; Sir Edward, Sir James.

Sir Henry Scawll of Metherley in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day. Extinct.

Sir Henry Willoughby of Ridley in Derby, the same day, Extinct.

Sir Lewis Trefon of Kington in Northampton, the same day, Extinct.

39 Sir Thomas Brudel of Dean in Northampton, afterwards Earl of Cardegan.

Sir George St. Paul of Snaresford in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, the same day. Extinct.

40 Sir Philip

40 Sir Philip Tewhitt of Stanfield in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
Sir Roger Dollison of Laughton in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, Extinct.
41 Sir Edward Car of Sleaford in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, died in 1619. Sir Robert, died in 1667.
42 Sir Edward Holles of Hemington in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight.
43 Sir Le Strange de Montend of Milham-pornton in Norfolk.
44 Sir Thomas Bennet of Steeple-bamfield in Essex.
45 Sir John Win of Gwinder in Carnarvon, Baronet and Knight.
46 Sir William Throckmorton of Tortworth in Gloucester, Baronet and Knight.
48 Sir Richard Fleetwood of Cakenhale in Stafford.
50 Sir John Twiston of Holtfield in Kent, Baronet and Knight; Sir Nicholas, afterwards Earl of Thanet.
51 Sir Samuel Peyton of Knowton in Kent, Baronet and Knight; Sir Thomas.
52 Sir Charles Morrison of Clandon in Hertford, Baronet and Knight. Extinct.
53 Sir Henry Baker of Stillinghurst in Kent, Baronet and Knight.
54 Sir Roger Appleton of Southampstead in Essex, the same day.
55 Sir William Sidney of Aisford in Kent, Baronet and Knight; Sir William, Sir Charles.
56 Sir Will. Twisten of East-Peckham in Kent, Baronet and Knight: Sir Roger.
57 Sir Edward Hales of Woodchurch in Kent, Baronet and Knight.
58 Sir William Machins of Walmer in Kent.
59 Sir William Mildmay of Mulham in Essex.
60 Sir William Maynard of Easen-parvain in Essex, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Maynard of Easenhall.
62 Sir Nicholas Sidney of Saxby in Lincoln, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Vicount of Cobham in Ireland; testa sui praesta.
63 Sir Miles Sands of Wimbeldon, in the Isle of Ely, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
64 Sir William Godsbill of Willington in Bedford, the same day.
Sir Thomas Pakington of Weston in Hertford. Extinct.
66 Sir William Allefe of Brasted-magna in Essex, Baronet and Knight.
67 Sir Marmaduke Wivel of Costable-Barton in York, Baronet and Knight.
69 Sir Francis Englefield of Westley-Basset in Wilt.
70 Sir Thomas Ridgway of Torder in Devon, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Earl of London and Derry in Ireland.
71 Sir William Essex of Bentcot in Berks: Sir Thomas.
72 Sir Edward Gorges of Langford in Wilt, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Gorges of Donelk in Ireland.
73 Sir Edward D'Ev lex of Colebe-Bramshill in Warwick, Sir Walter, afterwards Vicount Hereford.
74 Sir Reginald Molyn of Buckenham in Cambridgeshire: John his Son in his Father's life time was created Baron Molyn of Oakhampton.
75 Sir Herbert Grimston of Bradfield in Essex, Baronet and Knight: Sir Herbert.
76 Sir Thomas Holt of Alton justa Birmingham in Warwick, Baronet and Knight.
77 Sir Robert Naper-Sandy of Lenton bow in Bedford, Baronet and Knight, Sept. 21, 1612. 10 Jac. Sir Robert his Son处分ed that Patent in to King Charles the Second, to the intent to take new Letters Patents of that Dignity unto himself, with a Remandr unto his Son's John and Alexander in full Male, but he dying soon after, King Charles the Second granted that Dignity unto the said John Napier alias Sandy, with Remainder unto Alexander his Brother, with Remainder unto the Heirs Miles of Sir Robert his Grandfather, with precedence before all Baronets made since that, Sept. 21, 1617. 10 Jac. which new Letters Patents are dated Mar. 4, 1660.
78 Sir Thomas Temple of Stow in Buckingham, Baronet and Knight: Sir Peter, Sir Richard.
79 Sir Thomas Penstone of Leigh in Suffolk.
80 Sir Thomas Blackford of Blackford in Durham, May 27, 1615. 13 Jac.
81 Sir Robert Dormer of Wing, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Dormer of Wing; created Baronet, June 10, 1645. 13 Jac. His Son the Lord Dormer afterwards Earl of Carnarvon.
82 Sir Rowland Egerton of Egerton in Chester, Baronet and Knight, April 5, 1617. 17 Jac. Sir Roger, Sir Richard of Knebworth in Norfolk, Sir Roger, Sir Thomas, afterwards Baron Townshend of Lymn-Regis, created Baronet Apr. 16, 1667.
83 Sir Simon Clarke of Salford in Warwick, May 1, 1617. 15 Jac.
84 Sir Edward Fettes of Hooeward in Chester, Octob. 2, 1617. 15 Jac. Extinct.
85 Sir Richard Lucy of Bromford in Hertford, Baronet and Knight, died in April, 1667. Sir Kingmill created March 11, 1617.
86 Sir Matthew Beaton of Brimston in York, Baronet and Knight, May 25, 1618.
87 Sir Thomas Littleton of Frankley in Worcestershire, July 25, 1618. 16 Jac.

(c 2) Sir Francis

Sir Francis Leigh of Newsham in Warwick, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Earl of Chichester. Extinct, created Baronet December 24.

88 Sir Thomas Bade of Bramcote in Warwick, Feb. 25, 1618, 16 Jac.

89 Sir George Morten of St. Andrew’s Millbon in Dorset, March 1, 1618, 16 Jac. died in 1661. Sir John.

Sir William Harvey Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Harvey of Kidbrook in England, and Baron Harvey of Ross in Ireland; created Baronet May 31, 1619, 17 Jac. Extinct.

90 Sir Thomas Mackworth of Normanton in Rutland, June 4, 1619, 17 Jac.

91 Sir William Gray Baronet and Knight, afterwards Baron Gray of Warks, created Baronet, June 19, 1619, 17 Jac.

92 Sir William Villiers of Brokby in Leicestershire. Sir George, June 19, 1619, 17 Jac.

93 Sir James Ley of Wolbury in Wiltshire, Baronet and Knight, afterwards Earl of Marlborough, created Baronet, July 20, 1619, 17 Jac.

94 Sir William Hicks of Barford in Gloucestershire, July 21, 1619, 17 Jac.

95 Sir Thomas Beaumont of Colworth in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Vicount Beaumont of Swords in Ireland, created Baronet, September 17, 1619, 17 Jac.

96 Sir Henry Salisbury of Lenwyck in Derby, November 10, 1619, 17 Jac.


98 Sir William Armine Baronet and Knight: Sir William, Sir Michael, died in the year 1668. created Baronet November 16, 1619, 17 Jac.


100 Sir Edward Hartop of Freathy in Leicestershire, December 3, 1619, 17 Jac.

101 Sir John Mill of Common-Court in Sussex, December 31, 1619, 17 Jac.


103 Sir David Foulis of Ingledy in York, Baronet and Knight: Sir David created Baronet. Feb. 6, 1619, 17 Jac.

104 Sir Theophilus of Barrington in Somerset, Feb. 16, 1619, 17 Jac.

105 Sir Claudius Foster of Bamfoullie-Castle in Northumberland, Baronet and Knight: Mar. 7, 1619, 17 Jac.

106 Sir Anthony Chester of Chickley in Buckingham, Mar. 23, 1619, 17 Jac.

107 Sir Samuel Trion of Lain-Marney in Essex, Baronet and Knight, March 28, 1620, 18 Jac.

108 Sir Adam Newton of Charlon in Kent, April 3, 1620, 18 Jac.

109 Sir John Butler of Hatfield-woodhill in Hertford, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Baron Butler of Bramfield, created Baronet, April 11, 1620, 18 Jac.

110 Sir Gilbert Gerard of Harrow—super—maxton in Middlesex, April 13, 1620, 18 Jac.

111 Sir Humphry Lee of Langley in Salop, May 3, 1620, 18 Jac.

112 Sir Richard Berny of Park-hall in Redham in Norfolk, May 5, 1620, 18 Jac.

113 Sir Humphry Fifer of Aldermaston in Berkshire, May 20, 1620, 18 Jac.

114 Sir Thomas Bigg of Langwicke in Worcestershire, Extinct. May 26, 1620, 18 Jac.


116 Sir Thomas Ctewes of Stittewa in York, Baronet and Knight, June 2, 1620, 18 Jac.

117 Sir John Packington of Alcester in Buckingham, June 22, 1620, 18 Jac.

118 Sir Ralph Atkyn of Lawme in Lancashire, June 26, 1620, 18 Jac.

119 Sir Banastre Hicks of Cannabine in Gloucestershire, Baronet and Knight; and afterwards Vicount Camden: Extinct. created Baronet July 1, 1620.

120 Sir Thomas Roberts of Glaisthney in Kent, Baronet and Knight, July 3, 1620, 18 Jac.

121 Sir John Hauier of Haume in Flint, July 8.

122 Sir Edward Oseborn of Kerton in York: Sir Thomas, July 13, 1620, 18 Jac.

123 Sir Henry Felton of Platford in Suffolke, July 20, 1620, 18 Jac.


127 Sir Francis Vincent of Stock-daw Barton in Surrey, Baronet and Knight, July 26, 1620.


129 Sir Benjamin Tickburn of Tickburn in Southamption, Baronet and Knight, May 8.

130 Sir Richard Willbraham of Woodley in Chester, Baronet and Knight, May 5, 1621, 19 Jac.

131 Sir Thomas Deloues of Daddington in Chester, Baronet and Knight, May 8, 1621, 19 Jac.

132 Sir Lewis Watson of Rockingham-Castle in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, and afterwards Baron Rockingham of Rockingham, July 23.

133 Sir Thomas Palmer of Wingham in Kent, Baronet and Knight: Sir Thomas, Sir Henry, June 29, 1621, 19 Jac.

134 Sir Robert Robertes of Travre in Cornwall, Baronet and Knight, and after Baron Robertes of Travre, created Baronet, July 2, 1621.


136 Sir Henry Jeram of Caffey in Norfolk, Octob. 16, 1621, 19 Jac.

137 Sir Thomas Darnel of Hailing in Lincoln, Sept. 6, 1621, 19 Jac.

138 Sir Isaac Sidley of Great-Cherute in Kent, Baronet

137 Sir John Heron of Headley-hall in York, Oshib. 11.
138 Sir Nicholas Hide of Alnury in Hereford, Baronet and Knight, Nov. 8. 1621. Extinct.
139 Sir John Philip of Pilton in Pembroke, Nov. 9. 1621. 19 Jac.
141 Sir Baldwin Wake of Clevedon in Somerset, Decemb. 5. 1621. 19 Jac.
143 Sir John Celebrand of Batham in Suffolk, Decemb. 15. 1621. 19 Jac.
144 Sir John Hatham of Scarbrough in York, Baronet and Knight: Sir John, Jan. 4. 1621.
146 Sir Edward Powel of Penkelly in Hereford, Extinct, created Baronet Jan. 18.
152 Sir John Gage of Feri in Suffolk: Sir Thomas, March 26. 1622. 20 Jac.
155 Sir Richard Norton of Mothersfield in Southampton, Baronet and Knight, May 23. 1622. 20 Jac.
156 Sir John Lemanhorpe of Shingle-hall in Hertford, Baronet and Knight, May 30. 1622. 20 Jac.
159 Sir William Williams of Pownald in Cornwall, June 15. 1623. 20 Jac.
160 Sir Francis Aby of Hertford in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight, June 18. 1623. 20 Jac.
163 Sir Edmund Prideaux of Netheerton in Devon: Sir Peter, July 17. 1622. 20 Jac.
166 Sir Edward Tate of Backland in Berks, July 30. 1623. 20 Jac.
167 Sir George Chandley of Alston in Devon, Aug. 1. 1623. 20 Jac.
168 Sir William Meredith of Stanly in Denbigh, Aug. 13. 1623. 20 Jac.
169 Sir Anthony Dray of Backland in Devon, Aug. 2. 1623. 20 Jac.
170 Sir Hugh Middleton of Rochin in Denbigh, Oshib. 22. 1623. 20 Jac.
172 Sir Percy Herkes of Redcotes in Montgomery, Nov. 16. 1623.
173 Sir Robert Fifer of Packington in Warwick, Baronet and Knight, Decemb. 7. 1623. 20 Jac.
174 Sir Harleth Wifreys of Headon in Nottingham, Decemb. 18. 1623. 20 Jac.
175 Sir Henry Shipnith of Preffwood in Leicestershire, Baronet and Knight, Decemb. 20. 1623. 20 Jac. Extinct.
176 Sir Thomas Harris of Borselin in Salop, Decemb. 22. 1623. 20 Jac.
177 Sir Nicholas Tempest of Stella in Dorset, Decemb. 23. 1623. 20 Jac.
178 Sir Francis Cottintrim, afterwards Baron Cottintrim: Extinct, Feb. 16. 1623. 20 Jac.
179 Sir Thomas Harris of Tong-Caffe in Salop, Baronet and Sejeneat at Law: Extinct, April 12. 1623. 21 Jac.
180 Sir Edward Barkein of Southcote in Norfolk, June 28. 1623. 20 Jac.
182 Sir Thomas Players of Saterley in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight; Sir William, Sir Lion., Aug. 10. 1623.
183 Sir John Aiffield of Netherhall in Suffolk, Baronet and Knight, July 27. 1626. 2 Car. 1.
184 Sir Henry Harper of Calk in Derby, Sept. 8.
185 Sir Edw. Seafright of Belford in Warkes, "December, 1626."
188 Sir George Kemp of Penalone in Essex, Feb. 5. Extinct.
189 Sir William Breton of Hunford in Chester, March 10. 1626.
190 Sir Patrick Curwen of Warkington in Cumberland, March 12. 1626. 2 Car. 1. Extinct.
191 Sir William Ruffell of Wiltis in Worcestershire, the fame day.
192 Sir John Spencer of Offley in Hereford, March 4. 1626. 2 Car. 1.
193 Sir Giles Effewor of Newton in Wiltis, Baronet and Knight, Mar. 17. 1626. 2 Car. 1.
194 Sir Thomas Allsby, April 19. 1627, one of the Masters of RQqetts. Extinct.
195 Sir Thomas Style of Wartingbory in Kent, April 21. 1657. 3 Car. 1.
196 Sir Frederick Comwallis of Brome in Suffolk, May 4. 1627. English Baron.
197 Sir Dave Dury of in Norfolk, May 7.


Sir Robert Cran of Chilton in Suffol., Baronet and Knight, May 11. 1627. 3 Car. 1. Extinct.


Sir William Culpepper of Preston-hall in Kent, the same day.

Sir Giles Bridge of Milton in Hereford the same day.

Sir John Kirle of Much-Marle in Hereford the same day.

Sir Humphry Styles of Pickham in Kent, Baronet and Knight, May 20. 1627. 3 Car. 1. Extinct.


Sir Thomas Heal of Fleet in Devon, May 28.

Sir John Charlton of Holcum in Oxford, the same day. Extinct.


Sir John Isham of Lamport in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, the same day.

Sir Henry Bagot of Blithfield in Stafford, the same day.

Sir Lewis Pollard of King's-Nimph in Devon, May 27.


Sir Ladock Dyer of Stoughton in Huntington, June 8.


Sir Ambrose Brown of Betsworth-Castle in Surrey, July 7. 1627. 3 Car. 1. Sir Adam.

Sir Sarcole Crow of Landernin in Carmarthen, July 8.


Sir Thomas Ether of St. Giles in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight, July 19. 1627. 3 Car. 1.


Sir Bus Bacon of Milden-hall in Suffolk, July 29.


Sir Edward Tirrel of Thornton in Bucking-ham, Baronet and Ket. Oct. 31. 1627. 3 Car. 1. which Patent was afterwards surrendered by the said Sir Edward, whereupon a new Patent dated Feb. 19. 1638. 14 Car. 1. had the Title of a Baronet of England granted unto himself with the remainder unto the Heirs of Sir Edward Tirrel, one of his Sons, and for default of such issue, on Francis Tirrel, another of his Sons, and the Heirs Males of the body of the said Francis, and to have precedence from the Date of his former Patent, dated as before-mentioned, Oct. 31. 1627. 3 Car. 1.

Sir Basil Dixwell of Terlingham in Kent, Feb. 38. Extinct.

Sir Richard Young, Baronet and Knight, Mar. 10. Extinct.


Sir Will. Stonehouse of Redley in Berks. May 7.

Sir Thomas Fowler of Iftington in Middlesex, Baronet and Knight, May 21. 1638. 4 Car. 1. Extinct.

Sir John Fenwick of Fennwick in Northumberland, Bar. and Knight, June 9. 1628. 4 Car. 1.

Sir Will. Wray of Trubstach in Cornwall, Bar. and Knight, June 30. 1628. 4 Car. 1.

Sir John Trelawny of Trelawny in Cornw., July 1.


Sir Kenim Jernour of Much-Dunmore in Essex, July 30. 1628. 4 Car. 1.


Sir Will. Wolman of Conifeld-hall in Essex, Aug. 29. 1628. 4 Car. 1.

Sir Thomas Nightingale of Newport-Pond in Essex, Sept. 1. 1628. 4 Car. 1.


Sir Robert Dillington of Knighton in the Isle of Wight, Sept. 6. 1628. 4 Car. 1. Sir Robert his Grand-Son.


Sir John Pole of Shaw in Devon, the same day, Sir Courteny his Son.


Sir John Lawrence of Iever in Buckingham, Baronet and Knight, Oct. 9. 1628. 4 Car. 1.


Sir Rice Ruff of Aberglany in Carmarthen, Decem. 8.

Sir Richard Wither of Thunderleague in Essex, Decem. 18.

Sir Henry Fertress of Skillingthorpe in Lincoln, Decemb. 19.

Sir John Anderson of St. Ives in Huntingdon, Jan. 3.


Sir Richard Duvard of Ibstock-Walkham in Essex, Jan. 29. 1639. 4 Car. 1.

Sir Thomas Powell of Barking in Chester, Jan. 21.

Sir John Wilmot of Walkham in Essex, Mar. 2. Sir Capel a Knight.

Sir Richard Graham of Erc in Cumberland, March 29.

Sir George Tuftons of Bakley in York, April 2. 1629. Extinct.

Sir William

23 Sir Nicholas Le Strange of Hunstanton in Norfolk, Jan. 1, 1639. 5 Car. 1.
236 Sir John Holland of Quinenden in Norfolk, June 1, 1639. 5 Car. 1.
237 Sir Richard Earl of Carlisle in Lincoln, July 2, 1639.
239 Sir Richard Greenwolde of Kilkhampton, Baronet, and Knight, April 9, 1639. Extinct.
240 Sir Martin Lemley of Great-Broadford in Essex, Baronet; afterward Knighted: Jan. 8, 1640, Sir Martin.
241 Sir William Dalston, Baronet, and afterward Knighted; only Son and then Heir apparent of Sir George Dalston of Dalston in Cumberland, Knight, Feb. 15, 1640.
243 Sir Nicholas Cole of Branchepeth in Durham, March 4, 1640.
244 Sir Edmund Pye of Lockhamsted in Buckingham, Baronet, afterward Knighted, April 23, 1641. 17 Car. 1.
249 Sir John Palgrave of North-Boringham in Norfolk, Bar. and afterward Knighted, June 24.
250 Sir Gerard Naper of Midlemarsh-hall in Dorset, Baronet, and afterward Knighted, June 25.
251 Sir Thomas Whitman of Appleby in Sedge, Baronet, and Knight, June 28, 1641.
252 Sir John Money of Lynton in Kent, June 29.
253 Sir Tho. Cuv the younger, of Stanford in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, June 30.
254 Sir Christopher Tolerton of Eyston-Mandot in Norf. Baronet and Knight, the same day.
255 Sir William Bottler of Telfon in Kent, Baronet, and afterward Knighted, July 3, 1641.
256 Sir Thomas Hatton of Longanton in Cambridge, Baronet and Knight, July 5, 1641.
258 Sir John Bampfield, eldest Son of John Bampfield of Poltive in Devon; which Sir John died in 1650, leaving his Title to his Son Sir Copleston, created Baronet July 14, 1641.
259 Sir John Cotton of Landwade in Cambridge, the same day.
261 Sir Henry-Frederick Tynn of Canet-Castle in Salop, the same day.
262 Sir John Burgon of Sutton in Bedford, the same day.
264 The Rose of Rosneath in Wrecsley, July 21.
265 Sir Ralph hare of Stone-Bardolph in Norfolk, the same day.
266 Sir John Nevwolfe of Bromley in Northampton, Baronet and Knight, July 24, 1641.
268 Sir Will. Brownlow of Hamly, in Lincoln, July 27. 1641. 17 Car. 1. died in 1666, leaving his eldest Son Sir Richard to succeed, who died in July 1668, leaving his eldest Son John to succeed.
269 Sir John Siddebn of Brimpton in Somerset, July 28.
270 Sir Henry Prat of Colefield in Berks, the same day.
271 Sir Francis Nicholls of Hardwick in Northampton, the same day.
272 Sir William Strickland of Peitton in York, Baronet and Knight, July 30, 1641. 17 Car. 1.
274 Sir Thomas Maleverer of Allerton Maleverer in York, the same day.
275 Sir William Broadton of Sandfield-parva in Norfolk, the same day.
276 Sir John Bickefer of Ralegh in Devon, the same day.
277 Sir Naton Kustochal of Mountbunsh in Kent, the same day.
278 Sir Hugh Wyndham of Pileston-court in Devon, Baronet, and after Knighted, Extinct, the same day.
280 Sir William Casfletton of St. Edmunds-bury in Norfolk, the same day.
281 Sir Richard Price of Gigerbahn in Caridgin, the same day.
284 Sir Thomas Trevor of Endfield in Middlesex, the same day.
285 Sir John Careton of Kilifton in Derby, Baronet of England and Scotland, the same day.
286 Sir Hugh Owen of Grevel in Pembroke, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
287 Sir Martin Brigg of Haughton in Salop, Aug. 1, 1641. 17 Car. 1.
288 Sir Henry Hymon of Sowerby in Kent, the same day. Sir Peter.
289 Sir Thomas Stanford of Haugh-Castle in Wymertong, the same day.
290 Sir Francis Rhodes of Balbrough in Derby, Baronet and Knight, Aug. 14, 1641. 17 Car. 1.
291 Sir Richard Spriegel of Coppenthorpe in York, the same day.
292 Sir John Pott of Mannington in Norfolk, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
293 Sir John Godrick of Rihston in York, Baronet and Knight, the same day.
295 Sir William Walter of Sunders in Oxford, the same day.
295 Sir Thomas Lanley of St. Powel in Salisbury.ame day. Sir Francis.
300 Sir John Meanx, the same day. Sir Williams.
302 Sir Thomas Willis of Fenditton in Cambridg. Decem. 15. 1641. 17 Car. 1.
303 Sir Francis Armitage of Kirkby in York, the same day.
311 Sir Dinor Straat of Little-Walney in Essex, Mar. 5. 1641. 17 Car. 1. Extinct.
317 Sir John Williams of Minster-Court in Kent. April 23. 1642. Extinct.
320 Sir Edward Morgan of Lenteram in Monmouth, May 12. 1642. 18 Car. 1.
321 Sir Nicholas Kemys of Kremby in Glamorgan, May 13. 1642. 18 Car. 1.
322 Sir Trevor Williams of Llangily in Monmouth.
323 Sir John Raffey of Tivhagb in York.
324 Sir Payning Moir of Lewes in Surrey. Sir William.
325 Sir Christopher Dauney of Cowick in Kent.
326 Sir William Ingledy of Ripley in Kent.
327 Sir Thomas Hamson of Troup in Buckingham: Sir Thomas.
328 Sir Thomas Williams of Eoft-Markham in Nottingham.
329 Sir William Deny of Gillingham in Norfolk.
330 Sir Richard Hardrefrot Hardref in Kent.
331 Sir Christopher, Master of Whistbear in Cambridg.
332 Sir Thomas Ashton of Oldfield in Bedford.
333 Sir Edward Cobert of Leyton in Montgomery.
334 Sir George Middleton of Leighton in Leicesters. Ext.
335 Sir Edward Pater of Thorley in York.
336 Sir William Widdrington of Widdrington in Northumberland; after Baron Widdrington.
337 Sir Mat. Whitham in Middle-Ing in York.
338 Sir Philip Confect of Eylingham in York.
339 Sir John Widdrington of Carington in Northumberland.
341 Sir Robert Markham of Stedebrook in Lincoln.
342 Sir Philip Hugate of Sexton in York.
343 Sir Williams Thorell of Marston in Lincoln.
344 Sir Walter Russell of Hul/on in Devon.
345 Sir Rapp Blackstone of Gilfylde in Durham.
346 Sir Walter Wastley of Wastley in Stafford.
347 Sir Robert Throckemton of Leghtam in War.
348 Sir William Halton of Sanford in Essex.
349 Sir Brakes Spencer of Offley in Hertford.
350 Sir Ed. Goding of Colson Buffet in Notts.
351 Sir William Smith of Cranock in Cornwall.
352 Sir Harry Herne of Wingfield in Berk.
353 Sir Walter Blunt of Sodington in Worcest.
354 Sir Adam Littleton of Stuke Milhurgh in Sal.
355 Sir Thomas Hoggeson of Hoggeson in Buckingham.
356 Sir Theobold of Rivestane Cape in Dar.
358 Sir Thomas Chamberlain of Wicelm in Ox.
359 Sir Henry Haulake of Wingerdow in Devon.
360 Sir Thomas Bad of Capel-Oyles in Hants. Sir Richard Crane of Woodring in Norf. Extinct.
361 Sir Samuel Desvers.
363 Sir John Pale of Saxby in Leicesters.
364 Sir Willinghley Hickman of Gainthorugh in Lincoln.
365 Sir John Battler of Bramfild in Herts.
366 Sir Edward Axtowe of Axtenham in Salop.
367 Sir Francis Hamst of Buckland in Somerset, after Baron Hamley in Ireland.
368 Sir John Preston of Preston in Lancast.
369 Sir Thomas Pynge of Humpe in Lancast.
370 Sir Robert Terry of Helsthorpe in Lincol.
372 Sir Henry Bard, afterward Vicount of Bellemont in Ireland.
373 Sir Henry Williams of Guntesso in Bruck.
374 Sir William Vane of Amersfield.
375 Sir William de Bovil of Amsterdam.

375 Sir George Carteret of Meteheu in Jersey, May 9, 1645. 21 Car.
376 Sir Edward Charlieon of Hetsefide in Northumberland, March 6, 1645. 21 Car.
377 Sir Thomas Windbank of Hayme in Wiltz, Nov. 25, 1645. 21 Car.
378 Sir Benjamin Prifgh of Denington in Suffolk, Feb. 7, 1645. 21 Car.
379 Sir Richard Wills, June 11, 1646. 22 Car.
380 Sir John Bole of Carleton Curley in Leicester, Nov. 9, 1643. 19 Car.
381 Sir Brian 0 Neile in Ireland, Nov. 13, 1643. 19 Car.
382 Sir Richard Vivian of Treloowen in Cornwall, Feb. 12, 1644. 20 Car.
383 Sir Thomas Beamant of Stoughton-Grange in Leicesters, Car. 2.
385 Sir Griffith Williams of Rochin in Carmarvon, Car. 2.
386 Sir Francis Hall of Wynterborn St. Maryn in Dorset, June 27, 1660. afterwards Knighted, whole Father the Honourable Dancel Holles Esq; Privy Councellor to the King, was afterwards on Saturday April 20, 1661. created Baron Holles of Alford.
387 Sir Henry Maynberge of Brantoff-ball in Lincoln, Car. 2.
388 Sir William Wynham of Orchard-Windham in Kent, Car. 2.
389 Sir Robert Hele of Beekshom in Kent, Car. 2.
391 Sir Henry de Vic of Garnesby, by Patent dated at the same place, Sept. 3. 1649.
392 Sir Richard Forster of Stifley in York, by Patent dated at the same place, Sept. 3, 1649.
394 Sir William Cartieris, April 2. 1652.
397 Sir Thomas Bond, by Patent dated at the same place, in the same year.
398 Sir Arthur Marney Carpenter a Frenchman, by Patent dated at the same place in Aug. 1658.
399 Sir Anthony de Mores, a Frenchman, by Patent dated in 1650. Extinct.
401 Sir Guddler de Roe in Holland by Patent dated May 3, 1660.
402 Sir Orlando Bridgman Knight, then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Car. 2.
403 Sir Geoffrey Palmer Knight, Attorney General to the King, Car. 2.
404 Sir Henege Finch of Rockfiev alias Ran
ton in Buckly, Knight; Solicitor General to the King.
405 Sir John Langham of Cottesbrook in Northampton, Knight.
406 Sir Humphrey Winning of Hames in Bedford.
407 Sir Robert Alday of Aloms in Essex.
408 Sir Tho. Dryer of Sunninghill-Park in Berkshire.
409 Sir John Alday of Mewset in Essex, Kt. Ext.
410 Sir Jonathan Kete of Le-Ho in Hereford.
411 Sir Hugh Speake of Hatley in Wilts.
414 Sir Richard Atkins of Clapham in Surrey.
415 Sir Thomas Alien of London.
416 Sir Henry North of Milden-hall in Suffolk.
417 Sir William Wifem of Stiven-hall in Essex, Knight.
418 Sir Thomas Camms of Hasted in Suffolk.
419 Sir Thomas Durey of St.Cleere-hall in Essex.
420 Sir George Grahame Hon of Cale barwick in Wilts.
421 Sir John Cutte of Childerley in Cambridge.
422 Sir William Humble of London.
423 Sir Solomon Swake of Siply-hall in York.
424 Sir Grose Eayman of Steak juxta Clare in Suffolk.
425 Sir Robert Cordell of Melford-hall in Suffolk.
426 Sir John Robinsen of London Knight.
427 Sir Henry Stapleton of Melford in York.
428 Sir Jacob Asfle of Hill Morton in Warwick.
430 Sir Will. Baward of Denham in Buck, Kt.
431 Sir John Shuckburgh of Shuckburgh in War.
432 Sir William Wray of Askle in Lincoln, died in 1669.
433 Sir Nicholas Steward of Harley-Moart in Southampton.
434 Sir George Worperton of Harlesey in Chester.
435 Sir Oliver St. John Wofford in Northamp.
436 Sir Ralph Delowe of Staton in Norhamb.
437 Sir Andrew Henley of Henley in Somerfet.
438 Sir Thomas Edw. of Wyboms in Lincoln.
439 Sir John Cowett of Slaugham in Sussex, Kt.
440 Sir Maurice Berkley of Broadway in Somerfet, afterwards Vicount Fiste-Harding in Ireland.
441 Sir Peter Lear of London.
442 Sir Henry Hadson of Melton-Mowrley in Leicesters.
443 Sir Thos. Horbert of Twintworne in Monze.
444 Sir Thomas Middleton of Chichester in Denbigh.
445 Sir Verney Nel of Kirkley in Leicesters, July 6, 1660.
446 Sir George Ruffell of Clifton alias Clifton in Norfolke, July 7, 1660.
447 Sir Robert Ayslen of Berley in Kent.
448 Sir William Bosley of Broado Ab in Derby, Knight.
449 Sir Woffen de Mark of Bofowth in Leic.
450 Sir John Clark of Nolle-Wof in Oxford.
451 Sir John Waver of Parkham in York.
452 Sir John Bright of Bradford in York.
453 Sir Job Harke of Aldham in Hereford, Knight.
454 Sir Samuel Morland alias Morley of Southamstead-Benner in Berkt, Knight.
455 Sir Thos. Heret of Pitbyhen in Hereford, Kt.
456 Sir Edward Henwood of Everington in Kent, Knight.
457 Sir Basil Dixwell of Broom-ハウス in Kent.
459 Sir Henry Pirton of Holnes in Salop.
460 Sir John Andrews of Nantejfled in Glamorgan.
461 Sir William Thomas of Fowtton in Essex.
462 Sir Thos. Slater of Cambridge, July 25, 1660.
463 Sir Henry Cowney of Butifien in Flint, the same day.

46 Sir John Green of Soaford in Essex, July 26, 1660.
46 Sir John Staple of Patcham in Sussex, July 30, 1660.
46 Sir Montalfe Robinon of Nealy in York, July 30, 1660.
46 Sir Marmaduke Greffam of Linsfield in Surrey.
47 Sir Hugh Smithford of Stanwick alias Stanwick in York.
47 Sir Roger Muflin of Flint, Knight.
47 Sir Will.Willoughby of Willoughbyin Nettinbg.
47 Sir Anthony Oldfield of Spalding in Lincoln.
47 Sir Peter Leiseler of Radley in Chester.
47 Sir William Filder of Westminister, Knight.
47 Sir Charles.
47 Sir Thomas Smith of Histeron in Chester.
47 Sir Thomas Lee of Hartwell in Bucks.
47 Sir John Newton of Belford in Gloucester.
47 Sir John Ken of Henbom in Suffolk.
47 Sir John Halis of Coventry in Warwick.
47 Sir John Drake of Ash in Devon, died in July 1669, Sir John.
48 Sir Oliver St. John of Carrick-Drumick in Leysin Ireland Knight, Sept. 5, 1660.
48 Sir John Bayner of Kinpeyston in Stafford, Kt.
48 Sir Joseph Abi of Tittinhams in Middlesex.
48 Sir John How of Compton in Gloucester.
48 Sir John Spinham of Chapharton in Northumberland, Sept. 26, 1660.
48 Sir John Trem of Leveske in Southampton, Oct. 11, 1660.
49 Sir John Lewis of Ledston in York, Knight.
49 Sir John Beal of Maldon in Kent.
49 Sir Rich. Franklin of Moor-Park in Hertf.
49 Sir William Raffell of Longborne in Camberden, Nov. 8, 1660.
49 Sir William Backbowes.
49 Sir Thomas Butebly of Friday-hill in Chinkford in Essex.
49 Sir John Culver of London, Knight.
49 Sir Giles Mottet of Leight, Nov. 16, 1660.
49 Sir Henry Gifford of Bursell in Leister, Nov. 21, 1660.
49 Sir Thomas Fust of London, Knight.
49 Sir Thomas Macinver of Over-Prior in Chester.
49 Sir Thomas Bennet of Bolderham in Cambr.
50 Sir John Wrost of Blundeshall in Kent.
50 Sir John Win of Nysell in York, Dec. 3, 1660.
50 Sir Humphrey Monnox of Watton in Beds.
50 Sir Heneage Besterbon of Blackfarn in Hanford.
Sir John Petyon of Doddington in the Isle of Ely, Decemb. 10, 1660, died a Bachelor the same month; Extinct.
50 Sir John Pagge of Wifon in Sussex, Dec. 11.
50 Sir Edmund Anderson of Broughton in Lincoln, the same day.
50 Sir Matthew Herbert of Bromfield in Salop.
57 Sir Edward Ward of Baxey in Norfolk.
58 Sir William Killigren of Arwinnick in Cornwall, Decemb. 22, 1660.
58 Sir John Kest of Elrington in Gloucester, the same day.
50 Sir John Bick of Hanly-Grange in Lincoln, the same day.
51 Sir William Frankland of Thickley in York.
52 Sir Richard Siddolph of Norberi in Surrey.
52 Sir William Gardner of London.
54 Sir William Juxon of Alton in Sussex.
54 Sir John Legard of Garnon in York.
56 Sir George Marwood of Little-Buryi in York.
57 Sir John Jackson of Hickleton in York.
58 Sir Henry Pickering of Waddon in Cambridge, Jan. 2, 1660.
59 Sir Hen. Beddingfield of Oxenworge in Norfolk, the same day.
59 Sir Walter Pinner of the Inner Temple.
Sir Herbert Springet of Broyle in Sussex, Extinct.
51 Sir William Pervel alias Hippin of Peggeby in Hereford.
52 Sir Robert Newton of London.
53 Sir Nicholas Stoughton of Stoughton in Sur.
54 Sir William Rideby of Squires in York.
56 Sir John Hubond of Isley in Warwick.
57 Sir Thomas Morgan of Kangtock in Monmouth.
58 Sir Richard Long of Talik in Roscannon in Ireland.
59 Sir Benjamin Wright of Cranham-hall in Essex.
59 Sir John Colleton of London.
59 Sir James Mapdford of London.
61 Sir Edward Smith of Ephi in Durham.
61 Sir Thomas Gifford of Cattle-jordan in Mith in Ireland, March 4, 1660, Extinct.
63 Sir Thomas Clifton of Clifton in Lancaster.
64 Sir William Wilton of Eastborne in Suffolk.
65 Sir Compton Reed of Barton in Berks.
66 Sir Bryan Broughton of Broughton in Stafford, Knight.
67 Sir Robert Slingsby of Newfield in Hereford.
68 Sir Ralph Verner of Middle-Clyded in Bucks, Knight.
69 Sir John Craft of Stow in Suffolk, Mar. 16.
70 Sir Robert Dyer of Up-hall in Hereford.
72 Sir Thoma Rich of Sannin in Berks, the same day.
73 Sir Edward Smith of Edmond-thope in Leicester, the same day.
75 Sir Jo. Pettipalce of Chilley in Berks, Mar. 20.
76 Sir Walter Hensley of Coweck-field in Sussex, April 8, 1661.
77 Sir William Perkins of Langley in Bucks, April 9.
78 Sir John Cavel of Woodford in Essex, the same day.
79 Sir Charles Gandy of Crow-hall in Suffolk.
80 Sir William Morrice of Werrington in Devon, the same day.
81 Sir William Asle of Brompton in York, April 26, 1661.
82 Sir William Godolphin of Godolphin in Cornwall, April 29, 1661.
83 Sir Thomas Cason of Walter-Berry in Oxford, April 30, 1661.

554 Sir Edward Fane of Fowl-Come in Devon, Knight, May 1. 1661.

555 Sir John Copley of Clarkenwell in Middlesex, May 7. 1661.


557 Sir George Coke of Whitley in York, the same day.

558 Sir Charles Kayd of Garth in Montgomery.

559 Sir Nathaniel Povel of Eythryth in Suffolk.

560 Sir Dennis Abberbury of Bromhall in Suffolk.

561 Sir Hugh Smith of Long-Aston in Somerset.


564 Sir John Charnock of Houlton in Bedford, May 21.

565 Sir Robert Brook of Nelson in Suffolk.

566 Sir Thomas Nevill of Hall in Leicester.

567 Sir Henry Andrews of Ladbury in Berk.

568 Sir Anthony Craven of Sperholte in Berks, June 4.

569 Sir James Clevering of Anewill in Durham, June 5.

570 Sir Thomas Darham of West-Derham in Norfolk, June 8. 1661. Sir Henry.

571 Sir Abraham Cullen of East-Sheen in Surrey, June 17.

572 Sir William Stanley of Houton in Chester.

573 Sir Godfrey Copley of Sprothorpe in York.

574 Sir James Eykout of Milcoat-Green in Essex.

575 Sir Henry Winncombe of Buckby in Berks.

576 Sir Thomas Vyon of London Knight, died in 1665.

Sir George.

577 Sir Clement Clark of Lane-Aby in Leicester.

578 Sir John Seysford of De-la-were in Kent.

579 Sir Christopher Gelf of Elmore in the County of the City of Gloucester, July 10.

580 Sir Reginald Foster of East-Greenwich in Kent, July 11.

581 Sir Philip Parker of Ewerton in Suffolk.

582 Sir Edward Duke of Benhall in Suffolk.

583 Sir Edward Barkham of Wanslott in Lincoln, July 21.

584 Sir Charles Haffy of Capthrop alias Kaythrop in Lincoln, the same day; died in 1664.

585 Sir Thomas Norton of Coventry in Warwick, July 23.

586 Sir John Dormer of Le-Grange in Berk.

587 Sir Thomas Carew of Harcombe in Devon, Aug. 2.

588 Sir Mark Milbank of Helnday in York, Aug. 7.

589 Sir Richard Rahbeck of Ewerly and Stapleford in Lincoln, Aug. 16.

590 Sir John Banks of London, Aug. 22.

591 Sir John Engleby of Leathenborough in Buck, Aug. 30.

592 Sir Robert Jefon of Broad-Samfield in Wilts, Sept. 5.

593 Sir John Young of Calilton in Devon, Knight, Sept. 26.

594 Sir Francis Bickley of Ayleborough in Norfolk, Sept. 3.

595 Sir John Frederick Vau Frienderde de Herdick, Lord of Kypm, Embassador extraordinary from the King of Sweedland, Octb. 4.

596 Sir William Roberts of Wiltclon in Middlesex, Nov. 8.

597 Sir William Luckin of Wiltham in Essex, Nov. 15.

598 Sir Thomas Smith of Hill-hall in Essex, Nov. 28.

599 Sir Edwin Salier of Temple-Dainiful, alias Dimpley in Hereford, Decemb. 3.

600 Sir George Southcote of Bleborough in Lincoln, Jan. 24.

601 Sir George Trevilian of Netiscombe in Somerset, the same day.

602 Sir Francis Duncombe of Tangley in Surrey, Feb. 4.

603 Sir Nicholas Bacon of Gillingham in Norfolk, Feb. 7.

604 Sir Richard Cocke of Dambelton in Gloucester, the same day.

605 Sir John Critton of Newton in Cornwall, Feb. 27.

606 Sir John Floyd of Woking in Surrey, Feb. 28.

607 Sir Thomas Poyly of Elsin-hall in Huntingdon, Mar. 7.

608 Sir Miles Stapleton of Carton in York, Mar. 20.

609 Sir Richard Brana of Windsor in Berk, April 16.

610 Sir John Witteronge of Stonor-Bury in Bucks, Knight, May 2.


612 Sir Robert Bernard of Hunston in Huntingdon, Sergeant at Law, July 1.

613 Sir Roger Lort of Stack-pole in Pembroke, July 15.

614 Sir Edward Gage of Hengrave in Suffolk, the same day.

615 Sir Thomas Hook of Finchford in Surrey, July 22.


617 Sir Christopher Wandesford of Kirkington in York, Aug. 5.


619 Sir Jacob Gerard of Langford in Norfolk, Aug. 16.

620 Sir Edward Fuss of Hill in Gloucester, Aug. 21.

621 Sir Robert Long of Westminister in Middlesex, Sept. 1.

622 with Remainder, for lack of Ilune Mac, unto John Long, and the Heirs Males of his body.

623 Sir Robert Cane of Copton-Greensfield in Gloucester, Knight, Sept. 13.


625 Sir Richard Graham of Norton in York, Nov. 17.

626 Sir Thomas Tankard of Borough-Bridge in York, the same day.

627 Sir Cuthbert Herro of Chispe in Northumberland, Nov. 20.

628 Sir Francis Wenman of Cefwell in Oxford, Knight, Nov. 29.

629 Sir Henry Puresy of Wolkes in Berks, Dec. 4.


632 Sir Peter Pinder of Edrinfarn in Chesh, Dec. 32.

633 Sir Nicholas Stanning of Marston in Devon, Jan. 9.

634 Sir George Revell of Tynette in Suffolk, Jan. 22.

635 Sir Thomas Bracage of Hamble in Hertford, Mar. 18.

636 Sir Thomas Bernardson of Ketton alias Kedington in Suffolk, April 7.

637 Sir Samuel Bernardson of Brightwell-hall in Suffolk, May 1.

638 Sir John Darmer of Putney in Surrey, June 1.

639 Sir John Holman of Bawbury in Oxford, the same day.

640 Sir John Belles of Merton in Chesh, June 30.

641 Sir George Downing of East-Halley in Cambridges, July 1.


643 Sir Charles

643 Sir Charles Pym of Brompton in Somerset, Knight, July 14.
644 Sir William Doyle of Shotesham in Norfolk, Knight, July 29.
645 Sir John Metham of Cuxton in Kent, Knight, Aug. 12.
647 Sir Francis Leeke of Newark upon Trent in Nottingham, Dec. 15.
650 Sir Thomas Maddisford of Lincoln-Inn in Middlesex, March 1, 1663.
651 Sir George Selby of Whitehurse in Durham, Mar. 3, 1663.
652 Sir Edward Fortescue of Fowlepit in Devon, Mar. 31, 1664.
653 Sir Samuel Tuke of Great-Temple in Essex, the same day.
654 Sir John Templest of Tongue in York, May 25, 1664.
655 Sir Lionel Osborne of Chaddington in Oxford, June 23, 1664.
656 Sir Giles Tucker of Maddington in Wilts, July 1, 1664.
657 Sir Stephen Anderson of Egworth in Bedford, July 13, 1664.
658 Sir Thomas Bateman of How-hall in Norfolk, Aug. 31, 1664.
659 Sir Thomas Lovelane of Kirke-barle in Northumberland, Sept. 26, 1664.
660 Sir Thomas Wentworth of Breton in York, Sept. 27, 1664.
661 Sir Theophilus Biddolph of Westome in Kent, Knight, Novem. 3, 1664.
662 Sir William Green of Micham in Surrey, the same day.
664 Sir John Wolstenholme of London, Knight, Jan. 10, 1665.
665 Sir John Jacob of Bromley in Middlesex, Knight, Jan. 11, 1664.
666 Sir John Yeman of Bishope, Jan. 12, 1664.
667 Sir John Pye of Herne in Dorset, Jan. 13, 1664.
668 Sir Thomas Taylor of the Parkhouse of Maidstone in Kent, Jan. 18, 1664.
669 Sir William Leman of Northaw in Hertford, Mar. 3, 1664.
670 Sir Robert Smith of Upston in Essex, Knight, Mar. 30, 1665.
671 Sir Nicholas Crispe of Hamersmith in Middlesex, Knight, April 14, 1665, Sir Nicholaus.
672 Sir John Shaw of London, Knight, April 15, 1665.
674 Sir George Rawdon of Meira in Down in Ireland, May 20, 1665.
675 Sir Robert Jocelyn of Hydeshill in Hertford, June 8, 1665.
676 Sir Robert Duckenfield, the younger, of Duckenfield-hall in Chester, June 16, 1665.
677 Sir John Lanston of Brington in York, July 6, 1667.
678 Sir Peter Tyrrell of Hinlip and Castletorpe in Bucks, July 20, 1667.
679 Sir Francis Bedell of Burnel in York, July 25, 1667.
680 Sir George More of Maidstone in Buck, July 26, 1667.
681 Sir Abel Barker of Hambleton in Rutland, Sept. 31, 1667.
682 Sir William Oglander of Nannett in the Isle of Wight, Knight, Dec. 12, 1667.
684 Sir William Swam of Southfleet in Kent, Knight, March 1, 1665.
685 Sir Anthony Shirley of Preston in Suffolk, Mar. 6, 1665.
686 Sir Maurice Diggs of Chilhamcastle in Kent, the same day. Extinct.
687 Sir Peter Gleave of Hardwick in Norfolk, the same day.
689 Sir Robert Furer of London, Knight, the same day.
690 Sir Thomas Twysden of Broadmore justa Etli-Melling in Kent, Knight, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, June 13, 1665.
691 Sir Anthony Archer of Bishop's-Bourne in Kent, Knight, July 4, 1666.
693 Sir Edward Hebb of Bilham in Berks, July 12, 1666.
694 Sir Thomas Peth of Combe in Devon, July 21, 1666.
695 Sir John Tyrrell of Stringfield in Essex, the Son and Heir apparent of Sir John Tyrrell of Heren in Essex, Knight, Oktob. 21, 1666.
696 Sir Gilbert Gerard of Fiskerton in Lincoln, entailing the Title of Bironet upon his Illegitimate son by Mary his second Wife, Daughter unto John Cosins Bishop of Durham, Novem. 17, 1666.
698 Sir John Swepe of Cockington in Lincoln, Jan. 16, 1666.
699 Sir Peter Fortescue of Wood in Devon, Jan. 29, 1666.
700 Sir Richard Batten of Wimbleton in Surrey, Knight, Feb. 7, 1666.
701 Sir Algernon Batten of Dodington in the Isle of Ely, Mar. 11, 1666.
702 Sir Roger Martin of Long-Melford in Suffolk, Mar. 28, 1667.
703 Sir Richard Hasting of Redencl in Somersey, May 7, 1667.
704 Sir William Hanham of Winborne in Dorset, May 24, 1667.
705 Sir Francis Top of Tormarton in Gloucester, July 25, 1668.
ALTHOUGH we begin the title of our Computation from William called the Conqueror, as though he was the first of our Kings of England: yet before him, were many other excellent Kings; and their Acts perhaps as worthy to be known, if they could be known. But seeing after Ages can know nothing of former times, but what is recorded by writing: it hath happened, partly by the devastation of Libraries, and partly by the scarcity of Copies, before Printing came up; that of many Authors, scarce so much is left us, as their very names: and besides, it hath followed, that as the first Writers were Poets, so the first Writings have been Fictions. And nothing is delivered to posterity of the most ancient times, but very Fables; such as the story of Albion; (of whom they say, this Island was called Albion; though others say, Albâris, of the white cliffs,) that she should be the eldest of the two and thirty Daughters of D usa father, King of Syria; (such as never was,) who being married to two and thirty Kings, in one night, killed all their Husbands: for which fact, they were put in a Ship, themselves alone without a Pilot, so to try their adventure, and by chance arrived in this Island, of whom Gyants were begotten. And if you like not of this, then have you the story of Albinus, the son of Neptune, of whom the Island took its name. But when these are exploded, there follows another with great Antecension, and yet as very a fable as these: namely the story of the Trojan Brîtes, of whom the Island they say, was called Britain: though many other causes are given of the name: as likewise the story of Brîtes Cousin Corinaus, of whom they say, the Countrey of Cornwall had its name, to whom it was given, for overcoming the Gyants Gigantea: and that Brîte having three Sons, Locrinus, Albania, and Cambren, he gave at his death to his eldest Son Locrinus, all the Land on this side Humber, and called it Loegria; to his second Son Albania, all the land beyond Humber, of whom it was called Albânia, (now Scotland:) and to his youngest Son Cambren, all the Land beyond the River Severn, of whom it was called Cambria (now Wales,) with other such stuff which may please children, but not ripen Judgments; and were first broached by Geoffrey, Arch-deacon of Monmouth; for which all the Writers of his time cried shame upon him, and yet can scarce keep many at this day from giving credit to his Fictions. This Geoffrey of Monmouth (afterward made, by the favour of King Stephen, Bishop of St. Paul,) upon a Book written in Welsh, and brought out of Wales by Walter Arch-deacon of Exeter of the British affairs, and translated by Geoffrey, in which, though there were many notable passages, that might give much light to our History; yet so many commentaries Fables were inferred, that they rendered even what truths he wrote suspected.

And when we are once gotten out of Fables, and come to some truth; yet that truth is delivered in such slender draughts, and such broken pieces, that very small benefit can be gotten by the knowing it; and was not till the time of Julius Caesar, a thousand years after...
2

Of the first known times of this Island.

The Fable of Brito: at which time, the Island was yet but in manner of a Village, being without Walls, or having no shipping, (which are indeed the true Walls of an Island) but only certain small Vessels, made of Boards and Wicker. And as they had no Ships for defence without, fo neither had they any Forts, for defence within: scarce any houses but such as were made of stakes and boughs of trees taille ned together. Neither was it yet come to be a Kingdom, but was governed by a number of petty Rulers; so as Kent only had in it (as Cæsar calleth them) four Kings, (*Cingetorix, Cornubius, Tectumagrus, and Segenus*): which division, as it made the Britains more cafe to be conquered, so it made the Romans the longer in conquering. For if they had been one united body, one or two Battles might have made a conquest of the whole; where being thus divided, there was need to be as many battles as there were divisions: So as it was many years, before the Romans could conquer the whole Island; even from the time of Julius Cæsar, and of the Romans in Domition: not much less than two hundred years. It is true, after Cæsar’s first coming, the Island grew sensible of this defect of their division, and thereupon by consent of a great part made choice of Cefslaban, King of the Tringantes, who had his seat at Verulam, to be General of their Wars; which made indeed some little drop to the Romans proceedings: but after the Iofs of a Battle or two, they fell again into a relapse of their former defect, and thought it better to secure every one his own, by his own means, then by a general power, to hazard all at once; whereby it came afterward to be true, *Domu singulam paginam, universo vincamur.* Yet before the Country could be wholly conquered, at first by reason of the Nations valour, lacking to keep themselves free; and afterward by reason of the inoffensiveness of the Garrison of the Solent, and that founded on them slaves, many great op positions were made, amongst which the most memorable was that of Vindicia, a certain Queen of the Country, who having been by the Roman Souldiers her self abased, and her daughters ravished, used means to leave an Army of sixscore thousand men, whom she led her self into the Field, and set upon the Romans in their chief Towns, which were London, Verulam, and Camelotum (now Malden in Essex,) of whom the floe above seventy thousand; but then in a second Battel, had fourscore thousand of her own Army slain, after which Defeat, for avoiding of slaverie, she poyned her self.

This Island for a long time was so much effecten of the Romans, that their Emperors sometimes came inther in person; as first the Emperor Adriæn in the year 124, who reduced that great Wall between England, first made by Agricola, Nero’s General in Brit aina, and Father-in-law to Tullius the famous Historian, Adriæn having sett the Country in order returned. The same Wall was again repaired by Severus the Emperor, in the year 212, who came over into Britain to repress the Incurions of the Picts and Scots, by whom in a Battel near York, he was wounded and thereof did die; or as others say, he died of age and sicknes. Afterward in the year 205, Constatius the Emperor came into Britannia, and ended his life at York, making that City famous for the death and burial of two great Emperours; and yet more famous for the honour done to Constantius the Great, Son of Constatius, who in that City was first saluted Emperor. But notwithstanding the great extremation the Romans a long time made of this Island; yet at last, after five hundred years they had kept it in subjection, they voluntarily left it: the charge of keeping it, being greater then the benefit; for to keep it in sub jection, they maintained no fewer then four score thousand Souldiers in pay. And when Wars grew amongst themselves at home, they could no longer spare so many abroad, but recalled them home: but then, though they left Britain, yet they left not the Britains, but carried them, at least, a great part of them away with them; of whom the most were slain in the field, and the rest, scattered into that part of France, which of them was afterward, and is to this day, called Britain: And now one would think, the Island should be in good cage, being freed from them that kept them in subjection; but it proved to be in worse case being at liberty, then it was before in servitude; for being deprived of their ablest men, and at the same time, their King Lucius happening to die without issue, they were left as a few loose ficks, without the bond of a Governor, which the Picts and Scots observing, thought now was the time to make the Country their own; and thereupon made Invasions upon it with all their Forces. Whereupon the Britains having none left of their Native Kngs to succeed; and knowing they could ill manage the Body of an Army without a Head, they made choice of Vertiga Earl of Cornwall, one extracted from the British Linage; and one of the whome, whether to advise his Cabinet Counsellor, the Prophetical Merlin, or as finding his own strength too weak to make resistance, implores first aid of the Romans; and they making answer, they had business enough to do of their own, and leaving them to themselves, he then fled to the Saxons for aid, a warlike people of Germany, and who had greater swarms then their hives could well hold.

And here we may plainly see how dangerous a thing it is for a Nation to call in Strangers to their aid, and especially in any great number; for though they come at first but Mercenaries, yet once admitted, and finding their own strength, they soon grow Masters: as here it proved with the Saxons.

These Saxons were Inhabit, and brought in with them diversity of Idols, after whose names they gave appellations to the several days of the week. Adoring the Sun, they named the first day Sunday, or Sunaday. The second Monday, from an Idol which ridicu losely repreffented the Moon. Another god they had called Tuisæ, and to him they appointed the third day, naming it Tuesday. The tradion is, that this Tuisæ was the son of Akeba.
Of the first known times of this Island.

Aftkenas, Grandchild of Jupiter, and that he conducted their fore-fathers out of Asia into Europe from the unfinished Tower of Babel. The next Idol which they adored for a god, was Woden, representing an armed man, and they named the fourth day from him Woden'sday, or Wednesday, they honored him as the god of Barne. He was a famous and victorious Prince and amongst them, and of him finely de
cended Hengist and Horsa their first leaders into this Island. Not only our Saxons, but all the Seprentional Nations adored and sacrifici
cd to Thor, a Statue representing a crowned King, his head encompassed with twelve bright golden Stars, of whom they denominated the fifth day Thor'sday. Friday took the name of Friga, an Idol representing both Sexes, with a Bow in one hand, and a Sword in the other: and though the Statue exprest an Hermaphrodite, yet she was generally reput
ced a Goddes. Then they had a god called Souter, and to him they consecrated Satur
day: this Idol was like an old man, with a long beard and hair, bare headed and bare footed. Such was the Religion of the Saxons; which giveth us occasion before we treat further of their coming in, to say something of the state of the Christian Church in this Island. Further then, it is recorded, that in the year 65; what time Arrivosgus reigned here, Toph of
Arimeakes (who buried the Body of Christ) came into this Island, and laid the foundation of the Christian Faith in the Western parts, at a place called then Thrieth, now Glastenhur
ry; and that there came with him Mary Mag
dalen, Lazarus, and Martha: and more then this, that Simon Zelotes one of the Apol
tes suffered Martyrdom here in Brittan: and more then this, that both St. Peter and St. Paul came into this Island and preached the Gospel; all which, and more to this purpose, is record
ed by Authors of good account: though it be hard in believing. That perfons, and speci
dally women of so great age, at these untimes must be at this times, should live so long a journey. But howsoever it was, certain it is, the Church of God was as it were this time planted in this Island, though it made afterward but small progress, and that with some perfe
cution; as in which time, St. Alban suffered Martyrdom at Verulam, and at Lichfield shortly after, no fewer than a thousand. After this in the year 180. what time Lucius was King of this Island, Elutherius then Bishop of Rome, sent Fagimus and Damiano to him: upon whose preaching, the Temples of the Hea
thenish Flamius and Arch-flamius (one and thirty in number) were converted to fo many Bishops Sees; whereof London, Tork, and Caerleyn, (now St. Davids) were made the Metropolitans of the Province. And there is a Table remaining at this day, in the Parth
Church of St. Peter, on Cornhill, London, which recordeth, that the Foundation thereof was laid by this King Lucius, and that this Church was the Cathedral to that Archbishops See. In the year the Christian Count was a hundred, A.D. 674, in Italy, where six hundred Western Bishops were assembled, whereof three went out of Britain; and though they were Ortho
doxal, and with that Synod determined to give their voices against the Arien Herefie, yet by reason all these Western Fathers were igno
rant in the Greek Language, they were circu
monstrated by the Arien Bishops, and unani
mously they would have Christ, but not Ha
umanian. After this, about the year 450. role up in this Island, one Pelagius, a Man brought up in the Monastery of Bangor in Wales, who spread the poyson of his Herefie, first in this his Native Country, and afterward all the world over. And these had been the chief passages in matters Ecclesiastical within this Island, when the Saxons were called in, about the year 450.

And now under the conduct of two Bro
ters, Hengist and Horsa, came over nineteenth
and Saxons with their Wives and Children, to affit the Britains against the Scots, and were appointed the Isle of Thanet to inhabit. With such assistance, the Britains gave their ene
mies Barcel, and overcame them: so as they accounted the Saxons as Angels sent from Heaven, and then allowed them Kent also for their inhabiting. Not long after Hengist ob
ained the King Vortigern the property of so much ground, as he could encoile with a Walls here about the Mountains, he there built the Castle, Fifi de numine, called the Tower of Castle. And now having built it, he invites Vortigern to a Feast, who there fell in love with Rowena, the Daughter, or rather the Neece of Hengist; for when Hengist first ar
rived in Britain he was but 30, years of age; howsoever Vortigern marrying this fair Lady, put Hengist into such a height of boldness that he began to aspire, finding for greater Forces to come over to him; as meaning to transplant himself hither, and to make this Island his Inheritance: which the British Lords perceiving, and not able to wear their King from his new Wife, and her Father Hu
gist, they depose him; and in his place set up his Son Fortimus, a true lover of his Country: who profinently in a pitch Battel near unto Aylesford, and Kent, fell upon the Saxons; where Catigern the Britan Governor of Ferrivas, and Horsa, or Hengist, in single fight hand to hand killed every one. In which place Catigern was hur
died, and a Monument in memory of him ere
sted, the stones whereof at this day are stand
ing in a great plain in the Parth of Aylesford; which instead of Catigern, is corruptly called Kisi-Cothous. Another the like Monument was ereted for Horsa, though now defaced; remembered only by the Town where it stood, called Horsed. Three other Battels after this were fought between the Britains and the Saxons: one upon Crawford, another at Wappes
deflate, the third upon Ciremorc: in which last, the Britains got to great a Victory, that the Sax
ons were clean driven out of Kent, and this
not atmo not suffering to ret; so as shortly after, Hengist with his Saxons departed the Kingdom, as being now out of hope to make his fortune in this Island. But while Forti
er was thus in possession of the Country as aforesaid, Rowena the former Kings Wife, being Daughter to Hengist, was as intenitive to bring it into fervitude; which knowing the which could not so long as

Bt.
Vortimer lived: the used means by poyton, to take away his life, after he had been King the space of four years, and then by the Witchcraft of fair words, so enchanted the Britifh Nobility, that her Husband Vortigen was again established in the Kingdom; which was no sooner done, but Henigst (relying upon his Son Vortigen's love) with a mighty Army attempts to return again into the Island; when being relieved, he makes a show, as if he desired nothing but to fetch away his Daughter Rowena, and to have a friendly conference for continuance of amity: which motion seeming reasonable, a place and time of conference was appointed: the time upon the first of May; the place upon the Plain of Ambri, now called Salisbury; whether the plain-meaning Britan came unarmed, according to agreement; but the fraudulent Saxons under their long Catfucks had short speyes hidden, with which upon a watch-word given, they set upon in many Barrels, and of that the Britania fled three, some say five hundred, and took the King himself Prisoner, whom they would not release, till they were put in possession of the four Countries, Kent, Sussex, Suffolke, and Norfolk. Whereupon Vortigen, whether fearing a second Deposition, or whether to advised by his Cabinet-Counsellor the Prophetical Merlin, betook himself into Wales, and there built him a strong Castle for his fate-guard; while the Saxons coming daily in great swarmes into the Land, had at this time over-run all, if Aurelius Ambrosius a Roman born, but affected to the Britania Nation, had not landed at Totnes in Devonshire, to whom reftored great Troops of Britania. His first expedition was against Vortigen, (as the first cage of the Britania Mifery) whole Castle he beleagued; and whether by wilde-fire, or by fire from Heaven, both he and his Castle, and all that were in it, were burnt to ashes. To this Ambrosius is ascribed the admirable Monumant in Wilshire, now called Stonehenge, in the place where the Britania had been therethroughly flughttened and interred; and of whom the Town of Amblesbury bears its name. After this he set upon the Saxons, and in many Barrels discomfited them; till at last falling sick in the City of Winchester, a Saxon, in flew a Brit, and in habit a Physician, was sent unto him, who instead of Phyllic, ministr’d Poyton, whereof he died in the year 497. after he had reigned two and thirty years.

After Ambrosius, succeeded after (some say his Brother, others a Brit) called Pendragon, of his Royal Banner born ever before him; wherein was portrayd a Dragon with a golden Head, as in our English Camps it is at this day born for the Imperial Standard. And he also many Barrels discomfited the Saxons; till after eighteen years’ reign he came to his end by treachery; dying by Poyton put into a Well, whereof he usually drank, in the year 515. After him succeeded his Son Arthur, be- poni the of the fair Lady Igrain, Wife of the Duke of Cornwall, to whose bed the art of Merlin brought him in the likeness of her husband; and in twelve set Barrels discomfited the Saxons; but in one most memorable, in which girding himself with his Sword called Caliburn, he flew upon his Enemies, and with his own hand flew eight hundred of them; which is but one of his wonderful deeds, whereof there are so many reported, that he might well be reckoned amongst the Fabulous, if there were not enow true to give them credit. Amongst other his Acts, he intituled the Order of Knights of the Round Table, to the end there might be no question about Precedence, and to teach Heroical minds, not to stand upon Place, but Merit. But this great Prince, for all his great valour, was at last in Bawld called, whereof he dyed, in the year 542, after he had reigned fix and twenty years.

After King Arthur succeeded his Cousin Constantine, and after his three years Reign, Aurelius Constantine the Nephew of King Arthur; whose Reign is uncertainly so long, that some say, he was reigned only two, some three, others thirty, and some three and thirty. After Constantine succeeded Verigus, who after many Victories against the Saxons, and four years Reign, dyed. After whom succeeded Malgo Constant, and reigned six years. After him Carisius, who setting upon the Saxons, and beaten, fled into the Town of Chichester, whereupon the Saxons catching certain Sparrows, and fattening fire to their feet, let them fly into the Town, where lighting upon straw, and other matter apt to take fire, the whole City in short space was burnt; and thereupon Carisius flying, securing himself among the Mountains of Wales, where he died, after he had unprofessionally reigned three years; and from that time forth, the Britains lost their whole Kingdom in the East part of the Island, and were confined in the West by the Rivers Severn and Dee. After Carisius succeeded Cadwall, who reigned two and twenty years. After him his Son Cadwalla, who reigned eight and forty years, and then died; whose body was buried in St. Martin’s Church near Llandeilo, and his Image of Brac placed upon the fame Tower, for terror to the Saxons. In this time the Dogma of Mabonset began to spread it self all the Eastern World over. After Cadwalla, succeedeth his Son Cadwaller, in whose time fto great a Famine, and afterward Mortality happened, continuing eleven years, that the Land became in a manner defolate: insomuch, that the King and many of his Lords were driven to forsake their native Country, and Cadwaller himself went to his Cousin Aelin, King of little Britains in France. At which time the Saxons taking advantage of his absence, came over in Swarms, and dispossessed the forlorn Britains of all they had, and divided the Land amongst themselves. Whereupon Cadwaller, obtaining assistance from his Cousin Aelin, was coming over to restrain their infolencies; when making prayers to God for good succese, an Angel appeared to him, or at the least to his feather he heard a voice that forbad him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will, the Britains should rule this Land any longer: and therefore bad him be he to Rome, and receive of Pope Cabiduwel, the last of the Britains King; he bequeathed his Kingdom and is shown a Monk at Rome.
The first Kingdom of Kent.

The first Kingdom of Kent began by Hengist, in the year 455, containing all Kent, and continued 372 years, during the Reigns of seventeen Kings, of whom as many as performed any memorable Act, shall be remembered; and for the rest it will be no loss to patch them over in silence. Of these seventeen Kings, Ethelbert being the fifth, was the first Saxen Christian King of this Island, converted by Afsin the Monk, by Gregory sent hither to that purpose, with forty others, in the year 596, to whom King Ethelbert gave his chief City of Canterbury, and his own Royal Palace there, made since the Cathedral of that See; withdrawing himself to Reculver in the Isle of Thanet, where he erected a Palace for himself and his followers. He gave him also an old Temple, standing without the East Wall of the City, which he honoured with the name of St. Pancras, and then added a Monastery to it, and dedicated it to St. Peter and S. Paul, appointing it to be the place of the Kentish Sepulchres. But in regard of Afsin the procuring, both Pancras, Peter, and Paul were soon forgotten, and it was, and is to this day called St. Augustine, which Abbey St. Augustine enriched with divers Religions, which he brought with him from Rome; amongst which was a part of Christ's fleshless Coat, and of Aaron's Rod. This King after his own conversion, converted also Sebert King of the East Angles, and assisted him in the building of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, London; as also the Church of St. Peter, on the West of London, then called Thorney: and himself at Rochester built the Cathedral Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle St. Andrew: and dying when he had reigned six and fifty years, was buried at Canterbury. And thus by this first Saxen Kingdom, was all Kent lopped off from the Britains Dominion; and this was the first impurring, and this happened in the Reign of Ethelburh before spoken of. The sixth King of Kent was Ethelbald, who at first an Apsilata, was afterward converted; and built a Chappel within the Monastery of St. Peter and Paul at Canterbury. The seventh King was Ecgbert, a virtuous and religious Prince, who first commanded the oberving of Lent; and in his days, the Archbishop Hrinius divided Kent into Parishes. The eighth King was Egbert, who obtained the Kingdom by murdering his Neighbors: who being the lady Doppuna, founded the Abbey of Minster in Kent. The eleventh King was Widsred, who founded the Priory of Merew at Dover. The last was Bolure, who overcame by Egbert King of the West Saxons, left Kent a Province to the English, in the year 837.

The second Kingdom being of the South Saxons.

The second Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the South Saxons, and began by Ethelbert, in the year 488, containing Sussex and Surrey, and continued 115 years, during the Reign of five Kings only, of whom Cissa being the second founded the City of Chichester, and reigned as some say, for two hundred and sixteen years. And then Bertha being the last King, was overthrown by Ina King of the West Saxons, and his Country became a Province of that Kingdom, in the year 601. And thus as Kent before, so now Sussex and Surrey were lopped off from the Britains Dominion: and this was a second impurring, which also happened in the Reign of the British King Aelfricus.

The third Kingdom being of the West Saxons.

The third Kingdom of the Heptarchy, was of the West Saxons, and began by Cerdic, in the year 519, containing Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Somerfetshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, and Berkshire, and continued 561 years, during the Reigns of nineteen Kings, of whom this Cerdic was the first; in whole time Piers, a Saxen, landed in the West, as a place from him called afterward Portsmouth, and aided Cerdic in his conquest. And this happened in the Reign of King Arthur: and as Kent, Sussex, and Surrey before, so now these seven other Shires were lopped off from the Britains Dominion: and this was a third impurring. The fifth King of the West Saxons was Kingilis, who was the first Christian King of this Kingdom, converted by Berrinus an Italian Divine, to whom he gave the City of Dorchester, near to Oxford; who therein erected his Episcopal See. The seventh King was Kewnald, who at first an Apsilata, was afterward converted, and founded the Cathedral of Winchester, and the Abbey of Minsterbury; whose Wife Segfrith also built a house of Devotion in the Isle of Sheppy, wherein her self became a Nun, and was afterward elected Abbess of Ely. The eleventh King was Ina, who ordained many good Laws, which are yet present in the Saxen tongue, and are translated into Latin, by the learned Master William Lambert. This King built a Colledge at Wells, bearing the name of St. Andrew, which afterward King Kenulf made an Episcopal See. He also, in most rarely manner...
ner new built the Abbey of Glastonbury; and out of his devotion to the See of Rome, he enjoyed every one of his subjects, that professed in his house of any one kind of goods to the value of nineteen pence, to pay yearly upon Lammasday, one penny to the Pope, which at first was contributed under the name of the Kings Alms, but afterward was paid by the name of Peter Pence. At last he went to Rome, and there took upon him the habit of Religion, and therein died. His Wife also became a veiled Nun, and afterward was made Abbess of Barking, near London. The thirteenth King was Ethelred, who first permitted the bodies of the dead to be buried within the Walls of their Cities, which before were used to be buried in the fields.

The fourteenth was Sigulfert, for whom the Crueltie and exactions, was by his Subjects forced to flee into the Woods, to hide himself, where by a Swine-herd he was slain. The fifteenth was Kenulf, who founded the Cathedral Church of S. Andrew at Wells, and was afterward slain by Kynmaud, whom he had banished. The sixteenth King was Birbrick, whose Queen Ethelfryd having prepared a propoyon for another, the King chance to take it, and thereof died. In fear of which chance the Queen fled into France; where Ethelbert the then King, for her excellent beauty, offered her the choice of himself or his Son in Marriage; but she out of her Inflam humour choosing the Son, was thereupon debarr’d of both, and thrust into a Monastery, where committing Adultery, she was driven from thence, and ended her life in great misery. For her sake the West Saxons ordained a Law, that no Kings Wife should hereafter have the title or Majesty of a Queen, which for many years after was severally executed. It is memorable which is recorded of a King in these parts, named Wæsamund, and was the Founder of Warwick Township: that he had a Son named Offa, tall of stature, and of a good constitution of body, but blinde, till he was seven years old, and then saw; and dumb till he was thirty years old, and then spake.

The fifth Kingdom being of NORTHERNLAND.

The fifth Kingdom was of Northumberland; (so called because it lay North from the River Humber,) and began by Ellis and Ida, in the year 547. Containing York, Durham, Lancafhire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland, and continued 370 years, during the Reigns of three and twenty Kings; of whom nothing is recorded of the two first, but that they built the Cattle of Bamborough. The seventh King was Ethelgyrd, who at Carlagen (now Welfborough) made a slaughter of twelve hundred Christian Monks, and was himself afterward slain by Redwald King of the East Angles. The thirteenth King was Osgar, whose Wife Cuthburg, out of a loathing weariness of Wedlock, fled out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at Winburn in Dorsetshire, where in a Religious Habit he ended his life. The sixteenth King was Cedulf, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of Lindesfarn, or Holy Island. Unto this King the Venerable Bede, a Saxon and a Priest in the Monastery of Peter and Paul, at Wearness near to Durham, dedicated his Work of the English Historie, which he continued from the first entrance of the Saxons in this Island, to the year 731, containing after his own account 285 years. The seventeenth King was Egbert, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shirk himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of York, eredicated a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The Iait King was Oswy, after whom this Kingdom yielded to the protection of Egbert, King of the West Saxons, who was now in the year 926, become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of this fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern Shires lopped off from the Britains Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCI.

The sixth Kingdom was of Mercia, and began in Cirea, in the year 512, containing Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, and Leicestershure founded.

Paul, London, &c. where dying, his Body was interred in a Coffin of grey Marble: the cover coped, and as yet flanketh in the Northwall of the Chancel of the same Church. The twelfth was Offa, famous for the beauty of his coun-tenance, who both enlarged with Buildings, and enriched with Lands, the Church of Win-chester, and after eight years reign went to Rome, and was there fown a Monk, and in that habit died. The fourteenth was Sethul, whom Egbert King of the West Saxons subdued, and made his Kingdom a Province to his own. And thus besides the former Shires, these two also were lopped off from the Britains Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

K. Ethelgyrd killed twelve hundred Christian Monks at Winbridge, and thereby caused the King to be deposed, and driven into a Monastery. His Wife Cuthburg, out of ait of Wedlock, fled out a Divorce from her Husband, and built a Nunnery at Winburn in Dorsetshire, where in a Religious Habit he ended his life. The sixteenth King was Cedulf, who after eight years Reign, left his Royal Robes, and put on the Habit of a Monk, in the Isle of Lindesfarn, or Holy Island. Unto this King the Venerable Bede, a Saxon and a Priest in the Monastery of Peter and Paul, at Wearness near to Durham, dedicated his Work of the English Historie, which he continued from the first entrance of the Saxons in this Island, to the year 731, containing after his own account 285 years. The seventeenth King was Egbert, who after twenty years Reign forsook the world also, and shirk himself a Monk; whose Brother being Archbishop of York, eredicated a notable Library there, and stored it with an infinite number of Learned Books. The Iait King was Oswy, after whom this Kingdom yielded to the protection of Egbert, King of the West Saxons, who was now in the year 926, become absolute Monarch of the whole Island. And thus by the erection of this fifth Kingdom, were the six Northern Shires lopped off from the Britains Dominion, and this was a fourth impairing.

The sixth Kingdom being of MERCIA.

The sixth Kingdom was of Mercia, and began in Cirea, in the year 512, containing Huntingdon, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingham, Warwick, and Leicestershure founded.
Of the Kingdoms of Northumberland, Mercia, &c.

The seventh Kingdom being of the East Angles.

The seventh Kingdom was of the East Angles, and began by Igbert in the year 575, containing Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and the Isle of Ely, and continued 353 years during the Reign of fifteen Kings, of whom the first was Sigebert, who first brought the light of the Gospel into his Dominions, and built a School for education of youth, whether at Oxford, or Cambridge, is left a Quer; and after three years Reign shore himself a Monk in the Abbey of Cambrebr, which himself had built: but being afterward violently drawn from thence by his Subjects the East Angles, to retile the Mercian King Penda, and refusing to use any other weapon but only a white wand, was in a Battel by him slain. The seventh King was Aethel, who after thirteen years Reign, was also slain by Penda the Mercian King. This King Aethel was memorable chiefly for the holiness of his Children, of whom his Son Erkenwald was Bishop of London, and built the Abbey of Barking near London. His Eldest Daughter Etheldreda was twice married, and yet continued a Virgin still, and at last became a Nun; and is remembered to posterity by the name of St. Aedreda. His second Daughter named Sexburg, his third named Ethelburg, his fourth (a natural daughter) named Withburg, all entered into Monasteries, and are Canonized all for Saints. The fourteenth King was Ethelbert, a Learned and Religious Prince, who being invited by Offa the Mercian King to marry Effdr his daughter, came for that purpose to Offa's Court, then seated at Sutton Wayth in the County of Hereford, and there by him was cruelly murdered; in whose memorial notwithstanding, he afterward built a Fair Church at Hereford, the church of most of that See, as though he could expiate a martyr's death living, by a Monument to the dead, and were not rather a monument of his own impiety. The fifteenth King was Edmund, who assailed by the Danes for his poffessions, was more assailed for his profession; for continuing contant in his Christian Faith, those Pagans first beat him with bats, then foughed him with whips, and lastly bound him to a stake, and with their Arrows shot him to death: whole body was buried at the Town where Sigebert the East Anglian King, one of his Predecessors had built a Church, and where afterward (in honour of him) was built another most magnificent, of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Town upon the occasion of his burial there, called to this day St. Edmundsbury. This Church and place, Swarms the Danis King burnt to ashes: but when his Son Canuter had gotten possession of the English Crown, terrified with a vision of the feeming St. Edmund, in a religious devo- tion to expiate his Fathers Sacrilege, he built it anew most sumptuously, and offered his own Crown upon the Merys Tomb. After the death of this Edmund, the East Angles CPUtry was poftel by the Danes, and so continued the space of fifty years, until that Edmund turnned the Elder, expelled those Danes, and made that Kingdom a Province to the West Saxons.

By which that hath been said, it plainly appears, that as no degrees the Britains lost, and the Saxons got the whole power of his Island. For after that Penda, in the year 455, had called in the Saxons, every Briton King that succeeded him, left some part or other of it to the Saxons, till at the last in the year 689, Cadwallader the last Briton King lost all; and then the Saxons kings thriving amongst themselves for sovereignty, they still gained one upon another, till at last in the year 818, Egbert King of the West Saxons reduced them all under his subjection, and then called all the South of the Island to be called England, according to the Angles of whom themselves came: after whom they were no longer properly called Saxen Kings, but Kings of England.
Of the Saxons that reigned sole Kings of this island, and may properly be called English Kings.

Egbert the eighteenth King of the West Saxons, is now become the first of the Kings of England, in whose time the Danes began first to invest the Land; as thinking they might do as much against the Saxons, as the Saxons had done against the Britains; but though they made divers Invasions, and did great spoil, yet they were still repelled. This King reigned sixty and thirty years, and died in the year 836. was buried at Winchester. Of his Issue, his Daughter Edith was made Governess of a Monastery of Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her Brother had given her, called Pollofvorh, situate in Arden, in the North part of the County of Warwick, where she died and was buried, in the place in memory of her called St. Edith of Pollofvorh.

To Egbert succeeded his Son Eadwulf, who in his youth was addicted to a Religious life, that he was first made Deacon; and after Bishop of Winchester; but his Father dying, he was intreated by his people to take upon him the Crown, and by Pope Gregory the fourth, to be that end absolved of his Vow. His Reign was infettled with many and great Invasions of the Danes, to whom notwithstanding he gave incredible overthrows. In the time of his Reign, remembering his former Religious Profession, he ordained that riches and lands due to the Holy Church, should be free from all Tribute or Regal Services, and in great devotion went himself to Rome, where he lived a year; confirmed the grant of Peter pence, and agreed besides to pay yearly to Rome three hundred marks. Returning home through France, and being a Widow, he there married Judith the beautiful daughter of Charlethe Baid, then Emperor; in honour of whom in his own Court, he ever placed her in a chair of Estate, with all other Majestical complements of a Queen, contrary to the Law of the West Saxons formerly made; which so much displeased his Lords, that for it they were ready to depose him: but howsoever he lived not long after, having reigned one and twenty years. His youngest Son Nute was much addicted to learning, and was one of the Divinity Readers in the University of Oxford, and founded a Monastery in Carnal, of which he was called Neufbuke; and being dead, his body was interred in the County of Huntington, at a place then called Marylesbury; and afterward, in regard of his interment, St. Neotes, and now St. Neder. This King was famous for having four Sons, all of whom were Kings of this Land successively.

First after him reigned his eldest Son Ethelbald, in the year 857. who to his eternal
he divided the Kingdom into Shires.

Shiffield by whom founded.

Eight hours he devoted to the study of Divinity; nine hours of reading, and Prayers; eight in exercise for himself, and eight in the affairs of the commonwealth and State. His life was devoted to study, and he was also a skilful musician and excellent poet.

All former Laws he caused to be surveyed, and made choice of the best, which he translated into English, as also the pastoral of St. Gregory, the History of Bede, and Boethius his Conjunction of Philosophy; the Psalms of David likewise he began to translate, but died before he could finish it. And so great a love he had to learning, that he made a Law, that all Freemen of the Kingdom, possessing two hides of land, should bring up their sons in learning, till they were fifteen years of age at least, that so they might be trained to know God, to be men of understanding, and to live happily. His buildings were many, both for God's service, and other publick use: as at Edington a Monastery, at Winchester a new Minster, and at Shaftesbury a house of Nuns; whereas he made his Daughter Etheldred the Abbess; but his foundation of the University of Oxford, exceeded all the rest: which he began in the year 895, and to furnish it with able Scholars, drew thinkers out of France, Grimshold and Scotia, and out of Wales, Asser, (who wrote his life) whose Lectures he honoured often with his own presence: And for a stock of Frugality, he made a Survey of the Kingdom, and had all the particulars of his Estate Registered in a Book, which he kept in his Treasury at Winchester. He reigned seven and twenty years, and dying was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Peter at Winchester, though removed afterward into the Church of the new Monastery, without the North-gate of the City called Hyde. His wife Elfrida founded a Monastery of Nuns at Winchester, and was there buried. Their second daughter Eibthleda, took upon her the Vow of Virginity; and by her Fathers appointment was made a Nun of Shaftesbury, in the County of Dorset, in the Monastery founded there by him, who is also accounted the founder of the Town itself. His eldest son Edward, (who being married to Etheldreda Earl of Merewald) had but one Daughter, but with so grievous pain in her Travel, that ever after she refused the Nuptial Bed of her Husband, saying, it was a foolish pleasure that brought with it so excessive pains; and therupon after her Husbands death, made choice to follow the Wars; afflicting her Brother both against the Welsh, and against the Danes, whom she brought to be at her disposing. Dying she was buried at Gloucester, in the Monastery of St. Peter, which her Husband and her self had built. King Edward himself, after four and twenty years Reign, deceased at Eton in Berkshire, in the year 934. and was buried in the new Monastery of Winchester, which his Father and himself wholly finall'd: having had by his three Wives, six Sons and nine Daughters, of whom his eldest Son Athelfrith succeeded him in the Kingdom, whom his Grandfather King Alfred had with infinite care and hands Kindred in an extraordinary manner, putting upon him a purple Robe, and girding him with a Girdle wrought with Pearl. His second Son Elfrith, he so loved, that he caused him to be Crowned King with himself, which yet he enjoyed but a short time, being taken away by death. His third Son Eflward, presently upon his Fathers death died himself also. His fourth Son Edbyp, was by his Brother Athelstan, out of jealousy of State, put into a little Pinnace, without either Tackle or Oars, accompanied only with one Page; with grief whereof, the young Prince leaped into the Sea, and drowned himself. His fifth and his sixth Sons, Eadward, and Eadbred, came in succession to be Kings of England. Of his Daughters, the eldest Editha, was married to Stithred the Danish King of Northumberland, and he deceasing, he entered into a Monastery, which he began at Tewsworth in Warwickshire, and there he died. His second Daughter Elfride, took upon her the Vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of Ramsey, in the County of Southamptom, where she died and was interred. His third Daughter Egina, was first married to Charles the Simple, King of France; and after his decease, to Herbert Earl of Vermandois. His fourth Daughter Eibtheld, became a Nun in the Monastery of Wilson, which was sometime the head Town, giving name to the whole Country of Wiltshire, and anciently called Elfrland. That we may fee in those first times of Religion, when there was least knowledge, there was most devotion. His fifth Daughter Etheldreda, was married to Hugh, furnamed the Great; Earl of Paris, and Constable of France. And Edith his sixth Daughter to Osbert, the Emperor of the West, furnamed the Great; his seventh Daughter Elpina, was married to a Duke of Italy. His eighth Edith, to Louis Prince of Aquitania in France. After the death of King Edward, his eldest Son Athelstan succeeded, and was Crowned at Kingston upon Thames, in the County of Surrey, by Aelbelmus, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 924. The beginning of whose Reign, was molested with the Treason of one Elfrid a Nobleman; who being apprehended and sent to Rome to purge himself, and there denying the act upon his Oath, fell suddenly down, and with-
Of the Saxons, the Kings of this Island.

...and the Priory of Milton; new walled and beautified the City of Exeter, and enriched either with Jewels or Lands, every special Abbey of the Land. But the chiefeft of his works for the service of God, and good of his Subjects, was the Translation of the Bible into the Saxon Tongue, which was then the Mother Tongue of the Land. He reigned fifteen years, died at Gloucester, and was buried at Malmesbury, in the year 940, having never been married.

After the death of Abellffon, his brother Edmund, the fifth Son of his Father, succeeded; and was Crowned at Kingstone upon Thames; but no sooner was the Crown fast upon his head, but the Danes were upon his back; and in Northumberland made insurrections; who yet he did not one word of it; but took from them the Towns of Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, Stafford, and Nottingham; compelling them to kneel, to receive Baptism, and to become his Subjects, so as the Country was wholly his as far as Cumberland. He likewise, in order to receive Baptism, was of all his good Laws, one Aslau King of Southwark, he utterly wa- ted and gave it Malcolm King of Scots, to hold of him for Teaty. After his returning home, he set himself to ordain Laws for the good of his people, which Master Lambeth hath since translated into Latin. But after all his noble Acts both in War and Peace, he came at last to a lamentable end; for at his Morrow of Puckleker, in the County of Gloucester, interpreting himself to part a Fray between two of his Servants, he was thruf through the body, and so wounded, that he died, and was buried at Gloucester, after he had reigned five years, and seven months, leaving behind him two young Sons, Edwin, and Edg.
confirmed with Seals of Gold. He ordained Saint Germanus in Cramond, to be a Bishop Sec., which there continued till by Caedwalla it was annexed to the Episcopal See of York in De-

ficiencies; both which Sees were afterward by

King Edward the Confessor, translated to the
City of Exeter. He left behind him two Sons,
Eadred, and Ethelred, that was buried in the Minster, without the City of Winchester, whose bones with other Kings are, to this day prefer-

in a gilt Coffin, fixed upon the Wall, in the
South side of the Quire.

After Edred, not any of his Sons, but his Ne-

phew Ethed, the eldest Son of King Edmund
succeeded, and was anointed and Crowned at
Kingston upon Thames, by Other Archbishop of
Canterbury, in the year 955. This Prince,
though scarce fourteen years old, and in age
but a child, yet was able to commit fin as a
man; for upon the very day of his Coronati-
on, and in sight of his Lords, as they sat in
Council, he shamefully abused a Lady of great
Elate, and his near Kinswoman; and to mend
the matter, shortly after flew her Husband; the
more freely to enjoy his inceltuous pleasure. And
whether for this infamous fact, or for thrutng the
Monks out of the Monasteries of Malmes-
bury, and Glastonbury, and placing many
Priests in their rooms, as also for banishing
Dunstan the holy Abbot of Glastonbury out of
the Realm, a great part of his Subjects hearts
were so turned against him, that the Mercians and
Northumbrians revolted, and forced Feality to
his younger brother Edgar; with grief, where-
of, after four years reign, he ended his life, and
was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of
Hyde, at Winchester.

After Ethed, succeeded his younger Bro-

der Edgar, at the age of sixteen years; but his
Coronation, when, and where, and by whom,
to uncertain, that some say he was Crowned at
Kingston upon Thames, by Otho Archbishop of
Canterbury, in the first year of his Reign;
others say not till the twelfth, and Williams of
Malmesbury not till the thirtieth: Another
Chronicle states, that, in his eleventh year; and
that in the number of the Bishops of the last
Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, This King, by reason
of the tranquility of his Reign, was surmised to
the Peaceable; for as he was something inclined
to the Danes, to the Danes never offered to stir
in all his time; and as for the Saxons, they
acknowledged him their sole Sovereign, without
division of Provinces or Titles. His Acts were
some Virtuous, some Politick, some Jilt, some
Pious; and yet all these not without some
mixture of Vice. To repres drunkenness, which
the Danes had brought in, he made a
Law, ordaining a fine, by certain pins in the
pot; with penalty to any that should presume
to drink deeper then the mark. It was a politick
device which he used for the destruction of
Wolves that in his days did great annoyance
to the Land: For the tribute imposed on the
Princes of Wales, by King Athelstan, he wholly
remitted, appointing in lieu thereof, a cer-
tain number of Wolves yearly to be paid, where-
of the Prince of North-Wales, for his
part was to pay three hundred; which con-
nued for three years space; and in the fourth
year, there was not a Wolf to be found; and
for the tribute ceased. He had in his Navy Roy-
al, three thousand and six hundred Ships, which
he divided into three parts, appointing every
one of them to a several Quarter, to seoure the
Seas, and to secure the Coasts from Pirates:
and left his Officers might be careless, for contr.
when his Ships fail about all the Coasts of his Kingdom every Summer. It
was a notable Act of Justice, that in his Cir-
cuits and Progresses through the Country, he
would take special account of the demeanour
of his Lords; and specially of his Judges; whom
he severely punished, if he found them De-

Inquisitive. Wars he had none in all his Reign,
only towards his end the Welfmen moved some
Rebellion; against whom he went with a mighty
Army, and chastised the Authors: But when
his Souldiers had gotten great spoils, and made
prey upon the innocent Countrey people, he
commanded them to restore it all back again;
which, if it made some few English angry, it
made the whole Countrey of the Welf well
pleased, and found forth his praisings. His proud
Acts were, that he built and prepared seven and
forty Monasteries, and meant to have made
them up fifty, but was prevented by the behvior
of his Officers. He envovled himself in fifty
all; es-

pe, being a Vice opposite to all those Virtues,
which was Lasfightnius. For first, he
dolewored a Sacred Nun, called Wolfschild;
on whom yet he begor a Saint, the chaste Edyth.
After her another Virgin, called Ethelhild, for
her excellent beauty surmised the White, on
whom he begor his eldest Son Edward; for
which Fact he did seven years penance enjoyned
him by the Archbishop Dunstan. After this he
chanced to hear of a Virgim, Dughtor to a
Wetern Duke, exceedingly praised for her
beauty, and coming to Andover, commended her
to his Bed. But the Mother, tender of her
Daughters honour, brought in the dark her
Maid to him; who in the morrning making haste
to rise, and the King not suffering her to de-
part, he told him what great work she had to
do, and how she should incour her Ladies to
please; if it were not done; by which words the
King, perceiving the heger, turned it to a
jew: but so well liked her company, that he
kept himself true to her ever after, till he mar-
bled. But now his marriage it self happened
by a greater vice then any of these; for hear-
ing of the admirable beauty of Elfsvide, the
only Daughter of Ordesgarn, Duke of Devon-
shire, Founder of Totefack Abby in that Countrey,
he sent his great Favourite Earl Etheldred
(who could well judge of beauty) to try the
truth thereof; with Commision, that if he
found her such as Fame reported, he should
feizer her for him, and he would make her his
Queen. The young Earl, upon light of the
Lady, was so surprizd with her love, that he
began to wooe for himself, and got her Fathers
good will, fo as the King would give his con-
sent. Hereupon the Earl poold to the King,
relating to him that the Maid was fair indeed,
but nothing so able of the Fame that went of
her; yet defending the King, that he might marry
her, as being her Fathers Heir, thereby to
raise his Fortune. The King conferred, and

the marriage was solemnized. Soon after, the
fame of her beauty began to spread more then
before, so as the King much doubting that he
had been abused, meant to try the truth him-
self, and thereupon taking occasion of hunting
in the Duke Park, came to his house; where
coming Ethelwald, by his order, acquainted his
wife with the wrong he had done both her, and
the King; and therefore to prevent the Kings
displeasure, interest ed her by all the persua-
sions he could use, to cloath her self in such attire,
as might be least fit to set forth: but the con-
idering that now was the time to make the
most of her beauty, and longing to be a Queen,
would not be accessary to her own wrong, but
decked her self in her richest Ornaments,
which so improved her beauty, that the King at
the firft sight was struck with admiration, and
meant to be revenged of his peridious Favour-
ite; yet differing in his passion, till he could
take her at advantage, he then with a Javelin
turned her through; and having thereby made
Ethelwald a Widow, took her to be his Prize.
This King, founded the Monastery of Ramsey
in Hampshire, reigned fourteen years, lived
seven and thirty, and with great Funerals pomp
was buried in the Abbey of St. Edmund. He
had Children by his first Wife Ethelafa, one Son
named Edward, and by his second Wife Elfrid,
two Sons, one named Edmund, who died young,
the other Ethelred. He had also one natural
Daughter, named Edgyth by a Lady named
Wolfsicle, the Daughter of Wolholme, the Son
of Birding, the Son of Nifing; which two
latter, bear in their names the memory of their
Fortunes; the last of them being found in an
Eagles nest, by King Alfred as he was a hunt-
ing. This Edgyth built the Monastery and
Church of Saint Denis at Wilton, and was there
buried.
After the death of King Edgar succeed his
Son Edward, but he lived without some opposition,
for Edgar and Elfrid combined with divers of the
Lords, to make her Son Ethelred Kings saying,
that Prince Edward was illegitimate; on the
other side, the Archbishop Dunstan, and the
Monks stood for Edward, abetting his Title as
being lawful born; but while the Council was
assembled to argue their Rights, the Arch-
bishop came in with his Banner and Crosses,
and not foraying for debating de fure, de fello pre-
fented Prince Edward for their lawful King,
and the Assembly confenting most of Clergy men,
drew the approbation of the rest; and there-
upon Prince Edward was admitted, being but
twelve years of age, and was Crowned King at
Kingston upon Thames, by Archbishop Dunstan,
in the year 975. In the beginning of his Reign,
it fell into debate whether married Priests were
to be allowed in Monasteries upon the
Revenues of the Church. The Mercian Duke
Alfred being desirous to confirm the cause of the married
Priests, defended the Monasteries in his in-
divince, cast out the Monks, and restored again
the ancient Revenues to the Priests and their
Wives. On the other side, Ealdorun Duke of the
East Angles, and Brynhart Earl of Sussex,
who stood for the Monks, cast married Priests
out of their Provinces. The matter being de-
bated in a Council at Wiminfir, the Monks
came was like to have the faft, till it was re-
ferred to the Rood, placed on the Refectory Wall
where the Council sat: For to this great Or-
cel Saint Dunstan desired them devoutly to pray,
and to give diligent ear for an answer: when
suddenly a voice was heard to say, God forbid it
should be so, God forbid it should be so. This
was thought Authority sufficient, to suppress
the Priests, till they perswading the people,
that this was but a cunning practice of the Monks,
in placing behind the Wall, a man of their
own, who through a Trunk uttered these
words in the mouth of the Rood. Whereupon
another Assembly was appointed at Cleve in
Wilshire, whether required the Prelates, with
most of all the Lords and Gentlemen of the
Kingdom. The Synod being met, and the mat-
ter at the height of discussing, it happened that
the Joynts of the Room, where the Synod was
held, suddenly brake, and the floor with all the
people thereon, fell down, whereof many were
hurt, and some slain; only the Archbifhop Dunstan,
then Prefident, and mouth for the
Monks stood unharmed; which whether it
were done by practice, or were miraculous, re-
served the Monks turn for justifying their cause;
and married Priests were thereupon discarded.
It were infinite, and indeed ridiculous, to speak of
all the Miracles, reported to be done by this
Saint Dunstan, which may be fit for a Le-
gend, but not for a Chronicle.
But now a most lamentable disater comes to
be remembered: For King Edward, hunting
one time in the Island of Purbeck, not far
from Corfe Castle; where his Mother-in-Law,
Queen Elfrid, with his Brother Prince Ethel-
red, were then rehiding, he out of his love to
both, would needs himself alone go visit them;
where the cruel woman, out of ambition to
bring her own Son to the Crown, caused one to
run him into the back with a Knife, as he was
drinking a Cup of Wine on Horseback at his
departing, who feeling himself hurt, furges
his Horse, thinking thereby to get to his
company, but the wound being mortal, and
he fainting through loss of much blood, fell
from his Horse; but one foot being intangled
in the Stirrup, he was thereby rudely dragged
up and down, through Woods and Lands; and
lastly left dead at Corfe Gate; for which un-
timely death, he was ever after called by the
name of Edward the Martyr. He reigned only
three years and six months, and was buried first
at Winchester, without any Funerals pomp,
but after three years, by Duke Alfred, removed,
and with great solemnity interred in the Minster
of Shaftesbury. Queen Elfrid, to expiate this lye
bloody fact, built the two Monastaries of Ames-
tbury, and Wiminfir, in the Counties of Wilshire,
and Southampton, in which latter with great
perpetuaty, she lived till her death.
After the death of Edward the Martyr, dy-
ing at the age of six and twenty, his Half Brother
Ethelred, at the age of twelve years, in the year
1979, was Crowned King at kingftone upon
Thames, by Archbishop Dunstan, though much against his will; which King by
reason of his backwardness in Action, was
commonly called the Unready. At the Coron
ation of this Prince St. Dunstan in a Prophetick
spirit...
it spirit denounced on him and the Kingdom, the wrath and indignation of Almighty God in these words following: Because (as he) thought aspired to the Crown by the death of thy Brother whom thy Mother hath murdered; therefore hear the word of the Lord: The Sword shall not depart from thy house, but shall fall continually against all the days of thy life, killing of thy flesh, till such time as the Kingdom shall be given to a house of repentance and language the Nation that now governs know not. Neither hold thy sin, the sin of thy Mother, and the sin of these men, who were perpetrators of her Counsel, and Executors of her wicked designs, he expostulated but by a long, and most severe vengeance. Which prediction of the Holy Archbishop was confirmed by Prodigies, and by the disastrous calamities which fell on him, his house, and the whole confirmed for truth. Besides this, most remarkable are the prophecies of a holy man in the time of this King Ethelred. Before whole time, for two and twenty years past the Danes had lived as quiet inmates with the English: but whether weary of so long doing nothing, or finding now opportunity of doing something, in the second year of this King, they begin to stir, and inviting from home, Forces, who in seven Ships arrived upon the Coast of Kent; they spoiled all the Country, specially the Towns, by burning and foraging the Kingdom, sometimes in one part, and sometimes in another, for eleven years together: till at last, in the year 991, the King by advice of his Lords, of whom Sireius the now Archbishop of Canterbury was chief, was contented to pay them ten thousand pounds, upon condition they should quietly depart the Realm. This served the turn for the present, but was so far from flattering them, that it did but give them the greater appetite: for the year following they came again, and that with a greater fleet than before, against whom the King prepared a competent Navy, and committed it to Ethelred, Earl of Mercia, but he proving treacherous (as indeed all other for the most part did, whom the King employed against the Danes, as with whom they were allied in blood) the Danes prevailed, that for the next composition, they had fifteen thousand pounds given them, and a year after, twenty thousand of foraging the land, more and more, till it came at last to forty thousand: by which means, the Land was emptied of all coin, and the English were brought to, that they were fain to Tilt, and Ear the Ground, whilst the Danesate idle, and eat the fruit of their labours, abusing the Wives and Daughters of their Housethereby, they laid, and yet in every place, for very fear, were called Lord Danes; (which afterward became a word of derision when one would signify a lazy Lubber.) In this distressful state, the King at last betook himself of a course: he sent forth a secret Commission into every City within his Dominions; that at an appointed time, they should massacre all the Danes that were amongst them: the day was the thirteenth of November, being the Festival of St. Brietis, in the year 1002. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in Oxford the Danes for refuge took into the Church of St. Frideswide, as into a Sanctuary, when the English, neither regarding place nor person, set the Church on fire, wherein many of the Danes were burnt, and the Library thereof utterly defaced. And who would not now think, but that England by this Fact had clean shaken off the Danish yoke for ever? yet it proved clean otherwise: For the news of this massacre, adding a new edge of revenge, to the old edge of ambition, made the Danes sharper for against the English, then ever they had been before; so as the year following, their King Sweyn, with a mighty Navy entered the Country, razed and levelled with the ground the City of Exeter, all along from the East Gate to the West Stad against whom the King levied an Army, and made General over it the Earl Edric, his great favourite, whom he had created Duke of Mercia, and given him his Daughter Edith in marriage; yet all this great favour could not keep him from being treacherous, for being sent Ambassadors to the Danes, to mediate for peace, he revealed to them the weaknesses of the Land, and treacherously dissuaded them from consenting to any Truce. Upon this King Ethelred gave order, that every three hundred and ten Hides of Land should build a Ship, and every eight Hides fain a compleat Armour furnished; yet all this great preparation for no thing, but only to make a show. After this, the King seeing no end of their Invasions, nor promise kept upon any composition; (for three Danish Princes, with a great Fleet were now newly arrived) he determined to venture once for all, and to commit his cause to God, by the fortune of a Battel. To which end he secretly gathered a mighty power, and coming unlooked for, when the enemy was unprepared, he had certainly given an end to the Quarrel, if the wicked Edric had not dissuaded him from fighting, and put him into a caufetle fear, by forged tales. After this the Danes forraged many Countries, burnt Oxford, Thetford, and Cambridge; and lastly, entered Wiltshire, which was the seventeenth faire in number, they had laid waste like a Wilderness. The year after they make a new Expedition, and beliger Canterbury, which by trea- shon of a Church-man they won, took Alphonsus the Archbishop, and slew nine hundred Monks, and many of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy; for they Tythed the people, slaying all by nines, and retaining only the rent to live: so that of all the Monks in the Town, there were but four saved, and of the Lay-people, four thousand eight hundred; by which account Master Lamberts collected, that there dyed in this Massacre three and forty thousand, and two hundred persons. The Archbishop Alphonsus, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his Ranforme, they most cruelly loked to death at Greenwich. Turkills the leader of these Murtherers, took into his passellion all Norfolk and Suffolk, over whom they tyrannized in most savage manner; the rest compounding with the English for eight thousand pounds, quietly for a white fojourn among them. The year following came King Sweyn again, and with a great Navy arrived in the mouth of Humber, and landed at Caister North-
...and the people of Lindsey yielded themselves; so that now over all the North from Withingley, he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges of them for their further obedience. From the North he passed into the South, subduing all before him till he came to London, where he was so violently encountered by the Londoners, that he was glad to retire, in which retiring notwithstanding he entered Bath, where Ethelward Earl of Devon, with his Western people, submitted himself to him. Yet after this, between him and the English was struck a fierce battle, which had been with good success, if the treachery of some in turning to the Danes, had not hindered it. After this the Danes proceeded on victoriously, and had gotten most part of the Land; and even London also by submission: whereupon the unfortunate King Ethelred, sending his Wife Emma, with her two Sons, Edward and Alfred, to her Brother Duke of Normandy, himself also the Winner following pasted either, leaving the Danes Lording it in his Realm. Sweyn now as an absolute King, exported from the English both Virtues and Pay for his Souldiers; and demanding such a Composition for preferring of St. Edmund Monastery in Suffolck, as the Inhabitants were not able, and therefore refrued to pay: he therefore threatened spoils, both to them and the Monastery; that were conceived, when suddenly in the midst of his jollity (faith Howden) he cried out, that he was struck by Saint Edmund with a Sword, being then in the midst of his Lords, and no man seeing from whole hand it came; and so with great horror and torment, three days after, upon the third of February, he ended his life at Thesford, or (as others say) at Gainborough. And now who would not think but this was a fair opportunity offered to the English, to free themselves wholly from the Danish yoke? but when all was done, either crost by treachery, or fruitified by misfortune, nothing prospered. It is true, upon this occasion of Sweyn’s death, King Ethelred returned out of Normandy, but at his coming Canute the Son of Sweyn, had gotten the people of Lindsey to be at his devotion, and to finde him both Hope and Men against their own King; so as Ethelred was now to encounter as well his own Subjects as Danes, which he did so violently, that he made Canute glad to return into Denmark, as utterly hopeless of any good to be done in England. And now one would certainly think the Danes had been removed, Root and Branch, out of England, and never like to trouble the Land any more; and indeed there was all the appearance of probability for it that could be. But it is true sayving, That which will be, shall be, let all be done that can be. For now Turk the Dane, who had before revolted to King Ethelred, growing sensible of his task, which was this, or no way to be redeemed; and tender of his Country-men, cafe, which was now or never to be helped, with a ne of his Ships sailed into Denmark; and first exciting himself to Canute for his former defection, although he had done it of purpose, to learn all advantages against the English, which now he could discover to him; so he prevailed with Canute once again to try his fortune, that with a Navy of two hundred Ships he set sail for England, and landed at Sandwich, where he gave the English a great overthrow, and paide victoriously through the Counties of Dorset, Somerset, and Wiltis. When Ethelred lying dangerously sick at Cymmen, the managing of the War was committed to Prince Edmund his Son, who preparing to give the Danes Battel, had suddenly notice given him, that his Brother-in-law Ethrick meant to betray him in to his Enemies hands, which made him suspend his proceeding: and Ethrick perceiving his design to be discovered, cast off the Masque, and with forty of the Kings Ships fled openly to the Enemy; and thereupon, all the Weit Countries submitted themselves unto Canute. By this time King Ethelred having recovered his ficknes, prepared to go on with the Batrell, which his Son Edmund had intended; but his Forces being afsembled, he likewise had suddenly notice given him, that his Subjects meant to betray him to the Danes. Hereupon he withdrew himself to London, as the place in which he was confind; where falling into a relapse of his former ficknes, he ended his unfortunate days in the year 1016, when he had reigned 37 years, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, whose bones as yet remain in the North Wall of the Chancel, in a Cheff of gray marble, appointed to that of Siboba, King of the East Saxons. He had by his deceased Wives, eight Sons, and four Daughters; of whom his youngest named Goda, was married to one Walter de Maughe, a Nobleman of Normandy, by whom she had a Son named Roland, which Roland had a Son named Harold, created afterward by King William the Conquerour, Baron of Sudely in the County of Gloucester, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord Chandos of Sudely, now being.

Ethelred being dead, his third Son Edmund called Ironside (of his ability in enduring labour) but the eldest living at his Fathers death, succeeded, and was crown’d at Kinfles on the Thames, by Lewins Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1016. A great part of the English both feared and favoured, and indeed out of fear favoured Canute; especially the Clergy, who at Southampton adored him as their King, and swore Fealty to him: but the Londines stood firm to Prince Edmund, and were the principal authors of his Election. Canute before the death of King Ethelred, had besieged the City, and now with a large Trench encompassed it: but the new King Edmund coming on, raised the siege, and made Canute fly to the Isle of Shoeppe, where having laid the Winter, the Spring following, he affiled the Welf of England, and at Penth in Dorsetshire; a Battel was fought, and the Danes discomfited. After this, in Worcestersire at a place called Sheronan, another Battel was fought, where the Danes were like again to be discomfited: but the traitorous Ethrick perceiving it, he cut off the head of a Souldier like unto King Edmund both in hair and countenance, and slaying his bloody Sword, with the gaping head, crying to the Army of the English, Off with off, off, and get away, for your King is kill’d;
Of the Saxons, sylk Kings of this Island.

behold, here is his head; but King Edward having notice of this treacherous stratagem, hastened to shew himself where he might best be seen; whose sight so encouraged his men, that they had gott'ern that day a final victory, if night had not prevented them. Duke Eadric excites his Fcut, as being mistaken in the countenance of the man, and desirous to save the blood of the English; upon which false colour he was received into favour again. After this, Canutus secretly in the night brake upon Ingham, and marched towards London, which in a fort was still held by the Danish Ships; but King Edmund hearing of his departure, followed him, and with small ado removed the Siege, and in triumphant manner entered the City. After this near unto Osford in Kent, was another great Battle fought, in which Canutus lost four thousand five hundred men, and King Edmund only six hundred; the rest of the Danes saving themselves by flight; whom if King Edmund had pursu'd, it is thought that day had ended the Wars between these two Nations for ever. But the ever traitor Eadric, kept King Edmund from pursuing them, by telling him of Ambushes and other dangers: so as Canutus had leisure to pass over into Essex, but thither also King Edmund followed him, where at Abdon three miles from Saffron Walden, another Battle was fought, in which the Danes being at the point to be overthrown, the traitor Eadric, with all his forces revolted to their Iude; by which treachery the English lost the day. There died of King Edmunds Nobility, Duke Alfred, Duke Godwin, Duke Athelwald, Duke Athelstan, Earl Stur, Canute Bishop of Lincoln, Wilfey Abbot of Ramsey, with many other. The remembrance of which Battel is retained to this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence have been dug the bones of men, armour; and horse-briddles. After this at Dereberef, near to the River Severn, another Battel was ready to be fought: when suddenly, a certain Captain steps forth, and for saving of blood, used great perusations, that either they should try the Battel by single Combat, or else divide the Kingdom betwixt them: Upon this the Combat is agreed on, and the two Princes entering into a small Iland called Alney, adjoining to the City of Gloucester, in compleat Armour attailed each other; at first on Horseback, and after on foot: when Canutus having received a dangerous wound, and finding himself overmatched in strength, desired a Compromise, and with a loud voice used these words. What necessity should move us, most valiant Prince, for obtaining of a Title to endanger our lives? were it not better to lay malice aside, and condescend to a loving agreement? let us therefore become fnwon Brothers, and divide the Kingdom betwixt us. This motion was by King Edmund accepted, and thus was the Kingdom divided between these two Princes; Edmund enjoying that part which lies upon the Coast of France, and Canutus the rest. But now Duke Eadric hath his laft and greatest act of treachery to play; for King Edmund being required to place for natures necessit, he slighted from under the draught a sharp Spear into his Body, and then cutting off his head preferred it to Canutus, with these flattering words, All hail, thus sole Monarch now of England, for here behold the head of thy Co-partner, which for thy sake I have adventured to cut off. Canutus though ambitious enough of sovereignty, yet abashed at so dilatory a fact, replied and vowed, that in reward of that service, his own head should be advanced above all the Peers of his Kingdom; which soon after he performed; for by his command the false Eadric's head was cut off, and placed upon the highest Gate of London. Matthew of Malmesbury relates this murder to have been atfeted by Eadric's own Son, at the commandment of his Father: William Malmesbury writeth that the King was killed by two Gentlemen of his Bed-chamber, hired by the same diloyal Eadric; notwithstanding Roger Howenden reports, that he died a natural death at London. The death of this King in this manner, some say, was acted at Oxford; others, that he died of a natural sickness in London; but howsoever he came to his death, his reign was but only seven months, and his body was buried at Chalfettum, near to his Grandfather King Edder. This King Edmund left by his Wife Algafl, two Sons; the eldest named Edmund, farnamed the Out-law, because he lived out of England, in Hungary, as a banished man, for fear of King Canutus: but when his Uncle King Edmund the Confessor had obtained the Crown, he was recalled, and honourably entertained till he died. He married Agatha, Sister to Queen Sophia, Wife to Solomon King of Hungary, and Daughter to the Emperor Henry the Second; by whom he had Edger farnamed 0stiving, the right Heir of the English Crown, though he never enjoyed it. The second Son of Insolence was called after his Fathers name Edmund. King Edmund had also two Daughters, Margaret and Christian, of whom the younger became a Veyled Nun at Ramsey in Hampshire; the elder Margaret, after she was Heir to the Saxon Monarchy, married Malcom, the third King of Scotland, from which princely bed in a lineal Decent, our High and Mighty Monarch King James the first, both in his moit Royal Person, unite the Britains, Saxons, Normans, and Scottisr Imperial Crowns in one.

Of the first Danisb King in England.

Canutus being poftell of half the Kingdom given by composition with King Edward, now after his death feised upon the whole, and to prevent all further question, he called a Council of the English Nobility, wherein it was pronounced, whether in the agreement betwixt Edmund and him, any claim of Title to the Crown had been referred for King Edmunds Brethren or Sons; to which (not daring to spy otherwise) they absolutely answered no, and thereupon took all of them the Oath of Allegiance to Canutus. Being thus cleared of all opinions, he prepared with great solemnity for his Coronation, which was performed at London, by the hands of Leveings farnamed Bifbane, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the year 1017. being the first Dane that reigned Monarch of England. But Canutus not thinking himself sufficiently
Of the first Danish King in England.

He marries Queen Emma, the Relic of King Ethelred, by which match he procured to himself three great benefits: one that he won the love of the people by marrying a Lady whom they fo intirely loved; another, that he gained the Alliance of the Duke of Normandy, a neighbouring Prince of great power; the third, that by marrying the Mother, he secured himself against the Sons: as likewise Queen Emma was not unwillingly persuaded to the match, upon agreement to make her Infe, if he had any by her, to inherit the Crown of England. And to win the love of the people more, he caufed great numbers of his Dames, who preferred the Country, to return home, befowing amongst them for their satisfaction, four score and two thousand pounds. And to win the love of the people yet more, he now fent himself to the making of good Laws, in a Parliament at Oxford; wherein, for a pattern of those times, fome that concern Religion, may not unfitly be here related. First, for the celebration of Divine Service, it was ordained, that all Ceremonies tending to the en- crease of Reverence and Devotion should be used as need required. Secondly, that upon the Sabbath day, all publick Fairs, Markets, Sy- nods, Huntings, and all peculiar actions should be forborn, unless the urgent necefsity should require it. Thirdly, that every Christian should thrice in the year receive the bleft Sac- rament of the Lords Supper. Fourthly, that if a Minister of an Altar killed a man, or com- mitted any notorious crime, he fhould be deprived both of his Order and Dignity. Fifth- ly, that a married woman convict of Adultery, fhould have her nose and ears cut off. Sixthly, That a widow marrying within a twelve month after her Husband's deceafe fhould lose her Joynture. These and many other good Laws were made, whereby the Kingdom remained during all his time, in a moft peaceable state and government. In the third year of his Reign he heard how the Vandals, taking advantage of his abfence, had cutted Denmark, and annoy- ed his Subjects; whereupon with a great Ar- my of English he pafled over the Seas, and gave them Battel, but with ill success the firft day; when preparing for the next day's Battel, the Earl Godwin who was the General of the Eng- lish, secretly in the dead of the night, set upon the Vandals Camp; and with a great flough of their Souldiers, made their two Princes, Usfin and Anlave, to fly the Field. In the morning it was told Conraid that the English were fled, for that their Station was left, and not a man of them to be found, which did not a little trouble his patience. And going in-person to fee the truth, found the great Army of the English had given, for which service elsewhere he held the English, and especially the Earl Godwin, in great estimation. After this, returning home, he made a prosperous expedition against Mal- caline, King of Scots; and at last, in the fifteenth year of his Reign, wearied with the honourable troubles of the world, and out of a devotion, he took a Journey to Rome, to vifit the Sepul- chre of St. Peter and Paul, from whence he wrote to the Bishops, and Nobility of England, that they should carefully administer Justice, and never seek to advance his profit by any un- due ways, or with the detriment of any man. At his return from Rome, he built in Eijfe the Church of Aflan, where he got the Victory against King Edmund; in Nofull, the Abbey of St. Benetis, which Saint he greatly reverenc- ed; and in Nofull the Monastery of Saint Edmund, which Saint he deadly feared. To the Church of Eijfe he gave many rich J ewels, whereof one was a Cross, valued to be worth as much as the whole revenue of England, amounted to in one year. To Coventry he gave the arm of the great St. Anfaia, which he bought at Pavia in his return from Rome, for which he paid an hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold. One strange act is recorded, which he did for convincing his fawning Flatterers, who used to tell him that his powers were more than humane; For being one time at Southampton, he commanded that his Chair of State should be fet on the floor when the Sea began to flow, and then lifting down there in the presence of his many attendants, he fpoke thus to that Element: I charge thee that thou prefume not to enter my Land, nor wet these Robes of thy Lord that are about me. But the Sea giving no heed to his command, but keeping on his usual course of Tyde, ftreight did his skirts, and after his thigh was dunce to by the flood, he thus fpoke in the hearing of them all: Let all the worlds Inhabitants know, that vain and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy of the name of King, but he that keeps both Heaven and Earth and Sea in obedience. After which time he would never fuffer the Crown to be fet upon his head, but prefently Crowned therewith the Picture of Christ on the Crofs at Winchester; from which example arose perhaps the Cufom, to hang up the Armour of worthy men in Churches, as Offerings consecrated to him who is the Lord of Battel. When he had reigned nineteen years he deceased at Shaftesbury in the County of Dorset, the twelfth of November, in the year 1035. and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at Winchester; which being after new built, his bones with many other English Saxon Kings, were taken up, and are preferred to

He takes a Journey to Rome

He builds divers Mon- amenties.

A Jewell as much worth as a rape, by the nobles of England.

His Act for convincing his flattering.
Of the second and third Danish Kings in England.

King Canute dying, left his Kingdom of Norway to his eldest Son Sweyn, and his Kingdom of England, to his youngest Son Hardiknut, whom he had by his Wife Emma; but he being at the time of his Fathers death in Denmark, Harold his elder Brother by a former Wife, taking advantage of his absence, layes claim to the Crown. For determining of which Right, the Lords assembled at Oxford, where Queen Emma pleaded for her Son Hardiknut, urging the Covenant of Canute at their Marriage, and his last Will at his death; as also Earl Godwin of Kent did the like, being left Guardian of her Children, and keeper of his last Will. But Harold's presence, together with the favour of the Londoners, Danes, and Northumbrians, fo won the Lords, that the absent Hardiknut was neglected, and Harold was proclaimed and crowned King at Oxford, by Eltham Archipoll of Canterbury, in the year 1035.

Harold having now attainted the Crown, was not so jealous of his Brother Hardiknut, as of his Mother-in-law Queen Emma, and her Sons by King Ethelred, who were beyond sea; and therefore how to secure himself against these was his first care: For effecting whereof, he framed a Letter, as written by Queen Emma, to her two Sons Edward and Alfred; initating them to attempt the Crown usurped by Harold, against their Right: to which Letter, coming first to the hands of Alfred, he supposing no fraud, returned answer, that he would shortly come over, and follow her counsel. And thereupon with a small Flee, and some few Souldiers led him by Baldwin Earl of Flanders, he took the Sea for England, where coming to shore, Earl Godwin met him, and bound himself by Oath to be his guide to his Mother Queen Emma, but being wrought with for Harold, he led him and his company a contrary way, and lodged them at Guilford, making known to King Harold what he had done; who

Of the second Danish King in England.

King Harold being dead, the Lords to make amends for their former neglect, sent now for Hardiknute, and offer him their Allegiance, who accepteth their offer, and thereupon taking Sea, arrived upon the Coast of Kent, the sixth day after he had set sail out of Denmark; and with great pomp conveyed to London, was there crowned King by Eltham Archipoll of Canterbury, in the year 1040. His first act was to be revenged of his deceased Brother Harold, whole body he caufed to be digged up, and thrown into the Thames, where it remained till a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of St. Clement without Temple Bar; commonly called St. Clement's Danes, because it was the burying place of the Danes, as some write. But towards his Mother and half Brother Prince Edward, he bestowed great repair and affection, inviting them both to return into England, where he received them with all the honour, that from a Son or Brother could be expected.

But now, as the King Harold, for his swiftness in running, was summoned Harofoot to this King for his intemperance in dyes, might have been summoned Swinemouth, or Besco di Porece; for his Tables were spread every day four times, and furnished with all kinds of curious dishes, as delighting in nothing but gormandizing and swilling; and as for managing the State, he committed it wholly to his Mother Queen Emma, and to the politicall Earl of Kent, Godwin; who finding this weaknesses in the King, began to think himself of aspiring; and to make the better way for it, he fought by all means to alien the Subjects hearts from the Prince; amongst other counsels he caufed him to lay heavy Taxes upon them, only for Shipmoney to pay his Dames, amounting to two and thirty
Of English Kings again, and first of Edward the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor succeeded Hardwicke.

KING Hardwicke dying without issue, as having never been married, and the Danish line being extinct, Edward, for his Piety called the Confessor, half Brother to the deceas'd Hardwicke, and Son to King Ethelred by his Wife Queen Emma, was by a general consent admitted King of England, and was Crowned at Winchester by Edwine Archbishop of Canterbury, on Easter-day, in the year 1042, being then of the age of forty years. He was born at Ship near to Oxford; and after his Father's death, for safety went into France, to the Duke of Normandy, his Mothers Brother, from whence he now came to take upon him the Crown of England. His Acts for gaining the peoples love, were first, the remitting the yearly tribute of forty thousand pounds, gathered by the name of Danegeld, which had been imposed by his Father, and for twenty years together paid out of all mens Lands, but only the Clergy; and then from the divers Laws of the Merchant, West Saxons, Dene, and Northumbrians, he selected the best, and made of them one body certain, and written in Latin, being in a sort the Fountain of those which at this day we term the Common Laws, though the forms of pleading, and process therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquerors. The Reign of this King was very peaceable, only in his fifth year the Danes Pirates entered the Port of Sandwich, which with all the Sea-coasts of Essex they spoiled, and then in Flanders made merchandise of their prey. As likewise the Irifies, with thirty Ships entered Severn, and with the assistance of Griffith King of Southwales, burnt or flew all in their way, till at last Reife the Brother of Griffith was slain at Balnamore, and his head presented to King Edward at Gloucester. His Domestic troubles were only by Earl Godwin and his Sons; who yet after many contentions and affairs were reconciled, and Godwin received again into great favour as before. But although King Edward forgave his Tremaines, yet the Divine Providence did not; for soon after he faid at Table with the King on Easter-Monday, we was sudenly stricken with death, and on Thursday following dyed, and was buried at Winchester. Some make his death more exemplary, as that justifying himself for Prince Alfred's death, that he should pray to God, that if he were any way guilty of it, he might never swallow down one morsel of bread, and thereupon by the just Judgement of God was choked by the first morsel he offered to eat.

In this Kings time such abundance of snow fell in January, continuing till the middle of March following, that almost all Cartel and Fowl perished, and therewith an excelleldearth followed.

Two Acts are related of this King, that seem nothing correspondent to the general opinion had of his Virtue, one concerning his Mother, the other touching his Wife: That concerning his Mother Queen Emma was this, that because after King Ethelred's death, she married the Danish King Canute, and seemed to favour her sister, in more than her Issue by King Ethelred, therefore he disposifed all of her all her Goods, and committed them to custody, in the Abbey of Wawrel; and more than this, so far hearkened to a suspicion cast upon her, of uncharle familiarity with Wynwine Bishop of Winchefter, that for her Purgation, she was fain to pafs the tryal of Fire, which was in this in this manner; nine Plow-shares red hot were laid in unequal distance, which she must pafs bare-foot and blind-fold, and if she paffed them unhurt, then she was judged Innocent, if otherwise, Guilty. And this tryal she paffed, and came out fairely, to the great astonishment of all beholders. The other touching his Wife was this; he had married Editha the beautiful, and indeed virtuous Daughter of Earl Godwin, and because he had taken displeasure against the Prince, he would fiew no kindness to the Daughter, if he had made her his Wife, but conuered not without her, but only at board, but not at bed, or if at bed, no other than then David with Abigail, and yet was content to hear her accused of Incontinency; whereof if she were guilty she could not be Innocent. So as, what the virtues were, for which after his death he shou'd be reputed a Saint, doth not easily appear. It seems he was chaste, but not without injury to his Wife; Pius, but not without ungratefulnes to his Mother; Juf in his prefent Government, but not without neglect of Poftie- rity; for through his want of Providence in that point, he left the Crown to fo doubtful succession, that soon after his decease it was tranflated out of English into French, and the Kingdom made fervile to a fourth Foreign Na- tion. One ability he had which raised him him above the pitch of ordinary Kings, and yet at this day is ordinary with Kings, that by his only touching and laying his hand upon it, he secured a Dience, which from his curing is cal- led, The Kings-Orde, his Mother Queen Em- ma, in memory of the nine Plow-shares she had paffed in her Tryal, gave nine Mannors to the Minifter of Winchifter, and himselfe remembering the wrong he had done her, bestowed on the fame place, the Island of Portland in Dorset- fhire, being about feuen miles in compass. He made
made also of a little Monastery in the West of London, by the River of Thames, a most beautiful Church, (called of the place Westminster) where he provided for his own Sepulture; and another dedicated to St. Margaret, standing without the Abbey. This of Westminster he endowed with many rich Revenues, and confirmed his Charters under his Broad Seal, being the first of the Kings of England, who used that large and flately impression in their Charters and Patents. He founded also the College of St. Mary Ottery in Devonshire, and gave unto the Village of Ottery, and removed the Bishops See from Ottington to Exeter; as a place of far more dignity: and when he had resigned the space of three and twenty years and six months, he ended his life the fourth of January, in that room of his Palace at Westminster, which is now called the Painted Chamber, in the year 1066. and was buried in the Church at Westminster, which he had built.

Of Harold the second English King after the Danes.

King Edward the Confessor, being himself without issue, had in his life time sent into Hungary for his Nephew Edward called the Outlaw, the Son of Edmund Ironside, with a purpose to design him his Successor in the Crown, but he dying soon after his coming into England, King Edward then gave his Son Edgar the name of Atheling; as to say, Prince Edgar, meaning to design him for his Successor, but being prevented by death, before the Succession was fully established, and Edgar Atheling, though he had right, yet being young, and not of power to make good his right, Harold the Son of Earl Godwin steps into the Throne, and never standing upon Ceremonies, set himself the Crown upon his own head, wherein, though as a violator of Holy Kites, he offended the Clergy, yet not any either of Clergy or Laity, durst oppose him, as being at that time the most martial man in the Kingdom; and such a one, as the scale of the Realm stood at that time in need of; and besides his own worthines had the assisstance of Edwin, and Har- chan, the two great Earls of Yorkshire and Chefter, whose Sitter Algibe he had married. It is true withal, that King Edward had appointed the Crown after his own decease, sometime to William Duke of Normandy, sometimes to Edgar Atheling, and sometimes to this Harold, so as he was Crowned by Aldred Archbishop of York, as not coming in by intretion or wrong, but by the appointment of King Edward; though that appointment of King Edward, was rather to make him Regent, during the minority of Edgar, then to make him absolute King: but however being once in the Throne, he was then able to make his own Title, and to make Prince Edgar some amends, he created him Earl of Oxford, which was indeed to use him like a Child, take away a Jewel, and please him with an Apple. Yet Harold having once gotten into the Throne, he carried himself with great Valour and Justice, for the time he fare in it, which was but very short (only nine months) as being indeed but tothering from the very beginning, and that chiefly by means of his own Brother Tostwine, who by diverting his Forces to supprefs a Rebellion, made him of lefs force to retell an Invasion. But now that we have shewed how Harold entered the Throne, we must forbear to shew how he was call out, till we come to him that call him out; who because he was not only of another Family, but of another Nation, we must necessarily take the beginning from a deeper root; and indeed, seeing in him we shall joy our Island to the Continent, which is a larger world, our Kings hereafter will afford a larger Extent for matter of Discourse then heretofore they have done.
The LIFE of

KING WILLIAM

THE FIRST,

Called the

CONQUEROUR.

His Parentage and Descent.

Here were six Dukes of Normandy in France, in a direct line succeeding from Father to Son. The first was Robert, who of a private man in Denmark, coming forth with the exuberancy of his Nation, wrested by force of Arms from Charles the Simple, King of France, to be made Duke of Normandy. The second was William his Son, called Long-Eyset, or Long-Sword. The third was Richard his Son, called the Hardy, who had Richard, and a Daughter called Emma, married to Edward King of England, Father of Richard the Confessor. The fourth was Richard the second, his Son, called (as you). The fifth was Richard the third, his Son, who by a first Wife had three Sons, Richard, Robert, and William; and by a second two other Sons, William Earl of Arques, and Menger Archbishop of Rouen. So as Richard his eldest Son by his first Wife, succeeded him by the name of Richard the fourth, and dying without issue, the Dukedom descended to Robert his second Son by his first Wife: which Robert was Father to our William the Conqueror, of whom it is thus recorded; that riding one time abroad, he happened to pass by a company of Country Maids that were a dancing, where having a while to look upon them, he was so taken with the handomest and graceful carriage of one of them whose name was Arlette, a Skinner's Daughter (from whence as some think our word Harlot comes) that affection commanded him, and authorily her, he caufed her that night to be brought to his Bed; where being together, what was done or said between them, is no matter for History to record, though some Historians have recorded both; making her no fomodeft as was fit for a Maid: only ten months after it appeared, that at this time our Duke William was begotten; who proving a man of extraordinary spirit, we may attribute it to the heat of affection in which he was begotten. Neither did there want before, and at his birth fore-running tokens which prefaged his future greatness; for his Mother Arlette being with him, had a dream like that of Mandane, the Mother of Cyrus the first Persian Monarch; namely, that her bowels were extended and dilated over all Normandy and England. Also as soon as he was born, being laid on the Chamber floor, with both his hands he took up rushes, and shutting his little fists, held them very fast; which gave occasion to the Gospling Wives to congratulate Arlette in the birth of such a boy, and the Midwife cry'd out, the child would prove a King.

His succeeding in the Dukedom, notwithstanding his Bastardy.

It appears by many examples, that Bastardy in those days was no bar to succession, till a law was afterward made to make it a bar. It brought some disgrace, where the Mother was mean, but no impediment where the Father was Noble; and even his Bastardy seemed to have some alloy, if it be true (as some write) that his Father took the said Arlette afterward to be his Wife: and yet perhaps he had not the Duke dom so much by succession, as by gift. For when he was about nine years old, his Father calling his Nobility together, caufed them to swear Allegiance to this base Son of his, and to take him for their Liege Lord after his decease. Neither was this in those days unfrequent, for Princes to confer their Principalities after their own deceases upon whom they pleased, counting it as lawful to appoint Successors after them, as Substitutes under them; even in our time and Kingdom the Duke of Northumberland prevailed with King Edward the fifth, to exclude his two Sitters, Mary and Elizabeth, and to appoint the Lady Jane Grey, Daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, to succeed him.

His Education and Tuition in his Minority.

His Father having declared and appointed him to be his Successor, went soon after (whether out of devotion, or to do Penance for procuring his Brothers death, whereof he was suspect) into the Holy Land, in which Journey he died, having left the tuition of his young Son to his two Brothers, and the Guardianship to the King of France, in whose Court for a time he was brought up. A strange confidence, to commit the tuition of a Son that was base, to pretenders that were legitimate, and to a King of France, who aimed at nothing more
more, then to re-annex this Dukedom to his Crown. But it seems his confidence was grounded upon the proximity of blood in his Brothers, and upon the merits of his own service formerly done to the King of France; which though it proved well enough with him, yet is not to be taken into example to follow.

**His troubles in his Minority.**

First, Roger de Treasy, who derived his Pedegree from Rolle, and had won much Honour by his valour in the Wars, (notwithstanding the Oath of Allegiance he had formerly taken) takes exception to his Bastardy, and invites complices to affit him in recovering the Dukedom to a legitimate Race: a fair pretext, if the Fate of Duke William had not been against it; who thought he was himself but young, and could not do much in his own person, yet the Divine Providence raised him up friends that supplied him with Affiance, and particularly Roger de Beaumont, by whose valor this Roger de Treasy, with his two Brothers, was defeated and slain. After Roger de Treasy, William de Argus his Uncle lays claim to the Duchy, and affifted by the King of France comes to a Battel, but by the valor of Count Gifford, the Dukes General, was likewise defeated; and these were troubles before he arrived to seventeen years of age. After this, one Guy, Earl of Burgundy, Grandchild to Richard the second, Duke of Normandy, grew sensible of his power to the Dukedom, and joyning with Villiain, and the Earl of Blessin, two powerful Normans, confpired Duke William's death, and had effect; it, if a certain Fool about him had not flown away in the night, to the place where the Duke was, and never left knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to his presence, willing him to fly for his life instantly, or he would be murdered. The Duke considering, that being related by a Fool, it was like to be the more palpable, and that there might be danger in staying, none in going, rode instantly away, all alone, toward Falaise, his principle Castle, but meeting his way, he happened to pass, where a Gentleman was standing at his door, of whom he asked the way, and was by him, as knowing him, directed; which he had no sooner done; but the Conspirators came presently inquiring if such a one had not pass'd that way, which the Gentleman affirmed, and undertook to be their guide to overtake him; but leading them of purpose a contrary way; the Duke by this means came safely to Falaise, and from thence journeys to the King of France, complaining of his injuries, and imploring his aid, as one that was his homager, and committed to his care by his ser vant his Father. The King of France moved with his distress, and remembrance of his Father's merits, though he wished he was less then he was: yet he fo aided him, that he made him greater then he was: for himself in person, suffering much in the Battel, procured him the Victory. By which we may fee, that Folly, and Fortune, and even Enemies themselves, are all affillants to the Deftines; or to say better, indebted to the Divine Providence. Many other

affronts were offered him, some by meaner Princes, some afterwards by the King of France himself, who was now grown jealous of his Greatness; all which he encountered with such dexterity, that made his Battardy, as it were, become Legitimate, and Virtue her self grow proud of his person.

**His Carriage afterwards in Peace.**

By this time he was come to the age of two and twenty years; and whereas all this while he had shewed himself a valiant General in Wars, he now began to shew himself a provident Governor in Peace, composing and ordering his flates; where in he so carried himself, that as his Subjects did both fear and love him, so his neighbouring Princes did both fear and hate him; or if not hate him, at least emulate him.

**His Incitements for invading England.**

Duke William had Incitements to invade England, and some few of a Tide. To understand this more fully, we will reflect upon some passages tranfacted between the two former Kings, Edward the Confessor, and Harold the Son of Earl Godwine. And this recapitulation will give some light, and is very pertinent to our intended purpose.

Earl Godwine falling out with King Edward, the brawls was carried with such heat on both sides, that the Earl and all his Hitherto a mere a manner banished the Realm. Godwine makes his refuge to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, Harold his Son into Ireland, Emma the Kings Mother decealing, they both return with a great Navy, and strong Army. The Nobility fearing a Civil War, labour for a Reconciliation between the King and the Exiles; but Edward jealous of Godwine arts and treachery, would by no means hearken unto it. At last upon conditions they are restored to the Kings favour and their Country: Hostages are delivered; Helen the Son of Godwine, and Harono his Grandchild, whom the King for more security finds into Normandy, there to be detained by Duke William his Kinsman. After the death of Godwine, Harold succeeds him, Earl of Kent, who craves leave of the King to go to Normandy, and bring back his Brother and Kinsman; The King in this manner answers him, Harold you may do your pleasure, and I may permit, though will not confent; for I do foresee, that if you undertake this Journey, it will prove to the ruine of the Kingdom, and your own confusion. Harold notwithstanding, obfinate in his resolution, after a tempestuous voyage, arrives in France, where he is taken prisoner by the Lord of Pontios, and at the command and threats of Duke Williams dismiss'd; and though first rob'd of his Treasures, and choicest things he transporte'd, as last sent into Normandy; where relating the cause of his Journey, he was honourably entertain'd, and fairly promised, unless himself were the obstacle, all things should succeed as he wish'd. After some time the Duke taking his opportunity entered into private discourse with him, and told him, that King Edward
Edward being brought up in his youth together with him, had faithfully promised him, that if ever he came to be King of England, he would make him his heir, and settle the Kingdom on him. Wherefore Harold (quoth the Duke) if you will affit me in gaining that Crown, when I come over into England, you shall have your Brother and Nephew; and to make our eye of friendship the stronger, you shall promise to take one of my Daughters for Wife, and send your Sister hither, whom I will bestow on one of my chief Lords: you shall also promise me to secure the Castle of Dover, for my service: and I promise you that when I am King of England, I will deny you nothing, which in reason you shall demand. Harold having heard the Duke, was much perplexed: but seeing himself in such straits, that he must either venture on a promise, or hazard an imprisonment, condescends to all the Duke demanded; and for more security, with a solemn Oath confirms his agreement: and returning into England, acquaints Edward with all these passages, who replied, Did not I know William's disposition, and foretell thee how much mischief this Journey would bring upon England? Duke William having the Word of Edward, and the Oath of Harold, had sufficient obligations to expect the Kingdom: but hearing of the death of Edward, and that Harold was Crowned King, he thought himself no more forgotten by Edward than wronged by Harold; and therefore sent a messenger to put him in mind of King Edward's Promise, and his own Oath. Harold returns answer that he could not fend his Sister over, because he was dead; but if William would have his Carcasses he should. Secondly, that he could neither promise, nor dispose of Kingdom, which was none of his own. Lastly, he should be injurious to his own Nobility, if he should without their consent and advice take a stranger for Wife. William having heard his answer, was as yet patient, and again sending to Harold mildly, demands of him at least to take his Daughter for his Wife and Queen; otherwise by force of Arms he would recover that Kingdom, which was his own by the promise of King Edward. To this Harold peremptorily replies, that he feared not the one, so by no means would he do the other. Duke William thus flighted by Harold, endeavours to make him honest by force, and affur'd himself he should finde him a weak Enemy, who had proved so perfur'd a Friend. There were the incitements which caus'd William in his declining age to undertake this expedition: but who can think himself too old for a Kingdom, when Galba, above 73 years of age buckled on an Armour on his unwieldy limbs for the attaining of a Roman Empire?

The Reasons that facilitated his Conquest of England.

Duke William accused with Harold's answers, acquits the Nobility with his purporle, who with some do confedent to aid him, as likewise many other great Lords of France, but specially Baldwin Earl of Flanders, whose Daughter he had married; and who be ing at that time Guardian of the young King of France, procured aid from him also; and to make the Enterprize the more successfull, Pope Alexander the second sent him a Banner, with an Agnus of Gold, and one of the hairs of St. Peter. So as the preparation of the Duke both by Sea and Land, was very great, having three hundred sail of Ships, and as some write 890, and as one Norman above a thousand, and one Gemineticus, three thousand; and though Harold had likewise provided a Warlike Fleet to encounter him, yet it was at that time un fortunately diverted another way. For Tancred his Brother being then in Rebellion in the North, and Harold Horfager King of Norway, at the same time invading those parts, and perhaps upon a bruit, that the Dukes Fleet was not yet ready to come forth, removed both his Fleet and Army thither; where through he goe the Victory at Stamford, with the death both of his brother Tancred, and of the King of Norway: yet it made way for the Duke to land quietly, and he entr'd the Kingdom as easily as one may enter a hoeuse, when the doors are all left open. By this means King Harold's Shipping (the belt wall of defence to an Island) was utterly frustrate; and as for his Land Forces, they were by his Battel at Stamford, exceedingly both weaken'd and impaired: yet hearing that Duke William was landed at Penney, not far from Haftings in Suffolk, he repar'd thither with all speed, and gathering together his broken Forces, and increasing them by all the means he could, made himself ready to give the Duke Battel. Duke William in the mean time, as soon as he had landed his men, sent his Ships presently away, that there might be no thinking of any thing, but either Death or Victory. And when going himself on Land, it is said, his foot slipped, and he fell down; which some that bydoy, taking it for an evil sign, No (faith he) I have by this take possession of this Land. And indeed prefaces are, but as Animulus eis qui praefagis, as in this Dukes fall it afterwards fell out. The like confidence of spirit fhewed he not long after, when the Armies were ready to joy; for he that put on the Dukes Armour, whether out of hate, or out of perturbation of minde, putting the forepart behind, and the back part before, the Duke feeing it, merrily said, I fee now by this invercion of my Armour, that my Duke-dom will be turned into a Kingdom: taking that for a goud Omen, which some other of weaker spirits would have taken for a bad. Many ways of composition between Duke William and King Harold were propounded, yet Harold would have it none, as nothing doubting of success, and perhaps thinking it a disgrace to capitulate for that, when now his own: and when one of his Brothers called Gyth, being less interested, and therefore clearer fighted, intreated him to consider, what a fearful thing it was to break an Oath, which he fo solemnly had sworn, Harold seem'd to conceive, that nothing which he did being a private man, could be of force to bind him, now being a Prince: and for on the fourteenth day of October, being Saturday, in the yeer 1066. (which day he liked the better, because it was his Birth-day, hoping that the day of his Birth
Birth, would not so much degenerate, to prove the day of his Death, though this also even bred no good blood to the action; for the Souldiers of Harold, thinking thereby to honour their Kings Birth-day, spent the night before in revelling and drinking, where the Souldiers of the Duke out of consideration of their next day's work, spent the night in quietness and devotion; they joyed Battel, (the Kingmen being placed in the fore-front, as by an ancient custom is their due, and King Harold with his Lordaers, leading the main Battel) where though their Armies were not much unequal in number, (for they were each of them near about threescore thousand men) yet there was great odds in the expertness of their Souldiers, and more in the advantage of their weapons; for, the Duke had with him all the flower of France and Flanders, where King Harold had lost his best men, in his late Battel; and for advantage of Weapons, the Normans had long Bows and Arrows, which among the English at that time were not at all in use. What marvel that the Normans got the Victory, though King Harold losing his life, yet lost no reputation; and though the English Souldiers shewed no less valour, in being conquered, then the Normans did in conquering? One circumstance may not be omitted, that King Harold as an expert General, had ordered his men in so firm a Body, that no force of the Normans could disorder their Ranks, till Duke William used a stratagem, commanding his men to retire, and to counter-feit flight; by which he drew the English on, upon a hollow ground covered with earth; where into many of them fell and perished, and beside into an ambush of his Horsemen, which unexpectedly fell upon them, and cut them in pieces. Withal, there seems one great error to have been committed (at least, if it were an error; and not rather a necessity) that there was not a supplemnetal Army provided, (as his Brother Grjth would have had it) which might have come on if the first had failed; and would have been of great advantage against a weared Army. But when Sic utum of fapi- entiam, sine force weak and in danger with fland, all tells the Providence is untoward, and cannot prevent. It is true, Duke William that day fought so valiantly, that he had three Horfes killed under him; but King Harold shewed no less valour in killing many Normans with his own hands: so as the fight continued doubtful along time, till at last, King Harold being struck into the brains with an Arrow, fell down dead: upon whose falling, a bafe Norman Souldier, cut off one of his Thighs, while he was yet breathing; which Duke William hearing, was so much offended, that he caused the Souldier to be disarmed, and with shame caftered. The body of King Harold, his Mother Thyra offered a great summe; to have it delivered to her; but the Duke out of the nobleness of his mind, would take no money; but delivered it freely, and then it was buried in Waltham Abbey; which himself had begun to build, at least, to repair. But here Gryaldus Cambrai-ensis tells us a strange story, that Harold was not slain in the Battel, but only wounded and lost his left eye, and then escaped by flight to Chester, where he afterwards led a holy Anchors life, in the Cell of St. James, falt by St. John's Church.

How Duke William proceeded after his Victory at Hastings.

A s his Valour won him the Victory, so his Victory won him a Crown; that now of an old Duke, he was suddenly became a young King: and indeed, nothing so much rennes life, and makes the years in a manner young again, as addition of honour, especially when it is the fruit of merit. First therefore, having given publick thanks to God for his happy successes, he led his Army towards London, not the direct way (perhaps doubting of some new encounter) but coaing about through part of Kent, through Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire, where at Wiltford he paffed over the Thames; and then through Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Hertfordshire, until he came to Berkamsfield, where there came unto him Alded Archbishop of York, Wolcen Bishop of Wescfet, Wil- fere Bishop of Hereford, and many other Prelates, accompanied with Edgar Atheling, with Earl Edwy and Marcher, Brothers, and men of the greatest force in the Kingdom, and others of his Nobility. It is true, upon the defeat at Hastings, Earl Edwy and Marcher, had a purpose to set up Edgar Atheling, as next Heir of the Royal blood; and Grandchild to Edward Ironside, and so beloved of the people, that he was called their Darling: but considering his young years, and other infirmities, but especially finding the minds of the Bishops, (who at that time bare all the way) to be other wife inclined, they desisted from that course; and thus the Duke without any opposition, coming to London, was received by Bishops and Lords, and all, with great joy, though small gladness: and if he had not their hearts, yet he had their knees, for in most humble manner they submitted themselves to him, acknowledging him for their Sovereign Lord; and upon Christma's day after, he was Crowned at Westminster by Alded Archbishop of York, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, not being admitted to do that office, for some defect in his Investiture; and perhaps for some asfersion in his manners.

How he rewarded his Followers.

Though he hath had the name of Conque- rour, yet he used not the Kingdom as gotten by Conquest; for he took no man living from himnor disposed of any of their goods, but each only, whose demerit made them unworthy to hold them; as appears by his Act to one Warren a Norman to whom he had given the Cattle of Sherborne in Norfolk. For when Sherborn, who was owner of it, acquainted the King, that the Cattle was his, and that he had never born Arms against him, he presently commanded Warren, to deliver it quietly up unto him. Only vacancies of Offices, and filling up the places of those who were dead or fale, were the present means he made use of, for preferring his Followers. One special preferment we cannot omit, that where one Heron a Noble man in Normandy, had married He with his conquest moderately.
married his Mother Arlette, and had by her a Son named Hugh Lupus, he gave to the said Hugh, the Earldom of Chester, to hold of him as freely by his Sword, as himself held England by his Crown, by virtue of which Grant, the said Hugh ordained under him four Barons, Nigel, he made Baron of Halton, Maltbank, Baron of Naustwich: Eustace, Baron of Mansfield, and Vernon, Baron of Shipbrook: Such an honour, as no Subject before or since ever enjoyed the like. Also he gave to his Nephew Alan Earl of Britain, all the lands which sometimes belonged to Earl Edwin: and this Earl of Britain, the better to secure the Kings gift, built him a strong Castle near to his Mannor of Gillingham, and named it Richmond: from which Castle the Earls of Richmond bear their Titles of Honour.

What means he used for securing himself in the Kingdom.

Befides the Oath of Fealty, which he took of all his Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, at his Coronation; in Lent following going into Normandy, he took along with him the greatest part of the great men of the Kingdom, of whom Edwin and Marchar, the two Earls of Northumberland and Mercia, Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury, Edgar Atheling, Waltheoff Son to Syward formerly Earl of Northumberland, and Agelastus Abbate of Glastonbury, were the chief: leaving the care of the Kingdom in his absence to Ode, Bishop of Bayeux, his Brother by the Mother: and to William Fitz Osborne, whom he had made Earl of Hereford: and to abate the greatness of the Prelates, which at that time was grown in a manner unlimited, he ordained that from thenceforward they should not command with any Temporal Authority whatsoever. And because the common people are no less to be feared for their number, then the Nobility for their greatness, he first took from them all their Armour, to the end, that leaving them without arms, they might afterward be but Drons. And because there is feldom any danger from fingular numbers, but all the danger ariseth from plurality: therefore to prevent Conspiracies and Combinations, which are commonly contrived in the night, he commanded that in all Towns and Villages a Bell should be rung at eight a clock in the evening, and that in every house they should then put out their Fire and Lights (which was called Courre fen) and go to bed. And for more security he erected Castles in the most doubtful places of the Kingdom, one at York, another at Lincoln, a third at Nottingham, (at that time called Nottingham) and a fourth at Halsting, where he first landed. By these means the Kingdom was quiet all the time of his being away at Normandy, having only that Edric the Forester in the County of Hereford, calling into his aid the Kings of Wales, made some small disturbance. And indeed all the States of the Kingdom might in his very perfon finde something to make them apt to tolerate his Government. For first, the people might think themselves in a fort advanced, being now made members of a greater body; when the Dukeedom of Normandy should come to be annexe to the Kingdom of England; and by experience of his good Government being a Duke, they might well hope, he would not govern worse being made a King. And the Nobility might be well content, as having a King of their former Kings choosing; and though a stranger, yet no Alien, as having in him many veins of the same blood, and therefore likely also to have some veins of the same goodness of their good King Edward. But specially the Clergy could not chuse but be content, as having a King who came command to them, by a commanding as strong as a commanding, the Popes Benediction.

What Troubles or Insurrections were during his Reign.

BUT the body of a State being more obnoxious to cruelties and ill humours, than the state of a Natural Body, it is impossible to continue long without diptemors; notwithstanding any prefervatives that can be applied. And therefore in the second year of his reign, brake forth the discontentment of Edgar Atheling, justly the first, as having most cause, being the next of the late Royal Blood, and therefore the most apt to be endar of servitude; who taking along with him his Mother Agatha, and his two Sisters, Margaret, and Christine, stole secretly away to Sea, with intention to pass into Hungary, the Country where he was born: but by contrary winds was cast upon the coasts of Scotland, where the King Malcolm, not only most kindly entertained him, but for a firther bond of kindnefts took his Sifer Margaret to wife, by whom he had many Children, out of which, in the feft Generation after, a match was found, by which in the perfon of King Henry the fcond, the Saxons and Normans blood were conjuned, the union whereof continues in the race of our Kings of England to this day. Not long after to Edgar in Scotland, came the two great Earls, Edwad and Marchar, brothers to Agatha the late King Harolds Wife; also Hereward, Gispatrick, and Syward, with many other Lords; and shortly after Stigand and Adred Archbishops, with divers of the Clergy. And thefe Lords being together in Scotland, did but watch opportunity, to recover that, which for want of taking opportunity they had loft: And affifted by the Scots, they invade the North parts, spoiling the Country, and killing many for the fault they had themselves committed, but all they could do, was but to forrage the Country, and fo return.

After this, in the third year of his Reign, the two fons of Swayne King of Denmark, Harold and Canute, with a fleet of 240 Ships, entered Humber, and invaded the North parts, with whom the English Lords in Scotland joined, and forraged all the Country, till they came near to York. When the Normans that were in the Town, to save the City, set fire on the Suburbs; but the fire not so contended, by affiftance of a violent wind, took hold of the City it self, burning a great part of it, and which perhaps was more worth then the City, a Library of excellent Books; and the Normans that were left in defence of the City, to the number of three thousand, were all slain. King William hear-
hearing hereof was so much incensed, that with all speed he raised an Army, and entered Northumberland, wanting the Contryhe that already lay waste; and yet for all this great rage, was contented with a great sum of money, to purchase the Damet departure. By these devastations in many Shires of the Kingdom, but especially in Northumberland, so great a Disturbance was made, that the Downey, and doggs, cats, and rats, and what else is most abhorrent to nature, and between York and Durham, the space of 60 miles, for nine years together, there was so utter defolation, as that neither any house was left standing, nor any ground tilled. Many other insurrections there were in his Reign, as at Exeter, at Oxford, in the Isle of Ely, and many times by the Scots in the Northern parts. The most dangerous of all the Conspiracies, and most disquieted of him, were the King Fliz-Ambro, Earl of Hereford, Ralph Warber Earl of Norfolk, and Suffolk, Walbeff Earl of Northumberland, with Preface Earl of Boheme, (lent purposely, as it was thought, by the King of France into England, to incite and join with the Conspirators.) Ralph Warber married the Sister of Roger the young Earl of Hereford, contrary to the express commandment of King William; at the felonization of the same, the sees Lords confpire to keep the King now in Normandy, and dispoife him of his Sovereignty, which to perform, they agreed to join theirs with the Downey Forces, whom they intended to call in. This was the most dangerous combination of all, it happening when he was out of England, at the siege of Dover, a Caval in Britain belonging to Ralph Warber, and defended against him by the King of France; and at such a time as almost all Christendom had declared their jealousies of him, and ill affectations towards him. The King of Scotland, and Princes of Wales ready to affit the Rebels at home; Swayne King of Denmark invading England with a Navy of 200. sail, to which Drone King of Ireland added 65. Ships. How much such an action did disturb and offend him, may be conjectured, by that most of these great Noblemen were either his Kinfmen, or in affinity nearly allied to him: But William's forces secure him as well at home against Traitors, as in the field against his Enemies. This grand conspiracy is discovered by Walbeff to Lamfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, who per- swades the Earl to go over to King William, and inform him in what danger he was. Notwithstanding this discovery, Roger and Ralph perlift in their intentions, raise Forces to prosecute their designs: but by the diligence of Odo the King's Brother, Bishop of Bayeux, the Bishop of Worcester, and the Abbot of Evesham, were fo prevented, that they could never unite their forces. Ralph flies into France, Roger Earl of Hereford is taken, put in prifon, and as some report, to death; Walbeff, of all lamened, behead: But all these were eaily suppress'd, for they were but scatter'd Forces, Et duas flagit paginae seta
tur, vincentur; whereas if they had united themselves into an Army, they might perhaps have made it a War, which now were little more then Routs and Killoes. Yet some write, that King William granted Cumberland to Malcolm King of Scots, to hold from him conditionally, that the Scots should not attempt any thing prejudicial to the Crown of England; for which grant King Malcolm did him homage.

The greatest and lait was an Insurrection raised in Northumberland, by his Son Robert, the more dangerous because unnatural; for by the instigation and affiance of Philip King of France, (emulous now of King William's great concessions to England) he entered Normandy, and claimed it as in his own right. His Father indeed had made him a promise of it long before, but Robert impatient of delay, as counting so long staying to be little better then disheartening endeavoured by strong hand to wrest it from his Father. But his Father King William hearing hereof, with a strong Army palfeth over into Normandy, where in a Batel meeting hand to hand with his Son, he was by him unhors'd, and hurst in the arm: but his Son perceiving him by his voice to be his Father, suddenly leapes off his horse, takes up his Father, calls himself down at his tear, and humbly intreats his pardon; which as a Father be cailly grants, embraces his Son: and ever after, the Son from the Father had fatherly love, and the Father from the Son a filial obedience. But though his Father did thus pardon him, yet it seems there is a Nemesis, or to say better, a Divine Providence, that great mutable pardon him; for after this, it is observed he never prosper'd in any thing he undertook. It cannot perhaps be discovered, whether the Kings severity begot his Subjects Insurrections; or his Subjects Insurrections the Kings Severity: but which of them sooner was the mother, it is certain they were Nurses each of them to other. Yet after this, King William so far trusted his Son Robert, that he sent him with an Army against Malcolm King of Scotland, who had invaded Northumberland: but at the commend; of Duke Robert retirer. At which time Duke Robert began the foundation of a Castle upon the River of Tyne; whereof the Town of NEWcastle did after take both beginning and name, which before this time was called Monroe. In his twentijth year in Whitsun-week, he honoured his Son Henry, with the order of Knighthood, wherein what Ceremony he us'd, it is not certainly known: but it is worth observing, that before his time, the custom among the Saxons was first, he who should receive the order of Knighthood, confessed himself in the evening to a Priest; then he continued all that night in the Church, watching and applying himself to his private devotions: The next morning, he heard Mafs, and offer'd his Sword upon the Altar. After the Gospel was read, the Sword was hallowed, and with a benediction put about his neck. Lastly, He communicated the Mysteries of the blessed Body of Christ; and from that time, remained a perfect Knight. But this custom of confecrating Knights, the Normans abhorred.

His affairs to forget Injuries.

Certainly there is no such goodness of nature, as spares to be reconcili'd; of which verum it seems King William had a large pro-
The Life and Reign of William the First.

I

In the thirteenth year of his Reign, he subdued Wales, and made it tributary to him, as before in the seventh year of his Reign, he brought Malcolm King of Scotts to do him Homage, and thereupon to give him hostages; that England made him greater then he was before, a King of a Duke; he no les made England greater then it was before, three Kingdoms in one.

Of his Exactions and Crimes for raising of Money.

As his Taxes were many in number, so they were various in kind, not always bringing in money directly, but sometimes obliquely having it: The first Tax he laid upon his Subjects was in the first year of his Reign, after his return out of Normandy; a grievous Tax all Writers say, but none what it was. In the third year of his Reign he ranfacked all Monasteries, and all the Gold and Silver of either Chalices or Shrines, he took to his own use. Moreover, whereas many of the more principal, and richer persons of the Realm, fearing King William's cruelty, and infaustible desire of moneys, depoited their Tresurers, Jewels, and chiefest commodities, in the Monasteries and Abbeys, as in firm Sanctuaries to be safely kept for their owne use, the King violently seiz'd on all for himself, neither regarding the sanctity of the places, nor what injustice he did to his own Subjects, but as a Conquering Tyrant made their poverty his own security. Likewise he seiz'd all Bishops and Abbots what number of Souldiers they should find to serve him in his Wars; also the Frangers which he maintained in Pay, he dispers'd into Religious houses, and some also among the Nobility to be maintained at their charge. Many other Taxations he made, but laft of all in the eighteenth year of his Reign, by the advice of Roger Earl of Hereford, he cauf'd the whole Realm to be describ'd in a Centennial Roll (whereof he took a Precedent from King Alfred) so as there was not one Hyde of Land, but both the yearly rent, and the owner there-of was therein fet down: How many Plough- lands, what Patumes, Pens or Marishes, what Woods, Parks, and Tencements were in every Shire, and what every one was worth: Also how many Yeomen every man had, what every one had, what Cartel, what Fees, what other goods, what rent or commodity his Possessions did yield. This Book was call'd the Roll of Winton, because it was kept in the City of Winchester. By the English it was call'd Doom-day book, either by the reason of the generality thereof, or else corruptly, in stead of Donnus Dei book, for that it was laid in the Church of Winchester, in a place call'd Donnus Dei. According to this Roll Taxations were imposed, sometimes two shillings, and at this time six shillings upon every Hyde of Land, (a Hyde containing, as some account it, twenty Acres, but as Master Lambert proveth, a hundred Acres.) In all those Lands which he gave to any man, he reserv'd Dominions in chief to himself, as also a yearly rent, and likewise a Fine whenever the Tenants did alien or die. Thereof were bound to him by Oath of Fealty and Homage, and if any died, his heir being within age, the King received the profits of his Lands, and had the custody and disposing of the heirs body, until higeh of one and twenty years. To be short, his greediness of money, was so great, that he feared not his own Brother Odo, but found accusations against him, to the end he might seifie upon his Treasure, which was infinite great, and which he had gather'd in hope to buy the Papacy. Only one kind of profit he forbore to meddle with, that is, Vacancies of Abbeys and Bisbishops; which he al- ways reserv'd for the Successors; but then he took another course of far greater profit, for he compell'd all men to make new Fines at his pleasure, for confirmation of any Grant or priviledges formerly granted by any Prince of the Realm; by which device he got into his possession the greatest part of all the riches of the Land, as well of the Clergy, as of the Laity. And one particular may not be omitted that is reported of him, which was this: The Monks of Ely, to purchase their peace, agreed to give him seven hundred Marks, when coming to pay it, there was want of a great in the weights (for in those days greater sums were not paid by tale, but by weight) which the King understanding, delayed them all composition for Peace, until with much fust he was intreted to accept of a thousand Marks more.

Of his Laws and Ordinances, and Courts of Justice creat'd by him.

Although at his Coronation he had taken an Oath to observe the Laws of King Edward then in use, yet afterwards (perhaps counting his Coronation Oath but a matter of course) he abrogated many, and in their stead brought in the Laws of Normandy, commanding them to be for a great weight wanting, thousand marks exc- elled.

For a great weight wanting, thousand marks excelled.

He brings the: Laws of Normandy and consisteth them to be written in French.
he be written in French; and also that all Causes should be pleaded, and all matters of Forms dispatched in French; upon a pretence to distinguish the French tongue, but with a purpose to imprison men through ignorance of the language, as indeed it did: or perhaps to make the Norman language predominant in the Kingdom as he had made their persons: which yet was so far from effecting, that there is not so much as any footsteps remaining of the Norman language in the English tongue. Forms of Judgement, and trials by Fire and water, called the Fire and Water Law, were in force when the Conquest dissolved, and in the end utterly abrogated by the Pope, as derived from Paganism. That of Combat continued longer, but of no ordinary use: and all actions both criminal and real, began now to be wholly adjudged by the Verdict of twelve men, according to the custome of Normandy, where the like form is used, and called by the name of Enquet, with the fame caution for the Jurors, as it is here continued to this day; Though by the Laws of EiBfeld it appears, that the trial by twelve men was in use long before his time. And where before the Bishop and the Aldermen were the absolute Judges to determine all busines in every Shire, and the Bishop, in many Cases shared in the benefit of the Malters with the King, now he confined the Clergy within the province of their own Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to deal only in matters concerning rule of souls, according to the Canons, and Laws Episcopal. And where the Cautes of the Kingdom were before determined in every Shire, and by a Law of King Edward, all matters in question were upon special penalty decided in their Gnome, or Convocation held monely in every Hundred: now he ordained that four times in the year, for certain daies, the same busines should be determined in such places as he would appoint, where he continued Judges to attend for that purpose. Also he decreed there should be Sheriffs in every Shire, and Judges of Peace for punishment of Malefactors. Finally, he ordained his Council of State, his Chancery, his Exchequer, (Scaccarium, corruptly called fo, of the word Statuarius, or rather of the board or Table; where the Officers sat;) also his Courts of Justice, which always removed with his Court. These places lie furnished with Officers, and allowed four Terms in the years for determining cases, as he appointed; and the place of these Courts was Westminster, where King William Rufus afterwards built a faire Palace. Now for his Provisonary Revenue, the Kings Tenants, who held Lands of the Crown, paid him no money at all, but only Corn and other Virchures; and a just more of the quality and quantity of every mans ratement, was taken throughout all the Shires of the Kingdom, and levied every daier, for maintenance of the Kings house. Only the Kentish men procured the continuance of their ancient Laws by a trick; for King William riding towards Dover, at Swanfood, two miles from Gravesend, the Kentish men methyl, but in the form of moving a Wood, by reason of the great boughs they had cut, and carried in their hands, and compelling the King about, they only made suit for the continuance of their Laws, and Customs; of which one special was, that the Tenure of their Lands was Greatkind; by which they descended not to the eldest alone, as in other Countries, but were partible between all the Sons: and the Privileges which the owners of such Lands enjoyed were chiefly these: Not to forfeit them for Felony: Not to be subject to services before the Justices: Not to be challenged for Villains. So the Conqueror considering, that he might as well allow them, as his other Kings had done before him, easily condescended to their request, and did see the levity of thefe Kentish men, so hazard themselves more for the preferring a simple Custom; then for preferring the Liberty of themselves, and their Country: But such is the violence of conceit, till it be mated by time, or rather so very a Changeling is Humane Reason, that what they cut down great Woods to defend, they have since been content to see abolished, without cutting down so much as a twig. But one Law especially he made, extremely disaffected to all the Gentry of the Land, for where before they might at their pleasure hunt, and take Deer which they found abroad in the Woods; now it was ordained under a great penalty, no leas then putting out their eyes, that none shold presume to kill, or take any of them, as referring them only for his own delight. And indeed so great delight he took in that kind of sport, that he depopulated a great part of Hampshire, the space of thirty miles, where there had been (Bifhops Caftes) six and twenty Towns, and four-foe Religious Houles, and made it a habituation for such kind of Beasts: which was then, and to this day is called the New Forre. But the lamentable disafters that have happened to this Kings issue, do plainly shew, that there is Power, that observes all our Actions, and which we may know to be Materm Fandiique Ne- fandi. But in the first year of this Kings Reign, he granted to the City of London, their first Charter and Liberties, in as large for a, as they enjoyed them in the time of King Edward the Confeffor, which he granted at the fun of William a Norman, Bishop of London; in gratefull remembrance whereof, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, upon the solemn daies of their re- port to Pani, do still use to walk to the Grave- Rone, where this Bifhop lies interred. Also this King was the first, that brought the Jews to inhabit here in England: as likewise he made a Law, that whosoever forced a woman should lose his Genitals; and in his time, a Baoe came first into use in England, which as they were the weapons with which France under this King conquered England: so that the weapons of which England under After-Kings, conquered France as it were not enough for us to bear them, if we did not beat them with their own weapons. This King also appointed a Confable of Dover Castle, and a Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, with Immunities, as they are at this day. And to be short, this King ordained fro good Laws, and had them so well executed; that it is said a girl might carry a bag of Money all the Country over without danger of robbing; and in his time, the feting Seals to Bonds and Writings was first
n the Church in his Reign.

I
n his time, Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, was for divers causes deprived of his dignity, and kept private all his life after in the Castle of Winchester: after whom succeeded Lan

franc, an Italian, in that see: who in the twelfth year of this Kings Reign, held a Synod at London: there among other things he removed the Bishops Seats from small Towns to great Cities, as from Slinnary to Cheafier; from Kyreton to Exeter; from Warwife to Bathes: from Shirley to Salisbury; from Darcher to Lincoln: and from Leichfield to Chester, and from thence again to Coventry: and not long before, the Bishoprick of Lindsifern, otherwise called Holy Land, upon the River Tweed, had been tranflated to Durham. In the fifth year of his reign, a controversy arizing between the two Archbishops of Canterbury and York, they appealed to Rome, and the Pope remitted it to the King and Bishops of England. Here

upon a Synod is holden at Windsor, where sentence was given on Lanfranc's, then Archbishop of Canterbury: side: That in matters of Religion, the Archbishop of York, should ever be subject to the Archbishop of Canterbury: Only at Rome it was decreed, for matter of Title, that the See of York should be flyed; Prima Anglia; and the See of Canterbury, Prima tertia Anglia, as it is at this day. And as the Archbishop of York oweth obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury; so all the Bishops of Scotland owe obedience to the Archbishop of York, as to the priuate of Scotland. It shall not be amiss here to write the journey of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury to Rome: who in the fifth year of King William's Reign made Bishop of Canterbury, went to Rome to obtain the Pall, due to Archbishops, taking for his companions Thomas Archbishop of York, and Remigius Bishop of Lincoln; arrived at Rome, and admitted to the Popes presence, Pope Alexander stole from his feast, and generally fatiating him, with all this, This honour I do not give, as due to your Archibishop, but as due to my Master; to whose labour I must acknowledge to be due what learning I have. The next day having audience he accused the two companions of his journey. But as this King took down the Prelates in Temporalities, for he ordained they should exercise no Temporal Authority at all: so in Spirituallities, he rather raised them, as may be seen by a passage between Aldred Archbishop of York and the King; at that time, upon the repulse of a certain trait, the Archbishop in great discontentment offered to depart, when the King in awe of his displeasure, stayed him, fell down at his feet, deified pardon, and promised to grant his suit. The King all this while being down at the Archbishops feet, the Nobleman that were present, put him in minde that he should cause the King to rise: Nay (faith the Archibishop) let him alone, let him finde what is to anger Saint Peter. And as by this story we fee the infuling pride of a Prelate in those days, so by another, we may see the equivoquing fall시hood of a Prelate at that time; For Stigand Archbishop of Canterbury would often Iweary, he had not one penny upon the Earth, when under the Earth it was afterwards found he had hidden great Treasure. Also it is memorable, but scarce credible of another Bishop, who being accused of Simony, and denying it, the Cardinal before whom he was to answer, told him that a Bishoprick was the gift of the Holy Ghost, and therefore to buy a Bishoprick, was against the Holy Ghost, and thereupon bid him say, Glory to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost: which the Bishop beginning, and oft affaying, could never say [and to the Holy Ghost] but said it plainly when he was put out of his Bishoprick. And yet was not the Church in that age so barren of vertue, but that it afforded some good Bishops, as William Bishop of Durham, Founder of University-Colledge in Oxford, but especially Bishop Wulfon: whom upon Lanfranc's reporting to be insufficient for the place, for want of Learning, the King commanded to put off his Pontificall Robes, and to leave his Bishoprick: when suddenly out of a divine Insipiration, Wulfon answered, A better then you, O King, beatlowed these Robes upon me, and to him I will restore them. And thereupon going to St. Edward's Shrine, who had made him a Bishop, and putting off his Robes, he struck his Staff, upon St. Edward's Monument, which stuck so fast in the stone of it, that by no strength it could be drawn forth, till he drew it forth himself: which so terrifi
ced both Lanfranc and the King, that they interceded him to take his Robes again, and keep this Bishoprick. Also Osuald Bishop of Salisbury, who devised a form of Prayers to be daily used in his Church, and was used afterwards in other Churches, from whence proceeded the common saying of Secondo nmium Sarum. In this Kings time was Bereangarius, who denied the true body of Christ to be in the Sacrament: Also in his time, Pope Gregory the seventh, removed married Prelats from executing Divine Service, whereof great troubles arose in England: also in his time was instituted the Feast of the conception of the Virgin Mary: also in his time, Pope Gregory the seventh, in a Synod held in Rome, ordained that none should be called Pope but only the Bishop of Rome, where before all Bishops were called Popes.

Works of Ditty, by him and others, in his time.

His King founded the Abbey of Bathel in Saffex, where he overcame Harold, as a monument in memory of his Victory; but there succeeded a greater monument in memory of this Battel, if it be true which Newbrigus faith, that after every small rain, the Grass where the Battel was fought, shews to be of the colour of blood, and had continued to do so, to his dayes, who lived in the time of King Stephen, almost an hundred years after the Battel was fought. The Abbey of Sele in Yorkshire; and a third near London, called St. Saviours. He founded
founded also the Priory of St. Nicholas at Exeter; and gave great privileges to St. Martin's le Grand in London; which Church was founded before the Conquest, by Inglodinus and Ermardus his Brother, Counsins to King Edward the Confessor. He also builded the Tower of London: namely the great white and square Tower there. These were this King's works of Pride in England; but in Normandy he founded also an Abbey at Caen, where his Wife Matilda built also a Monastery of Nuns. He gave also to the Church of St. Stephens in Caen, two Manors in Devonshire, one Manor in Devonshire, another in Essex, much land in Berkshire, some in Norfolk, a Manor in Woodstreet, London, with many Advowsons of Churches; and even he gave his Crown and Regal Ornaments to the said Church, being of his own Foundation; for the redemption whereof, his Son Henry gave the Manor of Blythstein in Devonshire. In this King's time the Bishops, Sainte, Hildesde and Luce, founded the Priory of Newfiead: Henry Earl Ferrers founded a Priory within his Castle at Taunton; Alwyn Childe, a Citizen of London, founded the Monastery of St. Simons at Bermondssey, in Southwark, and gave the Monks there divers Rents in London: Also in this Kings time, Maurice Bishop of London, after the firing of the former Church of St. Paul in London, began the Foundation of the New Church, a work to admirable, that many thought it would never have been finished. Towards the building of the East end whereof, the King gave the choicest Mones of his Castle at the West end of the City, upon the bank of the River Thames: which Castle having been at that time fired; in place thereof Edward Klawery Archibishop of Canterbury, did afterwards found a Monastery of Blackfriers. The King also gave the Manor of Stowe, to the same Maurice, and made his Son, to his Successors in that See; after whose decease, Richard, his next Successor bestowed all the Rests of his Bishopric to advance the building of this Church, maintaining himself by his private Patrimony: and yet all he could do, made no great Fiew, but the finishing of the work was left to many other succeeding Bishops. In the fifteenth year of this Kings reign, William Bishop of Durham, founded University-College in Oxford; Also one Gillers a Norman Lord, founded the Abbey of Merton in Surrey, seven miles from London: and Thomas Archibishop of York, first builded the Minster of York. In this Kings sixteenth year, his Brother Duke Robert being sent against the Scots, builded a Fort, where at this day standeth New Castle upon Tyne: but the Town and Walls were builded afterward by King John. Also in this Kings time Lede Castle in Kent was builded by Croceken, and the Castle of Oxford, by Robert d' Onyor: two Noblemen that came into England with him. Of which Bishop of Suffolk builded the new Church there: Also Henry Earl of Shrewsbury, builded two Abbeys, one in the Suburbs of Shrewsbury; and another at Wenlock.

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Gate to the East Gate, it consumed Houses and Churches all the way, and amongst the rest the Church of St. Paul, the most grievous fire that ever happened in that City. Also this year, by reason of disinformation of weather, Thunders and Lightnings, by which many men perished, there infused a Famine, and afterwards a miserable mortality of Men and Cartel, and which is very strange, Hans, Peacocks, Geese, and Ducks bred in, and accustomed to houses, fortook their wonted hives, and turned wild. (Math. Woffmnn, Anno Dom. 1067.) Also this year in the Province of Wales, upon the Sea-shore, was found the body of Gwenfrith's Son to Arthur, the great King of the Britains, reported to be fourteen foot in length. Also in this Kings time, a great Lord fitting at a Feaft, was set upon by Mice; and though he were remved from Land to Sea, and from Sea again to Land; yet the Mice still followed him, and at last devoured him.

Of his Wife and Children.

He had to Wife, and her only, Matilda, or Maud, Daughter to Baldwin Earl of Flanders. Shew was Crowned Queen of England, the second year of his reign: the seventeenth year of his reign she died. A Woman only memorable for this, that nothing memorable is recorded of her, but that she built a Nunnery at Caen in Normandy, where the less buried. By her had four Sons and five Daughters. His Sons were, Robert, Richard, William, and Henry: of whom Robert the eldest called Court-caye of his short Thighs, or Court-hose, of his short Breeches, or Courtois, of his courteous behavior, (for so many are the comments upon his name) succeeded his Father in the Ditchy of Normandy. Richard his second Son was kill'd by his own son, hunting in the New Forest. William his third Son, called Rufus, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of England. Henry his youngest son, called Beauclerk for his learning, had by his Fathers will five thousand pounds in money, and the Inheritance also of his Mother: His Daughters were Cicelie, Constance, Adela, Margaret, and Eleanor, of whom Cicelie was Abbess of Caen in Normandy, Constance was married to Alan Earl of Brittain, Adela to Stephen Earl of Blois, Margaret affinanced to Harold King of England; but never married, and died young. Eleanor betrothed to Achmed, King of Galilea, but desiring to die a Virgin, she had her wife, spending her time so much in Prayer, that with continual kneeling her knees were brawned.

Of his personage and Condition.

He was but mean of stature, yet big of body, and therewith so strong, that few were able to draw his Bow; growing in years he was bold before; his beard was always shaven, after the manner of the Normans; and in his younger time, he was much given to that infirmity of Youth, which grows out of strength of Youth, Incontinency. After he was once married, whether out of facy, or out of Grace, he was never known to offend in that kind. Of
for his Arms, he gave three Lions passant Gold in a Field Gules; which have ever since been used as peculiar to the Crown of England; to which three Flore de Lys were added by King Edward the Third, by reason of his claim to the Crown of France.

His Death and Burial.

Towards the end of his Reign, he appoint

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for his health, that he was never sick, till that sickness whereby he died. Of a stern countenance, yet of an affable nature: In War as expert as valiant: In Peace, as Provost as prudent: and in all his Enterprizes as fortunate, as bold and hardy. Much given to Hunting and Feasting, where he was no less pleasent than magnificent. He made no great proficiency in learning, as having had his Education in the licentiousnes of the French Court; yet he favoured learned men, and drew out of Italy, Langfrank, Anselm, Durand, Turborne, and divers others, famous at that time for Learning and great Piety. Very devout he was, and always held the Clergy in exceeding great Reverence. And this is one special honour attributed unto him, that from him we begin the Computation of our Kings of England.

His Places of Residence.

HIS Christmas he commonly kept at Glocester, his Ester at Winchester, and his Whitfastitl at Westminster, and once in the year at one of these places would be new Crowned; as though by often putting on his Crown, he thought to make it fit the faster upon his head. And for the houses which the Kings of England had in those days in London; I find that at Westminster was a Palace, the ancient habitation of the Kings of England, from the time of Edward the Confessor; which in the Reign of King Henry the Eight, was by casual fire burnt down to the ground. A very large and stately Palace this was, and in that Age, for building, incomparable. The Remains whereof are the Chamber of assembling the High Court of Parliament, and the next unto it; wherein anciently they were wont to begin the Parliament, called St. Edward's Painted Chamber, because the Tradition holdeth, that the said King Edward died in it. Adjoining to this, is the White-hall, wherein at this day the Court of Requiets is kept: Beneath this, is the Great Hall, where Courts of Justice are now kept: This Hall which we now have, was built by King Richard the second, out of the ground; as appeared by his Arms engraved in the stone work: (when he had plucked down the old Hall, built before by William Rufus) and made it his own habitation. But the aforesaid Palace, after it was burnt down in Anno 1512. lay desolate, and King Henry the Eight shortly, after translated the Kings seat, to a house not far off, built by Cardinal Wolsey, and is called White-hall. The Tower of London was anciently used by the Kings of England to lodge in. Other houses they anciently had; one where Bridewell now standeth, out of the ruins whereof, the now Bridewell was built. Another called the Tower Royal, now the Kings Wardrobe. Another in Bucklersbury, called Sermon Tower. Another where the now Popes-head Tavern is, once against the Old Exchange, thought to have been the Kings House; also another in LimeStreet, called the Kings Articke. Also another in the Old Jury; and oft-times they made use of Baynard's Castle. But these are all long since demolished, that we may see Palaces and Places have their fates and periods as well as men. And as

1087.

King William's dead body was brought into the Church of War, and there dye, a thousand miles off.
The Life and Reign of William the First.

the Knight rising the next morning, looked out; but could see nothing: whereupon, he blamed his spirit Orthon, for not keeping his word with him. Orthon answered, he had kept his promise: for both he, by the gentleman's own words, was to have the first view of the thing; and in doing the task, he had not been forgetful of him. Then the Knight, beholding himself, remembered he had seen two straw tops upon the ground, rumbling upon one another: Why (said Orthon) that was. Then the Knight desired he might see him in such a shape, as that he might take notice of him. Well, then, said Orthon, to morrow morning when you rise, the first thing you see they shall be. So the next morning, the Knight rising, and looking out of his Chamber Window, the first thing he saw was a Sow, so lean and deformed, that he could not abide to see it: and therefore, he caused his men to set Dogs upon it, to drive it away; which being done, the Sow vanish ed away; after this his spirit Orthon never came to him any more. And this relation Froif- fard had from the Knights own mouth: and by such a like means, it might perhaps be, that the death of King William was known at Rome, the very day he died, or, though a thousand miles aunder. And now to go on with the story: William the Conqueror in all the time of his life, that returned to the very last his memo ried speech; and shewed many demonstra tions of his Devotion, and true conversion, espe cially for his fervency, used towards the English. And thus he who was a Conqueror of men, was conquered himself by death, the ninth day of September, when he had reigned twenty years, and near eleven months, in the three score and fourth year of his age: Malmes bury, faith in the fifty ninth. I may well say he was conquered by death, seeing death ufed him more delightfully, than ever he living ufed any whom he had conquered: For no sooner was the breath out of his body, but his attendants, purloning what they could lay hands on, for took him and fled, leaving his body almo st naked upon the ground. Afterwards, Willi am, Archbishop of Rome, commanded his body should be conveyed to Caen, but his command was lit tle regarded: till at last, one Herveyng, a Coun try Knight, at his own charges caited his body to be Embalmed, and conveyed thither; where the Abby and Monks meeting the corps, suddenly in the midst of their solemnities, a violent fire brake out in the Town, with the fright whereof, every man left the place; and this was his body the second time left forlorn. In the end a few Monks returned, and accom panied the Herse to the Abbey Church; but when the Divine Office was ended, and the body ready to be laid in the Grave, one Astin Fitz Arthur, stood up and claimed that ground

to have been the Floor of his Fathers house, which King William had violently wrested from him, and therupon charged them, as they would answer it before the dreadful face of God, not to cover his Body with the earth of his Inheritance. Whereupon after some pause, agreement was made with him, and three pound was paid in hand for the ground broken up, and an hundred pounds more afterwards for the ground it fell, paid him by Henry, the Kings youngest Son, who only of all his Sons was present at the Funeral. And yet this was not all, but when his body was to be put in the earth, it happened that the Sepulchre of Rome which stood within the Grave, was broken somewhat too far for his fat belly, so as they were fain to press it down with some violence, with which, whether his bowels burst, or whether some Excrements were forced out of their natural passage, such an intolerable stink proceeded from him, that none were able to incline it, but made all the haste they could to be gone. And yet neither was this the last of his miseries, for in the year 1563, when Cavillifon took the City of Caen, certain dissolutive Souldiers opened his Tomb, and not finding the Treasure he expected, threw forth his bones with great detestation, whereof some were afterwards brought into England. So that if we consider his many troubles in life, and after his death we may well think, that notwithstanding all his greatness, every mean man would hardly he persuaded to change fortunes with him. He bare the fame Arms peculiar to the Crown of England; which all succeeding Princes have used: namely, Three Lions parted Gold in a Field Gules: for as for the three Flower de Luce, they were added by King Edward the third, upon his claim of the Crown of France.

Men of Note in his time.

Men of Learning in his time, were but rare in this Island, yet some there were, particularly Mariana Scotus, a Histo riographer, and Alphredus a Monk of Beverley, whose writing also of Historical Argument. And as for the men of Valour, they are not to be expected in a time of servitude, but as if all the English valour were now remaining in the Kent men, they only made relish, when all other Countries had submitted. Yet it is memorable in this time, what a private Norwegian Souldier did, who himself alone upon a Bridge, reftified the whole Army of the England, blew forty of them, and maintained the place for divers hours together, till one getting under the bridge, found means to thrust up a Spear into his body and killed him.

THE
The REIGN of
KING WILLIAM
THE SECOND.

WILLIAM the second, called Rufus, second Son to William the Conqueror, appointed Successor for by his Fathers Will; was upon the fifth of October, in the year 1087, by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, Crowned at Westminster King of England. Wherein his Father seems to have followed the example of Jacob, who gave to his younger Son Joseph, the Land which he had taken with his Sword and his Bow: for with his Sword and his Bow, had King William gotten the Land of England; and therefore might justly be thought on which of his Sons he pleased. And besides, there was cause enough, why he should shew this Son of his some extraordinary favours, seeing in the Rebellion of his Brother Robert, Yet he stood firmly for his Father; and in his quarrel incurred no small hazard of his life, as wherein he received divers wounds; and perhaps aby, his Father thought the rough disposition of this Son, fitter to braid the insurrections of the English, than the softly disposition of his Son Robert.

But though he have thus quietly gotten the Crown, he must not look to keep it so; and indeed at his very beginning is assaulted with two troubles in one: for both his Brother Robert prepares to recover it from him, and the Lords of the Kingdom combine with Robert to affit him in it. The first mover of this trouble was Odo Bishop of Bayeux, his Uncle, who finding himself not to bear the sway he expected, and specially for anold grudge he bore to Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and by whose means, in the former Kings time he had been imprisoned, the Archbishop telling him, that though he might not imprison a Bishop, yet he might imprison an Earl of Kent (as this Odo was made not long before) he draws many other Bishops and Temporal Lords to join with him, in half of Duke Robert against the Kings but though the storm were violent for a while, yet it soon past over that indeed of his Lords, with more difficulty: but that of his Brother Robert with more cost: for it was at last agreed, that Rufus should pay him three thousand marks a year, during his life, and leave him the Kingdom after his own decease. But there was difficulty in repelling his Rebel Lords by reason of their spreading themselves abroad in many quarters. For Odo fortified himself in Kent, Roger Mountgomeri, Earl of Shrewsbury, in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire; Hugh de Grandman, in Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire; Robert Moubray Earl of Northumberlad, possifeth himself of Bifbop; William Bishop of Durham, of the North parts of the Realm; and divers other of the Clergy, and Nobility, fortifie themselves in Herefordshire, Shropshire, Worcestershire, and all the Countreys adjoining to Wales, thinking by this means to draw from the King that he should not know where to begin, nor whither to turn him. But this course, as it made it hard to repel them suddenly, so it made it easy to repel them at leisure; for being thus divided, they were but as fingle sticks, that are easily broken; where if they had united themselves, as into a Faggot, they might have made a strength of far greater reliquence. But the King having Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury, and William Bishop of Worcestershire, firm of his fide: partly by their Authority and love amongst the people; but chiefly by his own promises, to restore their ancient Laws, and to allow them liberty of hunting in his Forests, he so firmly won the hearts of all unto him; that some of the Rebel Lords he reconciled with fair words: as Robert Montgomery, a principal fiew of the Faction, some again he maftered by strong hand; and Odo the chief Engineer of all the work, he besieged in the Castle of Rochester, took him Prisoner, and forced him to abjure the Realm. And thus this great Rebellion was suppreffed: In which it is observable, that though so many hot bloods were up, yet there was but little blood Spilt. A happy rebellion for the English; for the Rebel Lords and Bishops being all Normans, the King had none to truft to, but the Englishmen, whom for their faithfulness to him in this service, he ever after repefted more then he had done before.

This year died Lanfranc, after he had been Archbishop of Canterbury eighteen years, who had brought the Monks to some good order, that before his time followed hunting and hawking, dicing and carding, to the great difcredit of their profession. After this storm was over in the South, there ariseth another in the North; For now Malcolm King of Scots, thinking it a fit time to do some feats when King William was troubled at home, invades Northumberland, and having burnt and spoiled the Country, returns home laden with booties: Which King William hearing, he takes his brother Robert along with him, and with a mighty Army enters Scotland, brings Malcolm to acknowledge his ancient homage: and upon Faith given, returns to London. After this, Duke Robert finding his brother King William not to keep his promise, in paying his Pension, complains to the King of France, and with his aid,
aid, affaults and take some Towns, which he be
fore had delivered in pawn for money to his
brother King William; who hearing of it, ha
sten to Normandy with an Arm; and by the
mediation of money takes off the King of
France, and makes his brother, being left deli
tute of affiance, to ask him pardon; a wise and
merciful course in King William; for to buy his
peace with the King of France, did cost him but
money, where to have purchased it by War, and
tes besides money, have cost the lives of many.

After this Malcolm, King of Scots, came in
kindness to visit King William at Glastonbury;
but the King not vouchsafing to meet him, for him,
pred him into great indignation, that turnun
ing home, he makes ready an Army, invites
Newkirk and land, making great spoil, and getting
great spoils, but by Robert Monmouth, the King
Lieutenant there, was taken in ambush, and to
together with his chief Son Edward, defeated and
slain. This King Malcolm was a most valiant
Prince, as may appear by an Act of his of an
extraordinary strain; for hearing of a conspiracy
plotted to murther him, whereof one was An
twice, whose name is not recorded, he dissembled
the knowing of it, till being abroad one day a
hunting, he took the fellow apart from the com
pany, and being alone, said unto him: Here now
is a first time and place, to do that manfully, which
you have intended to do treacherously; draw
your weapon, and if you kill me, none being present,
you can inore no danger; with which speech of the King, the fellow was so tound
that he fell down at his feet, confessed his fault, humbly asked forgiveness, and being
granted him, was ever after servicable and
faithful to him. The death of King Malcolm and
his Son, was formidable, and so grievously taken
of Margaret his Queen, the Sifter of Edgar A
sheiling, that she made it her Prayer, and had it
granted, not to over-live them, and so within
three days after died. Awoman as full of ve
Veres all her lives at this time of sorrow, whom
yet I should not break order to mention, but one
Pious Act of hers, in causing a most barba
rous cutome of Scotland to be abrogated, that
when a man married, his Lord should tie the first
night with his Bride. Which cutome by her
endeavour was altered to a payment in money.

After these troubles were ended in the North,
a new struggle ariseth in the West; for now the
Wlih men hearing of King William's distrac
tion, center upon the English borders, making spoil
and havoc of men and Towns whom King William
went with an Army to encounter, but could do no good upon them, till he was fain to re
volve to London, and provide him a stronger Arm. A
bout this time also Robert Monmouth Earl of Nor
thumberland, by whom Malcolm King of Scots
was in King William's service, and being, on
finding his service not rewarded as he expected,
nters into conspiracy against the King; but the
King being informed of the practice, fetheth sud
itly upon many of his Complices; and himself, af
her many devices and flights for flight, is taken
and put in Prison, in the Castle of Windsor. Af
this, King William to take a further revenge of
the West, and so make an absolute conquest of
that unquiet people, with a far greater Army than
ever before, enters Wales, and thinks with new
device of Castles and Forts, utterly to subdue
them, but they defending themselves, with their
Wood and Mountains, pausing, tire and weary
out the King and his Army, so as he leaves the
business to two Hughis, the Earl of Saltp, the other of
docher, who first invaded and took Anglesey, (their Island of refuge) where they u
all sorts of cruelty, pulling out of eyes, and
cutting off hands and limes; in prosecuting of
which business, Hugh Earl of Saltp was slane, Hugh
Earl of Chester, entered Wales, and in the end the
laughter of Rufus, the last King of England, was an
absolute conquest of the West. For after this, when they had often re
beled, yet they were in a true subjection. And
these for the most part, were all the troubles of
his reign, where we may observe, that none of
them did overtake him, but still he met them and
from nine of them he was dislodged, but was still
the purer, and yet so firmly as might well have taken
away the comfort of a Crown, and have made him willing to change his Diadem for a
pair of Beads: but that ambition, though someti
weary, yet never tires.

His Excellences and Courtesies for raising of Money.

In the second year of his Reign, Lanfranc, the Archbiscop of Canterbury dyed, who had
kept the Kingdom and King in good order; but
soon as he was dead, the King, as though he
were then got loose, ranged without reins, in all
licentiousness, preying especially upon the
Clergy, as amongst whom he found the rich
Burseys. When Bisnopricks or Asbeyes were vac
ated, it was familiar with him to settle them into
his own hands, as this of Lanfranc, he kept to his
own use four years together, and beaker
would have kele it, if a sicknes of his body had not
healed this disease of his mind: For finding him
self in some hazard of death, he then conferred
the Archbiscoprick of Canterbury upon Anzelm,
and the Bisnoprick of Lincoln upon Robert Riet,
two eminent men of that time; but although as he
was well again, he repented him of that he had
done, and he was not quiet, till he had drawn
from the said Robert, five thousand pounds, and
from Anzelm also good funds of money. For he
repeated not more in time of sickness for the evil
he had done in health, then being in health
he repeated of the good he had done in sickness;
that it may in a manner be said, there was nothing
made him sick but health, and nothing made him
in health but sickness. But this preying upon
the Clergy was grown into such a cutome with
him, that he kept in his hands at one time, three
Bisnopricks, Canterburty, Wincheiter, and S
bilibury, and twelve Asbeyes; all which he left
to Funt and received the profits; and from this
King William keeps Abbys and Bisnopricks vac
ent, in his hands.
William the Second.

ord was brought him as he sat at dinner, that his City of Mans in Normandy was betegeed, and in great danger to be taken; if not preffently relieved: whereupon the King asked which way Mans lay; and then caufed Mafons preffently to take down the Wall, to make him paffe the next way, and fo rode inland to¬wards the Sea. His Lords about him, advising him to flay till his people were ready, No (faith he) such as love me I know will follow me. And being come on Shipboard, and the weather growing very tempestuous, he was advifed by the Master of his Ship, to flay for some calmer fea: No (faith he.) Fear nothing, I never yet

heard of any King that was drowned. And thereby coming to Mans unexpe ted, preffently dispersed the Befiegers, and took Hilcas, Count de la Fiefde, who had been Author of the tumult, prifoner; who vaunting to the King, and faying, Now indeed you have taken me by a wife; but if I were at liberty again, you should finde me to do other kinds of fervice: at which the King laughing, Well then (Said he) go your waies and do your worde, and let us fee what fervice you will do. Being reconciled to his Brother Robert, he affifted him to recover the Fort of Mount St. Michael, which their brother Henry did formerly hold in Normandy: during which fiege, flaying one time alone upon the fhore, he was feft upon by three Horfemen, who affail ed him fo fiercely, that they drove him from his faddle, and his faddle from his Horfe; but he taking up his faddle, and withall drawing out his Sword, defended himfelf till rescue came: and being afterward blamed for being fo obfinate to fave his faddle, he anfwered: It would have angered me at the very hearts, that the knives fhould have bragged they had won the faddle from me.

In what he was juft in keeping his word, in what he was falling.

His vertue efpecially was commended in him, and he would oftey, That even God himfelf was obliged by his Word. But if we observe the course of his life, we fhall finde that howsoever he might keep his word in small matters, yet certainly not in great: For he kep not his word with his brother Robert, to whom he promifed to leave his Kingdom of England after his deceafe; but perforned it not. Nor he kept not his word with his Subjects, for in the rebellion of the Norman Lords, he promifed the English, if they would now ftick to him, they fhould have their ancient Laws restored, and be allowed liberty to hunt in his Forrests; which promise he kept not at all, or at laft foon brake. Nor he kept not his word with God himfelf; for being fick at Glouceffe, and in some hazard of his life, he made a felemn vow, that if he recovered he would lead a new life, and give over all his diforderly courfes: but being recovered he grew more diforderly than he was before; and if denomination be made from the greateft actions, it cannot be truly faid, that he was juft of his word. But fuch is the priviledge of Princes over their Subjects, that if they make a promise, it must be believed; and if they break it, it muft not be questioned.

Of his Incontinency and Prudigality.

Uch is fpoken of his lafcivious life in general, but nothing in particular; for neither is mentioned any violence he ever offered to any; nor is any woman named to have been his Concubine; and Princes Concubines are feldom concealed. It is true, he was never married and of a ftrong confitution of body, and pro- bable he might be inclined to that vice: but probabilities are not alwayes concluding; and therefore whether it be a true accufation, or that a flander, it may well be doubted; only one fad Suri is fpoken of, called Bertranus, whom he advanced in honour, and matched in a Noble

Family,
Family. But why should we look more for particulars of his Incontinency, then of his Prodigality? for he was taved no less for being Prodigal, then for being Incontinent; and yet for his Prodigality there is not so much as one instance recorded, unless we take this for an instance; that when his Chamberlain brought him a pair of hose, which because they were new, he asked what they cost? And being told they cost three shillings, in a great chafe he threw them away; asking him, If he thought a pair of hose of 3. s. to be fit for a King to wear? Get thee gone (faith he) and let me have a pair of a Mark. His Chamberlain went, and bringing him another pair scarce so good as the former, and telling him they cost a Mark; I marry (faith the King) there are something like, and was better satisfied with hearing what they cost, then with seeing what they were worth: and yet was this no imputation to his wisdom, for to try the truth, it is no defect of wisdom in a King to be ignorant what his clothes are worth.

Of his wavering in Religion.

He appointed a disposition to be held between Christians and Jews, and before the day came, the Jews brought the King a Prentice, to the end they might have an indifferent hearing; The King took the Prentice, encouraging them to quit themselves like men: and swore by St. Luke's face (his usual oath) that if they prevailed in Disputation, he would himself turn Jew, and be of their Religion. A young Jew on a time was converted to the Christian Faith, whole Father being much troubled at it, presented the King his Marks, begging him to make his Son to return to his Judaism; whereupon the King sent for his Son, commanding him without more ado to return to the Religion of his Nation: But the young man answered, he wondered his Majesty would use such words; for being a Christian, he should rather persuade him to Christianity: with which answer the King was so confined, that he commanded the young man to get himself out of his sight. But his Father finding the King could do no good upon his Son, required his money again, Nay (faith the King) I have taken pains enough for it; and yet that thou must see how kindly I will deal, thou shalt have one half; and the other half you cannot in confidence deny me. There were fifty Gentlemen accused for hunting and killing the Kings Deer, which they denied, and were therefore condemned to the trial of fire, which by God's merciful judgement they passed through untouched: the King hearing it, and deceived of the confiscation expected, is said in a great chafe to say: How happens this? Is God a just Judge in suffering it? Now a murrain take him that believes it. It seems also he doubted in many points of Religion, then in credit; For he would often protest, that he believed not that Saints could profit any man in Gods sight, and therefore neither would he, nor any other that were wise (as he affirmed) make Intercession either to Peter, or to any other for help.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The King claimed the Investiture of Bishops to be his right, and forbad Appeals and Intercourse to Rome: for Appeals had been forbidden till Anselm in this Kings reign appear to the Pope; upon whose complaint the Pope was about to Excommunicate the King, but having a little before Excommunicated the Emperor Henry the fourth, he forbade at that time to do it, lest by making Excommunication common, he should make it illighed. At this time great contentment arose between the King and Archbishop Anselm; and Anselm not yielding to the King in any point prejudicial to his own Prerogative, (which were points indeed incomparible) the contention continued long and hot, and the better, because there were at that time two Popes on foot at once; one elected by the Conclave, called Urbanus the second; another set up by the Emperor called Clement the third: for Anselm held with Urban, the King with Clement: and thus for agreeing in a third, it was impossible they should agree between themselves. And this contention, they palliated with a thousand inventions, sometimes of one side, sometimes of the other; yet brake out again, and was renewed both in this Kings time, and in the time of many Kings after. Anselm often threatening his going to Rome, the King told him plainly he would not thrust him out of the Realm; but if he would go without his leave, he would then keep him out during his pleasure, and besides, he should carry nothing out of the Realm with him. Yet Anselm ventured it, and the King performed it; for William Warenswafst was sent to rife him in his pottage at Sea, of all he had, neither was he suffered to return as long as the King lived; during all which time, the King took the profis of his Archbishopsrick to his own use. It may not be amiss to shew a paffage here concerning the first cause of content on between the King and Anselm, which some fay was this; The King required a thousand Marks of him for having preferred him to that See, which Anselm refused to give, as judging it no lesf for the King to give after the preferment then before: but yet afterward offering five hundred pounds, the King refused to accept it, as being worth (he said) five times as much; whereupon Anselm told him, Your Grace may have me, and all that is mine, to serve you in a friendly manner: but in the way of servitude and bondage, you shall neither have me nor mine; Which words so angered the King, that they could never after be reconciled. In this Kings Reign Pope Urban exhorsted all Christian Princes to join together for recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Land: and by the soliciting of Peter an Hermite, there assembled for that enterprise, under the conditio of Godfrey of Bulking, to the number of three hundred thousand men; among whom was Robert Duke of Normandy who so valiantly carried himself in the action, that after Jerusalem was won, the Kingdom of it (as some write) was offered to him; but he looking more after the Kingdom of England; and therefore refusing it, it was observed he never prospered all his life after. In this Kings reign, although he had no command in Ireland, yet their Bishop of Dublin was sent over to Anselm Archbishop of Canterbury,
The Reign of King William the Second.

His Buildings and Structures.

T his King enlarged the Tower of London, and compacted it with new walls; he also built the great Hall at Westminster, being 270 feet in length, and 74 in breadth; but thinking it too little, he intended to have built another Hall which should have stretched from the Thames to the Kings street. He repaired the City and Castle of Carlisle, which had been walled by the Danes two hundred years before; and because it had but few Inhabitants, he brought a Colony thither out of the Southern parts. He finished New-Castle upon Tyne and many other Castles erected or repaired upon the borders of Scotland; many also upon the Frontiers, and within the very Breath of Wales.

Cesadities happening in his Reign.

I n the fourth year of his Reign, on St. Lukes day, above six hundred houses in London were thrown down with tempest, and the roof of St. Mary Bow Church in Cheapside, was so rafied, that in the fall fik of the beams being 37 foot long, were driven so deep into the ground (the trees being nor then paved with stone) that nor above four foot remained in sight, and yet flood in each rank and order as the workman had placed them upon the Church. Also in this Kings Reign all the Lands in Kent, sometimes belonging to Earl Godwin, were by breaking in of the Sea covered with Sands, and are called Godwins Sands to this day. In his eleventh year, at a Town called Finchamstead in the County of Berks, a Well call out blood, as before it had done water; and after by the space of fifteen days, great flames of fire were seen in fundry places, and at fundry times.

Of his Persouage and Condition:

H e was but mean of stature, thick and square bodied, in his belly swelling somewhat round, his face was red, his hair deep yellow, whereof he was called Rufus, his forehead four square like a window; his eyes footed, and not one like another; his speech unpleasent, and flammering, especially when he was moved with anger. Concerning the qualities of his minde, they may be best known by looking upon the actions of his life; in which we shall finde he was never more affured, then when he was least sure, never less dejected, then when most ex- treme; being like a Cube, that which way so ever he fell, he was still upon his bottom. For his delights to pase the time, there was none in more requet with him then hunting, a delight heretofore to him; which was the cause that as his Father had begun the great new Foresit, so he enlarged it to a far greater extent. Other delights of his we finde not any, unlefs we shall reckon his Wars for delights; for though they were oftentimes forced upon him, when he could not avoid them: yet sometimes he entered into them when he needed not, but for his pleasure. And in general, it may be said that one of his greatest virtues, was that which is one of the greatst virtues, Magnanimity; and his worlde vice, was that which is the worst of vices, Irre- ligion.

Prosages that preceded his Death.

A t Finchamstead in Berks, near unto A-lington, a fiery call up liquior for the space of fifteen days, in substance and colour like to blood. The night before the King was kild, a certain Monk dreamed, that he saw the King saw the image of Christ crucified with his teeth; and that he was to bite away the legs of the same Image, Christ with his teeth spurned him down to the ground: and that as he lay on the earth, there came out of his mouth a flame of fire, with abundance of smoke. This being related to the King by Robert Fitz Marmion, he made a jest of it, saying, This Monk would fain have something for his Dream: Go, give him a hundred shillings; but bid him look that he dream more auspicious Dreams hereafter. Also the same mine, the King himselfe dreamt that the veins of his arms were broken, and that the blood issues out in great abundance: and many other like passages there were, by which it seems he had friends somewhere, as well as Julius Caesar, that did all they could to give him warning; but that, as Caesar, his malus Genius would not suffer him to take.
Of his Death and Burial.

King William having kept his Christmas at Glastonbury, his Easter at Winchester, his Whitsun at Westminster; notwithstanding forewarned by many signs of some great disaster toward him, would needs the day after Whitsun, go a hunting in the New Forest; yet something reserving the many prefages, he stayed within all the forenoon. About dinner-time, an Arishtfer came and brought him six Cross-bow Arrows, very strong and sharp; whereas four he kept himself, and the other two he delivered to Sir Walter Tyrel, a Knight of Normandy, his Bow-bearer, saying, Here Tyrel, take you two, for you know how to shoot them to purpose; and so having at dinner drank more liberally than his custom, as it were in contempt of prefages, out he rides into the New Forest, where Sir Walter Tyrel, shooting at a Deer, at a place called Charingham, (where since a Chapel hath been erected) the arrow glanced against a tree, or as some write, grazed upon the back of the Deer, and flying forward, hit the King upon the breast: with which he instantly fell down dead. Thus it is delivered by a common consent of all; only one Sugerius a Writer that lived at that time, and was a familiar acquaintance of the said Tyrel, against the current of all Writers, affirms that he had often heard the said Sir Walter swear that he was not in the Forest with the King all that day, I have been the longer upon this point, because a more pregnant example of God's Judgment remains not any where upon record. For not only this King at this time, but before this, a Brother of his named Richard, a young Prince of great hope; and also a Nephew of his, the Son of his Brother Roberts, came all in this place to violent deaths; that although King William the Founder of the Forest escaped the punishment in his own person, yet it was doubled and trebled upon him in his issue. Thus died King William Rufus, in the three and fortieth year of his age, and twelfth and some months, of his reign. His body was drawn in a Colliers Cart, with one Horse, to the City of Winchester, where the day following it was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Swithin, and was laid there in the Quire under a Marble Stone; till afterward it was translated, and laid by King Canutes bones.

Men of Note in his time.

For men of Valour, he must stand alone by himself: for men of Learning, there was Lanfranc, a Lambard, but Bishop of Canterbury; also Robert, a Luvian, who Epitomized the Chronicle of Mariani Sulii: also Turgayn an English man, Dean of Durham, who wrote the Annals of his own time, and divers other works; but especially Osmand Bishop of Salisbury, who composed the ordinary Office; or Book of Prayer.
Although Henry came not to the Crown, as his Brother William did, by the gift of his Father, yet he came to it by the Prophecy of his Father; for when his Father made his Will, and divided all his Estate in Land between his two Eldest Sons, giving to Henry his Youth only a portion in money; which division he perceived him to be much discontented, he paid unto him, content thy self Henry, for the time will come, that thy self shall be served as well as theirs. And now the time was come that his Prediction was accomplished, for on the fifth of August, in the year 1100, he was Crowned King of England at Westminster by Maurice Bishop of London, (as Dean of all the Bishops of England, and therefore might do it without any prejudice to the Archbishop of Canterbury, though he had been present, who was indeed at this time in exile.) But though it appears suffice in Fatus, to be decreed by the Divine Providence that it should be so; yet it would not have been so, if his own endeavours had not been concurrend. And therefore being in the New Forest, when his Brother King William was killed, he never stayed to complement the Defalter, but rode pretently to Winchester, and there, not without some opposition of the keepers, seiz'd upon his Brothers Treasure, as knowing Treasure to be the means of getting of Friends, and Friends the means for getting the Crown; and having now gotten the first means, he made use of it for the second; and both of them together brought him to this he is yet withal there were circumstances in his own person that conducted to it; his Brother was born, when their Father was but a Duke, he, when he was a King; Robert but a Foraigner, being born in Normandy, himself a Native, born at Selby in Yorkshire; and it was not the least circumstance, that he was called Beamelor, as much as to say, a good Scholar, having been bred in Cambridge: not perhaps that his learning was so great, but that it was great, either in respect of that age, which had but little, or in respect of his Brothers, who had none at all: and the people having been oppressed before, by the ill Government of two Kings that were illiterate, could not chuse but he glad to come under the Government of a King that was learned. And though his Brother Robert, as being the eldest, hid right unto it; yet he as out of
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Henry pretend, who had his Portion given him in money? Besides, it was an agreement with his Brother William, with confent of all the Lords of the Realm, that the survivor of them should succeed. With such-like intrigues, and withal affurring him, there were many in England would take his part; he easily perfwaded the Duke to that, from which he could hardly have dissuaded him. Who thereupon with a convenient Army puts to Sea, and lands at Portsmouth, while Henry waited for his coming about Hafvings; and being landed there, much people returned to him, that it was like to have been a bloody busines; but by mediation of friends, working upon the flexible nature of Duke Robert, it was brought at last to this agreement, that King Henry should pay to Duke Robert, three thousand marks yearly, and Duke Robert should succed him in the Kingdom, if he survived. And thus this cloud, that threatened so great a storm, brought with it rather Sun-shine, and fair weather; for now to his possession of the Kingdom, there was added a right, and he might now justify his being a King, without any scandal or usurpation. After this another little cloud arose, but was soon differed; for Robert de Brus, Earl of Shrewsbury, a man of disposition, but more through discontentment, though discontented for nothing, but that having a great estate, he was not a King as well as some others, forfified the Town of Shrewsbury, and the Castle of Bridgnorth, and got many Welfemont affit him: but the King coming with a mighty Army, so terrifed the Welfes, that they abandoned the Earl, and left him a prey to the King in his person, and more in his estate; for the King feized his estate into his hands, but for his person he only banifhed it the Realm. For as yet the shedding of blood, and putting to death, though for great Treasonable Practices, was not much in use: Policy of State was not yet grown to that height of severity. The like attempts, and upon the like occasion, was made by William Earl of Morlabague in Normandy, and Henry Counte de Cornualles in England. Uncle to the King, only for depriving him the Earldom of Kent, which because he could not obtain, he entered into Treasonable practices, by which he lost the Earldoms he had before. But these troubles were but as the labour of a woman that is safely delivered: painful for a time, but ending in joy: and indeed for the most part this King had the fortune to be a gainer by his lobbies.

After this Duke Robert came in kindnese into England, to visit his Brother Henry; where he was so well pleased with his entertainment, that in requital thereof, and to do favour to the Queen, that was his God-daughter, he releas'd to King Henry, the three thousand marks, which he was yearly to pay him. But returning into Normandy, and considering better what he had done, he so repented him, that he spared not to give out, that his Brother had directly confened him. Which coming to King Henry's ear, so incend'd him, that he presently lent over a mighty Army, which forsook the Country, and won many Towns, and Cities, and soon after went over himself; where he so prevailed, that he left Duke Robert but only Reams in all Normandy to put his head in; and this done, returns into England. And now Duke Robert begins to be sensible of his own weaknesses, and therefore comes over into England to try the uttermost of his Brothers good nature. Himself had sent him a Tun of Wine to refresh him withal, when in a siege he was ready to perish for want of water: and it cannot be, but that gratefulness and natural affection, meeting together, must needs work something in the mind of a Brother. Thus resolved, he prefers himself to the King, referring both his Dukedom and himself, and all differences and debates to his will and pleasure. But whether incensed with the scandalous words Duke Robert had given out of him, or whether aspiring to join Normandy to England, as his Father had done before, King Henry scarce vouchsafed to hear him speak, at least vouchsafed not to make him any answer, but in a fallen manner turned away, and so left him: which scornful usage put the Duke into such indignation, that he resolved to set his whole Rate to stake, and either to redeem his disgrace, or to forfeit his life. So returning into Normandy, he ufeth all his force in raising of Forces; but King Henry suspected his intentions, and not being to give Instructions of time to ripen, came upon him so suddenly with a mighty Army, that he drew him to a Barret before he was half ready to fight. In which Barril King Henry received sundry Stripes on the heads at the hands of one William Crispine, Count de Evreux; so as the blood burst out of his mouth: yet nothing abashed, he struck down divers of his enemies, and particularly the said Crispine who was there taken prisoner at the Kings feet. And now desire of revenge so animated the Duke, and the Duke his Souldiers, that never Barril was more fiercely fought; and the Normans seemed as if to have the better, till King Henry shewed himself in the Army, put such courage into his Souldiers, that they quickly made good the advantage they had in number, and King Henry obtained a compleat Victory, both in slaughter of men, (of whom there were slain above ten thousand:) and in taking of Prisoners (to the number of four hundred:) amongst whom, besides other great ones, as the Earl of Morlaige, William Crispine, and William Frevde, was Duke Robert himself, whom the King (having frist taken order for all things, in his new State of Normandy) brought over with him into England, and committed him to the Castle of Cardiff in Wales, where he remained a Prisoner till he died, used for a time with reasonable Liberty for Recreation, till attempting to make an escape, it was thought fit to put out his eyes; which though it increased his misery, yet it shortened not his life, for he lived many years after, in all, from the time of his first imprisonment, eight and twenty. And thus this great Duke, who in his birth was the Joy of Nature, in this life was the Icarn of Fortune; and it is not unworthy the observing, that the English won Normandy, the very fame day fortieth year, the Normans had won England. Such Revolution of Fortune there are in Kingdoms, and so unalterable is the Iare of all worldly greatness. He died; Anno Dom. 1134, and lies buried at Westminster.
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ceter. Marsh, Westminster, writes that King Henry his Brother sent him according to his custom, a Robe of Scarlet; and putting it first on himself, perceived the Caponck to be somewhat slack; whereupon he said, Carry this Garment to my Brother, for his head is left then mine. The messenger delivering the Robe, Duke Robert demanded if any had worn it, and being told him the King had first afflicted it, and what speeches he had used, the Duke replied, I have now too long prostrated a miserable life, since my Brother is so injurious to me, that he sends me his old cloaths to wear; and from that time would never eat any meat, nor receive any comfort.

And now is King Henry as great as ever his Father was; and a great Yus draws away, as much envied as ever his Father was; and as envy makes enemies, as much opposed as ever his Father was. For now Luke Earl of Angiers, and Baldwin Earl of Flanders, upon small occasions and Lewis the Gras, King of France, upon none, but such as envy suggested, seeking to place William, Son to Duke Robert, in his Right to Normandy, assaulted the Dukes Domions, perhaps to try whether greatness had not made him unworthy; but King Henry, to show that greatness had made him more active, went over into Normandy with a mighty Army, and at Nice encountered the French King, where a bloody Battel was fought, with exceeding violence on both sides; but at last King Henry repelled the French Kings, and recovered Nice, and after many other Confllicts between them, with variety of Fortune, at last the King made peace with the Earl of Angiers; confirmed by a marriage of the Earls Daughter with his Son William, and upon this also the two Kings grew to a peace, in which William, Son to King Henry, being about seventeen years of age, was invested into the Dutchy of Normandy, doing homage for the same to the King of France. From whence it is afterward a custom, that the King of England's eldest Son (long as he lived in the hands) was made always Duke of Normandy. After this, Charles Earl of Flanders, being slain at Brussels by a conspiracy of his own people, and leaving no issue behind him, Lewis King of France invited William, Son to Duke Robert, in the Earldom of Flanders, defended from Earl Baldwin, whose Daughter Maud was Wife to King William the first, and Grandmother to this William. So as William now having gotten this step of advancement, seeks to go on, and to recover Normandy, and was thereof by the affnte of the King of France in a fair possibilty, when in a certain light colour, receiving a wound in his hand, the thread of his fair possibilty was upon a sudden cut off; and of that light wound he shortly after died.

King Henry now in perfect peace abroad, was not without some little disquiétions at home, and marching through Peas-Land in South Wales to repress some Insurrections of the Welsh, he came to certain straites, where his main Army could not pass, in which place the King was sit nestled with an Arrow full upon the breast, whereat he flew by our Lord's death (his usual Orth) that it was no Welsh arm had shot that Arrow; yet in his distress, for a thousand head of Cartel, he had the paffage left open, and came safely off. And there were his troubles of Arms, both at home and abroad, during all his reign.

His Taxes and ways for raising of Money.

Towards the marriage of his Daughter Maud with the Emperor, he obtained at his first Parliament at Salisbury, three Shillings upon every Hide of Land, throughout the Kingdom; which was afterwards drawn into a custom, to receive aid from the Subjects, whenever the King gave his eldest Daughter in marriage. Besides this he had no more in all his reign, but only one supply for his Wars in France, but he kept Bishoprics, and Abbeyes, void in his hands; and that of Canterbury, five years together. By an Act of Parliament, or rather by a Synod of Bishops held at London, he was authorized to punish marriage, and incontinency of Priests, which the Bishops afterwards repeated; for he suffered Priests to have Wives for Fines, or rather took Fines of them, whether they had Wives or no; because they might have them if they would. Punishments which before his time were mutilation of Member, he made Pecuniary. And the Provisions of his house, which were used to be paid in kind, were in his time rated at certain prices, and received in money. By this Chapper and the next before, it appears there were in this Kings dayes, but few troubles at home, nor but few Taxations, whereof the one may be thought to be cause of the other; the first perhaps of the second, but certainly the second of the first.

Laws first instituted in his time.

He first instituted the form of the High Court of Parliament; for before his time, only certain of the Nobility, and Prelates of the Realm were called to consult, about the most important Affairs of State: but he caused the Commons also to be assembled, by Knights and Burgesses of their own appointment, and made the Court to confit of three parts, the Nobility, the Clergy, and the Common People, representing the whole body of the Realm, and appointed them to sit in several Chambers; the King, the Bishops, and Lords of the Realm in one Chamber, and the Commons in another; to confer together by themselves. Other Orders of that Court he Ordained, as they are in use at this day. The first Council of this Fort was held at Salisbury, on the 19. day of April, in the 16. year of his Reign. He forbade the wearing of long Hair, which at that time was frequent, after the manner of the French. He commanded Robbers upon the High-way, to be hanged without redemption; of whom a famous one at that time was one Dunshe, and of him, the place where he most used, by reason of the great Woods thereabout, is to this day called Dunshe, where the King built the Borough as now it flandeth.

The cuttins of giving : 11. but mar-
rying the
King's eldest
cousin, when it first began.
flaineth. Counterfeitors of money he punished with pulling out their eyes, or cutting off their privy members; a punishment both les then death, and greater.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

At his first coming to the Crown, he for bore his claim to the investitures of Bishops; but after he had been King some time, he claimed that both to invest Bishops, and to allow, or hinder appeals to Rome, belonged to him. In thefe Anfelm Archbishop of Canterbury, who was now returned into England, opposed him; affirming that both of them belonged to the Pope. The contention at laft was brought to the Pope, to whom King Henry lent William Warlespoff, elect Bishop of Exeter, who lay ing to the Pope; that his Matter would not for the Crown of his Realm, lose the Authority of investing his Prelates; the Pope flarted up, and anfwerd, Neither will Archbishops of Spiritual Prerogatives in England, for the Kings head that wears the Crown; before God (fai d he) I wouw, So the contention grew long and hot, and many meffengers were fent to and fro about it: The conclusion was (which proved no conclusion) that the King fliould receive homage of the Bishops elect; but should not inveft them by Staff and Ring; to which the King faid nothing for the pretenf; but for borne not to do it ever the lefs. For five years after the death of Anfelm, Ralph Bishop of Ro chefter, was by the King made Archbifhop of Canterbury; and notwithstanding all former Decrees and Threatnings of the Pope, he received his Investiture of the King. About this time a Council of Bishops was held at London, at which the Temporal Lords were prefent; to the end that the Decree of the Council might be confirmed by both Orders. If any man defire to know more of the Affairs between the King and Anfelm; and of the many great virtues of Anfelm, I let him read Eadward a Monk of Canterbury, who was his Secretary, and hath written of purpose to fet forth his praires. About this time a Canon was made ag aint the marriage of Priests, to which purpofe Johannes Cremuffius, a Prieff Cardinal, by the Kings licen cie came into England, and held a solemn Syn nod at London; where inveighing sharply against it, affirming it to be no better then profef Adultery, he was himfelf the night following taken in bed with a common Harlot. Even Anfelm himfelf, the molt earnifh enforcer of fingle life, dyed not, it feems, a Virgins; for elfe he would never in his writings make fuch lamenta tion for the losf thereof. A little before this, Anfelm being at Rome, Brunincius one of the chief Princes that had been at Jerufalem, came thither; and among other holy Rigius, gave un to him certain hairs of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which Anfelm held always in great ve nation; and my elf heaving the custody of them committed to me, I have by experience great holines to be in them. About this time Anfelm Archbishop of Canterbury, held a Council at Wifminifter, where divers Constitutions, were made; of which there were two, That Priests fliould no more be suffer'd to have Wives: and that there fliould be no more buying and selling of men in England, which was hitherto accustomed, as if they had been King or Oxen. Anfelm about this time dying at the age of 76 years, Redulph fucceeded in the See of Canterbury, but not till five years after the death of Anfelm; and Thomas dying, Thurflane succeeded him in the Archbishopsrick of York, between which two Prelates there arose great contention. Redulph would not Confecrate Thur flane, unlefs he would provefs obedience; Thur flane was content to embrace his Benediftion, but provefs obedience he would not. In this contention the King taketh part with Redulph, the Pope with Thurflane; after many fallages, in the bullines, upon the Popes threatning to Excommunicate the King, Thurflane entred upon his Bifhoppick, and the King connived. In the tenth year of his reigne, the Abbey of Ely was made a Bifhoppick, and Canterbury likewise; for the Pope, anfwering the petition of the Prelates of England, had conferred the Bifhoprick of Canterbury, in recompence of the manner of Spaulding. This King alfo created a Bifhoppick at Carlifte, and endow ed it with many honours. In his time, the Order of the Templars began, in the 27. year of his reigne, the Grey-Friers by the procuration of the King, came first into England, and had their first house built at Canterbury. Also in this Kings time, the first Legat to supply the Popes room came into England, but as yet not admitted. I may here have leave to tell two stories of Church-men, for refreshing of the Re ader. Gamond the Kings Chaplain, observing that unworthy men for the molt part were advanced to the beft Dignities of the Church; as he celebrated Divine Service before him, and was to read these words out of St. JAMES, [It rained not upon the Earth, 31 years, and 6 months] he read this, it rained not upon the Earth, one, one, one year, five one months. The King observed his reading, and afterwards blamed him for it; but Gamond answer ed, that he did it of purpose, for that such Readers were fooner preferred by his Majesty. The King smiled, and in short time after preferred him to the Government of St. Frifes sides in Oxford. The other is this, Thomas Arch bishop of York falling fick, his Physicians told him, that nothing would do him good, but to company with a woman; to whom he answered, that the Remedy was worse then the Diseafe, and so dyed a Virgin. This King granted to the Church of Canterbury, and to Wilhams and his succedors, the custody of Conitable-ship of the City of Rochester for ever. In this Kings time the errors of Gilbertus Porresus, were condemned in a Council helden at Rhinims, by Pope Calixtus; also in his time Innocentus and Anacletus contended for the Papacy, whereby a great Schism arose in the Church. 

Workers of Pity done by this King, or by others in his time. 

His King founded and ered the Priory of Dunstable, the Abbey of Cernefet, the Abbey of Reading, the Abbey of Hidse, with-
out the Walls of Winchester, the Abbey of Shifham. He also new built the Cattle of Windsor, with a Colledge there: He made also the Navigable River between Tees and Lindsay, a work of great charge, but greater use. His Wife Queen Maud, passing over the River of Lune, was somewhat endangered; whereupon he caufed two Stone-Bridges to be built, one at the head of the Town of Stratford, the other over another stream there, called Channel-Bridge, and paved the way between them with Gravel. She gave also certain Mannors, and a Mill called Wyggan Mill, for repairing the same Bridges, and Way. These were the first Stone-Bridges that were made in England, and because they were Arched over like a Bow, the Town of Stratford was afterward called Bow. This Queen also founded the Priory of the Holy Trinity, now called Briths Church, within the East Gate of London called Aldgate; and an Hospital of St. Giles in the Field, without the Welt part of the City. In this Kings time Jordan Brife Baron, founder of the House of St. John of Herrifdown near to Woff in London, and gave 14. Acres of ground, lying in the field next to Jerkenhead, to build thereupon a Houfe of Nuns, wherein he with Amyrid his Wife, were buried in the Chapter Houfe, Robert Fife, who came out of Normandy with the Conquerour, founded a new the Church of Teesbury, and was there buried. Herbet Bishop of Norwich, founded the Cathedral Church there. The Priory and Hospital of St. Bartholomew in Smithfield, was founded by a Miniftrait of the Kings, named Reier, who became first Prior there. Before this time Smithfield was a Loyalit of all ordure and filth, and the place where Felons were put to Execution. Hugh Lucy founded the Monaftery of St. John at Lanbury near to Gloufher. Jaga Reynard, Lady of little Donam, founded the Church there, and gave to maintain it half a Hide of Land. This Lady Jaga was late Wife to Baynard, that first built Beyards Castle in England. Emily the Kings Sever, founded the Monaftery of St. John at Colfhef, other Colfhef Canons, and thofe were in their Order in England. Simon Earl of Northampton, and Manue his Wife, founded the Monaftery of St. Andrew in Northampton. In the twentieth year of this Kings Reign, the first Canons entered into the Church of our Lady in Southwark, called St. Mary Overy; founded by William Peniflght Knight, and William Dancie, Normans. Robert the first Earl of Gloufher, the Kings fife Son, built the Caftles of Briflam and Corbyf, with the Priory of St. James in Briflaw; and his Son Earl William began the Abbey of Kenfiti. Geoffry Clefton, Treasurer and Chamberlain to the King, founded the Priory at Kefworth, of Regular Canons. Henry Earl of Warwick, and Margaret his Wife, founded the Colledge of St. Mary in the Town of Warwick; and Roger de Belmond, his Son, and Elyine his Wife, tranflated the fame Colledge into the Caftle of Warwick, in the year 1123. Roger Bishop of Bathury built the Caftles of the Nutham and Shifham, he repaired the Caftle of Salisbury, and environed it with a Wall; he also built the flately Church of Salisbury; deuoted to a longer life then any of his other works.

Ralph Bishop of Darkom began to build the Caftle of Northam, upon the bank of the River Tweed. In the 32. year of this Kings Reign, the Priory of Northam in Cheffere, was founded by one William the Son of Nychel, and the Abbey of Cawkermere, in the fame Shire. The Colledge of Secular Canons also in the Caftle of Leicester, and the Abbey without the North gate of the same Town, called St. Marys de Prauto. Alfo in the Kings Reign was founded the Monaftery of Plimmou in Devonfhire, with the Cathedral Church of Exeter; the Priory of Merton, the Hospital of Kepper, the Priory of Oneyfey over Oxond, by Robert de Orlye Knight: and the Hospital of St. Crofs near Winchfhefere, by Henry Blof Bishop there: also Robert Earl of Ferrers founded the Abbey of Meridum; and indeed fo many in his time were built, that one would think the Inhabitants of Englund to be all Carpenters and Masons, that were able to finish fo many great Buildings in fo short time as this Kings Reign.

Casualties happening in his time:

In this Kings days all the four Elements were guilty of doing much mischief, but chiefly the Water: For King Henry returning into England after his conquest of Normandy, left his Son William with his Sister Mary, Countefs of Perche, Richard his Son by a Concubine, the Earl of Cheffer with his Wife Lucy, the Kings Neece by his Sister Adelaide, and other Lords and Ladies, and passengers to the number of 180. to follow after him; who taking shipping (and the boat Ship the King had) whether by carelefsnefs, or drunkennefs of the Sailers were all drowned. The Prince indeed was got into the Ship-boat, and out of danger; but hearing the lamentable cries of his Sister, compaflion wrought fo in him, that he turned about his Boat, and took him in, which over-charged with the multitude, over turned, and they all perifhed: none escapd but one Sailor, who had been a Butcher, who by wringing all night upon the Mafft, came safe to Land. An accident not more grievous then exemplary; for amongst other conclusions, from hence we may gather, that no State is so uncertain as prosperity; no fall so sudden as into adversity; and that the Rule [He that stands, let him take heed he fall not] cannot always be observed, because a man happens sometimes to fall before it is possible for him to take heed. Another great mischief was in this Kings days wrought by the water; for by the breaking in of the Sea, a great part of Flanders was drowned: whereupon on a great number of Flemings being fitters to King Henry for some place to inhabit; he affigned them a part in Wales near the Sea, called Pembroke; where they have inhabited to this day: the King by this one action, working two good effects, both shewing compassion to afflicted Strangers, and putting a bride upon unhappy Nations. But the water had another way to do mischief, as much by defect, as this was by excess; for upon the tenth of October, the River of Medway many miles togethcr did come to fail of water, that in the midit of the Chan-

The Church of Salrihury built.

The Colledge of Secular Canons also.

The Cathedral of Exeter.

The Hospital of St. Crofs.

The Kings children drowned.
The Reign of King Henry the First.

net, the smallest Vessels could not pass: and the same day also in the Thames between the Tower of London, and the Bridge, men waded over on foot for the space of two days: also at another time the River of Trent at Nottingham was dried up a whole day. Now for the Earth, though naturally it be without motion, yet it moves sometimes when it is to do mischief, specially being afflieted by the Air; as in this King's days, it moved with so great a violence, that many buildings were shaken down, and Malmesbury faiths, that the homine wherein he sat, was lifted up with a double remove, and at the third time fell set again in the proper place. Also in divers places it yielded forth a hideous noise, and cast forth flames at certain risfes many days together, which neither by water, nor by any other means could be suppofed. But yet the active Element of Fire was buift of by the flood. Chichefet, with the micuclent Monaftery was burst down to the ground. From Wolf Cheap in London to Adelgate, a long tract of buildings was confused with Fire: Water for alfo and Rochefer, even in the Kings prefence; and Winchefter, Bath, Gloucefter, Lin- coln, Peterborough, and other places did alfo partake of this calamity, that there could be no charging the fire with any partiality: and to speak of one foreign caffuality, because a strange one; in Lombardy this year was an Earthquake that continued forty days, and removed a Town from the place where it stood, a great wayoff. In the thirteenth year of this King, many prodiges were seen; A Pig was farrowed with a face like a Child, a Chicken was hatch- ed with fourlegs; and the Sun was so deeply eclipsed, that by the reason of the darknes, many stars did plainly appear. In this King's time Gerard Archbifhop of Tork, a man though learned, yet of many ill parts, feeping one day in his Garden after dinner, never waked again, but was there found dead.

Of his Wives and Children.

At his first coming to the Crown, he married Matild or Maud, Sifter to Edgar then King of Scotland, and Daughter to Malcolm by Margaret the Sifter of Edgar Atheling. This Matild, if she were not a veiled Nun, she was at leaft brought up in a Nunnerie, and thereby grown to overeight from Marriage, that when the motion was first made her to marry with King Henry, the utterly refuited it, as resolved, though perhaps not vowed to die a Virgin; till at leaft importuned, and even forced by the Au- thority of her Brother, the rather yielded then confented; for she did it with fo ill a will, that it is faid, the prayed, if ever she had issue by the Marriage, that it might not prosper: and indeed it prospered but uncowardly, as will be feen in the sequel. But though the made this imprécation before the knew what it was to be a Mother, yet when the came to be a Mother, she flewed her felf no lefs loving and tender of her Children, then loyal and obfuscuous to her Husband. And to make amends for this seeming impiety towards her Children, there is a story related of her real
The Reign of King Henry the First.

Of his Inconstancy.

O f this enough hath been said, in saying he had so many children barely begotten: but if comparison be made between this his Brother Kynes and him, it may be said, that however they might be equal in looseness of life, yet in that looseness William Rufus was the safer, and King Henry the more noble; for King Henry had certain selected Concubines, to whom he kept himself constant, whereas King William took only such as he found: constant to the pleasure, but not to the persons.

His course for establishing the succession in Mind and his Issue.

He married his only Daughter Maud, being but five years old, to the Emperor Henry the Fourth; but he leaving her a Widow without issue, he married her again to Geoffrey Plantagenet, Son to Eulphe, Duke of Anjou; not the greatest Prince that was a Seducer for her, but the fittest Prince for King Henry's turn; for Anjou is neighbouring upon Normandy, a great security to it; if a friend: and as great a danger, it an enemy. And having thus placed her in marriage, he now considers how to establish her incession in the Crown of England; whereupon he calls his Nobility together, and amongst them David King of Scots, and caufeth them to give their Oaths of Allegiance to her and her issue: and as thinking he could never make her incession sure enough, he caufeth her Lords the year after again to take the like Oath, and after that a three time also, as conceiving that being doubled and trebled, it would make the tie of Allegiance the stronger: wherein nothing pleased him so much, that he Stephen Earl of Blia was the first man that took the Oath, because he was known to be, at least known he might be a pretender. But the King should have considered that Nulla fide Regei, and therefore no Oath, though never so often reiterated, sufficient to warrant Loyalty in perfons to deeply interested, as Stephen was: yet Providence could do no more, and the King was well satisfied with it; especially when he saw his Daughter a Mother of two Sons: for this, though it gave him not assurance; yet it gave him assured hope to have the Crown perpetuated in his Poeternity.

Of Ireland in his time.

The King of England as yet had nothing to do with Ireland, the Country was governed by its own Kings; and the people of both Nations, though they were neighbours, yet divided by a rough Sea, but little acquainted: but now began entercourse to be more frequent, and Mercaderch, chief King of the Irish, bore such awful respect to King Henry, that he would do nothing but by his counsel, and with his good liking.

Whom King Henry used as his Minister in his absence.

He was absent sometimes in Normandy, three or four years together; during which times, he committed commonly the care of the Realm to Roger Bishop of Salisbury, a politicke Prelate, and more as fit to be the second in Government, as King Henry to be the first.

His Personage and Conditions.

He was a person tall and strong, broad breasted, his limbs well knit, and fully furnished with flesh, his face well fashioned, his colour clear, his eyes large and fair, his eyewrows large and thick, his hair black and somewhat thin towards his forehead, his countenance pleasant, specially when he was disposed to mirth. A private man, widifed, and thought to have but little in him; but come to the Crown, never any man fowed more excellent abilities, to true is the saying, Magiftratus indicam vivum. His natural affection in a direct line was strong, in an oblique but weak; for no man ever loved Children more, nor a Brother less. Though a King in act, yet he always acted not a King; but in Battels sometimes the part of a common Soldier, though with more then common valour: as at a Battle in France, wherein he so far hazarded himself, that though he loft not his life, yet he loft his blood. He delighted much in Battles of Foreign Countries; and in Lions, Leopards, Camels, and such like, for which he inclofed a place at Woodstock, of purpose to keep them.

Of his Death and Burials.

A Diffcontent of mine upon some differences between him and his Son in law, the Earl of Anjou, brought upon him a discontent which encreased by eating against his Physicinian advice, of a Lepreary, a meall always pleasing to him, but never agreeing with him, cast him into a Fever, which in few days put a period to his life: So certain it is, that one intemperate action is enough to overthrow the temperance of a whole life; as of this King Henry it is said, that he seldom did eat but when he was hungry, never did drink but when he was a thirst: yet this but once yielding to his final appetit, made him forfeit all benefit of his former abstinence, though some write he took his death by a fall of his Horse. He dyed upon the first of December at night, in the year 1135, when he had reigned five and thirty years, lived three score and seven. His Bowels, Brain, and Eyes, were buried at Roam in Normandy where he dyed: the rest of his body was stuffed with Salt, wrapped in Oxe Hides, and brought over into England, and with honourable Exequies buried in the Monastery of Reading, which himself had founded. The Physicinian that took out his Brains, with the intolerable stench shortly after died. In this King Henry ended the Line of the Normans, as touching the Heirs Males; and then came in the French by the title of Heirs General.
Men of note in his time.

Men of Learning in his time were many; first, Stephen Harding, a Benedictine Monk, who was founder to the Cistercian Order. Then Aelred, Archbishop of Canterbury, who besides his services in matters of State, wrote many great and learned Books.

Then Walter Calne, Archdeacon of Oxford, who delivered a History written in the English tongue, from Brut to Cadwalader, to Geoffrey of Monmouth to translate; and added forty years of his own time. Also Florantius a Monk of Worcester, who wrote De rebus Gestis Anglo-Roman. Also Eadmerus a Monk of Canterbury, who besides other works, wrote the History of his own time, under the two Williams, and Henry the First.
The REIGN of

KING STEPHEN.

What course he took to establish himself in the Kingdom.

I 

T is a true saying, ISIEMI omnes servator Imperii, quibus paratur; and this was Stephen's course, he got the Kingdom by promises, and he established it by performances: He pleased the People with eating them of Taxes and Impositions: He pleased the Clergy with forbearing to keep Bishoppricks and Abbeys vacant, and with exempting them from the Authority of the Temporal Magistrate; He pleased the Nobility with allowing them to build Castles upon their own Lands; he pleased the Gentry with giving them Libery to hunt the Kings Deer in their own Woods; and besides with advancing many of them in Honours: and for his brother Theobald, who being the elder, was before him in pretence to the Crown, he pleased him with a Grant to pay him two thousand Marks a year; and then to strengthen himself abroad no less then at home, he married his Son Ennue to Constance, a Daughter of Lewis King of France, which alliance alone might be thought a sufficient security against all opposition. And yet one thing more, which establish'd him more then theu, at least thee the more for this, that he had field upon King Henry's treasurie, which amounted to one hundred thousand pounds; besides Plate and Jewels of inestimable value, which he spent nor in vain riot, but employed to his best advantage, both in procuring of Friends, and in levying of Souldiers out of Brittany and Flanders.

Of his Troubles in his Reign.

Here may well be made a Chapter of the troubles of his Reign, seeing his whole Reign was in a manner but one continued trouble, at least no longer intermission, then as to give him breath against new encounters; till at last, when he grew towards his old, he rather left to be in trouble, then was quiet, being forced to make his adversary his Heir; and to leave his Crown to him that had fought his life. For he was no sooner set in his Chair of State, but he was presently disquieted and made to ride, by the provocation of David King of Scots, who solicited by some Lords of England, but chiefly by Mande the Emperors (whose right he had sworn to defend,) with a mighty Army entered Northumberland, took Carlisle and Newcastle, and was proceeding further, till King Stephen with a greater Army coming against him, yet rather bought his peace then won it; for to recover Newcastle out of his hands, he

He marries his Son Ennue, to the King of France's Daughter, King Henry had left a hundred thousand pounds in ready moneys.

Upon what relation the Oath before taken to Mande was Ejected.
The Reign of King Stephen.

47

was left to let King David hold Cumberland, and his Son Henry the Earl of Huntingdon, as their Inheritance, for which, the Father would not for his, as being engaged, but the Son for his as being free, did Homage to King Stephen.

No sooner was this trouble over, but he was presently under another; for being false somehow what ill at ease, it was brutish abroad that he was dead; which so disheartened men, that every one thought it wisdom to shif for himself; and the great Lords made a contrived use of Caftles, to that which King Stephen intended, when he gave liberty to build them, for the King intended for them his own defence against his Enemies, and they made use of them in their own defence against the King; for now Hugh Biga Earl of Norfolk, poiffcfit him of Norfolk, Baldwyn Rivers of Oxford, and Robert Quegumas of other Caftles. In these difficulties King Stephen, though he could not in person be in all places at once, yet in care he was; and there moit, where was moit danger, employing others against the rest. Against Baldwin, he went himsclf, whom, driven before out of Oxford, and gotten to the Isle of Wight, the King followed and drove him also from thence, and at last into Exile.

And now England afforded him once again to take a little breath, but then Normandy presently begins with him affairs. For now Geoffrey Plantagenet Duke of Aquitain, in right of Munde his Wife enters upon his Townthere, and seeks to get possession of the Country; when King Stephen paffeth over with an Army, and arrefts his proceedings; and after some small defeats of his Enemies, brings the matter at last to a peucuiary Composition: He to pay the Duke five thousand Marks a year, and the Duke to relinquish his claim to Normandy. This done, he returns into England, where new commotions are attending him. For the Lords in his absence, refraining his breach of promise, which they had admitted, and the half of the Crown, make use of every one of their Caftles, and stand upon their Guard: The Lord Talbot held Hereford; Earl Robert Monds Brother, Brifon; William Lovell, the Caftle of Croy; Paganel, the Caftle of Ludlow; William Moone, the Caftle of Dunfer; Robert of Nichol now called Lincoln, the Caftle of Warham; Enfrace the Son of John, the Caftle of Melsor; William the Son of Alan, the Caftle of Sherwood; and withall David King of Scots, never regarding his former agreement, enters Northumberland with an Army, committing to great cruelty, in ravishing of Maids, murthering of Infants, slaughtering of Priests, even at the altar, that never any barbarous Nation committed greater. Thus the Kingdom from the one end to the other was in combustion; that if the King had had as many hands as Brismo, there would have been work enough for them all. Yet all this dismay'd not the King, but as having learned this lesson, Tu ne cede malis, fed contra cantenter ise, grows more in the confidence, the less he was in assurance; and as if danger were the fucell of courage, the more ered in himself, the less he was upheld by others: and so, venturing what his Rebels at home would do in his absence, he

He goes in person against David King of Scots; as being most dangerous, and therefore the first to be repressed: but finding it hard to draw him to a battle, and impossible without a battle to do any good upon him, he leaves the care of that quarrel to Thurnsfe Archibishop of York, and returns himself home, if it may be called home, where he scarce had a safe place to put his head. But though many Lords were rebellious against him, yet some there were that stuck firmly to him, by whose assistance and his own industry, partly by intemcement, partly by inforcements, he reduced most of them to obedience, and all of them to submission. When in the mean time Thurnsfe Archibishop of York, and in his lieutenants, Ralph Bishop of Durham, assisted with William Earl, of Aumeres, William Pippereil of Nottingham, and Hubert de Lucy, fought a memorable battle against David King of Scots; wherein though King David himself, and his Son Henry performed wonderful Acts of Providence, yet the English got the Victory, with the slaughter of seven thousand Scots in the Field, besides many other taken in the flight; where of the English none of account were taken, but only a Brother of Hubert Lucy's, and some small number of common Soldiers. This Victory infinitely pleased and comforted King Stephen, who not long after to make an absolute suppression of the Scots, paffeth again with an Army, and inforceth King David to demand a Peace, delivering his Son Henry into King Stephen's hands for a pledge; and coming home- ward, by the way he beleaguered Ludlow one of Rebels's tents, where Prince Henry of Scotland had been taken Prisoner, if King Stephen in his own Person had not rescued him.

After this, once again the King got a little breathing time, but it was but to prepare him for greater Encounters. For now Munde the Emperor hisself in Person comes into play, in whom the breach before taken was to have its trial; for till now neither so really intended, yet it could not possibly be performed; for how could they receive her Queen, who came not in place to be received? but now that the came in Person, was now the time of trial, how the Oath would work; and work it did indeed with many, and that strongly. For Munde coming into England with Robert Earl of Gloucester, her base Brother was most joyfully received at Arundel Castle, by William de Auido, who had married Ade Жца the Queen Dowager, of the late King Henry, and had the said Castle and County assigned for her Dower. King Stephen having intelligence hereof, cometh to Arundel Castle with an Army, and besiegeth it; but either diverted by counsel, or else finding the Castle to be inexpugnable, he left the siege, and suffered the Emperors to pass to Brifon.

The King hearing, that Randolph Earl of Chester, Son in Law to Robert Earl of Gloucester, had poffcfit himself of the City of Lincoln, thither he goeth with an Army, and besiegeth it: thither also came the said Earl of Chester, and Robert Earl of Gloucester to raise the siege; at which time a most fierce battel was fought between them upon Candlemas-day; wherein as it is memorable what wonders of valor King Stephen performed, For when all men about him were either
The Reign of King Stephen.

1141. King Stephen was born.

He was borne and carried to Abingdon.

Stephen was received at the London door.

either fled or slain; yet he kept the field himself alone, no man daring to come near him, but overmastered at last by multitude, he was taken Prisoner, and brought to Maidst the Emperors, who sent him to be kept in safe custody in the Castle of Brifton, where he remained till Abstinence after.

And now the Emperors having gotten King Stephen into their hands, they took their journey to London; received in all places, as they went, peaceably, and at London joyfully. Where Queen Matilda made humble amends unto her for the liberty of King Stephen her Husband, and that he might but be allowed to live a private life; the Londoners also made suit to have the Laws of King Edward restored; but the Emperors not only rejected both their suits, but returned them in harsh and insulting language: Indeed most unfeasonably; and which gave a stop to the current of all her fortunes. For Queen Matilda finding thereby how high the Emperors' pulses did beat, sent presently to her Son Ensfate, being then in Kent, to raise Forces with all speed, with whom the Londoners, as much disinclined as she, do afterwards join; and Henry Bishop of Winchester, as much disinclined as either of them, fortifies his Castles at Waltham and Eanbrook, and especially Winchester, where he lays himself, attending upon what Cost the next wind of the Emperors would blow. Of all these things the Emperors had intelligence, and thereupon secretly in the night she fled to Oxford, sending straight charges to have King Stephen more narrowly watched, more hardly used, but (as some write) in Petters, and fed with very bare and poor commons; with fine fare to her Uncle David King of Scots, to come unto her with all speed possible, who coming accordingly, they fall into consultation what is first to be done. The lot falls upon Winchester, as being their greatest Adversary, now, no less in appearance then in power: so Winchester he besiege which Queen Matild hearing, she with her Son Ensfate and the Londoners, came presently to the succour, where a fierce battle being fought, the end was, that the party of Queen Matild prevailed, and the Emperors to make her escape, was fain to be laid upon a Horseback in manner of a dead Corp, and so conveyed to Glocefe; while Earl Robert her Brother dairing to file, was taken Prisoner, whom Queen Matild caused to be used the more hardly in retaliation of the hard usage which the Emperors before had shewed to King Stephen. Things standing in these terms, propositions were made by the Lords for pacification; but such were the high spirits of the Emperors and her brother Robert, that no conditions would please them, unless the Emperors might enjoy the Crown. But after long debate, whether by accommodation between themselves, or by convivance of the Keepers, both King Stephen and Earl Robert got to be at liberty. When the first thing King Stephen did, was to look out the Emperors to requisite the kindred she had shewed him in Prison; and hearing her to be at Oxford, he layes siege to the Town, and brings the Emperors to such distress that she had no way to free her self but by flight; and no way to file but with manifest danger: yet she effected it by this device. It was in the Winter season, when frost and snow covered all the ground over; she therefore clad her self, and her four servants that were with her in white clothes, which being of the colour of snow, made her pass the Watches without being discerned, and by this means came safe to her friends at Walthingham. Yet Malmebury, who lived at that time, confessed he could never learn certainly by what means she made her escape. But howsoever she escaped this present danger; yet it left such an impression of fear upon her, that she never had after any mind to appease upon this Subject of War: but left the prosecution of it to her Son Henry, who was now about sixteen years of age and being forward of his age and able to take arms, was by his great Uncle David King of Scots knighted to make him more forward.

It was now the ninth year of King Stephen's Reign, when Ralph Earl of Chester, keeping possession of the City of Lincoln, was in night time assaulted by the King; but the Earl perceiving the King Forces to be but small, suddenly issued forth, and repelled the King with the slaughter of fourscore of his men. Yet two years after this, the Earl was reconciled to the King; and came of his own accord to wait upon him, when peradventure he was detained by the King, and not set at liberty, till he had surrendered in to the Kings hands all the Castles that were in his possession: though which though he brought the King some present benefits, yet it wrought him a greater future loss; for it lost him his credit with all men, and no man afterward would trust his word.

Now was Duke Henry come to the age of nineteen years, and was in possession of the dukedom of Aquitaine, by the death of his Father Geoffrey Plantagenet; and not long after this, he married Eleanor, the Daughter and Heir of William Duke of Gnom, by whom he had that Darchy, and also the Earldom of Poitou Normanby he had by his Mother; but more by the peoples inclination. So as being poffiff now of four great Principealities, this greatnesse of Eftace adding to the greatnesse of his spirit, made him aspired to recover his right in England; and once he comes bringing with him but small Forces, but promising himself great, from the people of this Kingdom. And many indeed referred to him; with whom he felt prefently, and besieged Mariemore; but by the Kings greater Forces was repelled.

After this, their Armies continued in the field still; rather watching advantages to be doing, then doing anything; sometimes advancing when no Enemy was near, and then retiring when the Enemy came; till at last it was like come to a fet Battel, when suddenly Enfate King Stephen's only Son unfortunately dyed: Unfortunately for himself, but fortunately for the Kingdom; for now King Stephen being left destitute of issue to succeed, was the more easily drawn to conditions of Peace, as likewise the Emperors Mand, having lately lost her Brother Robert Earl of Glocefter, and Miles Earl of Hertford (her two best Champions) was no lefs willing then he which being furthered by the Lords of both sides, was at last concluded upon these conditions,
The Reign of King Stephen.

Of his Taxations and ways of raising of Monies.

Of Taxations in his time, there is no mention made; for Taxations indeed, are properly drawn from a body of State when it is entire, whereas the state all this Kings time was altogether in Faction. But what he wanted in Taxations, he supplied with Confiscations, which by reason of the many revoltings of men of all sorts, could not chuse but fill his Coffers, every Rebellion being in nature of a purchase to him; for whatsoever became of the persons, their Lands and Goods were sure to be his. And if it happened at any time, that Confiscations came in but slowly, he had then devices to hallow their pace; for upon light suggestions (not so much oftentimes as just suspicions) he would call men into question, and seize upon their Goods, as in the case particularly of Ralph Bishop of Salisbury; and it may not be unpleasing to hear from what beginning this Bishop grew to such a height of greatnes, which was thus. In the time of King William Rufus he was a poor Priest, serving a Cure in a Village near to Caen in Normandy, when the Kings younger Brother Henry chanced to pass that way, and to make some stay in the said Village, who being desirous to hear a Mass, this Roger being Curate, was the man to say it, which he dispatched with such celerity, that the Souldiers (who commonly love not long Maffes) commended him for it, telling their Lord, that there could not a finer Priest be found for men of War then he. Whereupon Henry appointed him to follow him; and when he came to King, preferred him to many great places, and at last to be Chancellour of England, and Bishop of Salisbury. You have heard his rising, now hear his fall. When King Stephen came to the Crown, he held this man in as great account as his Predecessour King Henry had done, and perhaps in greater; for being a great benger of Suits, the King would lay of him, If this man wil never give over asking, neither shall I ever give over giving. Yet this great Prelate fell first through pride into envy, and then through envy into ruine. For King Stephen having given a liberty to the said Caffles, this man did so far exceed all others in magnificence (for he builded the Caffles of Salisbury, the Pey, Sherlaw, Malmesbury, and Newark, to which there were no Structures comparable in the Kingdom) that the Lords out of envy put it into the Kings head, that these Caffles of his were built thus magnificently for entertainment of Made the Emperors. Which so possest the King, or he would be thought to be so possest, that taking this for a juft caufe, he seised them all into his hands, and forty thousand Marks besides, which he had in money; and not conented with this, he took the like course allo with Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, only because he was his Nephew; and of his near kindred. Another way he had for gaining of Money; for in the first year of his Reign, having given liberty to hunt in his Forests, he afterwards at Oxford caused many to beimpleaded for that liberty: a trick which perhaps he learned from Hunting, first, to give men leave to do a thing, and then to fine them for having done it. But this is the priviledge of Princes, that their leave must be interpreted by him that gives it, and not by him that takes it.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

He gave licence to the City of Norwich to have Coroners and Bailiffs, before which time, they had only a Sergeant for the King to keep Courts; and after this, in the 37. year of King Henry the Third, they had licence to inclose the Town with Ditches.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

Upon the Kings seeling into his hands, the Bishop of Salisbury Caffles, and Goods, which was as usual, and a Synod was called by the
the Bishop of Winchelsea, the Popes Legate, to rigit the Bishop, where the King was credited to appear; who sending to know the cause, answer was made, that it was to answer for his imprisoning of Bishops, and depriving them of their Goods, which being a Christiun King, he ought not to do. The King Replies by his Lawyer, Autoris de Vir, that he had not arrested the Bishop: Satisfy as a Bishop, but as his Servant that was to make him revenge of his Employment. To this the Bishop answered, that he was never Servant or Accomplices to the King. And many Alegations and Protests were urged to and fro, but in conclusion the Synod brake up, and nothing was done. The Bishops durst not Excommunicate the King without the Pope's provocation; so in the end they fell from Authority to submission; and in the Kings Chamber fell down at his feet, beseeching him that he would pray the Church, and suffer difference to be between the Kingdom, and the Priesthood. And this was no small manifestuity in the King, that he was able to pull down the high tombs of the Prelates in that time. In the eighth year of his Reign, a Synod was held in London by Henry Bishop of Winchelsea, where it was decreed, that whatsoever should lay violent hands upon any Clergyman, should not be absolved but by the Pope himself; and from this time forward, Clergy men were exempt from the secular power. In the tenth year of his Reign, by the soliciting of Saint Bernard, many took upon them the Cross, for a supply to the Holy Land, amongst whom some English Lords also.

Work of Diety by him, or by others in his time.

He founded the Abbeys of Croyland in Essex, of Norreys in Lancashire, of Harewood and Fotherham in Kent; at Heigham in Kent, a lord of black Nuns, also an house for Nuns at York. His Queen Matilda builded the Hospital of St. Katherine's by the Tower of London; a Knight called Sir William of Mount Fitchet, founded the Abbey of Stratford Langthorn, within four miles of London; William of Yorke founded Buxley Abbey in Kent; Robert Earl of Rivers founded the Abbots of Merbury in Worcestershire, and in the same Shire, Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Abbey of New Ecton. Thomas Archbishop of York founded the Monastery of Petec in Yorkshire. Also by others were founded the Abbeys of Tilney, of Retail, of Netheravon and Beddulc, of Garedon in Leicestershire, of Kirkstall in Yorkshire; and divers others in other places: so that more Abbeys were erected in his days, than had been within the space of a hundred years before.

Of Causethhappening in his time.

Embassy and also Huntingdon reporteth of one Raymond, a wicked M miller of a more wicked Abbot, that croffing the Seas with his Wife, he so with his inquisition outweighed the Ship, that in the midst of the Stream, it was not able to Hör; at which the Mariners alighted, fell fast, and the lot fell upon Ray-

nersus: and left this should be thought to happen by chance, they calt the lots again and again, and still the lot fell upon Raymond: whereupon they put him out of the Ship, and presently the Ship as eaid of her burthen, failed away. Certainly a great Judgement of God, and a great Miracle; but yet recorded by one Numeigts, that is no fabulous Author. In this Kings time also, there appeared two Children, a Boy and a Girl, clad in Green, in a signal unknown, of a strange language, and of a strange dier; whereof the Boy being Baptized, dyed shortly after, but the Girl lived to be very old; and being asked from whence they were, she answered, They were of the Land of St. Mary's, where there are Christian Churchs erected; but that no Sun did ever rise into them: but where that Land is, and how the came hither, she her self knew not. This I the rather write, that we may know there are other parts of the World, then those which we are known: and this story I should not have believed, if it were not testified by so many, and so credible witnesses as it is. In the fifteenth year of this King, the river of Thames was so hard frozen, that Horfe and Cart paffed over upon the Ice. In this Kings time lived Iohannes de Temporalis, of whom it is recorded, that he lived three hundred sixty and one years. He was one of Charlemagne the Emperors Guard, and died in the Reign of Conrade the third, Anno Dom. 1139.

Of his Wife and Children.

He married by his Uncle King Henry means, Matilda, Daughter and Heir of Euface, Earl of Baxen, a Woman made for the proportion of both fortunes: In Adversity not dejected, in Prosperity not elated. While her Husband was at liberty, a Woman; during his durance as it were a Man; acting his part for him when he was restrained from acting it himself; not looking that fortune should fall into her lap, but industrious to procure it. By this Queen he had only one Son named Eusace, a Prince more than of hope, for he lived to the blossoming of much value, though it came not to maturity, as being cut off at eighteen years of age, some say by drowning, and some by a stranger accident. But strange Relations must not always be rejected, for though many of them be forgot, yet some no doubt are true; and who knows but it may be of this kind, which some Writereferate of this Prince, That being at the Abbey of Bury in Norfolk, and denied some money he required to have had, he presently in a rage went forth, and set fire on the Corn Fields belonging to the Abbey; but afterwards sitting down to dinner, at the first morsel of bread he put into his mouth, he fell into a fit of madness, and in that fit died. Certainly, the persons of Princes are for more observation than ordinary people: and as they make Examples, so they are sometimes made Example. This Prince Eusace was so beloved of his Father, that he had a parpoze to have joyed him King with himself, but that the Pope upon the Bishops complaining to him of it, diverted him from it. Howsoever being dead, he was buried in Peterbom Abbey, where his Mother.
Mother was buried a little before. Other legitimate issue King Stephen had none; but by a Concubine he had a Son named William, whom he made Earl of Norfolk; which honour was confirmed upon him, by a special Article, in the agreement made between King Stephen and Duke Henry; only a French Chronicle speaks of another Son of his, named Geruaf, made Abbot of Welfmünster; and that he died in the year 1160, and was there buried.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, of great strength, and of an excellent good complexion. Concerning the qualities of his mind, there was apparent in him a just mixture of Valour and Prudence; for if he had not both, he could never have held out with such weak friends as he did, against such potent adversaries as he had. And specially it must be confest, he was of an excellent temper for a Souldier, seeing he never kill'd any enemy in cold blood, as Anthony did Cicero; nor any friend in hot blood, as Alexander did Clitus. What he would have been in Peace, we are left to judge by only a pattern, the short time between his agreement with Duke Henry and his death. Which seeing he spent in travelling to all parts of the Realm, and seeking to stitch up the breaches which the violence of War had made, we may well think that if his life had been continued, he would have given as good proofs of his Justice in Peace, as he had done of his Valour in War. For of his extraordinary good nature we have a sufficient example in one action of his, which was this: Duke Henry being on a time, in some feights for money, sent to his Mother Maud the Emperefs, desiring her to furnish him, but the answerer that she was in as great strait her self, and therefore could not do it; then he sent to his Uncle Earl Robert to furnish him, and he answerer he had little enough to serve his own turn, and therefore could not do it: at last he sent to King Stephen, and he though an Adversary, and standing in terms of opposition, yet sent presently, and supplied him with it. He was withal a great oppugner of superstition, which made him on a time to ride into Lincoln with his Crown upon his head, only to break the people of a superflitious opinion they held, that no King could enter into that City in such manner, but that some great disaster would fall upon him. One special Virtue may be noted in him, that he was not noted for any special Vice, whereof if there had been any in him, Writers certainly would not have been silent.

Of his Death and Burial.

A S a Fifth cannot live out of Water, no more was it in the Destiny of this King, to live out of trouble. As soon as he came to enjoy quietness, he left to enjoy life. No time left him between his agreement with Duke Henry and his Death, but only so much as might reasonably serve him to take his last leave of all his Friends: For it was but from January to October; and the last friend he took leave of was Theodorek, Earl of Flanders, whom he met at Dover, and as soon as he had dismissed him, he was suddenly taken with the black Poxion and with an old Disease of the Emrods; and died in the Monstery there, the fifth and twelfth of October, in the year 1154, when he had reigned almost nineteen years, lived nine and forty, and was buried in the Abbey of Faversham, which he had founded.

Men of Note in his time.

O F Clergy-men there was Tho:stone, Arch-bishop of York, and Henry Bishop of Winchester the Kings Brother; also William another Arch-bishop of York, whom we may finde in the Calendar of Saints, as likewise St. Bernard, who lived in this time, though not of this Country. And if we may reckon strangers, there lived at this time Peter Lombard, Master of the Sentences; Peter Comestor, writer of the Ecclesiastical Story; and Gratian, Compiler of the Canon Law, all three Brothers, and all three Ballards: also Action, Aerottus, Meisier, and Rabbi Solomon were in this time famous. Of Military men, there was Ranulphe Earl of Chester; Renold Earl of Cornwall, Robert Earl of Leicester, Hugh Bigot Earl of Norfolk; but especially Robert Earl of Gloucester, the Kings bafe Son, whose prais, if any desire to hear founded out to the full, let him read William of Malmesbury, who writ the History of these times, of purpose to be his Trumpeter. Of the Writers of our Nation, there was this William of Malmesbury, Henry Huntington, Simon Dunelmus, William Russell, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, Bishop of St. Asaph in Wales. Also Hugo Carbinianus, a Burgundian, but made Bishop of Lincoln here in England.
The LIFE and REIGN of

KING HENRY

THE SECOND.

ING Stephen being dead, Henry Duke of Anjou, by his Father Geoffrey Plantagenet, succeeded him in the Kingdom of England, by agreement, whom he prece-
ded by right, as being Son and Heir of Maud, sole Daughter and Heir of King Henry the first; and was Crowned at Westminster, by Theobald Archbishop of Canter-
bury, on the seventeenth of December, in the year 1155, and was now a greater Prince than any of his Ancestors had been before. And indeed the Kingdom of England, the Duke-
dom of Normandy, and the Duchy of Anjou in his own right, and in the right of his Wife Queen Eleanor, the Duchy of Guyenne, and the Earldom of Poitou, being all united in his person, made him a Dominion of a larger extent than any Christian King had at that time.

He was born at Mort in Normandy, in the year 1132, a great joy to his Father Geoffrey, Duke of Anjou, a greater to his Heire Maud the Emperess; but of great to his Grandfather King Henry, the first, that it seemed to make amends for his Son William, whom unfortunately he had lost before by Shipwreck. The years of his childhood were spent at home under the care of his Parents. At nine years old or thereabouts, he was brought by his Uncle Robert Earl of Gloucester into England, and placed at Bristan, where under the tuition of one Matthew his Schoolmaster, to instruct him in learning, he remained four years; after which time he was sent into Scotland to his great Uncle David King of Scots, with whom he remained about two years, initiated by him in the princi-
pies of State, chiefly of his own Estate. And being now about fifteen years of age, was by him Knighted, and though a young sapling before its time, was mellowed under the Discipline of his Uncle Robert, one of the best Souldiers of that time. And now the Duke his Father not able any longer to en-
dure his absence, sent with great instance to have him sent over to him; for satisfying of his loving longing, Earl Robert provided him of palace, and conducted him himself to sea side, where he took his last farewell of him. Being come into Anjou, his Father perhaps overjoyed with his presence, not long after died, leaving him in present possession of that Duchy, being now about nineteen years of age: when shortly after he married Eleanor the late Wife of Louis King of France, but now divorced. A year or two after, he came again into England, where after some revolutions with King Stephen they were at last reconciled, and his succession to the Crown of England, ratified by Act of Parliament. Not long after he went again into France, and presently fell to besiege a Castle which was detained from him by the French King. In the time of which siege, news was brought of King Stephen's death, which one would have thought should have made him hasten his Journey into England; yet he resolved not to stir till he had won the Castle. Which resolution of his being known to the Defen-
dants, they surrendered the Castle; but yet no sooner, but that it was six weeks after before he came into England, when he was now about the age of three and twenty years.

His first Act after he came to the Crown.

He began his Reign as Solomon would have begun it, if he had been in his place. For first he made choice of wife and discreet men to be his Counsellors; then he banished out of the Realm all strangers, and especially Flemings, with whom the Kingdom swarmed: as of whom King Stephen had made use in his Wars, amongst whom was William of Trast, lately be-
fore made Earl of Kent. Castles which by King 
Stephen's allowance had been built, he caufed to be demolished, (of which there were said to be eleven hundred and fifteen) as being rather nur-
eries of Rebellion to the Subject, than of any safety to the Prince. He appointed the most able men of that profession, to reform abuses of the Laws, which disorder of the Wars had brought in. He banished many Lords, who against their Oath had assisted King Stephen against him, as thinking that men once perjured would never be faithful; and to the end he might be the less pressing upon the people with Taxa-
tions, he dismissed all such Lands belonging to the Crown, which had any way been aliened or usurped, as thinking it better to disperse a few then many; and many other things he did, which in a disjounted State were not less profitable and expedient, then requisite and necessary.

His troubles during his Reign.

He had no Competitors, nor Pretenders with him for the Crown; and therefore his troubles at first were not inCopies, which not at the root, as King Stephen's did; but were only some certain disturbances at inferior parts, till at last he brought them himself into his own bow-
elle. For what was the trouble in his first year
But the rest of the family, did in great danger, can partly be stated. It is true, the Earl of Essex bore the King's standard, was so attainted by the "Wells," that he left the standard fall to the ground, which encouraged the "Wells," and put the English in favour, as formerly the King had been fain; but this was soon frustrated to the "Wells," and punished afterward in the Earl, by condemning him to be burned a monk, and putting into the Abbey of Reading, and had his lands feized into the Kings hand. And what was his trouble with Malevold King of Scots, but a work of his own beginning? for it he would have suffered him to enjoy that which was justly his own, Cumberland and Huntingdonshire, by the grant of King Stephen, and Northumberland, by the gift of his mother Maud the Empress, he might have stayed quietly at home, and needed not at all have stirred his foot: but he could not endure there should be such parings off from the body of his kingdom; and therefore went with an army into the North, where he won not, but took Northumberland from him, with the city of Carlisle, and the Castles of Newcastle and Bamborough, and meekly out of gratefulness, in remembrance of the many curtesies done to him before, by David King of Scots, he left him the County of Huntingdon; but yet his with condition to owe fealty, and to do homage to him for it. And what was his trouble with his brother Geoffrey, but a bird of his own hunting. For his Father Geoffrey Duke of Anjou, had three Sons, Henry, Geoffrey and William; and dying, he left his Dukeedom of Anjou to his eldestson Henry, but to hold no longer then till he should come to be King of England, and then to deliver it up to his second Son Geoffrey. And he made his Lords to swear, not to suffer his body to be buried, until his Son Henry had taken his oath to do it. Which oath Henry afterward, in reference to his Fathers body, did take; but as he took it unwillingly, so he willingly brake it, and sent presently to Arian the then Pope, for a dispensation of his oath. Which granted, he enters Anjou with an Army, and takes from his Brother Geoffrey, being little able to make resistance, not only the Dukeedom of Anjou, but some other Cities also, which his Father had absolutely given him for his maintenance: yet out of brotherly kindnes was content to allow him a Pension of a thousand pounds a year. Which brotherly kindness was so unkindly taken by his Brother Geoffrey, that it brake his heart; and within a short time after he dyed.

And thus these troubles began by Henry himself, were soon ended; but now a trouble is coming on, begun by Lewis King of France, and this is like to stick longer by him. For King Lewis not having yet digested King Henry's marriage with his divorced Wife Eleanor, sees all opportunities to express his spleen, by doing him displeasure, and at a fair opportunity was now offered. For there fell out a difference between Raymond Earl of St. Giles, and Henry King of England, about the Earldom of Toалes, which Raymond possessed, and Henry claimed: in this difference, King Lewis takes part with Raymond, as pretending to be the better title. Hereupon are great forces provided on both sides, and it was like to have come to a dangerous battle; but that by mediation of friends, a peace was made, and to make the Peace the firmer, a marriage was concluded between Henry, King Henry eldest Son, for seven years of age, and Margaret, Daughter of King Lewis, not part three, who was delivered to King Henry to bring up till for years for confirmation. This was then thought a strong link to hold them in friendship, but it proved after ward a cause to make a greater breach; and indeed when Son is once matched into a Family, the Father must never look from thence afterward to have a good wish; seeing the Daughter this matched can have no advancement, but by the advancement of her Husband, and he none at all, no so well, as by the rule of his Father: yet this brake not out till some years after. It was now about the sixteenth year of King Henry Reign and his Son Henry grown to be seventeen years of age, when it came into the Kings mind to have his Son Henry crowned King, and Reign with himself in his oown time, partly out of indulgence to his Son, but chiefly, as having found by his own experience, that Oaths for succession are commonly ended: but Oaths for particular allegiance, as being Verba praestantia, have no evaotion. And pleasing himself with this concерт, he acquaits his Lords with his purpose, and caufeth his Son Henry to be crowned King by the hands of Roger Archbifhop of York, and all the Lords to swear Allegiance to him. At the Featt of which solemnity King Henry to honour his Son, would needs carry up the first dith to his Table; whereupon the Archbifhop Roger standing by, and saying merrily to the new King, What an honour is this to you, to have such a waiter at your Table? Why (faith he) what great matter it is for him that was but the Son of a Duke, to do service to me, that am the Son of a King and Queen? Which the old King hearing began to repent him now it was too late, of that he had done. For indeed the honour which by Gods commandement, children are to do their Parents, is by such making them their equals, in a manner abolished; at least it gives them honours to take more upon them then is fit. But King Henry pulled it over, and meant to let the best side outward. Notwithstanding this ill success of King Henry, yet King Lewis of France soon after, did the like to his Son Philip, and caufeth him to be crowned King in his own life time, Paris, Anno 1779. And now King Lewis took displeasure, that his Daughter was not crowned as well as her Husband; and therefore to satisfy him in that point, King Henry fendeath his Son Henry and his Wife Margaret into England, and caufeth them both to be crowned by Walter Archbifhop of Rom, and shortly after, the young King Henry and
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Second.

The young King Henry ascended the throne by the death of his father, King Louis, and the Lords of France assented to him.

His wife went back to King Louis her father, and by him with great joy, and variety of sports were entertained. In the time of their being there, King Louis partly out his old spleen to King Henry, and partly to make his Son-in-law more absolute, filet its officer times into confederacies, and with his hot spirit to be firrer for such fire, tell him, it was his due that he should prefer himself to be made a late; have the title of a King, and not the authority; and that as long as he stood in such terms, that which seemed an honour was indeed a disgrace. With which words of King Louis, the young King Henry was set afloat, and from that time forward, stuck not openly to oppose his Father. Whereof his Father having intelligence, sent messengers to King Louis, desiring him from the King their Malter, to be a means to bring his Son to more moderation. But King Louis hearing the Embassadors name their Master King, with an angry countenance laid upon them; What mean you by this to call him King, who hath paffed his Kingdom over to his Son? and with this answer sent them away. To this evil, another worse was added: That Queen Eleanor his Wife went enraged with jealousy of her Husband's Companions, both incendiary her Son, Henry, & perjured also two other her Sons, Richard and Geoffrey, to joy to against their Father; telling them, it would be better for them that their Brother should prevail, who could not chuse but allow them better maintenance, then their Father did. With these perjusions they pafs over into Normandy, and joy with their Brother Henry, who emboldened by their affiduity, grows now more insolent then he was before; that when messengers were sent to him from his Father, requiring him to lay down his Arms, and to come lovingly to him, he proudly made answer, that his Father must not look he would lay down his Arms, unless himself first would lay down his authority, and reign the Kingdom. And now Louis King of France, calling together the great Lords of his Kingdom, and with them William King of Scots, Hugh Earl of Chester, Roger Mowbray, Hugh Bigot, and others of his Sons party, they all take their Oaths to assist the young King Henry with all their power, and thereupon all in one day, the French invade Normandy, Aquitaine and Britain; the King of Scots, Northumberland; and King Louis the City of Veronil, which he brought to that duteous, that it was agreed by the Inhabitants, if it were not succour'd within three days, then to surrender it. King Henry hearing of this agreement, promised to succour them by that day. But here King Louis uter a trick, gets that by fraud, which he could not do by force; for he sends to King Henry, that if he were willing to have a peace with his Sons, he should meet him at a place appointed, at such a time, and he doubted not to effect it. King Henry glad of such an offer, and with that gladness perhaps blinded, and not suspecting any deceit, promised to meet; and coming to the place at the day, which was the day he should have succour'd Veronil, he stayed there all day looking for King Louis coming, who instead of coming, sent word to Veronil, that King Henry was defeated; and therefore their hope of succour was in vain. Whereupon the Citizens thinking it to be so indeed, because he came not according to his promise, surrendered the Town; which King Louis finding himself unable to hold, set it on fire, and so departed. But King Henry when he perceived the fraud, followed him with his Army, and took a bloody revenge of his fraud, with the slaughter of many of his men. At the same time also King Henry's Forces encountered Hugh Earl of Chester, and Robert Fulger, who had taken London in Britain, took them Prisoners, and brought them to King Henry. And about the same time likewise in England Robert Earl of Leicester thinking to surprize Reynold Earl of Cornwall, and Richard Lucy, King Henry's Generals, at unawares, was himself by them overthrown, and the Town of Leicester taken; which only the fire of the place defended from being battered to the ground. Robert Earl of Leicester being thus defeated, pafeth over into France, and being supplied by King Lewis with greater forces then before, is together with Hugh Bigot sent back into England, to draw the country in to Henry the Sons party, who at first affault take Norwich; and then setting down before Berne, in a great battle, by Richard Lucy, and other of King Henry's Captains, overthrown with the slaughter of ten thousand men, and as many taken prisoners; amongst whom Earl Robert himself. Yet were not Roger Mowbray, and Hugh Bigot so daunted with this overthrow, but they together with David the King of Scots Brother, they gather new Forces, and invade Northumber-land and Yorkshire, when Robert Sucece, Ralph Granville, William Pe(e), and Barnard Bajold (of whom Baynard's Castle in London first took the name) Knights of those parts assembled together, and fighting a great battle with them, overthrown, and took the King of Scots prisoners, with many others. Yet is not Hugh Bigot daunted with this neither, but gathers new Forces and takes Norwich; and Robert Ferris, Nottingham. The news whereof, when King Henry the Son heard, he recovered new spirits, and obtaining now allaisance from King Lewis, prepares himself afeath for War which King Henry the Father hearing, returns speedily into England; and to appease St. Thomas Becket's Ghost, goes to visit his Tomb, and there asks him forgiveness. Thence one, he goes into Suffolk, and at Framingham Castle, which belonged to Hugh Bigot, forms with his Army, when suddenly moved, by what it inflict no man knows, (unless the appearance of Saint Thomas' Ghost did work it,) both Hugh Bigot delivers up his Castle into King Henry's hands, and likewise Robert Mowbray, Robert Ferris, and many others of that party, come voluntarily in, and submit themselves to the King's mercy. Hereupon King Henry returns to London, about which time he committed his Wife Queen Eleanor to prison, for her practices against him. In the mean time, King Lewis understanding that Normandy was but weakly guarded, together with his Son the young King Henry, and Philip Earl of Flanders, the belegizeth Ruan, which the Kings Forces valiantly defended, till he came himself in person; and thereupon King Lewis despairing of any good to be done, sends meilengers to King Henry.
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Second.

Henry for a truce, and appointed a day to meet at Wyfors, where he doubted not to make a reconciliation between his sons and him; K. Henry agreed willingly, but at the meeting nothing was done. It seems it was but one of K. Louis his old tricks to come fairly off.

After this truce made with King Lewis, King Henry hearing that his Son Richard had in the mean time poifon'd himself of a great part of the Province of Poitou, goes thither with an Army, where Richard at last, after some hesitation, as doubting his Forces, submits himself to his Father, and asks his pardon; which his Father as freely grants, as if he had never committed any fault. And thereupon K. Henry imposes him to King Lewis, and his brother Henry, to persuade them to peace: who wearied now with the wars, were easily drawn, and so reconciliation on all parts is made. And to confirm the reconciliation between the two Kings, Henry and Lewis, his Daughter Adela is affianced to King Henry's Son Richard, as Earl of Aquitaine; and because the Lady was but young, she was committed to the care of King Henry, till she should be fit for marriage. Upon this King Henry fets Robert Earl of Leicester, and Hugh Earl of Chester, giving hostages and oath for their Allegiance, at liberty; and William also King of Scots paying a certain mulet, for which he delivered in pawn the strong Castles of Berwick, Rocherough, and Stirling to King Henry, and was fince to have the County of Huntingdon, and never to receive any Rebels into his protection. These things done, the King with his Son returns into England, where with all joyfulness they were received.

It was now the year 1179. when King Lewis began again to grow discontented with King Henry; because his daughter was not yet married to his Son Richard as was agreed: but King Henry making him promise to have them married within a few days, gave him satisfaction; though indeed he meant nothing less, for it was thought he kept her for himself, as with whom he had before that time, had unlawful familiarly.

The year 1184. was memorable for nothing, or for nothing so much as the death of the young King Henry, who died then, being of the age of one and twenty years: who Widow Margaret returning into France, was afterward married to Bela King of Hungary. Now King Henry's Son Richard, no longer having to have his marriage delayed, which his Father often promised, but would never suffer to be performed, falls into his old fit of discontentment. Wherein though he cannot perhaps be justified, yet he may justly be excused, for to be kept from a wife at that time of his age, for which a Wife was most proper; and especially having been affianced so long before, which could not chuse but make his appetite the sharper: much needs be, if not a just cause, at least a strong provocation to make him do as he did. Howsoever from this fit of discontentment, he falls into a relapse of a Rebellion, and infecting with it his Brothers John, and a great part of his Fathers adherents, they all take part with Philip, (now after the decease of Louis King of France), who willing to make use of their assistance, before the stream of filial awfulness should return i. to the natural Channel, takes them along with him, and befriendeth the City of Mentz, in which King Henry at that time was himself in person. Who apprehending the danger, and then resenting the mischief of falling into his enemies hands, gets him secretly out of the City, leaving it to defend itself, till he should return with greater forces for hearing afterward that the Town was taken, he fell into a greater distraction; and when he made him break out into these blasphemies, no doubt, I shall never hereafter love God any more, that hath suffer'd a City to dear unto me, to be taken from me but he quickly recollected himself, and repented him that he had spoken those words. Indeed Mentz was the City in which he was born. That to have this City taken from him, was as much as to have his birthright taken from him. And to say the truth, after he had left this City, he scarce seemed to be alive; not only because the shortly after died: but because the flate of Majesty which had all his life accompanied him, after this forsook him, for now he was fain to beg peace of his enemies, who often before had begged it of him; now he was glad to yield to conditions, which no force before could have wrested from him. It is memorable, and worth observing, that when these two Kings had meeting between Turnes and Avens, for reconciliment of differences, there suddenly happened a Thunderbolt to light up between them, with so terrible a crack, that it forced them for that time, to break off their conference; and afterward at another meeting, the like accident of thunder happened again, which so amaz'd King Henry, that he had fallen off his horse, if he had not been supported by those about him. Which could be nothing but drops left fall of the Divine anger, and manifest prefigurs of his future disasters. And thus this great Princes troubles, which began in little ones, and were continued in great ones, ended at last in so great a trouble, that it ended his life, and left him an example of downfall, notwithstanding all his greatnes; for taken of his friends, forsook of his wife, forsocken of his children; and if he were not himself, when he blasphemed for the losse of Mentz, forsocken of himself; which might be exemplar in this King, if it were not the common Epigogue of all greatnes.

Of his Acquests of Ireland.

Robert Fitz-Stephen was the first of all Englishmen after the conquist that entered Ireland, the first day of May, in the year 1170; with 590 men: and there took Waterford, in the behalf of Dermot, Son of Mesherdach, called Mac Murgh, King of Leinster. In September following, Richard Earl of Chepefen, surnamed Strong-bone, sail'd into Ireland with twelve hundred men, where he took Waterford and Dublin; and married Eccele the Daughter of Dermot, as he was promised. From these beginnings, King Henry being then at rest from all Hostile Arms, both at home and abroad, takes into his consideration the Kingdom of Ireland, as a Kingdom which oftentimes afforded assistance to the French: and therefore purposing with himself by
by all means to subdue it; he provides a mighty Army, and in the Winter season sailed thither, taking Shipping at Pembroke, and landing near to Waterford. Where entering into consultation what course was fittest to be taken in the enterprise, suddenly of their own accord the Princes of the Country came in, and submitted themselves to him; only Roebuck, King of Connaught, stood out; who being the greatest, thought to make himself the only King of that Nation, but King Henry forbearing him for the preferment, who kept himself in the fadness of Bagg's and Wood's, and was not to be followed in the winter season, takes his journey to Dublin, the chief City of the Country; and there calling the Princes and Bishops of the Nation together, requires their consent to have him and his heirs to be their King; which they affirming they could not do without the Popes authority, to whom, at their first conversion to the Christian Religion, they had submitted themselves, the King sent presently to Adrian the then Pope, an English man, requiring his assent, which upon divers good considerations he granted; and hereupon the King built him a stately Palace in the City of Dublin; and having thus without blood poiffed himfelf of the Kingdom, the Spring following he returns joyfully into England. About four years after, Roebuck also fendis his Chancellor to King Henry, to offer him, with a tribute to be paid of every ten beaftions sufficient. After this, in the one and thirtieth year of his reign, he fents his Son John to be the Governor there.

His Taxations and ways for raising Money.

Axations in his time, were chiefly once; when he took Efficage of English men, towards his wars in France, which amounted to 12,000 pounds; but confidations were many, he caused many Rebellions, and every Rebellion was as good as a fine, Alfo vacancies of Bishops and Abbeys, kept in his hands, as many as one or two times at a time, without fome. He re- fumed all all Lands which had been either sold or given from the Crown by his Predecessors; but a principal caufe that made him plentiful in money, was his Parfimony; as when he was en- joyed for a Penance, to build three Abbeys, he performed it, by changing Secular Priests into Regular Canons, only to spare cloth: And it was the leaft caufe of alienating his Sons from him, that he allowed them not maintenance answerable to their calling. And it could be nothing but Parfimony while he lived, which brought it to pafs, that when he died, there were found in his Coffers, nine hundred thousand pounds, besides Plate and Jewels.

Lawes and Ordinances in his time.

In the beginning of his reign, he refined and reformed the Lawes of the Realm; making them more tolerable and more profitable to his people then they were before. In the one and twentieth year of his reign, he divided his whole Kingdom into six Circuit Courts; appointing in every Circuit three Judges, who twice every year should ride together, to hear and determine Causes between man and man: as at this day, though altered in the number of the Judges, and in the Shires of Circuit. In this King's days the number was all England over was great; yet, whereforeever they dwelt, they might not bury any of their dead any where but in London; which being a great inconvenience to bring dead bodies sometimes from far remote places, the King gave them liberty of burial in several places where they lived. It was in this King's days also ordained, that Clergy men offending in hunting the Kings Deer, should be punishable by the Civil Magistrate, according to the Laws of the Land; which order was afterward taken with them for any offence whatsoever they committed. Though it be not a Law, yet it is an Ordinance which was first brought in by this King, that the Lions should be kept in the Tower of London. Also this King made a Statute, concerning Armour and Weapons; that every man that held a Knights-Fee, should be bound to have a pair of Curasses, a Helmet, with Shield and Spear; and that every man of the Lady, having Goods and Revenues to the value of fifty Pennies, should have one pair of Curasses, an Helmet, a Spear and a Shield; and every man worth ten Pennies should have an Halberd, a Steel Cup, and a Spear.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

This King's reign is famous for the contention of a Subject with the Prince; and though it may be thought no equal match, yet in this example we shall find it hard to judge which of them had the victory. But before we come to speake of the Contention, it is fay to something of the Man, and of the Quarrel. The man was Thomas Becket born in London, his Father, one Gilbert Becket, his Mother an of the Countrey of Syria. His first rising was under Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, who taking a liking to him, (as one faith, no man knew for what,) made him first Archdeacon of Canterbury, and then used means to have him be the Princes Tutor; after that to be Chancellor of England; and after the decease of the said Theobald, was himself made Archbishop of Canterbury in his place. One memorable thing he did at his coming to be Archbishop, he surrender'd his place being Chancellor, as not thinking it fit to bear the weight of the Common-wealth, and of the Church, both at once. But now began the contention between the King and him. The difference was, the King would have it ordained that Clergy men who were malefactors, should be tried before the Secular Magistrate as Lay-men were; this Becket opposed, saying it was against the Liberty of the Church, and therefore against the honour of God. Many Bishops flock to the King, some few with Becket; the Contention grew long, and with the length full hotter, till at last Becket was content to affent to the Ordinance with this clause, Salvo Ordine suo. the King liked not the clause, as being a deluding of the Ordinance: He required an absolute affent, without any clause of Reservation. At last, after many debating and demurs, the Archbishop yields to this also, and subscribes the Ordinance, and set his hand unto it: But
going homewards, it is said, his Cross-bearer, and some other about him, blamed him for that he had done. But whether moved with their words, or otherwise upon second thoughts, the next day when they met again, he openly re-pented his former deed, retrects his subscription, and sends to the Pope for absolution of his fault; which the Pope not only granted, but encouraged him to perseit in the course he had begun. It may be thought a fable, yet it is related by divers good Authors, that once time during this contention, certain fellows cut off the Archbishops Horses tail; after which fact, all their children were born with tails like Horses: and that this continued long in their posterity, though now long since ceas’d, and perhaps their families too. But King Henry finding there was no prevailing with Becket by fair means, begins to deal more roughly with him; and first makes use of Authority upon his Temporalties, and withal a cenfure was spoken of to be intended against his person. Which Becket understanding, thought it his best course to flee the Realm; and he flew upon sailing under the name of Dermot, he palled over Sea, and there, two years by the Pope, and five by the King of France, was maintained as it were of Arms: in which misery, nothing vexed him so much, as that King Henry sent all his kindred, Men and Women, old and young, into banishment after him. And now King Henry finding that Becket ftood much upon his Legatin Power, sent messengers to the Pope, desiring him to take that power from him, and to confer it upon his Archbishops of York; but the Pope answered he would not do so, but was content the King himself should be his Legate, and sent him Letters to that purpose, which King Henry took in such scorn, that he threw away the Letters, and sent them presently back to him again. This dignity of Legatiphip, for the diligent service of Tho’bold Archbishops of Canterbury, was by a special Decree of Pope Innocent the second, to remain to the Archbishops of Canterbury; so that they were intituled Legati nati, Legats born. This mean time, the King of France prevailed with King Henry to afford Becket a conference, hoping to bring them to some Agreement; where being together, King Henry alleged before the King of France, that he required nothing of Becket, but his attent to an Ordinance, to which in his Grand-father King Henry the first’s time, all the Bishops of the Realm, and the Archbishop of Canterbury that then was, did give their Assent: yet this moved not Becket at all, but he continued his former Tenet, it was againft the honour of God, and therefore desir’d to be excuf’d. See now (faith King Henry) the perversены of this man, all that agrees not with his own humour, is presently against the honour of God. While these things were thus a working, Becket had gotten him more friends at Rome, and by their means prevailed with the Pope, to give him power to interdict some Bishops in England that had done him wrong; and the Pope, being not satisfied with this Communication, to King Henry himself, if he would retract not Becket’s dignity. But whether awed with threatening, or won by the King of France’s importunity;
as others write, at Longby in Hertfordshire, being a bondman of that Abbey, and therefore not to be allowed to be a Monk there, went beyond Sea, where he so profited in Learning, that the Pope made him first Bishop of Alve, and afterward Cardinal, and sent him Legate to the Northern, where he reduced that Nation from Paganism to Christianity, and returning back to Rome, was chosen Pope by the name of Adrian the Fourth, and dyed, being chased with a Fly in his drink. In his days also Heresim Patriarch of Jerusalem, came to King Henry, desiring aid for the Holy-Land, but not so much of money as of men; and not so much of men neither, as of a good General, as himself was: to whom King Henry answered, that though he were willing to undertake it, yet his unquiet State at home would not suffer him. With which answer the Patriarch moved, said, Think not great King, that Pretences will excite you before God; but take this from me, that as you forfake God's cause now, so he hereafter will forfake you in your greatest need. But (faith the King) if I should be absent out of my Kingdom, my own Sons would be ready to rise up against me in my absence; to which the Patriarch replied, No marrow, for from the Devil they came, and to the Devil they shall; and so departed. Also in this Kings days there came into England, thirty Germans, Men and Women, calling themselves Publicans, who denied Matrimony, and the Sacraments of Baptism, and of the Lords Supper, with other Articles: who being obstinate, and not to be reclaimed, the King commanded they should be marked with a hot iron in the forehead, and be whipped; which punishment they took patiently, their Captain (called Gerard) going before them lingoing Blessed are ye when men hate you. After they were whipped, they were thrust out of doors in the Winter, where they died with cold and hunger, no man daring to relieve them. This King after his conquest of Ireland, imposed the tribute of Peter pence upon that Kingdom, namely, that every house in Ireland should yearly pay a penny to St. Peter. In this Kings time, was held by Pope Alexander the third, the General Council of Lateran consisting of 310 Bishops: where many Ordinances were made for the peace of the Church. Also in the thirty third year of his reign Jerusalem was taken by the Turk.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

His King founded the Church of Drifon, to whom King Henry gave the Barony of Berkley, and built the Monastery of St. Augustines in Drifon. In the tenth of his reign, London Bridge was new made of Timber, by Peter of Cole-church a Priest. Robert de Boffin Earl of Leicester, founded the Monastery of Ormond, of Mons; and of Leicester, called St. Mary de Pater, of Canons Regular; and his Wife Amicia, Daughter of Ralph Montfard, founded Eaton, of Nuns. In the two and twentieth year of his reign, after the foundation of St. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, the Stone Bridge over the Thames at London, began to be founded, towards which a Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury gave a thousand Marks. Alberid Bishop of Worcester founded a Monastery at Leicester of Benedictine Monks.

Casualties that happened in his time.

In the eleventh year of this Kings reign, on the sixth and twentieth day of January, it was a great Earthquake in El, Norfolk, and Suffolk, that it overthrew them that stood upon their feet, and made the Belts rolling in the Streets. In the seventeenth of his reign, there was seen at St. Oystha in Essex, a Dragon of marvellous bigness, which by moving burned horses; and the whole City of Canterbury was the same year almost burnt. In the eighteenth year of his reign, the Church of Norwich with the houses thereto belonging was burnt, and the Monks dispersed. At Andover, a Priest praying before the Altar, was slain with Thunder. Likewife one Clerk and his brother was burnt to death with Lightning. In the three and twentieth year, a Thourfe of blood rained in the Isle of Wight two hours together. In the four and twentieth year, the City of York was burnt; and on Christmas day, in the Territory of Dorlington, in the place of Wark, they killed up herself in manner of a high Tower, and so remained unmoveable from morning till evening, and then fell with so horrible a noise that it frightened the Inhabitants thereabouts and the Earth swallowing it up, made there a deep pit, which is seen at this day: for a Testimony whereof Leyland faith, he saw the Pits there, commonly called Hell-kettles. Also in the same year, on the tenth day of April, the Church of St. Andrew in Rochester was consumed with fire. In the eighth and twentieth year of his reign, Barnwell with the Priory, near unto Cambridge, was burnt. In the thirthy year, the Abbey of Glastonbury was burnt, with the Church of St. Julian. In the year 1180 a great Earthquake threw down many buildings, amongst which the Cathedral Church of Lincoln was rent in pieces the five and twentieth of April; and on the twentieth of October, the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, and all the whole City was burnt. This year also, near unto Oxford in Suffolke, there was in the shape of a man a Fish taken in the County of Dorham; and in the shape of a man. A Fitch taen in the County of Durham made an Earthquake.
sign of adoration: at length, beeing not well looked to, he flewe to the Sea, and never was seen after. In the year 1188. on the twentie thee of September, the Towne of Beverley with the Church of St. John there was burnit. And in this Kings time the bones of King Archar, and his Wife Gynavewr, were found in the Vale of Avelen, under an hollow Oak, fifteen foot under ground; the hair of the said Gynavewr being then whole and of fresh colour; but as soon as it was touched, it fell to powder, as Fabel related.

Of his Wife and Children.

He married Eleanor Daughter and heir of William Duke of Guien, late Wife of Lewis the seventh King of France, but then divorced; but for what cause divorced, is diversely related. Some say King Lewis carried her with him in the Holy Land, where she carrie her child not very holyly, but led a licentious life, and which is the worst kind of licentiousnes, in carnal familiarity with a Turk. Which King Lewis though knowing, yet dissembled, till coming home, he then waved that cause, as he which he could not bring without disgrace to himself, and made use of their nearness in blood, as being Cousins in the fourth degree, which was allowed by the Pope, as a cause sufficient to divorce them, though he had at that time two Daughters by her. Being thus divorced, Duke Henry marrie her, with whom it was never known, but he led a modeld and sober life, a sufficient proof, that the former report was but a slander. By this Queen Eleanor he had five Sons, William, Henry, Richard, Geoffry, and John; and three Daughters, Mare, married to Henry Duke of Saxony; Eleanor married to Alphonso the Eight of that name, King of Castile; and Joan of Joan married to William Duke of Burgundy; Conan his Son William died young. Henry born the second yeere of his reigne, was Crowned King with his Father, in the eighteenth year, and died the nine and twentieth year, and was buried at Roan; married to Margaret, Daughter of Lewis King of France, but left no issue. Richard born at Oxford (in the Kings Palace there called Beane-mont) in the fourth yeere of his Fathers reigne, and succeeded him in the Kingdome. Geoffry born the fifth yeere of his Fathers reigne, married Confance Daughter and Heir of Conan, Earl of Little Britaine, in the fourteenth yeere, and in the two and thirtie yeere died; leaving by his Wife Confance, two Daughters, and a Peace Housen Son named Arthur, John his youngest, called John without Land, because he had no Land affigned him in his Fathers time; born the twelfth yeere of his Fathers reigne, and succeed his brother Richard in the Kingdome. And this may be reckoned a peculiar honour to this King, that of his five Sons, three of them lived to be Kings; and of his three Daughters, two of them to be Queens. Conchines he had many, but two more famous then the rest; and one of these two more famous then the other; and this was Rosamund, Daughter of Walter, Lord Clifford, whom he kept at Woodstock, in lodgings so cunningly contrived, that no stranger could finde the way in; yet Queen Eleanor did, being guided by a thread: so much is the eye of jealousy quicker in finding out, then the eye of care is in hiding. What the Queen did to Rosamund when she came to her, is uncertain; but this is certain, that Rosamund lived but a short time after, and lies buried in the Nunnery of Godfown near to Oxford. By this Rosamund King Henry had two Sons, William called Longford; who was Earl of Salisbury in right of his Wife, Ela, Daughter and Heir of William Earl of this Countrey, and had by her much issue, whose posterity continued a long time: And a second Son named Geoffrey, who was first bishop of Lincoln, and afterward Archbishop of York, and after five years banishment in his Brother Kings time, died in the year 1213. The other famous Concive of this King Henry, was the Wife of Ralph Beverley, a Knight; by whom he had a Son named Margery, who was Provost of Beverley, and being to be elected Bishop of Durham, went to Rome for a dispensation, because being a Baffard he was else incapable: But the Pope refusing to grant it, unleas he would pass as the Son of Beverley, he absolutely answered, he would for no cause in the world deny his Father; and chose rather to lose the Dignity of the Place, then of his Blood, as being the Son, though but the base Son of a King,

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was somewhat red of face, and broad breasted; short of body, and therewithal fat, which made him use much exercitie and little meat. He was commonly called Henry Shortman, because he was the first that brought the use of short Cloaks out of Anjou into England. Concerning endowments of minde, he was of Spirit in the highest degree Generous; which made him often say, that all the World sufficed not to a courageous heart. He had the Reputaion of a wise Prince all the Christian World over; which made Alphonso King of Castile, and Garfias King of Navarre reverence a difference that was between them, to his Arbitraion; who so judiciously determined the cause that he gave contentment to both parties: a harder matter then to cut cloth even by a thread. His custome was to be alwayes in action; for which cause, if he had no real Wars, he would have enginised; and would transport Forces either into Normandy or Britain, and go with them himself, whereby he was always prepared of an Army; and made it a Schooling to his Souldiers, and to himself an Exercise. To his children he was both indulgent and hard; for of out of indulgence he caused his Son Henry to be Crowned King in his own time; and out of hardnes he causd his younger Sons to rebel a-gainst him. He was rather Superstitious then nor Religious; which he shewed more by his carriage towards Bickes being dead then while he lived. His Inconstancy was not so much that he used other Women before his Wife, but the affianced wife of his own Sons: And it was commonly thought, he had a meaning to be divorced from his wife Queen Eleanor, and to take the said Aida to be his wife. Yet generally to speak of him: he was an excellent Prince; and it in some particulars were defective, it must be considered he was a man. Why called Henry Shortman?

Always in action.

To his children both hard and indulgent.

His inconstancy.
Of his Death and Burial.

He was not well at ease before, but when the King of France sent him a list of those that had conspired against him, and that he found the first man in the List to be his Son John, he then fell suddenly into a fit of fainting, which so encroased upon him, that within four days after he ended his life. So strong a Corrosive is grief of minde, when it meets with a body weakened before with sicknes. He died in Normandy, in the year 1189, when he had lived three score and one years; reigned near five and thirty: and was buried at Fons-Everard in France; the manner of whose burial was thus. He was cladeth in his Royal Robes, his Crown upon his head, white Gloves upon his hands, Boots of Gold upon his legs, Gilt Spurs at his heels, a great rich Ring upon his finger, his Scepter in his hand, his Sword by his side, and his face uncovered and all bare. As he was carried to be buried, his Son Richard in great halfe ran to see him, who no sooner was come near the body, but suddenly at his Noftrils he fell a bleeding asreath; which though it were in Prince Richard no good sign of Innocency, yet his breaking presently into bitter tears upon the seeing it, was a good sign of Repentance. It may not be unfeasible to speak in this place of a thing which of Writers speake of, that in the Famly of the Earls of Anjou, of whom this King Henry came, there was once a Prince a great Enchanter, who being on a time enforced to take the blessed Eucharist, the Suddenly flew out at the Church window, was never seen after. From this Woman these latter Earls of Anjou were descended, which perhaps made the Patriarch Heseditu lay of this King Henry's children, that from the Devil they came; and to the Devil they would. But Writers perhaps had been more compleat, if they had left this Story out of their Writings.

Men of Note in his time.

Of Clergy men, there was Theobald Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, Richard Bishop of Winchester, Geoffrey of Ely, Robert of Bath, Alfred of Worcester, all learned men, and of great integrity of life. Of Military men, there was Robert Earl of Leicester, Reynold Earl of Cornwall, Hugh Biga, Robert Ferrys, Richard Lacy, Roger Mowbray, Ralph Fuller, Ranolph Granna, William Vefci, and Reynard Bayvel; men of great achievements in War, and of no les abilities in Peace.
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THE FIRST.

Of his coming to the Crown, and of his Coronation.

ING Richard, the first of that name, after his Fathers Funereal, went to Roan, where he resided the state of that Province; and from thence came into England, where he was Crowned King at Westminister, by the hands of Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, the third day of September, in the year 1189. And herein this Prince is more beholding to Writers then any of his Predecessors; for in speaking of their Crowning, they content themselves with telling where, and by whom they were Crowned: but of this Prince they deliver the manner of his Crowning, in the full amplitude of all Circumstances, which perhaps is not unfit to do, for satisfaction of such as are never like to see a Coronation; and it was in this manner. First, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Ratis Fris, and Dublin, with all the other Bishops, Abbots, and Clergy, appareled in rich Copes, and having the Cross, Holy Water, and Canvets carried before them, came to fetch him at the door of his Privy-Chamber; and there receiving him, they led him to the Church of Westminister, till they came before the high Altar, with a solemn Procession. In the middle of the Bishops and Clergy, went four Barons, bearing Candleticks with Tapers; after whom came Geoffrey de Lucy, bearing the Cap of maintenance, and John Marshal next to him, bearing a maffie pair of Spurs of Gold; then followed William Marshal, Earl of Striguil, alias Penskoc, who bare the Royal Scepter, in the top whereof was set a Crose of Gold; and William de Patricke, Earl of Salisvury going next him, bare the Warder or Rod, having on the top thereof a Dove. Then came three other Earls, David, Brother to the King of Scots, the Earl of Huntingdon, John the King's Brother, Earl of Mortagne; and Robert Earl of Leicester, each of them bearing a Sword upright in his hand with the Scabbers richly adorned with Gold. The Earl of Mortagne went in the middle between the other two; after them followed six Earls and Barons, bearing a Checker Table, upon which were set the Kings Scutcheons of Arms; and then followed William Manderel, Earl of Allemore, bearing a Crown of Gold a great height before the King, who followed, having the Bishop of Durham on the right hand, and Reynold Bishop of Bath on the left, over whom a Canopy was borne: and in this order he came into the Church at Westminister, where be-
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He began with his Mother Queen Eleanor, whom upon her Husband's displeasure, having been kept in prison sixteen years, he not only set at liberty, but set as great authority, as if she had been left the Regent of the Kingdom. The next he gratified was his Brother John, to whom he made appear how much the bounty of a Brother was better than the hardness of a Father; for he conferred upon him in England, the Earldoms of Cornwal, Devon, Somerset, Nottingham, Derby, and Leicester; and by the marriage of Isabel, Daughter and Heir to the Earl of Gloucester, he had that Earldom also; as likewise the Castles of Melborne, and Langarfull, the Honours of Wifaling, Tich, and Eyr, to the value of 4000 Marks a year: an estate so great, as was able to put a very moderate mind into the humour of the rings, of which Prince should have a care. Concerning his advanced Lady Adela, it may be thought strange, that having desired her so infinitely when he could not have her, now that he might have her, he cared not for her: but the cause was known, and in every man's mouth; that she was now but his Fathers leaving: yet he would not send her hence but very rich in Jewels, to make amends, if it might be, for the loss of her Virginity; though this was somewhat hard on his part, when the Father had taken all the pleasure, that the Son should afterwards pay all the Charges. But by this at least he made a quiet way for his Marriage now concluded, and shortly after to be coniinuated in Sicily with Berengaria the Daughter of Garfas King of Navarre. And now his mind is wholly set upon his long intended Voyage to the Holy Land; for which he thinks not the treasure left by his Father to be sufficient, which yet amounted to nine hundred thousand pounds: but foregoing with himself the great charge it must needs be, to carry an Army so long a journey, he seeks to enlarge his provision of money by the means he can devise. Not long before, Hugh Pacy had been advanced to the Bishoprick of Durham; and now for a great sum of money he bold him the Earldom: and then said mildly among his Lords, Do ye not think me a cunning man, that of an old Bishop can make a young Earl? From the Londoners he drained also great sums of money, and made them recompense in Franchises and Liberties which they had not before. He made also great sales: to the King of Scots he sold the Castles of Berwick and Roxborough, for ten thousand pounds: to Godfrey de Lucie, Bishop of Winchester, the Mannors of Waregrowe and Mentz; to the Abbot of St. Edmundsbury, the Mannor of Misthal for one thousand Marks of Silver: to the Bishop of Durham, the Mannor of Sedbergh; and when it was marvelled that he would part with such things, he answered, that in this case he would sell his City of London, if he could find a Chapman. But the worst way of all was, that pretending to have lost his Signer, he made a new one; and made Proclamation, that who soever would safely enjoy what under the former Signet was granted, should come to have it confirmed within the new: whereby he raised greater sums of money to himself, but the threrez of discontentment in his Subjectes. By these, and such like means, he quickly furnished himself with money; and now it remained only to consider, to whose care he should commit the Government of the Kingdom in his absence: and after deliberation he made choice for the North parts, of Hugh Bishop of Durham; joying in Communion with him, Hugh Baldwip, and William Brunt; and for the South parts he appoints William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, and Chancellour of Englland, and for his greater strength, casteth the Pope to make him Legate of all England and Scotland; and for Normandy and Aquitaine, Robert Earl of Leicester; all men eminent for prudence and uprightness, and which is most of all, far loyalty; and indeed to make a man fit for such employment, all these virtues must concur. As for his Brother John, he knew well his aspiring mindes, and therefore would have tied him to live in Normandy, and not to come into England till his return, but that their Mother Queen Eleanor interceded, and passed her word for him: and that nothing might be left unprovided for, he appointed his Nephew Arthur, the Son of his Brother Geoffrey Duke of Britaine to be his Successor, if himself should fail. And now, Unde qui convenerat, vocat jam carolus curas, every man is ready to take Shipping, and no stay now but for a Wind; only some say that King Richard before his departing, calling his Lords and Knights unto him, and swearing them to be true, gave every of them a blue Riband to be known by; from whence the first occasion of the Order of the Garter is thought to have begun.

Of his first Alls after he was Crowned.

He leaves William Longchamp Bishop of Ely, Governor of the Kingdom, and returns to his own Affairs.

He appoints his Nephew Arthur Duke to be his Successor if himself should fail.

From whence the order of the Garter is thought to have began.

Richard having prepared an Army of thirty thousand foot, and five thousand Horse; and having appointed to meet Philip King of France in Sicilie, at the latter end of June, in the year 1190, he set forward himself by Land to Melfarle, and there layes till his Ships should come about: but his Navy being driven by tempest to other parts, and the King weary of long lying, after six weeks, he hirith Shipping for himself & his company, and paseth forward to Melfara in Sicilie, where arrived also the King of France, and not long after, his own Navy. In this Island the King William, now lately dead, had married Jene, King Richard's Sister, from whom Tamered the present King with held her Dowar; and therefore though he shewed King Richard fair countenance: yet he dealt feerely with
The Life and Reign of King Richard the First

with the Meflianans to use all means to get him gone: whereupon the Meflianans, taking a small occasion, set suddenly upon the English, and thritt them out of their Town. With which King Richard, justly offended, who had his Camp without the Town, prepares himself to revenge the affront: when Tancred sending to him to signifie that the affront was offered without his knowledge, and much against his liking, so pacified him, that for the present he remained satisfied: but understanding afterward, that the Meflianans did but wait their opportunity till the Spring, when King Richard should be going, he retenting their intention, stays not their leisure, but assailing the Town with Fire and Sword, in one dayes labour takes it; and had made great slaughter in it, if King Richard had not been moved to compliance with the Meflianans tears, but chiefly with King Tancred's offers; both to pay his Sister Jane her Dow'r, and to marry his Daughter to King Richard's Nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittain, and to give a good part of the port on hand. But King Philip was notwell pleased with the conditions, yet he breaks not out to open opposition, till more he was afterward call upon the fire of his anger. In the Spring King Philip fails with his Army to Polemains (otherwise called Acon) which the Christians had long besieged, and with them be joys: while King Richard taking his Sister Jane andBerengaria the young Daughter of the King of Navares with him, in 190, Ships, and 50, Gallies, puts to Sea for the Holy Land: but it is by Tempel call upon the Coast of Cyprus, where the Islanders seeking to hinder his landing, set feet upon them with his Forces; and invading the Island, easily subdue, and brings it under his Subjection. And the King of the Countrey being taken Prisoner, and intreating King Richard not to put him in bonds of Iron, King Richard gives him his word, and keep it, but puts him in bonds of Silver. In this Island he feconized his marriage with Berengaria, and they leavi the Island, and King Richard takes Berengaries, his Lieutenant in Cyprus. King Philip, on to Polemains, which City was defended and had been besieged now two yeare: when the Enemy seeing and fearing the encrease of the Christian Forces, proposes Conditions, upon which accepted, they deliver it up in August., the year 1192.

At the taking of this Town there fell out an accident, seeming an honour to King Richard for the present, but proveing a disgrace, at left a great trouble and charge to him afterward; For Leopold Duke of Austria had first set up his colours upon the wall, which K. Richard caufed to be thrown down, and his own to be set up: but this was no place to stand a quarrelling, it came not to the reckoning till some time after. When Polemains was taken, Saladin fearing the Christians further proceeding, disposeth all the Countrey that was near it; as Perspheria, Cafetares, Aslon, Gaza: then by of Joppa. King Richard takes a care, and placeth there a Colony of Christians. For Joppa is a City of Palestine, that was built before the Flood, and hath belonging to it a Haven of great convenience. And now the King of France, though valiant enough himself, yet thinking his own great acts to be obscured by greater of King Richard's, he began, besides his old hating him, now to enve him. For indeed Emulation when it is in Vertue, makes the stronger knot of love and affection; but when it is in Glory, it makes a separation, and turns into the passion of envy and malice. And so did it with King Philip, who pretending the air of the Country, did not agree with his body; but was indeed because the air of King Richard's Glory did not agree with his minde, obtained King Richard's consent to return home, swearing first solemnly not to molest his Territories in his absence. But this fell out for the preente enterprize most unfeasibly: For the departure of the King of France, though it diminished not much the strengths, (for he left Odo Duke of Burgundy in his place) yet it diminished much the threw of affiaince. And indeed Saladin, who was at this time in terms of surrendering Jerusalem, when he saw the King of France departed, as knowing there must needs be a conclusion, where there was a beginning, doubted not but the theft would follow soon after; and therewithin flayed his hands, and grew more confident then he was before. At this time Guy of Lusignan was poffect of the City of Tyre, and with it of the right of the Kingdom of Jerusalem: with him King Richard makes an exchange, that Guy should have the Island of Cyprus, which King Richard had won, and King Richard should have the Kingdom of Jerusalem, to which Guy had a right; and upon this tide the Kings of England were filled Kings of Jerusalem a long time after, as likewise the povertie of the said Guy hath by this exchange held the Kingdom of Cyprus to this day. Now was King Richard more hot upon taking Jerusalem then ever before, and had certainly taken it, but that ill counsell diverted, because the Winter drew on; and indeed by the drawing back of Odo Duke of Burgundy, who envied that King Richard should have the honor of taking it, he removed for that season to Acre; after which time, the Enemy growing stronger, and the Christians weaker, all opportunity of taking it is utterly lost, and they could never come to the like again. And shortly after King Richard was adverisated of the King of France his invading Normandy, contrary to his Oath at his departure; which forced King Richard, much to his grief, to conclude a peace with Saladin, and that upon conditions not very honourable for the Christians: and himself prettily to return home. And so sending his wife Berengaria, and his fitter Jane, with a great part of his Army into Sicile, and from thence into England, he pafteth himself with some few in his company, by the way of Thrace, and was by Tempel brought into Dalmatia; from thence being to pass through Germany, and particularly through Duke Leopolis Countrey of Austria, he remembering the old grudge, charg'd his apparel, and travelling sometimes afoot, and sometimes on horseback, he used all means possible to keep himself from being known. But destiny is not to be avoided, for as soon as he came to Venice, partly by his name, and particularly by his expenses, it was presently known he was an English man, and wished some great man; and by and by a rumour was spread, that it was Richard King of England who finding himself...
to be discovered, and no means possible to escape, he put off his disguise, putting on his princely apparel, and avows himself. Which Duke Leopold understanding, sent presently to have him apprehended: but King Richard refusing to yield himself to any, but to the Duke himself: he the Duke himself came and led him to his own Palace honourably enough, but yet strongly guarded: whereof as soon as Henry the Emperor heard, he sent with great instance to Duke Leopold to lend King Richard over to him under pretence of safer custody, but with a purpose indeed to be a sharer in his Ransome. And the Duke though well knowing his meaning, yet knowing withal that it was not safe for him to deny the Emperor, he sent him over to him; who soon after put him into a prison he had, called Trividalis, into which no man was ever known to be put that escaped with life, though done perhaps to him, but in torment, to draw the better Ransome from him. That with which King Richard was charged, beside the wrong done to Leopold, in throwing down his Colours at Promeus, was the death of Cowarde Duke of Tyre, whom they pretended King Richard had murdered. Whereas though King Richard made his innocence appear by the testimony of Limboldus, who confessed himself to have been the author of the Margueflies death; yet the pretence served to detain him in prison: and in prison indeed they kept him, till his Ransome was agreed upon and paid. Which being a hundred thousand pounds, fortifortec thousand was paid in hand, whereof two parts to the Emperor, a third part to Duke Leopold; and for the rest, hostages given to the number of fifty, of whom the Bishop of Roan was one: though the hostages afterward were delivered without paying the rest; for Henry the Emperor dying shortly after, his Successour had the confidence not to take it, as knowing it had been unjustly acted. And indeed the accidents that befell both the Emperor and the Duke Leopold, were evident demonstrations of the injustice they had done; for the Emperor shortly after died; and the Duke Leopold in a Tilting for solemnity of his Birth-day, fell off his Horse, and so broke his Leg, that to save his life, he was fain to have his Leg cut off. And now after fifteen months imprisonment, King Richard is releas'd, and returns into England four years elder then he went out; and thus ended his Journey to the Holy Land. Yet one memorable accident happening to him in the Holy Land, may not be omitted: that going one day a Hawking about Jaffa, finding himself weary, he laid him down upon the ground to sleep, when suddenly certain Turks came upon him to take him: but he awakened with their noise, rised up, gets a horseback, and drawing out his Sword, assailts the Turks, who feigning to fly, drew the King into an ambush where many Turks lay, who had certainly taken him if they had known his person; but one of the Kings Servants, called Williams de Petrellis, crying out in the Saracen tongue, that he was the King, they presently lay hold upon him, and let the King escape.

Troubles in his Dominions in his absence.

King Richard at his going out of England, had so well settled the Government of the Kingdom, that it might well have kept it in good order during all the time of his absence; but disorders are weeds which no forelight can hinder from growing having so many hands to water them: where occasions of dishaile are no sooner offered then taken; and oftentimes taken before they are offered, as was here to be seen. For King Richard had left in chief place of Authority, William Longstampe, Bishop of Ely; a man who so carried himself, that although the things he did were jufifiable; yet the pride with which he did them was unfillerable; seldom riding abroad without five hundred, some fay a thousand in his train; not for safety, but for state: and though there were other left in Authority besides himself; yet his power was so predominant, that he made of them but ciphers, and ruled all as he lift himself. This infolvency of governing was soon disfifted by many, and especially by John the Kings Brother, who counting the greatnefs of of his birth an equal match at leat with any subftitute greatnefs, affronted the Bishop in the managing of affairs in fuch fort, that while fome adhered to the one, and fome to the other, the Kingdom in the mean time was in danger to be rent asunder: till at last the Bishop finding himself too weak, or at leat fearing that he was fo, but rather indeed depofed from his Authority by the Kings Servants, and the Arch bishop of Roan put in his place, thought it best for him to file the Realm. Whereupon for his greater safety, difguifing himself in womens appa ral, and carrying a Web of Cloth under his arm, he fought in this manner to take shipping and pafs the Scafe: But being difcover'd and known, the women in revenge of the abufe done to their clathes, in making them his instruments of fraud, fell upon him, and so beat him, that it might have beaten humility into him ever after. This difgrace made him glad to get into Normandy, his native Country, where to little purpofe he wooed King Richard, and Queen Elefon for reparition. But this was but a sport in comparifon of the ftrifhes done in Normandy by Philip King of France; for fhit he invades Normandy, where he takes many Towns, and amongst others Oftefis, and draws the Kings Brother John to combine with him, promising to affift him in winning the Kingdom of England, and to have his Sifer Aleta, whom King Richard had repudiated, to be his Wife: with which promise Duke John had been enflaved, if his Mother Queen Elefon had not difflaved him. But in England Duke John took upon him as King, perfwading the people that his Brother King Richard was not living; and indeed it was eafe to remove, they knowing him to be a prifoner, to the affirming him to be dead: but such was the faithfulness of the Archbishop of Roan, and other the Princes of the Realm to King Richard, that they oppofed Duke John, and frustrated all his practices; and the Bishop of Ely had told him plainly, that though King Richard were dead, yet the fucceffion in the

The Duke John takes upon him as King.
Kingdom belonged not to him, but to Arthur Duke of Britain, Son of Geoffrey his Elder Brother. And in these terms King Richard found his State when he returned from the Holy-Land.

His Acts and Troubles after his returning from the Holy-Land.

At his coming home from the Holy-Land, the first thing he did, was to give his Lords and people thanks for their faithfulness to his absence, and then for their readiness in furnishing him for his Ramouthe. But as for his Brother John in whom ungratefulness seemed to thrive with Ambition, which should be the greater in him, he deprived him of all those great possession he had given him: some ado he had to make to find certain pieces which he had corrupted, as the Castles of Middleborough, Lancaster, and a Fortresses at Saint Michael's Mount in Cornwall; but chiefly the Castles of Nestingham and Tickhill, which flood to firmly for Duke John, that they were not reduced to obedience without some blood, and much expence.

But his greatest trouble was with Philip King of France, in whom was so ingrained a spleen against King Richard, that he seemed to be never well but when he was working him some ill. Now therefore King Richard to make it appear he did not left the Holy War for nothing (having first obtained in Parliament a Subsidy towards his charges, and caused himself to be new Crowned at Winchester, when the King of Scort bore one of the three Swords before him) left the people through his long absence might have forgotten they had a King) he departs with a hundred Ships into Normandy; but it was withal, upon this occasion: fitting one day at dinner in his little Hall (as it was called) news was brought him, that King Philip had besieged Vernioi, with which he was so moved, that he swore a great Oath, he would not turn his face till he were revenged. Whereupon he caufed the wall right before him to be perfectly beaten down; so that he might pass forward without turning his face; and thus in haste he goes to Vernioi, whither he was no sooner come, but the King of France made as great haste to be gone, not without some loss, and more disgrace. Here his Brother John submits himself to him, and with great thun of penitence imparts his pardon, which he readily granted; saying only, with you to his chargers, and you to your tents, as I shall forget it. The King of France having left Vernioi, enters Tworino, and near to Vindocinn pitches his Tents; thither King Richard follows him, and with his coming affrighted him, that leaving Bag and Baggage, Munition, Tents, and Treasure to a marvellous value, he get him gone, and glad he was for rid of King Richard. After this a Truce was agreed upon for a year, which each of them longed till it was expired: as having no pleasure but in troubling one another. In this time there was a trouble at home, though not to the King; yet to the Kingdom. For Robin Hood, accompanied with one little John, and a hundred rout fellows more, molested all passengers upon the high-way: of whom it is said, that he was of noble blood, at least made noble, no less then as Earl, for some deferving services: but having waited his estate in riotous comets, very penury forced him to take this course. In which yet it may be said he was honestly difhon- rable; for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich; till the King letting forth a Proclamation to have him apprehended, it happened he fell sick at a certain Nunnery in Yorkshire called Birkley; and desiring there to be let blood, was betrayed, and bleed to death. Such another trouble, though not to the King, yet to the Kingdom, fell out by reason of the Jews; and at first at the Town of Linle at Nofulc, upon this occasion. A Jew being turned Christian, was perverted by those of his Nation, and as- faulted in the streets; who thereupon flying to a Church hard by was thither also followed, and the Church assaulted: which the people of the Town seeing, in succour of the new Christian, they fell upon the Jews, of whom they flew a great number, and after pillagd the houses. By this example the like affaults were made upon the Jews at Stamford, and after that at Lincoln, and lastly at Tork, where infinite number of Jews were mafficred; and some of them blocked up in the Cattle, cut: the throats of their Wives and Children, and cast them over the Walls upon the Christians heads, and then burn both the Cattle and themselves. Nei- ther could this faction be staid, till the King sent his Chancellour the B fump of Ely, with force of Arms, to punish the offenders. His last trouble was a puniment of covetousness; for one Gnodmer having found a great treasure in the Kings Dominions; and for fear of King Richard, flying to a Town of the King of France for his safeguard, was pursed by the King; but the Town denied him entrance, and he thereupon going about the Walls to finde the fittest place for assailing it, one Bertram de Gerdon, or as others call him Peter Balfe, shot at him with a Cross-Bow, and hit him on the Arm of which wounded he died within four days after, and so ended all his troubles.

Of his Taxations and ways for raising of Money.

Of Taxations properly so called, there were never fewer in any Kings Reign; but of ways to draw money from the Subject never more. It is true, the first money raised for his journey, was all out of his own ESTATE, by selling or pawnage of Lands; but then at his coming back, he refunded the Lands in his hands again, without paying back the money he had received. This if it may not have the name, yet certainly it had the verme of a bitter Taxation. Likewise the reigning to have lost his Seals, and then enjoyng them to have their Grants confirmed by a new; thought it went not in the number, yet it had the weight of a heavy Taxation where it lighted. Afterward, the money raised for his Ranom, was not fo properly a Taxation as a Contribution: for it for a Taxation for him, yet not by him; which was done in his absence, by the Subjects themselves. And indeed no taxations are commonly so pinch- ing, as those which are imposed upon the Sub- ject by the Subject, and such was this; for to raise money for his Raimone, there was imposed

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upon every Knights Fee 20s. of all Lay-mens Revenues the fourth part; and the fourth part of all the Revenues of the Clergy, with a tenth of their Goods. Also the Chalices and Treasure of all Churches were taken to make up the sum. Afterward, this only was a plain Taxation, and granted in Parliament; that of every Ploughland through England, he would have two shillings, and of the Monks Cistercians, all their Wool of that year. And one more greater then this, and was this year impoused towards his Wars in Normandy, that every Hide of Land, as much as to say, every hundred Acres of Land, should pay five shillings, which computed without deductions will rise to a sum that will seem incredible.

Laws and Ordinances in his time.

His Ordinances were chiefly for the Meridian of London; for where before his time the City was governed by Portgravies, this King granted them to be governed by two Sheriffs and a Mayor, as now it is. And to give the first of these Magistrates the honour to be remembered, the names of the Sheriffs were Henry Corbin, and Richard Reynor; and the name of the first Lord Mayor was Henry Fitzi-Aisin, who continued Mayor during his life, which was four and twenty years. But Fabian who was himself a Sheriff of London; and by that means most likely to know the truth, affirmed, that the Officers ordained now by King Richard, were but only two Bailiffs: and that there was no Mayor nor Sheriff of London till the tenth year of King John; and therefore at that year I will begin their Catalogue. But howsoever, now began the City first to receive the form and state of a Commonwealth, and to be divided into Fellowships and Corporations, as at this day they are: And this Franchise was granted in the year 1189. the first year of King Richard the first. He made also divers Ordinances concerning the measures of Corn, and Wine, and Cloth; and that no Cloth should any where be dyed of any other colour than black, but only in principal Towns and Cities. Also he ordained Juits and Tournements to be holden for the exercise of his Gentry in Arms.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The Church within his own Dominions was quiet all his time, no contention with the Pope, no alterations amongst the Bishopps, no difference between the Clergy and the Laiety, or the Clergy amongst themselves: they also seemed to be asleep, till they were afterwards awakened, in the time of the succeeding King. But abroad in his time, there was an addition of three orders of Devotion; the Order of the Augustine Friars, called Friers Mendicans, begun by William of Paris; then the Orders of Friars Minor begun by St. Francis; and lastly the Orders of Friars Preachers begun by St. Dominick, though not confirmed till the first year of Pope Honorius.

Works of Piety in his time.

Orks of Piety are for the most part works of plenty, Penury may inwardly have no good wishes, but outwardly it can ex-
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so great a deaeth, that a Quarter of Wheat was sold for 18. Shillings. pence, and then followed to great a Mortality of men, that scarce the living sufficed to bury the dead.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, and well proportioned, fair, and comely of face, of hair bright auburn, of long arms, and nimble in all his joints, his thighs and legs of due proportion, and answerable to the other parts of his Body. To speak of his moral parts, his Vices for the most part, were but only upon suspicion: Incontiguity in him much spoken of, nothing proved. But his Virtues were apparent, for in all his actions he shewed himself Valiant (from whence he had the appellation or surname of Caesar de Lion) Wise, liberal, Merciful, Just, and which is most of all, Religious. A Prince born for the good of Christendom, if a Bar in his Nativity had not hindered it. The remorse for his unfaithfulness towards his Father, was living in him till he died; for at his death he remembered it with bewailing, and desired to be buried as near him as might be, perhaps as thinking they should meet the sooner, that he might ask him forgiveness in another world.

Of his Death and Burial.

He died of a wound with an Arrow in his arm, shot at him by one Bertrand, or Peter Bofle, which neglected at first, and suffered to rankle, or as other say, ill handled by an unskilful Chirurgeon, in four days of brought him to his end. But his Charity deferves to have it remembered, that finding himself past hope of Recovery, he causeth the party that had wounded him to be brought before him: who being asked what moved him to do his Faft answer, that King Richard had killed his Father and two of his Brothers with his own hand, and therefore he would do it if it were to do again.

Upon this insolent answer, every one looked the King should have cenfured him to some terrible punishment; when contrary to all their expectations, in a high degree of Charity, he not only freely forgave him; but gave a special charge he should be set at Liberty, and that no man should dare to do him the least hurt; commanding besides to give him a hundred Shillings for his pains. An act that well shewed he had been at the Holy-Land, or rather indeed that he was going to it. But Polychronion saith, that after King Richard was dead, the Duke of Brabant who was then present, caused the said Bertrand to be hanged quick, and then to be hanged. He died the sixth day of April, in 1199, when he had lived 44 years, reigned nine, and about nine months, and had his body buried at Font-Everard, by his Father: his heart at Rome, in the remembrance of the hearty love that City had always borne him; and his bowels, at Chalons, for a disgrace of their unfaithfulness: others say at Carlisle in England.

Men of Note in his time.

In his time were famous, Baldwyn Archbishop of Canterbury, who followed King Richard into the Holy-Land, and dyed there; Hubert the Succeeded him; Hugh Bishop of Lincoln; William Bishop of Ely, a man equally famous and infamous; also Baldwyn Archbishop of Canterbury, a learned Writer in Divinity; Daniel Morley, a great Mathematician; John de Hemburgh, and Richard de Hermeburn, two notable Historians; Guillemus Stephanides, a Monk of Canterbury, who wrote much in the praise of Archishop Becket; also one Richard Divisienfet, Nicholas Walkington, and Robert de Bella Favo, an excellent Philosopher. Of Martial men, Robert Earl of Leicester; Ranulph de Falghers; two of the Bardolphs, Hugh and Henry; three Williams, Marshall, Ewancl and Mandevel, with two, Robert, Rof, and Severile.

K2
The REIGN of

KING JOHN.

1199.

ING Richard being dead, the right of succession remained in Arthur, Son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, elder Brother to Earl John; but John as thinking the title of Arthur but a Ceremonie in State, and not for every one's capacity, at least in common sense not so plain as his own, who was the Son of a King, and Brother to a King, ascends into the Throne as confidently as if he had no competitor: Only Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury went before, and made an Oration in his behalf, wherein seeking to do him justice he did him indeed a wrong; for waving his right of succession, he inflicted wholly upon their right of Election, whereof would follow, that as they brought him in, so they might call him out; of which error when he was told, he said, he did it of purpose to make King John the more careful of his Government, by making him sensible upon what an unsure ground his Regality stood. King John refiled it, but seeing it to serve his turn for the present, he took it not ill, as knowing that his turn once served, he could afterward be his own carver of what title he pleased; and so upon Ascension day in the year 1199, he was Crowned King at Westminster, with more solemnity then joy: many prefaging by their countenances and more in their minds, that all would not long be well. It cannot be denied, but that in moral circumstances Earl John had the advantage of his Nephew Arthur; for he was a man of thirty years fit to govern, Arthur but a child, not thirteen years old: he a Native, at least always bred up in the Kingdom, Arthur a Foreigner, and had never been here; he well known both to the Nobility and People, Arthur a Stranger to both, as one they had never seen. And besides these moral advantages, he had now added one from the Politicks, that he had gotten possession, (of more force in the practical part then all the former) and withal a greater then all these, if it be true which some write, that his Brother King Richard had affirmed him his Succesour after his decease. But yet knowing the Title at laft would come to be tried in a Court, where the Sword must be Judge, he implanteth all his endeavours to get this Judge to be his Friend, and by all means possible to strengthen himself with Arms; and thereupon going to Chino and Rouen, he feiteth upon the Treasure which his Brother had left in those parts, and with it gets Friends and Souliders, the Armour of Arms. And indeed all he could have done himself would have done him no good, if he had not had the help of able Assitants, who yet assisted him no less for their own ends then for his. And there were chiefly his Mother Queen Eleanor, who knew if her Grand-son Arthur should be King, that then his Mother Constance would rule all, at least during his Minority; and thereby her selfe be put from the stage of all Authority: and the Archbishop Hubert, who also knew that if Arthur should come to reign, that then the Angles and French should have all the best Offices, and the English wholly be neglected, as it was in the time of King William the Conquerour. And yet a greater friend then both the; for coming to Rouen, he used means, that Walter the Archbishop in the Cathedral Church with great pomp girt him with the Duxal Sword of Normandy, and adorned him with a Coronet of Golden Roses, he taking his Oath for faithful Administration in that Duke-dom, and they their Oath for being Loyal Subjects.

Of his Troubles in Contestation with his Nephew Arthur.

Though King John had entred upon Normandy, and made that Province fire unto him; yet the Province of Anjou stood firm for a Arthur, in observance of their love to his Father their former Prince; which also King John soon after invading, reduced by force of Arms to his obedience. And now Constance the Mother of Prince Arthur, finding King John too powerful an adversary, and no likelihood for her party, to be able long to stand out against him without further assistance, conceives it her best way to have recourse to the King of France, and thereupon committs her Son Arthur to his tutition; who seemed to receive him with the tenderness of a Father, and promised to affit him with his uttermost Forces, in the recovery of his Right both in France and England. Here we may observe upon what hinge the afections of the Kings of France were used to turn. For in King Henry the Second's time, King Lewis of France was so great a friend to his Son Richard, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Father; afterward when Richard was King, then Philip King of France was so great a Friend to John, that by all means he would help him to get the Kingdom from his Uncle; and no doubt if Arthur should ever have come to be King, he would have been as ready to help any other to get the Kingdom from him; by which it appears, that it was not the persons of Men they either hated or loved, but that they were always jealous of their growing too great.
...and indeed this ballancing of States keeps Princes affections always in suspense, and never suffers the Glass of their Love or Hate, to make a true Reflection. About this time William King of Scots came to London to visit King John, and there did homage to him for his Kingdom of Scotland, though some lay, but only for the Counties of Northumberland and Cumberland; but being required aid against the French, he excused himself, saying he could not do it without consent of his Kingdom, and so returned home.

And now Philip King of France having undertook the protection of the young Prince Arthur, with a mighty Army enters Normandy, takes many of the bold Towns, and pursuing his Victories, enters the Province of Anjou also, and recover it from King John, which he the year before had gotten from Prince Arthur. Upon this King John makes a journey into Normandy, acceding Philip for the breaking the Truce, which he had formerly made with King Richard for five years. But when he should come to make his Accusation good by Arms, he fell to Treaties, and obtained a new Truce for fifty days; with which new Truce, Baldwin Earl of Ponthiers, who had professed himself of that side, was not well pleased; and thereupon came to King John to Essex, and entreating him to break this Truce, and sent him to him how to proceed, when the fifty days should be expired. This consultation the King of France understood; and thereupon both sides prepare for war, but at the end of the Truce, both sides seemed to relent, and divers meetings were had for Treaties of Peace: and in conclusion, King John more desirous of Peace then he was for his Honour, agreed to the conditions, that his niece Eleanor, Daughter of Alphonse King of Caffile by his sister Eleanor, should marry with Lewis King Philip's Son, who should have with her in Dover, besides thirty thousand Marks in Money, all those Cities, except only Angiers, which the French before that time had taken, which were many and very great. And this Peace thus made, he returns into England with great joy, but was not with the like joy received of the English Lords, who counted themselves dishonoured, in the dishonourable conditions he had made, and Baldwin Earl of Ponthiers also, when he saw the poor spirit of King John, to defend to such base conditions, left his party; and entering league with the King of France, disposed himself for the Holy War.

But King John having now gotten a Vacation, and a time of ease, which agreed much better with his nature then War, sets his mind wholly upon pleasures; and for maintaining his pleasures, upon seeking after profit, which he pursues by all manner of injustice, under the name of Prerogative: and with such violence, that when his Brother Geoffrey Archbishop of York, in the durefulness of a Counsellor, advised him not to take such unlawful courtesies, he most unworthily took from him all he had, and it was a years work for all the Archbishop's friends to pacifie his anger. In the neck of this injustice, he committs another, she procures a divorce from her Wife Alien, the Daughter of Robert Earl of Gloucester, only for being of kin to him in the third degree; and by advice of the King of France, marries Isabel Daughter and Heir of the Earl of Anglois, advanced before to Hugh de Brou Earl of March: and shortly after brings her with him into England, where he and she together, are both Crowned at Canterbury. And here the Earls and Kings of the Realm, being all summoned to attend the King into France at Verus side following, they all by a general consent sent him words, that unless he would restore them their Rights and Liberties, they would do him no service out of the Kingdom. But what it was that made the Lords more violent in pressing their demands at this time then before, no Writers of these times do sufficiently deliver: only some of them speak scatteringly of certain oppressions (besides the general grievance for Exactions) lately offered to some of the Lords; one to the Earl of Chester, whom he would have banished, only for advising him to leave his cruelest and incontinency; another, a pursuht in Love to a Daughter of Robert Fitz-Water, called Maud the Fair, who not consenting to the King's lust, a messenger was sent to give her poxion in a patched Egg, whereof she died: And a third, offered to William de Broune and his Lady, for a rash word spoken, for when the King went to have de Broune's Lady for a pledge, the Lady answered, We shall do well indeed to commit our Son to his keeping, who kept so well his own Nephew Prince Arthur. This rash word cost de Broune his Country, and his Lady and their Son their lives, both of them being famished to death in Prison. For, though these directly were but particular grievances, yet reflecting they were general, what one suffered, all might; but whether any of these, or all of these together, were Ingredients to make a Compound of violence in the Wars at this time, or whatsoever was the true cause, this was plainly the effect, that unless the King would restore their Liberties, they would not follow him out of the Kingdom. But notwithstanding this refusal of his Lords, he paffeth over with his Queen into Normandy: and from thence to Paris, where the King of France receives them with all complements of Love and Amity. But now Hugh Earl of March, refraining the injury done him by King John, in taking away his affiliated Wife, joyous with Prince Arthur; and the King of France also, for all his fair shew of amity lately made, joyous with them, as having sometyme before married his youngest Daughter to Prince Arthur, and these with their Forces joyed, invade first the Turones, and then the Anjouins, of which Province, Queen Eleanor, the King's Mother was left Regent: who thereupon betakes her self to Mirabel the strongest Town of those parts, and sends to her Son King John, acquainting him with the danger that was in, and requiring his speedy succour. When in the mean time Prince Arthur takes the City, and in it his Grandmother Queen Eleanor, whom he used with greater reverence and respect than he expected. But King John at the hearing hereof, was so moved, calling the French King ungrateful and perfidious for succouring Prince Arthur, contrary to his League, that...
The Reign of King John.

Rudeyng prently the art of revenge, he fell upon a stragelam, of all other the moost prudent against an Enemy. For a Surprize in War is like an Apopeyve in the body, which strikes with our giving warning for defence. And this Stragelam at this time King John put in practixe; for travelling night and day with indefatigable labour, he came upon his enemies before they were aware, and during upon them unprovided, it was rather an execution then a battle: and they who remained unlaine were taken prifoners, amongst whom Prince Arthur himself, who committed prently to the custody of Robert de Veygant in Roan, lived not long after. Whether it were, that attempting to make escape, he fell down from the walls of his Prifon, and was drowned in the River Seine, as some say: or whether it were that through anguish of mind he fell sick and dyed, as others say: or whether indeed he was made away by King John, as the common fame went, Certain it is, that he forfuvd his imprisoned but a very few dyes. But though he were gone, yet his Sifter Eleanor, a preceding Competitor to King John was still remaining; Her therefore, at this time also King John feized upon, and commits her in safe custody to Briffon Castle, where after she had lived long, she died.

Of his Troubles after the death of his Nephew Arthur.

King John being now freed from his Competitor, one would think he should have ended all his troubles: but like a Hydra's head, they rather multiplied upon him. For they who had been so ready to affit Prince Arthur in his life, were now as ready to revenge his death. And firstly, Conffance his Mother comes to King Philip, with open exclamation against King John, accusing him with the murder of her Son, and with all the inflance of Tears and Intreaties, solicits him to revenge it. Hereupon King Philip summons King John to appear at a day; and because he appeared not according to the tenet of his Homage, it was decreed against him, that he had forfeited all the prerogative of his Eifate in France: and thereupon King Philip with mighty Forces invaded his Territories, takes many Towns of principal conquence, while King John lived idle at Roan, no more regarding it, then if it had not at all concerned him. And when some of his Lords seemed to marvel what he meant, to fuffer the French to rob him of such good Cities. You say true indeed (saith he) for it is but Robbery; and within a few dyes you shall fee, I will make them reforme them with ufarly. In this flighting humour he returns into England, where he looks not after the levying of Souldiers, or the raising of an Army, as this cafe required, but connotes his old course for raising of money, accufing sometimes one of his Lords, sometimes another, as it were their fault that he had loft these Towns in France. And upon these accusations made many of them pay great sums of money, which brought him not only into hatred at home, but into contempt abroad; for the King of France understanding his unworthy coueries, proceeds more violently in his Invasions, then before, getting Falais, Domfront, and all the good Towns of Normandy, but only Roan. And at laat, though Roan was a Town strongly fortified with Walls, and more strongly with the faithful hearts of the inhabitants; yet finding no hope of succour from King John, it was forced for want of Virtuus to submit itself to the King of France. Whose example all the other Cities followed, and so all Normandy returned to the subjection of the French, after thee hundred and sixteen years that Rollo the Dane had fribish them.

It was now the year 1205, and the birth of King John's reign, about which time, the two props of his Eifate, or rather indeed, the two bridles of his intemperacy died, his Mother Queen Eleanor, whose virtues had oftimes qualified the vices of her Son; and Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, who repented him at his death of nothing more, then that he had been an Instrument of bringing him to the Crown. And now King John being a subfubitive of himself, hath a device in his head to make his Subjects as willing to give him money as he was to have it. For knowing the great discontentment they all had for their losses in France, he gives it out, that he would prentely raife an Army for recovery of those losses, if he might have money to go about it: whereupon, never was money given with more aclarity. And as soon as he had it, he instantly went to Pifermon, and there he ordered Shipping before it was possible for his Lords and others to be in readiness to accompany him; and failing forward some certain Eages into the Sea, upon a sudden he returned back again, and then lays the fault upon his Lords, that had not followed him: and for this backwaund of theirs, imposed afterwards great Fines upon them; by which means he gets money no lefs by pretence of his not going, then he had done before by pretence of his going. About this time died Geoffry Fiz-Peter Juffitiar of England, who while he lived kept the King in some awe; in so much, as hearing he was dead, he swore by the feet of God, that now at length he was King of England, and with great rejoicing said to some Lords about him: Now when this man comes into Hell, let him salute the Archbishopa Hifters, whom certainly he shall find there. But Philip King of France, intending to leave the English nothing on that face, sent forthed Chimb, and takes it; and in the valiant Admiral Roger Lucy, which had given a period to King Philip's victories, had not Guide, the husband of Conffance Prince Arthur's Mother, revolted to King John. Who with his affiance once again levies an Army, befeigte Mount Auban, a Castle thought impregnable; and within fifteen dices takes it, which Charles the Great could not get with his seven years siege: where fo great a number of French Lords were taken prifoners, that King John sent a Catalogue of their names into England, for a memorial of so great a victory. After this, he taketh the strong Town of Angiers, and utterly defaced it; for which afterward he was forry, as being the Town where he was born. But now when the two Kings were ready to meet, and to give battle, interpolated was made by friends of both sides, and thereupon Peace concluded for two years, and King John returned into England.
King John, being returned, performs no less worthy Acts at home, then he had done in France; for first he invades the Borders of Scotland, and brings Alexander King of Scots to do him homage; and then undertaking many of the King of Scotland to be revolted, he pañes over to Dublin, and reduceth them to his obedience; and then placing John Bishop of Norwich Governor there, he returns into England: where pañing through Wales, he subdueth certain Rebels there, and takes eight and twenty children of the best Families for pledges of their future loyalty: but he himself/have a mind to make a motion, and rebelled again, he was so incensed, that he would not go to dinner, till he had beard the twenty eight children to be all hanged before his face. So inconsiderate a thing is the deñe of revenge, that it makes no difference between innocency and guïñines; though indeed a thing oftertimes must be done for example, which considered in itself, would be forborne.

It was now the year 1214, and the fourteenth of King John's reign, when he going to Angiers, strongly repaired it, and the province of Poitou revolted to him: which Lewis King Philip's Son understanding, comes upon them with a mighty Army, and uses much feverity upon the Authors of the revolt, takes prisoners, Reynold Earl of Bologna, and William Earl of Salisbury, with many other of King John's Captains, and defeated his whole Army. Whereof when King John was certified he grew in a manner deñerate; and as a man dejected, makes a new Truce upon any conditions with the King of France, and returns into England: where he finds a worse burthen ready to entertain him. For the Lords of the Realm having often required their ancient Rights and Liberties; and finding nothing but delations, endure no longer to be abused: but meeting at St. Edmundsbury, there they confer how they may finde a remedy to redres this evil; and at last concluded to go to the King themselves in person, and make their demands; whereof a Charter was produced, that had been formerly granted in King Henry the first's time. Whereupon coming to the King after Christmas, lying then in the New Temple, and acquainting him with their demands, he gives them this fair Answer, that within a few days he would give them satisfaction; and cañeth the Bishops of Canterbury and Ely, with William Marshal, Earl of Gloucester to pass their words for him that it should be performed. But the King meaning nothing less then to do as he said, and presently a levying of Southerns, which the Lords understanding, they all did the like; and going to the Bishop of Canterbury, deliver him a Copy of their Demands, and requiring the King's Answer: But the Bishop shewing it to the King, and humbly intreating him to give the Lords a satisfactory Answer, he swore a great Oath, they might as well demand the Kingdom; and that he would die before he would yield to any such demands. Whereupon the Lords (knowing now what they were to expect) fall to besieging Northampton, and after that, Bedford, which is yielded to them; and withall they are sent to the Londoners to signify their readiness to join with them. At this time the King was at Windor providing an Army, but hearing the Londoners were joyned with the Lords, he thought it no good way to proceed by force, but rather by fraud: and thereupon sends to the Lords, that if they would come to him to Windor, he would grant their demands. The Lords coming thither, but in a Military manner, (for they durst not trust his word) the King fañed them all kindly, and promised to give them satisfaction in all they demanded; and so in a Meadow between Windor and Stanes, called Running mead, he freely conferred to confirm their former Liberties; and was content some grave pledges should be sworn. But the next day, when it should be done, he gets him gone to Southampton, and from thence to the Isle of Wight, where advising with his Council, what in this case was fittest to be done, it was concluded he should send to the Pope, to acquaint him with this mutiny of the Lords, and to require his help: while the King in the mean time lived skulking up and down in corners, that no man might know where to find him: or which is worse (as some write) roving about and practising Piracy. And now the Lords begin to suspect fraud, when shortly after the Kings meñagiers who were Walter and John, Bishops of Worcester and Norwic, return with the Popes Decree, which was, that the Kings grant to the Lords should be void. With this Decree, the King after three moneths that he had thayed in the Isle of Wight, coming back to Windor, acquires the Lords; but they accusing the Mediegers for false informing the Pope, and the Pope also for making a Decree without hearing both sides, betake them to Arms, and swear by the holy Altar to be revenged for this Indifñication and injurious dealing. The King finding the Lords nothing moved with the Popes Decree, sends again unto him, to acquaint him with it; who mightily incensed to have his Decree so lighted, adjudgeth then all to be held as enemies of Religion: and gives power to Pope Bishop of Wincheñer, and to the Abbot of Reading to Excommunie them. In the mean time the King had sent the Bishop of Wincheñer, Chancellor of England, and others with his Seal, to hire Souldiers from the parts beyond the Seas; who returning shortly after, bringeth along with him out of Poitou and Gascony, Savory de Malton, Griffy and Oliver Bateole, Brothers; and under their conduct do great a cable, that with these Forces, within half a year the King had gotten all the Castles of the Barons, to the borders of Scotland. And now he divided his Army, committing part of it to his Brother William, Earl of Salisbury, and others to set upon London; and with the other part he goes himself into Yorkshire, where most of the Lords had poñission, which in most cruel manner were destroyed with fire and fawd. The Lords being thus on all sides disßerted, resolve upon a course, neither honourable nor safe; yet such as necessity made them both: they sent to Philip, King of France, requiring him to fend over his Son Lewis to their aid, and promising they would submit themselves to be governed by him, and take him for their Sovereign. To this motion of the Lords, King Philip was as forward as themselves; which King John understanding, sends...
The Reign of King John.

The year 1199, beginning with the Peace of Leau,
and the reception of Prince Louis of France, and the
visitation of the Church by the Popes, is remarkable
for another cause, the importunity of the Popes to
affect a greater degree of independence of the
Hindostan, and the intrigues of the Pisans, with
the ambition of the Genoese, and the want of
cooperation of the Venetians, to check the
designs of the Genoese.

Of his Taxes.

He was the first that appointed the Forms of
Civil Government in London, and other
Cities, endowing them also with their great
Franchises. The first that caused sterling money
to be here coined. The first that ordained the
honourable Ceremonies in Creation of
Earls. The first that fetled the rates and measures for
Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such other necessaries
of Commerce. The first that planted English
Laws and Offices in Ireland. The first that
enlarged the Royal style with the Lord of
Ireland, and both annexed that Kingdom,
and fastened Wales to the Crown of
England.

Affairs of the Church in birttime.

After the death of Hubert Archbishop of Can-
terbury, the Monks of that Covent secretly
in the night, elected one Reginald their Sub-
prior to succeed him; and caused him to go to
Rome for confirmation: but afterward doub-
ting how the King would take it, being done
without his knowledge, they crave leave of
the
the King to chuse a fit man, the King is content to allow them the election, but requires himself to have the Nomination, and thereupon commands unto them John Grey Bishop of Norwich, whom he specially favoured, and accordingly the Monks elect him. But the matter being afterward referred to the Pope, which of these two elections should stand good, after many allegations of both sides, the Pope to shew himself indifferent to both, disallows them both, and nominates a third man, one Stephen Langton, Cardinal of St. Chryfogone, an English man born, and a man of great learning. The Monks admit him, but the King opposeth it. And now as it were, a Prize began to be played between the two Swords, the Spiritual and the Temporal: but he that used the Spiritual Sword, proved so much the better Fencer, that he disarmed the other, and took away his Temporal Sword from him. It is true, in the first Venue, the King gave the Pope as good as he brought; for as the Pope threatened to interdict the Kingdom; so the King threatened the Pope to millifie his authority, and to banish the Clergy men out of the Realm. In the second Venue, as the Pope acted as much as he had threatened, (for he interdicted the Kingdom:) So the King performed as much as he had spoken; (for he drove the Monks out of their Cloiftons) yet at last when Pandulphus the Popes Legate came into England, and made appear to the King in what great danger he stood; First, of the King of France, by Invasion; and then of his own Subjects, by Rebellion; for both which, there was no other help but reconciement with the Pope; he so touched him to the quick, that he made him leave his great words, and fall to asking forgive- 

ness. So as taking off the Crown from his head, he laid it down at Pandulphus feet, to be disposed of, as the Pope should please. And Pandulphus took not to take up his Crown, and to keep it three or four days in his hands before he restored it; and did not then neither, but upon condition that he and his Successors should hold the Kingdom of the See of Rome, at the annual tribute of a Thoaffand Marks. And all those three or four days, in which Pandulphus kept the Crown, it might be truly said the King- dom was without a King. And upon this, no doubt it was that Peter an Hermit in a Prophetical Rapture had given out some time before, that by Anejation day, there should be no King of England. Which though in some fort it was true, yet because in some fort it was not true; and it was in the Prerogative of the King to make his own interpretation, it coft the poor Hermit and his Son their lives, and they receiv'd as a pillar of Salt, to make men take heed of Lawns and Scolding, and of playing the Crit- 

ics in matters of State.

But by this means the Kingdom was released of the Interdictiion, which had continued six years, three months, and fourteen days: During all which time, there was no publick exercise of Religion: no Churches open, no Ec- 

clesiatical Sacraments adminiftr'd, but only to them that are in danger of death, and baptifm to children, all that died were buried like Dogs in Ditches and corners, but only such as had purchased or procured licence from the Pope.

In this Kings reign,Saint Dominiccontinued his preaching ten years together against the Albigensiat; so called because they began first in the City of Alba. Also in his time Saint Francis renounced the World; and when a Priest to whom he offered it, would not take his money, he call it away, and entred into a vow of perpetual Poverty. Also in this Kings time, was held the Latrun Council, under Pope Innocent the third, in which was established the Popes power over Princes, and in matters of Faith, Auricular Confeffion, and Transubfanta- 

The Reign of King JOHN. tion when first.

Conten- tion between the Pope and the King at a bout election of a Bi- 
flop.

I Need not relate a Speech of his, though very unchristian, that having been a little be- 

fore reconciled to the Pope, and then taking an overthrow in France, in great anger he cryed out, that nothing had prospered with him since the time he was reconciled to God and the Pope. Nor another speech of his, which though spoken merrily, was in good earnest very irrel- 

igious, that being on a time a hunting, at the opening of a fat Buck, he said: See how this Deere hath prospered; and how far he is, and yet I dare swear he never heard Male: It is sufficient to relate one act of his, (if it be fome which write) that being in dif- 

Brelfs, he sent Thomas Hardington and Ralph Fitz-Nichols Knights, in Emballage to Mira- 

munilation King of Africa and Morocco, with of- 

fer of his Kingdom to him, upon condition he would come and aid him; and that if he prevai- 

led, he would himself become a Mahometan, and renounce the Chrillian Faith. Though some there be that fay, All there were but fable crimi- 

inations charged upon him by Monks that did not love him. But though we believe not these things of him; yet to suffer his Kingdom to stand interdicted for many years together, upon so small occasion as he did, was certainly no good sign of Religion in him. Yet one act he did, wherein he shewed a fpeech to Religion, by the honour he did to Religious men. For Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, lying very fick, he not only went to visit him; but being dead was one of the three Kings, (the other two were 

William King of Scotland and the King of South- 

wales,) that carried his Heroe upon their Shoul- 

ders, till they delivered it to the Peers, and the Peers afterward to the Archbishops and Bishops, to carry it into the Quire.

Works of 'Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

Y Et did this King leave more works of Piety behind him, then all his Subjects that were in his time, For he founded the Abbey of Berewick in the new Forrest in Hamp- 

shire: also an Abbey of black Monks in the City of Winc- 

sborough, and the Monastery of Fawndon, and the Monastery of Heles-Owen in Shropfri: he re-edified Gelshof and Wresel, and enlarged the Chappel of Knarshow. Now for his Subjects, only Richard Prior of Bermond- 

fey built an Houfe against the wall of the said Houfe of Bermondsey, called Almar yor 

Hospitall of Converts and Children, in honour
of St. Thomas. In this Kings time St. Mary O-

veries in Southwark was begun to be builded, and the Stone Bridge over the Thames, was by

the Merchants of London finished. Also Hu-

bert Archbishop of Canterbury, Founded a Mon-
nastery at Wet Derhams in Norfolk, which

upon the dissilution came to the family of the

Derhams, who hold it to this day.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In this Kings time, five and thirty of the most

substantial Citizens of London, were chosen out, and called the Council of the City, and the

King gave the City liberty to alter their Major and Sheriffs every year, which before continu-
ed during life. He called the Laws of England to be executed in Ireland, and money to be coined
there according to the weight of English money.

Of his Wives and Children.

Ing John lived to have three Wives. His

first was Alice Daughter of Hubert Earl of

Morton, who left him a Widow with out issue.

His second was Avice Daughter and Heir of

Robert Earl of Gloucester, by whom he issue neither, divorced from her by reason of Confin-

quity in the third degree. His third Wife was

Isabel Daughter and Heir of Aymer Earl of

Angoulême, affianced before to Hugh de Brau,

Earl of March. By this Wife he had two Sons,

Henry and Richard, and three Daughters, Jane,

Eleonor, and Isabel; Henry succeeded him in

the Kingdom; Richard was Earl of Cornwall,

and Crowned King of the Romans, and had issue

Henry and John, that dyed without issue: also

Edward Earl of Cornwall, and others. Jane

his eldest Daughter married to Alexander the

second, King of Scots, dyed without issue. Ele-

nor the second Daughter (married to Simon

Earl of Leicester) had issue; Henry, Simon, Al-

marick, Guy, Richard, and Eleanor. Henry hain

without issue. Simon Earl of Bigorre, and an-
cellor to a Family of the Montforts in France.

Armareck, first a Priest, after a Knight. Guy

Earl of Anjou in Italy, and Prenitour of the

Montfort in Twysenford, and of the Earls of the

Campo Buoni in the Kingdom of Naples.

Richard, remaining privily in England, and chan-
ging his name from Montfort to Welleburn, 

was anscellour of the Welleburns in England. El-

leonor, born in England, brought up in France,

married into Wales, to Prince Lewis ap Griffith.

Isabel, his youngest Daughter, married to the

Emperor Frederick the second, had issue; Henry,

appointed to be King of Sicily, and Margaret

Wife of Albert Lamagru of Thurin. She dy-
ed in Childbed, after the had been Empefes six years. He had also two natural Sons, Geoffrey

Fitz-Roy, and Richard, that married the Daugh-

ter and Heir of Fulbert de Devon, (who built

Childbed Castle) and had issue by her, of whom

some Families of good account are descended.

Also one bafe Daughter named Joan, married to

Lowelin Prince of Wales.

Of his Perseverance and Conditions.

He was of nature indifferent tall, and some-
thing fat, of a lowre and angry counte-

nance; and concerning his conditions, it may be

said, that his Nature and his Fortune did not

well agree: For naturally he loved his ease,

yet his Fortune was to be ever in action. He

won more of his enemies by surprizes then by

battles, which shows that he had more of Light-

ning in him then of Thunder. He was never so

true of his word as when he threatened,because

he meant always as cruelly as he spake, not al-

ways as gracioysly; and he that would have known

what it was he never meant to perform, must

have looked upon his promises. He was

neither fit for Prosperity nor Adversity: For

prosperity made him insolent, and adversity de-

jected; a mean Fortune would have found a

way to get along with him. He was all that he was by Fists; Some-
times doing nothing without deliberation, and

sometines doing all upon a sudden: Sometimes

very Religious, and sometimes scarce a Chris-

itian. His unfruitablenes of money was not so

much, as that no man knew what he did with its

gotten with much noise, but spent in silence.

He was but intertemperate in his bett temper, but

when discontented with sicknes most of all, 

as appeared at his lieft; when being in a Feaver, 

he would needs be eating of raw Peaches, and 

drinking of sweet Ale. If we look upon his

works, we must needs think him a worthy Prince; 

but it upon his actions, nothing les: For his

works of Piety were very many, as hath been

shewed before; but as for his actions, he nei-

er came to the Crown by Justice, nor held

it with honour, nor left it in Peace. Yet hav-

ing had many good parts in him, and especially 

having his Royal Politerry continued to this

day, we can do no les but honour his memory.

Casualties that happened in his time:

Of the Casualties we might count disatifis, if

it had nor had relation to our selves: For

Hugh de Bones coming to aid King John with

threecore thousand out of Britain and Plunders,

by misfortune at Sea were all drowned, to whom

the King had granted Norfolk and Suffolk for

the people he had brought with him to inhabit.

In this Kings time were great thunders and

lightnings, and flowers with hail-flones as big

as Goose-eggs. Fishes of strange shape were

taken in England, armed with helmets and

shields, and were like unto armed Knights, fa-

vaging that they were far greater in proportion.

About Maidstone in Kent a certain Monister was

found strucken with the lightning, and the

Monster had a head like an Aife, a belly like a

man, and all other parts far differing from any

other creature. Also in Suffolk was taken a fift

in form like to a man, and was kept fix months

upon land with raw flesh and fish; and then,for

that they could have no speech of it, they caft

it into the Sea again.

Of his Death and Burial.

When Prince Lewis of France was come

into England, and was received by the

Lords and by the Londners, King John with an

Army went into the North-parts, and coming to

Walpou, where he was to pafs over the Wolve,

he lent one to search where the water was pas-

sible,
able, and there himself with some few paffeth over, but the multitude with all his Carriages and Treasure falling without order they cared not where, were all drowned. With the grief of which diftroller, and perhaps distempered in his body before, he fell into a Feaver, and was lert blood: but keeping an ill diet, (as indeed he never kept good) eating green Peaches, and drinking sweet Ale, he fell into a fofens, and grew prefently too weak, that there was much ado to get him to Newmarket, where soon after he dyed. Though indeed it be diverfily related: Caxton faith he was pofioned at Stowe nuftead Abbey by a Monk of that Cotvent; the manner and caufe this. The King being there, and hearing it fpoken how cheap corn was, should fay, he would ere long make it dearer, and make a penny loaf be fold for a fhillng. At this speech the Monk took fuch indignation, that he went and put the pofion of a Troll into a cup of Wine, and brought it to the King, telling him there was fuch a cup of Wine as he had never drunk in all his life: and therewithal took the effay of it himfelf, which made the King to drink the more boldly of it; but finding himfelf prefently very ill upon it, he asked for the Monk, and when it was told him, that he was fallen down dead; then (faith the King) God have mercy upon me, I doubted as much. Others fay the pofion was given him in a drif of Pears. But the Phyfician that dif-bowelled his body found no fign of pofion in it, and therefore not likely to be true. But however the manner of his death be uncertain, yet this is certain, that at this time and place he dyed, on the 29 day of October, in the year 1216, when he had reigned fourteen years and fix moneths; lived one and fifty. He was buried, his bowels at Caxton Abbey, his body at Worfeer, under the High Altar, wrapped in a Monks Cowf, which the Superfition of that time accounted sacred, and a defenfative again all evil fpirits.

Of the Prices of things in his time.

Neither is this unfit to be recorded in Chron- nicles, to the end comparifon may be made between the time past and the prefent: as in the time of King Henry the fecond, a Quarter of Whear was fold for twelve pence, a Quart of Beans or Oats for a great. Neither is the price of filver it felf much les altert; for an ounce of filver was then valued at ninety pence, which is now valued at lefit at five fhilling$. Whereof Phyficians muft tell the reffon; for fearefcracy makes things dear? why should not plain make them cheap?

Of Men of special Note in his time.

In Military matters there were many famous men in his time, as Robert Fitz-Roger, and Richard Mont-Fitchet, with many others; but chiefly two, who acts made them specially memorable: the one was Hubert Earl, whom King John had left Governor of Dover-Caftle; of whom it is related, that when Prince Louis of France came to take the Town, and

found it difficult to be taken by force, he sent to Hubert, whole Brother Thomas had taken Prisoner a little before; that unless he would surrender, the Castle, he should prefently fee his Brother Thomas be put to death with exa-
ter tormentions before his eyes: but this threat-
ing moved not Hubert at all, who more re-
garded his own loyalty, then his Brothers life. Then Prince Louis fent again, offering him a great fum of money; but neither did this move
but he kept his loyalty as inexpuable as his Cattle. The other was Robert Fitz-Water, of whom it is related, that King John being with an Army in France, one of his Knights in a great bravery, would needs make a challenge to any of the French Camp, that durft encoun-
er him in a Combat; when prefently comes forth this Robert Fitz-Water, and in the encoun-
ter threw Horfe and Man down to the ground: whereof when King John heard, B; God meth (faith he) he was a King indeed that had fuch a Champion; whereupon fome that stood by, faying to him, He is Sir, a fervant of your own, it is Robert Fitz-Water, whom you have bani-
ished. Whereupon his fentence of banifhment was prefently reverfed, and the King received him, as he well deferved, into fpecial favour. In matter of Literature also there lived many famous men in this Kings reign; as Geoffrey Vinesufis, Simon Fraxinus, altis Ah, Adam De-
ronisus, John de Oxford. Colman furnamef the Wife, Richard Canonis, William Peregrinus. A-
tene Tewinburnus, Georgius Dudderus, John Han-wil, Nigel Werks, Gilbert Holland, Sir at Pedi-
borough, William Parsons a Monk of Newlurgh, Roger Haveden, Hubert Walter Archibishop of Canterbury, Alexander Theologus, Gratianus Ti-
burius, Gyrolus Combruis, Johannes Dovmis, Walter Mapis, Radulphus de Dicta, Gilbert Le-
gly, Mauritius Morganus, John de Fordeham, William Leefcer, Jofeline Brekeland, Roger of Croyland, Hugh White, alias Candius, who wrote an History, intituled, Historia Peurbrongensis? John de Saint Omer, Adam Barking, John Gray, an Historiographer, and Bishop of Norwich, Walter de Coventry, Radulphus Niger, and lately Simon Thurwyg, who for his pride in Learning, but more for his blasphemies again all Myef and Christ, became at first so utterly igno-
rant, that hardly he could read a letter of the Book. One yet remains that must not be forgotten, Hugo Carthubinus Bishop of Lincoln, whose Miracles, as Matthew Paris
writs, made him famous in thofe days: and the Works he hath left behind him, famous in thofe.

To this time the City of London had been governed by two Bailiffs, but the King in his tenth year taking difpleafure again them for denying his Purveyors wheat, caufed them to be impofion, till 35 of the chief Citizens repaired to him, and acquainting him what small flore the City had, how the Commons were ready to make infurrection abut it, he was then fatisfied; and moreover at their fuit, granted them to have a Major and two Sheriffs to be yearly chosen nine days before Michaelmas; which Order hath continued, though with some alteration in the time of their Election, to this day. And,

A monk's coat of great ver-

eus.

Hubert
Earl, a great loyal servant to
King John.

King John thought by
some to be poysoned.

Simon Th o-

ry of a

great Scllo-

for becomes an Hllo-

L 2 In
In his Tenth year, 
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was first Mayor.
Peter Duke, Thomas Neal, Sheriffs.

In his Eleventh year, 
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Peter le Jofue, William Bleundes, Sheriffs.

In his Twelfth year, 
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Adam Whitley, Stephen le Grafe, Sheriffs.

In his Thirteenth year, 
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
John Fitz-Peter, John Garland, Sheriffs.

In his Fourteenth year, 
Henry Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Rudolph Eyland, Constantine Josue, Sheriffs.

In his Fifteenth year, 
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Martin Fitz-Alie, Peter Bates, Sheriffs.

In his Sixteenth year, 
Roger Fitz-Alwyn was Mayor.
Solomon Basing, Hugh Basing Sheriffs.

In his Seventeenth year, 
William Hardel was Mayor.
John Travise, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.
Of his coming to the Crown, and of Acts done in his Minority.

KING John being dead, his eldest Son Henry was next to succeed; who being but nine years old, though he was capable of having his Right; yet he was scarce capable of understanding his right; especially there being another at that time, to whom great part of the Kingdom had sworn Allegiance. But those Lords who had been confiant to the Father, notwithstanding his faults, were more tender of the Son, who was altogether innocent, and whose gracious aspect gave so small hope of a better disposition. Amongst all which Lords, there was none so eminent in worthines, none so near him in Alliance, as William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, who had married his Aunt; and he drawing the rest of the Lords together, with a solemn Oration, in behalf of the young Prince, so confirmed them, and so ordered the matter, that on the twenty-eighth day of October, in the year 1216, he was Crowned at Gloucester, by Peter Bishop of Winchester & Joan, Bishop of Bath & Wells, in the presence of Gualdo the Pope's Legate, and many Lords and Bishops. Where besides the Oath usually taken by all Kings at their Coronation, to bear reverence and honour to God, and to his holy Church, and to do right and justice to all his people, he did homage besides to the Church of Rome, and to Pope Innocent, for his Kingdom of England and Ireland; and took his Oath for the true payment of the thousand Marks which his Father had granted to the Church of Rome. This done, William Earl of Pembroke, by a general content was assigned Protector of the Realm during the King's minority. In which place, the first thing he did, was to give notice of the new Kings Coronation to all the Countries round about; and proclaim pardon to all offenders that within a time limited should come and submit themselves to him. In the mean time Prince Lewis of France, who at his hearing of King John's death, thought himself then sure of enjoying the Kingdom quietly, and that he should need to fear no more opposition; now that he hears of the new Kings Crowning, and that so solemnly, and with so unanimous a consent, he begins to think himself in worse case then before: and to grow jealous of the English Lords that had adhered to him, what they would do in this new world. And indeed a conflict was already grown in their minds, which of the two obligations should be the greater; either that of their Oath to Prince Louis; or that of their Allegiance to King Henry. They could not but think it extrem ungrateness to forfake Prince Louis, whom they had themselves invited home; and they could not but think it extreme undutieness to stand out in opposition against King Henry their natural Sovereign. And that which added no small weight to this scale; was a discovery lately made by the Viscount Melun a French Lord, at the time of his death, who confessed, as a matter of confessions, that Prince Louis had vowed, if once he got the Kingdom, utterly to extinguish all the English Nobility, and to admit none but French to any place of Dignity. Neither was it perhaps the least cause that moved many to leave the party of Prince Louis, that Gualdo the Pope's Legat had threaten to Excommunicate him, and as many as should adhere unto him. But whether any of these reasons, or any other were their motives, certain it is, that many of them, of whom were principal, the Earls of Armel, Warren, Salisbury, and William the eldest Son of the Protector, shrunk from Prince Lewis, and went to King Henry, as thinking no obligation so great as Allegiance: And many again continued confiant to Prince Lewis, as thinking no obligation so great as an Oath. And now Prince Lewis, to call the dice of fortune, before his Enemies, though they had gotten them a Head, should gather to a head, and draw more forces together, staying himself at London, sent his Lieutenants with an Army of twenty thousand, to take in as many Towns as they could; and many they took with small opposition; but coming to Lincoln, where though they had the Town it fell, yet the Castle stood; and had been defended by a Noble Lady a whole year before, they found such resistance, that their proceeding was there arrested. For thither came presently William the Protector, with his Son William, the Bishops of Winchester, Salisbury, and Chester; the Barons of Salisbury, Ferrers, and Teesdale, William de Albinet, William de Castelnau, Felcasu, Thomas Boffet, Robert Vipont, James de Liffe, Geoffrey Lucy, and many other Barons, with all the power of the young King; who with wonderful violence assault the City. At which time it was pronounced by the French, to fully forth and give them Battle, but conceiving their Army to be greater then indeed it was (for the English had set double Ensigns to every Company, which...
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

The chief men that adhered to Prince Lewis were taken prisoners.

The Life Fair.

Prince Lewis was not yet discouraged, for he had sent to King Philip his Father to send him new supplies out of France; and new supplies were indeed sent: but Hubert de Burgh, Governor of Dover, being as vigilant as he was valiant, watched their coming, and in a sea-fight defeated them all, of whom but few escaped. And now this blow was so much greater than that at Land, that whereas that made only doubt, this made him despair, at least made him malleable, and fit to be wrought upon by compulsion. Whereupon it was at last concluded, that Prince Lewis should have fifteen thousand Marks for the charges he had been at, and abjure his claim to any interest in the Kingdom; and withal to work his Father for restitution of such Provinces in France as appertained to this Crown: and that when himself should be King, he should resign them in a peaceable manner. On the other part, King Henry takes his Oath; and from him the Legate Guazzo, and the Protector, to restore unto the Barons of the Realm, and other his Subjects of all their Rights and Privileges, for which the difcord began between the late King and his People. After this Prince Lewis is honourably attended to Dover, and departs out of England about Michaelmas, above two years after his first arrival.

And now the Kingdom is come to unity within itself, one King and one People; and for a year or two there was but little to do, only some few there were, whom the corruption of the times had engendered, and who being born in a form, could not live in a calm; of whom the principal were the Earl of Ailesmere, Robert de Vipont, Fawke de Brent, Brian de Liffe, and Hugh de Baloti. Who butting about, got possession of Castles: with what intention all men knew, but with what hope of effecting their intention, no man could imagine: for being but a handful of men to the Body of the Realm, they were easily suppressed; and either brought to acknowledge their faults, or else punished for not acknowledging them. It was, now the fourth year of King Henry's Reign; at which time William Earl of Pembroke, Protector of the Realm died, and was buried in the new Temple at London; in whose place came the Bishop of Winchester: And now was the King the second time Crowned, and had granted him by Parliament for Eichage, two Marks of Silver, of every Knights Fee, for the Affairs of the Kingdom, and recovery of his Transmarine Dominions which is now designd: and Mâleau de Savoyev, the Poitouvin, with Williams Long-Sword, Earl of Salisbury, went over to try the intentions of that people, whom they find for the most part inclinable to the obedience of this Crown: but the King of France being required peacefully to deliver them, made answer, that having got them by the Sword, by the Sword he would hold them. But now the King being come to some years of understanding, was in a Parliament held at London, put in mind by the Archbishop of Canterbury, of the Oath he had taken for confirmation of the Liberties of the Kingdom; which though oppugned by some (and especially by William Brewer, and Hubert de Burgh, whom the King had now made his chief Jutficiar) as having been an Act of constraint: yet the King then again ratified, and twelve Knights or other Legates of every Shire, by Writs, were charged to examine what the Laws and Liberties were, which the Kingdom enjoyed under his Grandfather, and that they should return them by a certain day: and here the King by Parliament refolved that his hands such Alienations as had been made by his Ancestors of any Crown Land. The next year after, another Parliament is held at Welfinster, wherein is required the fiftieth part of all the Moveables, both of the Clergy and Lay, for the recovery of those parts in France, with-held from the Crown by Lewis, now King, contrary to his Oath and Promise made here in England at his departure; which though it concerned the Honour and Dignity of the Kingdom, and the Estates of most of the Nobility; yet would it be yielded to, but upon confirmation of their Liberties, which in the end was obtained, in the same words and form as King John had granted them in the two Charters before; and twelve Knights are chosen in every Shire to disfract the old Forefts from the new, and the new to be laid open and ploughed, and improved, to the great comfort and benefit of the Subject; and two years they were accordingly enjoyed.

Of his Acts after he came to be of age.

It was now the tenth year of King Henry's Reign, and being about nineteen years of age, he claimed to take the government of the Kingdom into his own hands, and no longer to be under a Protector; and now will presently appear the difference between a Prince that is ruled by good Counfel, and a Prince that will do all of himself, and take no advice. For thirteen years he was ruled by a Protector; all passed as it were in a calm, without noise or clamour; but as soon as he took upon him the Government himself, there grew presently storms and tempests; no quietness either to the Subject or
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

or to himself: nothing but grievances all the long time of his Reign. For at the Parliament now holden at Oxford, as soon as he was Crowned again, he presently cancels and annuls the Charter of the Forests, as granted in his Nom- age; and therefore he not bound to observe it: and then not using any longer the Seal which the Proctor had used, he makes a new, and cancels Proclamation to be made use of; he ever would enjoy any benefit of Grants under his Seal, should come and have them signed by his new Seal; by which course he drew much money from many: and this was the first griev-

Shortly after, he commits the keeping of Barkhamstead Castle, to one Waller de Ditche-
man, which Castle belonged to his Brother Rich-
ard of Cornwall; but when Earl Richard requi-
red to have the possession, as of right he ought, it was then plotted by Hubert Burgh Chief Ju-
stice, and the Kings chief Counsellour, to com-
mit him to prison; which the Earl understand-
ing, or at least suppecing, flies presently to Mar-
borough, where he finds William Earl Mar-
thal his vowed Friend, with whom he haints to Stamford, and there meets with the Earls of Clefor, Gloucester, Warren, Hereford, Ferrers, Warwick, and divers other Barons; who all confederate together, and tend to the King; that might be before the Castle to his Brother, and to them the Liberties of Forests, which he had lately cancelled at Oxford, they would seek to recover them by the Sword. Hereupon King Henry to pacifie his Brother, not only renders the Castle to him, but gives him besides all that his Mother had in Dower; and also great pos-
fessions which the Earl of Britain, and the Earl of Bohign lately deceased, had in England: but to the Petition of the Lords he makes a dila-
tory answer: and this was another grievance.

Not long after King Henry is perfuded by Hughle Brun, Earl of March, who had marri-
ed his Mother, to make a journey into France, for recovery of his right there: but the Earl perfuded it for ends of his own, which to have discovered, had been no way to compass them: He must therefore lay some colours up-

On his work; and it was colour enough that the
action would be of great benefit to the King, if it might succeed; and the likelihood of suc-
ceeding was most apparent, by reason of the great inclination of the people to King Henry, and their great averees from King Lew. Un-

Among these colours King Henry undertaking the
action, raiseth great sums of money from the Clergy, and from the Londoners, for redemption of their Liberties, and takes the third part of all the Goods of the Jews: but when he re-

turned home a year after, without having done any thing but spent his treasure and his time; and that which was more worth then both the,

the lives of many Noble men and others; this was another grievance.

And now King Henry bringing many Poilove-

Under them, who haderved him in his

War, he was to reward them here; which he

could not do, but by displacing and spoil of his

Officers. First therefore he calleth Ralph Brot-

ten Treasurer of his Chamber to account, and

grievously fines him for defrauding him in his

Office. Then likewise is Hubert de Burgh, chief Jaffiari, and his chief Counsellour, cal-
led to account for such treasure as passed his

Office; who being further charged with crimes of Treason, flies to the Church of Aorton for sanctuary: From whence when the King com-
manded him to be drawn out by violence, the

Bishop of London hearing of it, commanded

him to be returned back to Sanctuary, upon pain of Excommunication: but the King com-
manding him to be kept from salutenance, hun-
ger at last enforced him to render himself to the Kings mercy: all his goods which were very great, confiscate. Alfo Walter Bishop of Car-

file is thrust out of his Office of Treasurer, and

William Redon Knight, from his place of Mar-

thal of the Kings House; and all the chief Counsellors, Bishops, Earls, and Barons of the Kingdom are removed as distrustful; and only strangers preferred to their rooms. Of which course, Peter de Rusoun a Poleiwin, Bishop of Winchiftre, and one Peter de Riwala, the Kings

special Favourite, were said to be the Authors: and this was another grievance.

Nine years had thus paffed, with divers grie-

vances in his Government; and being now about eight or nine and twenty years old, a Con-
mification was had for a fit Wife for him. There was propagond a Sifer of Alexander

King of Scots, but it was not thought fit the

King should marry the younger Sifer, when Hubert de Burgh had married the elder: he therefore takes one of his own choosing, and marries Eleanor, daughter to Raymond Earl of

Poversion; by which means he neither had por-

tion by his Wife, nor strength of alliance by

Friends; or if any were, it was all made vain by
distance; only he had by her a number of poor Kindred, who to his great cost lay hang-

ning upon him: yet was the Marriage ilemnnized

with as great charges as if he had been to have

Mountains with her: and this was another griev-

ance.

And now is the sorce of these grievances cal-
led upon to be paid; for the Lords could no lon-
ger endure fo many indignities, to see themselves

lighted, and only strangers advanced, as Poulk de Brent, who held the Enliboms of Notting-

ham, Oxford, Belford, and Buckingham, and others the like: and to see their persons exposed to
danger, and their estates to mine, for which no re-

medy could be, but only the Kings confir-
mong their Charter of Liberties: wherein it

is strange to observe upon what different

grounds the King and the Lords went. It seems the King thought that to confirm that Charter,

were to make himself to be left then a King; and the Lords thought, that as long as it was de-

nied, they were no better then slaves: and as the

King could endure no diminution, fo the

Lords could endure no law; but the King might keep his own with fitting still, the Lords

could not recover their own but by motion. And seeing their strength must be in their num-

ber, by commotion, hereupon they confede-
rate together; and of his confederacy, Richard

now Earl Marfhals, upon the death of his Bro-

ther William, is chief: who repair to the King,

and boldly shew him his error, and require satis-

faction. Hereupon the King sends pre-

The Lords confederate again for their Char-
ters.
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

The Lords summoned to a Parliament, and the Lords refuse to come. The Parliament then by a writ of Husting ordered to be publicly proclaimed, and all the Peers and great men in every part of the land were required to appear. They threatened to have a new King.

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The Lords proclaimed Out-laws; and their estates were sequestered.

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ing, they also grew cold, and so for that time it
relied, and no more was done in it. About this
time, a certain fanatick fellow, had got into the
Kings Chamber in the night, having a naked
knife in his hand, with a resolved purpose to
kill him: but finding him not there, (for the
King lay that night with the Queen) he then
went looking to finde him out: but being
taken and confessing, who were his complices,
he was afterward drawn in pieces with wide
Horfes. So provideth a carehath God to pro-
tected his Anointed.

And now is the Kings turn to play his part in
using his Authority, which he fails not to do to
the intermoit; for upon a small occasion he
canfeith the Gates of Gilbert now Earl of
Pembroke (the third fon of William the great Mar-
thal) to be shut again him at Wincheffe; where-
upon the Earl retires into the North. Alfo Si-
march, Baron, Master of the King's Seal, and his
greatest Favourite, is thrown out with difgrace,
and his Brother gravy a Knight Templar, is put
out of the Council; both of them for not
yielding to pass a Grant from the King made un-
to Thomas Earl of Elfrant, the Queens Uncle,
of four pence upon every lack of Wool. And
now that load enough is laid upon thefe of
the Lity, comes a new load to be laid upon the
Clergy. For the Pope nothing daunty to make
the Power he had in the King, fends over
three hundred Romans, requiring to have the
five benefices that should be vacant, be-
towed upon them: which seemed to unfortu-
nate a request, and to the Clergy of En-
gland fo dangerous, that it made Edmund
Archbishop of Canterbury to give over all;
and betake himself to a voluntary exile in the Ab-
bey of Pasnlea in France; yet to fweark his re-
spect to the Pope, gave him eight hundred
Marks, bidder of re-
weight upon the Clergy, great fums are also
required of them for maintenance of the Popes
Warre against the Emperor; which thought
the Clergy opposed, and fewed many good
reafons of their oppofition both to the King
and the Legar; yet by promises or threatnings,
they were won or forced to yield unto it. And
now comes the Earl of March, and once again
folicits the King to make another journey into
France; which being yielded to by the King,
and allotted in Parliament, an aid prefently
was demanded towards it: but this demand
was not only oppofed, but all the Kings Taxa-
Tions and Aids before granted, were now re-
nepaled; and thereupon an absolute denial to
grant any more. Upon this, the King comes to
the Parliment himfelf in perfon; earnestly, and
indeed, hazardfully claiming their aid for this
once to: but all prevailed not, they had made a vow
to the contrary; and the King is driven to get
what he could of particular men, of whom partly by gifts, and partly by loan, he got
enough, that he carries with him thirty Bar-
rels of Sterling money. This expedition had
no better fucces then the former; for after a
whole years stay, the King was driven to make
a defhonourable Truce with the King of France,
and return home. At his return he put the
Jeus to another redemption, and the Landgrafs
to another exaction: and to help on his charge,
his Wives Mother, the Countefs of Provence,
comes now to visit him, who bringing her
Daughter Zanchia with her, a marriage is fo-
Iumnized between her and Richard Earl of Corn-
wall, whose Wife was lately dead, and he re-
turned from the Holy Wars. The old Coun-
tefs at her return, is prefented with many rich
gifts, having besides received an annual penion
of four thouland Marks out of England, for
five years paff, in consideration of a paft made,
that King Henry after her deceafe should have
the Earldom of Provence: but shortly after her
return, the disappointment of that, and be-
flows it upon her youngff Daughter Beatris,
marrifd to Charles the French Kings Brother,
who was after King of Naples and Sicife: fo
as this Countefs lived to fee all her four Daugh-
ters Queens: Richard Earl of Cornwall, coming
after to be elected King of the Romans. Upon
these provifions, a confufion is had for new
supplies, and no way thought to fit for by Parlia-
ment: hereupon a Parliament is again assembled
at Welfmifier, whither the King comes
again himfelf in perfon, urging his necelfities;
yet nothing would be granted without the affu-
rance of reforation and due execution of the
Laws. And here they defire to have it ordained,
that four of the most grave and diftinguifhed
Peers fhoufl be chosen as Confervators of the King-
dom, and inflant of the Kings Council, both to
fie Justice administered, and the treafure influfed;
and thefe or two of them at least, fould ever
attend about the King. Alfo that the Lord
Chief Juflicer, and the Lord Chancellour
fhoufl be chosen by the general voices of the
States assembled, or elfe be one of the number
of inofe. Besides they propofed, that there
might be two Juflices of the Benches, two Barons of the Exchequer, and one Juflice
for the Jews; and thofe likewife to be chosen by
Parliament. But while these things were in
debaring, comes one Martin, a new Legar from
the Pope, with a larger Comimation than ever
before, to exact upon the State; but at the
fame time, Letters coming from the Emperor
Frederick, to entreat that the Pope might have
no more supplies out of England, The Popes
Mandate is rejected, and his Agent Martin dif-
gracefully fent home. This busines took up
to much time, that nothing elfe was done in this
Parliament, but only an aid granted to the King
for the marriage of his Daughter to Alexander
King of Scott; twenty fhillings of every
Knights Fee, and that with much ado, and re-
petition of his former aids.

The Winter following he afsembles another
Parliament, wherein he moves for an aid upon
a defign he had upon Wales, and pay his debts,
which were urged to be fo great that he could
not appear out of his Chamber for the infinite
clamour of such; to whom he offered for his
Wine, Wax, and other necelfities of home; but
they all to his face refufed to grant him any
thing. Whereupon other violent courfes are
taken, an ancient quarrel is found out
against the City of London, for which they are
commanded to pay fifteen thouland Marks; and
Paffellome the Clerk is employed, with others,
in a moft peremptory Comimation, to enquire
of all fuch Lands as had been inofelled, and either

The Pope
fends over
900 Romans
to have the
five benefices
vacant.

He comes
to the Par-
liament to
demand a
Sumofly, but
is denied.

He returns
out of
France
without
Success.
to fine the occupiers thereof at their pleasure, or else to take it from them and sell the same to others; wherein such rigour was used, that multitude of people were undone. But now, to shew the King the estate of his Kingdom, and the opulence of Popes, inquiry was made of the Revenues which the Romans and Italians had in England; which were found to be annually sixty thousand Marks; being more than the yearly Revenues of the Crown. Which moved the King, that he caused the same to be notified, with all other exactions, to the General Council now assembled at Linna. And this (with the ill usage of his Agent Martin) he vexed the Pope, that he is said to have uttered these words, 'It is time to make an end with the Emperor, that we may crush these petty Kings, for the Dragon once appeared, or destroyed, these lesser Snakes will soon be trodden down. But upon the Popes rejecting the consideration of these grievances of England, and disputing the Kings message (who he said began to Frederick) it was absolutely here ordained, under great penalty, that no contribution should be given to the Pope by any Subject of England: And the King for a time affents unto it. But being of an irrefolute and wavering nature, and midst of threats, he soon gave over what he undertook, so as the Pope continued his former rapine, and though he had promised never to lend any more Legates into England, yet sent he other Ministers under the title of Clerks, that had as great power as Legates, and effected as much.

And now for the other part of the State, new occasions also of complaint were offered. Peter of Savoy, Earl of Richmond, comes into England, bringing with him certain maids to be married to young Noblemen of this Country, the Kings Warders, of whom Edmund Earl of Lincoln hath one, and Richard de Burgh another; and the same year three of the Kings Brothers by the Mother, Gyn de Luzignan, William de Valence, and Abbot Ramsey, are sent over to be provided of Estates in England. Also Thomas of Savoy (sometimes Earl of Flanders,) by right of his Wife comes with his Sifer Beatrix, Councils of Province, the Queens Mother, who are again sent, answer, and gifted; for whom the King is taxed therefor, but the Parliament in Continuance Term, and besides sharply reprehended for his breach of promise, having Vowed and Declared by his Charter never more to injure the State in that kinde: also for his violent taking up of Provision of Wax, Silk, Robes, and especially of Wine, contrary to the will of the sellers, and many other grievances they complain of. All which the King patiently hears, in hope to obtain his desire; but yet nothing is effected: and the Parliament being prorogued till Midsummer following, and the King growing more obdurate then before, it afterward brake up in discontent. But the Parliament not supplying him, he is advised to furnish his wants with sale of his Plate, and Jewels of the Crown, being told, that though they were sold, yet they would never again into him; and having with great toils received money for them, he asked who had bought them: a wager is made, the City of London. That City (said he) is an incautiable

Gulph, If Otho's Treasure were to be fold, they freely would buy it. In his two and fortieth year, a Parliament was held, which by the advice of his Ministers, the mad Parliament; for that, at this Parliament (to which the Lords came with great retinues of armed men) many things were enacted contrary to the Kings pleasure, and his Royal Prerogative.

And now to vex them, he appoints a Fair to be kept at Wembly, forbidding under great penalty, all exercise of Merchandise within London, for fifteen daies, and all other Fairs in England; and namely of that by: but this Novelty came to nothing; the inconvenience of the place, as it was then, and the foule of the weather, brought more affliction then benefit to the Traders. That Christmas also he requires New-years-Gifts of the Londoners, and shortly after writes unto them his Letters imperiously deprecatory to aid him with money; and thereby gets of them twenty thousand pounds, for which the next year after he craves pardon of them. And notwithstanding his continual taking up all Provisions for his house, yet he lefts his house-keeping in no honourable manner. And then seeing he could get nothing of the States, he calls unto him, or writes unto them noblemen apart, declaring his poverty; and how he was bound by Charter in a debt of thirty thousand pounds to thee of Bourdeaux, and his Gageway, who otherwise would not have suffered him to depart home at it, his last being in France: but failing herein of Temporal Lords, he addresses his Letters to the Prelates, of whom he finds (as little relief; by much importunity and his own presence, he got of the Abbot of Ramfey a hundred pound, but the Abbot of Burrough had the face to deny him, though the King told him, it was more Alms to give money to him, then to a Beggar that went from door to door. The Abbot of Saint Albans was more kinde, and he gave him three hundred Marks. To such lowmen did the necessity of this indigent King (through his pretence) bring him. The Jews ever expected to his will, feel the weight of these his wants. One Abraham, found a Delinquent, redeems himself for seven hundred Marks, and Aaron another from Paris, the King had long since his last being in France taken from him at times, thirty thousand Marks of Silver, besides two hundred Marks of Gold given to the Queen.

But now the Lords assemble again at London, and press him with his promise made unto them, that the Chief Juttician, Chancellorell and Treasurer should be appointed by the General Council of the Kingdom; but by the absence of richard Earl of Cornwall, (which was thought to be done of purpose) they return fruitate of their desire. And now the Bishoprick of Winchelsea failing void, the King lends presently to the Monks of the Cathedral Church, to elect his Brother Archbishop; and because he would not be denied, he goes thither himself in person, and there enters the Chapter houze as a Bishop of Prior, gets up into the Presidents Chair, begins a Sermon, and takes his Text, Justice and Peace have killed each other; and therupon upeth these words: To me and other Kings
Kings who are to govern the People, belongs the right of Judgement and Justice; to you who are men of Quiet and Religion, Peace and Tranquility; and this day I hear you have (for your own good) been favourable to my request, with many such like words; whereby the Monks finding the earneffness of his desire, held it in vain to deny him, and 

Abelmar. was elected: but with this refervation, if the Pope allow Sir Henfr after Baloun the Roman and 

Cafe of Sir Henry de Bath, a Jufticiar of the 

Kingdom, and a special Councillor to the King, who by corruption had attained to a mighty Eflate, and is said, in one Circuit to have gotten two hundred pound per annum. He is accu-

fied by Sir Philip Darby of falshood in the King's 

Court; and the King is fo incenfed against him, that in the Parliament at this time holden in 

London, Proclamation is made, that whosoever had any Action or Complaint against Henry de Bathes, should come and be heard. One of his Jufticiaries accused him of acquir- 

ing a Malefactor for a brife. The King feeing Henry de Bathes's friends to be many and strong, breaks out into a rage, provo- 

cing; that whosoever would kill Henry de Bathes, should be acquitted for the 

deed. But afterwards, by intercession of the Earl of 

Carmow, and the Bishop of London, the King becomes pacified, and Sir Henry is released, paying two thousand Marks; and after is refor-

med to his former place and favour. The King keeping his Christmas at York, the marriage is solemnized between Alexander King of Scots, and Margaret his Daughter; to the Feast of which solemnity it is said the Archbishop gave fix hundred far Oxen, which were all spent at one meal; and besides, the Feast cost him four thousand Marks.

About this time the Pope solicits King Henry to undertake the Crofs, and to both Alphonfo 

King of Cofile, offering to accompany him in 

Perceu, to rescue the King of France, who was now held Prisoner by the Soundan; and because a ranforemme collected for him in France was by tempest cast away at Sea, the Capive King offers to restore Normanly to the King of England, fo he would come to his rescue. Upon this fo- 

licitation the Pope, and the grant of a tenth of the Clergy and Largy for three years to come, the King undertakes the Crofs; rather it seems, to get the money, then with any purpose to per- 

form the Journey: which had it been collect- 

ed (faith Paris) would have amounted to fix hundred thousand pounds, to utter the impove-

rishment of the Kingdom. And now the King by Proclamation calls the Londoners to Welfmisier, and there caufeth the Bishops of Welfmisier and 

Chicheftcr to declare his intentions, and to ex- 

hort the people to undertake the Crofs and at- 

tend him: but few are are moved by their per-

fusions, only three Knights of small note, whom thereupon the King in open view, imbra-

ceth, kifeth, and calls his Brethren, checking the 

Londoners as ignoble Mercenaries; and there himself takes his Oath for performing it, and to let forth upon Midfterner day next. In tak-

ing his Oath, he lays his right hand on his breast, according to the manner of a Priest; and after on the Book, and kif it as a Layman. About this tenth (granted by the Pope, but not by the People) a Parliament is called is called at London, where the Bishops are first de- 

volved, (as being a work of piety) and they abso-

lutely refuse it; then the Temporal Lords are fet upon, and they anwser as the Bishops, which put the King into so great a rage, that he drove out all that were in his Chamber, as if he had been mad. Then he falls to perwade them apart, sending first for the Bishop of Ely, and deals with him in all kinds. In the end, the many favours he had done him. The Bishop replies, difclaiming his anwser from the Journey by Example of the King of France; and to that 

parole with many good reasons: which the King hearing, in great passion commanded his Servants to thrust him out of door, percei-

ving by this what was to be expected of the reft, and thereupon falls upon his former violent courfes. And first the City of London is com- 

pelled to the Contribution of a thousand Marks, and the Guffeyors being upon revolt, unless 

s pedy fuccour be fent them, general Muzzers are made, and commandement given, that who-

foever could dispence thirteen pounds per annum, should furnish out a horfeman. This occasions another Parliament, wherein it feems the State began with ftrictitude to consider, that all their oppo-

sitions did no good, the Kings turn muf be believed one way or other. Therefore they agreed to re-

lieve him rather by the ufual way, then force him to thofe extravagant courfes which he took; but yet fo, as the Reformation of the Government, and the ratification of their Laws and Lib-

erties, might once again be folemnly confirmed. And after fifteen days confultation, to fa-

tify the Kings defire for his holy Expedition, Tenith is granted by the Clergy, and Scrtage, three Marks of every Knights Fee by the Lighty, and thereupon thofe oftend confirmed Charters 

are again ratified; and that in the moft solemn 

and ceremonial manner, that State and Religion could poiblly derive. The King with all the 

great Nobility of England, all the Bishops in 

their reverent Ornaments with burning Candles in their hands, assemble to hear the terrible 

fentence of Excommunion againft the infrin-

gers of the fame. And at the lighting of 

fuch Candles the King having received one in his hand, gives it to the Prelace that flould by, 

faying, It becomes not me, being no Priet, to 

hold this Candle, my heart fhall be a greater reftimony; and within laid his hand spread 

upon his Breast all the time the fentence was read: which was thus pronounced, Authoritati Dei 

Omnipotentis, &c. Which done, he caufeth the 

Charters of King John his Father, granted by his ftrengthen fee, to be openly read. In the end, 

having thrown away their Candles, which lay 

fmaoking on the ground, they cried out, So let 

them who incur this Sentence, be excafh, and 

have no better favour tham then theft snuffs: and the King with a loud voice faid, As God help me, I will, as I am a Man, a Chriftian, a Knight, a King 

Crowned and Anointed; inviably observe all 

thefe things: and therewithall the Bells rung 

out, and the people fhooned for joy.

Yet was not all fo quiet by this Grant, but that 

there were grievances still, whereof the 

first falls upon his Brother Richard, Earl of 

Carmow: for the King having been twenty 

M 2 years
years before given him the Province of Gascie, now that he had a Son of his own, he would take it from his Brother, and give it to his Son; and the Earl refusing to deliver his Charter, it is plighted to imprison him; but he escaping out of Barnes, comes over into England. The King to win the Nobility of Gascie to turn him, promised them thirty thousand Marks, which they accept, so as he bindeth himself by his Oath and Charter to perform it. This distress of theirs the King takes in part, and thereupon sends Simon Mounfand Earl of Leicester, a stenm man, to be their Governor, who with his insolent Government, so discontents them, that after three years suffering, they fend the Archbishop of Barnes, with other great men, to complain of his Insolences. Whereupon Mounfand is sent for, and because the Lords took part with him, the King takes part with the Gasciers; which Mounfand took full, that he upbraids the King with breaking his promise; to whom the King in great rage replied, that no promise was to be kept with an unworthy Traitor. At which word Mounfand fliet up, protesting that he dyed, and were he not supported by his Royal Dignity, he would make him repent those words. The King commands his Servants to lay hold on him, but the Lords would not permit it. Yet after this great affront to the King is Mounfand taken over again into Gascie, though with more limited Authority; and shortly after the King with a Fleet of three hundred Ships goes thither himself, and soon cometh all differences in the Country.

But now the King of Spain pretends a title to Aquitaine; and to take him off, King Henry fends to treat of a marriage between Prince Edward and his Sister Eleanor: which being accepted by the King of Spain, the Marriage is solemnized at Burgis, where the King of Spain Knights the Prince, and quits his claim to Aquitaine for him and his Successors for ever; and King Henry invites the Prince and Wife in it, and gives unto him besides Ireland, Wales, Briflem, Staf ford, and Grancham; and from hence it came that ever after this, the Kings eldest Son was immedi ately upon his birth Prince of Wales, and Earl of Chester. After this King Henry prepares to return home, and well he might, having spent in this and his former Journeys into those parts, the sum of seven and twenty thousand pounds; more then all the Lands if they had been fold, were worth; which when the King was told, he is defire there might be no words made of it for his credit. And now being to return, he is dilatory, with the King of France's leave to pass through France: and coming to Paris with a thousand Horse, where he stayed eight days, is there most royally feated by the King of France; and he as royally feats the King of France again. But it is the Landowners and the Jews that are like to pay for all. For coming home about Christmas, when the Land owners pretended him with a hundred pounds in money, and afterwards with two hundred pounds in plate, it was fo lighted, and fo ill taken, that a hole was presently found in their coat, for an escape of a Prisoner, which cost them thirty thousand Marks; Yet was not this enough, but he takes good Fleeces from the Jews, and then lets them out to Farm, to his Brother Richard, for a great sum of money, and he to make what more of them he could.

Yet after all this he complains of his Debts, which he saith are at least three hundred thousand Marks, which must needs he the heavier to him, because he had diminished his own means, by the allowance of fifteen thousand Marks per annum to his Son the Prince. The only hope is in the Parliament, but a Parliament being called, they fell profontly upon their old grievances, complaining upon the King for breach of Charters, and renewing their claim, to have the chief Justiciary, the Chancellour, and Treasur er, to be chosen by themselves: to nothing was done for the King at this time, and the Parliament being prorogued till Michaelmas, as little then, by reason many of the Peers came not, as not being summoned according to the tenor of Magna Charta. And now while the King was using means to winde himself out of debt, there happened occasions to put him further in; for now King Thomas Earl of Savoy, the Queens Brother being at war with the City of Tunis, must be supplied with money towards it, by the King of England. Now the Earl Bath was dissatisfied, the King of Spain's Brother, comes into England, and must be sumptuously Feasted, and have great gifts presented him. Now Eleanor the Princes Wife, arrives with a multitude of Spaniards, and must all be entertained at the Kings charge, and have no small presents given them at their departure. Now comes Ruffandus from the Pope, with power to collect the Tenth of the Clergy, for the Popes use and the Kings, and to absolve him from his Oath of the Holy War, so he would come to destroy Manfred, Son to the Emperor Frederick, now in possession of the Kingdom of Sicilie, and Apulia. And this man likewise hath great gifts bestowed upon him, besides a rich Prebend in York: but the Pope by too much seeking his profit, loathed credit and all: for the Clergy fights him, and will give him nothing: and when he would have borrowed of the Earl of Cornwall five hundred Marks, the Earl answered, He liked not to lend his money to one, upon whom he could not Restrain. But King Henry's greatest charge was his purchasing a Kingdom for his Son Edmund; for now comes the Bishop of Beaufort from the Pope, with a ring of Investiture to Prince Edmund, in the Kingdom of Sicilie, which he pretends to be at his disposing; and King Henry takes it in so good earnest, that after this he calls his Son Edmund by no other name then King of Sicilie. But all this was done by the Pope, but to angle away King Henry's money, as indeed upon this hope he had drawn the King into the engagemen of an hundred and fifty thousand Marks. For to draw the King on, it was given out, that the Pope had defeated all Manfred's Forces, and was thereby in possession of the Kingdom; when the truth was, that Manfred had defeated the Pope Forces, and was thereby himself established in the Kingdom.

The year 1257, the King keeps his Christmas at Windsor, where new grievances are made. The Merchants of Gascie, having their Wines taken from them by the Kings Officers with
out satisfaction, complain to their Lord the Prince, he to his Father, and his Father having been informed before-hand by his Officers, that their clamours was unjust, as relying upon the Princes favour, he falls into a great rage with the Prince, and breaks out into these words. See now my blood, and my bowling impinge me; but afterwards pacified, he gives order the injuries should be redressed. And now the Princes followers themselves come, to be a grievance, who relying upon their Maller, commit many outrages, and spoil and wrong men at their pleasure: and the Prince himself is not altogether free, of whom it is said, that meeting a young man traveling by the way, he caused one of his ears to be cut off, and one of his eyes to be put out. And many such pranks played by him and his followers in Wales, made the Welsh break out into open rebellion, which the Prince would fain have suppressed, but there was no money to be his advantage in doing it. And now the King falls to shifts, he comes to the Chevron himself, and there lays penalties upon Sheriffs, that return not their monies in due time; then he falls upon measures of Wine and Ale, upon Baskets and Weights, and something he gets; but London is his best Chevron, and every year commonly, he hath one quarrel or other to the Londoners; and they are sure to pay. And now falls out an accident, seeming of great honour, but certainly of no profit to the King. Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother, is elected King of the Romans: for although Alphonso King of Spain, the great Mathematician were his Competitor, yet Earl Richard's money wrought more then his learning, and the Archbishop of Cologne comes over to fetch him, and Crowned he is at Agisgraine. This Earl of Cornwall is reported able to dispense a hundred Marks a day, for ten years, besides his Revenues in England. But now an accident happens dear for a Secretary, who looks that his Office should pay him again; so Earl Richard having given infinitely to compass his advancement, looked to help himself again by the place; and this, and the desire he had to revenge himself upon those that had opposed his Election, made him take such violent courses that he came soon to be dispossessed, forsaken, and forced to return into England, a poorer King then he went out an Earl.

All's done in the contention between the King and his Barons.

Now King Henry very proud to have his younger son a King as well as his brother, calls a Parliament, wherein he brings his son Edmund clad in stilly habits; and tells the Parliament, how he has chosen this son of his to the Kingdom of Stellis, he had bound himself under a covenant of losing his Kingdom, in the sum of an hundred and forty thousand Marks: and hoped they would not think much to aid him with money for so great an advancement. But the Parliament stood firm to their usual condition of Magna Charta; so as that might be confirmed, they were content to give two and fifty thousand Marks: but this gave the King no satisfaction. The year after, another Parliament is held at London, wherein upon the Kings pressing them again for means to pay his debts to the Pope, the Lords tell him plainly, they will not yield to give him any thing for any such purposes; and give their reasons, and withall repeat their own grievances, his breach of promises, the infidelity of his brothers, and especially William de Valence, who had given the lye to the Earl of Leicester, and no right done him in; and many such things. Which the King hearing, and not able to deny, humbles himself, and tells them how he had often by iil counsel been seduced; but promises by his Oath which he took on the Tomb of St. Edward, to reform all these errors. But the Lords not well knowing how to deal in this business, as being divided betwixt a desire to satisfy the King, and a desire to be satisfied themselves; and knowing withal the barrenness of the Kings nature, they get the Parliament to be adjourned on St. George's day, and then to assemble at Oxford. In which mean time the Earls, Leicester, Horsey, the Earl Marshal, Bigot, Spencer, and other great men, confederate, and provide by arms to effect their desire: and here is the foundation laid of those bloody wars that ensued between King Henry, and his Barons.

And now the King being put to his shifts for money, gets the Abbots of Westminster to put his Seal, and that of his Co Ven to a Deed Obligator, as a surety for two hundred Marks, making account, that by his example, others would be drawn to do the like; but his trusty servant Simon Passelee, being employed to other Monasteries, and telling them amongst other reasons, to perkwade them, that the King was Lord of all they had; they only answered, they acknowledged indeed the King to be Lord of all they had, but yet to, as to defend, not to destroy the same; and this was all the could get of them. The Prince also in no less wanted then his Father, is driven to mortgage his Town of Stamford, Beverley, and many other things, to William de Kesteven, a Poetarum, whereby appeared the disorder of the time, when the Prince was in want, and strangers had such plenty. And now is the Parliament assembled at Oxford, whither the Lords come attended with large trains; and here they begin with the expostulation of the former Liberties, requiring that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The Lords require that the chief Justiciar, the Chancellor, and Treasurer may be chosen by Parliament.

The Lords confer their Legislative powers, and King Henry with shifts to get money.
suspecting he would come with power to aid the King his Brothers, take order for guarding the Ports, which intend to hinder his landing: but finding his train to be but small, accompanied only with his Queen, two German Earls and eight Knights, upon his promise to take their propounded Oath, they admit him to Land, but would neither permit the King (who came thither to meet him) nor himself to enter into Dover Castle. At Canterbury they bring him into the Chapter house, where the Earl of Gloucester standing forth in the midst, calls out the Earl, not by the name of King, but Richard Earl of Cornwall; who in reverent manner coming forth, taketh his Oath in these words:

_How all men, that I Richard, Earl of Cornwall, do here with upon the holy Evangelists, that I shall be faithful and diligent to reform with you the Kingdom of England, and be an efficient Conductor to expel all Rebels and disturbers of the same; and this Oath will inviolably observe, under pain of losing all the Land I have in England: So help me God._ But though this Earl came home both weak and poor, yet upon his return the King takes heart, and seeks all means to vindicate his power, and first lends meffengers secretly to Rome, to be absolved from his enforced Oath. And to have the more assurance from the King of France, he makes an absolute renunciation of all his Right to the Duchy of Normandy, and the Earldoms of Anjou, Poitou, Touraine and Maine; in regard whereof the King of France gives him three hundred thousand pounds (some fay Crowns) of Anjou coin money, and grants him to enjoy all Guen, beyond the River Garonne, all the County of Saintonge to the River of Charente, the County of Limousin and Quercy, for him and his Successors, doing their homage to the Crown of France, as Duke of Aquitaine.

And now was the King of France made arbiter of the difference between King Henry and his Barons, who gives sentence against the Barons concerning the Provisions at Oxford; but of their side concerning King John's Charter, by which nice distinction, though he did but leave the matter as he found it: (for those Provisions as the Lords pretended, were grounded upon that Charter) yet did his sentence draw many away from the party of the Barons, amongst whom was Henry son to the Earl of Cornwall, Roger Clifford, Roger de Lescun, Haim, Lefrang, and many others. But the Earl of Leicester, notwithstanding this revolt, collects the Town and Castle of Gloucester, confines the Citizens to pay a thousand pounds for their redemption, goes with an Army to Worcester, poelleth himself of the Castle, thence to Shrewsbury, and comes about to the Isle of Ely, subdues the same, and grows exceeding powerful. The King doubting his approach to London, falls to treat of a Peace, and a Peace is concluded upon these conditions; that all the Castles of the King should be delivered to the keeping of the Barons; the Provisions of Oxford should inviolably be kept; all strangers by a certain time should avoid the Kingdom, except only such as were licensed to stay. The Prince had fortified Windsor Castle; but Leicester coming to believe it, he treats with him for Peace, which
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

which is refused, and the Castle is rendered to him.

The King, at this time, to win time, convokes another Parliament at London, wherein he won many Lords to take his part; as namely the Prince Richard his Brother, Henry his Son, William Valence, with the rest of his Brothers lately returned; and with them the King marches to Oxford, which divers Lords of Scotland repair to him, as John Comyn, John Balliol, Lords of Galloway, Robert Bruce, and others: also many Barons of the North; Clifford, Percy, Basset, and others. From Oxford he goes to Northampton, where he took Prisoners, Simon Montford the younger, with fourteen other principal men; thence to Nottingham, making spoils of such possessions as pertained to the Barons in those parts. And now the Kings side grows strong, which the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester seeing, they write to the King, professing their Loyalty; and how they opposed only such as were enemies to him and the Kingdom, and had beleved them. The King returns answer that themselves were the perturbers of him and his State, and fought his day and the Kingdoms destruction; and therefore defies them. The Prince likewise, and the Earl of Cornwall, send Letters of defiance to them. Yet the Barons continue to mediate a Peace, and send the Bishops of London and Worcefter, with offer of thirty thousand Marks to the King, for the damages done in these wars, as the Statutes of Oxford may be observed; but this offer is not accepted. The Earl seeing no remedy, but it must be put to a day, takes his time to be earlier ready then was expected; and supplies his want of strenght with policy, placing on the one side of a hill near Lewis, where the battel was fought, certain En ligns without men, in such fort, as they might seem afar off to be squadrons of succours to second those he brought to the encounter: whom he caused all to wear white Coats, both for their own notice, and the sig-nification of his caulfe, which he would have to be thought for Justtice. Here the fortune of the day was King, the Prince, the Earl of Cornwall, and his Son Henry, the Earls of Arundel and Hereford, with all the Scotch Lords, are taken prisoners; and of the English, five and twenty Barons and Bannerets: only the Earl Warren, William de Valence, Guy de Lusignan, the Kings Brother, with Hugh Biga Earl Marshal, save themselves by flight: five thousand (some say twenty thousand) are slain in the battel. A year and half is Simon Montford in possession of his prisoners, carrying the King about with him to countenance his actions, till he had gotten all the strongest Castles in the Kingdom. And now comes Erianns and first debate between the two great Earls of Leicester and Gloucester, about their Dividend, Montford is taxed to do more for his own particular then the common good; his sons also presuming upon his greatness, grew insolent: whereupon Gloucester sent on an address that hide, and betakes him to the Prince, who lately escaping out of the Cattle of Hereford, had gotten a power about him to try the fortune of another battel. The revolt of this Earl being great in it selfe, was greater by its example; for now many others resolved likewise; and the Earl of Leicester, seeing the improvement of the Princes Forces, who was now with his Army about Worcefter, though he saw his own disadvantage, yet determined in Plain near Evesham to encounter him; and noting the manner of the approach of the Princes Army, said to those about him. Those men come bravely on, they learn it nor of themselves, but of me. And seeing himselfe-like to be beset, and overlaid with multitude, he advised his friends Hugh Spencer, Ralph Basset, and others to shift for themselves; which when they refused to do, then (faith he) let us commend our souls to God, for our bodies are theirs: and so undertaking the main weight of the battel, perish'd under it, and with him are slain his Son, Henry, eight Barons, with many thousands of common Souldiers. And thus ended Montford the great Earl of Leicester, highly honoured in his life, and more highly should have been after his death, if the people might have had their will, who talk of miracles enough to make him a Saint.

And now is King Henry by this victory of his Son, at liberty; who, together with the King, Leicester, where Parliament is convoc'd, and all who adhered to Earl Montford, are disinherited, and their estates conferred on others, at the Kings pleasure; the Lords also have their Liberties taken from them. But though the death of Montford gave a great wound to the party of the Barons: yet it was not mortal, at least not mortal presently; for there remained relics that kept it alive a good while after. Simon and Guy de Montford sons of the Earl of Leicester, and other of the Barons, take and defend the Isle of Ely. The Castle of Kingtonworth held out half a year, till their victuals failed; and then yielded upon conditions to have their lives and goods saved: and many others there were, that refusing and desperate persons, strongly knit and fastened together, though now shortly upon difdovling. For after the Parliament at Welfminster, the King with an Army going against them, and being at Northampton, Simon and Guy de Montford came to him and submitted them to him: but when the Earl of Gloucester opposed them to their estates, they were fain to fly the Kingdom, and make their fortunes in other Countreys, as indeed they did; the younger in Italy, the elder in France, where they were propagators of two great Families. Their Mother was banished shortly after the battel of Evesham. A Lady of eminent note, as being the Daughter and Sister of a King, and yet of more note for her patient bearing of adversity, or rather for her making a benefit of adversity; for by this means she took her self to the veil of Piety, and died a Nun at Monturgers in France. About this time a great slath was made of Jews in London: and the quarrel was, because a Jew would have forced a Christian to give him more than two pence a week for the hire of twenty shillings; two pence only being then allowed by the Law.

Three years after this, the disinherited Barons held out, till at length, conditions of truce are proposed; but here the Council are divided in opinion: Morton and others stated in the possessions of the disinherited, are against restituation, alledgeing it were injustice to take
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

The Kings, Lords, and Commons during the Holy War, and the Statutes of England.

The Kings, Lords, and Commons during the Holy War.

take from them the rewards of their service. Glos-
fener and twelve ordained to deal for the peace of the State, are earnest for reparation; alledg-
ing, it were hard measure to grant them their lives, and not their livelihoods: but not prevai-
ling, in great discontentment Glosstser retires from Court, sends Melfengers to warn the King
to remove strangers from his Council, and ob-
erves the Provisions at Oxford, as he promis-
ed at Ely: otherwise that he should not mar-
vel if himself did what he thought fit. Hereupon
John de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and William de Valentiare sent to the Earl of Glosstser; who,
though they could not persuade him to submit
to the King; yet thus much they got of him un-
der his hand and Seal, that he would never bear
arms against the King, or his son Edward, but
only defend himself and pursue Roger Mortimer,
and his other enemies. And now a Parliament
is convoket at Ely, wherein many demands are
made by the King and the Legat, and all for mo-
ney from the Clergy; but all denied, that no-
thing but denials are done in this Parliament.
After this, the Legat imploies Solicitors to per-
swade the disinheritcd Lords which held the
Isle of Ely, to return to the faith and unity of
the Church, and to the Peace of the King, ac-
cording to the form propounded at Coweney: to
which the Lords make answer, that they never
opposed the unity of the Church, but the ava-
rice of Church-men that were in authority; and
that they never opposed the King, but for the
good of the Kingdom: and then required, that
the Provisions at Oxford might be obsercted,
and pledges be given them for their securit.
Hereupon the ear next, the King prepares a
mighty Army, and Prince Edward with Bridges
entering the Isle of Ely, shunts them up so far,
that he contrains them at last to yield. Also the Earl
of Glosstser coming to London with an Army, is
by the Legat once again perfwaded to render
himself to the King; and upon forfeiture of
twelve thousand Marks, if ever he should ra
ny commotion again, is reconciled. Now re-
 mains Lewes and the Wef, to be chaffet for
aiding of Simon Maffmouth; but the King go-
ing against them with an Army, they give him
two and thirty pounds Sterling, and so make
their peace and here was an end of the first wars
between the Kings of England and their Barons.

The next year after the Popes Legat Otho,
signs with the Croyfado both the Kings, Edward,
the Earl of Glosstser, and divers Noble men induced to undertake
Holy war by the licitation of him and the
King of France; who notwithstanding his for-
cmer calamities endured in that action, would
once again adventure it. And because Prince
Edward wanted means to furnish himself out,
the King of France lends him thirty thousand
Marks upon a mortgage of Gascoyne. And now
whilest this preparation is in hand, King Henry
labours to establ rh the Peace of the Kingdom,
and to reform the excells which the war had
bred: and the same year assembles his last Par-
liament at Marlborough, where the Statutes of
that Title were enacted. Near two years it
seems to have been after the undertaking the
Crois, before Prince Edward let forth, but then
taking his wife Eleanor with him, though young
with child, he set forward, and in the voyage,
when many of his people seemed defirous to
leave him, and return home, he is said to have
slucken his brest, and sworn; that if all his fol-
lowers forsook him, he would yet enter Alon,
or Piedmont, though but only with his horse-
keeper Ewan. Shortly after Richard King of
the Romans died, and the year following King
Henry.

Of his Taxations and ways for raising of money.

Never son was more like a Father in any
thing, then King Henry was like his Father
King John, in this point, for raising of money;
for he trod directly in all his steps, if he added
not something of his own. King John had great
Subsidies granted him by Parliament, for any
great action he undertook, so had King Henry.
King John rufemned the Lands aliened from
the Crown, to do King Henry. King John made
benefit of the vacancy of Bishopricks, and Ab-
beys, to do King Henry. King John took great
Fines of many for crimes not proved, but only
supposed, to do King Henry. And John made
benefit of a new Seal, to do King Henry. King
John exerted great sums from the fent, to do
King Henry. And one way more he had to get
money, which perhaps his father had not; and
that was by begging, as he told the Abbor of
Borough. It was more Alms to give money to
him, than to the Beggar that went from door
to door. Indeed Taxations in this Kings Reign
may be reckoned amongst his annual Revenues,
for scarce any year passed without a Parliament,
and seldom any Parliament without a Tax; or
if any sometimes without, it was then cause of
the greater Taxation some other way; as when
he took of the Londoners for having aided the
Barons, twenty thousand Mark.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In this Kings Reign were ratified and confir-
mated the two great Charters of Magna Char-
ta and Carta de Forefia. Also in his time were
enacted the Statutes called of Mortons, of Oxford
and of Marlborough. Also sealing of chart, which
before was but pecuniary, he made capit-
tal: and the first suffered for the same, was one of
Dunfable, who having 80in twelve Oxen from
the Inhabitants of Colse, and being pursued to
Redburn, was by a Bayley of St. Alfon, accor-
ding to the Kings Proclamation, condemned
and beheaded. And it may seem strange, that
in these times so much blood should be shed in
the field, and none upon the Scaffold: for till
the twenty sixth year of this King, that one Wil-
lam Maffre, the son of Geoffry Maffre, an Na-
obian of Ireland, being condemned for Pira-
cy and Treason, was hanged, beheaded, and
quartered, there is no example of that kind of
punishment to be found in our Histories Part-
icularly in this Kings Reign was made that Sta-
ture, by which the Ward and marriage of the
Heirs of Barons within age is given to the King.
Also in this Kings Reign the Pleas of the Crown
were pleased in the Tower of London. All
Wears in the Thames are in this Kings time or-
dained to be puck’d up and destroy’d. Also the
Citizens
Citizens of London are allowed by Charter to pass Toll-free through all England, and to have free Warren about London: also to have and use a common Seal. Also it is ordained that no Sheriff of London should continue in his Office longer than one year, which they did before for many. In the five and twentieth year of this King, were Aldermen first chosen within the City of London, which then had the rule of the City, and of the Wards of the same, and were then yearly changed, as now the Sheriffs are. It was in this King's time allowed to the City of London to present their Mayor to the Barons of the Exchequer to be sworn: which before was to be presented to the King, wherefore he were. In his time the clause Non obstante (brought in first by the Pope) was taken up by the King in his grants and writings. Also in this King's time, William Bishop of Salisbury, first caufed that custom to be received for a Law, whereby the Tenants of every Lordship are bound to owe their fuit to the Lords Court, of whom they hold their Tenements. Also in the thirty second year of this King's Reign, the Wharf of London called Queen-Eithe, was let to farm to the Citizens for fifty pounds the year, which is since grown scarce worth fifteen. In this King's time a Proclamation was fet forth, that all such as might dispence fifteen pound in London, should receive the Order of Knight-hood and thro' that would nor or could not, should pay their Fines.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Flairs of the Church for matter of Disorder, were never more quiet then in this King's Reign; for now all Hereticks accounted of the time, especially the Albigensici, were in a manner suppreffed by the Arms of the King of France, not without the vote of the King of England, who forbore to make war upon them in tenderer time to his service. But for matter of manners they were never more turbulent; for now Abbeys were fleeced, Sanctuaries violated, Clergy: men outraged, Bishops themselves not feared; and all for greediness of money, or for revenge.

Of the Pope Legat in Far at Oxford.

He intermedicated the University and how pacified.

fairs of the Church may be reckoned the Ulers of any member of the Church: such as one as in this King's time broke out most loathsome. For one procuring five wounds to be made in his body, in relapse to five wounds in Church, thereupon took upon him to be Christiant and had gotten a Woman, that took upon her to be the Virgin Mary: who continuing obstinate in their madness, were adjuzed to be immured and shut up between two walls, to the end (no doubt) the contagion of their filthy souls should spread no further. In this King's time a little novelty was brought in by Pope Innocent the fourth, who ordained the Cardinals should wear red Hats: something perhaps for mystery, and something for distinction. Also in this King's time, the Grecians fortook their obedience to the Church of Rome; and the Archibishop of Antioch claims to have precedence and authority above the Bishop of Rome, because the Apostle Peter had first governed the Church of Antioch seven years together. Also in the fifth year of this King, the Friars Minor (as some write) came first into England; but it is not like they came to farm, for they were Gray Friars of the order of St. Francis: and St. Francis had no graces till Pope Honorius the third, which was some years after. And it is miraculous which is related of St. Francis, that fifteen days before his death appeared wonders in his hands and feet, like to those which Christ received there upon the Cross; and as soon as he was dead, there remained not to much as any marks of the said wounds upon him. Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

His King caufed a chett of Gold to be made for laying up the Reliques of King Edward the Confessor, in the Church of Westminster. He built a Church for converted Jews in London: also an Hospitall at Oxford, for Passengers, and defeated persons: also the new Conventual Church and the Chappel of our Lady at Westminster, whereof he laid himself the first stone: also the house of Black-Friers in Canterbury. In his time, Elias Counsell of Salisbury founded the Abbey of Laok in Wiltshire; Richard Earl of Cornwall, founded Netley, a Monastary of Cisterian Monks near to Winchcomb in Gloucestershire: Reginald de Mona, Earl of Somerset, and Lord of Daufer, founded the Abbey of Newham in Devonshire: London the third Earl of Chester, and Lord of little Britain, builded the Castles of Chartley, Beeone, and the Abbey of Dalecast: Sir John Manfel the King, Chaplain, founded a house of Regular Canons near to Romney in Kent: Williams de Albineto Earl of Arundel, founded the Priory of Wilmham: Williams Bruce, a Citizen of London, and Raffa his Wife, founded the Hospitall of our Lady without Bishopsgate in London: And Isabel Counsell of Arundel founded the Nunnery of Marran, near to Linna. Friers Minor first arrived at Dover, nine in number; whereof five remained at Canterbury, and there builded the first Convent of Friers Minor, that ever was in England: the other four came to London, who increasing in number, had a place alligned them in Saint Nicholas Shambler; which John Layn, Mer- cer of London, appropriated to the use of the
The Life and Reign of King Henry the Third.

One time there fell no Rain in England, from the first of March to the Assumption of our Lady; and at another time there fell so much Rain, that Holland and Holderness in Lincolnshire were overflowed and drowned. In the 17th year of his reign, were seen, 5 Suns at one time together, after which followed so great a dearth, that people were constrained to eat Horse-dung, and barks of Trees, and the Lumber was starved for want of food. Also in his time the Church of Saint Mildred in Canterbury, and a great part of the City was burnt. Also the Town of Newcastle upon Tyne was burnt, Bridge and all. And though it may seem no fit place to tell it, yet here or no where it must be told; that in this Kings time there was sent by the King of France, the first Elephant that ever was seen in England. In this Kings time, Matthew Paris relates of a maid in Leicester, that being exactly watched, was found in seven years together, neither to eat nor drink, but only that on Sundays she received the Communion, and yet continued fat and in good liking: which if it be true, we may well believe that in the Resurrection, our life may be maintained without meat or drink. Also in this Kings time, there was found a plentiful Mine of Time in Germany, which before this time was never known to be any where found but only in Memling, which much abated the price of Time in England. In his time also the Sea by the space of four or five days, flowed not up to her usual height, which was never known to happen at any time before. Also in his time a child was born in Kent, that at two years old cured all difeases. Also in his 56 year a Lamb was yeasted at Greenwich before London, that had two perfect bodies and but one head. Also in his time a child was born in the Isle of Wight, who at 18 years old, was scarce grown to be three foot high; and therefore brought to the Queen, she carried him about with her as a Monstrel of Nature.

Of his Wife and Children.

He married Eleanor, the second of the five daughters of Raymond Earl of Provence, who lived his Wife thirty seven years, his Widow nineteen, dyed a Nun at Almeini, and was buried in her Monastery. By her he had six sons and three daughters: of his sons, the four youngest dyed young, and were buried, three of them at Welfminister, and the fourth in the New Temple by Piersstreet. His eldest son Edward, furnished Longhanks, of his tall and slender body, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son Edmund, furnished Crambsback, of bowing in his back, and yet more likely of wearing the sign of the Cross, (anciently called a Crouch) upon his back, which was by the daughter born of such as had vowed voyages to Hiersalem, as he had done. He was invested titular King of Sicilie and Apulia, and created Earl of Lancaster, on whose person originally the great contention of Lancaster and York was founded. He had two wives, the first was Avelin daughter and heir of William Earl of Albemarle, by whom he left no issue. The second was Queen Blanch, daughter of Robert Earl of Artois, (brother of St. Louis King of France) widow of Henry of Champagne King of Navarre: by her he had issue three sons and one daughter. His eldest son Thomas, who after his father was Earl of Lancaster, and having married Alice daughter and heir of Henry Late Earl of Lincoln, was beheaded at Pontefrath without issue. His second son Henry Lord of Montacute, who after his brother, the fourth Earl of Lancaster, and father of Henry the first Duke of Lancaster, was beheaded in the third son John, who dyed unmarried. His eldest daughter Mary married to Henry Lord Perkeo, mother of Henry the first Earl of Northumberland. This Edmund dyed at Bay in Gascoyn, in the year 1296. when he had lived fifty years, whose body half a year after his death, was brought over into England, and entombed at Westminster. Of King Henrys three daughters, the eldest Margaret was married to Alexander the third, King of Scotland, by whom she had issue, two sons, Alexander and David, who dyed both before their father, without issue; and one daughter Margaret Queen of Norway, wife of King Erik, and mother of Margaret the heir of Scotland and Norway, that dyed unmarried; The second daughter of King Henry was Beatrice, born at Rouen, married to John the first Duke of Britain, and had issue by him, Arthur Duke of Britain, John Earl of Richmond, Peter, and Blanch married to Philip son of the Earl of Atois, Eleanor a Nun at Almeini, and Mary married to Guy, Earl of St. Paul, the deceased in Britain, and was buried at London, in the Quire of the Gray-Fryers within Newport. The third daughter of King Henry, named Katherine, dyed young, and lies buried at Westminster, in the space between the Chappels of King Edward and Saint Benet.
of his eye-lids hanging down, and almost covering the black of his eye. For his inward dispositions, it may be said, he was fitter for a man, than for a Prince; for he knew better how to govern his life than his Subjects. He was rather Pious then Devoir, as taking more pleasure in hearing Matins then Sermons, as he said to the King of France; He had rather see his friend once, than hear from him often. His minde seemed not to stand firm upon its Basis, for every sudden accident put him into passion. He was neither constant in his love, nor in his hate; for he never had so great a Favourite whom he cast not into disgrace, nor so great an Enemy whom he received not into favour. An example of both which qualities was seen in his carriage towards Hubert de Burgh, who was for a time the greatest Favourite, yet cast out afterward in miserable disgrace; and then no man held in greater hatred; yet received afterward into grace again. Yet it is memorable to hear that with what words this Hubert was charged at his arraignment, and specially one: Tho that dissuade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had said, the King was a squire-eyed Fool, and a kinde of Leaper, deceitful, perjured, more faint-hearted then a Woman, and utterly unfit for any Ladies company. For which, and other crimes laid to his charge in the Kings Bench, where the King himself was present, he was adjudged to have his Lands confiscate, and to be deprived of his Tittle of Earl; yet after all this was restored to his estate again, and suffered to live in quiet. He was more defirous of money then of honour, for else he would never have fold his Right to the two great Duckedoms of Normandy and Anjou to the King of France for a sum of money. Yet he was more defirous of honour, then of quietness; for else he would never have continued to long with his Barons about their Charter of Liberty, which was upon the matter but a point of honour. His most eminent virtue, and that which made him the more eminent, as being rare in Princes, was his continency; for there is nothing read, either of any base children he had, or of any Concubine he kept.

Of his Death and Burial.

Though he had lived a troublesome life, yet he died a quiet death; for he had fetled Peace in his Kingdom, and in his conscience. For being at Saint Edmunds Bury, and finding himself not well at ease, he made the more haste to London, where calling before him this Lords, and specially Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Glocefter, he exhorted them to be more and faithful to his son Prince Edward, who was at that time far from home; and therefore had the more need of their care, which consilied chiefly in their agreement one with another. And then his sickness increasng, he yielded up his soul to God, on the sixteenth day of November, in the year 1272. when he had lived threecore and five years, reigns fix and fifty; and was buried at Westminster, which he had newly builded.

Of men of Note in his time.

Of Martial men famous in his time there were many, but three specially who obfured the rest: the first was William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, memorable for the great care he had of King Henry in his minority, and more memorable for the little care that Dethwine had of his pottery; for leaving his five Sons behinde him, they all lived to be Earls successively, yet all died without issue: So as the great Name and numerous Family of the Marshalls come wholly to be extinct in that Generation. And this happened (if we may believe Matthew Paris) by reason of a curse of an Irish Bishop, from whom he had taken two Maunders belonging to his Bishoprick; and neither he, nor all his sons, upon any inrrections would be gotten to reform them. The second was Richard de Clare Earl of Glocefter who in Battle against Baldwin de Giffes, a valiant Eminent, employed by King Henry, himself alone eareaad twelve of his enemies; and having his horse flaine under him, he pitcheth one of them by the leg out of the saddle, and leapeth into itself, and continue the fight without giving ground; till his Army came to rescue him. An act, that may seem fitter to be placed among the Fictions of Knights Errant, then in a true Narration. The third was Simon Monifa, a man of enjoying a Spirit, that he gave King Henry the lie to his face; and that in presence of all his Lords, and of whom it seems, the King stood in no small fear. For paffing one time upon the Thames, and suddenly taken with a terrible storm of Thunder and Lightning, he commanded to be set on shore at the next flairs, which happened to be at Dunbar Houte, where Monife then lay; who coming down to meet the King, and perceiving him somewhat frighted with the Thunder, said unto him, Your Majesty need not fear the Thunder, the day is now past: No Monife (said the King) I fear not the Thunder so much as I fear thee. Of men famous for fainfty of life, there were likewise many in his time, but three more eminent then the rest, Edmund Archibishop of Canterbury, Richard Bishop of Chichefter, and Thomas Arch-Deacon of Hereford; all three either Canonized, or at least thought worthy to be Canonized for Saints. To these may be added Robert Groslybend Bishop of Lincoln, who translated the Teilaments of the twelve Patriarch, out of Greek into Latin; which through envy of the Jews, never came to the knowledge of Saint Hierome, wherein are many Prophetties of our Saviour Christ. Of men famous for Learning, there were likewise many in his time; of whom some left works behind them for Teilmonies of their knowledge in divers kinds, as Alexanderii Holc, a Prier minor, who wrote many Treatises in Divinity; Ralph Clegghall, who wrote the Appendix to the Chronicle of Ralph Nigre; Randolph Glavvile, the Earl of Cheffer, the third and last of that name, who compiled a book of the Laws of England; Henry Brallv, who wrote a book commonly called by his name, de Con- sistendum Anglicm and besides thefe, Hugh Kirkfread, Richard of Ely, Peter Henham, John Nyles,
### The Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Reign.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
<th>Sheriffs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In his first year,</td>
<td>William Hardel was Mayor.</td>
<td>John Travers, Andrew Newland, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his second year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl was Mayor.</td>
<td>Thomas Bokerell, Ralph Holyland, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his third year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Bons Senturers, William Blundevors, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his fourth year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl continued Mayor.</td>
<td>John Wail, or Veil, Jasperle Spicer, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his fifth year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Richard Wimbledon, John Wail or Veil, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his sixth year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Richard Renger, John Veil, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his seventh year,</td>
<td>Robert Serl continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Richard Renger, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his eighth year,</td>
<td>Richard Renger was Mayor.</td>
<td>William Joyner, Thomas Lambert, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his ninth year,</td>
<td>Richard Renger continued Mayor.</td>
<td>John Travers, Andrew Bokerell, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his tenth year,</td>
<td>Richard Renger continued Mayor.</td>
<td>John Travers, Andrew Bokerell, Sheriffs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In his eleventh year,</td>
<td>Richard Renger continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Roger Duke, Martin Fitz-William, Sheriffs.</td>
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<td>In his twelfth year,</td>
<td>Roger Duke was Mayor.</td>
<td>Stephen Bokerell, Henry Cockham, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his thirteenth year,</td>
<td>Roger Duke continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Stephen Bokerell, Henry Cockham, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his fourteenth year,</td>
<td>Roger Duke continued Mayor.</td>
<td>William Winchifler, Robert-Fitz-John, Sheriffs.</td>
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<tr>
<td>In his fifteenth year,</td>
<td>Roger Duke continued Mayor.</td>
<td>Richard Walter, John de Woburn, Sheriffs.</td>
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### In his sixteenth year, Andrew Bokerell was Mayor.

- Michael of St. Helen, Walter de Enfield, Sheriffs.

### In his seventeenth year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- Henry de Edmonton, Gerard Bat, Sheriffs.

### In his eighteenth year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- Simon Fitz-Mary, Roger Blunt, Sheriffs.

### In his nineteenth year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- Ralph Ailwyn, John Norman Sheriffs.

### In his twentieth year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- Gerard Bat, Richard or Robert Hardei, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty first year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- Henry Cobham, Jordan Coventry, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty second year, Andrew Bokerell continued Mayor.

- John Teleson, Gervais the Cordwainer, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty third year, Richard Renger was Mayor.

- John Colras, John Whithall, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty fourth year, William Joyner was Mayor.

- Raymond Bongy, Ralph Ailwyn, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty fifth year, Gerard Bat was Mayor.

- John Gifor, Michael Tony, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty sixth year, Raymond Bongy was Mayor.

- Thomas Durham, John Voi, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty seventh year, Raymond Bongy continued Mayor.

- John Fitz-John, Ralph Ailwyn, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty eighth year, Ralph Ailwyn was Mayor.

- Hugh Blunt, Adam Bafing, Sheriffs.

### In his twenty ninth year, Michael Tony was Mayor.

- Ralph Estler, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

### In his thirty year, John Gifor was Mayor.

- Robert Carvill, Adam of Bowly, Sheriffs.

### In his thirty first year, John Gifor continued Mayor.

- Simon Fitz-Mary, Lawrence Frawick, Sheriffs.
In his thirty second year,  
Peter Fitz-Aldwin was Mayor.  
John Vell, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,  
Michael Tony was Mayor,  
Nicholas Fitz-John, Geoffrey Winchester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,  
Roger Fitz-Roger was Mayor,  
Richard Hardel, John Talson, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,  
John Gifor was Mayor.  
Hamfrey Bat, William Fitz-Richard, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,  
Adam Bafing was Mayor,  
Lawrence Fawick, Nicholas Bat, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,  
John Talson was Mayor.  
William Durham, Thomas Wimborn, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,  
Richard Hardel was Mayor.  

In his thirty ninth year,  
Richard Hardel continued Mayor,  
Ralph Aftwy, Robert of Limon, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,  
Richard Hardel continued Mayor.  
Stephen Doe, Henry Walmnd, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,  
Richard Hardel continued Mayor,  
Michael Bokerel, John the Minor, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth second year,  
Richard Hardel continued Mayor,  
Richard Otwel, William Aftwy, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth third year,  
Richard Hardel continued Mayor,  
Robert Cornhil, John Adrian, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth fourth year,  
John Gifor was Mayor.  
John Adrian, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth fifth year,  
William Fitz-Richard was Mayor.  
Adam Browning, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth sixth year,  
William Fitz-Richard continued Mayor.  

In his fortieth seventh year,  
Thomas Fitz-Richard was Mayor.  
John Taylor, Richard Wallerbye, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth eighth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Richard continued Mayor.  
Robert de Montpeter, Osbert de Saffolk, Sheriffs.

Yet Fabian faith, that from this 48. year to the end of his Reign, there were no Mayors of London, but only Guardians of the City.

In his fortieth ninth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard was Mayor.  
George Rcke, Thomas de Desford, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,  
Thomas Fitz-Thomas Fitz-Richard, continued Mayor,  
Edward Blunt, Peter Anger, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth first year,  
William Richards was Mayor.  
John Hind, John Wallcrow, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth second year,  
Alien de la Sanch was Mayor.  
John Adrian, Lucas de Bateneor, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth third year,  
T. Wimborn, Cnftoc, Sir Stephen Edward.  
Walter Harvey, William Darefro, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth fourth year,  
Hugh Fitz-Ottam, Cnftoc of London, and Con-  
turable of the Tower.  
Thomas Bafing, Robert Cornhil, Sheriffs.

To this time the Mayor and Sheriffs had been  
chosen, but now the King grants the choice  
of them to the City it fell.

In his fiftieth fifth year,  
John Adrian was Mayor.  
Walter Potter, Philip Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth sixth year,  
John Adrian continued Mayor.  
Gregory Roch, Henry Wallen, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth seventh year,  
Sir Walter Harvey was Mayor.  
Richard Harris, John de Wodele, Sheriffs.

THE
The LIFE and REIGN of
KING EDWARD
THE FIRST,
Surnamed of WINCHESTER.

Of his coming to the Crown.

So soon as King Henry was dead and buried, the great Lords of the Land caused his eldest Son Prince Edward to be proclaimed King; and assembling at the new Temple in London, they there took order for the quiet Governing of the Kingdom till he should come home. For at this time he was absent in the Holy Land, and had been there above a year when his Father died. But we cannot bring him home without telling what he did, and what he suffered in all that time, and in his return. For at his first coming thither he refused the Great City of Jerusalem from being surrendered to the Soultan; after which out of envy to his Valour, one Armacius a deprecate Saracen, who had often been employed to him from their General, being one time, upon pretence of some secret message admitted alone into the Chamber, with a poisoned Knife gave him three wounds in the body, two in the arm, and one near the arm-pit, which were thought to be mortal, and had perhaps been mortal, if out of unpeaceable love the Lady Eleanor his Wife had not stuck out the poison of his wounds with her mouth; and thereby effecting a cure, which otherwise had been incurable. It is no wonder, that love should do wonders, which is itself a wonder. And now being disappointed of aids that were promised to be sent him, and leaving Garrisons in fit places for defence of the Country, he with his Wife Eleanor takes his journey homewards. And first going to Sicily, was there most kindly received by Charles, King of that Island, where he first heard of his Father's death; which he took more heavily far, than he had taken the death of his young Son Henry, whereof he had heard a little before. At which time King Charles marvailed, he answered, that other Sons might be had, but another Father could never be had. From hence he passeth through Italy, where much honour is done him both by the Pope, and other Princes; and then descends into Burgoyne, where the Earl of Chalton, a stout man at arms, he is challenged at a Turnament, with a pretence to solemnize his presence; but with a purpofe indeed to disgrace his person. And though Prince Edward in many respects might justly have refused it; yet the noblenes of his minde would not suffer him to pass by any occasion of shewing his Valour: and in this encounter he fo foiled the Earl, as he made it appear; that Fame had been no liar in the report it had made of him. And here a great part of his English Nobility met him, from whence he passed into France, where the King Philip his near Cousin (as being Sifters Sons) entertain him with great solemnity; and graceh his solemnity with so much courteties, that it won Prince Edward voluntarily to do him homage for the Territories he held in France: and this voluntary in Prince Edward won the King of France again to grant quietly unto him all the Lands in France that belonged to him; and so these two great Kings by reciprocal courteties, effecting that which their Predecessors by force could never effect. From hence he paffed through Aquitaine, and having there taken homage of his Subjects, and fet all things in order, he set sail and arrived in England, above a year after the death of his Father; a long time for plotting of mischief, and a strong temptation to plots of mischief, if all caufes of quietsness had not concurred: but such was the worthines of Prince Edward's person, and such the undoubtednes of his Title; that as there could be no Competitor, so there would be no oppugner. And indeed the Divine Providenc had shewed a special care over him from his Childhood; whereof one or two Examples will not be unfit to be related. One was this, that being yet but young, and playing one time at Chefs with a Friend, in the midst of his Game, without any apparent occasion, he removed himself from the place where he was, when suddenly there fell from the roof of the house, a great stone, which if he had played in the place but never to little, had beaten out his brains. Another example of the Divine Providence over him, (though it happened afterwards) was this: Having prepared a great Fleet of Ships for a Journey into Flanders, and being at Winchefter, where the Ships were to meet; it happened, that riding about the Harbour, his horfe frighted with the noise of a Wind-mill, which the winde drove violently about, scrambled up and leapt over the Mud-wall of the Town, as none of the King nor the Horfe was to be seen, but evey one judged the King could not chance but be thrown and killed: yet such was the Divine Providence over him, that the Horfe lighted...
lighted upon his feet, and the King keeping the Saddle returned safe. And under the wing of this Divine Providence, he had now pass'd all the dangers of this tedious Journey, and being safely come to London, was on the fifteenth day of August in the year 1274, Crowned at Westminster, together with his Wife Queen Eleanor, by Robert Kilwardy Archbishop of Canterbury, where five hundred great Horses were let loose for any that could take them; and yet the outward solemnity was not more great than the inward joy was universal; every man rejoicing, not only at a change, which of it felt is pleasing but at a change for so much for the better, as this was like to be.

Of his Acts done after he was Crowned.

The Acts of this King after he was Crowned, may not unfly be divided into five parts: His Acts with his Temporal Lords; His Acts with his Clergy; then with Wales; then with Scotland; and lastly with France.

And first concerning his Lords, he gave them good contentment in the beginning of his reign by enlarging their liberties made by the former Laws, for which purpose he called a Parliament, wherein were made the Statutes called of Westminster first: for he had no difference with them, till toward the end of his Reign, as shall be showed hereafter. In the next place, concerning his Acts with his Clergy, he began with them betimes; for having lived to be of good age, three or four and thirty years old, in his fathers reign, he observed in that time, that their power was too predominant, and therefore thought fit to clip their wings; at least to keep them farther from growing; which he did by these means. First, in the sixtieth year of his Reign, he deprived many chief Monasteries of their Liberties, and took from the Abbot and Coconut of Westminster, the return of Writs granted them by the Charter of his Father, King Henry the third. The next year after it was granted the Statutes of Westminster, to hinder the increasement of their Temporal possessions. In the second Statute of Westminster, he defalcated the Jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Judges; and growing more upon them, he required the moiety of all their Goods, as well Temporal as Spiritual, for one year. Then calls he a Parliament of his Nobles at Salisbury, without admission of any Churchmen in it. And it is worth the noting, that Marchen his Treasurer, acquainting him that in Churches and Religious Houses, there was much Treasure to be had, if it might be taken, he made no scruple of it, but caused it to be taken and brought into his Exchequer. But finding his Prelates not well contented with it, to please them again, he bids them ask something of him, wherein they should see how much he favoured them. And they asking of him to repeal the Statute of Mortmain, that had been made against the monasteries, he answered, that this was Statute made by the whole body of the Realm; and therefore was not in his power, who was but one Member of that Body, to undo that which all the Members together had done. And perhaps whatsoever they should have asked else, he would have had an answer to redeem his offer. And thus much concerning his Clergy.

In the next place are the Welsh, who had themselves begun with the King. For their Prince Llywelyn being summonsed to attend at his Coronation, refused to come; and afterwards at more leisure, being required to come and do him homage, he stood upon terms of safe conduct, pretending doubts to be ufed: as his Father Griffith had been: who upon hard usage in the Tower, seeking to make escape, fell from the Walls and brake his neck. But indeed it was always a custom with this Nation, at every change of Princes in England, to try conclusions, hoping at one time or other, to have a day of it; and to change their yoke of Bondage into Liberty: for which they were never better provided then now, (especially which is the greatest matter in War) having a valiant Prince to their Leader. But there happened an accident which took off their edge at this time. For the Lady Eleanor, a Daughter of the late Earl Simon Montford, whom Prince Llywelyn extremely loved, passing out of France into Wales, was by the Sea taken by English Ships, and brought to King Edward; and for the love of her Prince, Llywelyn was content to submit himself to any conditions; which besides subjection of his State, was to pay fifty thousand pounds standing, and a thousand pounds per annum during his life. And upon these conditions the marriage with his beloved Lady was granted him, and was solemnized here in England; whereas the King and Queen were themselves present. Three years Llywelyn continued loyal, and within the bounds of obedience; in which time, David, one of his Brothers, staying here in England, found by the King to be of a furring Spirit, was much honoured by him, Knighted, and matched to a rich widow, daughter of the Earl of Derby, and had given him by the King besides, the Castle of Denbigh, with a thousands pounds per annum: though (as it was after) when he found he lived here but in the nature of a spy. For when the young and bold Lady was afterward dead, and that he (contrary to his Conditions formerly made) brake out into Rebellion, then goes his Brother David to him, notwithstanding all these favours of the King; and they together enter the English Borders, surprize the Castles of Flint and Roskild, with the perfon of the Lord Clifford, sent Jullician into those parts: and in a great Battle overthrew the Earls of Northumberland, and Surrey, with the slaughter of Sir William Linfley, Sir Richard Tanny, and many others. King Edward adverfated of this Revolt and Overthrow, being then at the Vizas in Wiltfï, prepares an Army to repress it; but before his setting forth, goes privately to his Mother Queen Eleanor, lying at the Nunnery of Amity, with whom whilt he conferred, there was one brought into the Chamber, who feigned himself (being blind) to have received his sight at the Præst of King Henry the third. Ailson as the King saw the man, he remembered he had seen him before, and knew him to be a most notorious lying Villain, and wish'd his Mother in no case to believe him: but his Mother, who much rejoiced...
to hear of this Miracle, for the glory of her Husband, finding her Son unwilling that his Father should be a Sain, grew ficker; three such a reign against him, that the commanded him to avoid her Chamber: which the King obeys; and going forth, meets with a Clergy-man, to whom he tells the story of this Impotent, and merrily said, He knew the justice of his Father to be such, that he would rather pull out the eyes (being whole) of such a wicked wretch, then restore them to their sight. In this mean time the Archbishop of Canterbury had gone of himself to Prince Leeby, and had labour'd to bring him and his Brother Davi to a re-submission, but could effect nothing; for besides other reasons that swayed Prince Leeby, the concert of a Prophecy of Merlin, that he should shortly be Crowned with the Diadem of Britis, so over-weighted him, that he had no ear for peace, and shortly after no head. For after the Earl of Pembroke had taken Berrie Castle, which was the fear of Prince Leeby, he was himself slain in Battle; and his head cut off by a common Soldier, who sent to King Edward, who caused the fame to be crowned with Iriy, and to be fet upon the Tower of London. And this was the end of Leebly, the left of the Two Princes, betrayed (as some write) by the men of Buelah. Nor long after his Brother Davi also is taken in Wales, and judged in England to an ignominious death; first drawn at a Horse-tail about the City of Shrewsbury; then beheaded, the trunk of his Body divided, his heart and bowels burnt, his head sent to accompany his Brother's on the Tower of London, his four quarters to four Cities, Bristol, Northampton, York, and Winchester. A manifold Execution, and the first thrived in that kind to this Kingdom, in the person of the Son of a Prince, or any other Noble-man that we read of in our History. It is perhaps something which some here observe, that at the setting of this Conquest, King Edward loft his eld'ft Son Alphonfus, of the age of 14; a Prince of great hope; yet, it had only left to fucceed him, his Son Edward lately born at Carnarvon, and the first of the English, intituled Prince of Wales, but no Prince worthy of either Wales or England. And thus came Wales to be united to the Crown of England; in the eleventh year of this King Edward's Reign, who thereupon established the Government thereof, according to the Laws of England, as may be seen by the Statute of Ruland, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

The work of Wales being ferted, King Edward paffeth over into France, upon notice of the death of Philip the Hardie, to renew and confirm such conditions as his fathers in those parts required, with the new King Philip the fourth, intituled the Fair; to whom he doth homage for Aquitaine, having before quitted his claims to Normandy for ever. After three years and a half, being away in France, he returns in to England; and now in the next place comes the business with Scotland, and will hold him work at times as long as he lives, and his Son after him. Alexander the third, King of Scott, as he was running his Horfe, fell Horfe and Man to the ground, and brake his neck, and died immediately; by reason whereof (he leaving no issue, but only a Daughter of his Daughter Margaret, who died also soon after there, tell us prefently great contention about succession. Ten Competitors pretend Title, namely, Eric, King of Norway, Florence Earl of Holland, Robert Bruce, Earl of Aundale, John de Balliol, Lord of Galway, John de Haffing, Lord of Aberconway, John Cummin Lord of Badeney, Patrick de Dunbarre, Earl of March, John de Vejeti, Nicholas de Sales, William de Roy; all or most of them depending from David Earl of Hutington, younger Brother to William King of Scott, and great Uncle to the late King Alexander. This title King Edward takes upon him to decide, pretending a Right of Superiority from his Ancestors, over that Kingdom, and proving it by authority of old Chronicles, as Mariaus Status, William of Malmbury, Roger de Hовeden, Henry of Huntington, Ralph de Diceto, and others; which though the Scottifh Lords who prayd the interregnum opposed, yet are they constrained for avoiding of further inconveniences, to make him Arbiter thereof, and the ten Competitors bound to go in[f] to his award. Two are especially found, between whom the right lay, John de Balliol, Lord of Galway, and Robert Bruce; the one descended from an elder Daughter, the other from a Son of a younger daughter of Alan, who had married the eldest Daughter of this Davi, brother to King William. The controversy held long. Twelve of either Kingdom learned in the Laws, are elected to debate the fame at Berwick, all the best Civilians in the Universities of France are solicited to give their opinions; all which brought forth rather doubts than resolutions. Whereupon King Edward the better to fway this business by his presence, takes a journey Northward; where being come as far as Lincolnfires, he loft his beloved Wife Queen Eleanor, and thereupon going back to fee her Funeral personally done to her. That done he returns prefently to his Scottifeh metropolis; where his nine years were pasted since the death of King Alexander, and yet nothing concluded in this controversy; whereupon King Edward deals privately with Bruce (who had the weaker title, but the more friends) and promises him if he would swear fealty and homage to the Crown of England, he would invest him in that of Scotland. But Bruce answers, he was not so defirous to rule, as thereby to infringe the liberties of his Country. Whereupon with the like offers he fett upon Balliol, who having better right, but left lofs love of the people, and more greedy of a Kingdom then Honour, accepts the condition; and thereupon is Crowned King at Scone; hath fealty done him by all the chief Nobility, except Bruce; comes to New-Coffle upon Time, where King Edward then lay; and there with many of his Nobles, gives fealty, and doth homage to his as his Sovereign Lord. Whereafter he left done to secure him, overthrew him; for being little beloved before, hereby he became less. Such as stood for Bruce, and others of the Nobility (tender of the prefervation of their Countreyes Liberty) took Romack against him; and not only for this, but shortly after for his injustice in the cafe of the Earl of Eife, one of the six Governors in the time of the interregnum.
fell upon the Officers he had left, flew Sir Hugh Crestingham with six thousand English, recovered many Castles, and regained the Town of Berwick; and all by the animation and conduct of one William Walley, a poor private Gentleman, (though Nobly descend) Who seeing his Country without Head, and thereby without a Heart (all the great men either in captivity, or subjection) assembles certain of as poor and desperate estate as himself, and leads them to attempt upon whatever advantages they could finde to annoy the English, and having therein good success, it so increased both his courage and company, that he afterward came to be the general Guardian of the whole Kingdom: and was in so ability to have absolutely redeem'd his Country from the subjection of the English, if the speedily coming of King Edward had not prevented him. For now King Edward, to bring his work near together, removes his Exchequer and Courts of Justice to York, where they continued above six years; and thither he calls a Parliament, requiring all his Subjects that held of him by Knights service, to be ready at Rollo
rough by a peremptory day: where there assembled three thousand men at Arms on hallowed horses, and four thousand other armed men on horse without bards, with an Army of Foot answerable, consisting of Walf and Irish, besides five hundred men at Arms out of Devon and Cornwall. And with his power he makes his second expedition into Scotland; the Earls of Hertford and Northumberland, with the Earl of Lincoln, led his Vount guard at the famous battle of Falkirk, where the forces of the King were so great, the King Edward's horse frightened with all, and his head off, and brake two of his ribs, which notwithstanding he gets up again, goes on, and gets victory, wherein are reported to be slain two hundred Knights, and forty thousand foot of the Scots: but William Walley, with some few, escape to make more work. And here again that Kingdom might seem as if quite overthrown. Most of the estates of the Earls and Barons of Scotland (with their titles) that had stood out, were bestowed on the English, and a Parliament is called at Saint Andrews, where all the great men of that Kingdom, except only Walley, once again swear Fealty to the King of England. It seems prevailing of Fealty was with the Scots but a ceremony without substance, as good as nothing; for this is now the third time they swore Fealty to King Edward: yet all did not serve to make them Royal. For not long after comes the news of a new King made and Crowned in Scotland, Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, son to that Bruce who was come over with Baliol, and the people of England, when they comes Head to the confined Body of that Kingdom, and perceiving John Cunningham (who had a title himself) to go about to bewray his intentions to King Edward, he finding him at Dunfermline, sets upon him, and murderers him in the Church. Whereof as soon as King Edward heard, he sends Aymer de Valence Earl of Pembroke, and the Lords Clifford and Percy, with a strong power to revenge the death of Cunningham, and to relieve his Wardens of Scotland; who upon Bruce's revolt, were all retired to Berwick, whilst himself prepares an army to follow: wherein to be the more nobly attended, he caused Proclamation to be made
made, that whosoever ought by their Paternal succesion, or otherwise had means of their own for service, should repair to Welfminster, at the Feast of Pentecost, to receive the Order of Knighthood, and a Military ornament out of the Kings Wardrobe. Hereupon three hundred young Gentlemen, all the sons of Earls, Barons, and Knights, assemble at the day appointed, and receive Purples, Silks, Saldins, Scarfs, wrought with Noble Silver, according to every mans Estate. For which train (because the Kings horse was too little, by reason a part of it had been lately burnt) room is made, and the Apple-trees cut down at the new Temple for their Tents, where they attire themselves, and keep their Vigile. The Prince (whom the King then likewise Knighted, and gave him the Dutchy of Aquitaine) kept his Vigile with his Train at Welfminister; and the next day he girded these three hundred Knights with the Military Belt, in such manner as he himself had received it: Which done, the King before them all, makes a Vow, that alive or dead, he would revenge the death of Camusson upon Bruce, and the perjured Scots; Adjourning his Son and all the Nobles about him, upon their Fealty, that if he died in this journey, they should carry his corps with them about Scotland, and not suffer it to be interred, till they had vanquished the Ufarper, and abso- lutely brought the Country to subjicetion; The Prince, and all the Nobles thereupon their faith, to imploy their utmost power to perform his Vow: and herewith he sets forth with a potent Army, presently after Whitsuntide, and makes his last expedition into Scotland, in the four and thirtieth year of his reign; at which time he made above two hundred Knights.

The Earl of Pembroke, with that power sent before, and aid of the Scotch party, had before the King arrived in Scotland, defeated in a battle near St. Johns-Town, the whole Army of the new King, and narrowly miffed the taking of his person; but he escaping in disguise, and sheltering himself in obscured places, was referred for greater Battles: his Brothers Nigel, Bruce and shortly after, Thomas, and Alexander a Prieff, were taken and executed after the manner of Traytors at Berwick. And now King Edward had done for fighting, all was now for Execution; and indeed his desire of revenge made him end all, and now to spare none of what degree ever. The Earl of Aisbth (though of Royal Blood, and allied unto him) was sent to London, where all his prerelment was, to have a higher pair of Gallows then the rest. The wife of Robert Bruce, taken by the Lord Ralf, is sent prisoner to London, and his daughter to a Monastery in Lindsey. The Counteys of Boughan, who had been aiding at Bruce’s Coronation, is put into a wooden Cage, and hung out upon the Wall of Berwick for people to gaze on. But though Bruce’s party was thus dejected, and himself at this time appeared not, but shifted privyly from place to place in a diifترacted manner, (attended only with two Noble Gentlemen, who never forsook him in his misfortunes, the Earl of Lenox and Gillette Hakes) yet gives he not over, but gathers new Forces, with which heuddenly affails the Earl of Pembroke at unwares, gives him a great defect, and within three days after chafeth the Earl of Glocifer, into the Caftle of Aire, where he beleghed him, till by the Kings forces he was driven again to his for- mer retire. Whereupon King Edward who had spent his Winter at Carlisle, in July following, with a fresh Army enters Scotland himself; but three dights falling into a Diftery or Bloody Plac at Ber- wick upon the Sands he ended his life. And thus ended King Edwards troubles with Scot- land, but not Englands troubles, which are more to come then yet are past.

But though this butines of Scotland never left King Edward till his dying day, yet it had been upon him but as an auge, sometimes putting him into violent heats, and sometimes leaving him in a quiet temper with fuch a vicifitude, that when he had qui nefs with Scotland, he had troubles with France, whereof the time is now to speak. It is well known that Philip King of France, fa- ther of the present King, and Edward King of England were near Cousins, the sons of two fitters; and it had been fhewed before at King Edwards returning from the Holy-Land, and passing through France, what extraordinary kindnes and mutual courtey, passed between them, that one would have thought neither they nor theirs had ever have fallen out; and perhaps never should, if they had been private men, and not Princes. For private men may easily continue friends, as havin been done to confer but them selves; but Princes hardly can be friends, for he be- sides themselves, their Subjects to consider. And though they be the Subjects oftimes—that make the quarter, yet they are the Princes that must maintain it. And besides, between Princes there can never be but jealousies, and where jealousies are, every trifle makes a quarrel. And this was the case of these two Kings. Certain of the King of Englands Subjects had upon the Coast of Norway, done spoil to some Subjects of the King of France; and this difference of the Subjects made a difference between the Kings, while each of them standing in defence of his own, fall out themselves; and for a beginning the King of France summons King Edward, as ow- ing homage to that Crown, to appear and an- swer it in his Court. And King Edwards though voluntarily before he had done it in a way of courtey, yet being now impetuously commanded, he refutfeth it; upon which refufal, all his Territories in France are condemned to be forfeited, and an Army is presently fent to feize upon the fame, led by Charles de Palais, and Arnold de Niel, Contable of France. Bordeaux with div- erse other pieces of importance, are taken from him. And now King Edward well knowing what danger it was to have so powerful an adversary, endeavours first to strengthen himself with friends abroad, hoks to match his fon Edward with a daughter of Guy Earl of Flanders; marries one of his daughters to the Duke of Barre, who pretended title to Cagnapo; another to John Duke of Brabant; sends fifteen thousand pound stering to Adolph de Neffen, the Emperor, for recovery of certain Lands which he claimed in France; and with all these and many other confi- ning Princes, he fetts upon the King of France, and then sends over his brother Edmund Earl of Lan- cafter, the Earl of Lincoln, and Richmond, with eight and twenty Banners, even hundred men at Arms.
and a Navy of three hundred and fifty sail. In the meantime the King of France having had intelligence of the intended alliance between King Edward, and Guy Earl of Flanders, sends for the said Earl (as if knowing nothing there-of) to come with his Wife and Daughter, to make merry with him at Paris; where instead of feasting him, he makes him Prisoner, and takes from him his Daughter, in regard he sought (being his Vassal) to match her with his capital Enemy. The Earl excuseth it the best he could; and by much mediation is released himself, but not his Daughter. Whereupon the Earl, presuming upon aid from King Edward, takes Arms anddefies the King of France. Who thereupon comes with an Army of sixty thousand against him; which caused King Edward with all speed possibly to relieve this distressed Earl: and to leaving the Government of the Kingdom in his absence, to the Bishop of London, the Earl of Warwick, and the Lords Reynolds, Grey, and Clifford, with five hundred sail, and eighteen thousand men at Arms he passed over into France. But finding the Country disheartened into many popular factions, and the King of France daily getting upon them (having already Lisle, Dausoy, Courtry, Burgoyne, and Dam) and the Emperor Adolph failing to lend him aid as he had promised, he fell into great perplexity; and having stayed the whole Winter at Gannoy, where by reason of many outrages committed by his Soldiers, he was so affrighted by the Count- ties, that his own person was not without some danger. He therefore in the Spring of the year concludes a Truce with the King of France for two years, takes his filler Margaret to wife, and enchaineth the daughter of the same King to his son Prince Edward; and so returns into England. And there were all the troubles King Edward had with France.

But now much something be spoken of the troubles with his Lords at home, whereof this was the beginning. In a Parliament at Salisbury, the five and twentieth year of his reign the King requires certain of his Lords to go to the Wars in Gaffoum; which needed a pretence supply, by reason of the death of his Brother Edmund; but the Lords make all their excuses, every man for himself: Whereupon the King in great rage threatened they should either go, or he would give their Lands to others that should. Upon this Humphry Bohun, Earl of Hereford, High Constable, and Roger Biggs Earl of Norfolk, Marshal of England, make their Declaration; that if the King went in perfon they would attend him, other wise nor. Which answer offended the King more, and being urged again, the Earl Marshal protested he would willingly go with the King, and march before him in the Vant-guard, if the King would forbear to do it; But the King told him plainly, he should go with any other, though he went not himself in person. I am not so bound (faith the Earl) neither will I take that journey without you. The King swore by God, Sir Earl, you shall either go or hang: And I swear by the same Oath (said the Earl) I will neither go nor hang, and without leave depart. Shortly after the two Earls assembl'd many Noblemen, and other their friends to the number of thirty Banneretts; so as they were fifteen hundred men at Arms, well appointed, and stood upon their guard. The King like a prudent Prince, who knew his times, profectes them not al the then; but less the matter past, in regard that his business called him professedly into Flanders. When being ready to take ship, the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, and the Commons, lend him a Roll of the grievances of his Subjects, concerning his Taxes, Subsidies, and other Impositions, with his seeking to force their services by unlawful courses: to which the King answers, that he could not alter any thing without the advice of his Council, who were not row about him; and therefore required them, seeing they would not attend him in his journey, (which they absolutely refused to do, though he went in person, unless he had gone into France or Scotland) that they would yet do nothing in his absence prejudicial to the peace of the Kingdom: and that at his return, he would feel all things in good order to their contentment. But having taken his journey, and being held there with long delays, to his exceeding great expences, he was forced to fend over for more supply of Trefure; and thereupon gave order for a Parliament to be held at York, by the Prince, and (because of his minority, for he was then but sixteen years of age) by such as had the managing of the Kingdom in his absence: and to the end he would not be disappointed of aid, he condescends to all such Articles as were demanded, concerning the great Charter: promising from thenceforth never to charge his Subjects otherwise than by their consents in Parliament, and to pardon all such as had denied to attend him in this Journey. After this, in the 27. year of his Reign, a Parliament is called at Westminster, wherein the promised confirmation of the two Charters, and that the what difference what difference had heretofore been made, was expressly urged, and in the end much ado granted; and that with omission of the clause, Sa egis jurc Coro nae natur, which the King laboured to have inferred, but the people by no means would agree; and the perambulation of the Forests of England was then committed to three Bishops, three Earls, and three Barons. But some years after, in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign, King Edward began to chew his regiment of the island born behaviour of his Nobles towards him in times past; and so terrifies Roger Biggs, Earl Marshall, that to recover his favour the Earl made him his Heir, in pofleffion; (though he had a Brother of his own, living) referring only to himself a thousand pounds per annum, during his life. Of others likewise he got great sums for the same offence. The Earl of Hereford escaped his fine by death; but the Archbishop of Canterbury, (who accursed to have disturbed his peace in his absence) he orders over and beheaded the fifth, (who succeeded Bohun) that he might be cruel with a double power. This Pope was Native of Burducan, and so the more regardful of the Kings desire, and the King the more confident of his favour; which to entertain and increasen, King Edward sends him a whole furnish of all Vessels for his Chamber of clear Gold: which great gift so wrought with the Pope, that he united the King from the Covenant made by the with his Subjects concerning their Charters, Pope.
confirmed unto them by his last three Acts of Parliament, and absolved him from his Oath. A safe time for Princes, when they might try themselves to any Obligation to their Subjects, and afterward for a brieft to the Pope be united again.

His Taxations and ways for raising of Money.

Taxations may suffer degrees of comparison, it may not unfrequently be laid of these three last Kings, that King John was in the Positive; his Son Henry the Third, in the Comparative; and this King Edward in the Superlative: For not only he far exceeded the two former, but he hath left a spell to all that come after, for ever coming near him: But then under the name of Taxations, we must include the ways he took for raising of profift, but first the ways of Parliament. In the first year of his Reign was granted him a tenth of the Clergy for two years, besides a fifteenth of them and the Temporaly. In his fifth year, a twentieth of their goods towards the Welsh Wars. In his seventh the old money was called in, and new coined; in regard it had been much defaced by the fen, for which 297 were at one time executed in London: and this brought in profift of no small value. In his eleventh year, he had a thirtith of the Temporaly, and a twentieth of the Clergy, for his Wars in Wales. In the thirteenth, Elycage, forty fillings of every Knights Fee. In his fourteenth year he had a thousand Marks of fertain Merchants fined for falfte goods. In his nineteenth, the eleventh part of all moveables of the Clergy, and shortly after a tenth for fix years. In his twentieth, William Marchian, then Lord Treasurer of England, perceiving great riches to be Church and Religion out of thefe, but fo into the Kings head, that they were all brought into the Kings Treasury. In the eightie year of his Reign he sent out his Writ Quo Warranto, to examine by what Title men held their Lands, which brought him in much Money; till John Earl of Warren, being called to shew his Title, drew out an old rusty Sword, and then said he held his Land by that, and by that would hold it to death: which thought it made the King delit from his project, yet he obtained at that time a fifteenth part of the Clergy. In his fourteenth year he fined all his Judges for corruption: Sir Ralph Halsey, Chief Justice of the Higher Bench, in seven thousand Marks; Sir John Loeven, Justice of the lower Bench, in three thousand Marks; Sir William Brompton, in fix thousand Marks; Sir Solomon Richefter, in four thousand Marks; Sir Richard Boyland, in four thousand; Sir Walter Hopton in two thousand; Sir William Subham, in three thousand; Robert Lithbury, Master of the Rolls, in one thousand; Roger Leisfeffer, in one thousand; Henry Bayly, Escheator, and Judge for the Jews, in one thousand; but Sir Adam Stratton, chief Baron of the Exchequer, in four and thirty thousand: and Thomas Wayland (found the greatest Delinquent, and of the greatest Subfblance) had all his Goods and whole Estate confiscated to the King, and himself banifhed out of the Kingdom. In his eightieb year he banifhed the Jews; of whom there was at that time above fifteen thousand in the Kingdom, who had all their Goods confiscate, leaving them only means to bear their charges in going away.

In his four and twentieth year, he commanded a Subidy to be levied upon all Sarfparls of Wool going out of England; as likewise with Fells and Hides. In his fifth and twentieth year he calls a Parliament at St. Edmundsbury, where is granted the eight part of the Goods of good Towns, and all other people the twelfth. As for the Clergy they desire to be execufed, and refuse to contribute, in regard of their many late payments; as in the two and twentieth year of his Reign they payed the money of their Goods. And in his three and twentieth year he feized into his hands all Priories, Alhns, and their Goods; besides he had a loan of the Clergy, which amounted to a hundred Thousand Pounds: but notwithstanding upon this refusal of the Clergy, the King puts all Clergy-men out of his Protection, whereby they were to have no Justice in any of his Courts; (A strain of State beyond any of his Predecessors) which so amazed them, that in the end, the Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of Durham, Ely, Salisbury, and Lincoln, yielded to lay down in their Churches, the fifth part of all their Goods towards the maintenance of the Kings Wars; whereby they appeased his wrath, and were received into grace. But the Archbishop of Canterbury, by whom animation the rest flied out, had all his goods feized on, and all the Moniferies within his Diocles, taken into the Kings hands; and Wardens appointed to minister only necessaries to the Monks, converting the reit to the Kings life: at length by much fair, the Abbots and Priests giving the fourth part of their goods, redeeming themselves, and the Kings favours. In the six and twentieth year of his Reign, a Parliament holden at York, is granted him the ninth penny of the goods of the Temporaly: the tenth penny of the Clergy of the Diocles of Canterbury, and of York the fifth; and in this year also he raised the Impofition upon every fack of Wool, from a Noble to forty fillings. In his two and thirtith year he fends out a new Writ of Inquisition, called Trailblazon, for intruders on other mens Lands; who to opprefs the right owner, would make over their Land to great men; for Batterers hired to beat men, for Breakers of Peace, for Ravifhers, Incendiaries, Murderers, Fighters, false Affiliors, and other fuch Malefactors; which Inquisition was fo strictly executed, and fuch Fines taken, that it brought in exceeding much treafe to the King. As likewise did another Commiffion at the fame time, fent forth to examine the Charges of the Courts, and of Ministers of Justice; wherein many were found Delinquent, and paid dearly for it. At this time also he called his Lords to account for their thimb- bornets some years before, in denying to attend him into Flanders; which brought him in profit anfwerable to their greatnesse which were called. After all this, in his four and thirtith year, there is granted him the thirtith penny of both Clergy and Laity, and the twelfth of all Merchants towards his journey into Scotland. And this may be sufficient to fhew his Taxa-
Taxations to have been in the superlative degree. And yet besides thefe, he had no small benefit by silver Mines, which in his time were found in Devonshire.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In the first year of his reign were made the Statutes called of Westminster the first. In his twelfth year were made the Statutes of Alton Burel. In the fourteenth year of his Reign were made Statutes called Additions to Glæcestria. He ordained such men to be Sheriffs in every County, as were of the same County where they were to be Sheriffs. He ordained that fens should wear a cognizance upon their upper garment, whereby to be known, and restrained their exceffive taking of Utfray. In his time was also enacted the Statute of Mortmain.

In his twelfth year, in the Quindene of Saint Michael, the Judges Itinerants began to go their general Circuits. In his time new pieces of money were coined, and half pence of Silver, which were before of base metal. In his time three men for refuelling a Prisoner, arreted by an Officer, had their right hands cut off by the writs. In his time all fens were banished out of the Realm. This King by Proclamation prohibited the burning of Sea-Coal in London and the Suburbs, for avoiding the noifome smoke. In his eleventh year the Bakers of London were first drawn upon Hurdles, by Henry Walcy, Mayor, and Corn was then first sold by weight. In this Kings time the Title of Baron which had before been promiscuous to men of estate, was first confined to such only as by the King were called to have voice in Parliament. In the sixth year of this King, Mich. elmas term was kept at Shrewsbury. In his twelfth, he divided Wales into Shires, and ordained Sheriffs there as are used in England.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In his time, at a Synod holden at Reading by the Archbishop of Canterbury, it was ordained according to the Constitutions of the General Council, that no Ecclesiastical person should have more than one Benefice, to whom belonged the Cure of Souls; and that every person promoted to any Ecclesiastical living, should take the order of Priesthood within one year after. In his time lived and died Pope Boniface the 8. of whom his Predecessor had professed: Abscondit a liminis, regredatur ad Los mortuusque ad Canis.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

This King founded the Abbey of the Vale Royal in Cheffhire, of the Cifbusa Order. In his time John Baliol King of Scotts, builded Baillol Colledge in Oxford: also in his time, Walter Merton Lord Chancellour of England, and after Bishop of Rochester, founded Merton Colledge in Oxford, who was drowned paling over the water at Rochester, there being at that time no Bridge, as now there is. In his time was finished the new Work of the Church at Westminster, which had been therefore and lies years in building. In his time was laid the foundation of the Black-Friers besides Loundgate, by Robert Kilwardy, ArchbiSHOP of Canterbury, and of Bayndurs. Also in his time, his second wife Queen Margaret began to build the Quire of the Grey-Friers in London. In his time was begun to be made the great Conduit in London, standing against the Church called Acres in Cheop. In his time Henry Walcy, Mayor of London, called the Bishops Court to be a Prifon for night-walkers; and also builded a house called the Stockes, for a Market of filk and debris, in the midlet of the Civ. In this Kings time, Edmund Earl of Leicester, the Kings Brother, founded the Minoris, a Nursery without Alagate. This King builded the Castle of Flint in Wales, and the Castle of Buckmeria in the Isle of Anglesey, and the Castle of Carnarvon by Snowden. Also in this Kings time, John Pecham Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a Colledge of Canons at Wingham in Kent.

Caufes happening in his time.

In the second year of this Kings Reign, there happened the greatest rot of Sheep in England that ever was known, which continued fifty and twenty years; and came (as was thought) by one infected sheep of incredible greatness, brought out of Spain by a French Merchant into Northumberland. In the fifteenth year of this Kings Reign, Wheat was sold for ten groats a Quarter; where the next year after there was no great a dearth, that it was sold for eighteene pence the Baltel. In the seventeenth year of his Reign, there fell so much rain, that Wheat was rafed from three pence the Baltel, to sixteen pence; and so increased yearly, till at last it was sold for twenty shillings the Quarter. And this year the City of Carlile, and the Abbey with all the Hooles belonging to the Fryers Minoris, was consumed with fire. In his one and twentieth year a great part of the Town of Cambridge, with the Church of our Lady was also burnt. In the feaven and twentieth year of his Reign his Palace at Westminster, and the Monastery adjoining were consumed with fire. The Monastery of Glasselter was also burnt to the ground. In this year also an Act of Common Council by confent of the King, was made concerning Visituals, a fat Cock to be sold for three half pence, two Pullets for three half pence, a fat Capon for two pence half penny, a Goose four pence, a Mallard three half pence, a Partridge three half pence, a Pheasant four pence, a Heron six pence, a Plver one pence, a Swan three shillings, a Crane twelve pence, a Woodcock three half pence, a fat Lamb from Christmas to Shrovetide, sixteen pence, and all the year after for four pence; and Wheat was this year fo plentiful, that a Quarter was sold for ten groats. In his sixteenth year it chanced in Caffel, that as the King and Queen went and their Chamber, upon a Bed talking together, a Thunderbolt coming in at the Window behind them, passed between them, and flew two of their Gentlemen, that stood before them.

Of his Wives and Children.

He had two Wives, his first was Eleanor Daughter to Ferman in the third King of Spain,
Spain; and was married to him at Bures in Spain; who having lived with him six and thirty years, in a journey with him towards Scotland, at Hardley in Lincolnshire the dyed. In whose memory, and as monuments of her vertue, and his affection, King Edward caused to be erected in all chief places, where her corps in carrying to Wiltfinfer, relifted; as at Stamford, Dunstable, St. Alban, Wiltfinfer, Cheshaf; and lastly at the place called Charing-Cross. She was buried in Wiltfinfer, at the feet of King Henry the third, under a fair Marble Tomb, adorned with her Portraiture of Copper gilt. By this Wife King Edward had four sons, and nine daughters; his eldest son, John; his second, Henry; his third, Alphonfs; died all young in their Father's time: his fourth son, Edward, called of Carnarvon, because born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom of his daughters, the eldest named Eleanor was first married by Proxy to Alphonfs King of Arragon; but he dying before the marriage solemnized, she was afterward married to Briflem to Henry Earl of Bar in France; by whom she had five sons and daughters. Joan the second daughter of King Edward and Queen Eleanor, born at Aton in the Holy-Land, and thereof called Joan de Arce, was married to Gillet Clare, called the Red Earl of Gloucef, and had seven sons, by whom she had six sons and daughters. She survived her husband, and was re-married to the Lord Ralph Montemere: Father to Margaret the Mother of Thomas Montemere, Earl of Salisbury, from whom the crown Vicount Montemere is descended. Margaret the third daughter of King Edward and Queen Eleanor, was married to John Duke of Brabant: Berenger and Alice, their fourth and fifth daughters, dying young and unmarried, Mary their sixth daughter, at ten years of age, was made a Nun in the Monastery of A lunaly in Wilts, at the instance of Queen Eleanor her Grandmother, who lived there. Elizafeth their seventh daughter, was first married to John Earl of Holland, Zealand, and Lord of Friesland; she dying within two years, she was afterward married to Humphrey Bifon Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord of Brecknef, and High Conitable of England, by whom she had five sons and daughters. Beatrice and Blanch, their eight and ninth daughters, died young and unmarried. King Edward's second wife was Margaret, eldest daughter of Philip King of France, called the Fair, and sister to Philip called the Fair. At eighteen years old she was married to King Edward, being above three-score; yet at these unequal years she had issue by him, two sons and a daughter. Their eldest son was born at a little Village in Yorkshire called Brifhorfin, and was there called Thomas of Bretherton. He was created Earl of Norfolk, and Earl Marfhal of England, after Roger Bigot, and Earl of Bedford, died without issue. His daughter Jane for her beauty called the fair Maid of Kent, was married first to William Monteme, Earl of Salisbury; and from him divorced, was re-married to Sir Thomas Holland, in her Right Earl of Kent, and Father of Thomas and John Holland, Duke of Suffolk, and Earl of Huntingdon: and lastly, she was the Wife of Edward of Woodfleff, the Black Prince of Wales, and by him Mother of King Richard the second. This Earl Edmund was beheaded at Winchester, in the fourth year of King Edward his Nephew. Eleanor the daughter of King Edward by his second Wife Margaret, died in her childhood.

Of his Perfangage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, higher then ordinary men by head and shoulders, and therefore called Langthack; of a swarthly complexion, strong of body, but lean; of a comely favour; his eyes in his anger sparkling like fire; the hair of his head black and curled. Concerning his conditions, as he was in War peaceful: to in Peace he was warlike, delighting specially in that kind of hunting, which is to kill Staggs or other wild Beasts with Spears. In continuance of life, he was equal to his Father; in acts of valor far beyond him. He had in him the two Wisdoms not often found in any, single, both together, feldom or never: An ability of judgement in himself, and a readiness to hear the judgement of others. He seemed to be a great observer of opportunity (a great point of wisdom in any, in Princes greatest) and that he could bear an injury long, without seeking to revenge it; as appeared by his carriage toward the Earl Roger Bigot: whom when he saw his time, he called to account for an affront he had offered him divers years before. He was not easily provoked into passion, but once in passion, not easily appeased: so was seen by his dealing with the Scots, towards whom he shewed at first patience, and at last feverity. If he be contented for his many Taxations, he may be justified by his well bestowing them; for never Prince laid out his money to more honour of himself, or good of his Kingdom. His greatest unfortunateness was in his greatest blessing; for of four sons which he had by his Wife Queen Eleanor, three of them died in his own life time, who were worthy to have out-lived him: and the fourth out-lived him, who was worthy never to have been born.

Of his Death and Burial.

In his last expedition into Scotland, being at Carlisle, he fell sick; and lying in his deathbed, he fent for his son Edward: to whom beides many admonitions to piety, he commended three things specially; that he should carry his bones about with him through Scotland, till he had habited it; that he should tend his heart into the Holy Land, with feven hundred Knights to that War, and the two and thirty thousand pounds, he had provided for that purpose; and that he should never recall Caftelfon from banishment: and soon after of a dysenterie or Bloody Flux he died at Burgh upon the Sands,
Sands, an alfo born whofe though and led Thomas who thefe Robert John cal-
John died. When Thomas of who thefe face. John Pick-
ham a Francifcan Frier made Archbishop of Canterbury, who writ many excellent works: John Reed an Hiftoríograph: Thomas Hungy a Frier Minor, an excellent Mathematician: Roger Bacon a Francifcan Frier, an excellent Philosopher and Mathematician: Robert Kil-
warby Archbishop of Canterbury, and after made a Cardinal: allo Ralph Ballock Bishop of Lon-
don, who writ a Chronicle of England in the Latin Tongue: But above them all, though of another Countrey, Thomas Aquinas, born of a Noble Family, whose works are too fa-
mois to be spoken of; who going to the Coun-
cel holden at Lyons by Pope Gregory the tenth, died by the way.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year, Sir Walter Harvey was Mayor.
John Horn, Walter Potter, Sheriffs.

In his second year, Henry Walley was Mayor.
Nicholas Winchefter, Henry Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his third year, Gregory Rokesley was Mayor.
Lucas Battencourt, Henry Freewick, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
John Horn, Ralph Blunt, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
Robert de Argar, Ralph L. Fewes, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
John Adriam, Walter Langley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
Robert Bos linger, William le Meyre, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
Thomas Box, Ralph Moore, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year, Gregory Rokesley continued Mayor.
William Farendon, Nicholas Winchefter, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year, Henry Walley was Mayor.
William le Meyre, Richard Chiguel, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year, Henry Walley continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, Hankin Beinul, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year, Henry Walley continued Mayor.
Jordan Goodcheop, Martin Box, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year, Gregory Rokesley was Mayor.
Stephen Cornelbill, Robert Rokesley, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year, Ralph Sandwick was Mayor.
Walter Blunt, John Wade, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Thomas Croys, Walter Hawteyne, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
William Hersford, Thomas Stoner, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.

In his eighteenth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Fulk of St. Edmund, Solomon Langford, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Thomas Romain, William de Lyre, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Ralph Blunt, Hamond Box, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Elias Raffel, Henry Bole, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year, Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Robert Rokesley, Martin Ambray, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year, Sir Ralph Sandwick continued Mayor.
Henry Box, Richard Gloucester, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year, Sir John Britton was Mayor.
John Dunsable, Adam de Halingbery, Sheriffs.
In his twenty fifth year,
Sir John Briton continued Mayor.
Thomas of Suffolk, Adam of Fulham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year,
Henry Walleys was Mayor.
Richard Refham, Thomas Sely, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year,
Elias Rulfel was Mayor.
John Armentor, Henry Fingene, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year,
Elias Rulfel continued Mayor.
Lucas de Havering, Richard Champons, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year,
Sir John Blunt was Mayor.
Robert Collor, Peter de Beamald, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Mayor.
Hugh Pours, Simon Paris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year,
Sir John Blunt continued Mayor.
William Combermerrin, John de Burford, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
Sir John Blunt continued Mayor.
Roger Paris, John de Lincoln, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Sir John Blunt continued Mayor.
William Cawson, Reginald Thundrley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
Sir John Blunt continued Mayor.
Geoffry at the Conduit, Simon Bilet, Sheriffs.
The LIFE and REIGN of
KING EDWARD,
THE SECOND.

Of his Acts before, and at his Coronation.

EDWARD of Carnarvon, eldest Son of King Edward the first, succeeded him in the Kingdom, and never did Prince come to a Crown with more applause of Nobility and People: and there was good cause for it; for he had been trained up in all good courses for Piety and Learning; he had seen the Government of his Father, from whose Example he could not but have learned many good Lessons; he had been initiated in the ways of State, having been left Governor of the Realm, and prefiguring in Parliament in his Fathers absence; and he was now three and twenty years old, a fit age for bearing the weight of a Scepter. And yet for all these advantages, there wanted not tears of him in the minds of many, who could not but remember what pranks he had played not long before; how he had broken the Bishop of Chester's Park, and in most disorderly manner had killed his Deer, for which both himself had committed to Prison, and his friend Pierce Gaveston banished the Realm: and if he did such things, what might not be feared of him coming to be King? For seldom do advancement in honour alter men to the better; to the worst men, and commonly then when it is joined with an authority that fets them above controulment. Neither yet was their fear more out of what they had seen, then out of what they faw; for where he should have endeavoured to accomplish the charge his Father had given him on his death-bed, he seemed to intend nothing less, nothing more than wholly to break it; for he presently called home Pierce Gaveston from banishment: and the two and thirty thousand pounds, which his Father had specially appointed for the Holy War; either all or the most of it he bestowed upon Gaveston: And for carrying his Fathers bones with him about Scotland, it had been well if he had suffered them quietly to be laid at rest in England. For after the corps had been kept above ground, sixteen weeks in the Abbey of Waltham, and that the Bishop of Chester, Walter Longton, the then Lord Treasurer, and the Executor of his Fathers Will, was busy in preparing for his Funeral, he sent the Constable of the Tower to arrest him, and imprison him at Wottonford, seizing upon all his Goods, and giving them to Gaveston; and all for old grudges. And (that which seemed a high strain of incongruity) before he had seen performed his Fathers Funerals, which was not till the 27. of October following, he entered into a Treaty of his own Nuptials; for going over to Bologna, on the two and twentieth of January, he married Isabeau, the Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France; which marriage was honord with the presence of four Kings, the King of France himself, the King of Navarre his Son, the King of the Romans, and the King of Sicily: and three Queens besides the Bride, Mary Queen of France, Margaret the Dowager Queen of England, and the Queen of Navarre should be present. This was observed by the Lords of England; and thereupon when his Queen and he came afterward to be Crowned, they went unto him, signifying what a haughty transgression of his Fathers will it was to call home Gaveston: and seeing the charge was no less given to them then to him, if he did not perform it they would; and therefore unless he would remove Gaveston from the Court and Kingdom, they would hinder his Coronation from proceeding, which struck such a damp to Prince Edward's spirits, to think what a disgrace it would be to him, if so many of his great friends being present Charles of Valois the King of France's Brother, the Dukes of Brabant and Brabant, the Count of Luxemburg, who was afterward Emperor, the Duke of Savoy, the two Dutchesses of Brabant and Artois, with many other Princes and Great Ladies, if now his Coronation should be called in question, that he solemnly swore he would do what they desired in the next Parliament, so they would be quiet now. And thereupon on the 24. day of February, in the year 1307, his Queen and he were both Crowned at Westminster, by the hands of Henry Bishop of Winchester, by Commission from Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, being then in exile, and out of the Kingdom: At which solemnity there was so great a press of people, that Sir John Blackwell Knight was crowded to death. And now in the very act of his Coronation, there was given another provocation to the Lords against Gaveston; for the King had appointed him to carry the Crown of Saint Edward before him, (the greatest honour could be done to a Subject) which added to the other honours the King had done him, (for he had made him Earl of Cornwall, Lord of Man, and Lord Chamberlain) to incend the Lords, that they entered into consultation how to suppress this violence of the Kings affection; which shortly after they put in execution. Part of money, King Edward had none, with his Wife P...
but the King of France gave him the Dutchy of Guyenne, which he had feiled upon before, as confcript to him; and thereupon King Edward did him Homage for that Dutchy, and for the County of Ponthieu.

Of his differences with his Lords about Gaveston.

We shall have here no Quinquennium Novum, No such five years, as New afforded in the beginning of his Reign; but this King at the first entrance of that which he is, and what he will be, must prove to be as long as he lives. For though he took some great and grave men to be of his Council, yet (as appeared afterward) he did it rather to the end they should be plant to him, than that he had any meaning to apply himself to them. For let them say what they would, Gaveston must be the Oracle; all the Kings actions were but Gaveston's imprerions. And now Gaveston presently after the Coronation, to let the world be a witness of his worthines, and that the King had not belewed his favours upon him with out caufe, caufed to be published a Turnament at Wallington; whither came all the great Lords of the Kingdom, as Thomas Earl of Lancaster, Humphry Earl of Hereford, Aymer Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Waren, with many others, all valiant men at Arms: yet none had the honour of the day like to Gaveston. And thus far he did well, if he could have stayed there, if having gotten true glory, he had not fallen into true ignomy. For the Lords envied him not so much for his advancement in honours, as they hated him for his insofency in Manners; for in a scornful pride he would be calling scoffs upon them all, calling Thomas Earl of Lancaster, the Stage-Player; the Earl of Lincoln Burllen-belly; Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, Joseph the Jew; and Guy Earl of Warwick the black Dog of Arden. Which scoffs together with his other insofencies, drew such a parry upon him, that in the next Parliament, the whole Assembly obtains of the King to draw Articles of their grievances, of which the chief were; that the great Charter of Magna Charta should be observed; that all strangers should be banfished the Court and Kingdom; that the builtones of the State should be treated of by the Council of the Clergy and the Nobles; and that the King should not begin any War, nor go out of the Kingdom without the consent of the Parliaments. Which Articles though seeming harsh to the King, yet for avoiding of further inconvenience, he yields into them; and specially to the banishment of his minion Gaveston, as hoping that would excite him for all the rest: and Robert of Winceby, Archbishop of Canterbury, lately called home from exile, pronounceth excommunication against all such as should oppose the Articles. Hereupon Gaveston is sent away into Ireland, where he lived a while, not as a banished man, but as Lieutenant rather of the Country; and indeed not unworthily. For in the time of his being there, he is faid to have made a journey into the Mountains of Dublin, and to have broken and subdue the Rebels there; built New-Castle in the Kems Country, repaired the Castle of Kertan, and passed up to Mounfer and Thanemun, performing every where much service, with great valour and worthines, that if he had stayed there but a while longer, he might perhaps by his defects in Ireland have redeemed his defects in England: but the King impatient of his absence, and asking advice what means might be used to recall him, It was told him, that if he could but match him with the Earl of Gloucester's Siller, a man of such greatness, and so beloved of the people, for his sake certainly no man would dare pride at his coming home. Hereupon the King sends for Gaveston, and makes up the March between them; and married they were at Barkersbost. But this did no good, for Gaveston still working upon the King in such manner, that he scarce left him means to sustain himself, and as little to maintain the Queen, nothing being done, but as Gaveston would have it, put the Lords into a new discontentment: who thereupon went again to the King and told him plainly, that unless he would put Gaveston out of the Court and Kingdom, they would rise up in arms against him as a perjured King. This put the King into a great frot: loth he was to leave Gaveston, and fearful he was to provoke the Lords; in the end his fear prevailing over his love, he was content he should be banished; and in such fhort banishment, that if ever he returned, or were found in the Kingdom, he should be held and proceeded against as an enemy of the State. So once again is Gaveston sent packing out of the Kingdom, and goes to France, but found no safe harboring there; For the King of France hearing of it gave a strait charge, if he were found in his Dominions to apprehend him. Then he paffeth into Flanders, but is no foter there than in France. After, waving about, and finding no place to refit in safety, he returns secretly into England, relying upon the Kings love, and the Duke of Gloucester's favour. The King receives him as an Angelfent from heaven; and to be out of the Lords eye, goes a journey to York, taking Gaveston along with him; and there thinks to be in quiet. But the Lords hearing of it, follow him thither, chufing for their General Thomas Earl of Lancaster, a man poftife'd of five Earldoms, Lancaster, Leicester, Ferrers, Lincoln, and Salisbury, besides the Liberties of Pickering, and the honour of Cogkamame, and other Lands in Wales, and there was not a man of the whole Assembly was willing to fave him. But the Duke of York, and Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, the King lifts Son. These Lords sent to the King, either to deliver Gaveston into their hands, or at least to fend him preemporily out of the Kingdom. But the King led by ill counfel, and little regarding the Lords meffage, takes Gaveston with him to New-Castle upon Tyne, thence to Tinnsmouth, where the Queen then lay, (who though great with Child, and entreating the King with tears to stay with her) yet fuch was his defire to fee Gaveston put into fome place of security, that hearing of the Lords approaching, he took a Ship, and paffed with Gaveston to Scarborough; and leaving them there in a strong Caffle, not easy to be won, he went himfelf into Warwicke, perhaps that the Lords might fee he had not Gaveston with him. But the Lords hearing where
where Gaweston was, assaulted the Cattle with such violence, that Gaweston seeing no means to escape, was content to render himself: requesting only that he might but once be allowed to see the King's face; and the King hearing he was taken, desired as much. To which the Earl of Pembroke conformed; and taking Gaweston into his custody, promised upon Forfeiture of all he had, to have him forth coming: but desiring to be with his Wife that night, who lay not far off, at Dedington, he delivers him to his servants to carry to Wallingford; from whom as they paffed by Warnwik, the Earl of that place bearing of it, took him forcibly from his Keeper, and brought him to his own Cattle. Where after long deliberation, whether it were wisdom to suffer Gaweston to speak with the King or no; it was at last concluded to take off his head; which at a place thereby called Blacklow, was presently put in execution. His corps was carried to Oxford, and kept there two years, till the King caused it to be brought to Langley, and there built a Monastery of purpose, where his soul should be prayed for.

This Gaweston was the Son of a Gentleman of France, who had done good service for King Edward the first in France; and for his face this Son of his was taken and brought up with the Prince. A man of excellent parts of body, and of no less endowments of mind. Valiant and Witty; to which if we might add Vertuous, he had been compleat. Though the Lords (whether they had heard of, or whether they said he was that wicked man, the King from him) told them, that his Father was a Traitor to the King of France, and for the same was executed; and that his Mother was burnt for a Witch; and that this Gaweston was banished out of France for confessing to his Mothers Witchcraft; and that he had now bewitched the King himself. But why should the Lords be so violent against Gaweston? Might not the King place his affection where he pleased? Might not he make his own choice of what companion he liked? No doubt he might; and he should: but yet in this case the Lords had great caufe to do as they did; both in regard of the King, of themselves, and of the Commonwealth. It is true, if the value of Gaweston could as well have made the King valiant, as his riot made him riotous, there might some good have come of their extraordinary conjunction; but seeing virtues are so partial, voices only are communicative. In the King's case, the King would make such a man; but otherwise he would have been, but vicious wherever else otherwise he would not have been; and therefore great caufe in regard of the King to remove Gaweston from his company; and no less in regard of the Lords themselves. For Gaweston's advancing was their debaup: his greatnefs with the King made them but Cyphers: but in regard of the Commonwealth, most caufe of all; for while the King was altogether ruled by Gaweston, and Gaweston himself was altogether irregular, the Commonwealth could have but little hope of Justice, but was fure to suffer as long as Gaweston was suffered. And this may be sufficient to justify the Lords, that it be not interpreted to be Rebellion, which was indeed but Providence.

Of his Troubles with Scotland.

And now we have been two of the charges of his Fathers Will broken by the King, and punished in him; the two and thirty thousand pounds appointed for the Holy War, bestowed upon Gaweston, and the King for it punished himself with want: Gaweston called home from banishment, and the King for it punished, with the los of his Subjects love. It remains to see how well he performed the third charge of his Fathers will, for subduing of Scotland. It was now the fifth year after the death of his Father King Edward; and Robert Bruce now pretend to be King of Scotland, had thayed all this while to see how this new King Edward would prove. And when he found by the courses he held, that he was like to prove a good eafe enemy, he thereupon took heart, and began to stir, and in a very short time had brought all Scotland under his obedience; and finding no opposition he entered the English Borders, took and burnt Towns: that now King Edward, unless he would fit still, and suffer Bruce to come and pull his Crown from his head, he could not chufe but do something to stop his proceeding. Hereupon he prepares an Army, but like himself, fitter for a Court then for a Camp. Many men and great bravery; but reader to take spoils, then to make spoils: and accordingly they spent. For going to raise the siege at Stirling, defended for King Edward; and not being able to take the Mowbray, the Kings Army consisting of a hundred thousand, was defeated and overthrown by the Scots Army, consisting of scarce thirty thousand: So true is that saying of an ancient Souldier, There is more hope of an Army where the General is a Lion, though the Souldiers be but Sheep, then of an Army where the General is a Sheep, though the Souldiers be Lions. But indeed the Scots besides Valour used Policy; for having in their own Army none but Foot, no Horse at all, they had made Trenches in the ground three foot deep, covering them with Twigs and Hurdles, where the English Horsemen were to pass; who flounding in those Trenches, were killed no less by their own Fellows, then by the Enemy. In this Battle, called of Bannockburn, or Bannackburn, were slain the Lord Mowbray, the Lord Clifford, the Lord Tiptoft, the Lord William Mar- shall, Sir Giles, Doctor Argents, and seven hundred Knights and Equires, specially Gilbert Earl of Glouceter, who had showed much valour that day; and whom the Scots would willingly have kept for ransom, if they had known him: but he had forgotten to put on his Coat of Arms whereby to be known. The slaughter of common Souldiers was certainly great, though perhaps not so great as Helver Brittan speaks of, who faith they were fifty thousand. There were taken Prisoners Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, John Seagrave, John Clauningham, William Latimer, and Sir Roger North- brook, bearer of the Kings Shield; the King himself with the Bishops, the Earls of Hert- ford, and Pembroke, and Hugh Spencer, saved themselves by flight: Humphrey de Bohun Earl of Hereford was afterward released in exchange for...
for Bruce’s Wife, who had been long kept a prisoner in England. After this many English fell away to the Scots; and all the North parts from Castile to York, came under their subjection: and the English grew so faint-hearted, and in to each contempt, that three Scots darted venture upon a hundred English, when a hundred English darted scarce encounter with three Scots. And what can be thought the cause of this great disharmony to this King, but the want of his Fathers Bleffing for not performing the charge he gave him dying, which is commonly accounted for in the want of a higher Bleffing, without which a Vizet is set upon the labours of men, that makes them all fruiteless? But Bruce not satisfied with his acquittals in England, sends his Brother Edward into Ireland also; who so far prevailed, that many Irish came in unto him, and in the end crowned him King of a great part of that Island: and he continued the space of three years, till the Primates of Armagh, and the Lord Birmingham, Justiciar of Ireland, gathering Forces together opposed him, and in a Battel taking him Prisoner at Dundalk cut off his head, with the slaughter of many thousands of the Scots besides. With which the Scots are so incendiated, that they invade again the English borders, foraging as far as York; whereupon a Parliament is assembled at London, wherein an aid is granted of armed men to go against them. London lets forth two: Hundred, Courtefly forty, Saint Almuns, and so proportionably for all Cities and Boroughs, whereby a great Army was levied: which coming to York, through mutiny, emulation, and other impediments was soon disolved, and returned back without effecting anything. Not long after the Town of Berwick was betrayed to the Scots, through the Treason of Peter Spalding the Governor, and other English men; whom the King of Scots to make them an example, caufed to be hanged for being Traitors to their Country. King Edward hearing of the surrendring of Berwick, raiseth an Army, and beleaguer it; but the Scots to divert his Forces, enter upon England by other ways, and were like to have surprized the person of the Queen, lying then near York. The siege of Berwick is notwithstanding eagerly continued, and the King in great difficulty to have regained the Town, had not the Earl of Lancaster with his followers withdrawn himself upon difcontent; hearing the King say he would give the keeping thereof to Hugh Spencer the younger, who was now grown a special Favourite of the Kings, and therefore not to be endur’d by the Earl. In the mean time the Scots won the Battles of Harkefton, Work, and Misfard, so as they poiffessed the greater part of all Northumberland, burning all before them till they came to Ryton, which Town they spoiled: and carrying there three days, they received a Thouldan Marks to save the Town from burning, as they had done the Towns of Northallerton, Borough-Bridge, and others. In their returning back they burn Knarlsborough, and Skipton in Craven, and all other before them, carrying into Scotland a marvellous number of Castel, besides Prisoners, men and women. The Yorkifhe men thus grievously endamaged, gather together the number of ten thousand; and at the Town of Mitten, ten miles from York, encounter the Scots, where they loit three thousand of their men, and were defeated: which Bittel, because of the many spiritual men that were in it, was called the White Bittel. Whereof when the King heard he left the siege of Berwick, to follow the Scots, but they returned another way. The year following, King Edward once again with a great Army entered Scotland; but the Scots having destroyed all afore, the King oppreffed with Famine, was forced to return, whom the Scots followed, and in a place of the Forest of Blackmore fet upon him, that he hardly escaped; where were taken John Earl of Bristol, and the Lord of Silvas, the French Kings Ambafassador, and many other. After this King Edward finding the Scots either too strong or too wile for him, made a truce with them for two years, some fay for thirteen. And this was the succes of this unfortunate King in his Wars with Scotland.

Of his Troubles at home.

But his troubles abroad were not fo grievous as those at home; or rather, they were those at home that made his troubles abroad fo grievous. For though the Lords having made an end of Gavefon, and cut off his head, though they had made an end of their need to bear Armine, and had cut off the head of all their difcontents; yet as if Gavefon had beft a Phoenix, as it were out of his afs another Phoenix rifeh prefently up, and puts the Lords to as much trouble as ever Gavefon did. For now the younger Spencer upon a sudden grows as great a favourite of the Kings as ever Gavefon was: and indeed in all points juft fuch another, equal to him in goodines of personage, in favour of the King, and in abuting the Lords. For though they were the Lords themselves that brought him at firft to be the Kings Chamberlain, the rather (as was thought) because he was one whom the King did not love; yet being once in the place, he foon won upon the King by diligent service, and by complying with the Kings humour, that he brought the King at laft to comply with his humour, and nothing must be done but as Spencer would have it. It feemes it was the Kings nature that he could not be without a bofom-friend; one or other to be an after friend: and to fek to remove fuch one from him, was to fek to remove him from himself: as improbable a thing as to alter nature. Yet the Lords being more fensible of their own grievance, to be influffed on by a Favourite, then of the Kings grievance to be aflronted by his Subjects, are more intentive to work their own ends than the Kings; and therefore to remove Spencer and his Father from the King, which they knew was a work not to be done but by ftrong hand, they continue their Arms; and condefcending together, they fend to the King, peremptorily requiring the confirmation and execution of the Articles formerly granted; threatening withal, that unlefs he prefently perform the fame, they would contrai him to it by force of Arms: and thereupon assemble strong Forces about Donfike; where the King then
then lay. The great Prelates of the Kingdom, with the Earl of Gloucester, labour to appease them; and with two Cardinals lent lately by the Pope, to reform these disorders, they repair to Saint Albans, and desire conference with the Lords, who receive them peaceably: but the Letters which the Pope had written to them, they refuses to receive, saying, They were men of the Sword, and cared not for reading. Letters: there were many worthy and learned men in the Kingdom, whose counsel they would use, and not strangers, who knew not the cause of their commotion: so the Cardinals with this answer returned to London. But the Prelates of England to labour the business, that the Lords were content to yield up to the King such Horses, Treasure, and Jewels, as they had taken of Pierce Gaveston at New Castle, so as the King would grant their Petitions; and thereupon John Sandal, Treasurer of the Kingdom, and Ingelard Worle, keeper of the Wardrobe, are sent to Saint Albans to receive those things at their hands.

Shortly after a Parliament is called at London, wherein the King complains of the great contempt was had of him by the Barons, their rising in Arms, their taking and murthering Pierce Gaveston, and such other affronts: whereunto with one accord they answer, that they had nothing but liberty in their own possession, but rather merited his love and favour, having taken Arms for and against the contempt of his Royal Person, but to destroy the publick enemy of the Kingdom, which otherwise would never have been done. Which stout resolution of theirs, the Queen with the Prelates and the Earl of Gloucester seeing, they seek by all means to qualify their heat; and at length so prevailed with them, that they humble themselves to the King, and crave pardon for that they had done, which they obtained; and the King receives them into grace, as his loyal Subjects, grants them their Articles, and particular pardons by his Charter, for their Indemnity concerning the death of Gaveston. And for the greater gleeu of true reconciliation, Guyde Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, is made of the Kings Counsell, though shortly after he ended his life; not without suspicion of poison: as being a man much envied by such as poss'd the King. The King kept his Christmas at Clapham, and his Easter at Claremont; and they seem'd to be all good friends: but this reconciliation of the King with his Barons, was but as the covering of fire with ashes, every little wind that blew, made it break out into flames again; and the time being so unsettled as it was, it was impossible but such winds would continually strive blowing. It was such a wind blew, when the great Earl of Lancaster had his Wife (a Lady who had lived with him always in good name) taken out of his house at Confort in Dorsetshire, by one Richard Saint Martin, a deformed giant, who challenged her to be his Wife; and had lien with her before the Earl married her. And this wind was made to blow the stronger, by the Ladies own confession; for upon examination, voluntarily averred, it was all true: and thereupon the ugly fellow in her right, claimed the two Earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury, which he durst not have done, if he had not been back'd with great Abbeytours: and it was not without after-portion upon the King himself. It was another such wind blew, when at the Feast of Pentecost, at dinner in the open Hall at Westminster, a woman fantastically disfigured, entered on horseback, and riding about the Table, delivered the King a Letter, whereon he signified the great neglect he flewed of such a Son, and cursed his Father Noble Services, taking him for an advance man of various parts, and such other complaints. Which Letter read, and the woman departed, put the King into a great rage; they who guarded the door being sharply reprehended for sufferings her to enter in such manner, answered, It was the fashion of the Kings house in times of Festivals, to keep out none that came as this woman did, to make sport. Search being made for the woman, she is found, and examined who set her on; she confessed a Knight gave her money to do it; the Knight is found, and upon examination, boldly answered, he did it for the Kings honour, and to no other end, and thereupon escaped without further trouble. It was such another wind blew, when a Knight was taken putting by Pomfret, with Letters sealed with the Kings Seal, directed to the King of Scots, about murthering the Earl of Lancafter; which meffanger is executed, his head fer upon the top of the Column and other Letters referred to the beneis the intended plot. Which whether it were infamous or true, the report thereof reflected upon the King; and made many to take the Earls part. It was such another wind blew, when a fansticket fellow, one John Powdrat, a Tanners Son of Exeter gave forth, that himself was the true Edward, eldest Son of the late King Edward the first, and by a false Nurse was changed in his Cradle; and that the now King Edward was a Carriers Son, and laid in his place. But this wind was soon blown over, when at his death, being drawn and hanged, he confessed he had a familiar Spirit in his house in the likeness of a Cat, that assured him he should be King of England; and that he had served the said Spirit three years before to bring his purpose about. But most of all, it was such a wind blew, when a Baron named William Browne, having waited his estate, offers to fell unto divers men, part of his Inheritance called Pounts; Humphrey Bishop of Hereford, obtains leave of the King to buy it, and bargain for it. The two Roger Mortimers, Uncle and Nephew, great men likewise in those parts, not understanding, it seems, any thing of the former bargain, contract also for the same Land with the said Sir William Browne. Hugh Spencer the younger, hearing of this fale, and the Land adjoining to part of his, obtains a more special leave of the King, being now his Chamberlain, and buys it out of their hands. The Earl of Hereford complains hereof to the Earl of Lancaster, who thereupon at Shrewsbury enters into a new confederation with divers Barons there assembled, taking their Oaths intermutually, to live and dye together in maintaining the Right of the Kingdom, and to procure the banishment of the two Spencers, Father and Son, whom they now hold to be the great Seducers of the King, and the opprefours of the State, dispossess of all things in Court.
The Life and Reign of King Edward the Second.

Court at their pleasure, and suffering nothing to be obtained but by their means. And under this pretence they take Arms, and coming armed to St. Albans, they fend to the King, being then at London, the Bishops of London, Salis-
bury, Hereford, and Chichester, (who were there assembled to consult for peace) requiring him as he ombmed to the quiet of the Realm, to rid his Court of those Traitors, the Speners, condemned in many Articles of high Treason, by the commody of the Land; and withal to grant his Letters Patent of Parliam and Indemnity both to them and all such as took part with them. The King returns answer, that Hugh Spencer the father was now beyond the Seas, employed in his business, and he son was guarding the Cinqueports, according to his office; and that it was against Law or Custom they should be bane without being heard: and withal swore he would never violate the Oath made at his Coronation, by granting Letters of Parliam to such notorious Offenders, who contemned his person, disturbed the Kingdom, and violated the Royal Majesty. Which answer so exasperated the Lords, that presently they approached to London; and lodged in the Suburbs, till they had leave of the King to enter into the City, where they peremptorily urged their demands. To which at length by mediation of the Queen, and the chief Prelates, the King is brought to condescend; and by his Edict, published in Welfmifnor-Hall, by the Earl of Hereford, the Spencers are banished the Kingdom. Hugh the Father bearing it, keeps beyond the Seas, but the Son secretly hides himself in England, expecting the turn of a better feasom. And indeed shortly after the Archbi-
shop of Canterbury in a Council holden at London, pronounced the banishment of the Spencers to have been erroneous; and thereupon the Edict is revoked, and the Spencers are called home, and fet in as great authority as they were before. But the Lords having thus obtained their desire, with the Kings Letters of indemnity, return home; but yet not with such security as to give over the provision for their own defence. Not long after there fell out an unexpected accident, that suddenly wrought the Lords confusion. The Queen making her progress towards Canterbury, intended to lodge at the Castle of Leeds, belonging to the Lord Baffe

done, (who had been long the Kings Steward, but now took part with the Lords) and sending her Marshal to make ready for her and her train, they who kept the Castle told him plainly, that neither the Queen nor any else should enter there without Letters From their Lord. The Queen her fel goes to the Castle, and finding the Marshal not there, she is driven to take such lodging elsewhere as could be provided. Of which indignity the complaints to the King, who took it to heart, that presently with a power of armed men out of London, he lays siege to the Castle, takes it, hangs the Keeper Thomas Cheppper, fends the Wife and Children of the Lord Baffe done to the Tower, and seizes upon all his Goods and Treasure, and having this power about him, and warmed with success and the irritation of the Queen, suddenly directs his course to Chichester.

The King answers for them.

The King is found to Indecit in Leeds Castle.

The King answers to the indignity.
The Life and Reign of King Edward the Second.

Not coming to the Kings landing yet, they proclamed enemies to the State.

The Queen, having upon a match of war for Prince Edward with a Daughter of the Earl of the Earl of Hereford was aiding by him.

The Queen sent to England many Lords return unto her. The King feeling the Queens forces, flies to the Isle of Lundy.

The Queen takes the Dutchy of Aquitaine, with the Earldom of Ponthieu, and send him over to do his homage for them. Which after many consultations, the King is wroth to yield unto; and the Prince is sent with the Bishop of Exeter and others, to the Court of France accordingly; but others say, she went out of decent, to complain to her brother the King of France for wrongs offered her by the Spencer, who had so alienated the Kings mind from her, that he would scarce come where she was, nor allow her fit maintenance for her calling. But whatsoever was the cause of her going, there appeared no cause of her staying, but that she had gotten into her company, Roger Mortimer Lord of Wigmore, a gallant young Gentleman, whom the specially favoured, lately escaped out of the Tower of London, by giving his keepers (as was said) a leaping drink. And withal, the Bishop of Exeter perceiving some plots to be in hand, and their close consultations made without him, withdraws himself secretly, and discovers to the King what he observed in their courses. Whereupon the King sends presently for the Queen and Prince, and solicits the King of France to hale them their return; which when he was negatived and delayed, he caueth them openly to be proclaimed enemies to the Kingdom, banished them, and all their adherents out of the Land; and withal caueth all the ports to be strongly kept, and sends three Admirals to attend in several Coasts to hinder their landing. It was not without suspicion, that the King for love of the Spencer, had his minde alienated from loving the Queen; so the Queen for love of Mortimer had her minde alienated from loving the King; and therefore having him with her, cared not how long she stayed. However it was, when the Queen heard of the Kings Proclamation, she knew there was no returning for her into England without some good assurance. Whereupon soliciting her brother the King of France he aided her with men and money, say others, but others, that he refuling to aid her, as being wrought under hand by the Spencer against her, the King now being in her behalf, sent to Henry the Earl of that Country, who upon a contract between her son Prince Edward and Philippa the Earl's daughter, aided her with a competent Army under the conduct of his brother John; and with them and her beloved Mortimer, she took shipping and landed at Orwell a Port near unto Harwich in Suffolk, where presently came to her the Earl Marshal, Henry Earl of Leicester, and Henry Earl of Lancaster with the wry neck called Turrell, with many other Lords and Bishops. The King at this time being in London, and hearing of the Queens landing with such Forces, and chiefly how all the Realm ran flocking to her, was suddenly, strucken into a great amazement; and though he had his great Counsellors the Spencer about him, yet now he found what little good their counsel could do him; and indeed in this case what should be, or what could he do? To stay in London was appearing hard, for he plainly saw the Londoners to be more in her favor than in his. Whereupon the Queen and her part then his; and to go from London to any other place was as unsafe, all places being possed either with certain enemies, or uncertain friends; at last the Isle of Lundy is thought of, a place plentiful of provision, abounding with Conis, Fishe and Fowl, and the Island of hard access, as having but one place in it where it could be enter'd; and that so narrow that a few might easily keep out many. Upon this place he resolves, and taking with him the Earl of Gloucester, the Spencer, and Robert Baldock, with some few others, he takes shipping, but by contrary winds is driven back, and gains through Tempests to land in Wales; and there in the Abbey of Nestle in Glamorganshire kept himself close. In the mean time the Queen was come to Oxford where Adam Bishop of Hereford took for his Text, Cyprian men, and thereupon inferred, that the Kingdom being now deadly sick of its head, it was fit to remove that head and put a founder in the place. At this time also, the Londoners to shew their love to the Queen, feized upon Walter Stapleton, the good bishop of Exeter and Lord Treasurer of England, left Governor there by the King; and with great delight...
The Life and Reign of King Edward the Second.

Steward of the King's house, brake the Staffe of his Office; and William Trufle, Speaker of the Parliament, in the name of the whole Kingdom, pronounced a Form of renouncing all Alliance to Edward of Carnarvon. Here Caxton writes, that from the time of this King deposing, which was in December, to the time of his Son Crowning, which was in St.1213, following, all Pleas of the King's Bench were stayed, and all Prisoners arrested by Sheriffs, commanded to be set at liberty; which seems to have little probability, seeing his Son Edward presently upon his depoings was received for King. But howsoever to great a Dowry was then assign'd to Queen Isabel, that scarce a third part of the revenues of the Crown is left for the new King and his Wife. And to the late King is allowed a hundred Marks a month for his maintenance, with which he lived with his Cousin Earl of Leicester, in good plenty and contentment for a time; only this griev'd him most of all (he said) that the Queen his Wife would never be gotten to come to see him: For he feared most devoutly, that from the time he first saw her face, he could never like of any other woman. By which it may appear, that neither Gawen nor the Spencers had so debauch'd him, as to make his life most miserable, or to be diabolical to his Queen. But the Queen was hardened against him, and conceiving he had too great liberty under the Earl of Leicester, by advice of her petitun Counsellour, Adam Tarleton, Bishop of Hereford, appoints Thomas Gourney, and John Matrevers Knights, to take him from the Earl into their own custody, and to carry him whither they thought good. Who thereupon take him from Kenilworth, and carry him first to Carf Castle, and from hence to Briflow; where they shut him in the Castle; till upon knowledge of a Plot laid to get him out, and send him beyond Sea, they took him in the night and carried him to Berkley Castle, where by the way they abus'd him most inhumanly, as Sir Thomas de la Mare a Knight of Gloucestershire, in his life related. For to the end he should not be known they shav'd his head and beard, and that in most beastly manner; for they took him from his Horfe, and fet him upon a Hillock, and then taking puddle water out of a Ditch there by, they went to wash him, his Barber telling him that cold water must serve for this time: whereas the miserable King looking fiercely upon him, said, That whether they would or no, he would have warm water to wash him; and therewithal to make good his word, he presently shed forth a showre of tears. Never was King turned out of a Kingdom in such a manner. Many Kingdoms have been lost by the chance of War, but this Kingdom was lost before any Dice were cast; no blow struck; no Battel tought; done forcibly, and yet without force; violently, and yet with content; both parties agreed, yet neither pleas'd; for the the King was not pleas'd to leave his Kingdom, and the Queen was not pleas'd to leave him his life. It was not fife to leave him a part, by which he might afterwards better the whole; and therefore this is the mark now aimed at, having taken away his Kingdom openly, how they might take away his life secretly; be the Authors

depflight beheaded him, as also divers others, only because they favoured the King. In the mean time the Queen went from Oxford to Gloucester, and from thence to Biflow, where Hugh Spencer the Father was, a man of ftrong curre and tenacious, who is there taken, and, without examination of Judgement, in most cruel manner executed, having his heart pulled out of his body being yet alive, and his body left hanging upon the Gallows. After this the Queen stayed at Hereford the space of a moneth, and then divid- ing her Army, the fends one part of it under the Conduct of Henry Earl of Leicester, and Rice ap Powel, a Clerke, to finde out the King; and this Rice being a Welfman, and knowing the Country well, brought the Earl to the Mon- atery of Nethe, where the King was, whom they there take together with Spencer the Son, Robert Baldock, and Simon of Reading. The King is by the Bishop of Hereford committed to the custody of the Earl of Leicester; where all that Winter he was ufed no wofe then was fit for a captive King: but Edmund Earl of Arnalds, John Denil, and Thomas Micheline, at the instance of Mortimer, are all three beheaded. Presently after is Hugh Spencer, the younger, who was the Earl of Gloucester, drawn, hanged, and quartered, as Edward had left him: at London Bridge, and his four quarters bellow'd in feveral Cities. The like is done with Simon of Reading, but Robert Baldock is committed to New Gate, against whom, when no just caufe of death could be found, there was ufed fo much cruelty in his imprifonment, that he shortly after died.

The Parliament agrees to depriue the King, and set up his Son.}

The King is persuaded by the Bifhops of Winchefe and Lincoln, and forces him to abdicate his Crown to his Son.}

The King is called to make his Confession, and he is accordingly excommunicated.}

The King is received with all the splendor he could, in London.}

The King is brought to Oxford, to be tried for his Treasons.}

The King is tried, and is pronounced Guilty; he is then executed, as he desired.
Authors of it, and not be seen in it, but this must be the Contents of a Chapter hereafter.

Of his Taxations.

By this King it appears there is something else besides the grievance of Taxations, that alienates the minds of English Subjects from their King; for never were fewer Taxations in this King's time: yet never were the Subjects minds more alienated from their King, than they were from him. Before his Coronation in a Parliament holden at Westminster, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Clergy, and a twentieth of the Temporality. In his fifth year in a Parliament at London, was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporality. In his fifteenth year was granted the sixth penny of temporal men's goods, through England, Ireland, and Wales, towards his Wars with Scotland. And more than these we read not of; but then at the defeat of the Earl of Lancaster, there were Confiscations that supplied the price of Taxes, by which (as one faith) he became the richest King that had been since the Conquest.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

He ordained that the money of his Father, though counted base by the People, should be currant. In the eighth year of his Reign, by reason of a dearth which raised the price of all Virtualls, it was ordained by Parliament, that an Ox farted with Grasf should be sold for fifteen shillings, fathered with Corn, for twenty, the bell Cow for twelve shillings; a fat Hog of two years old, three shillings four pence; a fat Sheep thorn, fourteen pence, with the Fleece twenty pence; a fat Goose for two pence half penny; a fat Capon two pence; a fat Hen a penny; four Pigeons a penny; whosoever fold for more, should forfeit their ware to the King. But after these rates imposed, all kinds of Virtualls grew so scarce, that Provisio- on could hardly be made for the Kings House; whereupon shortly after, the Order was revo- ked, and Market folks permitted to make the best of their Wares. In this King's time an Ordi- nance was made against Knights Templars, ac- cused of Heretie and other crimes; and they were all apprehended, and committed to divers Prisons. The like was done by all the Kings of Christendom, at one instant, being condemn- ed in a General Council at Vienna. In the four- year of his Reign, on the 15. of October, the Clerks of the Exchequer went towards York, with the Book called Dominus Dei, and other Records, and Provision that laded one and twenty Carres; but in half a year they were brought back again.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In the 17. year of his Reign the Bishop of Hereford was arrested, accused of high Treason, for aiding the Kings Enemies in their late Rebellion; but he refused to answer, (being a consecrated Bishop) without leave of the Archbishops of Canterbury, whose suffragan he was, (and who he said was his direct Judge, next the Pope) or without the consents of his fellow Bishops, who then all arose, and bumble craved the Kings Clemency in his behalf; but finding the King implacable, they took him away from the Bar, and delivered him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Shortly after he was again taken and convented as before, which the Clergy understanding, the Archbishops, Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, all with their Croffes erected, went to the place of Judgement, and, again took him away with them; charging all men, upon pain of Excommunication, to forbear to lay violent hands upon him. With which audacious Act, the King was so much displeased, that he presently commanded inquiry to be made ex Officio judiciae, concerning those Objections against the Bishop; wherein he was found guilty, though absent, and had all his Goods and Possessions forfeited into the Kings hands. In this Kings time the Crookchet Fryers came first into England. In his time Pope John the two and twentieth, first intituled the Feast of Corpus Christi, begun before by Urban the fourth.

Works of Piety done by him, or by others in his time.

His King founded Oriel Colledge, and St. Mary Hall in Oxford: He built a Church of Fryers at his Manour of Langley, where the soul of Grayston should be prayed for. In this Kings twentieth year, Richard Ra- thing Sheriff of London, built the Parish Church of Garlick-Hill in London; Ralph Bal- dock Bishop of London, gave two thousand Marks to the building of the New work of the Chappel, on the South side of Pauls Church: and left much more by his Testament.

Casualties.

In the eighth year of this Kings Reign, was so great a dearth, that Horses and Dogs were eaten, and Thieves in prison pluckt in pieces, those that were newly brought in amongst them, and earthen half alive; which continuing three years, brought in the end such a pestilence, that the living scarce sufficed to bury the dead. In the fourth year of his Reign, the Church of Mid- dleton in Dorsetshire, with all the Monuments, was consumed with Lightning, the Monks being at Mattins. In this Kings time, digging the Foundation of a Work about Pauls, were found more then a hundred heads of Oxen and Kine, which confirmed the opinion, that of old time it had been the Temple of Jupiter, and that there was the Sacrifice of Beasts.

Of his Wife and Children.

He married Isabel, Daughter of Philip the Fair, King of France, the being but twelve years of age; who lived his Wife twenty years, his Widow thirty, and dying at threecores and three years old at Nynges near London, was buried in the midst of Gray-Friers Quire in London. By her he had issue two Sons and two Daugh- ters; his eldest Son named Edward of Windsor, because
The Life and Reign of King Edward the Second.

became born there, succeeded him in the Kingdom. His second son named John of Eltham, because born there, was at twelve years old created Earl of Cornwoll: He died in Scotland in the flower of his Youth, unmarried. His eldest Daughter Joan, being a Child, was married in the fourth year of King Edward her Brother, to David Prince of Scotland, Son to King Robert Bruce, at seven years old; who coming afterward into England to visit his Brother, died here, and was buried at the Grey Friars in London. His second Daughter Eleanor, was married to Robert, the second Earl of Gelder, with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds; and had issue by him two Sons, who were Earls successively.

Of his Personage and Conditions:

He was fair of body, and of great strength, but given much to drink, which made him oftentimes bewray his own Secrets. For his other conditions, his greatest fault was, he loved but one; for if his love had been divided, it could not have been so violent. He was extreme in raving but in loving; and though love moderated, be the bent of affections, yet the extremity of it is the worst of passions. He was rather unfortunate then unhappy; seeing unfortunateness is the event, unhappiness in the cause: and if his fortune had been to love good, he would have made him happy. Two virtues were eminent in him above all his Predecessours, Continence, and Abstinence: So continent, that he left no base issue behind him; so abjinent, that he took no base courses for raising of money. They who defpised him being alive, so much honoured being dead, that they could have found in their hearts to make him a Saint.

Of his Death and Burial.

Many ways were attempted to take away his life. First, they vexed him in his diet, allowing him nothing he could well endure to eat; but this succeeded not. Then they lodged him in a Chamber over Carrion and dead Carcasses, enough to have poisoned him; and indeed he told a workman at his Window, he never endured to eat a morsel in all his life: but neither did this succeed. Then they attempted it by poisons, but whether by the strength of his Constitution, or by the Divine Providence, neither did this succeed. At last the peevish Archbishops, the Bishop of Hereford, devised a Letter to his Keepers, blaming them for giving him too much liberty; and for not doing the service which was expected from them: and in the end of this Letter wrote this Line, Edwardum occidere notitc timere bonum est: Craftily contriving it in this doubtful sense, that both the Keepers might finde sufficient warrant, and himself might finde sufficient excuse. The Keepers greedily at his meaning, took it in the worst sense, and accordingly put it in execution. They took him in his Bed, and casting heavy Bolts upon him, and pressing them hard down, stifled him; and not content with that, they heated an iron red hot, and through a Pipe thrust it up into his Fundament, that no marks of violence might be seen: but though none were seen, yet some were heard; for when the Paff was in doing, he was heard to roar and cry all the Castle over. Guenevyr and Mauers in, his murdurers, looking for reward, had the reward of Murdurers. For the Queen and Bishop Tarleton disfavoring the command, threatened to question them for the Kings death; whereupon they fled beyond Sea: and Guenevyr, after three years, being taken in France, and sent into England, was executed away upon the Sea, beheaded. Mauers flying into Germany, had the grace to repent, but lived ever after miserably. Thus died this King in the year 1327, more then half a year after his deposing; when he had reigned almost 19. years, lived 43. His body was carried to Gloucester, and there without any Funeral Pomp buried in the Monastery of Saint Peter, by the Benedictine Friars.

Of Men of Note in his time.

In this Kings time, of Martials men were many, whole acts have been spoken of in the late Kings life. Of learned men also many, as John Duns called Per, a Doctor of Subtilty, born in Northumberland, at Emblenhe a Village three miles distant from Alnwick; though both the Scots and the Frye challenge him for theirs, Robert Walshingham a Carmelite Friar, who wrote divers Treatises; Robert Bafon born in Nottinghamshire, a Carmelite Friar of Scarborough, whom King Edward took with him into Scotland, to write some Remembrances of his Victories: but being taken by the Scots, was constrained by Robert Bruce to write Remembrances of his Overthrows; William Riffanger, a Monk of Saint Albans, an Historiographer; Ralph Baldock, Bishop of London, who wrote a History, entitled, Historia Anglica; John Walsingham, a Carmelite Friar, who wrote divers Treatises; Nicholas de Lyrs a Jew by Birth, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity; William Ockham a Friar Minor, who wrote divers Treatises, and namely against John Duns, and also against Pope John the 23. in favour of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria; Thomas Halshewick, a Canon of Ledy in Kent, who wrote a Chronicle called Chronicon commendatorum; Robert Perpendicular born in Yorkshiur, a Black Friar and a Philosopher, or rather a Magician; and last, though not least worthy to be remembered, John Mandeville, the great Traveller, a Doctor of Physicke and a Knight.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first year, Sir John Blunt continued Mayor. Nicholas Pigot, Nichellus Drury, Sheriffs.

In his second year, Nicholas Farthing was Mayor. William Basing, James: Butler, Sheriffs.

In his third year, Thomas Remesine was Mayor. Roger le Palmer, James of St. Edmund, Sheriffs.

Ways devised to take away his life.
In his fourth year,
Richard Riffon was Mayor,
Simon Cooper, Peter Blackney, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir John Gyfor was Mayor.
Simon Mistwood, Richard Wilford, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir John Gyfor was Mayor.
John Lambil, Adam Lowkin, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.
Robert Gerten, Hugh Gerton, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir John Gyfor was Mayor.
Stephen Abingdon, Hammond Chickwel, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Stephen de Abingdon was Mayor.
Hammond Goodchrap, William Bodeleigh, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
John Wingrave was Mayor.
William Caffon, Ralph Balancer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
John Wingrave continued Mayor.
John Prior, William Farcus, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Wingrave continued Mayor.
John Pointel, John Bailing, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Simon de Abingdon, John Preston, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.
Renald at the Conduit, Will. Protham, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Richard Constantine, Richard de Hackney, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Mayor.
John Grantham, Richard de Ely, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Nicholas Farendon was Mayor.

In his eighteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel was Mayor.
Benet of Fulham, John Cawston, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Hammond Chickwel continued Mayor.
Gilbert Mydon, John Cawston, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Richard Brittain was Mayor.
Richard Rothing, Roger Chauntecleer, Sheriffs.
The LIFE and REIGN of
KING EDWARD
THE THIRD.

Of his coming to the Crown, and Acts done in his Minority.

D W A R D of Windsor, eldest Son of King Edward the Second, by the Order of Parliament, upon his Fathers Resignation, was proclaimed King of England, on the fifth and twentieth day of January, in the year 1327. And because he had not yet received the Order of Knighthood, he was by Henry Earl of Lancaster girt felonily with the Sword; and on the first day of February following, was Crowned at Westminster by Walter Reginald Archbishop of Canterbury; and thereupon a general Pardon is proclaimed, which hath since been used as a Custom with all succeeding Kings; that at their first coming to the Crown, a general Pardon is always granted. And because the King was under age, scarce fifteen years old (though Frofield faith he was then eighteen;) there were twelve appointed Governors of him and the Kingdom; namely the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Worcester; Thomas of Brotherton, Earl Marshal, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncles; John Earl Warren, Thomas Lord W芍t, Henry Lord Pierse, Oliver Lord Ingham, and John Lord Ruffe: but though these were appointed and bore the name, yet the Queen and Roger Mortimer took all the authority to themselves. The first action that was undertaken, was an expedition against the Scots; for Robert Bruce, though now old and sickly, and (as was said) Leprous: yet considering the youth of the new King, and the distractions of the Kingdom, thought it now a fit time to do some good upon England; and entering the English borders with an Army, sent defiance to King Edward. Whereupon an Army is raised, and the Hymenians (whom the Queen had brought) are joyed with the English; but a variance falling out between the two Nations, made the action not successful. For the Kings Army encountering the Scots at Stanhope Park in Wednes in the Bishoprick of Durham, though three times as many as the Scots; as being thirty thousand; yet through this variance, but more through treachery of some great men, suffered them all to escape their hands, and the Scots returned home in safety, the English with diffolution; and after this, the English seeing the Hymenians could do them no good, sent them away to their own Country. In King Edward's second year, his marriage with Philippa of Hainault is annulled; (as pence being first gotten, because of their nearness in Blood) and a Parliament is holden at Northampton, where the King made three Earls; John of Etham his Brother, Earl of Cornwall; Roger Mortimer, Earl of March; and James Butler of Ireland, Earl of Ormond. And in this Parliament a dishonourable Peace is concluded with the Scots; and confirmed by a match between David Bruce Prince of Scotland, being but seven years old, and Joan, sister to King Edward not foold. At which time by the secret working of Queen Isabel, Roger Mortimer, and Sir James Douglas, the King surrenders by his Charter all his title to the Kingdom of Scotland, restores divers Deeds and Infruments of their former Homanes and Fealties, with the famous Evidence called Ragman Roll, and many ancient Jewels, and Monuments, amongst which was the Black Crofs of Scotland; and besides, any English man is prohibited to hold Lands in Scotland, unless he be a dweller there. In consideration whereof King Bruce was to pay 30000 Marks, and to renounce his claim to the Counties of Cumberland and Northumberland, and any other place possesed by him in England. This was no good beginning, and yet worse followed after. For another Parliament being holden at Winchefter, Edmund Earl of Kent, the Kings Uncle, is there accused, and condemned upon his confession for intending to restore his Brother, the Late King Edward; an intention only without any fact, yet condemned he was, and brought to the Scaffold: but generally so beloved of the people, that he flando on the Scaffold from one a Clock till five, before any Executioner could be found that would do the Office; till at last a sly wretch of the Marhalley was gotten to cut off his head. But the Authors of his death escaped not long themselves, for in the third year of the Kings Reign, another Parliament is holden at Nottingham, wherein the Queen hath all her great Joynture taken from her, and is put to her Pention of a thousand pounds a year, and her self confined to a Castle, where she remained the rest of her days, no fewer than thirty years. A time long enough to finde that her being the Daughter of a King, the Sitter of a King, the Wife of a King, and the Mother of a King, were glorious Titles, but all
all not worth the liberty of a mean Estate. And as for Mortimer, (lying then in the Castle of Nottingham and lately created Earl of the Marches of Wales) he was feized on in this manner, the King taking with him William Montague, Robert Holland, and others, go secretly one night by Torch-light, through a privy way under ground, till they came to the Queens Chamber; where leaving the King without; they entered and found the Queen with Mortimer, ready to go to bed; then laying hands on him, they led him forth, after whom the Queen followed, crying, Bel fites, ayer pite de gentil Mortimer; good fon, good fon, take pity upon the gentle Mortimer, flattering that her fon had been amongst them. This course was taken to apprehend him for avoiding of tumult, he having no fewer then ninecore Knights and Gentlemen, besides other meaner servants continually about him. But thus feized on, he is committed presently to the Tower, accused of divers great crimes, whereof there were chief; That he had procured the late Kings death; That he had been the Author of the Scots false escaping at Stanhope Park, corrupted with the gift of thirty thousand pounds; That he had procured the late Marriage and Peace with Scotland, so dishonourable to the King and Kingdom; That he had been too familiar with the Queen, as by whom she was thought to be with Child. Of which Articles he was found guilty and condemned. and thereupon is drawn and hanged upon the common Gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn, where he was put to his death, as an approbrious spectacle for all beholders.

After these bulleines in England, there comes a new business upon him from the King of France; for about this time Philip le Bel, King of France, the Queens brother, dying without issue, the right of succession to the Crown is devolved upon the Heir to Charles a former King, wherein are Competitors Philip Duke de Valois, and Edward King of England. Edward is the nearer in blood, but draws his Pedegree by a Female: Philip the farther off, but descending by all Males: and because the Law Salique excluding Females, was conceived as well to exclude all descendants by Females; therefore is Philip's title preferred before King Edward's, and Philip is received and crowned King of France: to which preterment of his, Robert de Artois, a Peer of great power, gave no small furtherance. And now as soon as Philip was invested in the Crown, he summons Edward to come to his domage for the marriage of the King of France with the Princess in his Blood, and his other lands in France, held of that Crown, according to the Custom; which though it were some prejudice to King Edward's claim afterward, yet in regard his Kingdom of England was scarce well settled, and himself was young, he was contented to do it: and thereupon the sixth of June, in the year 1329. King Edward in a Crinmon Velvet Gown, embroidered with Leopards, with his Crown on his head, his Sword by his side, and Golden Spurs on his heels, presents himself in the Body of the Cathedrall Church of Amiens before King Philip, sitting in his Chair of Eilace, in a Velvet Gown of a violet Colour, embroidered with Flowers de ly of Gold, his Crown on his head, and his Scepter in his hand, with all his Princes and Peers about him. The Vicount Melun Chamberlain of France, first commands King Edward to put off his Crown, his Sword, and his Spurs, and to kneel down, which he did on a Crimson Velvet Cushion before King Philip; and then the Vicount putting both his hands together between the hands of the King of France, pronounced the words of the Homage, which were these: You become Liegeman to my Matter here present, as Duke of Aquitaine, and Peer of France; and you promise to bear faith and loyalty so to. Say you, and King Edward said Yes, and kissed the King of France on both cheeks, as Lord of the Fee. The like homage also he did for the Earldom of Pembroke. But this act of submission left a rancour in King Edward's heart, which afterwards brake o'er out, that it had been good for France it had never been executed.

This done, King Edward returns home, and there finds a new business with Scotland, upon this occasion. Edward Baliol, Son to John Baliol, (sometimes King of Scotland) two and thirty years after his Fathers depollition, began now to shew himself, attempting the recovery of that Crown; and coming out of France, where he had all that while remained, and getting aid under-hand in England, with them he suddenly affairs those who had the Government of Scotland, during the Nonage of the young King David (being at that time with the King of France) and in a Barreland came them, with the slaughter of many Nobles of the blood of the common people; and thereupon was immediately Crowned King of Scotland at Stene; But notwithstanding his great defeat, King Baliol was forced to retire him into England to get more aid of King Edward. Who now shews himself in the action, joyns with Baliol against his Brother-in-law King David; goes in person with a strong Army to recover Berwick, which after three months siege, being valiantly defended by the Lord Stew, was taken in, and the Army of the Scots which came to the rescue thereof, at Hallidown-Hill, utterly defeated: where were slain seven Earls, ninety Knights and Bannerers, four hundred Esquires, and about two and thirty thousand common Souldiers, as our Writers report: as theirs, but fourteen thousand. And with this effusion of blood is Baliol returned to his miserable Kingdom; and to hold good correspondence with the King of England hereafter, doth him homage for his Realm of Scotland, and the 10lands adjacent. But though he had a Kingdom, yet he had not quietness, for many of the Scots aided by the French, made War upon him divers years after; during all which time, King David with his Wife remained in France. If any man marvel why King Edward would aid Baliol against King David, who had married his fitter, he may consider that alliances, how near forever, weigh but light in the Scales of State.

About this time, the Isle of Man is conquerred by William Montague, Earl of Salisbury, for which service King Edward gave him the title of King of Man.
The Life and Reign of King Edward the Third.

Of his AIs after he came of age.

And now Robert of Artois banished out of France, comes into England, whom King Edward makes Earl of Richmond, and of his Council. This Robert perwades King Edward to make War upon France, to which Crown (he said) he had more right then he held it. With whose perwations, King Edward is at last resolv’d to undertake the enterprize; and to furnish himself of noble Chevaliers, he at one time in a Parliament at Westminster, the eighth year of his Reign, creates six Earls, Henry of Lancaster he made Earl of Derby, William Montacute he made Earl of Salisbury, Hugh Audley Earl of Gloucester, William Clinton Earl of Huntington, and Robert Clifford, or Safford, Earl of Suffolk: also twenty Knights of whom Thomas de la More, who wate the sire of the Kings Father was one. Whithal he sends the Bishop of Lincoln, with twenty leagues of men with divers Princes abroad. Where it is scarce worth remembering, what Freisford mentions here, that certain young Gentlemen covered one of their eyes with a piece of silk, and vowed to fee but with one eye, till it might be seen, what great deeds of Arms they performed; but for all this vow of theirs, we hear nothing of their exploit. And as the King of England laboured to procure himself friends, so likewise the King of France got to take his part, the Bishop of Leis, with the Dukes and Earls of Gelders, Juliers, Cleve, Hoynsul, and Brabant, and with the Archbishop of Celen, and Waleran his Brother; John King of Bohemia, Earl of Luxembury, Henry Count Palatine, Albert Bishop of Miniz, Otto Duke of Austeria, Ame Earl of Graves, with many other Princes and Captains out of Germany, Spain, and other Countries. King Edward thus resolv’d in himself, and filleth with friends abroad, goes over into France with his Queen and Child, makes his residence at Antwerp; there he forfakes the Flemings, he takes upon him the Style, Title, and Arms of the King of France: for by this they accounted themselves disoblige of the Bond of twenty hundred thousand Crowns, which they had entred into, never to bear Arms against the King of France: and hereupon the League was establisht between them and King Edward. And from this time forward the Kings of England quartered the Arms of France with those of England; and took upon them the name of Kings of France. And now King Edward for a beginning to put his claim in execution, sets upon Cambrai, and enters France by the way of Vermandouce and Tiieres: On the other side King Philip feith on the Dutchy of Guenuen, and sends thither the Constable, Conteable, and Guergnez of France, with the Earls of Fize and Lewes and Caen. At last both Armies came near together, that a fight was appointed the Friday after: but upon better consideration, the English thought it no direc- tion to give Battell to an Army so much greater then their own, if they could avoid it; and the French thought it as little discretion for them to hazard the person of the Prince within his own Kingdom; and perhaps were not a little moved with the warning given them by Robert King of Sicilie, a great Astronomer, that he foresaw by the Stars, some great misfortune to the English, if they should that day fight with the English, King Edward being present. And thus both Armies having their several reasons to decline the battell, they parted without doing any thing; only an accident happened scarce worth remembering, yet must be remembered. A Hare starting out before the head of the French Ar- my, caused a great shout to be made; whereupon, they who saw not the Hare, but only heard the shout, supposing it to be the onset of the battell, dispofted themselves to fight: and four-teen Gentlemen for encouragemente sake, as the custome was, were knighted; called afterward in merriment, Knights of the Hare.

But now King Edward must a little look home, and therefore leaving the Queen in Brabant, he passeth himself into England about Candlemas, leaving his in Brabant about a year; and landing at the Tower about ane midght, and finding it unguardtd, was so much pleas’d that he presently sens for the Mayor of London, command- ing him to bring before him the Chancel- lour and Treasurer, with Sir John Saint Paul, Michael Wath, Philip Thorp, Henry Stratford, Clergie men, (who it seemes were officers for his Receipts) and John Sewer Justice of the Bench: all which, except the Chancellor, were apprehended and committed to prison; as were afterward in like manner, divers Officers of Ju- stice, and Accomptes, upon inquiry of their unjust proceeding. During the Kings abode in England, William Montacute Earl of Salisbury, and Robert Safford Earl of Suffolk left in Flanders to oppose the French, having performed divers great exploits, were at last in an encounter about Life, so overlaid by multitude, as they were both taken and sent prisoners to Paris. Besides, about this time two accidents happened that were thought would be of great tending in King Ed- ward’s proceeding; one was his Wife, William Earl of Hoynsul, dying, and leaving his Son to succeed, this son left his Brother King Edward, and fell to take with the King of France; the other, that the Duke of Normandy, thinking himself as strong as ever William Duke of Normandy was that conquered England, he saw no reason but he might conquer it as well as that William; and thereupon makes preparation by Sea and Land to attempt the enterprize: but these were but vapours that never came to be withers, at last brought no formes. For John Earl of Hoynsul had quickly enough of the King of France, and was soon after reconciled to his Brother King Edward; and the Duke of Normandy went no further then preparations: for indeed King Edward prosecuted his couries against France with such heat, that all the neigh- bouring Princes fearing a like kindred to near their borders, were glad to lock to them- selves at home. But now to impede the King of England’s return into France, King Philip had provided a mighty Navie in the Haven of Sines, consisting of two hundred fable of Ships, (besides many Gallies) and two thousand armed men in the Port ready to encounter him upon his land- ing; whereof King Edward being advertised, prepares the like number of Ships, and sets out Sea
Sea upon Midsummer Eve, is met theorrow after with a Navy likewise from the North parts, conducted by Sir Robert Morley; and encounters his enemy who lay to intercept him with such force and courage, and such advantage of Wind and Sun, that he utterly defeated their whole Navy, took and sank all their Ships, flew thirty thousand men, and landed with as great glory, as such a victory, (the greatest that ever before was gotten by the English at Sea) could yield; though King Edward himself was there wounded with an Arrow in the thigh. Most of the French, rather than to endure the Arrows of the English, or be taken, desperately leapt into the Sea; whereupon the French Kings, Jefter, let to give notice to him of his overthrow, (which being so ill news, none else would willingly impart unto him) laid, and oftentimes repeated it in the Kings hearing; Cowardly English men, Dishonestly English men, Faint-hearted English men! The King at length asked him why? for that (said he) they durst not leap out of their Ships into the Sea as our brave French men did. By which speech the King apprehended a notion of this overthrow, which the French attributed to Nicholas Butchel, one of their Chief Commanders, who had armed his Ships with men of base condition, (content with small pay) and refused Gentlemen and sufficient Souldiers, in regard they required greater wages. And indeed it often happens that the savorie of Commanders is the occasion of great defeats.

By this Victory King Edward gained a free entrance into Flanders, and presently went and beleaguered Tournay with an Army of five and fifty thousand, but was to vallyantly encountered by the Duke of Burgundy, and the Earl of Arminnec, that they routed his Army, and flew four thousand upon the place: which so enraged King Edward, that two days after he sent a challenge to King Philip to meet him in a single Combat, or with an hundred against as many, before the Walls of Tournay, King Philip answers that his challenge being made to Philip de Valois, without mention of King, he took it not to be to him, who was truly King of France; but he wished him to remember the Homage he had done him at Amiens, and the wrong he did it to the Christian world, by his troubleshoot courses to hinder him from his Voyage intended to the Holy-Land. Besides this answer in writing, he sends to him by word of mouth: that by his challenge he hazarded nothing of his own, but caposed only the Dominion of another, which was against all reason; but if he would meet him, he would go to him in the Field for Combat, and meet him in the field in single Combat. But this King Edward would not bearken to, for as he was valiant to make the challenge, so he was circumcpe to look to the conditions. But hereupon he continues his siege of Tournay; to the relief whereof King Philip sends all the Forces he could possibly make by himself or his friends; and after the siege had continued three months, partly by mediation of Robert King of Sicilie, but chiefly by the Lady Jane of Valois, sister to King Philip, and mother of King Edward's wife, (who had vowed her self a Nun, but to do this good office, travelled from one to another) a Truce was concluded for a year, and both their Armies are dissolved.

After this, King Edward returning into England, was aduertised how the Scots after many other places gained, had beleaguered the Castle of Stirling; for relief whereof, the King makes all the haste he can: and yet before he could come, it was by force of battery, compelled to render it self upon conditions. Then King Edward being at Berwick, paffeth to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he lays a month, waiting for his provision that was to come by Sea; but that being driven into other parts by trempel, he makes a Truce with the Scots for three or four months, and then returns home. In the time of this Truce, the Scots send to King David, to come and govern the Kingdom in his own person; who thereupon taking his leave of the King of France, with whom he had remained seven years, he with his Wife,King Edward's father, returns into Scotland, where, after he had been most honourably received by the Prince of Orkney, and the other Lords and Barons of the Kingdom, as soon as the Truce was ended, with a strong Army enters Northumberland, paffing on to New-Castle upon Tyne, where he plants his Camp. Of this Castle, John Neville was left governor by King Edward, who sending out certain companies, took the Earl Marmort prisoner, and with the slaughter of divers of his men, and rich booties, returned back to his Castle: which incensed King David, that he assaulted the Castle as a man enraged, but finding it too strong for his taking, he then passed into the Province of Durham, where he used all kinds of cruelty, first upon the Countrey, and then upon the City, killing Men, Women, and Children, Clergy, and others; burning and destroying Houses, and Churches, and utterly defacing it. From thence he paffeth on to the Castle of Salisbury, which Castle belonged to William Montaun, Earl of Salisbury, in right of his Wife; but himself being then prisoner in France, only his Counseys, and one William Montaunse a Cousin of his, was in the Castle. This William perceiving the Scottifh horse to be so over-charged with pillage, that they were scarce able to go, ifues out of the Castle with forty horse, jets upon them, kills two hundred, and takes fçx-score, whom he brings with their rich pillage, into the Castle. King David soon after with his whole Army arrived, but hearing of King Edward's coming, (who certified of these things) made all the haste he could, he returns himself from thence; and King Edward finding him gone before he came, yet would needs go in and visit the Counseys: of whom as soon as he saw her, he was so enamoured, that he laid more battery to her Chastity, then King David had done to his Castle; but finding it inexpugnable, after a day and a night he left it, and followed after the Scots, with whom for three days together he had many skirmishes, till at last a Truce was concluded for two years, and amongst other conditions, William Earl of Salisbury, a prisoner with the King of France, was set at liberty by exchange.
for the Earl Murray, prisoner with the King of England.

About this time another difference fell out between the Kings of England and France. John Earl of Mortford laid claim to the Duchy of Brittany, but in the quarrel was taken prisoner by the King of France. His Lady fled to King Edward for succour; which King Edward grants upon condition that his marriage be made between his Daughter Mary, and the Earl of Mortford's son, which being agreed on (he fends over to her aid, first, Walter de Manny, a valiant Knight, and afterward Robert d'Artou. But while his Army was preparing, King Edward was informed by Edward Balis, the pretended King of Scotland, and Governor of Berwick, that the Scots had not kept the conditions of the Truce; whereupon King Edward draws a great Army to Berwick, with a purpose to do great matters, but nothing was done, for a new Truce was again concluded for two years. By this time Robert d'Artou had made ready his Army, and taking with him the Countes of Montfau, the Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and Suffolk, and many other Barons, after great tempels and encounters at Sea, landed safely at last near to Vannes, which was held by the French; and laying siege to the City, with the assistance of Wallers, the Army of the Duke of Brittany, he came upon the gates and inns of the City, and after an affault, at last he took it, to the great joy of the Countes of Montfau, though he held it not long: for certain refo- late French Knights assaulted it soon after, and recovered it from the English. In which action many Lords were slain or wounded, and particularly Robert d'Artou himself; who passing over into England, for the better curing of his wounds, soon after died, and was buried in Pauls Church in London. And now King Edward himself with a strong Army paideth over into Brittany, and plants his Camp before the City of Vannes, where it is like to have been a cruel Battel; but in the incontinent there came from Pope Clement the sixt, two Cardinals, the Bishops of Prentia and Taffinum: who upon certain conditions concluded a Peace. Amongst other conditions this was one, that the City of 

\[ \text{Of his Alliances with the Prince.} \]

King Philip informed of so many ludes, assenishes a mighty Army, no less than a hundred thousand men, with which he recovers Miramar, and Villefranche, and then proceeded to besiege Angoulême: whom the Earl of Derby having not time to engage, King Edward (leaving for Warden of England in his absence, the Lords Percy and Neville) goeth himself in person with an Army (as Frisfaith) of fourscore thousand men at Arms, and ten thousand Archers, besides those out of Wales and Ireland; taking with him his Son, the Prince of Wales, and Duke of Guern, being then but at the age of fifteen years. It may be thought preposterous in King Edward to purpos his Son to be a Souldier before he was come to be a man; but it seems he had a longing to try his sons valour in the field, and perhaps was loath to omit any thing that might give any countenance to this Battel, in which the two Kingdoms were laid as it were at stake: but howsoever, taking him along with him, and almost all the Lords of his Kingdom, he takes Shipping, and lands at Normanby, where at his first setting his foot on ground, he took such a fantome, that the Earl of Mortford was gushed at his note; which the Barons took for an ill augury, and indeed King Edward himself went on in the same manner. King Edward took it for a good: saying, it was wise that the Land desired to have him. And indeed he presently took the Towns of Hauport, Maul- brough, Carenton, and Saint La, and afterward the City of Caen it self; and from thence paf- sed to the County of Eureaux, facced and pillaged it, as also the City of Gysers, Vernon, Meslay, and Boulogerne to the City of Poissy. King Philip all this while stayed about Paris, as looking for King Edward to give him Battel there; and for that purpose had planted his Camp near to Saint Germain: but King Edward deceived him. For going from Poissy, he palled into Picardy, and Ponthien, where he took and burned many Towns and Castles; and then paf- sed the River of Somme, though not without danger: For King Philip had sent thither Gando- man of Egy, with a thousand horse, and six thousand foot to stop his passage. King Edward notwithstanding refoloves to pass on, and on, and plunged foremost into the River; crying out, They who love me will follow me. At which voice every man frowne who should go for- mott; and so the shore was presently gained by the English. Gandoemar affonished with his bold adventure, affonished his people with his fearful countenance: so that the English encoun-tering the French all in disorder, put them to flight. King Philip enraged with this diffavour, refoloves to revenge it; and presently provokes King Edward to Battel. King Edward had now encamped in a Village called Creffy, his Army consisted of thirty thousand men, which he di- vided into three Battalies: the first was led by the young Prince of Wales, with whom were joined the Earl of Warwick, Geoffrey of Har- cot, the Earl of Holland, Richard Stafford, John Chandies, Robert Neville, and many other Knights and Gentlemen, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers, and a thousand
thousand welsh. In the second were the Earls of Northampton and of Arundel, the Lords, Raffe, Baffet, and others, to the number of eight hundred men at Arms, and twelve hundred Archers. In the third the King was himself, having about him seven hundred men at Arms, and three thousand Archers. The Barrels thus ordered, mounted on a white Hobby, he rode from rank to rank to view them; encouraging every man that day to have regard to his right and honour. The French Kings Army was far greater, consisting of above sixty thousand combatants well armed; whereof the chief were Charles Duke of Alenfon the Kings Brother, John of Luxemburgh King of Bohemia, Charles de Blais the Kings Nepeux, Ralph Duke of Lorraine, the Earls of Flandres, Normes, Sancors; of Barons, Knights, and Gentlemen, about three thousand. The Vaunt-guard he commit to his Brother the Count de Alenfon, the Rest to the Earl of Sancors, the main Barrel he leads himself; his heat out of confidence of Victory, was so great, that it scarce permitted time for a little counsel what was fit to be done. The old King of Bohemia advised that the Army should take some repast; and that the Infantry consisting of Genoese (which were above fifteen thousand Cross-bows, and five men) should make the first Front, and the Cavalry to follow; which was agreed on. But the Count de Alenfon, contrary to this order, took it ill that the Genoese were in the first rank; and in fury caused them to change place, which bred that discontentment, that it irritated them more against the Leader then the enemy. Besides, there fell at the instant such a shower of rain, as disflowed their flings, and made their Bows of little use; and at the breaking up of the shower, the Sun shone full in the face of the French (dazzling their sight) and on the back of the English, as if all made for them. King Edward who had gotten to a Windmill, beholding as from a Sentinel, the countenance of the enemy, and discovering the disturbance made by the change of place, instantly sends to charge that part, without giving them time to re-accommodate themselves; whereupon the discontented Genoese recoil, which the Count de Alenfon perceiving, he comes on with the horse, and in great rage cries out, On, On. Let us make way upon the bellies of these Genoese, who do but hinder us: and instantly pricks on a full carrier through the midst of them, followed by the Earls of Lorraine and Savoy, and never stays till he came up to the English Barrel, where the Prince was. The fight grew hot and doubtful, insomuch as the Commanding the Prince, and the King Edward to come up with his power to aid him. The King asks the messengers whether his Son were slain or hurt; who answering, No, but that he was likely to be overlaid; well then (said the King) return and tell them who fent you, that so long as my Son is alive, they send no more to me whatever happens; for I will that the honour of this day be his. And so being left to try for themselves, they wrought it out with the Sword; the rather because the French King having his horde lain under him, and in danger to be troden to death, had he not been recovered by the Lord Beaumont, was to the great discouragement of his people, withdrawn out of the field: whereof notice being once taken by the English, the day was soon after theirs; and the greatest Victory they ever had yet against the French; and so bloody, as there is no men on made of any one prisoner taken in the Barrel, but all slain out-right; only some few Troops that held together, saved themselves by retiring to places near adjoining. The French King himself with a small company got to Bray in the night, and approaching the Walls, and the Guard asking who he was there? he answered the Fortune of France. By his voice he was known, and thereupon received into the Town, with the tears and lamentations of his people. The number of the slain are certified to thirty thousands, in which were, Charles de Alenfon, John Duke of Barbon, Ralph Earl of Lortain, Lewis Earl of Flandres, Jacques Daphnis de Vennes, fon to Inbert, (who after gave Daphnis to the Count of France) the Earls of Sancors, Harecourt, and many other Earls, Barons, and Gentlemen, to the number of fifteen hundred. This memorable Victory happened upon the Saturday after Bartholomew day, in the year 1346. The next day early in the morning, being Sunday, he sent out 300 Lances, and 3000 Archers, to discover what was become of the enemy, who found great Troops coming from Artois, Saint Remi, Rouen, and Beauvais (ignorant of what happened) led by the Archbishop of Rouen, and the Prior of Forest, whom they likewise defeated, and flew from the field. But this was not all the Victories that fell to King Edward that year; there was another of no less importance gotten in England, by the Queen and her people at home, against the Scots; who being set on by the French to divert the War there, entered upon this Kingdom with three thousand men (as our Writers report) affuring himself of success, in regard (as he supposed) the main strength thereof was now gone into France; but he found it otherwise. For the Lords of the North, as Gilbert de Umbraville, the Earl of Angus, Henry Percy, Ralph Neville, William Douglas, with the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Durham, and others of the Clergy, gathered so great Forces, and so well ordered them, by the animation of the Queen (who was there in person,) as fighting a great Barrel at Neville Cros, in the Bishoprick of Durham, they utterly defeated the greater Army, and took their King princes, with the Earl of Fife, Menteith, Murray, Sutherland, the Lord Douglas, the Archbishop of Saint Andrews, and others; and put to the Sword fifteen thousand Scots. This Victory also fell upon a Saturday, five weeks after that of Crécy. He that took King David Prisoner, was one John Copeland, an Esquire of Northumberland, whom King Edward rewarded with five hundred pound land a year, and made him a Banneret. And as all concurred to make their...
make this year Triumphate, the aids sent to the Countess of Monford in Britain, led by Thomas Dagworth a valiant Knight, overthrew and took prisoner Charles de Blairs, Pretender to that Dukedom, and with him Monier la Val, the Lords Richford, Beamper, Lycuyce, with many other Barons, Knights and Esquires; Wherefore the Lord De la Val, Father to him that was taken, Viscount Eban, Monier de Cottiers, Vizier de Saint, de Divoire, besides many other Knights and Esquires, to the number of seven hundred. And now King Edward without meddling with the great Cities of Amiens and Albevile, marched directly, and sits down before Calliers, a Town of more importance for England and the Gate to all the rest: Wherein John de Vienne, Marshal of France, and the Lord de Andreghien, (a great man in his time) commanded. The King being to make it a Winter siege, erected for him and his people, so many houses and lodges, that it was named New-Callis.

All that Winter King Edward lay without any molestation by the French King, who was busied at home in his own State about raising of money; wherewith supplied at last, he raised an Army and approached Calliers, but finds no way open to come to relieve it. The King of England was both Mafter of the Haven and posfess all other waies that were paffable; and the Flemings, though they had besieged afore. To op- pose whom, John Duke of Normandy is sent for out of Guienne: who departing leaves Henry of Lancaster Earl of Derby, Mafter of the Field; and he having an Army consisting of twelve hundred men at Arms, two thousand Archers and three thousand other Foot, takes in most of the Towns of Neivaiguer, and Piolten, and in the end besieged and lacked Pooles, and then returns to Beaufort, with more pajlage then his people could well bear: Thus the English pro- pere every where, and the French suffer. During the siege of Calliers, (in which some think King Edward first used Gun) the Flemings send to King Edward, to make a marriage between his Daughter Isabel and their Lord, the young Count Louis; to which the King consented, and the Duke of Bucking gets the King of France to make the match for a Daughter of his. The Flemings press their Lord with the match of England; but he obstinately refused it, saying, he would never marry a Daughter of him, that had killed his Father, though he would give him half his Kingdom. This answer so incensed the Flemings, that they put their Lord in Prifon, till with long durance he was at last confented; and thereupon King Edward and his Queen, with their Daughter Isabel came over to Bucking, and there the young Earl is affianced to her: but returning afterwards into Flanders, as soon as he found opportunity, he went to King Philip, and left his affianced Lady unmaried; and married afterwards a Daughter of the Duke of Brabant. But all this while the siege of Calliers was continued; and King Philip not being able to come to relieve it, follicits King Edward to appoint four place of battall, and he would meet him. But King Edward returns answer, that if he would make his own way, to come thither with him, there he should finde him, but from thence he would part; having lain there so long to his great labour and expence, and being now to near the point of gaining the place. Two Cardinals are sent from the Pope, to mediate a Peace, but could effect nothing; so as the French King was forced to break up his Army and retire to Paris; leaving Callier to the mercy of the besiegers: which when the Town understood, they fent to desire Paris, had it granted, and therein received the formal answer, that fix of the chief Burgeses should first be to the King bare-headed, and bare-footed, in their shirts, with halter about their necks, the keys of the Town and Callier in their hands, and sum- mons to all with halter about their necks, whom he judged to be put to death.

But at the Queen's instance forces them.

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The Life and Reign of King Edward the Third.

The manner as shall be to the King's advantage, and thereupon is sent back to Callicie. The King, the night before the time of agreement arrives with three hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Archers: Meunier de Charmy sets out likewise the same night from Saint Omer with his Forces, and sent a hundred men before with the Crowns to Aymerie. The men are let in at a Portem Gare, the Crowns received, and affirmed to be all weight: which done, the Gates of the Town are opened, and our marches the King before day to encounter Meunier de Charmy; who receiving himself betrayed, defended himself the belt he could, and put King Edward to a great fear, who for that he would not be known there in person, put himself and the Prince under the Colours of the Lord Walter Manny, and was twice bearen down on his knees by Meunier de Riboumont, a hardy Knight (with whom he fought hard to hand) and yet recovered, and in the end took Riboumont prisoner. Riboumont was likewise taken, and all his Forces defeated. King Edward the night after (which was the first of the new year, fealed with the prisoners; and gave Riboumont in honour of his valour, a rich Chapter of Pearl, which himself wore on his head; for a New-year's-gift) forgave him his ransom, and set him at liberty. But the English not long after, in the like practice, had better success, and got the Castle of Gujfires, (a piece of great importance near Callicie) for a sum of money, given to one Desouiers a French man. Of which Castle when the French King demanded restitution, in regard the Lord Trincas, King Edward returns answer that for things bought and sold between their people, there was no exception, and so held it.

About this time Philip King of France died, leaving his son John to succeed him; in the beginning of whose Reign, Humbert Prince of Dampphin dying without issue, made him his heir; and thereupon Charles, King John's Son was created the first Dampphin of France from whence it grew to be a custom that the King of France his heir should always be called Dampphin of France. About this time also the Duke of Lancaster was to perform a Combar, upon a challenge with a Prince of Bohemia; but when they had entred the Lists, and had taken their Oaths, King John interposed and made them friends. And now when after many means of mediation, no peace could be concluded between the two Kings, the Prince of Wales being now grown a man, is appeased by Parliament to go into Gascony with a thouand men, to vise the French forces, and a great number of Walfomen; and in June following be fets forth with three hundred Sali, attended with the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, and Oxford; the Lord Chandos, the Lord James Audley, Sir Robert Knoll, Sir Francis Hall, with many others. About Michaelmas following, the King himself pasteth over to Callicie with another Army, taking with him two of his Sons, Lionel of Antwerp, now Earl of Ulster in right of his Wife, and John of Gaunt, Earl of Richmond. There met him at Callicie of Mercenaries out of Germany, Flanders, and Brabant, a thousand men at Arms; so that his Army consisted of three thousand men at Arms, and two thousand Archers on horse-back, besides Archers on foot. The City of London sent three hundred men at Arms, and five hundred Archers, all in one livery, at their own charge; but all this great Army effected nothing at that time, by reason the King of France would not be drawn to any Encouner, and had to disarm the Country of all provisions, that the King of England was forced to return. King Edward sollicited by the King of Navarre to aid him against the King of France, sends over the Duke of Lancaster with four thousand men at Arms, who wins many Towns; and the Prince enters into Parthenay, paileth over Langnebuck to Thomas, Northumberland, without any encounter, sacks, spoils, and destroys where he goes, and loadeth with booties, returns to Burdeaux. The French King thus assaulted on all sides, gathers all the power he possibly could; and first makes against his Enemies in Normandy, recovers many of his lost Towns, and was likely to have there prevailed; but that he was drawn of force to oppose this fresh Invader, the Prince of Wales, who was come up into Touraine, against whom he brings his whole Army, consisting of about three thousand men; whereupon the Prince, whose Forces were not likely to be able to encounter him (being fix for one) was advised to retire again to Burdeaux. But the French King to prevent this course, follows; and within two Leagues of Poylter, hath him at a great advantage. At which instant two Cardinals came from the Pope to mediate a Peace. But the French King supposing he had his enemy now in his mercy, and accepted of none other conditions, but that the Prince should deliver four Hottages; and as vanquished, render himself and his Army to his discretion. The Prince was content to restore unto him what he had gained upon him, but without prejudice of his honour, wherein he said he stood accountable to his Father, and to his Country. But the French King would abate nothing of his demands, as making himself sure of Victory; and thereupon was instantly ready to set upon the Prince: who seeing himself reduced to this straight, takes what advantage he could of the ground, and providently got the benefit of Vines, Shrubs, and Buffes, on that part he was like to be affailed, to impede and intangle the French Horse, which he knew were to come furiously upon him. The successe answered his expectation, for the Cavalry of his Enemies upon their first assault were so wrap and encompassed amongst the Vines, that his Archers galloped and annonied the Prince of their pleasure. For the French King to give the honour of the baggage, ordred the Army, to imployed them only without his Infantry; so as they being disordred and put to rout, his whole Army came utterly to be defeated. In this Battle were taken prisoners King John himself, with his youngest Son Philip, by Dennis de Merlebeke, a Knight of Artois, the Earl of Cambrai, the Archbishop of Sens, John de Artois, Count de En; Charles de Artois; his brother Count de Longueville; John de Melun; Count de Tankerville; the Counts of Vendome, Valenlum, Efampage, Salbourg, Dampmartin and La Roche; and John de Caure, accounted as Poylter, the best Knight of France, with many other Lords besides two thousand Knights and Gentlemen;
infomuch as the Conquerours holding it not safe to retain so many, let many of them go. The French who can give best account of their own losses, report there died in this Battle, a thousand seven hundred Gentlemen, amongst which were fifty two Banneters: the most eminent Peter de Bourbon, the Duke of Atheb Constable of France, Johan de Clermont, Marshal; Geoffry de Cheyni, high Chamberlain; the Bishop of Chaton, the Lord of Landas, of Perp, and of Cambly. There escaped from this Battle three of the French Kings Sons, (for he brought them all thither) Charles Prince Dauphin; Louis after Duke of Auisyn, and John Duke of Berry: all great actors in the time following. The special great men of the English in this fight, were the Earls of Warwick, Suffolk, Salisbury, Oxford, Stafford; the Lords Cobham, Spencer, Berkeley, Bishop of Gafcoynes, Le Capitale de Besly; the Lords, Palmer, Chamberlain, and others. The Lord James Audley won many plucks, by his valor, in the battle: for having vowed to be foremost in this fight, he performed his word, and sealed it with many wounds: for which the Prince having rewarded him with the gift of five hundred Marks. Fie-simple in England, he presently gave it to four of his Equires. Whereupon the Prince demanding whether he accepted not his gift: he answered, that these men had deferred the same as well as himself, and had more need of it: with which reply the Prince was so well pleased, that he gave him five hundred Marks more in the same kind. A rare example, where deference in the Subject, and reward in the Prince, strive which should be the greater.

But there great strife arose between many, who should be the man that took King John prisoner; but the Prince commanded them to forbear their claims, till they came into England: where the matter being heard, it was adjudged by the Council of the Netherlands, that one Serjeant Hus Marbuceque of Saint Omer's, had taken him prisoner: for which service the King rewarded him with a thousand Marks.

And now, though King John had the misfortune to fall into the hands of his enemy, yet he had the happiness to fall into the hands of a noble Enemy; for Prince Edward used him with such respect and observance, that he could not find much difference between his captivity and liberty. After the Battle, which was fought the nineteenth day of September, in the year 1537. Prince Edward leads King John and the captive Lords to Bordeaux, where he retains them till the Spring following; but lends frequent news of this Victory to his Father: who thereupon caueth a general Thanksgiving all England over eight days together. And in May following King John rather coming over with the Prince, then brought over by him, is lodged by the City of London, to hear the Duke of Lancaster, and the fairest at that time about London. And King Edward, as though he thought it honour enough to have one King his Prisoner at once, at the suit of his Sister Queen Joan, sets her Husband David King of Scots at liberty, after he had been prisoner in England eleven years; but not without paying a ransom, which was a hundred thousand Marks to be paid in ten years.

After this, by mediation of Cardinals sent by the Pope, a Truce for two years is concluded between the two Kingdoms of England and France; and in the time of this Truce, Articles of Peace between the two Kings are propounded. King Edward requires the Dutches of Normandy and Guyrane, the Countries of Poitou, Thoarnes, Maine, and Aisyn, with all their appurtenances as large as King Richard the first held them, and many other Provinces besides, and to hold them all without Homage or any other service; to which Articles King John (wary of imprisonment) affents and seals, but the Dauphin and Council of France utterly reject it. Whereupon King Edward in great displeasure resolves to make an end of this work with the Sword, and to take possession of the Kingdom of France; and leaving his younger Son Thomas Governor of his Kingdom at Rome, with a Fleet of eleven hundred Sail, and taking with him the greater part of his Army, he passed over to Calais, dividing his Army into three Battells, whereas one he commits to the Prince of Wales, another to the Duke of Lancaster, and the third he leads himself. And first marching through Picardy, where he takes in many Towns, he plants his siege afterwards before Rheims: but having spent there six or seven weeks without effecting any thing, he passeth thence, and taketh in the Cities of Sens and Nevers: the Dutchy of Burgaine redeems it from spoil with paying two hundred thousand Francs of Gold. Then he marcheth up to Paris, and plants his Camp within two miles of the Leagues of the Town, where he honoured 400. Equires and Gentlemen with the Order of Knighthood: but when Sir Walter de Manny had made a Bravado before the Gates of the City, and the King saw that the Dauphin would by no provocations be drawn out to Battle, he retired his siege, and returns into Britain to refresh his Army, on the expectation of men towards Charles with a purpose to beleaguer that City; and though great offers were made him by the French, and Commissioners from the Pope solicited him with all earnestness to accept them: yet neither they, nor the Duke of Lancaster's persuasions could prevail with him, till a terrible storm of Hail with Thunder and Lightning fell upon his Army, which so terrified him, being a warning, as it were from Heaven, that he presently vowed to make Peace with the French King upon any reasonable conditions, as shortly after he did at a Treaty of Briggay near to Chartres upon these Articles: that the Feifs of Thouars and Belleville, the Duchy of Guayenne, comprising Gafcoynes, Poi- tou, Saintonges, Lomarday, Perigay, the Counties of Rode, Angouleme, and Rachel, together with the Counties of Giffay and Calais, and some other places with the Homage of the Lords within those Territories, should be restored to King Edward of England, who besides was to have three millions of Crowns of Gold; whereas six hundred thousand in hand, four hundred thousand the year following, and the rest in two years after; and for this the King of England, and his Son the Prince of Wales, for them and their succes- sours for ever, should renounce all their right pretended to the Crown of France, the Dutchy

The Treat. of Chartres: and the Truce between the King of France and King Edward, did not prevail to the satisfaction of either party.
Duchy of Normandy, the Countries of Touraine, Anjou, Maine, the Homage and Sovereignty of Brittany, and the Earlome of Flanders; and within three weeks King John to be rendered at Calais, at the charge of the King of England, except the expenses of his house. For suffrage of which accord should be given into his hand five and twenty of the greatest Dukes and Lords of France for Hostages. The Scots not to be aided by the French King, nor the Flemings by the English. This accord and final Peace signed by both Kings, was ratified by their two eldest Sons, Edward and Charles, and sworn unto by the Nobility of both Kingdoms. The Hostages are delivered to King Edward, who brought them into England; and thereupon King John is honourably conducted to Calais, after he had remained prisoner in England near about five years; but being come to Calais, he was detained there above three months, till the money whereof he was detained in King, could be provided; and for providing thereof, he was put to hard stricts, being feign to give the Jews leave to dwell in France for twenty years, paying twelve Florens a man at the entry, and six every year after. At this time the Prince by dispensation, marries the Countess of Kent, Daughter to Edmunds, brother to Edward the second; and his Father investing him with the Duchy of Aquitain, he was now Prince of Wales, Duke of Aquitain, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester and Kent; and not long after, with the Prince's wife, he passed over into France, and keeps his Court at Bordeaux.

This was now the year 1362. and the fiftieth year of King Edward's age, wherein for a while, he flew himself extraordinarily gracious to his people, freely pardoning many offences, releasing prisoners, revoking exiles; with many other expressions of his love and bounty. The year following was famous for three Kings coming into England; John King of France, Peter King of Cyprus, and David King of Scots. The King of Cyprus came to solicit King Edward to join with other Princes in the Holy War, but receives only royal entertainment and excuses. The King of Scots came for busines and visitation, but why the King of France came is not so certain; whether it were about taking order for his Hostages; or to satisfie King Edward for breach of some Articles; or else for love to the Countess of Salisbury; or perhaps out of a desire to let England see his Majest, being at liberty, which had been darkened before by the cloud of captivity: but whatsoever the cause of his coming was, the cause of his staying (at last, of longer staying then it meant) was mortal sickness, whereof (having lien all the Winter at the Savoy) in March or April following he died; and his body conveyed over into France, was buried at St. Dennis with his Ancestors.

The Prince of Wales was now grown famous all the Christian world over, and the man to whom all wronged Princes seem to appeal, and to fly for succour; for which end there came at this time to his Court, James King of Majorque, and happened to come at a time when the Princes lay in; and thereupon he and Richard King of Navarre were taken to be God-fathers to his Son Richard. For the like affiance also there came at the same time to him, Peter King of Castile, driven out of his Kingdom by the French, in favour to Peter King of Aragon; and Prince Edward, partly out of charity to succor a disstraffed Prince, and partly out of policy, to keep his Souldiers in exercise, undertakes the enterprise, and was so prosperous in it, that with one Battle (having but 3000, against 10,000,) he put King Peter in possession of his Kingdom, though he was ill rewarded for his labour; for the imprudent King would not so much as pay his Souldiers. And it is memorable which Froissart writes, that of the enemies were slain and drowned above 2000. and of the Princes partly not above 40. But yet an unfortunate journey for the Prince, for though he came back with victory; yet he brought back with him such an indiposition of body, that he was never thoroughly well after, nor perhaps by pay, not given him by a Brother of the House of Dacles, though both were suspicious; but there were causes of dismannerly him enough besides, the Country, the Seaon, the Action it self; and it might be more marvellous that his Souldiers came home so well, then that he came home so ill. But however, being now returned, there was presently to his indiposition of body, added dishonour of mind; for not having means to pay his Souldiers, which forced him to wink at, which he could not chuse forbear, and feeling grieved at, how they preyed upon the County, and thereupon how the County murmured against him. And now to stop this murmuring, his Chancellour, the Bishop of Rhodes, devised a new imposition, of levying a Frank for every Chimney; and this to continue for five years to pay the Princes debts; but this Imposition made the murmuring the more. For though some part of his Dominicans, as the Polemis, Xaviers, and Lusbausers, in a fort contended to it, yet the Count of Armagnac, the Count of Comines, the Vifcount of Carmain, and many others so much disdained it, that they complained thereof to the King of France, as to their Supreme Lord; who upon examination finding their complaint to be just, he thereupon by advice of his Council, summons Prince Edward to appear in person to answer the complaint: Whereunto Prince Edward made anfwere, that if it must needs appear, he would bring three score thousand men in Arms to appear with him; and had certainly brought his Army that Summer against Paris, if he had not fallen into symptoms of a Dropie which (Walfingham faith) was wrought by enchantment. But upon this answer of the Prince, King Charles sends defiance to King Edward, who thereupon prepares Arms both by Sea and Land to oppose him. The French enters upon the Territories of the Prince, and thereupon enters of his Troops; in revenge whereof John Chancellor the Prince's Lieutenant affails Terriers in the Province of Thoulaus, and takes it. The Count of Perigord affails Kynvill in Quercy, and put all the English to the Sword; in revenge whereof James Anderley Senechal of Poitain, affails the City of Breif, and takes it. In the mean time Robert Knoll, by some called Robin, and by others Arnold, or Reynold Knoll, had drawn closely the Portuguese, and inter-exchangeably take Towns.
this great Army on a sudden came to nothing. It seems Knolly’s action was the least successful, by reason of some young Lords that went with him, scorning to be under his command; as being now a new man, and riven from a low estate, were refractory to his directions: and indeed what can a General do, if he have not as well reputation of person, as of place?

And now the Prince of Wales, his eldest Son Edward dying at Bardeaux, the Prince with his Wife, and another Son Richard, came over into England; at which time the valiant Knight Walter de Manny died at London, and was buried in the Monastery of the Chartres which he had built; leaving one only Daughter, married to John Earl of Pembroke. This Earl of Pembroke, was soon after sent Governor into Aquitaine; but set up by the way by Edward and of that of the French, was by them taken prisoner, and carried with others into Spain; who being chained together, as the manner is, one Events a Wele Family, who gave himself out for the right Heir of Wales, came upon him, foolishly playing upon him with scornful language; as though to insult over another man’s misery, could serve for a cordial to mitigate his own.

And now upon the taking of this Earl, the Princes Dominions in France, are either taken away, or fall away faster than they were gotten. Gueschlyn enters Poitou, takes Montmorillon, Cherbourg, Lausick, and Moncontour: straight after follows the Country of Amiens, or Xantignies, and the rest of Poitou: then St. Maxent, Nede, Abbevill: then Benin, Marins, Surigue, Fontenay: and at last they came to Thiers, where the most part of the Lords of Poitou, that held with the Prince were assembled. At which time King Edward, in favour of the Prince, the Duke of Lancaster, and all the great Lords of England, set forward to their succours, but being driven back by tempest, never came to give them audience, so as Thomas yielded upon composition. Yet did this preparation of the King stand him in nine thousand Marks; that it may be truly said, it cost him more now to lose Towns, then it had cost him before to win them: so great odds there is between the Spring and fall of Fortune. After this the Duke of Lancaster is sent over with another great Army, who puffed up into many parts of the Country, but King Charles resolved to hazard no Batter: saying, They were but clouds, and would soon pass away; yet so watched him, that what with lightskirmishes, and what with scarcity of Victuals, his Forces were so diminished, that of thirty thousand which went out of Caflle, there scarce returned six thousand horse.

The Duke of Lancaster is sent over with an Army of thirty thousand, but scarce fix thousand returned home.
In the time of the Princes sickness, King Edward calls a Parliament at Westminster; in which when demands were made for supply of the King, demands were presently made for reliefe. It was required that the Duke of Lancaster, the Lord Lancaster then Lord Chamberlain, Dame Alice Pierse the Kings Concubine, and one Richard Story might be removed from Court; and this was so vehemently urged by their Speaker, Sir Peter de la More, that the King rather than be supplicied, gave way unto it; and thereupon all these persons are presently put from Court: but the Prince soon after dying, they are all recalled to Court again, and restored to their former places.

About this time exemplary Justice was done upon Sir John Midderworth, Knight, who was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tylers for Trelion by him committed, in defrauding Soldiers of their wages.

About this time the Duke of Lancaster, being at Bordeaux, and hearing of the death of Peter King of Coffle, whom Prince Edward had visited in his Kingdom, and that he left estates, the heirs of his Kingdom, who were then at the City of Gasgoigne, for their safety, he sent and caused them to be brought to Bordeaux, and there himself married the elder sister Cousin: in whose right he afterward took upon him the title of King of Coffle and Leon: and not long after his younger Brother, Edmund Earl of Cambridge married the younger sister Isabella.

This was the fiftieth year of Edward’s Reign, and he for another Jiule, grants another general pardon to his Subjects, only William Pickham Bishop of Winchester is excepted, being lately by procurement of the Duke of Lancaster, fallen into the Kings displeasure, and forbidden to come to the Parliament. This Parliament was called the good Parliament; though it wrought ill effects; for Sir Peter de la More at the suit of Alice Pierse, is committed to perpetual imprisonment at Fortibingham, though within two years after by important suit of friends he regained his Right. This Alice Pierse presuming upon the Kings favour, grew in insolence, that she intermeddled with Courts of Justice, and other Offices; where the her suit would fit, to Courtenance her Causes. And now the Duke of Lancaster is come to have the Regency, and to manage all the Affairs of the Kingdom; but King Edward to prevent the mischief, which by disordering the succession might grow in the Kingdom, providently settled the same in Parliament upon Richard of Bordeaux, creating him first Earl of Chester and Connaught, and then Prince of Wales; and caused all the Lords of the Realm to take an Oath, to accept him for their King, as his lawful Heir, when himself should be dead. In this mean time a Treaty was had about a marriage between this Prince Richard, and Mary a daughter of Charles King of France: and an offer was made to King Edward, to leave him fourteen hundred Towns, and three thousand Fortresses in Aquitania, upon condition he would render Calais, and all that he held in Picardy; but before any thing could be concluded, King Edward died.

Of his Taxes.

In the eighth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at London, there was granted him a fifteenth of the Temporalties, a twelfth of the Cities and Boroughs, and a tenth of the Clergy. In his tenth year, in a Parliament at Northampton, is granted a tenth penny of Cities and Boroughs, a fifteenth of others, and a tenth of the Clergy. Also all such Treasuries as was committed to the Churches through England for the Holy War is taken out for the Kings use, towards his Wars with France. The next year after all the goods of three Orders of Monks, Lombarde, Clarenians, and Clericans, are likewise seized into the Kings hands: and the like Subsidy as before granted at Nottingham. In his twelfth year (and as we say, in absence of the King) in a Parliament at Northampton, is granted by the Laty, one half of their Wool, but of the Clergy the whole. The next year after a fifteenth was likewise paid in Wool by the Commonalty. In his fourteenth year, in a Parliament at London, is granted him for allum of every piece of thirty shillings, by one hundred three hundred Wool-Fells forty shillings, for every Lott of Leather forty shillings; and of other Merchandizes, according to the rate: the same to endure from that Easter to the Whitsuntide twelve Month after. Besides there was granted of Citizens and Burgesse, a ninth part of their goods; of Foreign Merchants and others, a fourteenth; of Husbandmen, the ninth Shesh, the ninth Fleece, the ninth Lamb for two years; also another tenth of the Clergy: and for his present supply he had Loans of divers persons; and the City of London lent twenty thousand Marks. For the grant of which mighty Subsidy, the King (besides his pardon to divers kinds of offenders) remits all amercements for transmissions in his Forests, Reliefs and Scutage to the first time of his going into Flanders, besides all aids for the marriage of his Sons and daughters during his Reign; pardoning and remitting all ancient debts and arrears, both of his Farmers and others; till the tenth year of his Reign; and likewise confirm the great Charter of Magna Charta. In his eighteenth year in a Parliament at London, a tenth was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteenth by the Laty; besides a Commission is sent into every Shire to enquire of mens abilities; and all of five points to ten of Lay Fee, were appointed to finde an Arriuer on forrebecke; of twenty five a Demy, and so ratably above. There had formerly been made a certain coin of Gold called the Florin, of base alloy for the Kings benefit, towards...
towards his Wars in France, but this was now called in, and Nobles of finer metal coined, to the great contentment of the people. In his nine and thirtieth year, he hath by Parliament granted unto him fifty shillings upon every sack of Wool, for six years next ensuing; by which imposition, it was thought the King might dispense a thousand Marks sterling a day, the vent of Wool was so great in that time: but that which exceeded all his Taxations, was the Roman-furnishing of his time and thirtieth year, the King of France making millions of crown of gold. In his twelfth year, he had taken from the Priors Aliens their Houses, Lands, and Tenements, for the maintenance of his French Wars, which he kept twenty years in his hands, and then restored them again. In his six and thirtieth year was granted twenty six shillings eight pence, for transportation of every sack of Wool for three years. In the five and fortieth year of his Reign in a Parliament at Westminster, the Clergy granted him fifty thousand pounds to be paid the same year, and the Livery as much; which was yielded by letting a certain rate of five pounds fifteen shillings upon every Parish, which were found in the thirty seven Shires to be eight thousand and six hundred, and so came in the whole to fifty thousand, one hundred eighty one pounds and eight pence: but 181. L was abated to the Shires of Suffolk and Devonshire, in regard of their poverty. In his eight and fortieth year, in a Parliament, it granted him a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Livery. In his fifteenth year a Subsidy of a new nature was demanded by the young Prince Richard, whom (being but eleven years of age) the Duke of Lancaster had brought into the Parliament of purpose to make the demand; to have two tenths to be paid in one year, or twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize sold for one year; and one pound of silver for every Knights Fee, and of every Fire-house one penny; but instead of this Subsidy, after much altercation, there was granted another of as new a nature as this, that every person, man and woman within the Kingdom, above the age of fourteen years, should pay four pence (those who lived of Alms only excepted) the Clergy to pay twelve pence of every Parson benefited, and of all other Religious persons four pence. A mighty aid, and such as was never granted to any King of England before.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

He inflicted the Order of the Garter, upon what cause is not certain. The common opinion is, that a Garter of his own Queen, or (as some say) of the Lady Jane, Countess of Salisbury, slipping off in a Dance, King Edward stooped, and took it up; whereas some of his Lords that were present, smiling, as at an amorous action, he seriously said, it should not be long ere Sovereign honour should be done to that Garter; whereupon he afterward added the French Motto, Honi soit qui mal y pense; wherein checking his Lords finiter suspicion. Some conjecture that he inflicted the Order of the Garter, for that in a Battle wherein he was victorious, he had given the word Garter, for the word or sign: and some again are of opinion, that the institution of this order is more ancient, and begun by King Richard the first. But that this King Edward adopted it, and brought it into splendour. The number of the Knights of this Order is twenty six, whereas the King himself is always one, and Preident; and their Feast yearly celebrated at Windsor on St. George's day, the Tutelar Saint of that Order. The Laws of the Order are many, whereof there is a book of purposé. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, he was exactly petitioned by a Parliament then held, that the great Charters of Liberties, and the Charter of Forells might be duly observ'd, and that the great Officers of the Kingdom should (as in former times) be elected by Parliament. To which Petition, though the King at first would touch upon his own Election and Pregressive; yet at last (in regard to have his present turn serv'd, as himself after confessed) he yielded that such Officers should receive an Oath in Parliament, to do justice to all men in their Offices; and thereupon a Statute was made and confirmed with the Kings Seal, both for that and many other Grants of his to his Subjects; which now withstanding were for the most part shortly after revoked.

This King also caugheth all Plies, which were before in French, to be made in English, that the Subject might understand the course of the Law. Also in his time an Act was passed for Purveyors, that nothing should be taken up but for ready money upon hifts punishment. In the next Parliament held the thirty third year of his Reign, certain customary Lawes were ordained both for apparel and diet; appointing every degree of men the figure and habits theyshould wear, prohibiting the wearing of Gold and Silver, Silks, and rich Furs to all, but eminent persons. The Labourer and Husbandman is appointed but one meal a day, and what means he should eat. Also in his time at the instance of the Lords, an Act was made that no common Whore should wear any Hood, except striped with divers colours; nor Furs, but Garments reverred the wrong side outward. This King also was the first that created Dukes, of whom Henry of Bulgingmook, Earl of Lancaster created Duke of Lancaster, in the seven and twentieth year of his Reign was the first. But afterward he created Cornwall also into a Duchy, and conferred it upon the Prince: after which time, the Kings eldest Son used always to be Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chester. This King also altered many, and abated them in weight, and yet made them to pass according to the former value. Before this time there were no other pieces but Nobles and half Nobles, with the small pieces of silver called Sterling; but now Groats of four pence, and half Groats of two pence, equivalent to the Sterling money, are coined, which enhanced the Prices of things, that rise or fall, according to the plenty or scarcity of croy; which made Servains and Labourers to raise their wages accordingly: wherein on a Statute was made in the Parliament now held at Westminster, to reduce the same to the former rate. Also an Act was made in this Kings time, that all Wears, Mills, and other stopages of Rivers, hindering the passages of Boats, Lighters, and other Vessell should be remou'd; which though it were most commodious to Hounfode's appointed what men they should eat.

Whores to wear their garments reversed. Dukes first created.
King Edward upon some displeasure, had imprisoned divers Clergy-men: whereupon John Stradford Arch-bishop of Canterbury writes him a Letter, charging him with violation of the Rights of the Church, and with the breach of Magna Charta; and after much good counsel gives him his threatment, that if he amend not these disorders, he must and will execute his Ecclesiastical Authority, and proceed to Excommunication of his Officers, though not of himself, Queen, or Children. The King answers, and sends his Letter to the Bishop of London, charging the Arch-bishop to be the cause of all this disturbance, having been the man that first let him upon the War with France, affuring him he should want no money; and now had been the hinderance, that money given him by Parliament, were not duly levied: and after many remonstrances to fuch purpose, concludes, that if he defiled not from his rebellious obstinacy, he would use his Temporal Authority, and proceed against him as against a Rebel. But this difference between them was not long after, upon the Archbishops submission, reconciled. And indeed the great account which this King made of Clergy-men, may appear by his employing almost none but Clergy-men in all his Offices of account: Simon Langham Arch-bishop of Canterbury, was Chancellor of England; William Wickham Arch-bishop of Lincoln, Keeper of the Privy Seal: David Will Parson of Somerford, Master of the Rolls; ten Bene-

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No Wool to be transported.

Parliament Richard and Simon and and where- proceeded when and in disturbance and and con- but forbidden by the King to be paid any more to Rome, but yet in many Shires of England are gathered to this day, faith Facetum. The custom of washing poor men's feet on Manusly-Thursday, thought to have been first brought in by this King. This King also confirmed the Franchises of the City of London, and ordained that the Mayor for the time being, should sit in all places of Judgement, within the liberty of the fame, as chief Justice, the Kings person only excepted: and that every Alderman that had been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace in all London and Middlesex; and every Alderman that had not been Mayor, should be Justice of Peace within his own Ward. Also he granted to the Citizens of London, that they should not be constrained to go out of the City to fight or defend the Land for any need. Also that after that day the Franchises of the City should not be feited into the Kings hands, but only for Treason and Rebellion done by the whole City. Also that Southwark should be under the rule of the City, and the Mayor to choose a Bayliff there, as he liked. He also granted to the Citizens of London, that the Officers of the Mayors and Sheriffs, should from that day forward use Maces of silver parcel-gilt.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

The Pope refrained from conferring of Benefices in England.

In the seventeenth year of his Reign, in a Parliament holden at Westminster, complaint is made of the great inconvenience that came by the Popes Collation of Benefices in England, conferring them upon strangers, who understand not the Language; and therefore not fit to be Pastours over a flock they could not feed: and hereupon Sir John Sordich is sent to Pope Clement the sixth, to require him to forbear such Collations, and to signify his content therein: but this Message was so unwelcome to the Pope, that the Messenger came back unheard, at least unanswer'd; and the King taking his silence for content, or perhaps not much caring whether he consented or no, proceeded to a prohibition of all such Collations within his Realm, on pain of imprisonment, or death, to whomsoever should in time to come, present or admit any such person, who by the Pope were so preferred to the prejudice of the Kings Prerogative. These were Disturbances in matter of Discipline, but towards the end of his Reign, there fell a Disturbance in matter of Doctrine, for a certain Divine named John Wickhiff, inveighed in his Sermons, and other acts in the Schools, against the abuses of Church-men, Monks, and other Religious Orders: and had by his Doctrine won many Disciples unto him, (who after were called Lollards,) professing poverty, going bare-foot, and poorly clad in Ruffian. Amongst other his Doctrines, he taught that neither King nor other secular Lord, could give any thing in perpetuity unto Church-men; and that temporal Lords, if they needed, might lawfully take the goods of Religious persons to relieve them in their necessities, by the example of William Rufus, and others. This man, the Duke of Lancaster, and Sir Henry Percy Marshal, much favour and cherish him, exalting him for his learning and integrity of life; which made him so far to presume, that daily in one Church or other he published his Opinions. Whereupon at length he is cited to answer before the Archbishops, the Bishop of London, and others, in Pauls. At the day appointed, the Duke of Lancaster, and the Lord Marshal go to conduct him; when they were come to our Ladies Chapel, the Duke and Barons with the Bishops sitting down, John Wickhiff was by the Lord Marshal willed to sit down, in regard (he said) the man had much to answer; and needed a convenient seat. The Bishop of London told him, it was against all Law and Reason, that he who was
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Whereupon a great contention between the Lord Marshall and the B.ishop, the Duke takes the Marshals part, and sharply reprehend the Bishop, who in a great rage swore he would pull down the pride of him, and of all the Bishops in England; and whispering in his ear, told him he had rather pull him out of the Church by the hair of the head, than to suffer such indignities. Which words the Lord Marshals over-hearing, swore with a loud voice they would rather lose their lives than suffer their Bishop to be thus injuriously used. Their fury was the more against the Duke, for that the day before in the Parliament (whereof he was President) it was required in the Kings name, that from thenceforth there should be no more a Mayor of London, but a Captain appointed for the Government of the City; and that the Lord Marshall of England should arrest offenders within the Liberties, as in other places. The moment after the Bishop's affambling to confute this bullen, it happened the Lord Fitz-Water, and Guido Bryan, came into the City, which the people seeing, furiously ran upon them, and were like to beat them down for coming at that time. The Lord Fitz-Water protected he came to no other end, but to offer his service to the City, being by inheritance his Standard-bearer, and to take injuries offered to them, as to himself; and therefore willed them, to look to their defence. Whereupon they presently take Arms, affill the Martha's Inn, break open the Gates, brought forth a prisoner in his Gaves, and set him at liberty, but found not the Lord Marshall, who with the Duke was that day to dine with one John de Ypres. Then this furious multitude ran to affill the Savoy, which a Knight of the Dukes feeling, hasted to the place where his Lord dined; and acquaints him with this uproar in the City. The Duke upon hearing it, leaps from the Table, and says, that he himself will go to the form, and with Sir Henry Piercy alone takes horse, and goes to Kennington near Lambeth, where the Princes with the young Prince lay to whom he complains of this riot, and the violence offered him. In the meantime the multitude coming to the Savoy, a Priest inquisitive took noe know the bullens, was answered, they went to take the Duke, and the Lord Marshall, and compel them to deliver Sir Peter de la More, unjustly kept in prison. The Priest replied that Sir Peter was a Tractator to the King, and worthy to be hanged; at which words they all cried out, This is Piercy, This is the Tractator of England, his speech bewrays him, though his apparel be digigned and presently they ran upon him, and wounded him to death. The Bishop of London bearing of this out-rage, leaves his dinner, hastes to the Savoy, and methim of the holy time being Lent, affiling them, all should be kindly ended for the good of the City. With whole persuasions they were somewhat pacified, but yet they took the Dukes Arms, and hung them up reverend, in sign of Treason, in all the principal parts of the City. Upon the Princesses advice, the Chief Citizens send to the sick King, to excuse this tumult, saying it was not in their power to suppress it, the Commonalty being in commotion, upon an information that their Liberties should be taken from them by Parliament. The King told them, it never was in his thought to infringe their Liberties; but the rather desired to enlarge them. But this affront of the Citizens would not down with the Duke till he had pulled down some of the principal of them, for he caused the Mayor and Aldermen to be displaced, and other put in their rooms. A revenge he had better been without, for he never had the love of the City after, and to want their love is a kinda of blamishment. Wickhiffe himself, cenured by the Bishops to oblige his Opinions, chose rather to leave his Country then his Doctrine; and going over into Bohemia, was there much honoured while he lived, and hath been more since he died: at least a great part of his Doctrine continues in veneration amongst that people to this day.

Works of Pity done by him, or by others in his time.

His works of Pity were great and many, as the founding of Easf-Minster, an Abbey (of the Celles Order) near the Tower. An Abbey for Nuns at Dartford in Kent. The Kings Hall in Cambridge for poor Scholars. An Hospital for the poor at Calliche. He conferred upon the University of Oxford, where he had himself been trained up, under the learned Walter Barley, the chief rule of the City, subordinating the Mayor and Citizens to the Chancellor of the University. He built Saint Stephen's Chappel at Welfminister, with the endowment of 360. pound per annum. He augmented the Chappel at Windfor, and made provisions there for Church-men, and four and twenty poor Knights. There were his publick works. But besides these, his private Building were the Castle of Windfor, which he re-edified and enlarged, the Castle at Quisto-rough, Fortifications at Calliche and other places. His Queen Philippa built a Chappel at Oxford, the Priory of Orford, the M.C. of Lambeth, the College called Pembroke Hall in Cambridge. In this Kings time Sir John Poultney, Mayor of London, built the College in London called Saint Lawrence Poultney; and little Altholm, a Pariif Church in Thomas-Street; and also the Carmelitri Friers Church in Coventy, Henry Earl of Lancaster and Leicester founded the Hospital by the Castle of Lieffer, wherein a hundred poor impotent people were provided for with all things necessary. William Elfging Mercer of London, made a new Hospital of an old house of Nuns by Cryplage: and placing Canons regular there, he became the first Prior thereof. Walter Stapton Bishop of Exeter founded Exe- ter Colledge, and Hart Hall in Oxford. William Bateman Bishop of Norwich, built Trinity Hall in Cambridge. Simon Ihip Archbpishop of Canterbury, founded Canterbury College in Ox- ford. William Edendor Treasurer of England, founded the Monastery of Edendor; the Relig- ious Brethren whereof were called Batsbamus. Sir Walter de Monny, born in Cambridge, purchased a piece of ground called Spittle-Croft, containing thirteen Acres, without the Bars of Welf, Smithfield, and caused the same to be enclosed; where he built a Chappel, and after founded the same to be a House of Charter youths. Monks.
Monks. Humfry Beham Earl of Hertford and Exle, re-edified the Augustine Fryers Church in London, and was buried in the Chare there. In the two and thirtieth year of this Kings Reign, John Stede Mayor of London, gave unto the Venneres of London all the Quadrant where Vinners Hall now standeth, with the Tenements round about, from the Lane to this day called Stede's Lane; where are founded thirteen houses for thirteen poor people, which are there kept of Charity. Also in this Kings time Sir John Cobham founded the College of Cobham in Kent. John Lothkin four times Mayor of London, builded at Kingsine upon Thames, where he was born, a Cappel called Magdalen, to the which he joyned an Hospital, wherein was a Master, two Priests, and certain poor men: and for that the Parish Church of Saint Michael by Crooked-lane, where he dwelled, was a very homely thing, and the ground thereabout a filthy plot, by reason of the Butchers in Kaffle-shop, who made the fame their Lay-hall, he on the fame ground buildled the fair new Parish Church of Saint Michael near St. Paul's, and was buried there in the middle of the Quire, under a fair Tomb of Stone. He also founded a College to the fame Church, near thereunto adjoyning. John Barnes Mayor of London, gave a Chett with three Locks, and a thousand Marks to be lent to young men upon security, so that it pass not one hundred Marks; and for the occupying thereof, if he were learned to say at his pleasure, De profundis for the soul of John Barnes; if he were not learned, to say Peter Nofter: but howsoever the money is lent, the Chett at this day standeth in the Chamber of London, without money or pledges. Thomas of Woodfleck, the youngest Son of King Edward, founded a College at Playfie in Exle, where in his life he had prov'd a famous Tomb, where he was first laid, but translater afterward to Westminster.

Casualties happening in his time.

In the two and twentieth year of his Reign, a contagious Pestilence arose in the East and South parts of the world, and spread it self all over Christendom: and coming at last into England, it so wasteth the people, that scarce the tenth peron of all forts were left alive. There died in London (some say in Norwich) between the first of January and the first of July, 5774 persons. In Tarmouth, in one year, 7052. men and women before which time, the Parfonge there was worth 700. marks a year, and afterwards was scarce worth forty pounds a year. This Plague began in London about Allholliside, in the year 1348, and continued till the year 1357. Where it was observed, that those who were born before the beginning of this mortality had but twenty eight teeth, where before they had two and thirty. In the twelfth year of his Reign, a sudden Inundation of Water, at New-Collers Fens, bare down a piece of the Town Wall, and six perchs in length, near to a place called Waternew; where a hundred and twenty men and women were drowned. In the five and thirtieth year of his Reign, another Pestilence happened in England, which was called the second Pestilence, in which died Henry Duke of Lancaster, also Reginald Lord Cobham, and Walter Fitz Warren, two famous men, and five Bishops, of Worcester, of London, of Ely, of Lincoln, and of Chichester. In this Kings time a Froft lasted from the middle of September to the month of April. In the fourth year of his Reign a Soffe Jutting or Turnament was holden at London in Chafjford, betwixt the great Crofs and the great Conduit, nigh Super-Lane, which lasted three days; where the Queen Philippa, with many Ladies fell from a Stage, set up for them to behold the Putting: and though they were not hurt at all, yet the King threatened to punish the Carpenters for their negligence, till the Queen interceded pardons for them upon her knees: as indeed she was always ready to do all good offices of mercy to all people. In the eleventh year of his reign was so great plenty, that a quarter of Wheat was sold at London for two fullings, a fat Ox for a Noble, afat Sheep for fix pence, and six Pigeons for a penny, a fat Goofe for two pence, a Pig for a Penny, and other things after that rate. And indeed in his twenty seventh year there was a great scarcity, by reason there was not, or very little, from the end of March to the end of July: and was therefore called the dry Summer.

Of his Wife and Children.

He married Philippa, the Daughter of William Earl of Herefay at York. A match made up in hate by Queen Idefel his mother, for her own ends, although a better could never have been made upon deliberation for King Edward's ends. For though her Parentage was not great, and her Portion left; yet the amends made for both, in vertue for never King had a better Wife. By her King Edward had seven sons, and five daughters. His eldest son Edward Prince of Wales, and commonly called the Black Prince, (but why so called uncertain; for to say, of his dreadful acts, as Spead faith, hath little probability; and indeed he was no better) who hath writ the Reign of King Edward the third, more particularly then any other, and lived in his time, never calls Prince Edward the Black Prince, nor any where makes mention that he was so called) was born at Woodfleck, in the third year of his Fathers Reign. He was married Joan, the daughter of Edmund Earl of Kent, brother by the Fathers side to King Edward the second. She had been twice married before; first to the valiant Earl of Salisbury, from whom she was divorced; next to the Lord Thomas Holland; after whole deceafe, this Prince passionately loving her, married her. By her he had issue two sons, Edward the eldest, born at Angolestre, who died at seven years of age; and Richard born at Burdeaux, who after his Father, was Prince of Wales, and after his Grandfather, King of England. This Prince had also natural issue, Sir John Bourder, and Roger Clarendon, Knights; the latter being attainted in the Reign of King Henry the fourth, is thought to have been Ancestral to the House of Smithes in Exle. He died at Canterbury in the fif and fortieth year of his age, and of his Fathers Reign the nine and fortieth, and was buried at Chritis Church there. His second son William was born at Hotfield in Hertfordshire, who deceased in his childhood, and was buried at S.
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buried at York. His third son Lionel was born at Antwerp, in the twelfth year of his Fathers reign. He married first Elizabeth the Daughter and Heir of William Burgh, Earl of Ulster in Ireland, in whose right he was created Earl of Ulster; and because he had with her the honour of Clare, in the County of Sussex, as it was in the Country about the town and honour of Clare: from which Dutton, the name of Claremont (being the title of the King of Arms, for the South parts of England) is derived. This Duke had issue by her one only daughter, named Philippa, afterward Wife of Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, Mother of Earl Roger, Father of Anne Countess of Cambridge, the Mother of Richard Duke of York, Father of King Edward the Fourth. The second Marriage of this Duke was at Millain in Lebanon, by the Lady Isabel, daughter of Gaunt; the second Duke then created, but through intermission he lived not long after. King Edward's fourth son named John, was born at Guasc in the fourteenth year of his Fathers Reign. He had three Wives, the first was Blanche, daughter and co-heir, and in the end the sole Heir of Henry Duke of Lancaster, son of Edmund, surnamed Crouch-back; by whom he had issue Henry of Ballingbrooke, Earl of Derby, after Duke of Hereford, and lastly King of England, named Henry the fourth, who first placed the Crown in the hoafe of Lancaster. By her also John of Guasc had two Daughters, Philippa Wife of John the first, King of Portugal, and Elizabeth married first to John Undland, Earl of Huntingdon, and after him to Sir John Constable, Baron of Pembroke. John of Guasc's second Wife was Constance, the eldest Daughter of Peter King of Castile and Leon, in whose right for the time he espoused, and led himself King of both those Realms. By her he had issue one only Daughter named Katherine, married to Henry the third, son of King John, in possession before, and in her right, after King of both the said Realms. John of Guasc's third Wife was Katherine, the Widow of Sir Hugh Swinford, a Knight of Lincolnshire, eldest Daughter and Co-heir of Pain Roet, a Gorseyne, called Giana King of Arms for that Country; his younger Daughter being married to Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, our Laureat Poet. By her he had issue born before Matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament in the twentieth year of King Richard the second, John Earl of Somer- set, Thomas Duke of Exeter, Henry Bishop of Winchester and Cardinal, and Joan (who was first married to Robert Ferrers, Baron of Wenne, and Osney, in the Counties of Salisbury and Warwick.) and secondly to Ralph Neville, the first Earl of Westmorland. Shee and all her Brethren were surnamed Beaumont, of a Castle which the Duke had in France, where they were all born; and in regard thereof, bare the Portcullis of a Castle for the Cognizance of their Family. This Duke in the thirteenth year of his Nephew King Richard was created Duke of Aquitaine, but in the sixteenth year he was called home, and this title recalled; and the third year after in the sixtieth of his age, he died at Elly house in Holbourn, and is thence honourably Entombed in the Quire of St. Paul. King Edward's fifth son Edmund, surnamed of Langley, was first in the year 1362, created Earl of Cambridge; and afterward in the year 1386, made Duke of York, he married Isabel Daughter and Co-heir to Peter King of Castile, and Leon: his Son Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, took to Wife Anne Mowbray, Heir of the foresaid Lionel elder brother to Edward of Langley. King Edward's sixth son William, surnamed of Windsor, where he was born, died young, and is buried at Westminster. King Edward's youngest son Thomas, surnamed of Woodstock, where he was born, was first Earl of Buckingham, and after made Duke of Gloucester by his Nephew King Richard the second. He was a man of valour and volteme, but the King forummimg him to be too fierce an observer of his doings, confulted with Thomas Mowbray, whom Ambrose unwares surprized, conveying fecretly to Colisse, where he was thronged the twentieth year of King Richards Reign. He had issue one Son, Humphrey Earl of Buckingham, who died at Chester of the Pestilence, in the year 1400, and two Daughters, Anne Married first to Edward Earl of Stafford, by whom she had Humphrey Duke of Buckingham, secondly to William Bourchier Earl of Ewe, by whom she had Henry Earl of Essex, and Joan married to Gilbert, Lord Talbot, and had issue by him a Daughter, who died young. Of King Edward's Daughters, the eldest named Isabel, was married at Windsor to Ingraves of Guinefort, Lord of Camoe, Earl of Suffolk, and after Archduke of Austria, created also by King Edward Earl of Bedford: by whom she was Mother of two Daughters, Mary married to Henry Duke of Barre, and Philip married to Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Duke of Ireland, and Marquefs of Dublin. This Robert in the height of his fortunes forsook his Lady Phillip, and married one Lanczours, a Joyners Daughter (as was said) which came with King Richard the second's Wife out of Bohemia; and being for abusing the Kings ear, driven out of the land by the Lords, he died at Louvain, in extreme poverty in the year 1392. Isabel his Wives Mother, was buried in the Church of Friers Minor near Allgate in London, King Edward's second Daughter Joan was married by Proxy to Alphonso, King of Castile and Leon: but passing into Spain, died by the way, and King Alphonso met her instead of confumming his Efpoused, to solemnize her Funeral. His third Daughter Blanch died young. His fourth named Mary, was married to John Monford Duke of Britain. His youngest named Margaret, born in Colisse, was the first Wife of John de Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, but died without issue.

Of his Personage and Condition. He was of stature indifferent tall, of sparkling eyes, of a comely and manly countenance, in his latter time somewhat bald; and concerning his conditions, no man was more gentle, where there was submision: where opposition, no man more stern. He was a Prince no less of his passions, then of his people; for he was never to loving, as to be fond, nor ever to
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so angry, as to be inexorable; but this must be underfoot of the time while he was a man, for in his old age, when he came to be a child again, he was a Prince of neither. Hewas no less fortunate than valiant, and his fortunate was the greater by a kinde of Antiprotaxis, as coming between two unfortunate Princes; successfull to one, and Predecessor to another. He was of so warlike a disposition, that his very sports were warlike; for no delight were so frequent with him as Juits and Turnaments. To shew his devotion, one example may be sufficient; for when neither Cardinals nor Counsellours could move him to make Peace with France, a Tempete from Heaven did it: to which may be added, that he never won great Battel, of which he won many, but he presently gave the glory of it to God by publick Thanksgivings. He one-lived the best Wife, and the best Son the ever King had; and to say the truth, he out-lived the bell of himself, for his latter years were not answerable to his former.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Edward besides his being old, and worn with the labours of War, had other causes that halted his end; his grief for the loss of so worthy a son, dead but ten months before; his grief for the loss of all benefit of his Conquests in France, of all which he had little now left but only Cattile. And oppressed thus in body and minde, he was drawing his last breath, when his Concubine Alice Pierse packing away what she could catch, even to the Kings of his Fingers, left him; and by her example, other of his attendants, feiting on what they could come by, shift away: and all his Counsellours and others forsook him, when he most needed them, leaving his Chamber quite empty. Which a poor Prieft in the house feesing, he approaches to the Kings Bed-side, and finding him yet breathing, calleth upon him to remember his Saviour, and to ask mercy for his offences; which none about him before would do. But now moved by the voice of this Prieft, he shews all signs of contrition, and at last breath he expresseth the name of Jesus. Thus died this victorious King at his Manor of Sheen, (now Richmond) the 21. day of June, in the year 1377. in the 64. year of his age, having reigned fifty years, four months, and odd days. His body was conveyed from Sheen by his four Sons, and other Lords, and solemnly interred within Welfmunder Church, where he hath his Monument: and where it is said the Sword he used in Battel, is yet to be seen, being eight pound in weight, and seven foot in length.

Of Men of Note in his time.

Artial men were never more plentiful then in this Kings Reign: whether it was that the Stars have an influence to produce such men at one time more then another: or whether it was that Regis ed exemplum, the Kings example made his Subjects like himself: or lastly, that his continual exercise of arms put them as it were into a mood of fortitude. The first of this kinde is worthily Edward the Black Prince, and so worthy the first, that Lunge erit a primo quippe secundus erit. Next him Henry Earl of Lancaster, the Princes right hand, in all his great achievements; then William the valiant Earl of Salisbury; then John Eure, Ancestor to the L. Eure that now liveth; then followed the Lord John Chandos, Sir James Audley, Sir Walter de Manny, Sir Robert Knollys; and then Sir John Hankwood born in Essex, who thought not much honoured at home, having been a Taylour: yet in foreign parts, and specially in Italy so famous, that his Statue was erected in publick, for a Monument to testify his valor to posterity. And here must not be forgotten Robert Venile, Knight, a Norfolk man; who when the Scots and English were ready to give Battel, a certain foot Champion of great stature, commonly called Ironbowl, coming out of the Scots Army, and challenging any English man to meet him in a single Combat, this Robert Venile accepteth the challenge, and marching towards the Champion and meeting him, he at the certain Black Maffiff, Dog, which waited on the Champion, he suddenly with his Sword cut him off at the loyes; and afterwards did more to the Champion himself, cutting his head from off his shoulders. And as there was this great plenty of Martial men, so there was no less plenty of Learned men; John Bonchaverse born in Norfolk, a Carmelite Friar, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Divinity; Nicholas Travis born also in Norfolk, a Black Friar, who wrote two Histories, and a Book of Annals: Richard Stradley, born in the Marches of Wales, a Monk and a Divine, who wrote divers excellent Treatises of the Scriptures: William Herbert a Welshman, and a Frier Minor, who wrote many good Treatises in Divinity: Thomas Walker a Dominic Friar, and a Writer of many excellent Books: John Eversley a Monk of Bury in Suffolk, an Historiographer: Walter Barley a Doctor of Divinity, brought up in a Famous College in Oxford, who wrote divers excellent Treatises in Natural and Moral Philophy, which remain in estimation to this day, and who for the great fame of his Learning, had the honour to be one of the great Instructors of Edward the Black Prince: Roger of Chelser a Monk of that City, and an Historiographer: John Barish a Monk, who wrote a History, and also divers Homilies: Richard Angersvill Bishop of Durham, and Lord Chancellour of England, born in Suffolk: Walter Hemisford, an Historiographer: Richard Chichester a Mask of Welfmunder, who wrote an excellent Chronicle from the year 449. to the year 1534. Richard Rolle alias Hampole, who wrote many excellent Treatises in Divinity: Robert Holme a Black Friar, born in Northampton, a learned Schoolman, and wrote many Books in Arguments of Divinity: Thomas Brodward, born near Chichester in Sussex, Archiduch of Canterbury who wrote against the Pelagians, and for his depth of Learning, had the Title of Doctor Præstantia: Richard Fice Ralph, Archiduch of Armagh in Ireland, a learned Writer: William Gryfion, named Angius, a notable Phisitian, whose Son came to be Pope, and was called Rome the fifth: John Kilvingworth an excellent Philosopher, Astronomer, and Physician:
In his thirteenth year,  
Andrew Aubery continued Mayor.  
William Thorne, Roger Fagham, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Andrew Aubery continued Mayor.  
Adam Lucas, Bartholomew Morris, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
John of Oxford was Mayor.  
Richard de Barking, John de Rokesby, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Simon Francis was Mayor.  
John Longfin, Richard Killingbury, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
John Hammond was Mayor.  
John Steward, John Ayleham, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
John Hammond continued Mayor.  
Geoffrey Witchingham, Thomas Legg, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Richard Laver was Mayor.  
Edmund Huncaball, John of Gloucester, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Geoffrey Witchingham was Mayor.  
John Croydon, William Clopton, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-first year,  
Thomas Leggy was Mayor.  
Adam Brampton, Richard Far, or Bar, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-second year,  
John Longfin was Mayor.  
Henry Picard, Simon Daley, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-third year,  
Walter Turk was Mayor.  
Adam of Bury, Ralph of Lynne, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fourth year,  
Richard Killingbury was Mayor.  
John Name, William of Worcester, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-fifth year,  
Andrew Aubery was Mayor.  
John Wroth, Gilbert of Stenehgorpe, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-sixth year,  
Adam Francis was Mayor.  
John Peace, John Stoley, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-seventh year,  
Adam Francis continued Mayor.  
William Walde, John Little, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-eighth year,  
Thomas Leggy was Mayor.  
William Nottingham, Roger Smelt, Sheriffs.

In his twenty-ninth year,  
Simon Francis was Mayor.  
Thomas Fuller, Thomas Brandon, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year,  
Henry Picard was Mayor.  
Richard Nottingham, Thomas Dolf, Sheriffs.

In
In his thirty first year,
Sir John Stody was Mayor.
Stephen Candish, Bartholomew Froswig, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year,
John Louskin was Mayor.
John Barnes, John Baris, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year,
Simon Dunsfel was Mayor.
Simon of Benington, John of Chichester, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year,
John Wroth was Mayor.
John Dennis, Walter Berys, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year,
John Peche was Mayor.
William Holbech, James James, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year,
Stephen Candish was Mayor.
John of St. Albans, James Andrew, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year,
John Not was Mayor.
Richard of Croyden, John Hatfield, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year,
Adam of Bury was Mayor.
John de Metford, Simon de Morden, Sheriffs.

In his thirty ninth year,
John Louskin was Mayor.
John Beelisworth, John Ireland, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
John Louskin continued Mayor.
John Ward, Thomas of Lee, Sheriffs.

In his forty first year,
James Andrews was Mayor.
John Turnefeld, William Dickman, Sheriffs.

In his forty second year,
Simon Morden was Mayor.
Robert Girdele, Adam Wimondham, Sheriffs.

In his forty third year,
John Chichester was Mayor.
John Piel, Hugh Holdich, Sheriffs.

In his forty fourth year,
John Barnes was Mayor.
William Walthour, Robert Guyon, Sheriffs.

In his forty fifth year,
John Barnes continued Mayor.
Adam Staple, Robert Hatfield, Sheriffs.

In his forty sixth year,
John Piel was Mayor.
John Philpot, Nicholas Brembor, Sheriffs.

In his forty seventh year,
Adam of Bury was Mayor.
John Aubrey, John Fifled, Sheriffs.

In his fortieth year,
William Walthour was Mayor.
Richard Lions, William Woodhouse, Sheriffs.

In his forty ninth year,
John Ward was Mayor.
John Hallcy, William Newport, Sheriffs.

In his fiftieth year,
Adam Staple was Mayor.
John Northampton, Robert Lound, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of

KING RICHARD

THE SECOND.

\footnotesize{\textit{Ann. Dom. 1577.}}

ICHARD called of Bur- 

deaux, because born there, 

the only son of Edward 

the Black Prince, was by 

his Grandfather in his life 

time, declared to be his 

Heir and lawful Succe-

sor; and accordingly 

after his death was crow-

ned King of England at Westminister, the six-

teenth day of July, in the year 1577, by Simon 

Sidbury Archbp of Canterbury. And for the 

more solemnity of his Coronation, he then made 

nine Knights, and created four Earls; Thomas 

of Woodstock, King Edward the third's youngest 

son, was created Earl of Buckingham, and Nor-

thampton; Thomas Mowbray, younger Brother 

of John Lord Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham; 

Gifford Anganlellne a Gafcelne, was made Earl of 

Huntington; and Henry Percy, son of Henry Lord 

Percy, was created Earl of Northumberland. At 

the time of the Coronation, the Duke of Lan-

caster, by the name of John King of Caftle, and 

Leon, and Duke of Lancaster, put in his claim as 

Earl of Leicester, to have the place of Earl Mar-

chif of England; Duke of Lenox, to carry the 

Sword called Carvans; as Earl of Lin-

coln, to be carver that day: all which to be 

executed by himself, or by his sufficient Deputy, 

which with the Fees thereunto belonging, were 

confirmed unto him. As Likewise, divers others 

made their claims: Robert de Peres, Earl of Ox-

ford, to have the Office of Chamberlain, and to 

pour out water for the King to wash: John 

Wiltshire Citizen of London, by reason of a moi 

ty of the Manour of Helden, holden in Sergeanty, 

claimed to hold a Towel for the King to wipe 

with when he went to meat; Thomas Beauchamp 

Earl of Warwick, to bear the third Sword before 

the King; and also to exercise the Office of 

Panter: Sir John Argentine, by reason of his 

Manour of Wimborne in the County of Haf-

ford, to serve the King at his Cap; William L. 

Furnival for his Manour of Ernham, to support 

the King right Arm when he held the Royal 

Scepter: Anne late Wife of John de Hoftings 

Earl of Pembroke, for his Manour of Abhe in 

Norfolk, to have the Office of Naper; which 

she was admitted to do by her Deputy Sir Tho-

mas Bium; Richard Earl of Arundel, for his 

Manour of B. in Kent, was admitted to be chief 

Butler: The Lord Mayor of London, to attend 

in his own person as chief Cup-waiter: Sir 

John Dimmick, for his Manour of Scrivley, 

and Sir Baldwin Frevile, for his Castle of Tam-

worth, in the County of Warwick, contended for 

the Office of being the Kings Champion, but 

adjudged to Dimmick; William de Latimer, and 

John the son and heir of John Mowbray of As-

holt, joyntly petitioned to have the Office of 

Almoner; but adjudged to Latimer: Richard 

Lion, as Tenant of the Manour of L. held by 

the service of making Wafers for the King at 

his Coronation, was thereunto admitted: The 

Barons of the Cinque-Ports were admitted to 

bear the Kings Canopy, upon four flames of Sil-

ver, over the Kings head; and also to sit at 

meat in the Hall, at the highest Table on the 

Kings right hand: John Fitz-John, by reason of 

his Manour of S. in Norfolk, was admitted to 

be chief Larderer: Richard Herin, for the 

Manour of the C. in the County of Sarry, claim-

ed to be Usher of the Kings Chamber; but be-

cause that claim did no way concern the Coro-

nation, he was left to pursue his Right some 

other time. The Coronation it self was per-

formed with great solemnity: After a Sermon, 

the King took his Oath; and then the Archbi-

shop blessed the King: which done, he tore off 

his Garment, and stripped him into his Shift; 

then he anointed his Hands, Head, Breast, 

Shoulders, and thejoynts of his Arms, with the 

Sacred Oyl; and after certain Prayers, he then 

clad him, first with the Coat of St. Edward, and 

after with his Mantle: after which the Archbi-

shop delivered him the Sword, saying, Accipe 

Gladium; with which two Earls girded him: 

Then he gave him Bracelets, saying, Accipe 

Armillas. After this he put upon him an upper 

Vesture called a Pall, saying, Accipe Pallium. In 

the mean time, while the Archbishop blessed the 

Crown, he to whose office it pertained, put Spurs 

on his heeles; after the Crown was blessed, the 

Archbishop set it on his head, saying, Coron
tes te Deus: then he delivered him a King, saying, 

Accipe Annulam. Immediately hereafter came 

the Lord Farnival by virtue of his Office, of-

fering him a red Glove; which the Archbi-

shop blessed, and putting it on his hand, de-

livered him a Scepter, saying, Accipe Scipram: 

and after that, into his other hand, delivered 

him a Rod, on the top whereof a Dove 

flying, saying, Accipe Virginis Virtutis; and then blest 

the King, saying, Benedicte te Deus: which 

done, the King kissed the Bishops and Abbots, 

by whom he was afterward led to his feet: and 

found the Solemnity.

The tender years of the King, being but eleven
eleven years of age, required a Protecor: but being perhaps thought dangerous to commit that Authority to one only, who might rather seek to get it for himself, then to keep it for another, it was thought fit to commit it to many; and thereupon John Duke of Lancaster, Edmund Earl of Cambridge, the Kings Unklers, with some Lords and Bishops, were joined in some Commission to manage the State: and Guichard de Angouleme appeared to be his School-master. And now the Kings minority made foreign Princes conceive, that this would be a time of advantage for any that had quarrel to England: which the French and Scots took presently hold of. For, the French came now, and burnt the Town of Rye; and soon after, entering the Isle of Wight, burnt divers Towns there; and though they were repelled from the Caille by the valiant Sir Hugh Tyrrel Captain there, yet they constrained the men of the Isle to give them a thousand Marks, to spare the residue of their houses and goods: and departing thence, they set on Land where they saw advantage, burning fundry Towns near to the shore, as Portsmouth, Dartmouth, and Plymouth, and then2 saying towards Dover, they burnt Hasting, assaulted Winceby; but being valiantly defended by the Admiral Basset, were forced to retire. But thereupon, they landed not far from the Abbey of Lewes, at a place called Rottington, where the Prior of Lewes, with Sir Thomas Chelney, and Sir John Fallely, encountering them, were overthrown and taken prisoners. And no less then the French were the Scots also now busie; for coming one morning by stealth, they won the Cattle of Berwick: but shortly after, upon knowledge thereof, they were driven out again by the Earls of Northumberland and Nottingham: and all the Scots they found in it, except Alexander Ramley their Captain, put to the sword. About Michaelmas a Parliament was held at Westminster, wherein Alice Pierce, the late Kings Concubine, was banished the Realm, and all her good confeciate and two Tenths of the Clergy, and two Fifteenths of the Temporality were granted: but, so that two Citizens of London, Williams Walworth, and John Philip, should receive and keep it, to see it bestowed for defence of the Realm. In this time, Sir Hugh Calverley, Deputy of Callicie, burnt six and twenty French Ships in the Haven of Bologne. And at the same time a great Navy set out, under the guiding of the Earl of Buckingham, the Duke of Britain, the Lord Lieutenant, Sir Robert Knollys, and others, with a purpose to intercept the Spanish Fleet: but through tempest was twice driven back. When in the mean time, one Mercer, a Scottish Pirate, came to Scarborough, took there divers Ships, and committed many out-rages: and no order being taken to repel him, a Citizen of London, named John Philips, at his own charges set forth a Fleet, and in his own person encountering them, took the said Mercer, and all his Ships: and returning home, instead of being rewarded for his service, he was called in question for presuming to raise a Navy without acting for the Kings Council: but he gave such reasons for that he had done, that not only he came off then with credit, but lives in reputation for it to this day. Indeed reasons of State, though they may be secretely cenured, yet they must not openly be controled; for this were to bring Authority into contempt, and instead of errors to bring in confusion: but yet when wrongs are offered that are publick, every particular person seems to have an interest in taking revenge; and though the king may be no manners to lay the States leasure, yet it can be no offence to do their work for them.

Many actions paffed at this time with the French and Scots, some prosperous, and some adverse. The Scots burn Rockwith, this was adverse; but the Earl of Northumberland entering Scotland with ten thousand men, spoileth the Lands of the Earl of March, the chief Incentury; this was prosperous: but when the Northern men would make a Road into Scotland, and were encountered by the Scots, and put to flight, this was adverse. Anon after Midsummer, the Duke of Lancaster, with the Earls of Buckingham, Warwick, St. John, and others of the Nobility, with a strong power took the Sea, and landing in Britain, belighted the Town of St. Maws, but finding strong opposition, is forced to raise his siege, and return adverse. And now again, the Scots by night entered secretly in the night of Berwick, and slew Sir Robert Bayton, thereupon the Town was Contable there; this was adverse. But when the Earl of Northumberland, being advertised thereof, came with a power, assaulted the Caille, and after two days defence recovered it again: this was prosperous. William Montague Earl of Salisbury, the Kings Lieutenant in Callicie forsooth the Country round about, and furnisht with boats of French Cutle. Sir Hugh Calverley, and Sir Thomas Piercy made Admirals, put to Sea, and take divers Ships laden with Merchandize, and one Ship of War: Sir John Harleston, Captain of Cheereburgh in France, illusing forth, assaults a Fortress of the French, which was the fore-house of their provision; and with much valour takes it: these were prosperous. But when Sir John Clerk lying in Garrison in a Castle in Britain, where lay many English Ships in the Haven, had thefe Ships set upon by the French; where though he threw incredible valour in the action, yet the Ships were taken, and himself slain: this was adverse. Also in the third year of this Kings Reign, Sir John Arundel, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir Tho. Piercy, Sir William Elmbish, Sir Thomas Banister, and many other Knights went to Sea, with a purpose to pass over into Britain: but were to beaten back with Tempell, that divers of their Ships were cast away; and Sir John Arundel, Sir Thomas Banister, Sir Nicholas Trumbian, Sir Thomas Dale, and above a thousand others were all drowned; only Sir Thomas Piercy, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Elmbish, and certain others escaped. It may not be imperative to note here the sumptuousness of those times; for this Sir John Arundel was then said in his Familiar to have two and fifty new suits of apparel of Cloth of Gold and Tiffine, all fast at Sea.

This year also the name of the King became so evident in having many governors of the King and Kingdom, it was by Parliament decreed. That the Lord Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, should
should himself alone hold the place of Protector. About this time Sir John Armesley Knight accused Thomas Karrington Eliz; for betraying the Fortref of S. Savvin to the French: which Karrington denying, at the suit of Armesley, a solemn combat is permitted to be between them; at which combat the King and all the great Lords were present. The Esquire Karrington was a man of a mighty stature, the Knight Armesley a little man; yet through the justice of his cause, after a long fight, the Knight prevailed, and Karrington the day after the Combat dyed. Fabian Faith, he was drawn to Tyburn and there hanged for his false accusation. In the beginning of the fourth year of this King, Thomas of Woodock Earl of Buckingham, the Kings Unkle, with divers Earls and Lords, and an Army of seven or eight thousand, was sent into France, to aid the Duke of Brittain; but the King of France at that time dying, the Duke of Brittain grew to have peace with the new King: wherupon the Earl of Buckingham came home again, without doing much, but making of Knights, and forraging the Country. In this time the French and Spanish Gallies did much mischief on the Coast of England: they burnt Ry, Haslings, and Portsmouth; and at last entering the River of Thames, they came up to Greenwich, where they burnt most part of the Town, and taking many Prisoners and Booties returned into France.

At this time also, there fell out an Accident of great disturbance to the Realm, for the Commons rose in divers parts, beginning at Derbyford in Kent: and the cause of their rising grew (as was thought) through the rude behaviour of a Collector of the Poll-money, whose coming into the house of one John Tyler, and demanding Poll-money of his wife for a daughter of hers; and she saying that her daughter was not of age to pay, the rude fellow said he would presently see whether that were so or no, and thereupon forcibly turned up her Cloaths; whereat the Mother making an out-cry, her husband being at work hard by, and hearing the noise, came in with his Jaching-staff in his hand, with which he gave the Collector such a blow on the head, that his brains flew out, and he presently died. Upon this, at the complaint of Tyler amongst his neighbours, and with divers others, the Towns-people of Kent, taking occasion hereat to rip up the ground of this mis-government, and telling the people that this difference of mens Eftates, where some be Potentates, and some are Bond-men, was against Christian Liberty, taking for his Theme, When Adam delo'd and Eve span, who was then a Gentleman? He fo incensed them that the Commons, in divers parts drew together; and whether beginning in Kent, or otherwise in Essex, they drew at last into their Faction the Commons of Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Cambridgehire, Suffolk, Norfolk, and other Shires; and arreting all such as pulled, made them swear to be true to King Richard, and to the Commons, and never to receive any King that should be called John; which they did for the envy they bore to John Duke of Lancaster. Thus their number still increased, that by that time they were come so far as Blackheath, they were encoun-
ed to be a hundred thousand. The first thing they did when they came to London, was to send for one Richard Lion, a grave Citizen, who had been Tyler's Master, and his head he struck off, and carried it upon a pole in Triumph before them. The next day they came to the Savoy, the Duke of Lancaster's house, where they forced fire, burning all his rich Furniture, breaking in pieces all Plate and Jewells, and throwing them into the Thames, saying, They were men of Justice, and would not like Robbers enrich themselves with any mans Goods: and when one of their fellows was eyed to thrust a fair silver piece into his bosom, they took him, and cast both him and the piece into the fire. Two and thirty of them were got into the Dukes Wine-Cellar, where they stayed drinking so long, till the rafters of the house on fire, fell upon them, and so covered them, that not able to get out, they were heard cry few days after, and then peri-


1391.

An Insurrec-

In Kent, and the whole.

They came to the Tower of London and abd the King's Mother.

They beheaded the Chancellor and the Treasurer.

The French burnt divers Towns in England
pursuing on towards Northwoldham in Norfolk, where the Commons stayed for an answer from the King. By that time he came thither, where he had at first but eight Laurencies, and a small number of Archers in his company, his number was so increased, that it came to be complete Army; with which he set upon the Rebels, discomfited them, and took John Lister and their other Chieftains, whom he cauſed all to be exe‌cu‌ted: and by this means the Country was quieked. After this the Mayor of London sat in Judgement upon Offenders; where many were found culpable, and lost their heads; amongst others, Jack Sivam, John Kirke, Alan Trededer, and John Sterling, who gloried that he was the man had flain the Archbishop. Alto Sir Robert Treffiton Chief Justice was appointed to sit in Judgement against the Offenders; before whom above fifteen hundred were found guilty, and inunday places put to death: amongst others John Ball Priet, their Incendiary. Of whom it is not inproper to relate a Letter he wrote to the Rebells, rabble of Eftacy by which we may fee how fit an Orator be fay for fuch an Auditor; and what strength of persuasion there was in Non-fene. John Sheph St. Mary Priet of York, and now of Colcefler, greeteth well John Numfells, and John the Miller, and John Carter; and biddeth them that they beware of guile in Borough, and fland together in Gods names: and biddeth Piers Flomman go to his work, and chaffile all Hob the Robber, and take with you John Tremman, and all his fellows, and no moe. John the Miller ye ground small, small, small; the Kings Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Beware ye be wое: Know your friend from your foe: Have enough and say hoard: do well and better: Fleec him, and feck peace, and hold you therein: and so biddeth John Tremman and all his fellows.

Neither is it impopert to declare the Con‌fe‌tion of Jack Sivam at his Execution. When they brought them (as they did) upon Blackbeard, and had fent to the King to come to us: our purpoſe was to have flain all Knights and Gentlemen that should be about him: and for the King, we would have kept him amongst us: to the end the people might more boldly have repaired to us; and when we had gotten power: enough, we would have flain all Noblemen, and specially the Knights of the Robes and Lawly, we would have killed the King, and all men of poſſeions, with Bishops, Monks, Parfons of Churches, only Riffers Mendicakes we would have spared, for administration of the Sacra‌ments. Then we would have devis'd Laws according to which the people should have lived; for we would have created Kings, as Wat Tyler in Kent, and others in other Countries; and the fame evening that Wat Tyler was killed we were determined to set fire in four corners of the City, and to have divided the spoil amongst us; and this was our purpose, as God may help: me now at my last end. For the service done in this feditious business, the King Knighted the Mayor Pull, Walworth, and gave him a hundred pounds a year in Fee. Also he Knighted five Aldermen his brethren, girding them about the wafte with the girdle of Knighthood, which was
The manner of Graduating in those days: but as Stow saith, the manner of Knighting was rather thus: to cause him to put a Halbert on his head, and then the King with a Sword in both his hands, to strike him strongly on the neck. And so, doth it appear, the King at this time granted there should be a Dagger added to the Arms of the City; for till this time the City bore only the Crofs without the Dagger.

And now all parts being quiet, the King by Proclamation revoked and made void his former Charters of Infranchising the Bondmen of the Realm, and that they should stand in the same condition they were before. In the time of this fëdation, the Duke of Lancaster had been sent into Scotland, to keep the Scots quiet; who so carried the matter, that before the Scots heard of the Sedition, a Truce was concluded for two or three years. But the Duke coming back to Berwick, was denied by the Captain Sir Matthew Redman, to enter the Town, because of a Commandment given him by the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Warden of the Marches, not to suffer any person to enter the same; which the King indeed had appointed to be done, forgetting the Duke of Lancaster that was then in Scotland: but howsoever, this bred such a spleen against the Earl, that as soon as he came home he laid many things to the Earl charge, and the Earl as obstinately answered his Objecions: and so far it proceeded, that both of them came to the Parliament which was then beginning, with great numbers of armed men, and themselves in Armour, to the great terror of the people: but the King wisely taking the matter into his own hands, made them friends. At which time the Lady Anne, Sifer to the Emperour Winchester, and affianced Wife to the King, was come to Callis; whereupon the Parliament was prorogued. The Lady was brought to London, joined in marriage to the King, and Crowned Queen at Westminster by the Archbishop of Canterbury with great solemnity. After the marriage, the Parliament began again: in which William Stafford Earl of Suffolk being chosen by the Knights of the Shires to deliver in behalf of the Commonwealth, certain matters concerning the same, the very day and hour in which he should have done the business, he was sent up the stairs towards the upper House, he suddenly fell down and dyed, having been merry and well before, to all mens judgements. About this time the Lord Scroop was depoited from the Chancellourship, for refusing to feal some Grants which the King had made; and the King receiving the Great Seal at his hands, kept it a certain time, and sealed with it such Grants and Writings as he pleased: till at length it was delivered to Robert Bridgwater Bishop of London, who was made Lord Chancellour.

Henry Spencer Bishop of Norwich, had lately with the King's leave, raised an Army, and was gone into France in behalf of Pope Urban, against the Anti-Pope Clement; and entering into Flanders he took and sacked many Towns; at hit belièved Trier, till by an Army of French (greater then was thought could have been raised) he was forced to raise his siege; and then passing divers places, he came to Graveling, from whence he writ to King Richard, that if ever he meant to try Battel with the French, now was the time. The King was at that time at Dunbar in Northumberland: and being at supper when the word was brought him, he instantly rofe from the Table, got to Horseback, and rode in Poole with such speed, that he came to St. Albans about midnight, where making no stay, but while he borrowed the Abbots Griffing, he halted forth till he came to Westminster, as though he had meant never to ret till he had given Battel to the Frenchmen. But after he had taken counsel of his Pillow, his mind was altered, and he thought it better to employ some other, then to go himself: so the Duke of Lancaster is thought the fittest man: but he procrastinated the time so long in making preparation; that before he could be gone, the Bishop was come away. And this indeed is the condition of many, to spend so much time in preparing, that they utterly lofe all opportunity of acting; like to men that are putting on their cloaths too long, till it be time to put them off them. Shortly after a Truce was concluded between England and France, to endure till the Feast of St Michael, which should be in the year 1384.

Of All done after he came of Age.

The Scots in this mean time had made Roads into England, and taken and burnt divers Towns upon the Borders; whereupon the Duke of Lancaster, with his Brother the Earl of Buckingham, is sent with a mighty Army to reprefent them: but having entred Scotland, and not able to draw the Scots to a Battel, they only burnr certain Towns, and then returned.

About this time an English Fryer of the order of the Carmelites charged the Duke of Lancaster, with heinous crimes; as that he intended to destroy the King, and usurp the Crown: shewing the time, the place, and other circumstances of the whole Plot. But the Duke called to his answer, fo cleared himself; at least gave such colours of clearing, that the accuser was committed to the custody of John Holland the King's half-brother, till a day appointed for further Trial. The night before which day, the said Lord Scroop and Sir Henry Green are laid to have come to this Fryer, and pledging a cord about his neck, tyed the other end about his privy members; and after hanging him up from the ground, laid a stone upon his belly, with the weight whereof his very back-bone burst asunder: thereby putting him to a most tormenting death. An act not more inhumane then unavidi; for though it took away the Accusser, yet it made the Accusation more fuppicious.

At this time, though a Truce had been made with the Scots, yet they would not be quiet; but entered and won the Cabtle of Berwick, whereof the Earl of Northumberland was Captain, but the King had committed the keeping of it to another: for which being blamed, he went not against them with an Army, but took an easier course, for with the fun of two thousand Marks he bought them out, and had the Castle surrendered into his hands again. The King upon some new Insolence, being now incensed against the Duke of Lancaster, had a purpose to have him arrested.
This year also King Richard holding his Christmas at Ely. came to his christening, who, in fear to have his Kingdom conquered by the Turks, was come into Christendom to seek for aid; but his chief errand into England was to have procured a Peace between the two Kings of England and France; but their spleens were so great against one another, that it was not in the power of his Physick to cure them.

At this time the Duke of Lancaster, taking with him his Wife the Lady Constance, and a daughter by him named Katherine, and two other Daughters which he had by his former Wife, failed into Spain. He was ascended in his journey with the Lord Lucy, the Lord Talbot, the Lord Basset, Willoughby, Fitz-Water, Pagings, Brafden, and many other Lords and Knights, to the number of fifteen hundred men of Arms, whereof a thousand at least were King's and Equites. The King at his taking leave gave him a Crown of Gold, and commanded he should be called King of Spain: and the Queen likewise gave another Crown of Gold to the Duchess. He landed first at Trafalgar, and freed that Castle from the French. From thence he proceeded, and arrived at the Camp in Spain, where he remained a month; and then went to Camelhelle, where he stayed a while: In which time his Contable Sir John Holland won divers Towns, at Castufon, the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster met; where a marriage was concluded between the said King of Portugal, and the Lady Philip Daughter to the Duke; which marriage shortly after was consummated, and the Lady went into Portugal honourably accompanied. The Duke continued at Camelhelle all the Winter. At March the King of Portugal and he entered the Confin of Castile, where they took many Towns; and passing over the River of Doure, entered into the Country Del Campo; but the Spaniards not willing to come to a Battel, but meaning to wear them out with delays; the English not used to such hot air, fell daily into many Difeases, which the Duke seeing, accorded to a Truce. There died in this action, the Lord Fitz Water, Sir Richard Henry, should marry the Lady Katherine, the Duke of Lancaster's Daughter, and be intituled Prince of Auvergnes: in consideration of this
this marriage, and that all claims should cease, which the Duke in right of his Wife might challenge or pretend. It was agreed, that the said Duke should receive yearly the sum of ten thousand Marks, during the lives of him and his Dutchess: and to have in hand the sum of two hundred thousand Nobles.

At this time, the French had a purpose to invade England, with no less a hope then to make a Conquest; and to that end, they prepared a mighty Navy: so in the month of September, there were number about Stin, Dam, and Blankerje, 1387. Ships, besides those which were rigged in Britain by the Confiable, who had caused an Inlosure of a Field to be made of Timber, that when they were landed in England, they might therewith inclose their Field, and so lodge at more security. But it so fortuned that the Lord William Beauchamp, Captain of Cal- lifier, took two of their Ships, whereof one was laden with a piece of the said Inlosure; and after that, another Ship laden with Guns, Gun-powder, and other Instruments of War; and after that again, two Ships more, laden with parcels of the said Inclosure, which King Richard caufed to be reared and set up about Winchelsey Town. At last the forefaid Army came into Flanders, and arrived at Ghent, where, after some halting, they were so disfitted for Virtuils, that in the end of November they were glad to be gone, and return into France.

At this time, in a Parliament, Robert Pere Earl of Oxford, and Marques of Dublin, was created Duke of Ireland; and Michael de la Pole a Merchants Son, had lately before been created Earl of Suffolk, and made Chancellour of England. And now begins King Richard to enter, I may say upon the Confines of his Dethit. His grazing of underving men, and disgracing of men deferving, if they were not the caufes, they were at least the occasions of his own disgracing, and destruction in the end. He was now come to full age to do all himself, which was indeed to be of fullage to undi- himself; for the faults of his younger years might have the excuse to be but errors; but the faults of the age he was now at, were peremptory against him, and admitted no defence. And to halten the pace of his destruction, he ill counfel which he before saw but whisper'd in his ear, was now farce forborn to be given him aloud. It is told him that he is under tuition no longer, and therefore not to be controol'd, as in former times he had been; That to be croft of his will by his Subjects, was to be their Subject. It is no Sovereignty, if it be not absolute. At the inclination of which Counfel, the King in a Parliament now assembled, fell to exfozulare with his Lords, asking them what years they thought him to be of? who answering, that he was somewhat more then one and twenty; Well then (said he) I am out of your Wardship, and therefore look to enjoy my Kingdom as freely as your selves at the like years enjoy your Patri- moneies. But his flattering Favourites should have remembered, that though the King may not be controol'd, where he can command; yet he may be opposed where he can defend, as now indeed he was: for when he came to demand a Subsidy towards his Wars, he was un-
there were three of the New Officers named: as the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Hereford Lord Treasurer, and Nicholas Abbot of Waltham, Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: The other ten were, William Archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander Archbishop of York, Edmund of Langley Duke of York, Thomas Duke of Gloucester, William Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Bishop of Exeter, Richard Earl of Arundel, Richard Lord Scrope, and John Lord Devon. But this participation of the Government being found inconvenient, held not long. Allô in this Parliament it was granted that Robert de Vere, lately before created Duke of Ireland, should have and receive to his own use 30000. Marks which the French men were to give for the Heirs of the Lord Charles de Binary; but it was granted upon this condition, That before the next Easter he should pass over into Ireland, to recover such Lands as the King had there given him: so dolorous the Lords and Commons were to have him removed from the Kings presence. But though the King gave way to this torrent of the Parliament for the present, yet soon as the Parliament was dissolved, he dissolved also all that had been done, either against the Lord Chancellour, or against the Duke of Ireland, or against Alexander Nevil, Archbishop of York, and received them into more favour than ever he had done before.

In his tenth year, about the beginning of March, Richard Earl of Arundel, appointed Admiral, and Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Devonshire, and the Bishop of Norwich, went to Sea, with a warlike power of men and Arms, to watch for the Fleece, that was ready to come from Rochell with Wines, and meeting with them, they set upon them, and took of them to the number of a hundred Vessels, all fraught with Wines: so as Wine grew so plentiful, that it was sold for thirteen shillings four pence the Tun; and the bale and choice for twenty shillings. Besides this, they landed in Flanders, where they relieved and fortified Bruges, and demolished two Forts which the Enemy had built against it. But this happy service of the Earl of Arundel, the Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolk, Sir Simon Burley, and Sir Richard Scarry, who continued still about the King, feemed rather to enve then to command; inofmuch that when the Earl of Northumberland, that had ever been the play-fellow, and of equal age to him, came to the Court, he was neither received by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome, nor by the King with any good countenance: and therefore indeed, not by the King with any good countenance, because not by the Duke of Ireland with any good welcome.

About this time the Duke of Ireland thought to be divorced from his lawful Wife, Daughter to the Lady Isabel, one of King Edward the third's Daughters; and took to Wife one Lancreone, a Vintners Daughter of Bohemia, one of the Queens Maids: at which indignity, the Duke of Gloucester, that was Unle to the Lady thus forsaken, took great displeasure; which the Duke of Ireland understanding, studied how by some means he might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester out of the way. Easter was now past, the time appointed for the Duke of Ireland's going over into Ireland; when the King with a shew to bring him to the waters side, went with him into Wathes: and in his company Michael de la Pool Earl of Suffolk, Robert Tristian, Lord Chief Justice, and divers others; who there confulted how they might dispatch the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel, Warington, Dr. By, Northampton, with divers others of that Faction. But when the King had remained in those parts a good while, he returned, and brought back the Duke of Ireland with him; and so his Voyage into Ireland was clean forgotten. About the same time Robert Tristian, Chief Justice, came to Coventry, where he indited two thousand perons. The King and the Queen came to Groby; and thither came by his Commandement, the Justices of the Realm, Robert Beknap Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, John Hoth, Roger Fulfiorpe, and Wiliam Borough, Knights: to whom it was propounded, to answer to these Questions following:

Firstly, Whether the new Statute and Commission made in the late Parliament, were against the Kings Prerogative, or no? To which they all answered, It was.

Secondly, How they ought to be punished, that procured the said Statute and Commission to be made? They answered with one accent, that they deserved death, except the King would pardon them.

Thirdly, How they ought to be punished, who moved the King to consent to the making of the said Statute and Commission? They answered they ought to lose their lives, unless the King would pardon them.

Fourthly, How they ought to be punished, that compelled the King to the making of that Statute? They answered, they ought to suffer as Traitors.

Fifthly, Whether the King might cause the Parliament to proceed upon Articles by him imprinted, before they proceeded to any other? They answered, That in this the King should over-rule, and if any presumed to do contrary, he was to be punished as a Traitor.

Sixthly, Whether the King might not at his pleasure dissolve the Parliament, and command the Lords and Commons to depart? They all answered, He might.

Sevently, Whether the Lords and Commons might, without the Kings will, impeach Officers and Justices, upon their Offences, in Parliament, or no? It was answered, They might not; and he that attempted contrary, was to suffer as a Traitor.

Eighthly, How he is to be punished, who moved in the Parliament, that the Statute wherein Edward the Second was Indicted in Parliament, might be kept for; by Inspection of which Statute, the present Statute was devised? It was answered, That as well he that moved it, as he that brought the Statute into the House, were to be punished as Traitors.

Ninthly, Whether the Judgment given in Parliament against Michael de la Pool were erroneous and revocable? They answered, It was erroneous and revocable: and that if the Judge-
Judgement were now to be given, the Justices would not give the same.

In witnesses of the Premises, the Justices aforesaid, to these Presents have set their Seals; in the presence of Alexander Archbishop of York, Robert Archbishop of Dublin, John Bishop of Durham, Thomas Bishop of Chester, John Bishop of Banger, Robert Duke of Ireland, Michael Earl of Suffolke, John Ripon Clerk, and John Black.

At this time the Londoners incurred much obloquy; for, having before been pardoned by the King of some crimes to which their charge, they were now ready to comply with the King in his desires: and thereupon being impanneld, they indicted some Lords of many crimes informed against them. But not only the Justices aforesaid, but all other Justices and Sheriffs of the Realm were called at this time to Nolle prosequi: the chief cause was, to understand what power of men they could allure the King of, to serve him against the Lords; and further, that whereas he meant shortly to call a Parliament, they should so use the matter, that no Knight or Serge of arms should be chosen, but such as the King and his Council should name. To which the Sheriff made answer, that it lay not in their power to assent any forces against the Lords, who were so well beloved: and as for choosing Knights and Serge, the Commons would undoubtedly look to enjoy their ancient liberties, and could not be hindered.

But yet the King and the Duke of Ireland sent into all parts of the Realm, to raise men in this quarrel against the Lords; whereof the Duke of Gloucester being advertised, he came secretly to conference with the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and Derby: who upon consultation determined to talk with the Kings, with their Forces about them, and the King on the other part, took advice how he should pretend them apart; and thereupon sent the Earl of Northumberland, and others, to the Castle of Rye, to take the Earl of Arundel, who lay there at that time; but howsoever it fortune, they failed of their purpose. After this he sent others to apprehend him: but he being warned by a Meflenger from the Duke of Gloucester, conveyed himself away by night; and by morning was come to Haringay Park, where he found the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Warwick with a great power of men about them. The King hearing of this Assembly at Haringay Park, called his Council, to hear their opinion what was fit to be done. Some were of opinion, that the King should assemble his friends, and joyning them with the Londoners, give them Battel; the chiefest of this minde was the Archbishop of York. Others thought bett, the King should seek to appease the Lords with fair promises, till a fitter opportunity to suppress them. But the King not yet resolved what course to take, caufed only order to be taken that no Citizen of London should fettle to the Duke of Gloucefter, the Earl of Arundel, or to any other of the Lords, any Armour or furniture of War, under a great pain. But for all this the Lords proceeded in their course and fent the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord John Lovel, the Lord Cobham, and the Lord John Devereux, requiring to have delivered to them such as were about the King, that were Traitors and Seducers both of him and the Realm: and further to declare, that their assembling was for the honour and wealth both of him and the Kingdom. The Duke of Ireland, the Earl of Suffolke, and two or three other about the King, persuaded him to offer Calles to the King of France, to have his alliance against the Lords. Wthal, the King sent to the Mayor of London, requiring to know how many able men the City could make? To which the Mayor answered, that he thought it could make fifty thousand men at an hours warning. Well then (said the King) go and prove what will be done. But when the Mayor went about it, he was answered, They would not fight against the Kings friends, and defenders of the Realm. At the same time the Earl of Northumberland laid his forces before the City, and the King, so doubt but the Lords have always been, and still are, false and faithful Subjects, though now distemder by certain persons about you, that seek to oppreft them; therefore my advice is, that you tend to them, to come before your presence in any publike place: and I verily believe they will fiew such reasons of their doings, that you will hold them excused. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely Lord Chancellour, and other of the Bishops there present, approved all of the Earls advice; whereupon the King sent the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of Ely to the Lords, requiring them to come to him to Westminster, on Sunday then next following: which upon oath given by the Archbishop and the Chancellour, that no fraud nor evil practice should be used against them, they were content to do. But when the Lords were ready to come at the day appointed, the Kings lords of an Ambush lay to entrap them the Mews, and thereupon they layed, so as they came not at the time appointed: Whereupon the King asking why they came not according to their promise? It was answered, Because he kept not his promise: there being an Ambush of a thousand armed men laid to surprize them at the Mews. The King hearing this, was astonied, and swore he knew of no such thing, and commanded presently the place should be searched: but it was true, an Ambush was laid; but not at the Mews, but in a place about Westminster, where Sir Thomas Tryset, and Sir Nicholas Brember had assembled them. This one action might have made the King fensible of his favours abuting his Authority; but that where affectation makes the conformation, all things are taken in a good fense. Or was it perhaps they had a Warrant Dormant, to prosecute the Kings lords without the Kings knowledge? Yet the Lords after this, receiving a fale condud from the King, came to Westminster; of whom coming when the King heard, he appreihed himfelf in his Royal Robes, and with his Sceptre in his hand, came into the great Hall, before whom, the Lords upon their knees presented themselves, the King bidding them welcome, and taking each of them by the hand. Then the Lord

What prov'd the City could make upon a sudden?
Lord Chancellor making a speech wherein he blamed them for railing of Arms and requiring to know the cause; they answered, they had done it for the good of the King and Kingdom, and to take away the Traitors about the King. Upon this the King himself spake, asking them whether they thought to compel him by strong hand. Hereupon (faintly) he suffered best you down? truly in this behalf I make no more account of you then of the basest skalation in my Kitchin. Yet after these great words he lift up the Duke of Gloucester who all this while was kneeling, and commanded the rest also to rise; and then led them courteously to his Chamber, where they fast and drank together: And finally it was concluded they should all meet again, as well these Lords, as those they acced at the next Parliament; which the King promised to call speedily, and each party to receive there according to Justice, and in the mean time all parties to be in the Kings protection. But when the Favourite-Lords heard this, they told the King plainly, they neither durst nor would put themselves to the hazard of such a meeting; and therefore the Duke of Ireland, and the rest of that faction left the Court to be out of the way: But the King not enduring their absence, appointed Thomas Malineck, Comtabel of the Castle of Cheffer, to raise an Army, and to cease-codct the Duke of Ireland to him. But they being come as far as Radcoast-Bridge, were encountered by the Earl of Derby; and the Duke of Ireland not daring to joynt Battel with him, fled, and being to pass a River, cast away his Gentlers and Sword (to be the more nimble) and giving his horse the spur, leapt into the River, and so escaped: but when these things were afterward found, it was verily thought that he had been drowned, till news came he was got into Holland; where being no very welcome guest, he went from thence into the Bishoprick of Yorwich, and after two or three years scambling about in manner of a fugitive, at Luton in Brabant he ended his life. A man of many good parts, and worthy enough of his Princes favour, if with that favour he had not so often concerned himself with such serious and influring over others no less deferving then himself. He was valiant enough against any man but the Earl of Derby, and of him indeed both the Genius of the Duke of Ireland, and of King Richard himself seemed to stand in fear; for neither of them durst meet him in the field, though encouraged to it by those about them. About this time the Duke of Suffolk doubting some plots laid to forripze him, fled over to Callic in disguise, shaving his beard, and counterfeiting himself a Poultier, to fell certain fowl which he had gotten; but being come to Callic, was by the Lord William Beauchamp, Deputy of the Town, sent back into England: whom the King notwithstanding permitted to go at large, to make it be thought he was more afraid then hurt, more fupicious then he needed. By this time the Lords had gotten master enough against the King, at least tojustify their Arts; and thereupon with an Army they forthwith went, and came to London, where after some debate, they were received: and then the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Derby and Nayingham, went to the King in the Tower. To whom, after humble submissions, they shewed the Letter which he had written to the Duke of Ireland, to levy an Army for their destruction: likewise the Letters which the French King had written to him, containing a false conduct for him to come into France, there to do acts to his own dishonour and the Kingdom.

This done, upon the Kings promise that he would come the next day to Westminster to treat further of these matters, the Lords departed; only the Earls of Navingham and Derby, at the Kings instance, stayed all night: but before the King went to bed, his mind was clean altered for keeping his promise to meet the Lords the next day at Westminster: which the Lords understanding, they sent peremptorily to him, that if he came not according to his promise, they would choose another King, that should hearken to the faithful counsel of his Lords. This touched the King so to the quick, that the next morning he went and met the Lords; who there declared to him, how much it concerned the good of the Kingdom, that those Traitors so often spoken of, should be removed from the Court. To which the King, though much against his will, yet at last consented and presently Alexander Nevil Archibishop of York, and Thomas Rake, Bishop of Chichester, and Confessor to the King, were expelled the Court; who not willing to come to after-reckonings fled no man knew whether. They expelled also John Fordham, Bishop of Durham, Lord Treasurer; the Lord-Zouch of Haringworth, the Lord Burrell, the Lord Beaumont, Albrey de Vere, Baldwin de Berford, Richard Alderbury, John Worth, Thomas Clifford, and John Leylo, Knights: but constrained to put in sureties to appear at the next Parliament. Also certain Ladies were expelled the Court; as the Lady Poynings, the Lady Moulting, and others, bound to appear at the next Parliament. There were also arrested and committed to several Prisons, Sir Simon Burley, William Elingham, John Beauchamp, Steward of the Kings House, Sir John Salibury, Sir Thomas Tivoler, Sir James Brey, Sir Nicholas Dignarous, and Sir Nicholas Bremer, Knights. Also Richard Clifford, John Lincoln, Richard Misford, the Kings Chaplains: Nicholas Selby, Dean of the Kings Chapl, and John Block; a Lawyer.

Shortly after the Parliament began, (called afterward, the Parliament that wrought wonders.) On the first day whereof, were arrested as they fate in their places, all the Judices (but only Sir William Shipps) as Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir Robert Bellkappe, Sir John Cary, Sir John Holt, Sir William Brook, and John Altton, the Kings Serjeant at Law; and were all sent to the Tower for doing contrary to an Agreement made the last Parliament. Also in the beginning of this Parliament, Robert Vere Duke of Ireland, Alexander Nevil Archibishop of York, Michael de la Pule, Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tristhan Lord Chief Justice of England, were openly called to answer Thomas de Woodstock Duke of Gloucester, Richard Earl of Arundell, Henry Earl of Derby, and Thomas Earl of Navingham, upon certain Articles of High Treason: and because none of them appeared, it was ordained by whole consent of the Parliam
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of Parliament, that they should be banished for ever, and all their Lands and Goods feized into the Kings hands (their innsed Lands only excepted.) Shortly after the Lord Chief Justice Rivers Trespass, was found in an Apostolical Office in Westminster: where being taken, he was brought to the Duke of Gloucester, who caufed him the same day to be had to the Tower, and from thence drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged. On the morrow after Sir Nicholas Brember was brought to his arraif, who being found guilty, was beheaded with an Axe which himself had caufed to be made for beheading of others. After this Sir John Salisbury, and Sir James Barneys, lofty young men, were drawn and hanged; as also Sir John Beauchamp, Lord Steward of the Kings Houfe, John Blake, Esquire; and lastly, Sir Simon Barley, Son to the great Sir John Barley, Knight of the Garter, was beheaded on Tower-Hill: whose death the King took more heavily and more hainously then all the reft. All the Justices were condemned to dye; but by the Queens interceffion they were only banifhed the Realm, and all their Lands and Goods confiscate, only a fmall portion of money was affigned them for their fue: and finally in the next Parliament an Oath was required and obtained of the Kings, that they fhould fill unto, and abide fuch rule and order as the Lords fhould take: and this Oath was required alfo of all the inhabitants of the Realm.

In the latter end of the Kings eleventh year, the Earl of Arundel was fent to Sea, with a great Navy of Ships and Men of War: with whom went the Earls of Nottingham and Devonshire, Sir Thomas Piery, the Lord Clifford, the Lord campus, Sir William Elbarn, and divers other Knights, to aid the Duke of Britain against the King of France: but before they came, the Duke of Britain was reconciled to the King of France; and fo needing nor their aid, all this great Fleet returned with doing nothing. And it was indeed a year of doing nothing, unlefs we reckon fome petty Irrods of the Sea: and that Sir Thomas Tryer died with a fall off his Scape, and Master John Holland, the Kings Brother by the Mother, was made Earl of Huntingdon, and there was contention in Oxford between the Northern and the Southern Scholars, which was pacified by the Duke of Gloucester.

In his twelfth year, Commissioners were appointed to meet at Balingham, betwixt Calais and Boulogne, to treat of a Peace between the Realms of England, France, and Scotland: and after long debating, a Truce was at laft conclufed, to begin at Midsummer next, and to last three years. But now the King to fhew his plenary Authority of being at full age, removed the Archbifhop of York from being Lord Chancellor, and put in his place William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester; also he removed the Bishop of Hereford from being Treasurer, and put another in his place: The Earl of Arundel likewife unto whom the Government of the Parliament was committet, and the Authority of the Sea, was removed, and the Earl of Huntingdon put in his room.

About this time the Lord John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, as he was paffing to learn to fight, was ftrenthen about the privy parts, by a Knight called Sir John St John; of which he foon after died. In whose family, it is memorable, that for many generations together, no Son ever saw his Father wrath the Pawn. The Original of this Family was from Husings the Dane, who in the Reign of King Alured, long before the Conquest, about the year 890, came with Rolf into England. But however, in this John Husings ended the then honourable Titles of the Husings: for this man dying without issue, his Inheritances were difpersed to divers persons.

The honour of Pembroke came to Francis at Comer, by the Kings gift: the Barones of Husings and Welford came to Reynold Gray of Rutland; the Baron of Abergavenny was granted to William Beauchamp of Bedford.

About this time John Duke of Lancaster was created Duke of Aquitaine, receiving at the Kings hands the Rod and the Cap, as investitures of that Dutche. Also the Duke of Yorks Son and Heir was created Earl of Richmond.

In his thirteenth year a Royal Juft was pro- claimed to be holden within Smithfield in London, to begin on Sunday next after the Feast of St. Thomas the Martyr, which being published, only in England, but in Scotland, in Altnam, in Flanders, in Brabant, and in France, many strangers came hither; amongst others Victor an Earl of S. Poll, that had married King Richardis Sister; and William the young Earl of Observants, Son to Albert de Bevertre Earl of Holland and Heinault. At the day appointed there issued forth of the Tower, about three a clock in the afternoon, fifteen Couriers apparelled for the Juft; and upon every one an Esquire of honour, riding a foft pace: After them came forth four and thirty Ladies of Honour, (Freiflafford threfcore) mounted on Palfries, and every Lady bed a Knight with a Chain of Gold. These Knights being on the Kings part, had their Armour and Apparel garnifhed with white Harts, and Crowns of Gold about their necks; and fo they came riding through the streets of London unto Smithfield. The Juft laded divers days, fanatic faith, four and twentie miles, it being the King and Queen lay at the Bishops Palace of Pauls Church, and kept open house for all comers.

In his fifteenth year the Duke of Lancaster went into France, having in his train a thousand horse; and met the King of France at Antwerp, to treat of a peace between the two Kingdoms; but after long debate, a Truce only was concluded for a year.

About this time the King required the Lon- doners to lend him a thousand pounds: which they refused to do; and not only fo, but they abu- ded an Italian Merchant, for of fer to lend it. This moved the King to fome indignation: to which was added the complaint of a Riot committed by the Citizens, against the Servants of the Bishop of Salisburn Loyd Treafurer; for that where one of the Bishops Servants, named Walter Rom, had taken a horfe-loaf out of a Bakers Basket as he paffed in the street, and put it into his Lords houfe; the Citizens thereupon af- faulted the house, and would not be quiered; till the Mayor and Aldermen were fain to come, and with much ado appeased them. Upon complaint hereof
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The liberties of the city were set forth, and a Warden was appointed to govern it.

hereof, urged against the Citizens, by the Bishop of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor, the Mayor and Aldermen, and divers other substantial Citizens are arrested; the Mayor is committed to the Castle of Windsor, and the Warders are ordered to other Catteries; the little Citizens of the City are sorted into the Kings hands, and the authority of the Mayor utterly ceased, the King appointing a Warden to govern the City, first Sir Edmond Dolignag, and afterward Sir Baldwin Radington: till at length, by the special suit of the Duke of Gloucester, the King was contented to come to London, to do great joy of the Citizens, that they received him with four hundred on horse-back, clad all in one Livery, and presented the King and Queen with many rich gifts; yet all gave not satisfaction, to have their liberties restored, till they afterwards paid ten thousand pounds. This it is to provoke a Loll. It may be fortune enough to us, if by any means we can but keep him quiet; for if once we provoke him to lay his paw upon us, it will be hard getting from him, and not be torn in pieces.

In his sixteenth year, the Duke of Lancaster and Gloucester were once again sent into France, to treat of a peace; but without agreeing with the French Commissioners upon Articles propounded, there was only a Truce concluded for four years; though perhaps a further agreement had then been made, but that the King of France fell newly again into his old fit of Frenie, which called away the French Commissioners from further Treaty.

In his eighteenth year, a Proclamation was set forth, That all Irish men should avoid this Realm, and return home. The occasion was, because so many Irish were come over, that Ireland in a manner was left unpeopled: insomuch, that where King Edward the third had received from thence yearly the sum of thirty thousand pounds, the King now laid forth so much to repel Rebels. Whereupon at Michaelmas King Richard went himself into Ireland, attended with the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of March, Nottingham, and Rutland, the Lord Thomas Beaumont, and Earle of Chester, together with the English Nobility; to whom came in the great Oweal of King of Athol, Bryan of Thomond King of Thomond, Arthur Macmur a King of Limerick, and Conbor King of Clevery and Dorpe: and these King Richard stayed all that Winter, and after Christmas called a Parliament. At which time also the Duke of York, Lord Warden of England, in the Kings name called a Parliament at Westminster; to which was sent forth of Ireland the Duke of Gloucester, that he might declare to the Commons the Kings great occasion for supply of money: whole words so far prevailed, that a whole tent was granted by the Clergy, and a fifteeneth by the Livery.

In his twentieth year was a famous Enterview between the two Kings of England and France, where was set up for King Richard a rich Pavillion a little beyond Gravesend, within the English pale; and another like the French King on this side Argy. The Distance between the two Tents was better on either side with Knights armed with their swords in their hands, four hundred English on one side, and four hun-
dred French on the other. The two Kings before their meeting took a solemn oath for assurance of their faithful and true meaning, to observe the sacred laws of amity one toward another, in this enterview. After the two Kings were come together, it was accorded, that in the same place where they met, there should be builded at both their costs a Chappel for a perpetual memory, which should be called, the Chappel of our Lady of Peace. On Simon and Juse's day, the Kings talked together of Articles concerning the Peace; and having concluded them, they received either of them an Oath, upon the holy Evangelists, to observe and keep them. This done, the French King brought his Daughter Isabel, and delivered her to King Richard, who shortly after at Calais married her; and upon the 17 of January following, she was Crowned Queen at Westminster. A match of great honour, but of little convenience, and less profit; for the lady being but the age of year, there could be no hope of issue for a long time, which was King Richard's greatest want; and as little supply of his wants otherwise, her portion perhaps scarce paying the charges of his journey thither; which cost him three hundred thousand Marks.

The Duke of Lancaster, in the thirteenth year of King Richard's reign, had been created Duke of Aquitaine; but when the Gascoigners would not receive him, shewing reasons why that Duke'sdom ought not to be separated from the Crown of England, his Grant was revoked, and so it remained still in Deene of the Crown.

At this time, in a Parliament, the Duke of Lancaster caufed to be legitimatized, the issue he had by Katherine Swinford, before he married her, of whom Thomas Beaumont was created Earl of Somerset.

This year also, the King receiving the money back, which had been lent to the Duke of Brittany, upon Breff delivery up the Town into him: and thereafter, the English bodiers that were there in Garrison, were all discharged and sent homewards, who, at a Peacel which the King kept at Westminster, coming in companies together into the Hall, as soon as the King had dined, and was entering into his Chamber, the Duke of Gloucester asked him, if he did mark those men that stood in such troops in the Hall: yes marry (said the King) who were they? They were (said the Duke) those Souldiers, who by your rending up of Breff have been fent home, and now muft either flare or fight: and therewith-all, very unadvisedly in words, taxed the King with unadvisedness of his deed. To whom the King in great anger replied, Why Unkle, do you think me either a Merchant, or a Fool, to tell my land? By S. John Baptist, No: But could I refuse to render the Town, when tender was made upon the money lent upon it? Indeed nothing could more discover the Duke of Gloucester's either weakness if he knew not that Breff was but only a mortgage; or injustice, if knowing it, he would have had the King, though the money were tendred, to have kept it still; but such is the course of many, to take part with the Politicks against the Ethicks; work their ends by doing unjustly, when doing justly.
ought to be their chiefest end. However it was, the multiplying of words about this matter, kindled in the King such a displeasure against the Duke, that it could not afterwards be quenched, but by his own. And first he complained to his other two Unkles, the Dukes of Lancaster and York, of his injurious behaviour towards him; who told the King, their Brother's words might be fallome unadvised words, but they knew his heart to be true and faithful. Yet doubting how far the King might press upon them to answer for their brothers' faithfulness, they retired from Court: which gave the Dukes enemies time to incense the King further against him.

It happened that the Duke of Gloucester had with him one day at his house, the Abbot of S. Albans that was his Godfather, and the Prior of Welfminster; and after dinner falling in talk with them, amongst other communications the Duke required the Prior to tell truth, whether he had any Vision the night before? To which the Prior was loth at first to make a direct Answer; but at last, being earnestly requested, as well by the Abbot as the Duke, he confessed that he had a Vision indeed, which was, that the Realm of England should be destroyed through the misgovernment of King Richard. By the Virgin Mary (said the Abbot) I had the very figure of the King, and an execrable premiss of his heart, discolored to them all the secrets of his mind; and by their devices contrived an Assembly of divers great Lords of the Realm, to meet at Arundel Castle that day fortnight: at which time he appointed to be there himself, with the Earls of Derby, Arundel, Marchall, and Warwick; the Abbot of St. Alban, the Prior of Welfminster, with divers others. And accordingly all these met at Arundel Castle, at the day appointed; where receiving first the Sacrament, by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, to be affialert each to other, in all such matters as they should determine, They resolved to feifie upon King Richard, and upon the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and commit them to Prison: and all the other Lords of the Kings Council, they determined should be drawn and hanged. But the Earl Marshal, that was Deputy of Callice, was never married. The Duke of Arundel's daughter, discovered all their counsel to the King; who thereupon, by a plot devised by his Counsell, took his Brother the Earl of Huntingdon with him: and rising from supper, rode that night to the Duke of Gloucester's house at Plafley in Essex. When the King came thither, the Duke was a-bed; but informed of it, cast his Cloak about his shoulders, and came down, bidding the Kings grace, with all reverence, welcome. The King courteously requested him to go and make himself ready, for that he must needs ride with him a little way, to confer of some busines. The Duke prefently made him ready and came down; and as soon as the King and his company was gone a little way from the house, and the Duke with him, the Earl Marshal arrested the Duke, as he had been appointed to do by the King, who immediately was sent to Callice; where after some time he was dispatched of his life, either strangled, or else smothered with Pillows, as some write. At the very same time was the Earl of Arundel apprehended by the Earls of Rutland and Kent: the Earl of Warwick also, when the King had invited him to dinner, and showed him very good countenance, was taken and arrested in the place: as likewise at the same time were apprehended, and committed to the Tower, the Lord John Cobham, and Sir John Cheyney. Shortly after, the King procured them to be indicted at Nottingham, forbidding such as should appeal them in Parliament; namely Edward Earl of Rutland, Thomas Mowbray Earl Marishal, Thomas Holland Earl of Kent, John Holland Earl of Huntington, Thomas Beaumont Earl of Somerfet, John Mowbray Earl of Salisbury, Thomas Lord Spencer, and the Lord William Scrope. Lord Chamberlain: and in the mean time, the King sent for a power of Chriftire men, to keep Watch and Ward about his Perfon.

On the 17. of September, a Parliament began at Welfminster; wherein the King complained as well of many things done by the Lords in his Minority, as also of the hard dealing which they had used towards the Queen, who was three hours at one time on her knees, before the Earl of Arundel, for one of her Esquires, named John Calverley, who neverthelesse had his head mitten from them; and which was a thing condemned by all the other. The King would have his Maries, his wife and your Husband, and let this suit alone. Those that set forth the Kings grievances in this Parliament, were John Bultie, William Bega, and Thomas Green. The cause of assembling the Parliament was shewed, That the King had called it for reformation of divers tranfigresions against the peace of this Land, by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, and others. Then Sir John Bultie, Speaker of the Parliament, made request on behalf of the Commonalty, that they might be punished according to their deservers: and specially the Archbishop of Canterbury, who then sat next the King, whom he accused of high Treson. When the Archbishop began to answer, Sir John Bulthe besought the King, That he might not be admitted to answer, left by his great wit and cunning he might lead men away to believe him. And here Sir John Bultie in his talk did not contribute to the King titles of honour due and accustomed, but such as were fitter for the Majesty of God than for any earthly Prince. And when the Archbishop was constrained to keep silence, Sir John Bulthe proceeded; requiring on the behalf of the Commons, That the Charters of Pardon, granted to the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick, should be revoked. The King for his part protested that they were drawn from him by compulsion; and therefore besought them to deliver their own opinions, what they thought thereof. Whereupon, the Bishops first gave their sentence, that the said Pardons were revokable, and might be called in; but pretending a scrupulosity, as if they might not with safe confidence be present, when judgment of blood should pass, they appointed a Lay-man to be their Prolocutor for that turn. The Temporals, Lords like wise gave their sentence, That the Pardons were revokable: only the Judges and Lawyers.Sir John Bultie Speaker of the Parliament, attributes diverse titles to the King.

The Lords, spiritual and Temporal, give their opinions on every way, and the Judges and Lawyers another.
Lawyers were not of this opinion. But how- 
forever the Archbishops of Canterbury is here-
upon condemned to perpetual Exile, and ap-
pointed to avoid the Realm within six weeks.
Also the Earl of Arundel is by the Duke of Lan-
caster, who fate that day as High Steward, con-
demned of Treson, and on the Tower-hill be-
headed. There went to see the execution, di-
vers Lords, amongst whom was the Earl of
Nottingham, that had married his Daughter,
and the Earl of Kent, that was his Daughters
Son: to whom, at the place of his execution he
said, Truly it would have beheaded you rather to be abfen; then here at this busines; but the
time will come ere long, that as many shall
marvel at your misfortune, as they do now at
mine. After his death, a fame went, that his
head was grown to his body again: whereupon,
the tenth day after his burial, his body by the
Kings appointment was taken up, and then
found to be a Fable. After this, the Lord Tho-
mas Beauchamp Earl of Warwick was brought
forth, and charged with the like Treson; but
by the intercession of the Duke of Lancaster
and other Lords, after confession of his fault,
was only confin'd into the Isle of Ely. Like-
wise the Lord Cobham, and Sir John Cheney
were only banished; or (as Faith faction) condemned
to perpetual Prison. The Parliament after this
was held at Exeter, where the Earl of Chester
the King bore to the Gentlemen and Commons
of the Shire of Chester, he caused it to be Or-
dained, that from thenceforth it should be called
and known by the name of the Principality of
Chester; and herewith intituled himself
Prince of Chester. At this Parliament also,
called the Great Parliament, he created five
Dukes, and a Duchess; one Marquefs, and four
Earls. The Earl of Derby was created Duke of
Hertford; the Earl of Nottingham, Duke of
Norfolk; the Earl of Rutland Duke of Alb-
marle; the Earl of Kent, Duke of Surrey; the
Earl of Huntingdon, Duke of Exeter; and the
Lady Margaret Marfhal Countefs of Norfolk,
was created Duchefs of Norfolk; the Earl of
Somerset was created Marquefs of Dorset; the
Lord Spencer was made Earl of Cleefer; the
Lord Nevil, Earl of Wolferland; the Lord
Scrap, Earl of Wiltshire; and the Lord Thomas
Prince Lord Steward of the King's house, was
made Earl of Waretile; and for the better main-
tenance of their efface, he divided amongst them
great part of those lands that belonged to the
Duke of Cleefer, the Earl of Arundel and War-
wick. Also in this Parliament, the Judges gave
their opinions, That when Articles are pro-
ounced by the King to be handled in Parlia-
ment; if other Articles be handled before thefe
befirft determined, that it is Trefon in them that
do it. And in this Parliament, the King
brought it fo about, that he obtained the whole
power of the Parliament to be conferred upon
certain persons, namely, John Duke of Lanca-
sfer, Edmund Duke of York, Edmund Duke of
Aumerle, Thomas Duke of Surrey, John Duke
of Exeter, John Marquefs of Dorfl, Roger Earl
of March, John Earl of Salisbury, and divers
others, or to any feven or eight of them; and
thefe, by virtue of this Grant, proceeded to con-
clude upon many things, which concerned
generally the things of the whole Parliament, to
the great prejudice of the State, and a dangerous
example in time to come. A general Pardon was
also granted for all offences, to all the King's
subjects, but only to fifty, whose names he would
not express, but referred them to his own know-
ledge. That when any of the Nobility offended
him, he might at his pleasure name him to be
one of the number excepted, and to keep them
still within his danger. And for the more
strengthening the Acts of his Parliament, the
King purchased the Popes Bulls, containing
grievous cenfures and curles to them that should
break them. And now the Heads of the oppo-
site Faction having loft their heads, and all
things as well fetled as could be desired, the
King was secure, as thinking himself safe; and
he had indeed been safe, if Time and Fortune
were not Aétors in Revenge, as well as men;
or rather, if a superioir power did not enter-
pose, whose ways are a secret as himself is in-
vincible.

It now fell out, (though writers differ what
it was fell out) for Some write, that Thomas
Mowbray accused the Duke of Hertford; Others,
that Henry Duke of Hertford accused Thomas
Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, for speaking words
hounding highly to the Kings dishonour; to
which the Duke of Norfolk, being called to an-
swers, charged the Duke of Hertford with
hating the King, that he lied fally. Whereupon a
Combat was agreed upon between them. The King
laboured to make them friends: but not pre-
vailing, he gave way to proceed in Combat, and
the place to be at Coventry; where at the day and
hour appointed, the Duke of Hertford, mounted
on a white Courfer, barded with green and blew
Velvet, imbrodered fumptuously with Swains
and Antelops of Goldsmith work, approached the
Lifts. Of whom the Marfhal, being the Duke of
Surrey, demanding who he was? he an-
swered; I am Henry of Lancaster, Duke of Hes-
ford, that am come hither to do my endeaver
against Thomas Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, as a
Traitor, untrue to God, the King, his Realm,
and me: Then incontinent he swore upon the holy
Evangelifts, that his quarrel was true and just;
and thereupon required to enter the Lifts, where
in a Chair of green Velvet he fat down and repofed
himself. Then came the Duke of Norfolk, his Horfe
barded with Crimfon Velvet, imbrodered richly with Lions of Silver, and
Molyber-trees; and when he had taken his
Oath before the Confable the Duke of Au-
merle, that his quarrel was juft, he entered the
Lifts, and fate him down in his chair of
Crimfon Velvet, curtefied about with white
and red Damfek. Then the Marfhal viewed their
Spear, to fee that they were of equal
length; and the Heralds proclaimed, on the
Kings behalf, they fhould mount on Horfe-
back, and address themselves to the Combat; but
when they were fet forward, and had their
Spears in their Reifs, the King call down his
Warder, and the Heralds cryed Stay, Stay.
The King caufed their Spears to be taken from
them, and deliberated with his Council,
what was fliest to be done in fo weiglhy a caufe.
After two long hours it was at last concluded,
that Henry Duke of Hertford fhould within
fifteen
fifteen days depart out of the Realm, and upon pain of death forthfrom the Duke of Norfolk should likewise avoid the Realm, and never return into England, upon the like pain. It is observable, that this Censure was passed against the Duke of Norfolk, the very same day twelve month in which he had taken order to pursethe Duke of Gloucester to death at Callicoe, whereof he was then Governor. When these Judgments were once read, the King called before him both the Dukes, and made them swear that the one should never come in place where the other was. After this, the Duke of Norfolk went into Aitain, and from thence went to Venice; where after some time he dyed by sorrow. The Duke of Hereford, at the taking his leave of the King, had four years of his Banishment releas'd; and then went to Callicoe, and from thence to Paris: where, of the French King he was so kindly receiv'd, that by his favour he had obtained in marriage the only daughter of the Duke of Berry, Uncle to the French King, if King Richard by Meffengers had not hindered him. The Duke might have made his banishment, in manner of a visitation, if he had gone into Spain; for there he had two sisters married, the one to the King of Portugal, the other to the King of Spain, to whom his coming would have been most welcome: but he chose rather to make his stay in France, as the place where he might soonest have intelligence out of England; and indeed before a year came about, he heard of the death of his Father, the Duke of Lancaster: and heard withal that King Richard had feied into his hands, all the Lands defenced upon him, contrary to his promise.

It was a custom in those days, to punish the delinquencies of great men by banishment out of the Realm, a Custom not more grievous to the Subject then dangerous to the Prince: for by this course they had means to work so closely in their mines of revenge, that the Fabrick of a Kingdom was in danger to be blown up before their working could be perceived. An example whereof may never more plainly be seen then at this time, in the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Hereford: For they in their banishment meeting often together, and aggravating the grievances of King Richard's Government, fell at last to confult by what means he might be removed, seeing there was no hope he could ever be reclaimed. In the time of their consultation about it, as if Fortune her self meant to do their work for them, solicitations came from many parts of England, to move the Duke of Hereford to come now and take the Government upon him, wherein they would be ready to assist him. The Duke heard before the Archbishop's intimation, and now fent on fire by this solicitation, gives Fortune no leisir to alter her minde, by delaying the time: but without further deliberation preparations to be going: and taking with him the Archbishop, the Lord Calham, Sir Thomas Erpington and Sir Thomas Remond, Knights; John Norbury, Robert Waterton, and Francis Coynt Esquires, and about some three-score other petions, as many as he could rea-
dily get, in three Ships which the Duke of Britian lend him, he put to Sea: where hovering about the Coast a while, to mark the countenance of the fores, he landed at lat, about the beginning of July, at Ravenspurre in Yorkshire. Which no sooner was known, but there proceeded to him the Lords Mollines, Rice, Darcy, and Remson; and shortly after, the Duke, the Earl of Northumberland, and his Son Sir Henry Percy, with the Earl of Westmoreland, and great numbers of the Gentry and common sort: of whom though some had invited him to come to take the Government of the Realm upon him, yet he forbore to pretend that, for any cause of his coming, but made a solemn protestation, that he came only to take possession of the inheritances defenced upon him from his Father, which King Richard most unjustly, and contrary to his promise, had seised into his hands: for this was a reason why he had no objection: the other he referred, till his power should not need to regard objections. And indeed, no snow-ball ever gathered greater nefs to fall by rolling, as his Forces increased by marching forward; for by that time he came to Berkeley, he had got a mighty Army: and in three days after, all the King's Forces in those parts were gathered to him. The Duke of York left Governor of the Kingdom, used his belt means to raise Forces to refit him; but found few willing to bear Arms against him: wherupon, and perhaps hearing withal that the Dukes coming was but only to take possession of his Inheritance, he thought good to go to Berkeley to him, to have there some communication about it. At Berkeley at that time was arrested the Bishop of Norwich, Sir William Elmbam, and Sir Walter Barleigh, Knights; Laurence Drew, and John Golfer Esquires. From Berkeley the two Dukes went forward towards Brifaw, where in the Cattle were the Lord Williams Strop, Earl of Wiltshire, and Treasurer of England; Sir Henry Green, and Sir Henry Bulby, who were taken and brought forth bound before the Duke of Lancaster; and the Duke after arraigned before the Confible and Marshal; and whose heads were cut off, and the Governor of the King and the Realm, and presently had their heads smittken off. Sir John Ruffell was also taken there; but he resigning himself to be out of his wits, escaped for that time.

All this while King Richard was in Ireland, where he performed Acts in repressing the Rebels there, not unworthy of him; and having with him amongst other of the great Lords, the Duke of Lancaster's Son Henry, he there for his forwardness in service, Knighted him. By which it appeared that he had no great fear of the Father, when he grasped the Son; and indeed he needed not have feared him, if his own abscence out of England had not given him advantage. Six weeks were now past after the Dukes arrival in England; and in which time King Richard had no notice of it, by reason the windes were contrary to come forth of England: But as soon as he heard it, and in what hoftile manner he proceeded, he determined to return instantly into England; and had done it but that the Duke of Avonmore

The Duke of Hereford is solicited to return into Eng.

The Duke of Hereford had three ships at Ravenspurre in Yorkshire.

The Lord Deputy, Treasurer of England, Sir William Elmbam, and Sir Walter Barleigh, Knights have their heads smittken off.
Amerlie his principal Counsellour (whether out of a good meaning, but grounded upon errors; or out of an ill meaning, but shadowed with colours) by all means perwaived him to stay so long till things fitting for his journey might be made ready. It was King Richard's ill luck to hearken to this ill counsellor: but he presently sent the Earl of Salisbury into England, to provide him an Army out of Wales and Cheyfrie, against his own coming; which he promised faithfully should be within fix days at the most. The Earl landed at Conwy in Wales, and had soon gotten to the number of forty thousand men: but the fix days passed and no news of the King; which made the Souldiers suspect that he was dead, and thereupon were ready to disband; but at the Earl of Salisbury's perfwation, they were contented to stay for some days longer, and when the King came not in that time neither, then they would stay no longer: but departed and went home. At length, about the middle of the day, the King had sent away the Earl of Salisbury, he took shipping, together with the Dukes of Amerlie, Exeter, and Surrey, and divers others of the Nobility; with the Bishops of London, Lincoln, and Carlile; and landed at Barklowly in Wales. He had about him some Cheyfrie men, and was at first in no great doubt of prevailing; but when he heard that all the Castles from the Borders of Scotland unto Brifow were delivered to the Duke of Lancafer, and that the greatest part of the Nobility and Commons took part with him, and specially that his principal Counsellours had lost their heads at Brifow; then, volvantur frigere membra, he fell so utterly to despair, that calling his Army together, he licenc'd all men to be gone, and so shif for himself. The Souldiers besought him to be of good cheer, swearing they would stand with him to the death: but the King encouraged him not at all; so as the next night he flioke from his Army, and with the Dukes of Exeter, and Surrey, the Bishop of Carlile, Sir Stephen Scroop, and some half a score others, he got him to the Castle of Conwy, where he found the Earl of Salisbury determining there to stay, till he might see the world at some better day. Here the Earl of Worfeter Steward of the Kings house, broke his white thigh, and without delay went to the Duke of Lancafer; who understanding that King Richard was returned out of Ireland, he left the Duke of York at Brifow, and came back with his power to Berkley, and from thence the next day came to Glescifer, and then to Roffe, after to Hereford, where came to him the Bishop of Hereford, and Sir Edmund Mortimer: on the Sunday following he went to Lofynfer, and there the Lord Carles came to him from thence he went to Ludlow, and the next day two of his Councellors came to him Sir Robert Leigh, and Sir John Leigh, and many others, being sent from Cheyfrie, to offer their service, which also came to him the Lord Scales, and the Lord Bordalch, forth of Ireland: From Shrewsbury he went to Cheyfrie, and from thence sent for his Son and Heir, and likewise for the Duke of Glescifer's Son and Heir (whom King Richard had left in cullody in Ireland, with all speed to come into England: but the Duke of Glescifer's Son through misfortune perished at Sea, or as some wrote he died of the plague; the sorrow whereof cauf'd, shortly after, his Mothers death. After this, the Duke sent the Earl of Northumberland to the King, who upon safe conduct coming to him, declared, that if it might please his Grace to undertake, that there should be a Parliament affembled, in which Justice might be had, and herewith pardon the Duke of Lancafer of all things wherein he had offended, the Duke would be ready to come to him on his knees and as an humble Subject obey him in all dutifull servises. Yet upon this conference with the Earl, some fay the King required only, that himself and eight more, whom he would name, might have honourable allowance, with allance of a private quiet life, and that then he would reigne his Crown; and that upon the down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their part, to make the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of Northumberland, where they dined, and from thence to Flint to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlile, the Lord Scroop, Sir Nicholau Forley, and James d'Artois de Gafcoine, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognizance of his Master King Richard, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The King being in the Castle of Flint, and Duke Henry with his Army approaching near the Town, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Duke of Amerlie and the Earl of Worfelter, went before to the King; whom the King fying from the Walls where he ftood, went down to meet, and finding they did their due reverence to him on their part, to make the place where they laid an Ambush, the King was enclosed, and constrained to go with the Earl of Northumberland, where they dined, and from thence to Flint to bed. The King had very few of his friends about him, but only the Earl of Salisbury, the Bishop of Carlile, the Lord Scroop, Sir Nicholau Forley, and James d'Artois de Gafcoine, who still wore a white Hart, the Cognizance of his Master King Richard, and neither for Promises nor Threats would be drawn to leave it off.

The King coming over and landing the Army disband'd, to fall to defpair, and fiercely the next night went him to Conwy Caftle.

The Duke of Lancafer offers conditions to the King.

Which the Earl of Northumberland undertakes upon his Oath should be performed.

Hereupon the King goes to meet the Duke, but is entrap'd in an Ambush and carried to Flint Castle.

1399.
they rode forward, and lodged first at Coventry, then at Daintry, then at Northampton, next day at Dunstable, then at St. Albans, and so came to London. In all which journey they suffered not the King to change his apparel, but made him ride still in one suit of raiment; and that but a simple one, though he in his time was exceeding sumptuous in Apparel, having one Coat which was valued at thirty thousand Marks. And in this fort he was brought the next day to Westminster, and from thence the next day had to the Tower, and committed to safe Custody. After this, a Parliament was called by the Duke of Lancaster, but in the name of King Richard, in which many heinous points of Mif-govern-
ment were laid to his charge, and were ingrossed up in three and thirty Articles, the chief were.

That he had wilfully spent the Treasure of the Realm.

That without Law or Justice, he had caused the Duke of Gloucester, and the Earl of Arundel to 
be put to death.

That he had borrowed great sums of money, and given his Letters Patents to repay the same, and yet not one penny ever paid.

That he had said, The Laws of the Realm were in his head, and in his breast: by reason of which fantastical opinion, he destroyed Noblemen, and impover-ished the Commons.

That he changed Knights and Burgesses of the Parliament at his pleasure.

That most tyrannically he said, That the lives and goods of all his subjects were in his hands, and at his disposal.

That whereas Lords were by the Court of Parliament appointed to treat of matters concerning the state of the Kingdom; they being informed about the same Commissions, he went about to appear them of high Treason.

That by force and threats, he enforced the Judges of the Realm, at Shrewsbury, to confound to his way, for the destruction of divers of the Lords.

That he confided his Fathers own Brother, the Duke of Gloucesfer, without Law to be attacked and sent to Callice, and there without reason, fiercely mur-dered.

That notwithstanding the Earl of Arundel, at his arrangement pleaded his Charter of Pardon, yet he could not be heard; for was shamefully and sudden-ly put to death.

That he assembled certain Lancashire and Cheshire men, to make War upon his Lords; and suffer them to rob and spoil, without prohibition.

That though he had made Proclamation that the Lords were not attacked for any crime of Treason; yet afterward in the Parliament he laid Treason to their charge.

That notwithstanding his Pardon granted to them, he enforced divers of the Lords partakers, to be again intolerably Fined, to their utter undoing.

That without the assent of the Peers, he carried the Jewels and Plate of this Kingdom into Ireland.

Upon these, and some other Articles, he was by Parliament adjudged to be deposed from all Kingly Honour, and Princely Government. And thereupon, the King being advised by his own servants, rather voluntarily to resign the Crown, then by compulsion to be forced to it, on the Monday before the nine and twentieth day of September, in the year 1539. he made a solemn resignation, before divers Lords and others, sent to him for that purpose; and an in-strument of his resignation being made, he would needs read it before them all himself, and then subcribed it: and withal, made it his fuit, that the Duke of Lancaster might be his Succesfor, and King after him; and for a sign of his desire hereof, he took his signet Ring of Gold from his finger, and put it upon the Duke of Lancaster; that never man who had used a Kingdom with such violence, gave it over with such patience. But rather the willingness, that he seemed rather to accept it, then that he was any way forced to it. This Resignation of King Richard being publicly announced to the Parliament, both Houses gave their assent; and then Commissioners were appointed to pronounce openly the sentence of his deposing, which was done by the Bishop of Arbroth, and all Allegiance renounced to him.

And now it is easy to be observed, what a wonderful concurrence of fortunes, in behalf of the Duke of Lancaster, and against King Richard, happened together; whereof if any one had been missing, he had never been turned out of his Throne in such manner as he was: For first, if it had not happened that King Richard had been in Ireland at the time when the Duke began his attempt, it had not been possi-ble for him to compass his design as he did: And then if King Richard being in Ireland, he had not by misfortune of weather been kept six weeks from hearing of the Duke's arrival, he had not given him time to large a time for raising of Forces, and so more eaily might have refitted him: Or after King Richard heard of the Duke's arrival, if he had followed the Earl of Salisbury, and not stayed so many days longer then he promised, he had found an Army rea-dy to receive him, sufficient at least to have given a stop to the Duke's proceedings: Or when at last he came over, and found his Army to fail him, if withal his own courage had not failed him, but that he had manfully put it to the hazard of a Battel, as his Soulthers themselves would have had him to do, he could not choose but have made a better end of his batti- nes then now he did. But when all is done, there is no warring the blows of Fortune; or to say better, no refitting the Decree of He- ven: but feeling that Decree is an invincible, and may perhaps be conditional, we shall manifestly be Traitors to our selves, if we use not our uttermost endeavours to divert it: so that it may truly be said, King Richard loft his Crown, more by his own Treason, then by the Treason of any other.

Of his Taxations.

In his second year, in a Parliament held at 
Gloucesfer, was granted to be paid by the Mer-
chants, upon every fack of Woo a Mark, for this present year; and for every pounds-
worth of Wares brought from beyond Sea, and sold here, five pence of the buyer. In his third year, in a Parliament at Westminster, a Sub-
didy was granted to be levied of the great men
A subsidy granted where the Commons are spared.

The Reign of King Richard the Second.

In his second year, in a Parliament at Gloucester, it was enacted that Merchant-strangers might buy and sell in Groats, or by Retail, within this Realm. In his third year, in a Parliament at Westminster; it was ordained, that the Privileges and Immunities of the Abbey of Westminster should remain inviolate; but with this Proviso, against those that rook sanctuary with purpose to defraud their Creditors, That their Lands and Goods should be liable to their Debts. In his sixth year, a Parliament was holden, in which the Mayor of London, upon suggestion of the Fifthers and merchants, used great deceit, of turning of their Fish, obtained to have it Ensailed, That from thenceforth, none of that Company, nor of the Vintners, Grocers, Butchers, or other that held any pretense of Virtues should be admitted Mayor of the City; but in the Parliament next following were referred to their liberty again, saying that they might not keep Courts among themselves, but that all transgressions of their Customs should be tried at the Mayors Court. In his eleventh year, King Richard created John Beauchamp of Hals, Baron of Kedermisner, by his Letters Patents; the first that was so made: for before this time, Barons were always made by calling them to Parliaments by the King's Writ. Till this time women used to ride afile as men do.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In the second year of this King's Reign, there came messengers from the new elected Pope Urban, to require the Kings aid against such Cardinals as he named Schismaticus, that had elected another Pope, whom they named Clement; which Cardinals sent Messengers likewise to crave his aid for them, but through peroration of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Urban's request was granted, and Clement rejected. In his fourth year, John Wickliffe set forth his opinion touching the Sacrament of the Altar, denying the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, in such fort as the Church of Rome did then teach. In his sixth year, Henry Spencer, Bishop of Norwich received Bulls from Pope Urban, to grant all privileges of the Grisado to all such as would come over and assist him against the Anti-Pope Clement; which being debated in Parliament, it was after much opposition agreed, that it should be done; and thereupon the Bishop not only gathered much money from such as would contribute to the expedition, but drew many great Captains to go themselves in person; as namely, Sir Hugh Calverley, Sir William Farington, the Lord Henry Beaumont, Sir William Elmslow, Sir Thomas Tryer, and divers others. The money raised by contribution, came to 30000, Franks, and the Army to 3000. Horse, and 15000. Foot; with which Forces, the Bishop passing over into Flanders, won the Towns of Gruzelfing, Dunkirk, and Ramor: but at last encountered by a mighty Army of the French, he was put to the worst, and returned into England. In the twelfth year of this King's Reign, an Act was made that none should pass the Seas to purchase promotions or provisions (as they termed them) in any Church or Churches. Also, in this year Thomas the late Earl of Lancaster, by reason of miracles reported to be done by him, was canonized for a Saint. At this time also the Wickliffes marvellously increased, Preaching against Pilgrimages and Images, whose greatest opposer was the Bishop of Norwich. In his thirteenth year Proclamation was made by Letters Patents.
was made, that all beneficed men abiding in the Court of Rome, should return into England by a certain day, under pain of forfeiting their Benefices: and all other not Beneficed, under a certain pain likewise. Also about this time a Statute was made, that no Ecclesiastical person should possess Manours, Housers, Lands, Revenue, or Rents whatsoever at the hands of the Feoffee, without the Kings Licence and the chief Lords. In his eighteenth year, the Wickslefs were pernicious, and Excomunication pronounced against them by the Archbishop of Canterbury. In this Schism of the two Popes, the French Clergy wrote in behalf of Clement their Pope, and sent it into England: The Clergy of England on the contrary wrote in behalf of Pope Urban, and so nothing was agreed.

Works of Pity in his time.

In the twentieth year of this Kings Reign, William Barcram B shop of Norwich builded Trinity Hall in Cambridge. In the third year of his Reign, John Whipps, Mayor of London, gave to the City certain Tenements, for the which the Chamberlain payeth yearly to thirteen poor people, to every of them seven pence the week for ever; and as any of these thirteen persons dieth, the Mayor appointeth one to succeed, and the Recorder another. In the one and twentieth year of his Reign, King Richard caused the great Hall at Westminster to be repaired, both the Walls, Windows, and Roof. In his time, Simon Archbishop of Canterbury, slain by the Rebels upon Tower Hill, built the West-gate of Canterbury, and from thence to the North-gate, commonly called the long Wall. Thomas Fitz-Allen, or Arundel, being B shop of Ely, built the great Gate-house of Ely House in Holborn; and being after Bishop of Canterbury, he built a fair Spire Steeple at the West end of his Church there, called to this day, Arundel Steeple, and belfowed a tunable ring of five Bells upon the same.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

In his third year, so great a mortality afflicted the North parts of England, that the Country became almost desolate. In his fifth year, on the 24th day of May, there happened to a great as Earthquake, and as (some write) a Water-flake, that it made Shipton in Haven, to beat one against the other. In July, in the year 1389, whilst the King was at Sheen, there swarmed in his Court such multitudes of Flies and Gnats, skirmishing with one another, that in the end they were swept away with Brooms by heaps, and Buffels were filled with them. In his twelfth year, in March, first there were terrible Winds: afterwards followed a great mortality, and after that a great dearth, that a Buffel of Wheat was sold for thirteen pence, which was then thought a great price; for the years before it was sold for six pence, and Wool was sold for two Shillings a stone. In his fourteenth year, on Christmas day, a Dolphin was taken at London Bridge, being ten foot long, and a monstrous grown Fish. In his eighteenth years an Exhalation, in likenes of fire appeared in the night in many places of England; which when a man went alone, went as he went, and stayed as he stayed; sometimes like a Wheel, sometimes like a Barrel, sometimes like a Timber-log: but when many went together, it appeared to be afar off. Also in a Parliament time, there was a certain Image of Wax made by Uncertainty (as was said) which at an hour appointed, uttered these words.

The Head shall be cut off; the Head shall be lifted up above the Head, and then spake no more. This happened in the Parliament called the Marmellus Parliament, not long before the Parliament that wrought Wonders. In his one and thirtieth year, a River not far from Bedford, suddenly ceased his course, so as the channel remained dry by the space of three miles; which was adjudged to signify the revolting of the Subjects from their natural Prince. In his two and twentieth year, almost through all England, all Bay-trees withered, and afterwards grew green again; which was supposed to import some strange event. About the year 1380, the making of Guns was found by a German, which may well be reckoned among casualties, seeing it was found by casualty; for this German having beaten Brimstone in a Mortar to powder, and covered it with a flone, it happened that as he struck fire, a spark chance to fall into the powder; which caused such a flame out of the Mortar, that it raised a flame a great height; which after he perceived, he made a Pipe of Iron, and tempered the powder with some other ingredients, and so finisht that deadly Engine. The first that used it were the Venetians against the Inhabitants of Genoa.

Of his Vicissitudes.

King Richard in his time had two Wives, the first was Anne Daughter to the Emporeur Charles the Fourth, and Sitter to the Emporeur Venetians; who lived his Wife ten years, and died without issue at Sheen in Surrey, in the year 1392. Whole death King Richard took so heavily, that he caus'd the buildings of that Palace to be thrown down and defac'd; as though to revenge himself upon the place, could gait his minde, and mitigate his sorrow. His second Wife was Isabel, Daughter to Charles the sixth King of France; She was married to him at eight years of age, and therefrom never cohabited. After King Richard's death she was sent home, and married afterwards to Charles Son and Heir to the Duke of Orleans.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was the goodliest personage of all the Kings that had been since the Conquest; tall of stature, of streight and strong limbs, fair and amiable of countenance; and such a one as might well be the Son of a most beautiful Mother. Concerning his conditions, there was more to be blamed in his Education, then in his Nature; for there appeared in him many good inclinations, which would have grown to be abilities, if they had not been perverted by corrupt flitterers in his youth. He was of a credulous disposition,
disposition, apt to believe, and therefore easily to be abused. His greatest transgression was, that he went with his friends into a church, where he should have gone but for force of arms. His greatest impiety, that he could not discern faith from a flattering of a friend. He seemed to have in him both a French Nature and an English; violent at the first apprehension, calm upon deliberation. He never showed himself more worthy of the Government, then when he was depos'd as unworthy to Govern; for it appeared, that his Regality was not so dear unto him, as a private quiet life: which if he might have enjoyed, he would never have complained that Fortune had done him wrong.

Of his Death and Burial.

King Richard after his Resignation, was conveyed to the Castle of Leeds in Kent, and from thence to Pomfret; where the common fame is, that he was kept with coldly mean, like a King, but not suffer'd once to touch it, and so died of forced Famine: But Thomas Walsingham referreth it altogether to a voluntary purgation of himself, through grief of his misfortunes. But one Writer, well acquainted with King Richard's doings, faith, that King Henry, listing one day at his Tables said fighting, Have I no faithful friend that will deliver me of him who will be my death? This speech was specially noted by one Sir Piers of Exton, who presently with eight persons in his company went to Pomfret, commanding the Esquire that took the Affay before King Richard, to do so no more, saying, Let him eat now, for he shall not eat long. King Richard listing down to dinner, was served without Affay; whereas marvellous, he demanded of his Esquire, why he did not his duty? Sir (said he) I am otherwise commanded by Sir Piers of Exton, who is newly come from King Henry. When King Richard heard that word, he took the Carving Knife in his hand, and stroke the Squire on the head, saying, Wherefore dost thou demand of me, and thee together: And with that word Sir Piers entered the Chamber, with eight armed men, every of them having a Bill in his hand. King Richard perceiving this, put the Table from him; and stepping to the foremost man, wrung the Bill out of his hands, and flung four or five of those that thus came to affai'm him: but in conclusion was fell with a stroke of a Poll-axe, which Sir Piers gave him upon the head, with which blow he fell down dead: Though it be scarce credible, that a man upon his bare word, and without shewing any warrant, should be admitted to do such a fact. Sir Piers having thus slain him, wept bitterly: a poor amends for so basing a treafure. King Richard thus dead, his body was embalmed, and covered with lead, all save the face, and then brought to London; where it lay at Paule three days together, that all men might behold it, to see he was dead. The Corps was after had to Langley in Buckinghams, and there buried in the Church of the Friers Preachers: but afterward by King Henry the fifth, it was removed to Westminster, and there honourably entombed, with Queen Anne his Wife; and that beautiful Picture of a King, sitting Crown'd in a Chair of State, at the upper end of the Quire in S. Peters at Westminster, is said to be of him: although the Scotts untruly write, that he escaped out of Prifon, and led a fo- litary and vextation life in Scotland; and there died, and is buried (as they hold) in the Black-Friers at Sterling. He lived three and thirty years, reigned two and twenty and three months.

Men of Note in this King's time.

Men of Valour in his time were so many, that to reckon them all would be a hard task; and to leave out any would be an injury: yet to give an instance in one, we may take John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whose valour was no less seen abroad than at home: In France, in Germany, in Spain; in all which places, he left Trophies of his Victories. But of learned men, we may name thefe: William Thorne an Augu- stine Frier of Canterbury, an Hiftoriographer: Adam Merimouth, a Canon of Pauls Church in London, who wrote two Hiftorical Treatises; one intituled Chronicle 40. anno. another Chronicle 60. anno. William Packington sometimes Secretary to the Black Prince, an excellent Hiftoriographer. William Bosby a Carmelitie Frier, Bishop of Worcester, and Con- cellour to the Duke of Lancaster: John Bourg. Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, William Sleade, a Monk of Buckstaff Abbey in Devonshire: John Thriving Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellour of England, and a Cardinal: William Berton Chancellour of Oxford, an ad- versary to Wickliffe: Philip Stapington Abbot of Lefcester, a Defender of Wickliffe: Walter Fria, a Scholar of Wickliffe's, a Writer both in Divinity and other Arguments: John Sharp, a great adversary to Wickliffe, who wrote many Treatises: Peter Feltsh, a great favourer of Wickliffe. Marcel Ingleins, an excellent Divine, one of the firft Teachers in the University of Hadleigh: Richard Whith a learned Priest, and an earnest Tower of Wickliffe: John Swinham Bhop of Berwick, a great Adversary to the Wickliffe: Adam Esken, a great Linguit, and a Frie- deric Cardinal: John Trevisa, a Cornish man, and a fe- cular Priest, who translated the Bible: Bealtho- lemus, De Proprictatius Roman, Polychronion of Ranulph Higden, and divers other Treatises: John Moon, an English man, but a Student in Pe- ris, who compiled in the French Tongue, The Remains of the Rafe; translated into English by Geoffrey Chaucer, and divers others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's time.

In his first year,
Sir Nicholas Breman was Mayor.
Nicholas Twisfar, Andrew Pigmans, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
John Paphius was Mayor.
John Bofham, Thomas Cornwaff, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
John Hadley was Mayor.
John Holifon, William Barre, Sheriff.

X 2 In
In his fourth year,
William Walworth was Mayor.
Walter Dogot, William Knighthode, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
John Northampton was Mayor.
John Rotu, John Hinde, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Northampton continued Mayor:
Adam Bamme, John Sely, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar was Mayor.
Simon Winchcombe, John Moor, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Mayor.
Nicholas Exton, John French, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir Nicholas Brembar continued Mayor.
John Organ, John Churchman, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Nicholas Exton was Mayor.

In his eleventh year,
Nicholas Exton continued Mayor.
William Venor, Hugh Falstaff, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Nicholas Twiford was Mayor.
Thomas Astton, Adam Carlehtil, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Venor was Mayor.
John Walcot, John Love, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Adam Bamme was Mayor.
John Francis, Thomas Vivent, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
John Hinde was Mayor.
John Shadworth, Henry Vamere, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Standon was Mayor.
Gilbert Mefield, Thomas Nemington, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
John Hardy was Mayor.
Drew Barintin, Richard Whiington, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir John Freske was Mayor.
William Bramston, Thomas Knolls, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir William Mere was Mayor.
Roger Ellis, William Sevenoke, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year
Adams Brown was Mayor.
Thomas Wilford, William Parker, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year
Sir Richard Whiington was Mayor.
John Woodcock, William Mifham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year,
Sir Drew Barintin was Mayor.
John Wade, John Warner, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of
KING HENRY
THE FOURTH.

Of his coming to the Crown.

Anne Dom. 1399.

Free the Renunciation of King Richard, and the sentence of his Deposing openly read in Parliament, Henry Duke of Lancaster riefeth up from his fear; and first, making the Sign of the Cross upon his forehead and brest, he said, In the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: I Henry of Lancaster claim the Crown of England, as defended by right line from King Henry the third: And having thus spoked, he fate down again. Upon this, the Arch Bishop conferred with the Lords, and having heard their opinions, he returned to the Commons, asking them, if they would join with the Lords, in choosing Henry of Lancaster for their King; who all with one voice cried, Yes, Yes; whereupon going to the Duke, he bowed his knee, and taking him by the hand led him to the Royal Seat; and then began a Sermon, taking for his Text, out of the first Book of the Kings, cap. 9. Ver dominabitur in populo: wherein he declared what a happiness it is to a Nation to have a King of Wisdom and Valour, and shewed the Duke of Lancaster to be such a one; and as much the defects in both, of the late King Richard. The Sermon ended, the King thanked them all for his Election; and testified to them, that he meant not to take advantage against any man else, as coming in by Conquest; but that every one should freely enjoy his own, as in times of lawful succession. And now a time was appointed for his Coronation; and accordingly, upon the 13 day of October following, the very day whereon in the year before he had been banished, he was Crowned at Westminster, by the Arch Bishop of Canterbury, with all Rights and Ceremonies accustomed: At his Coronation he was anointed with an Oyl which a religious man had given to Henry the first Duke of Lancaster, together with this Prophezie, That the Kingsanointed with this Oyl, should be the Champions of the Church. This Oyl coming to the hands of King Richard, as he was looking amongst his jewels, going then into Ireland, he was desirous to be anointed with it, but that the Arch Bishop of Canterbury told him, it was not lawful to be anointed twice: whereupon putting it up again, at his coming afterwards to Flint, the Arch Bishop got it of him, and kept it till the Coronation of King Henry, who was the first King of the Realm that was anointed with it. The day before the Coronation, the King in the Tower made one and forty, some say but twelve Knights of the Bath, whereof four were his own Sons, Henry, Thomas, John, and Humphrey, all then alive; and with them, three Earls, and five Barons. Upon the Feast-day, many claimed Offices, as belonging to their Tenures, to which, upon shewing their right, they were admitted. And now the King made divers new Officers: The Earl of Northumberland he made Constable of England; the Earl of Westmoreland was made Lord Marshal; Sir John Serle, Chancellour; John Newbery Esquire, Treasurer: and Sir Richard Clifford was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal. The Lord Henry his eldest Son, being then about thirteen years of age, was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl Cheffer, and soon after also Duke of Aquitaine: and the Crown was by Parliament Erentailed to King Henry, and the Heirs of his body lawfully begotten.

After this Parliament is holden, in which the Acts made in the eleventh year of King Richard were revived, and the Acts made in his one and twentieth year were wholly repealed; and they who by that Parliament were attained, were restored to their Lands and Honours: whereupon Richard Earl of Warwick was delivered out of Prison, and the Earl of Arundel's son recovered his Inheritance; and many other also that were banished, or imprisoned by King Richard, were then fully restored to their Liberty and estates. Also the King gave to the Earl of Westmoreland the County of Richmond and to the Earl of Northumberland the Isle of Man, to be holden of him by bearing the sword wherewith he entred into England. And now was the time for flying of spleens. Sir John Bagot then Prisoner in the Tower, accused the Earl of Aumerle for speaking words against the Duke of Lancaster, now King: also the Lord Flaxwater accused him for the death of the Duke of Gloucester. The Lord Morley appealed the Earl of Salisbury, Secretary for treason: and one Hall accused the Duke of Exeter, for conspiring the death of John of Gaunt the King's Father: but King Henry having entred a Throne in a storm, was willing now to have a calm; and therefore laying aside the one Accusations, he accepted of the other Excuses, and received
The Reign of King Henry the Fourth.

received the Duke of Anmore, and the Duke of Exeter into as much favour, as if they had never been accursed.

And to qualify the hard opinion which so many Princes might conceive of King Richard; Depolit, he sent Ambassadors into divers Countreys, to make it known, by what title, and by what favour of the people, he came to the Kingdom. To the Court of Rome he sent John Trevenant Bishop of Hereford, Sir John Cheyn Knight, and John Cheyns Eltigate: into France he sent Walter Sherlaw Bishop of Durham, and Thomas Piery Earl of Worcester: into Spain he sent John Treven Bishop of Aghaff, and Sir William Parre: and into Germany he sent the Bishop of Bungo, and certain others. Most of these Princes seemed either not to regard what was done, or were easily persuaded that all was done well: only Charles King of France was so displeas'd with this indignity offered to his son in Law King Richard, that by violence of his passion he fell into his old pangs of Frenzie; but somewhat recovered, he resolved to revenge it; wherein many Lords of France shew'd themselves forward, but specially the Earl of St. Paul, who had married King Richard's half sister: yet having prepared an Army in readiness when afterward the heard of King Richard's death, they disfolved it again, as considering the time was then past. The Aquitains also, and specially the Citizens of Bordeaux, as being the place where King Richard was born, were mightily incensed: but Sir Robert Knoll Lieutenant of Gien, and afterward Thomas Piery Earl of Worcester, being sent to them by the King, so persuaded them, that with much ado they continued in obedience.

It was about this time moved in Parliament, what should be done with King Richard, (for he was not as yet murdered:) whereupon Thomas Mireck Bishop of Carlile, a learned man and wise; and who had never given allowance to the depoothing of King Richard, now that he was in a place of freedom of speech, rove up and said, 

"My Lords, the matter now proposed

"is of marvellous weight and consequence; wherein there are two points chiefly to be considered: the first, Whether King Richard

"be sufficiently put out of his Prince: the second, Whether the Duke of Lancaster be

"lawfully taken in. For the first, how can that

"be sufficiently done, when there is no power

"sufficient to do it? The Parliament cannot,

"for of the Parliament the King is the head; and

"can the body put down the Head? You

"will say, the head may bow it self down;

"and may the King reign? It is true; but

"what force is in that which is done by force?

"and who knows not that King Richard's Re-

"signation was no other? But suppose he be

"sufficiently our, yet how comes the Duke of

"Lancaster to be lawfully in? If you say by

"Conquest, you speak Treafor; for what Con-

"quest without Arms? and can a Subject take

"Arms against his lawful Sovereign, and not

"be Treafor? If you say, by Election of the

"State, you speak not reason; for what power

"hath the State to elect, while any is living

"that hath right to Succeed? But such a Suc-

"ceflour is not the Earl of Lancaster, as defen-

"ded from Edmund Crouchback, the elder son

"of King Henry the Third, though put by the

"Crown for deformity of his body; for who

"knows not the falsness of this allegation? 

"seeing it is a thing Notorious, that this Edmund

"was neither the elder brother, but yet crook-

"backs, (though called so for some other rea-

"son) but a goodly personage, and without a-

"ny deformity. And your selves cannot for-

"get a thing so lately done, who it was that in

"the fourth year of King Richard was decla-

"red by Parliament to be Heir to the Crown,

"in cafe King Richard should die without issue.

"But why then is not that claim made? because

"Silent leges inter arma. What disputing of Ti-

"cles against the stream of Power? But how-

"foever it is extreme injustice, that King Ri-

"chard should be condemned, without being

"heard, or once allowed to make his de-

"fence. And now, my Lords, I have spoken

"thus at this time, that you may confider of it

"before it be too late; for as yet it is in your

"power to undo that jutly, which you have

" unjustly done.

"Much of this purpoze was the Bishop's speech; but much more would he have said if he had gone about to call back Yesterday. The matter was too far gone; and scarce a person there present, that had not a hope of either a private or a publick benefit by that which was done. Yet against this speech of the Bishop there was neither Protesting nor Excepting; it pass'd in the Houfe as but one mans opinion: And as for the King, it was neither fit he should use much severity against any Member of that Parliament which had so lately shew'd so much indulgence towards him; nor indeed safe, to be too hot in his Punishment, when he was yet scarce warm in his Government. Yet for a warning to use their liberty of speech with more moderation hereafter, the Bishop was arrested by the Marsh- al, and committed to prison in the Abbey of St. Alban, but afterward without further centure set at liberty, till upon a conspiracy of Lords, wherein he was a party; he was condemned to dye, though through extremity of grief he prevented execution. But as for King Richard, and Edouard Mortimer Earl of March, enough was spoken by the Bishop in both their behalfs to undo them both; and indeed King Richard was soon after made away: the Earl secured himself by retiring far off, to his Lordship of Wrogyn; avoiding the danger of Contention, by not entering the Lits of Apyiring. But although the Divine Providence, for caufes hidden from humane knowledge, gave way at this time to the advancement of the younger, the Houfe of Lancaster; yet in the third Ge-

"eration after, the elder, the Houfe of Clarence recovered its right in King Edward the Fourth: that we may know it is but laving the leisure of Heaven, for every one to have his Right, either in Perfon, or by Proxie.

But whether incited by this speech of the Bishop, or otherwife out of the rancor of envy in some, and malice in others, it was not long after, before there grew in the minds of many both Lords and other, a malignant inclination towards
towards King Henry; and came first to be a
Conspiracy in the House of the Abbot of Whil-
sington. This Abbot was a kind of a Book-
fiatarian, but better read in the Politicks of
Ajax than of Solomon; who remembering some
words of King Henry, which he had spoke
some time before, when he was but Earl of Dar-
by, That Princes had too little, and Religious-
men too much; and fearing, left being now
King, he should reduce his words into act, he
thought it better to use preventing Physick be-
forehand, than to stand to the hazard of a cu-
ring afterward: and thereupon invited to his
houfe the discontented Lords; as namely, John
Holland Duke of Exeter, Thomas Holland
his brothers fon, Duke of Surrey, Edward Duke
of Aumerle, John Montague Earl of Salisbury,
Hugh Spencer Earl of Gloucester, John Bishop
of Carlile, Sir Thomas Blunt, and Mandin one of
King Richard's Chappel; who afterward con-
ferring together, and communicating their
spleens against King Henry one with another,
they resolved at last, both to take away the
Kings life, and of the way how to do it.
The device was this: They would publish a solemn
Jubilee to be holden at Oxford, at a day appoin-
ted, and invite the King to honour it with his
presence, and there, in the midst of the
Jubilus, when all mens intentions should be other-
wise busied, they would have him murde-
red. This device was resolved on; Oaths of se-
fecrecy were taken; and Indentures fessipar-
tite for performing conditions agreed upon be-
tween them, sealed and delivered: The Juifs
are proclaimed; the King is invited, and pro-
imph to come; secrecy of all hands kept moit
firmly to the very day. But though all other
kept counsel; yet Fortune would not, but the
discovered all; For it fortuned, that as the
Duke of Aumerle was riding to the Lords at
Oxford, against the day appointed, he took it
in the way to go visit his Father the Duke of
York; and having in his bofome the Indenture of
Confederacy, his Father as they fete at dinner
chanced to fpy it, and asked what it was? to
whom his fon answering, It was nothing that
may way concerned him; By S. George faith his
father, but I will confeft he was before tranf-
ing it from him, read it; and finding the Con-
tents, and reviling his fon for being now the
second time a Traitor, before to King Richard,
and now to King Henry, he commanded his
Horfes instantly to be made ready, and with all
the speed he could make, rode to Windsor, where
the King then lay: but the younger years of
his fon out-rid him, and came to the Court be-
fore him; where locking the Gates, and taking
the Keys from the Porter, pretending some
fpecial reafon, he went up to the King and fall-
ing on his knees, asked his Pardon, The King
demanding, for what offence? he then disco-
vered the whole Plot: which he had feecce
done, when his Father came rapping at the
Court-gates, and coming to the King, showed
him the Indenture of Confederacy which he
had taken from his fon. This, though it ame-
zed the King, yet it informed him of the trutl
of the matter: for it was very fatisfac-
tiful; and thereupon lays aside his journey to fee
the Juttlings of others in jail, and takes care
that he be not jutfled in earneft out of his
Throne himfelf. In the mean time the confe-
derate Lords were reading at Oxford, and hear-
ing nothing of the Duke of Aumerle, nor fee-
ing any preparation for the Kings coming, were
certainly persuaded that their Treafon was dis-
covered. Whereuponfalling into confe-
ration of the cafe they were in, they found there
was no place left for them of Mercy; and there-
fore were to fland upon their Guard, and pro-
vide the belt they could for their fatey. To
which purpoze, the first thing they did was to ap-
pare Mandin in Princely Robes, a man as
like to King Richard in countenance and per-
fonage, as one man lightly can be to another;
and to give forth that he was King Richard
ecapeed out of Prifon, thereby to countenance
their proceedings: The next thing was to di-
patch meffengers to the Kings of France, and
require his affittance. This done they set for-
ward in Battel-array towards Windsor, again-
t to King Henry; but finding him gone to London
before they came, they then deliberated what
course to take: Some advifed to fet King Ri-
Chard at liberty before their concurrence; Ri-
Chard should be discovered: Others thought
belt to follow the King of France, and fet open
him unprovided, and before he could gather
Forces. In this division of Advices, when they
could not do both, they did neither: but as
men amazed, marched on, though they knew
not well whither, till they came to Col-brock;
by which time the King had gathered an Army
of twenty thoufand, and was marching towards
them: but they not thinking so well of their
caufe, that they durft put it to the trial of a
battel; or perhaps faying for aid out of
France, withdrew themfelves back to Sunnings
near to Reading, where the young Queen lay:
to whom their coming gave fome fhes of
comfort, but quereled before they were
throughly kindled: and from thence they
march to Gloucefer, where the Duke of Surrey
and the Earl of Salisbury took up their lodg-
ing in one Inn; the Duke of Exeter and the
Earl of Gloucefer in another. And now a strange
Accident, beyond the reach of all confulation,
gives a fudden Difpofiion, that some of the Lords
think that a private company durft oppofe those
Lords having their Army to near them? Yet
the Bayliff of the Town upon Intelligence (no
doubt that these Lords were up in Arms a-
gainft the King,) taking with him a company
of Townsmen, in the night assaulted the Inn
where the Duke of Surrey and the Earl of Sa-
linbury lay; who thus oppofed made fhit to
defend themfelves till three a clock in the af-
noon: but then, being in danger to be taken,
a Prietl one of their company, fet divers hou-
s in the Town on fire, thinking thereby to di-
vert the Affailants from prosecuting the Lords,
to fave their houfes: but this inflamed them
the more; and fo hotly they purfued their af-
fault, that they wounded the Duke and the
Earl to death; who dying that night their heads
were thirck off and fent up to London. With
them also were taken, Sir Bonze Slvey, Sir
Bovard Brocks, Sir Thomas Blunt, and eight
and twenty other Lords, Knights and Gentle-
men; who were fent to Oxford, where the King then
lay,
lay, and there were put to execution. The Duke of Exeter in the other Inne, hearing of this affault, fled out of the backside towards the Camp, intending to bring the whole Army to the rescue; but the soldiers having heard a clamour, and seeing smoke, supposing the King had been come with all his Forces, out of a sudden fear dispersed themselves and fled: which the Duke seeing, he also with Sir John Shelly, fled into Essex, where wandering and lurking in secret places, he was at last apprehended as he was at supper in a friends house, and led to Pladbury, and there shortly after beheaded, the place, where by his counsel and commenence, the Duke of Gloucester formerly had been apprehended: That we may observe how the Divine Providence in revenging of injuries, takes notice, and makes use of the very circumstance of place where the injuries are done. The Earl of Gloucester fled towards Walfes, but was taken and beheaded at Brifham. Mandin the counterfeit King Richard, was apprehended and brought to the Tower, and afterward hanged and quartered; with Mr. Perci, another of King Richard's Commanders. divers other Lords, and Knights, and Gentlemen, that as the number of mean persons were in other places put to death; that so much Noble blood, at one time, and for one cause, hath scarce been heard or read of. The Abbot of Westminster, in whose house the plot was contrived, hearing of these misfortunes, as he was going between the Monastery and his Mansion, fell suddenly into a Palfie; and shortly after, without speech, ended his life. About this time also, a strange piece of Trefon is reported to have been practiced against the Kings life; that there was found in his bed-cloaths an Iron with three sharp pikes standing upright; that when the King should have laid him down, he might have thrust himself upon them. But seeing there is no farther mention of inquiring after it; it seems to have been but an idle rumour not worth believing.

But now that the hot English blood was well assuayed, the Welsh blood springs up as hot: For now Owen Glendower, and Esquire of Wales, brought up at the Inns of Court in London: partly out of a desire to revenge a wrong done him (as he conceived) in a suit for lands in controversy between the Lord Grey of Ruthin and him; but chiefly out of an humour of aspiring, endeavoured to draw the Welshmen to a general defection, telling them, that the English being in a very great variety of themselves, now was the time to shake off their yoke, and to reform their own ancient Laws and Customs. To whose perfwasions the Welsh men heartily made, him their King and Captain; and he having gotten a competent Army, set forth upon his old Adverary, Reynold Lord Grey of Ruthin, and takes him prisoner; yet with promise of releafement, if he would marry his daughter, which offer though the Lord Grey at first not only refused, but scorned; yet out of necessity he left he was constrained to accept; when now notwithstanding, his deceitful Father in law trifled out the time of his enlargement till he was slain. But the Welshmen growing confident upon this success, break into the borders of Herefashire, making spoil and prey of the Country as freely as if they had leave to do it; for indeed none opposed them but only the Lord Edward Mortimer, who had formerly withdrawn himself to his Castle at Wigmore; and having assembled the forces of the Country, and joyned battle with them, was taken prisoner, and was first quartered, and then quartered again, into a deep and wide Danger. It was thought if Glendower had as well known how to urge his victory, as to get it, he might at this time have put the English yoke into a great hazard to be shaken off; but he having killed 1000 of the English, thought he had done enough for that time, and so giving over the pursuit, retired.

The inhumanity of the Welsh Women was here memorable, who fell upon the dead carcasses of the English, first stripping them, and then cutting off their privy parts and noses; whereof one the they thrust into their mouths, the other they prefied between their buttocks. Many noble men, specially his Kinmen the Piercies solicited King Henry to deliver Mortimer; but the King was deaf of that ear, he could rather have wished both him and his two Sifters in Heaven, for then he should be free from conceal'd Competitors.

These affronts were at this time suffered in the Velfh, because the King was now employed in a more dangerous service with the Scots; for they taking advantage of the distraction in the Kingdom (as it was always their custom to do) had made an In-ride into the County of Northumberland; and suddenly one night set upon the Castle of Wf-ork, took and spoiled it, and then returned. In revenge whereof, the English invaded and spoiled certain lands of the Orkneys. Then the Scots set forth a Fleet, under the conduct of Sir Robert Logan; but before he came to any action, he was encountered, and the greatest part of his Fleet taken. But these were but such affronts, as often happen between troublesome neighbours; for all this while the Peace was still in being between the Nations: but at last it brake out into open War.

The Peace between England and Scotland, how it brake out into open War.
the end of September, he beleaguered the Castle of
Mayden in Edinburgh; where Prince David, and the Earl of
Douglas were: At which time, Robert D. of Albany, who in the King of Scots' letters
managed the business, sent to the Herald to K. Henry,
protesting upon his honour, that if he would stay,
but four days he would give him battle. K. Henry
rewarded the Herald, and stayed; but six times
four days-patted, but neither Duke of Albany,
or any other for him appeared. And now Winter
came on, victuals grew scant, and which was
worth, a mortality began in the English Camps
which causes, King Henry removed his siege, and
returned into England. As soon as he was gone,
Sir Patrick Hepbome a Scotchman, having a good
opinion of his valour, thought to do great mat ters;
and with a competent Army of the men of
Longh deke, he invaded Northumberland, making
great spoil, and loading his foolders with prey,
and prisoners: but in the Retreat marching
loudly, and licentiously, was for upon the Earl of
Northumberland, Vice-Warden, at a Town called
Nelfis, where Hepbome himselfe: and all the
forces of Longh-deke were slain, Sir John and the
William, Sir Henry, Sir John, Buffle, John and Tim.
HuddingTon, Elgories, and a multitude of com mon
Soldiers taken Prisoners: on the English part few flames, and none of any rank or quality.
In revenge whereof Archibald Douglass with an Ar
my of twenty thousand entered Northumberland;
but in a place called Hamilcnd, were encountered
by the English, under the leading of Henry L.
Piercy, surnamed Haptoose, and George Earl of
March, who put them to flight; and after the
slaughter of ten thousand of them, took five hundred
prisoners: whereof the chief were Marock
Earl of Fife, (son of the General, who in the
fight lost one of his eyes,) Thomas Earl of Mur rys,
Robert Earl of Angus, the Earls of Athol and
Meffgbith; and amongst the slain, were Sir John
Swinton, Sir Adam Guardon, Sir John Leitong, Sir
Alexander Ramfy, and three and twenty other
Knights.

The French and Owen Glendower, but without succcee.

King Henry marries the Lady Jane de Neville, the relict of John Mont ford, and forms the Conqueror.

King Henry's Ambassadors lately went into Brit
tain to fetch the Lady Jane de Neville, Dutches of
Brittain, the relict of John de Montford formed the
Conqueror, with whom the King by
Procuctors had contested Matrimony; in the
beginning of February returned with her in safe ty:
The King met her at Winchester, where the re
turning, she demanded the marriage was solemnized:
About this time some affronts were offered by the
French, Valerian Earl of S. Paul, with seven
men hundred, landed in the Isle of Wight, where he burnt two Villages and some few Cot
tages; but hearing the people of the Island to
have assembled, he made haste to his Ships, and
returned home. Also John Earl of Clement (the
heir of Bourbon) won from the English the Castles of St. Peter, St. Mary, and the New Castle:
The Lord de la Bress, won the Castle of Calgijn;
places of great consequence to the English.

And now to make King Henry sensible that a
Crown can hardly ever sit age upon the head of
it be not set on right at first, a new Conspiracy is
hatching against him. The Piercys Earls of Nor
thumberland & Wolrre, with Henry Hotspor, be
began about this time to fall off from K. Henry; their
reason was, Firlfr, because the King at their re
quest refused to redeem their kinman Mortimer
from Glendow's flavery; and then because he de
nied them the benefit of such prisoners as they
had taken of the Scots, at Hamilcnd, or Nelfis;
whereupon they went of themselves, and procured
Mortimer's delivery, and then entered into a
League offensive and defensive with Glendower
and by their Proxies, in the house of the Arch deacon of Bayge, they agreed upon a Tripartite
Indenture under their hands and seals, to divide the Kingdom into three parts; whereby all Eng
land from Strewn and Trenf, South and Eastward
was allotted to the person of Sir William, Sir Henry, Sir John, Buffle, John and Tim.
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likely to be more able, being now a King, to keep it from private men: and as for any objections that Conscience could make, he had enough to answer them all: For, if his Title were good against King Richard, by his Relegation, it was good against Mortimer by his swearing Allegiance: and upon these grounds, with a minde as confident as if all circumstancies were of his side, he raised an Army, and marched towards the Lords, taking care they might by no means join with the Welsh: and about Shrewsbury on Saturday S. Mary Magdalens Eve he encountered them: in which fight though the Scots and Henry Hotspur showed much valour, yet the victory rested on the Kings side; Hotspur himself was slain, the Earl of Worcester was taken prisoner, together with Sir Richard Vernon, Sir Theobold Trussel, the Baron of Kinderton; and the rest fled. On the Kings part (besides the Earl of Stafford, who had that morning revolted from the Conspirators) were slain, Sir Hugh Shirley, Sir John Clifford, Sir Robert Roper, Sir Richard Wenles, Sir Walter Blunt, Sir John Countréy, Sir John Massey of Paddington, Sir Hugh Mortimer, and Sir Robert Gausell, all which had been but that morning dubbed Knights, with Sir Thomas Wendles, who dyed afterwards of his wounds; of common soldiers about sixteen hundred, but of the Conspirators above six thousand, whereof the 36 the King flew with his own hands; but was once unhorsed by Dunglisse, who in his presence flew Sir Walter Blunt, with divers others, that day in all things attired like to the King; for which exploit, Dunglisse (being after the fall of his horse taken prisoner) was by the Kings command carefully attended, and without ransom set free at liberty. In this battle, the young Prince Henry, though wounded in the face with an Arrown, yet was not wounded in his courage, but continued fighting still. After this victory the King caused publick thanks to be given to them, and the Earl of Warwick was to be beheaded, and many others of that Rebellion to be drawn, hanged and quartered, and their heads placed on London Bridge: And then the King sent his Son Henry Prince of Wales, with his whole Army into that Country; but before his coming Owen Glendour was abandooned by all his Company: and lurking in the Woods was there famished: many of his associates were taken and put to death. Whilest the Prince was in Wale, Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, of his own accord, came and submitted himself to the King, professing his innocency, as not being once acquainted with any intent of Treason and Rebellion; whose excuse the King received for the present with gentile language, the rather for that he had the polleffion of Berwick, Calle and other places of strength in his power: but yet he wiped not off the remembrance of his crime.

And now with the fourth year of his Reign ended all the great Troubles of this King Henry the fourth: those that follow are but such accidents as are frequent in all times both abroad and at home. The Britains under the leading of the Lord of Da Caffie, spoiled the Town of Plimouth, In revenge whereof, the Western men, under command of William Wyllford, set forth a Fleet, which arriving in Britain, took forty Ships laden with Oyl and Wines, and burnt forty more. Again the French landed a thousand men in the Isle of Wight, where they got together a great bootie of Cartel; but the Islanders coming upon them took away their bootie, and made many of them leave their Carli-faces for a bootie to the Island. Yet the French would not leave so, but a while after, as having gotten new spirits, they came Anchor before the Isle of Wight; and require no less then to have the Island into their poffessions but a resolute answer of the Islanders frighted them away, and made them glad they were gone. Soon after this the Duke of Orleans, brother to the French King, in a vaunting Ryle, sent a challenge to King Henry to meet him in the field, each of them to have a hundred in his Company: to which the King answer'd, that for his own value it had sufficiently been tried, and for this challenge of the Dukes, neither the person nor the cause were worthy of his undertaking. Upon this Refusal of the Kings, divers were forced to retire, were bandied between them, till at last the Duke in great pain left his upon Veggie a Town in Guet, but after three months alternating it, being valiantly defended by Sir Robert Amfield and three hundred English men, he was glad to give over with lost, and return into France. Presently upon this the Admiral of Britain accompanied with the Lord Da Caffie, and thirty sail of Ships attempted to land at Dersmouth in Devonshire, but were repelled, and the Lord Da Caffie, and two of his Brothers, and four hundred of his men were slain, besides two hundred taken prisoners; of whom the L. Beagville Marhal of Britain, was one. After this five hundred men of arms, five hundred Cross-Bows, and a thousand Flemings, under the conduct of the Earl of St. Paul, laid siege to the Castle of Marg three leagues from Calais: but first Sir Philip Hali Capitan of Calais, and after by Sir Richard Allen Lieutenant of the English pale, they were forced to retire, and Sir Robert St. Paul escaped to S. Omers, but left many of his men of quality behind him, and more taken Prisoners. After this, Thomas D. of Clarence, the Kings second Son, and the Earl of Kent, with competent Forces entered the Haven of Slieve, where they burnt four Ships riding at Anchor, and returned to the relief of Calais, besieged at that time by the French: and in the way took three Carriages of Gunpowder richly laden, and brought them into the Chamber of Yze. And these were the troubles of this King abroad. About this time a Parliament was assembled at Coventry; which by some was called, the Lay-men Parliament, because the Sheriffs were appointed, that none should be chosen Knights for the Countries, nor Burgesses for the Cities and Towns, that had any skill in the Laws of the Land.

And now was home the Reliques of the former Northern Rebellion began to revive; for now Henry Percy Earl of Northumberland, Richard Scrop Archbishop of York, Thomas Maudray Earl Marshal, the Lords, Hoftings, Faulcon-bridge, and Bardolf, with divers others, confpi"red at a time appointed, to meet upon York. Would Downs, and there bid defiance to King Henry. Articles of Grievances were framed, and set up in all publick places, which drew multi-
multitudes to be partakers of the enterprise. But now Ralph Nevill, Earl of Westmorland, with the Lord John the King's third Son, the Lord Henry Fitz-Hughes, Ralph Ever, and Robert Ham
erdale make head against them; and coming into a Plain in the Forefet of Gallytrees, they fare down right against the Archbishop and his Forces, which were twenty thousand; and West-
merland perceiving the Enemies Forces to be far more than theirs, he used this Policy: he sent to the Archbishop, demanding the reason why he would raise Forces against the King? who answering, that his Arms were not against the King, but for his own defence, whom the King upon the instigation of Sycophants, had threatened: withal he sent him a scroll of their grievance, which Westmorland read, and seemed to approve, and thereupon defired a con-
ference with him. The Archbishop more cre-
dulous then wife, persuasion, the Earl Marshal to go with him to the place appointed to confer. The Articles are read and allowed of; and thereupon Westmorland seeming to commisserate the Souliers, having in armour all day, and famine, wished the Archbishop to acquaint his parents, he should have with the said unfa-

tual agreement; and so shaking hands, in molt Courtly friendship drank unto him. Whereupon the Souliers were willing to dis-
band, and repair home; which they had no sooner done, but a Troop of Horfe, which in a colourable manner had made a shew to depart, wheeled about, and afterward returned and being in fire of the Earl of Westmorland, arreted both the Archbishop and the Earl Marshal, and brought them both Prisoners to the King at Donflufr; who passing from thence to York, the Prisoners likewise were carried thither, and the next day both of them behes-
ded. At Durham the Lords Haffings and Fun-
cambridge, with two Knights, were executed. Northumberland, with the Lord Bardolf, fled first to Berwick, and after into Scotland, where they were entertained by David Lord Fleming; whereupon they had given them their Castle of Berwick, which at first they refused to obey, but upon the planting & discharging of a Piece, they presently yielded without composition; and here William Graystock, Henry Baynton, and John Blankenhop, Knights, and five other were pretently put to execution, and many others committed to several Prisons. About this time James Son and Heir of Robert King of Scotland, a child of nine years old, attended by the Earl of Orkney, as he was falling into France, was taken by certain Ma-

inians of Norfolk, who brought him to the King at Windsor, the 30. of March, 1408, and the King sent them to the Tower of London. Northumberland and Bardolf, after they had been in Wales, France, and Flanders, to raise a power against King Henry, returned back into Scotland; and after a year with a great power of Scots entered England, and came into Yorkshire, making great spoile and waste as they passed: but Sir Thomas, a Serjeant of York, leuing the forces of the Country upon Bremanmore gave them Battell: in which Northumberland was slain, Bardolf taken, but wounded to death, and the rest put to flight. About this time also, Sir Roger Ham-
phrevile Vice-Admiral of England, with ten men of War entred Scotland, burnt their Gally, and many other ships over against Leith, and brought away with him fourteen tall Ships laden with Corn and other staple commodities, which at his return he sent into the Markets round about, and thereby brought down the prices of all things, and purchased to himself the name of Mind-

market.

The Prince had been a student in Queens Col-
didge in Oxford, under the tuition of his Uncle Henry Beaumont, Chancellour of that University, a terwards Bishop of Lincoln and Winchester, and laftly made a Cardinal, by the title of Eufhbia. From Oxford the Prince was called to Court, and the Lord Thomas Percy Earl of Woresfer was made his governour, but coming afterward to be at his own displeasing, whether by nature valorous, and yet not well layed by time and ex-
perience, or whether incited by ill companions, and emboldened by the opinion of his own greatness, he ran into many conffes for unworthy of a Prince, that it was much doubted what he would prove when he came to be King once. It is said he lay in wart for the Receivers of his Fa-
thers Receipts made in the person of a Chief feft upon them and robb'd them. Another time, of his companions was arraigned for felony be-
fore the Lord Chief Justice, he went to the Kings Bench Bar and offered to take the Prison-
'er away by force; but being withstood by the L.
Chief Justice, he stepped to him, and thruck him 
over the face: whereas the Judge nothing abdis-

rode up and told him, that he did not this af-
fir to him, but to the King his Father, in whole place hearet; and therefore to make him know his fault, he commanded him to be committed to the Fleet. You would have wondered to see how calm the Prince was in his own caufe, who in the caufe of his companion had been so violent; for he quietly obeyed the Judges sentence, and suf-

fered himself to be led to Prison. This paliga-
te was not a little pleasing to the King, to think that he had a Judge of such courage, and a Son of such fnobination: but yer for these and such other 

branks he spared his Father, the President of the Council, and placed in it his third Son; a Prince. This made the Prince so sensible of his Fathers 
displeasure, that he thought it necessary to seek by all means to recover his good opinion; which he endeavoured to do by a way so strange as that 

by which he loof it; for attirring himself in a gar-

ment of blue Satin, wrought all with eyes-holes of 

black silk, at every hole the needle hanging, by which it was fowed, and about his arm a thing in fashion of a hounds collar, stuffed with S.S. of Gold, he came to the Court at Westminster; to whom the King (though not well in health) cau-

led himself, in a Chair, to be brought into his Privy Chamber; where in presence of but three 
or four of his Privy Council, he demanded of the Prince the cause of his unwonted habit and coming who answered, That being not only his subject but his fon, and a fon so tenderly alway es 

regarded by him, he was worthy of a thousand 

debts, if he should intend or but imagine the 

least offence to his sacred Majestie, and therefore 

had faced himself to be made a sacrifice: and 

therewithal reached his dagger, holding it by the 
point to his Father, For (sayd he) I desire not to 

live longer, then I may be thought to be what I 

am.
am and shall ever be, your faithful and obedient Vassal. With this or the like answer, the King was so moved, that he fell upon his Son's neck, and with many tears embracing him, confessed that his ears had been too open to receive reports against him, and promising faithfully, that from thenceforward no reports should cause any difaffection towards him. The King about this time, made his Son John, Duke of Bedford, and his Son Humphrey, Duke of Glocester; he made also Sir Thomas Beaumont Earl of Derby, and the Earl of Arundel he created Duke of York.

The reign of King Henry's days, from this time forward, being scarce a year, was free from all trouble both abroad and at home, unless perhaps he might be troubled in mind for having fled to much Engliify and Noble blood; for exclusion whatsoever, or else to the end might joy Valour and Devotion in one action together, which hidther to he but used bingly, he took upon him the Crown; and at a Council in White-Fryers order was taken, and great preparation was made for his journey to Jerusalem: But it was otherwise decreed in Heaven, and yet not to otherwise, but that he ended his life in Jerusalem, as shall be shewed hereafter.

Of his Taxation.

In the very beginning of his Reign, it might pass instead of a Taxation, that he found in King Richard's Coiffers, in Money and Jewels, to the value of seven hundred thousand pounds. In his fourth year an extraordinary subsidy was granted him; twenty thirllings of every Knight's Fee, and of every one that had twenty thirllings a year in Land, twelve pence and upward, according to that rate; and of every one that had twenty pounds in goods, twelve pence, and upward according to that rate; but with this caution and protestation, that it should not hereafter be drawn for a Precedent; and that no Record thereof should be made. In his fifth year the Clergy granted to the King a Tenth. In his seventh, the Clergy granted a Tenth and a half, and the Commons two fifteens. In a Parliament holden the ninth year of his Reign, the King moved to have allowed him in every year, wherein there was no Parliament kept, a tenth of the Clergy, and a fifteenth of the Laity; to which demands the Bishops attented; but the Commons would not. In his seventh year, a Parliament began which lasted almost a whole year, in which a Subsidy was at first granted; so that, even Priests andFriars who lived of Alms, were forced every one to pay a Noble.

Of Laws and Ordinances made in his time.

In this King's days, burning and execution by fire for controversies in Religion was first put in practice. Also in the first year of his Reign, an Act was made, that no person of what degree soever, should after that day allege for his excuse, any constraint or coercing of his Prince, for doing of any unlawful act; and that such excuse, after that day, should stand him in no stead.

Also an Act was made, that no Lord, nor other, might give any Liveries to any but their household and menial Servants. In his twelfth year, the King caused a new Coin of Nobles to be made, which was of less value than the old Noble by four pence.

Also that all Rippers, and other Fishers from any of the Sea-coasts should sell their Fish in Cornwall and Chesapeake themselves, and not to Fishmongers that would buy to sell again.

Also this King instituted the Dutche Court, which he did in honour of the Houfe of Lancaster, to the end the Lands belonging to the Dutches, might in all following times be distinguished and known from the Lands of the Crown. In his fifth year, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Procefs to the Sheriffs, that they should choose no Knights nor Burghes that had any knowledge in the Laws of the Realm; by reason whereof, it was called, the Lay-men's Parliament. In his twelfth year, the Mayor of London, for preferring of Fish, obtained, that all Wears which flowed between London and seven mile beyond London, as also such as flowed between London and Gravesend, should be pulled up and taken away.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

By reason of discord between John of Gaunt, and Wickham Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop either in durance, could not, or in fear, durst not come to the Parliament House, at a time when the King required a supply of money; but the Clergy unanimously affirming, that without their Brother, the Bishop of Wincheste, preference, they neither can nor will consent of anything, he is presently sent for, and by the King secured. After this, the King called a Parliament at Coventry, and sent Procefs to the Sheriffs that they should choose no Knights or Burghes that were Lawyers, and was therefore called the Laymen's Parliament: And shortly after another Parliament was called, and named the unlearned Parliament; either for the unlearnedness of the persons; or for their malice to learned men. In which the Commons prefented a Petition to the King and the upper House, defiring that the King might have the Temporal possessions of the Bishops and Clergy; the value whereof they pretended would be sufficient maintenance for a hundred and fifty Earls, one thousand five hundred Knights, six thousand two hundred Esquires, and a hundred Hospitals for maimed Soldiers. They said likewise, that Clerks convicted should not be delivered to the Bishops Prifon; and that the Statute made in the second year of the King against Lollards might be repealed. But the King denied their Petition, and in person commanded them thenceforth, not to presume to trouble their Brains about any such busines; for he was resolved to leave the Church in as good fame as he found it. In the twelfth year of his Reign certain learned men in Oxford, in their Sermons maintained the Opinions of Wicklif; but the Bishops and Doctors of the University inhibited and condemned them. In his time was a great Schism in the Church, by reason of two Anti-Popes; but afterwards in an Assembly of Cardinals and Bishops,
shops, a third man was elected, named Alexander the fifth, who had been trained up at Oxford.

Works of Piety done in his time.

King Henry founded a College at Battleford in Shropshire, where he overcame the Lord Henry Percy. In his third year, the Conduit upon Colshill was begun to be built. Also in his time Sir Robert Knolles made the Stone Bridge of Rochester in Kent; and founded in the Town of Pomefert a College and an Hospital: He also re-edified the body of the White Friers Church in Fleet-street, where he was afterward buried: Which Church was first founded by the Ancestors of the Lord Grey of Codnor. In the eighth year of his Reign, Richard Whittington Mayor of London erected an house or Church in London, to be a house of Prayer, and named it after his own name, Whittington College; with lodgings and weekly allowance for divers poor people. He also built the Gate of London, called Regent's, in the year 1429, which was before a moat loathed. He built also more than half of St. Bartholomew Hospital in West Smithfield, and the beautiful Library in the Gray-Friers in London, now called Christ's Hospital: He also built a great part of the East-end of Guild Hall, and a Chappel rejoicing to it, with a Library of Stone, for the custody of the Records of the City. But he exceeded all this at this time in Works of Piety, was William Wickham Bishop of Winchester; his first work was the building of a Chappel at Titchfield, where his Father, Mother, and Sister Perrot were buried: Next he founded at Southwick in Hampshire, near the Town of Winchester, the place of his birth, as a suppliance to the Priory of Southwick, a Chantry, with allowance for five Pious for ever: He bestowed twenty thousand Marks in repairing the houses belonging to the Bishoprick: He discharged out of Prison in all places of his Diocess, all Such poor Priests as lay in Prison, and discharged out of the falling five Pounds: He amended all the High-ways from Winchester to London, on both sides the River. After all this, on the fifth of March, 1379, he began to lay the foundation of that magnificent Structure in Oxford, called New College, and in person laid the first stone there of; in which place before, there flourished many Colleges built by Alver, at Merton intently; and for the affinities of the name, came to be called New College. In the year 1387. on the 36. of March, he likewise in person laid the first Stone of the like Foundation in Winchester, and dedicated the same, as that other in Oxford, to the memory of the Virgin Mary. The Grocers in London parceled their Hall in Cuny-bre-Loan for 320. Marks; and then laid the foundation thereof on the tenth of May. King Henry founded the College of Fotherby in Northamptonshire; to which King Henry the fifth gave Land of the Priories of Monk Ailms, by him suppressed.

John Gower the famous Poet, next built a great part of St. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, where he lies buried. In the second year of this King, a new Market in the Poultry, called the Steeke, was built for the trade of Foreign Fishmongers and Butchers. In his twelfth year the Guildhall of London was begun to be new edificed; and of a little Cottage made a goodly house, as now it is. Also in this King's time John Colepepper, one of the Justices of the commons Pleas founded a Free-School with competent yearly maintenance in West Peckham in Kent.

Catastrophes happening in his time.

In his third year, in the month of May, he appeared a blazing Star; first between the East and the North, and then sending forth fiery beams towards the North: fore-Beholding the effuence of blood that followed after in Wales and Northumberland. In the same year at Donkury in Essex, the Devil appeared in likenes of a Gray Frier; who entering the Church, did the people in great fear, and the same hour with a Tempell of Whirlwind and Thunder, the top of the Steeple was broken down, and half the Chancel scattered abroad.

In his seventh year, such abundance of water brake suddenly over the banks in Kent, that it drowned Catel without numbers also this year the Town of Reyfen in Hertfordshire was burnt. In his ninth year was so sharp a Winter and such abundance of Snow, continued December, January, February, and March, that almost all small Birds died through hunger.

Of his Wives and Children.

He had two Wives, the first was Mary, one of the Daughters and Heirs of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex, and Northampton; she died before he came to the Crown, in the year 1394. His second Wife was Jane, Daughter to Charles the first King of Navarre, she being the Widow of John de Montfaucon borned Strangos, the Conqueror, Duke of Brittain; who died without issue. His third Son was John Duke of Bedford; he married first with Anne Daughter of John Duke of Burgundy, and secondly with Jacob Daughter of Peter of Luxemburg, Earl of St. Paul, but died also without issue. His fourth Son was Humphrey, by his Brother King Henry the fifth created Duke of Gloucester, and was generally called the good Duke: he had two Wives, but died without issue, in the year 1446; and was buried at St. Albans: though the vulgar opinion be, that he lies buried in St. Paul's Church. Of King Henry the fourth's Daughters, Blanch the elder was married to Lewis d'Artois, Prince of the Rhne, and Prince Elector; Philip his younger daughter, was married to John King of Denmark and Norway.
The Reign of King Henry the Fourth.

Of his Perjuries and Conditions.

Concerning his body, he was of middle stature, slender limbs, but well proportioned. Concerning his mind, of a furious and solid disposition, and one that stood more upon his own legs then any of his Predecessors had done: in cases of difficulty not refusing, but not needing the advice of others; which might confirm, but not better his own. He was never merry nor sad, but both: before pleased when he was opposed, because this was like to do him good, by sharpening his invention: most angry when he was flattered, because this was sure to do him hurt, by dulling his judgement. No man ever more loved, nor less dasted upon a Wife then he. A good Husband, but not uxorious: that if there be rens to that passion, we may know he had them. It may be thought he affected the Crown, not so much out of Ambition as out of Compassion, because the oppressions of his Country he could not so well help being a Subject, as a King; for otherwise we may truly say, he was a lover by the Crown, being not so great for a King, as he was before for a Subject. The Crown rather was a gainer by him, which hath ever since been the richer for his wearing it. We may think he was either weary of his life, or longing for death; for why else would he take upon him the Cross, having been told by a skilful Soothsayer, that he should dye at Jerusalem? but it seems he did not believe him.

Of his Death and Burial.

In the forty sixth year of his Age, having Peace both at home and abroad, and being of too active a spirit to be idle, he took upon him the Cross, and great provision was made for his journey to Jerusalem: but alas, his journey to Jerusalem required no such provision; for being at his Prayers at St. Edward's Shrine, he was suddenly taken with an Apeplasty, and thereupon removed to the Abbot of Westminster's house; where recovering his fenes, and finding himself in a strange place, he asked what place it was? and being told that he was in the Abbot's house, in a Chamber called Jerusalem: Well then (said he) Lord have mercy upon me, for this is the Jerusalem where a Soothsayer told me I should dye. And here he died indeed, on the 20. day of March, in the year 1413, when he had lived twenty and forty years, reigned thirteen and a half. It is worth remembering, that all the time of his fickness, his will was to have his Crown set upon his boister by him: and one of his fets being so strong upon him, that all men thought him directly dead, the Prince coming in, took away the Crown: when suddenly the King recovering his fenes, milled his Crown; and asking for it, was told, the Prince had taken it: whereupon the Prince being called, came back with the Crown, and kneeling down, said, Sir, to all our judgements, and to all our griefs, you seemed directly dead, and therefore I took the Crown as being my Right: but seeing to all our comforts, you live, I here deliver it much more joyfully then I took it, and pray

God you may long live to wear it your self. Well (faith the King) what right I had to it, God knows. But (faith the Prince) if you dye King, my Sword shall maintain it to be my Right against all opposers. Well (faith the King) I refer all to God: but I charge thee on my Blessing, that thou administer the Laws indifferently, avoid Flatterers, defer not to do Justice, or be sparing of Mercy: And then turning about, said, God blees thee, and have mercy on me: and with those words, gave up the Ghost. His body with all Funeral pomp was conveyed to Canterbury, and there solemnly buried.

Of Men of Note in his time.

Of men of Valour in his time, of whom there was store, I shall need to say no more then what hath already been said in the body of the story; only I cannot but remember Sir Robert Knollys, who was born of mean parentage, made himself famous over all Christendom; and dying at a Manour of his in Norfolk, was brought to London, and buried in the Church of the White-Friers in London, which himself had re-edified. But for men of learning, I must let in the first place, William Wickham, a man of no learning, yet well worthy to hold the place. In relating of whose life, I must have leave to expatiate a little. His Father's name was John Long, or as some say, Pervis; but as Campion proves, Wickhames, and not from the place of his dwelling, though he was Parish Clerk of Wickenham in Hampshire, where he taught Children to write: In which quality his Son William proved so excellent, that Nicholas Waddell, Constable of Wickenher Castle, took him from his Father, and kept him at School, first at Wickenher, afterward at Oxford; till himself being made Surveyor-General of the Kings Works, he sent for this William to serve him as his Clerk: who in short time grew so expert in that employment, that Adam Tarleton Bishop of Wickenher, commended him to the King, who employed him presently in surveying his Fortifications at Dover, and Queenborough Castles, and afterward made him Surveyor of his Buildings at Winder, and his houses of Henly and Earl-Hampton. And here first envy rose up against him, for having caused to be engraven on a stone of a Wall at Winder Castle, these words, This made William Wickenham. Some that envied his rising, complained to the King of his inoffency, as arrogating to himself, that excellent piece of Building to be done at his charge: but Wickenham called before the King about it made answer, that his meaning was not, neither by any indifferent construction could it import that Wickenham made that Building, but that the same Building made Wickenham, as being a means of the Kings great favour towards him: This answer pacified the King, who took him daily more and more into his favour; and being now entered into the Ministy, was first made Parson of St. Martin's in the Fields, then Mini
of St. Martins le Grand, afterward Archdeacon of Lincolne, Provost of Wickenham, and Rector of Manyhams in Decanstry; so as at one time he had
The Reign of King Henry the Fourth.

had in his hands so many Ecclesiastical Livings, that the value of them in the Kings Book amounted to eight hundred twenty, six pounds, thirteen shillings; besides which, he was honoured with many Temporal Livings, of great profit and respect, as to be his principal Secretary, Keeper of the Privy Seal, Master of the Wards and Liveries, Treasurer of the Kings Revenues in France, and some other Offices. After which, the Bishopric of Winchester falling void, means was made to the King to bestow that place upon him. And here, the second time, did envy rise up against him, informing the King that he was a man of little or no learning, and no way fit for such a dignity. Whereupon the King made stay of granting it; but when Wickham came before the King, and told him, that what he wanted in personal learning, he would supply with being a Founder of Learning, this so satisfied the King that he bestowed the place upon him. After this he was made Lord Treasurer of England; and here the third time did envy rise up against him; for the King requiring of his Subjects a supply of money, it was answered, that he needed no other supply then what was due to his Treasury; and he blow strook deep upon the Bishop; for he was presently charged to give account for eleven hundred ninety six thousand pounds; and whilst he was busily in preparing his accounts, all his Temporalities, upon impertinence of John of Gaunt, were seized into the Kings hands, and given to the Prince of Wales, and himself upon pain of the Kings displeasure, commanded not to come within twenty miles of the Court. In this case he diffimmed his train, and sendeth copies abroad of his accounts, if it might be received; but was hindred by the working of John of Gaunt against him upon this ground (as was thought). Queen Philippa Wife to King Edward the Third, upon her death-bed, by way of Confession, told Wickham, that John of Gaunt was not the lawful Ille of King Edward, but a supposititious Son; for when she was brought to bed at Gaunt, her mother, being at Westminster, sent for her to be born at London; and if the King was to have a Son, she exchanged that Daughter with a Dutch Woman for a Boy, whereof she had been delivered about the same time with the Queen. Thus much the confessed, and withal made the Bishop swear, that if the said John of Gaunt should at any time either directly or indirectly attempt the Crown; or rightfulliy, throughwant of ille, it should devolve unto him; then that he should discover this matter, and make it known unto the King, and Council. Afterward the Queen being dead, and the Bishop finding John of Gaunt, as he thought, too much aspiring, he secretly told him this relation, and this adjuration of his suppli'd Mother, advising him not to seek higher then a private stake; for else he was bound by Oath to make it known to all the World. Thus far the Bishop did well; but when he saw the Son of John of Gaunt not only aspiring, but paragraphs on the Crown, why did he not then discover it, and joyn at least with the Bishop of Carlisle, in opposing it? Certainly, we may know, that either the whole relation was but a Fable, or that Wickham was a Temporizer, or that John of Gaunt was a most patient man, to suffer the afront of such an indignity, with less then the death of him that did it. But howsoever it was, it is certain, the Duke bore a mortal grudge to the Bishop; who had no way to withstand such an enemy, but by making Alice Pierce his friend; by whose means, after two years, he was restored to all his living; and afterward, K. Edward being dead, and Alice Pierce banished; by the means of a greater friend then Alice Pierce; his full purfe he obtained in the second year of King Richard, a general pardon under the great Seal of England; and from that time forward enjoyed a quiet life, and died in the fourth year of this King Henry the fourth, being then of the age of above eighty years, and lieth buried in the Church of St. Swithin in Winchester, in a monument of his own making in his life time; leaving for his heir Thomas Perto, the son of his sister Agnes, married to William Perto.

Another great example of the volatility of Fortune, in Professors of Learning, was Roger Walden, who died in the ninth year of this Kings. He was at first a poor Scholar in Oxford; and the first Rep of his rising, was to be a Chaplain in the College there of St. Marys. From thence he rose to be Dean of York; and after this, a high Rep, to be Treasurer of England; and yet a higher after that upon the banishment of Thomas Arundel, to be Archbishop of Canterbury: But being now at the top, he came down again; for in this Kings time, Thomas Arundel being restored to the Archbishopsrick, Walden was not only put out of that place, but was called to accompe the Treasurship; and though he shewed his Quietness off, yet all his TEMPORALITIES were seized, and his person imprisoned, till by the mediation of the now Archbishop Arundel, he was made Treasurer of Colchester, and after promoted to be Bishop of London.

The next place after thefe, is justly due to Geoffrey Chaucer, and John Gower, two famous Poets in this time, and the Fathers of English Poes in all the times after. Chaucer died in the fourth year of this Kings reign, and being at Westminster, Gower, in this Kings ninth year, was buried at S. Mary Overy's Church in Southwark. And now come others to be remembered, who lived and died in this Kings time. Hugh Leqate, born in Hertfordshire, a Monk of St. Albans, who wrote Scholastic upon Bostius de Conclusione. Nicobur Garbom, born also in Hertfordshire, a Dominick Friar, and the French Kings Confessor, though an English man. Walter Dyer, so called of a Town in Norfolk, where he was born, Confessor to the Duke of Lancaster. Lawrence Holbeck, a Monk of Ramfey, who wrote an Hebrew Dictionarie. John Cotton Archibishop of Armagh. Richard Scrope, brother to William Scrope Lord Treasurer of England, made Archibishop of York; and writing an invective against King Henry, lost his head. William Thorpe, an earnell follower of John Wickliffe, for which he was committed to Salwood Castle, where he died. Stephen Pettington, born in Yorks. and Robert Mefed, a Carmelite Friar of Louth, both of them Controvers to King Henry the fifth. Bishop a Monk of the Abbey of Eber in Suffolke, who wrote a Catalogue of all the Writers of the Church, and other Treatises. John Purvey
Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
**Sir Thomas Knolls** was Mayor.  
**William Wydred, William Hende, Sheriffs.**

In his second year,  
**Sir John Francis** was Mayor.  
**John Wake, William Ebot, Sheriffs.**

In his third year,  
**Sir John Shadworth** was Mayor.  
**William Venor, John Fremingham, Sheriffs.**

In his fourth year,  
**John Wallot was Mayor.**  
**Richard Marlow, Robert Chicheley, Sheriffs.**

In his fifth year,  
**Sir William Aschem was Mayor.**  
**Thomas Falconer, Thomas Pool, Sheriffs.**

In his sixth year,  
**John Hinde was Mayor.**  
**William Louth, Stephen Spilman, Sheriffs.**

In his seventh year,  
**Sir John Woodcock** was Mayor.  
**Henry Barton, William Crecy, Sheriffs.**

In his eighth year,  
**Sir Richard Wbittington** was Mayor.  
**Nicholas Wotton, Geoffrey Broke, Sheriffs.**

In his ninth year,  
**Sir William Standon** was Mayor.  
**Henry Pontfract, Henry Halton, Sheriffs.**

In his tenth year,  
**Sir Drew Bartentine** was Mayor.  
**Thomas Buck, William Norton, Sheriffs.**

In his eleventh year,  
**Richard Marlow** was Mayor.  
**John Law, William Chicheley, Sheriffs.**

In his twelfth year,  
**Sir Thomas Knolls, was Mayor.**  
**John Penor, Thomas Pyke, Sheriffs.**

In his thirteenth year,  
**Sir Robert Chicheley** was Mayor.  
**John Rainwel, William Cotton, Sheriffs.**

In his fourteenth year,  
**William Wydred was Mayor.**  
**Ralph Lovetsham, William Sewenske, Sheriffs.**
The REIGN of 

KING HENRY 

THE FIFTH.

HENRY of Monmouth (to call him before his reign he was born) eldest Son of King Henry the fourth, succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of England, to whom the Lords of the Realm swore Homage and Allegiance, before he was yet Crowned; an Honour never done before to any of his Predecessors: and afterwards on the ninth of April, in the year 1422. he was Crowned at Westminster, by Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, with all Rites and Solemnities in such a state accostumed: And as the Scripture speaks of Saul, That as soon as Samuel had enuished him King, he had a new heart given him, and he became another man then he was before: so was it with this King Henry. For presently after his Coronation, he called before him all his old Companions, who had been frateres in melo with him, strictly charging them not to presume to come within ten miles of his Court, until such time as they had given good proof of their amendment in manners: and left any of them should pretend want of maintenance to be any cause of their taking ill courses, he gave to every one of them a competent maintenance where to subsist. And knowing (as he did) the fashion of the Scots and Welsh, that in times of change they would commonly take advantage, to make Inroads upon the Borders, he therefore caused Forts and Bulwarks in far places to be erected, and placed Garrisons in them, for preventing or repelling any such Incursions. Immediately after this, he called a Parliament, where a Subsidy was granted without asking; and in this Parliament the Commons began to harp upon their old string, of taking away the Temporalties of the Clergy: and the Bishopps fearing how it might take in the Kings ears, thought it best to divert him, by striking upon another string, which they knew would be more pleasing to him, which was to shew him the great right he had to the Crown of France, and therefore without exceeding the limits of the Towns of no great importance: To which K. Henry by the Archbishop of Canterbury made answer, That these were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demand, he would never desist from that he intended; and with this answer the French Ambassadors were dismissioned. It is said, that about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of France his liege fees managed the State) sent to King Henry a Ton of Tennis Balls, in division of his youth, as fitter to play with them, then to manage Arms: which

Predecessors by reason of other incumbrances forborne to prosecute their claim, yet he being free from all such incumbrances, had no less power then right to do it. This indeed struck upon the right string of the Kings inclination; for as he affected nothing more then true glory, so in nothing more than warlike actions. Hereupon nothing was now thought of, but the Conquest of France. First therefore he begins to alter in his Arms the bearing of Senese-de-Luces, and quartered the three Flower-de-Luces, as the Kings of France then bore them; and that he might not be thought to deal advantage, but to do it fairly, he sent Ambassadors to Charles the last King of France, requiring in peaceable manner the surrender of the Crown of France: which if he would yield unto, then King Henry would take to Wife his Daughter Katherine; but if he refused to do it, then King Henry would with Fire and Sword enforce it from him, or lose his life. The Ambassadors sent, were the Duke of Exeter, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord Grey, the Lord High Admiral, and the Bishop of Norwich, with five hundred Horse; who coming to the Court of Francis, were at first received and feated, with all the honour and show of kindnes that might be; but as soon as their Meffage was delivered, and that it was known what they came about, the Copy of their entertainement was altered, and they were sent away with as little Complement, as they were before received with honour; only told that the King would speedily make answer to the King their Master by his own Ambassadors: and speedily indeed he did it; for the Earl of Wenden, William Baratier Archbishop of Bouges, Peter Frese, Bishop of Lyseaux, with others, were arrived in England, as soon almost as the English were returned. But being come, the Archbishop of Bouges made a long Oration in the praise of Peace, concluding with the tender of the Lady Katherine, and 30,000 Crowns with her in Dover, besides some Towns of no great importance: To which K. Henry by the Archbishop of Canterbury made answer, That these offers were trifles, and that without yielding to his Demand, he would never desist from that he intended; and with this answer the French Ambassadors were dismissioned. It is said, that about this time, the Dauphin (who in the King of France his liege fees managed the State) sent to King Henry a Ton of Tennis Balls, in division of his youth, as fitter to play with them, then to manage Arms; which

Z. King
King Henry took in such scorn, that he promised with an oath, it should not be long ere he would cut such iron to pieces; and the bow arms in France should not be able to hold a shuttle to return them. And now all things are prepared and in the readiness for the King's journey into France, his men shipped, and himself ready to go on shipboard; when suddenly a Tresaf was discovered against his person, plotted by Richard Earl of Cambridge, Lord Treasurer, and Thomas Grey Earl of Northumberland, and plotted and procured by the French Agents. These being apprehended, and upon examination confessing the Tresaf, and the money (which was said to be a Million of Gold) by them for that end received, were all of them immediately put to death. From this Richard Earl of Cambridge, second Son of Edmund of Langley, did Richard afterward Duke of York claim and recover the Crown from the Lancastrian Family. This Execution done, and the winde blowing fair, King Henry weighs Anchor, and with a Fleet of 1200. Sail, (Grafton faith but 140, Ships) but Enguerrant faith, 1600. attend with fix thousand Spears, and 24000. Foot, besides Engineers and Labourers, he puts to Sea; and on our Lady Eve landed at Caen, where he made Proclamation, that no man upon pain of death should rob any church, or offer violence to any that were found unarmed: and from thence passing on, he besieged Harlton; which when no succour came within certain days agreed upon, the Town was surrendered and sacked. Of this Sir John he made the Duke of Exeter Captain, who left there for his Lieutenant, his John Faffif, with a Garrison of 1500. men. It is said that when King Henry entered Harlton, he passed along the streets bare-foot, until he came to the Church of St. Martin; where with great devotion he gave most humble thanks to God for this first achieved Enterprize. From hence he marched forward, and coming to the River of Suse, he found all the Bridges broken; whereupon he passed on to the Bridge of St. Maxence, where 8000 French appearing, he pitched his Camp, expecting to be fought with; and the more to encourage his men, he gave the Order of Knight hood to John Lord Ferrers of Groby, Reynold Grayflock, Perciv Temppe, Christopher Morely, Thomas Pickering, William Haldifton, Henry Martimer, John Halidau, Philip Hall; but not perceiving the French to have any mind to fight, he marched by the Town of Angers to Boves, and there stayed two days, expecting Battle; and from thence marched to Corly, there the Prelates of the Country, with certain men of Arms sent from the Dauphin, charged the right wing of the English, which was led by Hugh Stafford Lord Baerick, and won away his Standard, but was recovered again by John Browley of Browley, a Commander in the Lord Stafford's Regiment, who with his own hand slew him that had taken the Colours; and then taking them up, displayed the same, with fight whereof, the English were so encouraged, that they presently routed the French, and put them to flight; which valiant exploit, the Lord Staff- ford recompened, by giving to Browley an Annuity of fifty pounds a year out of his Lands in Staffordshire. After this the King marched towards Calais, and strictly observing his Proclamation against Church-robbing; that when one was complained of for having taken a silver Pice out of a Church, he not only caused the fame to be restored, but theouldier also to be hanged: which point of Discipline both kept the rest from offending in that kind, and drew the people of the Country, underhand to relieve his men with all things necessary. The French King hearing that King Henry had passed the River of Scène, by advice of his Council (who yet were divided in Opinion) sent Montjoy the French King at Arms to define King Henry, and to let him know he should be fought with; which King Henry, though his Army was much infected with Fevers, whereof the Earl of Stafford, the Bishop of Norwich, the Lord Molins and Barrel, were lately dead; yet he willingly heard, and rewarded the Herald for his message; and first having cleared a passage over a bridge, where of necessity he was to pass, on the 29 of October, he passed over with his Army. At which time the Duke of York, that led the Rearward, had discovered the Enemy to come on space; whereof he sent word to the King, who thereupon made a stand: and appointing his Officers what course to hold, and encouraging his Souldiers, they all attended when the Batel should begin. The French Army was divided into three Battalions; in the first were placed eight thousand men at Arms, four thousand Archers, and fifteen hundred Cross-bows, the wings confiding to two thousand and two hundred men at Arms. This Battel was led by the Contable of France himself, the Duke of Orleans and Bourbon, the Earls of Essex, Warwick, and Vendomme, the Duke of Anjou, the Lord Admiral of France, the Admiral Bourgeois, and others. The middle Battal in whose were more men at Arms, was commanded by the Dukes of Barre and Alsacen, and by the Earls of Vendomme, Saliss, Blamont, Grandpiles, and Rouex. In the Rearward were all the Remainder of the French Forces, guided by the Earls of Merle, Dampmaring, Faconbridge, and the Lord Lowrie, Captain of Ards; but the Frenchmen thus ordered, being six times as many as the English, (who were not above nine thousand) thought of nothing but of the booty they should get. In the mean time King Henry having made choice of a piece of ground half-fenced on his back with the Village, wherein they had reeled the night before, in both sides of the hedgerows and ditches, began there to order his Battel; but first he appointed an ambush of two hundred Archers, which upon a watch-word given, should discharge their whole flight on the whole flank of the Enemies Host. The Vaunt-guard confisting of Arbers only, was conducted by the Duke of York, who out of an heroic courage made suits for that place; with whom were joyed the Lords Beaumont, Willanghy, and Fansby. The main Battel was led by the King himself, which confised of Bill-men, and some Bow-men; with him were the Duke of Gloucester his Brother,
The Reign of King Henry the Fifth.

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...and prefently he cut the whole Army, in their array as they were, to give God thanks; cauing the Clergy there prefently, to ring the Plain of Di-

This Battle was fought...}

The Duke of York. (fain.

The prifon-

...were all

flain: bow

Juffed.

The Duke of York (fain.

This small nu-

ber of the En-

glish was

flain.

The Du-

phin with

gold plume.
brought into England, and the Dukes buried at
Frodington in Northamp tonshire, the Earl at New-
Elme in Oxfordshire.

About this time the Emperor Sigismund,
Confingerman to King Henry, having been
first in France, came accompanied with the
Archbishop of Rheims, Ambassador from the
French King, into England; for whom there
were thirty great Ships sent from the King to
wait him over : but approaching to land at
Dover, the Duke of Gloucester, with a company
of Gentlemen, having their Swords drawn,
kept up to the knees in water, saying to him,
That if he came as the Kings friend, he should
be welcome; but if as claiming any jurisdic-
tion, they would refile him: whereupon the
Emperor renounced all Imperial Authority,
and thereupon admitted to land, and receiv-
ed with as much honour as could be done him ;
and afterward together with Albert Duke of
Holland, who was lately likewise arrived at
Veszprém, is elected commission of the Order
of the Garter, and fate in their Cells at the fol-
lemony, whom King Henry accompanied to Calais,
whether the Duke of Burgundy came to confirm
the League concluded on beforehand by the Earl of
Wark and him, concerning Flanders and
Ariost only. In the meantime the French had
hired divers Carricks and other great Ships of
the Genoese and Italians, which joyning with the
French Fleet, lay at the mouth of the River of
Scyne, under the command of Jacques Ballard of
Bourbon, to hinder all succours from coming to
Harlow; but John Earl of Huntingdon (Sont to
the Duke of Exeter beheaded at [nichelles] be-
ing bent to scourve the Coast, encountered with
him, and after a long fight, took him Prifoner,
and three of his great Carricks, with all the
money for the half years pay of the Fleet, and
finking three other of his Carricks, and disper-
sing the rest, cleared the mouth of the River,
and then returned to the King at Southampton.
And now upon the twenty third of July, in
the fourth year of his Reign, the King himself,
with the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, the
Earls of Huntingdon, Wark, Devonshire, Salis-
bury, Suffolk, and Somerfell, the Lords Joffe,
Willingham, Fice-Hugh, Clinton, Scoope, Mau-
ters, Bonercler, Ferrier of Croby, Ferrers of Char-
ley, Eunbone, Grey of Colvay, Sir Gilbert Uphor-
vile, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and an Army confiding
of twenty thousand five hundred and twenty-
eight fighting men, besides a thousand Arti-
fiers and Pyoneers, took shipping at Plymouth
mouth, and upon the first of August landed in
Normandy near to the Castle of Tongue, which
he pretently besieged, and upon the ninth of
August had it yielded to him, at which time the
Earl of Salisbury took the Castle of Allerwills,
which the King gave to him and to his heirs,
being the first land given by the King in France.

At the winning of Tongue, the King made
eight and twenty Knights; and from thence
marched with his Army to Caen; where to pre-
vent the Citizens from sallying out, he call'd up
a Mount; and then making many assauts, but
finding them to do little good, he cau'd his
Pyoneers to undermine the Walls: which bein-
g done, upon the fourth of September, he of-
tered the Besieged their lives, if they would
sumit; which they refusing, he thereupon
made a fevw of a general assaut, whilst many
of his men entred the City under the founda-
tions of which the Duke of Clarence with his
Company was the first: and they coming upon
the back of those that defended the Walls, eas-
ily overcame them ; and then the whole Army
entred without resistance. The next day the
King cau'd all the principal men of the Town
to come before him at their Senate house, where
some of them for their stubborn refusing the
grace he had offered them, were adjudged to
death, and the rest fined: The spoil of the
Town was distributed amongst the Soultiers.
The Captain of the Castle stood out a while:
but being advertised that the King had sworn
to shew no mercy, if he did not surrender, he
gave twelve Hovileges, that if it were not reliev-
ved before the twentieth of September, he would
then give it up, which not coming he performed;
and so the King had possession both of
Caen and the Castle.

And now Charles the new Dauphin, being but
seven-
The Reign of King Henry the Fifth.

 seventeenth years of age, and bare of money, had put into his possession all the Jewels, Plate, and Money of the Queen his Mother; which so incensed her against him, to do that he called a spight; she placed the Duke of Burgundy in chief authority about the King, who, by reason of his infirmity, was unable himself to manage the State; and the Duke having now the Sword in his hand, meant first to repel the growing boldness of the Dauphin, and afterward to repel the common Enemy: And the Dauphin likewise, envying the Dukes advancement above him, meant first to take down his swelling greatness, and afterward to fall upon the foreign Adversary. And thus while private respecting were preferred before publick, whilst the Duke and the Dauphin had their first intentions one against another, not looking King Henry, but in the second place, after their own turn served, an easy way was left for King Henry's proceedings, and he went on at his pleasure with small opposition. He sent the Duke of Clarence, who took in the City of Bayeux, as likewise the Duke of Gloucester the City of Lysieux; whilst himself remaining still at Caen, put out of the City the Natives that were importent or young Infans, to the number of 1500, and in their places put English people, and finding a great mass of Money and Plate, deposited by the Citizens in the Castle, he caufed the fame upon proof, to be respectively delivered to the right owners, upon condition they would acknowledge him for their Sovereign; which moderate and just dealing won him more hearts than the force of his Arms had won him knees; especially with the Normans, who are easier to be drawn with gentleness and love, than forced by violence and compulsion. From hence, the King conferred, the first of October to Carfye Castle, which within three days yeilded. The fourth of October he came to Argentan, which not relieved by a day agreed upon, was likewise surrendered. The Town of Alen fon endured eight days siege, but in the end did as other their neighbour Towns had done. From Alen fon the Earl of Salisbury was sent to Foyler, to view the strenght thereof, whom the King prefently followed, where the besieged concluded, if it were not relieved before the second of January, then to yield up the Town. No relief coming, the Town was yeilded up, and soon after upon the like terms, the Castle. From hence the King returned to Caen, to put in execution a Proclamation he had formyly made; That if the Inhabitants of Normandy that were fled, returned, not by a day affigned, he would then grant their Lands to hisouldiers: and thence upon he gave to the Duke of Clarence, during life, the Vicinities of Acre, Orrey, and Poitou, with all the Lands of those that were not returned according to the Proclamation. All the Lent the King lay at Bayeux, whilst his Navy still kept the Seas, and daily took many French Ships, but on the sixteenth of July such a Tempest took them, that they were driven to fall in with Southampton; and yet, with all their diligence, could not so save themselves, but that two Ballingers, and two great Carricks laden with Merchandize were in the very Haven drownd. In the mean time the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Talbot besieged the strong Castle of Dinan, the Duke of Clarence took Courten and Bures; and many other being taken, as Chambuis, Bichetson, Harcourt, Faneum, Crewe, Artillery, Bages, in all of them he placed Captains and Garrisons, and particularly in Frenay, Sir Robert Brent, late made Viscount. The Duke of Gloucester also, with the Earl of March, and the Lord of Colnau, took in all the Isle of Confontantin, except Cherburgh, and then returned to the King but was sent back to take in that City also; which after some time, when no relief came, was, together with the Castle, likewise surrendred; although by this time the Duke of Burgundy and the Dauphin, by mediation of the Pope, were reconciled and began to join their forces to make resistance. And now the Duke of Exeter the King's Uncle, with a supply of fifteen thousand men out of England, came to the King, who presently took in the City of Erneux; and the Earl of Ryne, the strong Castle of Millle le Feto.

The next thing attempted, was the siege of Rouen, a City strongly fortified, both with Walls and Ditches; and to which there was no convenient passage, but by the City of Looysies; to this City therefore he first layes siege, which when relief came not within a time agreed on, was surrendred; and yet there was another impediment to be removed, a stone bridge which hindered the approach to Rouen, being exceeding strongly guarded; For this, King Henry deviled floats of wicker covered with Beasts Hides, by which the Duke of Clarence with his quarter paffed the River, and then laid siege to the Town on that side, and for the other side, he had other devices made with Hogheads and Pipes, failed to Fir Poles and Barges, with which he passd his men over at pleasure; and in the mean time he caufed divers of his Souldiers that could swim, to make them of passing the River three miles off another way; with which the French men being deluded, drew all their Forces together, and by this means the Fort being left unfurnished of sufficient guard, was presently forced to surrender, and the Souldiers were taken to the Kings Grace. The Bridge being thus gained, the Duke of Exeter was feen, and with him Windfor the Herald, to summon the Citizens to surrender the Town; who not only gave proud answers, but also made a sally through, with the lots of thirty of their men. Upon this obstinacy of theirs, the King presently orders his siege; his own quarter was the Charterie, the Duke of Clarence at St. Geroff, the Duke of Exeter at Port St. Dennis, and every great Commander had his quarter affigned, as the City was begin round, and a great chain of iron fet upon piles, and a strong wooden Bridge for passage from one Camp to the other, was made over the River. At this time the Earl of Kilmarnock with sixteen hundred lads, came to the King, and had their quarter affigned them, who behaved themselves with great valour. The Kings Conin geman, the King of Portugal, sent likewise a Navy of Ships to the mouth of the River Sein, which stopped all passage of succour to Rouen. Many policies and practices were used
But nothing prevailed till at last, Letter. 

The Captain humour, but none prevailed, till

famine forced it; for there being in 20,000, pertons at the beginning of the siege, and the siege continuing long, it grew to that extremity, that the Citizens drank nothing but vinegar and water, and had little to eat but Rats and Mice, Cats and Dogs, and such like: Great numbers of the poorer sort were thrust our of the City, who not suffered to pass the English Army, miserably perished; only upon Christmas day, in honour of Christ's Birth, the King relieved and suffered to pass as many as were at first put out, but nor others that were put out the second time; but suffered them to perish.

In this difhres, a Parley is required by the Citizens; who notwithstanding their misery, yet stood upon such high terms, that nothing was concluded, only a Truce for eight days was granted them; the eight days ended, and nothing yet agreed upon amongst themselves, they crave one day longer, and neither that day could anything be agreed on; then they crave four days more, in which the multitude and common people so pressed the Magistrates, and Governors of the City, that on the fourth day, being about the nineteenth of January, the City was surrendered, and the Inhabitants themselves, and all their Goods were yielded to the King's mercy; the Duke of Exeter was appointed to take possession, who accordingly entered with his Souldiers. The next day after being Friday, the twentieth of January, the King himself made his entry, with four Dukes, ten Earls, eight Bishop, sixteen Barons, and others, and was by the Clergy conducted to our Lady Church; where after publick thanksgiving, he took Homage and Fealty of the Burgesses and Inhabitants; making Proclamation, that all that would come and acknowledge him to be their Sovereign, should enjoy the benefit of his Protection, and retain their possessions; whereupon many came in, and many Towns were surrendered. In this time of the Kings lying at Roan, the Earl of Salisbury took in Eonfle, Munfter de Villerius, Eves, and New Caíle; the Duke of Clarence took Vernon, and Nano; and the Earl of Warwick, la Riche Gyan.

And now the Duke of Burgundi seeing the great successes of King Henry, could think of no better way for his own safety, than to make a reconciliation between the two Kings; to which end, Ambassadors are sent to procure their meeting: at which time, King Henry for their service already performed, and in hope of more hereafter, made the valiant Gascoigne Captain le Beaup, Earl of Longueville, Sir John Gray Earl of Tankerville, and the Lord Beauchier Earl of Eove. Upon the last of May, King Henry accompanied with the Dukes of Clarence, Gloucester, and Exeter, his Uncle Beaup, the Bishop of Wincheffer, with the Earls of March, and Salisbury, and a thousand men at Arms; entered the place appointed for the meeting of the two Kings. The French Queen (her Husband being taken with the Frenzy) with the Duke of Burgundi, and the Earl of St. Paul, and a company of Ladies: amongst whom, as a bait to intangle the Kings affection, was the Kings Dauphiner, the beautiful Lady Katharine; with whose sight, though the King was marvellously taken, yet he made no show thereof, till other things should be agreed upon; but the Dauphin having made means to the Duke of Burgundie to hinder all agreement, nothing was effected: whereupon at their parting, the King told the Duke, that he would have both the Lady, and all his other demands; or else drive the King of France out of his Kingdom, and him out of his Dukedom. Upon this, the Duke thought it best to agree with the Dauphin; and upon this, the sixth of July Articles of their reconciliation are figed and sealed. In the mean time the Earl of Longueville surprized the Town of Ponthoys, but had scarce been able to make good the surprize, if the Duke of Clarence had not come to his succour. From then the Duke marched to Paris, and there stayed two days; but perceiving no show of sally to be made, he returned to Ponthoys, whither the King himself came; and from thence marching on, took in the Castle of Fuyson Villiers; and on the left of Angiis, the Castles of Gyfors, and Guyards, and Damal: so that now all Normandy (Mons St. Michael only excepted) was reduced to the possession of the King of England, which had been wrongfully detainted from him, ever since the year 1107.

The Dauphin all this while, though outwardly having made a reconciliation with the Duke of Burgundy, yet inwardly bearing a spleen against him, intended nothing so much as his destruction: which to effect, he procured a meeting between the Duke and him, and all the Peers of the Realm at Mannfrew; where the Duke though humbling himself in reverence to the Dauphin upon his knee, was most barously murdered; which act, was so much the left to be pitied in the Duke, by how much in the like kinde, upon the like interview, he had caused Lewis the Duke of Orleans to be murdered. But though this barbarous act might justly incence Philip Earl of Carobis the Duke of Burgundie's Heir to seek revenge; yet as a wife and politick Prince, he forbore for the present, to make any shew of choler or dissemblance; and considering with himself, that difference between the Dauphin and him, would but give King Henry the greater advantage, he endeavoured to propice an overture of Peace between the two Kings: And to that end Ambassadors are sent from the King of France, and the young Duke of Burgundie, whom the King kindly entertained, but seemed to intiate unto them, that he could give no great credit to their propositions, unless the Lady Katharine would join in them, whose innocence he knew would never abufe him. Whilst these things are in agitation, the Earl of Salisbury took in Trefney, and the Earls Marshal and Huntington, entered into Mann, who approaching thence, was encounetered by the Forces of the Dauphin, whereof they flew five thousand, and took two hundred prisoners; for which, news being brought to Roan, whither King Henry was come to solemnize the Feast of Cristh's Birth, thanksgiving to God was publicly made; and in the instant thereof, arrived other Ambassadors from the King and Queen of France, and a Letter from the
the Lady Katherine to King Henry, was secretly by the Bishop of Arras delivered. The conclusion of all was, that the King of England should speed himself to Troyes, there to be espoused to the Lady Katherine; and to have assurance of the Crown of France, after the decease of the present King Charles. Whereupon with a Guard of fifteen thousand choice Souldiers, accompanied with the Duke of Clarence and Gloucester, the Earls of Warwick, Salisbury, Huntingdon, Longueville, Tankerville, and青山, the King of England came to Troyes in Campaige, where on the 18th day of July was married by the Duke of Burgagine, and divers of the French Nobility, who attended him to the Palace, where the Queen with her Daughters, the Dutchess of Burgagine, and the Lady Katherine, gave him Princeley entertainment; and after some intercourse of complement between the Princes and the Ladies, King Henry tendered to the Lady Katherine, a Ring of great value, which she (not without some blushing) received; and after which, upon the twentieth day of May, she was affianced to him in St. Peter's Church, and on the third of June following, the marriage was solemnized; and therewithal King Henry was published to be the only Regent of the Realm, and Heir apparent to the Crown of France: the Articles whereof, with all convenient expedition were Proclaimed both in England and in France, and the two Kings, and all their Nobles, and other Subjects of that Realm, were fummoned to observe them; and in particular the Duke of Burgagine.

And thus was the Salique Law violated, and the Heir Male put by his Succession in the Crown, which the Genius of France will not long endure, a while it must; and therefore the main endeavour of both Kings now is, to keep him down, whom they had put down. And thereupon on the fourth of June, King Henry with the French King, James King of Scots, who was newly arrived, the Duke of Burgagine, the Prince of Orange, one and twenty Earls, five and forty Barons, with many Knights and Gentlemen, and an Army consisting of French, English, Scots, Irish, and Dutch, to the number of six hundred thousand, marched towards the Dauphin; and upon the seventh day laid siege to the Town of Sens, which sided with the Dauphin, which after four days siege was yielded up. From thence they removed, having the Duke of Bedford in their company, who was newly come out of England with large supplies of men and money to Monsieur; which was taken by Escalado, only the Castle held out still; during the siege whereof, King Henry created an Officer of Arms, to be King of Heralds over the English men, and intituled him Carter; whom he sent with offers of mercy to the Castle, but was by the Captain thereof reproachfully upbrised; for punishment of which his preface was a Gibbet erected, and in view of Mountier GUISTREY, the said Captain, and twelve of his friends were executed. Whereupon those of the Castle treated for Peace; but the King in eight days together would not grant so much as a Parly so that after six weeks siege, they were enforced, (their lives saved) linearly to yield. From thence the King marched to Meaux upon Senne, and beleaguered it the thirtieth of July; the Captain whereof was Barbeau a Guise of, no lets politick than valiant, who countermined some, and drop other Mines made by the English, and fought hand to hand in the Barriers with King Henry; yet at last through famine and Petilence was forced to yield; but being suspected to have had a hand in the matter of the Duke of Burgagine, he was sent Prisoner to Paris; and presently the Son, both the Kings with their Queens, the Duke of Burgagine, and his Dutchess, with a Royal Train came thither. As for the French King, he was lodged in the house of St. Paul, and the King of England in the Castle of Louvres. And here the three States of France anew under their hands and seals in most authentick manner, ratified the former Articles of King Henry's Succession in the Crown of France; the Instruments whereof were delivered to the King of England, who sent them to be kept in his Treasury at Westminster.

And now King Henry began to exercise his Regency, and as a Badge of his Authority, he caused a new Coin which was called a Saliter, to be made, wherein the Arms of France and England were quartered hamp: He placed and displaced divers Officers, and appointed the Duke of Exeter with five hundred men, to the Guard of Paris: He awarded out Precedents against the Dauphin, to appear at the Marble Table at Paris, which he not obeying, Sentence was denounced against him, as guilty of the Murther of the Duke of Burgagine, and by the Sentence of the Parliament, he was banished the Realm.

After this, the King making Thomas Duke of Clarence his Lieutenant General of France and Normandy, on the 6th of January, with his beloved Queen Katherine left Paris, and went to Amiens, and from thence to Calais; and thence landing at Dover, came to Canterbury, and afterward through London to Westminster, where the Queen upon St. Matthew's day, the fourth of February was Crowned; the King of Scots sitting at dinner in his State, but on the left hand of the Queen, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Kings Unkle the Bishop of Winchester being on the right hand. All were served with covered mebbles of Silver, but all the Peale was Fish, in observation of the Lent leason.

After this the King took his Progrese through the Land, hearing the complaints of his poor Subjects, and taking order for administering of Justice to high and low; and then met the Queen at Leicester, where they kept their Easter.

In the meantime, the Duke of Clarence making a Road into Anjou, came to the City of Amours, where he Knighted Sir William Ray, Sir Henry Goddard, Sir Rowland Pys, Sir Thomas Beaumont his natural Son; and returning home laden with prey, was advertised that the Duke of Alain was intended to intercept his passage; whereupon he sent the Scout-Mater, Andrew Figy, a Lumbard, to discover the face of the Enemy, who being corrupted, brought report, that their number was but small, and those but ill ordered; that if he presently charged there
The Reign of King Henry the Fifth.

The Duke of Clarence by treaty slain with divers others.

there could be no reftinance. The Dukes Credulity caused him to draw all his Horfes together; and leaving his Bows and Bills behind, which were his chiefeft strength, with his Horfe only he makes towards the Enemy: but the Traitor leading to a strait, where by his appointment an Ambuffad was laid, that the Duke could neither retreat, nor flee, he foone perceiued the Treachery, but finding no remedy, he manfully set Spurs to his Horfe, and charged upon the Enemy; but over-laid with multitude, and wearied with fight, was himself, with the Earl of Tenterden, the Lord Suffolk, the Earl of Argyll, Sir John Lumley, Sir John Frewen, and above two thousand Engife Arm. The Earls of Saffcroft, Suffolk, and Pech, Sir John Berkley, Sir Ralph Nichol, Sir William Base, and 60, Gentlemen were taken Prisoners. The body of the Duke of Clarence was by Sir John Beaufort his base Son, (the Duke dying without other issue) convey'd into England, and buried at Canterbury besides his Father: and this disaster happened upon Easter-Eve. The King was at Beverley when he heard of his Brothers death, and prently thereupon dispatched away Edward Earl of Mortaigne into Normandy, making him Lieutenant thereof; and then calls his High Court of Parliament at Welfmifor, requiring aid of money, to revenge his Brothers death, which was readily granted: and the King thus provided, sent his Brother the Duke of Bedford with an Army to Calleie, confenting of four thoufand men at Arms, and four and twenty thoufand Archers, whom about the middle of May he followeth himself, and safely arriving at Calleie, hasted to relieve Charters, which the Dauphin with feventhoufand men had besieged: but hearing of the Kings coming was retir'd to Tours. The King of Scots, with the Duke of Glouftr, about the eighth of July higefled Bruns; which agreed, if it were not relieved by the twentieth of that month, then to surrender it: no relief coming it was surrendred. The King pursu'd the Dauphin from place to place, but could not overtake him, but in the way surpriz'd the Town of Bangey, where all that craved it, he took to mercy, as likewife he did at Ringemans; from thence he went to Orleans; and from thence to Vignes St. Yon, and from thence to Paris; where having fitted himself with supplies, he went and fare down before Aix in Braye, which after some opposition, he also took; and thereby had poffeffion of all the Fortresses in the Ifle of France, in Lemanus, in Braye, and in Champagne.

Upon St. Nicholas day, in the year 1423, Queen Katherine was brought to bed of a Son at Windof; and King Henry proflated speech of him.

King Henry with over-bally jour- neys in France, falls sick.

...
Of Laws and Ordinances made by him, or in his time.

He ordained the King of Jerusalem, which is called Gortis. In his ninth year in a Parliament holden at Westminster, it was ordained that no man should receive any Gold in payment, unless it were weight; and thereupon were appointed balances and weights.

An Act made in the thirteenth year of King Richard the second, which disabled the Alien-Religious to enjoy any Benefits within England, was in the beginning of this King's Reign put in execution; and further, this King excluded also the French from all preferment Ecclesiastical; and those Priores Ailens Conventual, who had instituted and induction, were bound to put in security, not to disclose, or to be disclosed, the Counsel and secrets of the Realm.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In the beginning of his Reign, the Wickliffite increased greatly, of whom Sir John Oldesfile was chief; who by marriage of a Kinswoman of the Lord Cobham's of Calking in Kent, obtained that Title: This Knight being very valorous, and in great favour with the King, was in a Synod at London accused for maintaining of Wickliffe's Doctrine; whereof the King being informed, sent for him, and instantly dealt with him to submit himself to the Censure of the Church: But Sir John Oldesfile told the King, that he owed his subjection only to his Majesty; and as for others, he would stand for the Truth against them, to the uttermost of his life. Upon this he was served by Proecels to appear in the Archbishop's Court, and not appearing, was condemned of Contumacy; and afterwards in a Synod at Rochester, was by the Archbishop pronounced to be an Heretic; who then enacted that Decree, That the Holy Scriptures ought not to be Translated into the English tongue. But mark the Judgement that fell upon his own Tongue, whose Roots and Blade shortly after (as is recorded) grew to big in his mouth and threat, that he could neither speak, nor swallow down meat, but in horror lay languishing, till at last fared by famine, he so died. In the mean time Sir John Oldesfile wrote his Belief, and preferred it himself to the King; which the King would in no wise receive, but suffered him in his Prebend and Privy Chamber to be suppressed; who appearing before the Archibishop, after divers examinations, was condemned of Heresie, and committed to the Tower of London, from whence shortly after he escaped, and got into Wales. The King by his Proclamation, promised a thousand Marks to any that should bring him in; but so much was his Doctrine generally favoured, that the King's officer was not much regarded, but he continued four years after undiscovered: At last he was taken in the Borders of Wales, within a Lordship belonging to the Lord Pever, who brought him to London, before the Duke of Bedford, Regent of the Realm; where in the end he was condemned, and finally was drawn from the Tower to St. Giles Field, and there hanged in a Chain by the middle, and after confessed by fire, the Gallows and all. At the time of his first Conviction, four years before, it was rumored, that twenty thousand men in arms were assembled in St. Giles Field; whereupon the King, at midnight, himself in person went thither, where he found many indeed, who upon examination confessed, that they came to meet their Captain Sir John Oldesfile, but without any intent against the King: yet was Sir Roger Aiton, and eight and twenty others of them apprehended, and executed in Smithfield; and all the Prisons in and about London were filled with them.

In his third year, the Order of Church Service throughout England, was changed from the use of Paulus to the use of Salisbury, to the great dilkilling of many in those days.

In his fourth year, a Council was holden at Constance, whether he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of Warden, the Bishops of Salisbury, Bath, and Hereford, the Abbot of Westminster, and the Prior of Westminster: In which Council it was decreed, that England should have the Title of the English Nation, and should be accounted of the five principal Nations in rank before Spain; which often before had been moved, but never granted till then. And herein were all Wickliffe's Positions condemned: Also John Hus, and Hierome of Prague (notwithstanding the Emperour's false Conduct) were both of them burned. In this Council, the Schism of Anti-Popes, which had continued the space of nine and twenty years, was reformed. Benedict the 13. had been elected by the Spanish; Gregory the 12. by the French: John the 24. by the Italians: And now in this Council begun in February, 1414, and continued above three years; wherein were assembled, beside the Emperour, the Pope, and the Pallgrave of Retha, four Patriarchs, seven and forty Archbishops, one hundred and three Bishops, Cardinals, and Barons with their attendances about thirty thousand: The foresaid elected Popes were all put down, or else resigned: and in the place, as legitimate Pope, was elected Osbo Colonna by the name of Martin the Fifth.

In this year also fell out an accident, which shews the strict observance of Ecclesiastical Censures in those days. The wives of the Lord Strange, and Sir John Truell of Warmington in Cheshire, striving for place at a Sermon in St. Dunstan's Church in the East, their Husbands being present, fell themselves to striving in their Wives behalf, and great part-taking there was on both sides, some slain, and many wounded. The Delinquents were committed to the Counter, the Church fuppended: and upon examination, the Lord Strange being found guilty, was by the Archiprnce of Canterbury adjourned to this Penance, which was accordingly performed: The Parfon of St. Dunstan went before, after whom followed all the Lords Servants in their Shirts; after them went the Lord himself bareheaded, with a Wax Taper in his hand; then followed the Lady barefooted: A

Penance for

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and then left, came the Archdeacon Reynolds Renewd: in which order they went from Pauls, where the Sentence was given, to St. Dunstan's Church. Where at the re-ballowing thereof, the Lady filled all the Vessels with water; and according to the Sentence, offered to the Altar an Ornament of the value of ten pounds; and the Lord a Pice of silver of five pounds. A Penance no doubt which the Lord and the Lady would have redeemed with a great deal of money, if the Discipline of the Church had in those days allowed it: but it seems the com-putation of Penance was not as yet come in use.

In his ninth year, in a Parliament at Leicester, a hundred and ten Priories alient were suppressed, because they spoke ill of his Conquests in France; and their possessions were given to the King: but by him, and King Henry the sixth were afterward given to other Monasteries, and Colleges of learned men.

**Works of Piety by him, or others in his time.**

This King re-edified his Royal Manor, which was then called Shenew, now Richmond, and founded two Monasteries not far from it; the one of Carthusians, which he named Bathleum: the other of Religious men and women of the Order of St. Bridget, which he named Bosom: He also founded the Brotherhood of St. Giles without Cripplegate in London. In the second year of his Reign, Moor-gate near to Coleman-street was first made, by Thomas Fawkener Mayor of London, who caused also the Ditches of the City to be cleaned, and a common Privy that was on the Moore without the Wall, to be taken down, and another to be made within the City upon Wallbrook, into which he caused the water of the City to be turned by Grates of Iron, in divers places. In his fifth year, William of Sevenoke Mayor of London, founded in the Town of Sevenoke a Free School, and thirteen Alm-houses. This man was found at Sevenoke in Kent, a new born Infant of unknown Parents, but by charitable people was Chriftened and brought up, bound Prentice in London, and came at last to be Mayor of the City. Alfo Robert Chichely Mayor of London gave liberally to the Alms-houses founded by his brother Henry Chichely, Arch Bishop of Canterbury, for Higham Ferres in Northamptonshire, where they were born. But Henry Chichely the Arch Bishop founded two Colleges in Oxford; one called Bernard College, renewed by Sir Thomas White, and named St. John's College; the other called All-Souls, which continueth at this day as he left it. Alfo John Kempe, Arch Bishop of Canterbury, converted the Parish Church of Wye in Kent, where he was born, into a College of Secular Priests.

**Casualties happening in his time.**

In the fifth year of his Reign, a great part of the City of Norwich was burnt, with all the house of the Friars Preachers, and two Friers of that Order. In his third year, on the Feast of the Purification, seven Dolphins came up the River of Thames, whereof four were taken.

Of his Wife and Issue.

He married Katherine the Daughter of King Charles, the sixth of France, who was his Queen two years and about three months, married at Troy in Champagne the third day of June, 1420. and afterward February the fourteenth Crowned at Westminster. She surviving King Henry, was re-married to Owen Tudor an Esquire of Wales, who pretended to be descended from Cadwallader the ancient King of Wales, though some write him to be the Son of a Brewer, whose meaner of Eilata was re-compened by the delicacy of his perfomage; so absolute in all the lineaments of his body, that the only contemplation of it might well make her forget all other circumstances. By him she had three Sons, Edmund, Jasper, and Owen, and a Daughter that lived but a while. Her Son Owen took the Habit of Religion at Westminster, the other two were by King Henry the sixth (their half-Brother) advanced in honour. Edmund was created Earl of Rich mond, and marrying the sole Heir of John Bradport Earl of Somer-fet, was Father by her of the five Sons, and of the Queen, called the seventh, King of England, the only Heir of the House of Lancaster. Jasper his second Son was first created Earl of Pembroke, and after Duke of Bedford, but died without lawful Issue. This Queen, either for Devotion, or her own safety, took into the Monastery of Ber mondsey in Southwark; who dying the second of January, 1436. she was buried in our Ladies Chappel within S. Peter's Church at Westminster: whose Corps taken up in the Reign of King Henry the seventh, her Grand-child, (when he laid the Foundation of that admirable Structure) and her Coffin placed by King Henry her Husband's Tomb, hath ever since remained, and never since re-buried, where it standeth (the cover being loose) to be seen and handled of any that will. By her King Henry had only one Son, named Henry, who succeeded him in the Kingdom.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, lean of body, and his bones but small, but strongly made, somewhat long necked, black hair'd, and very beautiful of face, swift in running so as he with two of his Lords, without Bow or other Engine, would take a wide Buck or Doe in a large Park. He delighted in Songs and Musical Instruments, infomuch that in his Chappel amongst his private Prayers, he used certain Psalms of David, translated into English Metre by John Lydgate Monk of Bury. And indeed it may be truly said of him as was said of Aenas: Qui justius alter, Nee pictate swn, nee bello major arma; for he seldom fought battle where he got not the Victory; and never got Victory whereof he gave not the Glory to God, with publick Thanksgiving. He was a better man, a King then a Subject; for till then he was not in his right Orly, and therefore no mar- vail if he were something exorbitant. He was of a merciful disposition, but not to the prejudice of Wildom: as thinking wife cruelty to be
be better than foolish pity. He was no less politick then valiant, for he never fought Barset, nor won Town, wherein he prevailed not as much by Stratagem as by Force. He was so temperate in his diet, and so free from Vain-Glory, that we may truly say, he had something in him of Cæsar which Alexander the Great had not, that he would not be drunk; and something of Alexander the Great, which Cæsar had not, that he would not be flatter'd. He was indeed a great affecter of Glory, but not of the Glory, the blazon of mens mouths, but of the Glory that fills the fame of Time. He died of full years, though not full of years: if he had lived longer, he might have gone over the fage again, but could not have gone further. If his love were great to Military men, it was not small to Clergy-men; incommas much as many he was called the Prince of Priests.

Of his Death and Burial.

Some fay he was poynoned, which Polydore Virgil affirms, was much suspect'd. The Scots write that he died of the Difeafe called Saint Piace, which is a Paffie and a Cramp: Enquiries faith he died of St. Anthony's fire: But Peter Baffet Efaqiire, who at the time of his death was his Chamberlain, affirmeth that he died of a Pleurifie, which at that time was a ficknefs strange and but little known. Being dead, his body was embalmed and clo'd in lead; and laid in a Charter Royal richly apparell'd in cloth of Gold, was conveyed from Bze de Vincennes to Paris, and so to Rouen, to Alberville, to Calais, to Dover, and from thence through London to Westminster, where it was interred next beneath King Edward the Confeflor; upon which, Tomb Queen Katherine cauf'd a Royal Picture to be laid, covered all over with Silver Plate gilt, but the head thereof altogether of Maffie Silver: All which at that Abbeys Suppofition were faecularily broken off and transferred to prophaner ufe. He died the last day of August, in the year one thousand four hundred twenty two, when he had reigned nine years and five months, lived eight and thirty years: though fome fay, two years fewer.

Of Men of Note in his time.

Men of Valour in his time were fo frequent, that we may know it to be a true faying, Regni Exemplum; and men of learning, likewife in fuch numbers, that we may know the Prince to have been their Patron: Firit Aude Lin, a Carmelit Fryer in that Town, who wrote many Treatifes; Then Thomas Otterton a Francifcan Fryer, who wrote an History of England; Then John Segard, who kept a School in Norwich, and wrote Landy Treatifes, reproofing as well the Monks and Priests, as Poets for writing of filly Virfes. Robert Roff a Carmelit Fryer in Norwich, who writing many Treatifes, yet faid nothing against the Wickliffites. Richard Gayfer born in Norfolk, a man of great Nobleness of Life, favouring (though fecretly) the Doctrine of Wickliff: William Wallis a Black Fryer in Lyn, who made a Book of Moralizations upon Ovid's Metamorphofes; William Taylor a Priet and Master of Art in Oxfard, a stedfast follower of Wickliff's Doctrine, and burn't for the fame at Smithfield, in London, the falt year of this King's Reign, Bartholomew Flourian, called fo of a Treatife which he wrote called Florvium; who wrote also another Treatife of Abifnence, wherein he reproveth the corrupt manners of the Clergy, and the prefiling of the Fryers Mendicants. Also Titus Livius de Foro Liviii, an Italian born, but faying he was resident here, and wrote the life of this King, it is not unfit to make mention of him in this place: also many others.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's time.

In his firft year,
Sir William Cremer was Mayor; John Sutton, John Michael, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir Thomas Falconer was Mayor; John Michael, Thomas Allen, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir Nicholas Weston was Mayor; William Cambridges, Allen Everard, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir Henry Barton was Mayor; Richard Whittington, John Coventry, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir Richard Morow was Mayor; Henry Read, John Gedney, Sheriffs.

In his fith year,
William Severyke was Mayor; John Brian, John Barton, John Parvett, Sheriffs.

In his fervent year,
Sir Richard Whittington was Mayor, Robert Whittington, John Butler, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
William Cambridge was Mayor, John Butler, John Wells, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir Robert Chicheley was Mayor; Richard Goffeine, William Weston, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of

KING HENRY

THE SIXTH.

Here hath been a Race of Princes, of which for three Generations together, it might be said rightly, Pulcheriam Proelis, Magnanimus

Heres not maliciosus Anon; For King Edward the third had many Sons, not inferior in Valour to the many Sons of King Priamus, nor excelling his valiant Son Hector, having so equal a match for him as Edward the Black Prince, who wanted but an Homer to have been an Achilles. Then John of Gaunt likewise had divers Sons, men as valorous as any that age afforded. Then Henry the Fourth had four Sons, of so Heroical Disposition all, that you might know them all to be his Sons, only King Henry the Fifth to be his eldest. And now that in him the Heroical nature was come to the height, it degenerated again in King Henry the Sixth, which must needs be attributed to the Mothers side; who though in her felt she was a Princess of a noble Spirit, yet being the Issue of a crazy Father, what marvel if she proved the Mother of a crazy Issue? And yet even this Issue of hers, a Prince no doubt, of excellent parts, in their kind, though not of parts kindly for a Prince; in a private man prative-worthy enough, but the Sword of a King required a harder metal than the soft temper of King Henry the Sixth was made of; and in him we may see the fulfilling of the Text: Vae Cen/ium Rex est puér, We to that Nation whose King is a child; for he was not above eight months old, when he succeeded his Father in the Kingdom. Although that Text perhaps is not meant so much of a Child in years, for which there may be helps by good Protectors; as of a Child in abilities of ruling, whereas though possibly there may, yet probably there can be no sufficient supply: of which in this King we have a pregnant example; for as long as he continued a child in years, so long his Kingdoms were kept flourishing by the providence of his careful Unkles; but as soon as he left being a Child in years, and yet continued a Child in ability of Ruling, then presently began all things In pejas ruers, or uro infidiosu referre, all things went to wrack both in France and England. And thus much was necessary to be said by way of a Preface to that great fall as it were of Nisus, in King Henry the Fifth.

Henry called of Windsor, because born there, the only Child of King Henry the Fifth, as yet scarce nine months old, succeeded his Father, and was proclaimed King of England on the last of August, in the year 1422, by reason of whose Infancy King Henry his Father had before, by his Will appointed; and now the Lords by their consent confirmed the Regency of France to John Duke of Bedford, the Government of England to Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, the Guard of his Person to Thomas Duke of Exeter, and Henry Beaufort Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor; wherein it was wisely provided that one man should not rule all, left it should prove a spur to aspiring, and withal stay them from envying another one, when many were alike placed in the highest form of Authority: And indeed they all carried themselves so uprightly and carefully in their places, that it well appeared the trust reposed in them by the dying King, had made a strong impression of love and loyalty towards his Son.

The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, was to keep that by the Sword, which King Henry the Fifth by his Sword had gotten; wherein he had many and great Affiliates, specially the two terrors of France, Thomas Montague Earl of Salisbury, and John Lord Talbot: and amongst the French themselves the Duke of Burgoyne, a friend no less powerful, then firm unto him. The Dauphin also (now crowned King at Poitiers) and called Charles the seventh of France, his Father being newly dead; within a little more then a month after King Henry had likewise great affiliates, the Duke of Alanson, and many other Peers of France, and of the Scots many, and some perhaps of the English that took part with him; by means whereof the game of Fortune was a long time played between them with great variety. The first act of the Duke of Bedford's Regency, was an Orac, which he made to the French in Paris, which wrought this good effect; that King Henry is proclaimed King of England, and of France, and that French Lords as were present did their Homages, and took their Oaths to be true unto him. The first act of hospitality was performed by the new King of England, who sends the Lord Granville to Pont Meulan, who surprized it, putting all the English Souldiers to the Sword; but the Regent sending thither Thomas Montague Earl of Salisbury, so strongly beleaguered it, that the Lord Granville not only subordinated it, but swore Allegiance (though he kept it not) to the King of England. From thence the Earl marched to Seine, which he took by assault; and
The Reign of King Henry the Sixth.

1453.

(The Duke of Bedford marries the Sister of the Duke of Buckingham.)

At this time the Regent, the Duke of Burgoyne, John Duke of Bedford, and his Brother-in-law the Earl of Richmond, (who revolted afterward to the new King of France, and was by him made Conable of France) met at Luxembourg, and there restored the old Laws, but further enlarged it, to the offensive and defensive respectively: and to make the friendship the more firm, the Regent married Anne the Sibyl of the Duke of Burgoyne at Troyes. In this mean time the Parliamen taking advantage of the Regent's absence, conspired to have let in the new King to Paris: but the day before the night appointed for his admission, the Regent with his power entered, apprehended the Conspirators, and put them to public execution. This done, he furnished all the Ports, and places of strength with English men, and sent Sir John Fastolf, who took in Place, and Conwy, two strong Castles; whilst himself with his Forces took in Trunxlen, and Bray upon Seine.

The Contable of France the mean while with the new King's Forces, laid siege to Cravant in Burgoyne; but the Regent sent thither the Earl of Salisbury, who set upon the French, and after a long fight, putting them to flight, flew about 15,000 Knights and Gentlemen of note, and three thousand common Souldiers. Scots and French, took prisoners the Contable himself, the Earl of Vendome, Sir Alexander Alerdy, Sir Lewis Ferigay, and two and twenty hundred Gentlemen. Of the English part, were slain Sir John Grey, Sir William Hall, Sir Gilbert Halsal, Richard of Maddock, and one and twenty hundred Souldiers. From thence the Earl led his Forces to Montaguglion, and sate down before it, which after five months siege he took, whilst the Duke of Suffolk took in the two strong Castles of Conwy, and de Rocha. Whilst these things are done in France, in England the Protector ransomed and enlarged the young King of Scots, James the first (who by the face of eighteen years had been kept a Prisoner) which he did out of opinion, that he might withdraw the Scots out of France, taking Home and Fealty of English, they fought by Scotland; in these words, 1 James Stuart, King of Scots, shall be true and faithful to your Lord Henry, King of England and France, the Sovereign Lord of Scotland, and to you I make my fidelity for the said Kingdom, which I hold and claim of you, and shall do you service for the same, so God me help, and these holy Evangelists and therewithall, with content of all the Nobility, the Protector gave him to Witle, Jane Daughter to the deceased Duke of Somerset, and Conin-german to the King, with a large Dowry, and married them at St. Mary Overies in Southwark; yet all this course could not keep him afterward from being unfaithful, and unthankful.

And now the Protector sent over to the Regent ten thousand well furnished Souldiers, with which fresh succours he won many Towns and places of strength; which the French feeling, and finding themselves too weak by plain force to withstand the English, made peace, and recovered it; and that done, the Regent beheaded Ternay, and by secret mining, and violent Batteries, he broke the Walls, that they agreed to yield it up, if not relieved by a certain time. Whereupon the Duke of Alenfon with sixteen thousand French came to the rescue; but perceiving the English prepared to receive them, he wheeled about to Vernon, and srove to the Townmen that he had put the Regent to flight, and rescued Ternay, which they believing, rendered up Vernon to him; but the Regent followed him thither, when by the encouragement of some fresh Companies of Scots come to his succour, he came to a Battle in the Field, where the English, with the Loss of two thousand one hundred common Souldiers, and two of the Nobility, the Lord Dudley, and the Lord Charleton, got the honour of the day; and slew of their Enemies, five Earls, two Viscounts, twenty Barons, and above seven thousand other of the French, besides two thousand seven hundred Souldiers, and two thousand Feet Prisoners the Duke of Alenfon himself, the Lord of Hereby, and divers other French, and Sir John Towmbili, and two hundred Gentle- men, besides common Souldiers. This Battle was fought the eight and twentieth day of August, in the year 1424, and thereupon Vernon was presently re-delivered. After this, the Earl of Salisbury with ten thousand men, took in the strong Town of Mount, the Town of St. Eufian, the Fort of St. Bernard, and others; from thence he went to Anjou, where he performed such Heroick acts, that his very name grew terrible in all France; as for instance, the new High Contable peridious Richmond, with forty thousand men, laid siege to the good Town of St. James in Bemua, the Garrison whereof consisted but of six hundred English, who being driven to some extremity, fellith forth, crying, Saint George, a Salisbury; which word of Salisbury they made very famous, and so irritated the French, thinking he had been come to rescue them, that carrying away their weapons, they ran all away, saving some few that yielded themselves Prisoners, leaving all their Tents, fourteen Pieces of Ordnance, forty Barrels of Powder, three hundred Pipes of Wine, much Armour, and some Treasure behind him. After which, other Castles, as that of Beaumont, of Victoria, Tonnis, Gilly, Ose, Ruys, Vaseck, and many more were taken in by Sir John Montgomery, and Sir John Fastolf, as once again the French are glad to be take themselves to their old course of fraud; they compounded with a Guiseigne Captain for delivery of Alenfon to them; whereof the Re- gent having notice, he sent the Lord Willoughby and Sir John Fastolf to prevent it, who encounter- ing with Charles de Filieres, that with two hundred Horse, and three hundred Foot, was come to the place appointed for entry, took and flew them all, except some few Horse which fled themselves by flying. After which, the Earl of Salisbury took in and demolished above
In the fourth year of this Kings Reign, a Parliament was holden at Leicester, called of the common people, the Parliament of Bass: because, being commanded to lay by their Swords, Servants took great Bass to follow their Lords and Masters to the Parliament.

About this time the Duke of Gloucester, Protector, took some filemblie in his Honour, by marrying another mans Wife, Jagneline Counsellor of Hennant, Holland, and Zealand, who was married before to John Duke of Brabant, yest living, and had lived with him ten months as his lawful Wife; but at that time upon some different, gone from him, intending to be divorced. At which injury offered to the Duke of Burgoyne, the Duke of Brabant, being his Cousin, took so great offence, that first by friendly Letters he admonished the Duke of Gloucester of it; and that not prevailing, they grew to terms of challenge, and a Combat between them was appointed: but in the mean time the Lady betrayed, was carried to the Duke of Burgoyne, who conveyed her to Gaunt; from whence, by pleadings of a Burgoyne Knight, in mans apparel, she escaped into Holland, and there made a defensive War against her Husband the Duke of Brabant, and the Duke of Burgoyne. To her aid, the Duke of Gloucester sent the Lord Fitzwater, with a power of a thousand men: but the being disconfined by the Duke of Brabant, and the Pope also pronouncing the first Marriage illegal, the Duke of Gloucester abandoned him, and took the Duke of Leon, and the Duke of Burgoyne, a Knight of the Order of the Garter of St. Werburgh, his old Milifris; and the Lady Jagneline, after the death of John Duke of Brabant, married a mean Gentleman; whom the Duke of Burgoyne imprisoned, and brought her self to live in much trouble.

And now in France, the Constable with forty thousand men, besieged the Town of St. James de Bourbon; and having made a breach for assault, whilst his Captains fired the walls of the citie, which of them should first enter. Nicholas Bardet with all his Forces fell forth, crying a loud, A Salisbury, a Suffolk: whose names struck such a terror into the Befigers, that they fled like men amazed, of whom six hundred were slain, two hundred drowned in the Ditches, fifty taken Prisoners, with eighteen Standards, and the Constable was glad to quit the place, and give over the siege.

At the same time also the Earl of Warwick and the Lord Scater, with seven thousand, besieged Ponthon many weeks together; but Provision waxing scant, the Lord Scater with three thousand men went a forraging into the Enemies Country: and in his return with plenty of Provision, was encountered with five thousand French, of whom he flew many hundreds, took above a thousand Prisoners, and they returned safe into the Camp.

About this time also Sir John Elyiffe besieged the Town of Antwerp with nine thousand, and about them forty thousand, Princes, after five days, offered to render it self by a despatch, if it were not relieved. The offer was taken, and Pledges delivered; but before the day came, they within the Town had victualled and manned the place, and thereupon neglecting their Pledges, refused to render the Castle according to agreement: whereupon the Pledges were brought before the fight of them within the Castle, and there openly put to death.

And now a Conspiration of the Clergy and Magistrates in Maastrich to preval, that the Marshals of France with five hundred men, about midnight came to the Town-Walls, where the Guard of English, by those that seemed their friends, were suddenly massacred; and setting open the Gates, made way for the Enemy to enter: whereupon the Alarum given, the Earl of Suffolk with the surviving English, withdrew to the Castle, wherein they were sharply affailed by the French, who yet had more mind to ravish houses, and to make good cheer; whereas the Lord Talbot having Intelligence by Captain Offe, whom he had sent to discover the state of the French, he secretly gave notice to the Earl of Suffolk, who thereupon fell back within the Castle at a time when the Lord Talbot was ready with his Troops, and on both sides crying St. George, a Talbot, they fell upon the carles French, who lost four hundred of their bell men, the rest were all taken, the Town regained, and the Conspirators, thirty Citizens, twenty Priests, and fifteen Fryers, condemned and put to Execution.

Whilst these things went on prosperously in France, a great disaster fell out in England; for the right Noble Thomas Beaumont (Son of John of Gaunt, and Katharine Windsor) Duke of Exeter, and Guardian of the King, makes King Henry his Heir; and at Ely-Greenwich in Kent, ended his life. Whose place was presently supplied by the Earl of Warwick, and the Earls place in France by the Earl of Salisbury; whom thereofon with five thousand men came to

Oloron,
The English style begins to go down.

The Duke of Suffolk taken prisoner.

The French King conquers many Towns.

The Duke of Suffolk taken prisoner.

Orcines, and belied the City, and won from the French the great Fort. But here happened another great disaster, for from a high Tower in this Fort, the Believers observed the paffages of the Townsmen; when the Noble Earl of Salisbury, intending to inform himself of the State of the Town, unfortunately looking out at a Window of the Fort, with Sir Thomas Gagegrave, a great shot from the Town striking the Bars of the Window, the splinters thereof were driven into his head and face : of which wounds within eight days he died. This was now a second weakening to the English party, but in his place the Earl of Suffolk succeeded, to whom the Regent fendeth Sir John Falstaff with fresh supples; whom the Lords De la Bree, nine thousand strong, endeavours to intercept: but Sir John resolving to abide the charge, placeth his Carriages behind, the Horse next, and the Foot before, lining his Bows with Bill-men, and pitching flakes behind the Archers, who having discharged their first Volleys, retired behind the flakes: on which the French, forgetting their former defeats by that course, ran and goaded their Horses, by which their Vaward being disordered, the Battel, made a stand. Which Sir John perceiving, cryeth out, St. George! they fly! at which words they fled indeed, and lost two thousand five hundred of their men, with the Lords De la Bree, and William Stewart; eleven hundred were taken prisoners: with whom, and a rich Booty, they came to the Camp before Orcines. And this Battel, because molt part of the carriage was Herring and Lenten stuff, was by the French men called the Battel of Herring. But the beleagured having notice of this, they offered to submit themselves to the Duke of Burgoyne; who was contented to receive them, so as the Regent would content: But the Regent conferred not, and therefore in the mean time, the beleagured made means to the Duke of Alainfon, who furnisht the Town with fresh Forces and Provisions; which put such spirits into the Citizens, that they made a sally out, slew six hundred English, and adventured upon the Basfire, where the Lord Talbot commanded, who repelled them with great slaughter of their men; but yet the next day the Earl of Suffolk gave over his siege, and dispered his Army into their Garrisons.

And now the wheel of Fortune began to turn to the French against the English, which once for a going was not ease to be stayed. And first the Duke of Alainfon took by assault the Town of Jarnes, and in it the Earl of Suffolk, and one of his Brothers, and leen Mr. Alexandre Patr, another of his Brothers, and many other Prisoners in cold blood, by reason of a convention amongst the French, to whom the Prisoners should belong. Presently upon this, another great blow was given the English; for the Lord Talbot, Scales, and Hungerford, going to fortifie the Town of St. Mein, were encounsrted by the said Duke of Alainfon, and Arthur of Britain, with three and twenty thousand men, with whom the English Lords interchanged some Blows: but oppressed with multitude, were all three taken prisoners, all lost wounded, twelve hundred of their company slain, and the rest hardly escaping to Menus, where they fortified themselves the better they could against future affords.

There were great blows given to the English in France; Salisburby taken, and now Talbot taken Prisoner: which though they made her a little to rotter, yet there must be great blows given before the will fall. And indeed, these disasters were feconded by the persidious runner of many Towns and strong holds to the French King; who now encouraged by thee successes, marcheth into Champagne, where by composition he took Troyes the chief City of that Province: Chalons rebellith, and enforces his Captain to yield it up; by whose examples the Citizens of Rheims do the like, where the French King is anew Proclaimed, and with acquiesced; Cherones a monteed and Crowned: whereupon many Towns submit themselves to him, and revolt from the English: Upon this the Duke of Bedford (to make the French know, that all the English strength confided not only in Salisburby and Talbot) with ten thousand English, besides Normans, marched out of Paris, and sent Letters of defiance to the French King, affirming, that deceitfully and by unjust means he had taken many Cities and places "of importance belonging to the Crown of England: which he was come to justify by Battel, if he would appoint a time and place. To which the King of France making a flight anwser, the Regent marched space toward him; and as fait the King of France marcheth away. The Regent followed him, but could not over take him, till he came near Steny: there both the Armies encamped and embattell, yet only some light skirmishes palled between them. And a night or two after, the French King fled with his Army to Bray, which the Duke thinking to be but a plot to draw him farther off from Paris, of whose fidelity he had no great assurance, followed him no further, but returned thither. At which time the Regent's Brother the Cardinal, having prepared Forces to assist Pope Martin in Bekemia, the Regent borrowed them of him for a pretense expedition; and with them marched into Champagne, where he found the French King encamped upon the Mount Pithal: whose number being twice as many as the Regents, yet by no provocations could be down to Battel, but secretly fled to Grissip; whereupon the Regent also returned to Paris.

Whilist these things are done in France, in England, upon St. Leonard's day the 6. of November, 1439. King Henry not yet eight years old, was with great solemnity Crowned at Westminster; at whole Coronation were made six and thirty Knights of the Bath, and at the Solemnity, a Feast; and if any man desire to know much Cookery, he may read in Edward, all the ditches of meat that were served at that Feast.

About this time, in France, a strange Impo-
Longeaul took by surprize the Castle of Au-
merie, and flew all the English that were in it.
But all these were but petty acquist to the
King of France: there is a knot of friendship
between the Dukes of Bedford and Burgogaine,
which must be broken, or he will never be able
to compass his designs. He therefore labours by
all means possible to disunite them; wherein he
so little prevailed, that the Duke of Burgogaine
acquaints the Regent with all the practices, who
thereupon, with many thanks, exhorts him to
continue firm, of which he should never have
cawe to repent him: and because Norman
dey was a principal part of the English strength in
France, he goeth chitter, and by many reasons
persuades them, as their Ancelors had al-
ways been, to be faithful to the Crown of
England.

In this time of the Regent’s absence from
Paris, the King of France drew all his forces thit-
er, using all means possible, by Excalado, Bat-
tery, and burning the gates, to enter the City:
but was withstood by the vigilance of the
Citizens, who was glad to found a retreat,
leaving his plain and maimed Souldiers behind
him, all but the Pacelle, who being hurt in the
Leg, and almost stild with myre in the ditch,
was by a lervant of the Duke of Alanfon drawn
up, and conveyed after the King to Berry, who by
the way received the submission of the Inhabi-
tants of Laigne. Some other services were per-
formed on both fides, by the Duke of Suffolk,
and Sir Thomas Kyrriel, for the Englishe; by the
baffard of Orleans and Sir Stephen le Hys, for
the French; but of no great importance: till at
laft, the Pacelle, (who a little before had cau-
fed an English Captains head to be cut off, be-
cause he would not humbile himself to her upon
his knee) was by Sir John of Lutzenburgh
taken, and pretended to the Duke of Burgogaine,
who sent her to the Regent, and he to the Bi-
shop of the Dioces, who judicially proce-
ding against her as a Sorcellery, and deca-
ning her of the King and his subjcts name was
(after many delays of promise to discover se-
cert practices, and lastly of her reign ing to
be with childe) publicly burnt at Rouen.

And now the Regent finding how much the
Crowning of the French King had furthered his
defigns, he made account the like effect would
follow the Crown ing of King Henry in France;
whereupon he is sent for to come over; and
coming to Paris, was by his Unkle the Bishop of
Winchesfer and Cardinal of Englius, not yet
above nine years old, with all usual ceremo-
nies Crowned King of France, receiving the
oaths of Homage and Fealty of all the French
Nobility that were present, and of all the In-
habitats of Paris, and of the places adjacent.
Upon this, Pope Eugenius laboured a reconcile-
ment between the two Kings, but could effect
nothing, but only a Truce for fix years: which
agreed upon, King Henry returns into England,
and landeth at Dover, the eleventh of February.
But the fix years Truce was scarce openly pro-
claimed, when the French had cunningly pol-
fed themselves of divers Castles and places of
strength, justifying their actions, affirming,
That what was politically obtained without
blows, was no infringement of the Truce: and
afterwards they perfidiously conveyed two hun-
dred men into the Castle of Rouen, with intent
to have surprized it; but being discovered, they
were all taken, and either ransomed or put to
execution. Upon this, the Regent (whose
Wife, the Sitter of the Duke of Burgogaine, be-
ing lately dead, and he married again to Jauc-
lene the Earl of S. Paul’s daughter, with whom
he went over into England) returned again to
Paris; to whom the Lord Talbot, having now
paid his rancombe, came hither, bringing with him
seven hundred tried Souldiers; and with them the
Regent takes the field, where the French
Army lay, but the French flunk away in the
dark, as not daring to abide the hazard of a
battel.

About this time, the Duke of Brunswick, taken
at the battle of Agincourt, after eighteen years
imprisonment, paying eighteen thousand pounds
for his Rancombe, the fame day he was enlarged
died at London.

And not very great effect was produced
out of a very small cause: There had been
sparks of unkindness between the two great
Dukes of Bedford and Burgogaine, which broke
out into a flame upon this occasion: A time
and place was appointed, where they should
meet to compound some differences that were
between them; The place agreed upon, was
St. Omnis, a Town in Burgogaine: When the
time came, they stood upon this nice point,
Which of them should first come to the place;
and as thinking that he which did so, should there-
by acknowledge himself to be the meaner per-
son. The Duke of Richemont thought he had no
reason to do it, seeing he was Regent of France,
and therefore superior to any subiect in the
Kingdom: And the Duke of Burgogaine thought
he had no reason to do it, seeing it was to be
done in his own Dominions, where he was
himself the Sovereign Lord. Upon this nice
point they parted without meeting; and the unkindness grew afterward to so great hatred,
that the Duke of Burgogaine chose rather to be
friends with him that had murdhered his fa-
ther, then ever to have any more commerce with
the Duke of Bedford. This was one great
branch of affiance lop off from the Englishe
which had been a great means before to make it
flourish: and it was not so much, that the affi-
ance was taken from the Englishe, as that it was
added to the French: for after this, the Duke
Burgogaine brought more affiance to the new
King of France, then ever he had done before
to the King of England. By which we may see,
when the Divine providence hath a work to
effect, what flight occasions it oftentimes takes
to effect the work.

Great blowes had been given before in
France, to the English fortune by the enemy,
but now a blow was given to it by Destiny,
which made the Enemies blowes the more in-
curable; for now the wise, valiant, faithful Re-
gent of France, Duke of Bedford, Abjou, and
Alanfon, Earl of Hemy, Harcourt, Driex, Rich-
mond, and Carisle, and Vifcount Bnccourt,
upon the fourteenth of September 1435, ended
his life at Paris, which was in a manner the en-
 ding the life of the English fortune in France:
al former blowes had been upon inferior
mem}
The noble disposition of Levis for France.

The Duke of York, is made Regent of France, which the Duke of Somerset envies, and being thus envied, his proceedings all be vain.

1472 - Lord Tankervile and the Duke of Burgoyne were defeated at the Battle of Poictiers.

The Duke of Gloucester lands at Calais with five thousand good fighting men, who finding the Enemy recoiled, forraged all the Country thereabout, and for the space of six weeks harrowed all the parts of Flanders, Artois, and Hainaut: and then returning by St. Omeres, Arde, and Guisness, arrived at Calais.

And now we must look a little home, for the Duke of York returning into England, finds the Castle of Rochester besieged by the King of Scots, with thirty thousand men; but he hearing of the Earl of Northumberland's approach, and the Duke's return, inconveniently fled. And now again to France, where the Town of Harflew was taken by the French, and the Scots were forced to cover their town of Somerset, and the Lord Talbot besetting it both by Sea and Land, though the Earl of Ever and the Bailiff of Orleane and Bourne, with four thousand men came to relieve it, yet upon composition it was surrendered.

And here we may have leave to speak of a private matter, for about this time the Duchess of Bedford married Sir Richard Wodevil, a gallant young Gentleman, but of small means; which though it offened her friends, yet it seems offended not God, who made her Mother of many Children by him; and amongst the rest, of the Lady Elizabeth, afterwards married to King Edward the fourth. Also about this time James King of Scots, who before had been eighteen years Prisoner in England, and afterward released, with a Wife of a Noble House, a great Dower, and many honourable Presents, yet got loved ungrateful, was murdered in his Bed Chamber by night, and the murderers being found out, were cruelly tortured. And now again to France, when the Duke of Burgoyne could neither by force nor policy take Calais, he attempted a ridiculous practice, to cut a Ditch that should drown both the Town and Courray; but after much labour and expense, his design like a vapour vanished into air. The Lord Talbot besieged Tankervile, and after four months siege had it rendered to him. In revenge whereof, the French King in his own person layes siege to Monfreau; which whilst the Duke of York was providing to rescue, he was discharged of his Office, done of purpose by his Enemies, to lay a blot upon him: A lamentable thing in a State, when private envy shall be suffered to undermine the publick safety; and by this means Sir Thomas Gerard had the more opportunity to fell the Town, for which, if he were a gainer in money, he was yet a looser in reputation, and bared both of French and English, in much discontented. Arthur, Constable of France, and John Duke of Alencon, besieged the Town of Arranches.
but were with dishonour repelled by the Lord Talbot. After this, Le Hyde sent Letters to them, that he had a promise from divers Burgers of Rouan to let them in at any time appointed; against which time they came to Rysz, within four Leagues of Rouan, but the Lord Talbot, having notice hereof, marched covertly to Rouan, and from thence before day to Rysz, where he surprised the French, takes the Lord Fountaines, Sir Allen Corson, and many others, and with a rich booty returned to Rouan. The sixth day of November, in the sixteenth year of the King’s Reign, the Earl of Warwick having oftentimes been abroad, and still beaten back by Tempels, landed at Harlew with a thousand fresh Souldiers, and from thence came to Rouan; but in the mean time the Duke of Burg-geigne seeing no new Regent yet come, betie-gathed the Town of Creto: to the relief whereof, the new Regent now comes, sent the Lord Talbot with five thousand men, whose approach the Duke nor enduring, retired to Abtestice, leaving only four hundred, with whom he had manned the Saffile by him there erected, which was soon gained, and all the Souldiers either taken or slain. And there the valiant Talbot sent word to the Duke, that if he would have his Country from vallation, he should come to a Battle; but the Duke not liking the march, continued his Retreat to Abtestice, and there, together did the Lord Talbot with fire and sword, pass through Picardy and Artois, without opposition, and then returned. Sir Thomas Kyriel seizes upon the Dukes Carriages and Ordnance; and having left in Creto, virtual enough for fix hundred men for a whole year, he brought the reft to the Earl of Warwick. And now Henry Earl of Mortainge, Son to Edmund Duke of Suffolk, arrived with two hundred Archers, and three hundred Spears, took the Castle of St. Aymon, wherein were three hundred Scots and French; the Scots he flew all, and hanged the French because they had sworn fealty to England, and broke it: he took likewise the Castle of Algarbeth, and by means of an Ambush, took the Lord Camarons, coming to the rescue thereof. On the other side, the Towns of Nimes, Bry, and Sijfon, were sold and delivered to the French by the treachereous Burgers. In June the Earl of Huntingdon, with two thousand Archers, and four thousand Spears was sent into Geoféigne, whither the Earl of Dunois was lately come to buy Towns and Castles; but the Earl of Huntingdon upon his coming thither, changed all the Captains and Officers, whereby he prevented all such Burgers: and so far had bribery spread it self at this time, that even in Normandy the English Captains had but small confidence in the Nationals, and not much in fome of their own Nation; whereupon Sir Richard Woodville, Sir William Chamberlain, and William Peto were fent thither to stop the current of that corruption.

At this time the Council of France procured a reconciliation between the King and the Dauphin, who had been in long jealousies and diffention; which if it had not been done, the Kingdom had been torn with Factions, and never been able to subsist.

And now in a great Frost and Snow, the English life under the conduct of Sir John Clifford, having covered their Armour with white shirts, and their heads with white Amane skullis, came to Poethuis by night, and undiscover’d past the Dutchers, sealed the Walls, flew the Guards, and took the Town; but this good luck was accompanied with a bad of more importance: for presently upon it the Earl of Warwick died in the Castle of Rouan, and conveyed into England was buried in the Castle of Warwick. To reduce Poethuis, the French King in person layeth siege unto it, when Richard Duke of York being the second time made Regent, having with him the Earl of Oxford, and the Earl of Ewe, levis a power to raise the siege; and arriving there, sends word to the King, that the next morning he would give him Battle: but the King liked not his bidding, but leaving his Ordnance, at midnight fled away to Poysy: thither also the Regent follows him; but with no provocations could draw him to fight.

About this time, a Treaty for Peace between the two Kings is appointed to be held at Calais, by the mediation of the Dutchers of Burgoyne, a Portugal Lady; Commissioners meet of both sides, but nothing concluded, only the Duke of Orleans who had been prisoner to the English five and twenty years, is by the Dutchers redeem’d, and likewise three hundred thousand Crowns of the Duke of Burgoyne’s money. The Lord Wiltoughby betiedge Deer, which the Dauphin with fourteen thousand men cometh to raise; and there young Talbot is taken prisoner, with Sir John Peto, and Sir John Repley, but are shortly after redeemed by exchange. And now another weakening happened to the English party, the Earl of St. Pol forfakes them, and is reconciled to King of France. The English lay siege toTimer, for the raising whereof, the French King marcheth thither with 60000 men, releiveth the Town, and then marcheth to Scouerhe, which he taketh in, and in it, Sir John Ramsden; after which he took in Arques, but then the English cut off all conveys of Vistuals from coming to him, he is forced to return; after whose departure, the English recover all that he had taken; and to boot, take his Lieutenant prisoner, flying or hanging all his Souldiers. In this mean while the Lord Talbot taketh in Canon, and driveth the Ballard of Orleans from the siege of Goghardt; but the French in the Castle of Cordun detain many English prisoners; for redeeming of whom, Sir Francis the Aragonist used this tiragisme, he apparelled half a dozen lusty young fellows like Peasants, carrying Baskets with Corn and Vistuals, and tendeth them to the Castle, while he with his Company lies in Ambush, in a Valley near the Castle; the fix unsuspectt are admittet, and coming to the Captains Chamber, feizes upon him, and withall gives the sign to the Ambush, who coming readily on, entred the Castle, put the Souldiers to the sword, feteth prisoners at liberty, burneth down the Castle, and with the booty and Captain of the Castle, returned to Rouan.

Whilest these alterations past in France, a more unnatural paffed in England, theUncle rifteth against the Nephew, the Nephew against the
the Uncle; The Duke of Gloucester Articles against the Cardinal, charging him with affecting preeminence, to the derogation of the Kings Prerogative, and contempt of his Laws; which Articles are delivered to the King, and by him to his Council, who being most of the Clergy, durst not meddle in them, for offending the Cardinal. On the other hand, the Cardinal finding nothing whereby directly to accuse the Duke of Gloucester himself, accuses his other self, the Lady Eleanor Catham the Dukes Wife, of treason, for attempting by Sorcery and Witchcraft the Death of the King, and advancement of her Husband to the Crown: for which, though acquitted of the treason, she is adjudged to open Penance, namely, to go with a Wax Taper in her hand, hooded (lave a kerschief) through London, divers days together, and after to remain in perpetual imprisonment in the Isle of Man. The crime objected against her, was procuring Thomas Southwell, John Hanne, Priests, Roger Bullingbrook, a suppos'd Necromancer, and Margery Jordan, called the Witch of Eye in Suffolk, to devise a Picture of Wax in proportion of the King, in such fort by sorcery, that as the Picture confum'd, so the Kings Body should confum'd; for which they were all condamnd. And then was burnt in Smithfield, Bullingbrook was hanged, constantly affirming upon his death, that neither the Duke's, nor any other from her, did ever require more of him, then only to know by his Arts, how long the King should live. John Hanne had his pardon; and Southwell died the night before he should have been executed.

About this time the Countess of Conings being dead, the King of France and the Earl of Arminrick are Competitors for the Inheritance. The Earl takes possession, but fearing the King of France his greatest, makes offer of his Daughter in Marriage to the King of England, with a large portion in money; and besides, to deliver full possession of all such Towns and Castles as were by him or his Ancestors contained in Aquitaine, and had been formerly by the Provinces of the King of France conquered. The Queen and Countess of Suffolk for this purpose were by King Henry graciously heard, and honourably returned: after whom were sent Sir Edward Hall, Sir Robert Esf's, and others, to conclude all things; and the young Lady is by Proxy affin'd to King Henry: But the King of France not liking the proceeding of the Match, sendeth the Dauphin with a pious Army, who took the Earl, with his youngest Son, and both his Daughters, and gained the Counties of Arminick, Louronne, Revergne, Montesonne, with the Cities of Sarens and Cadarce, chaising the Brand of Arminick out of the Countrey; by means whereof, the marriage was then deferred, and left in suspense.

In this dissension of Christendom, many Princes, the Kings of Spain, Denmark, and Hungary became Mediators for a Peace between the two Kings of England and France. Ambassadors of both sides were sent, many meetings were had, many motions made; but in conclusion only a Truce for eighteen months is agreed upon. In the mean time the Earl of Suffolk, one of the Commissioners for the peace, takes upon him beyond his Commission; and without acquainting his fellows, to treat of a Marriage between the King of England, and a Kinwoman of the King of France, Necces to the French Queen, Daughter to Roger Duke of Anjou, styling himself King of Steine and Naples: In which business he was so intent, that he brought an asperson upon him of being bribed: but however, an interview between the two Kings is appointed, without any grumble of King Henry's part, to be between Charters and Room. The Commissioners return, the Earl of Suffolk furnishes the beauty of the proposed Bride, and the great benefits that would redound to the Kingdom by this match. The King was easily induced to consider the Relation; but divers of the Kings Council, especially the Duke of Gloucester, opposed it; partly for the meanness of the match, her Father being only a Titular Prince, and withal but poor, unable to give any portion at all; and partly for the wrong which should hereby be offered to the Duke of Arminick's Daughter, to whom the King had been in solemn manner publicly affirmed. But reasons could not prevail against her, the Earl of Suffolk's affirnms must not be undervalued. And as a new creation of Lords first made, John Beaufort Earl of Somerfell, made Duke of Somerfell; John Lord Talbot, made Earl of Shrewsbury; John Holland Earl of Huntington, made Duke of Exeter; Humphrey Earl of Suffolk, made Duke of Buckingham; Henry Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, made Duke Warwick; Edmund Beaumont Earl of Dorset, made Marquefs Dorset; and William de la Pole Earl of Suffolk, made Marquefs of Suffolk; this new Marquefs honourably accompanied, is sent into France to fetch the Lady Margaret the proposed Bride: who shortly after is married at Southwick in Hampshire, and Crowned Queen of England at Westminster on the 30. day of May, 1444. in the three and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign. And now instead of benefits by which the Earl of Suffolk profited,
must pass by him, and the extent of his power over reached all the Council: He gets of the King the Wardship of the Body and Lands of the Court of Wardour in Warwick, and of the Lady Margaret, sole Daughter and Heir of John Duke of Somerset, afterward Mother to King Henry the Seventh. And now the Kings weaknesses in judgement grows every day more apparent than other, whilst governed by no Counsel but his of Queen, and the by no counsel but her own will, and the new Marquess of Suffolk: King Henry is himself the last part of the King, and serves but to comfluence the devices of others, whereof he little understands the drift; and which proving ill, the blame much needs be his; it well, the benefit and honour others. For by insufficiency of the Queen, he flatters the Duke of Gloucester, for his care of the Commonwealth called the good Duke, to be excluded not only from Command, both from the Council-Table, and permits informers, set on by the Marquess of Suffolk, the Duke of Buckingham, the Cardinal Bishop of Winchester, and the Archbishop of York, to come against him, who lay to his charge, that he had caused divers persons to be executed contrary to Law; wherein thought he justified himself, yet no justification would be heard. But to avoid tumultuary parti-taking, it was concluded he should be privately convicted and condemned; and to this end a Parliament by the procurement of his Enemies, unwitting to the King, is called at Evesham, to which the Duke of Gloucester resorted, is on the second day of the Seison, by the Lord Beaumont Lord High Constable (abetted by the Duke of Buckingham) arrestit and put in Ward, all his followers fentiter from him, whereof two and thirty are committed to several Prisons, and the next day after his imprisonment, he is found in his bed murdered; yet shewed the same day as though he had died of an Impholitume, though all that saw his body few plainly he died of a violent and unnatural cause: some fay, strangled; some, that a hot fport was put at his head, and burned betwixt two feathers. His Corps the same day was conveyed to Saint Albans, and there buried. Five of his menial Servants, Sir Roger Chamberlen Knight, Midddeton, Herlitt, Artais, Eguiter, and John Nedge, Gentleman, were condemned to be hanged, drawn, and quartered; and hanged they were at Tyburn, let down quick, fript naked, marked with a Knife to be quartered; but then the Marquess of Soffolk, to make a shew as though he had no hand in the busines, brought their Pardon, and delivered it at the place of Execution, and further lives were faved. It is no unmemorable thing which Sir Thomas More writes of the pregnancy of this Duke of Gloucester. It happened the King coming one time in Progress to St. Albans, a Beggar born blinde, as he fay, at the throne of St. Albans obtained in his height: which case being noticed in the Town, the Duke of Gloucester being there with the King, dared to fee him, who being brought unto him, he asked if he were born blinde; who told him, Yes trul; And can you now fee? (faith the Earl) Yes I thank God and St. Alban, faith the Beggar; then tell me faith the Earl what colour is my Gown? the Beggar readily told him the colour; and what colour faith the Earl is? faith a mans Gown? the Beggar likewise told him presently, and fo of divers others. Then faith the Earl, Go you counterfeit Knight; if you had been born blinde, and could never fee till now, how come you fo suddenly to know this difference of colours? and thereupon instead of an Alms, caused him to be fet in the Stocks. But in the death of this Duke, the Queen, who had a special hand in it, was either not fo inteligent or not fo provident as the might have been; for as long as he had lived, his Primo-geniture would have kept back the Duke of Yorks claim to the Crown, being but descended from the fifth Son of Edward the Third, where this Duke Humphrey was descended from the Fourth. And here were the first feeds found between the two Houses of Lancaster, whose badge was the Red Rose, and York, whose badge was the White Rose. And now upon the death of this Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of York began immediately to privyly draw his right and title to the Crown, but so politicly carried his intents, that all things were provided to further his projects, before his purpose was any what discovered.

And in this time the rich Cardinal and Bishop of Winchester dies, who lying on his death-bed, as Doctor John Bucy, his Privy Counselor and his Chaplain writeth, used such like words: Why should I dye, faith he, having to much riches? If the whole Realme would have my life, I am able either by Policy to get it, or by money to buy it: Fie, will not death be hid? will money do nothing? and other words to such purpose. But he being dead, there succeed in his Bishoprick a more deferving Prelate, William Wanflete, called to the place in Lincolnshire where he was born, though his name was Patterne, of the Worlhipful Family whereof he was descended. And now to the end the Marquess of Suffolk might not come behind them in Dignity, whom he went before in Power, he is about this time made Duke of Suffolk.

In France about this time, a Victory was gotten, which proved no better then an overthrow. Before the Truce was expired, Sir Francis Saurin an Aragoniis, a man thought worthy to be admitted into the honou’able Order of the Garter, taking advantage of the security of the French Garrison, suddenly surprizeth a Frontier Town called Fougiers belonging to the Duke of Britain; the Duke adverfeth the French King thereof; who by his Ambassadors complains both to the King of England, and to the Duke of Somerset then Regent in France: answer was made it was the fault of the Aragoniis, who did it without warrant from either the King or the Council; neithertheless Commissioners are appointed to meet at London, to treat of some course for satisfaction; but the time of the Treaty news is brought to the Regent, that the French by a stratagem of a Carter, that with a load on Hey coming over the Drawbridge, caused the Axletree to break, and whilst the Porter was ready to help the Carter, the Porters brains were beaten out; the Town
Town of Arques surprized, and the Lord Fauconbridge Captain thereof was taken Prisoner. Reformation being required by the English, answer is made them in their own language, it was done without warrant from either the French King, or any of his Council; so it was but one for another; and from thence forward the Truce is broken of both sides, and all things grow worse and worse. The French King by composition taketh Loweriers, Guernsey, and Vénezile, whilest the Regents stands desiring what was built to be done; if he command, not obeyed; if he counsel, not followed, as it happens to men when blinded in Reputation, to have an ill construction made of all their actions: by which means the French go on without restraint, get Conflance, Guifard, Gatierd, St. Lee, Pavis and many other pieces in Normandy. Upon notice whereof, Mansfield in Guen rennters to the Earl of Fife, and by their example the City of Roes itself takes composition to surrender; where the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord Butler, heir to the Earl of Ormond, were kept pledges till it was performed. It is true, succours were provided to be sent out of England, under the Command of the Duke of York; but a Rebellion happening in Ireland, which was thought of more importance to be speedily suppressed, diverted him and his Forces thither: where not only he suppresse the Rebels, but so won the hearts of that people, that it was no small furtherance to his proceedings afterward. A fresh supply instead of fifteen hundred men, under Sir Thomas Kyriel is sent over; but what could a handful of men do against such multitudes as opposed them? For he marching with the rest of the Army towards Reculver, was encountered by the Earl of Clarmont, with seven thousand French and Scots, whom yet at first he made to retreat, till the Concourse of France with four hundred men at Arms, and eight hundred Archers came to the rescue; and then fresh men coming upon them that were already tired, the English lost three thousand and above seven hundred, besides divers that were taken Prisoners. After this loss of men, follows presently a loss of Towns; Harlow is assaulted, and though valiantly for a while defended by Sir Robert Cursos, yet surrendered at last upon composition: Then the French King with an Army Royal, beleeged Caen in Normandy, a Town belonging to the Duke of York, defended in his absence by his Lieutenant in Dover Hall; but the Duke of Suffolk being Remiss, in consideration of his Duties being in the Town, notwithstanding the stout opposition of Sir David Hallet, surrenders it upon composition to the French; whereof Sir David giving notice to the Duke of York, it bred such a deadly quarrel between the two Dukes, that they were never after throughly reconciled. And thus is all Normandy recovered from the English, after it had been in their possession a hundred years; and finally, all France is reduced to the obedience of Charles the French King.

And now hereafter there will be little to do abroad; but there will be the more to do at home; and more blood will be shed in England by civil diffensions, then was shed before in all the Wars of France. This loss of Normandy and other parts in Normandy, is imputed much to the Duke of Somerset, at that time Regent; but the Duke of Suffolk must bear a great part of the blame, partly for having been the cause of the surrender of Anjou and Mayenne, and the chief procurer of the Duke of Gloucester's death, and partly for having wilfully waited the Kings Treasures, and been a means to remove the ablest men from the Council Board; of all whichaspersions the Queen takes notice, and knowing how far they trench upon the Dukes destruction and her own, she wrought, that the Parliament assembled at the Blackfriars, is adjourned to Leicester, and from thence to Westminster: but though all means were used to stop these accusations against the Duke, yet the lower House would not be taken off, but exhibited their Bill of grievances against him: That he had traitorously invited the Battard of Orleans, the Lord Prygon, and others to levy War against the King, to the end that thereby the King might be destroyed; and his Son John, who had married Margaret Daughter and Heir of John Duke of Somerset, whose title to the Crown the said Duke had often declared, in case King Henry should die without issue, might come to be King: That through his Treachery the French King had gotten possession of the Dutchy of Normandy, and had taken prisoners the Valiant Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lord Fauconbridge, and others; but to their accusations he peremptorily affirmed himself innocent, so much as in thought. They are few further allegations made against him, that being with others, sent Ambassador into France, he had transgressed his Commission; and without provy of his fellow Commissioners, had presumed to promise the surrender of Anjou, and the delivery of the County of Maine to Duke Rayner, which accordingly was performed, to the great dishonour of the King, and detriment of the Crown: That he had traitorously acquainted the French King with all the affairs of State, and passages of secrecy, by which the Enemy was throughly instructed in all the designs of the King and Council: That he had received rewards from the French King, to divert and disappoyt all succours sent to the Kings friends in France. Upon these and divers other accusations brought against him, to blare the peoples eyes, he is committed to the Tower, but the Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but he was set at liberty. Which so incensed the common people, that they made an insurrection and under the leading of a desperate Fellow, flying himself Blue beards, they committed many out-rages: but by the diligence of the Gentlemen of the Country, the Captain was apprehended, and the Rebellion ceased. And now another Parliament is called, where great care is taken in chusing of Burgesses, precluding thereby to stop any further proceeding against the Duke of Suffolk; but his personal appearance at the Parliament gave such a general dislike to the House, though he came in the company of the King and Queen, that they forborne not to begin the Assembly, with petitioning the King for punishment to be inflicted upon such
The Duke of Suffolk is questioned again in Parliament; he is banished for five years, but taken at sea, hath his head cut off.

The Duke of York begins to make his way to the Queen.

As had pleased or consented to the Reformation of Anjou and Maine, whereof by name they inflicted in the Duke of Suffolk, John Bishop of Salisbury, and others. This petition was seconded by the Lords of the upper House: whereupon to give some satisfaction to the House, the Lord Say, Lord Tresurer, is sequestred from his place, the Duke's Officers are all discharged, and himself formally banished for five years, but with an intent after the multitude had put out of mind their hatred against him, to have revoked him: But God did otherwise dispose of him, for when he was shipped in Suffolk, with intent to have passed over into France, he was met by an English man of War, taken and carried to Dover Sands, and there had his head cut off, on the side of the Long-boat, which together with the body was left there on the Sands, as a pledge of some satisfaction for the death of Duke Humphry.

Whilst these things are done in England, the Duke of York in Ireland began to make his way to the Crown, as descended from Philippa, Daughter and Heir to Lionel Duke of Clarence, elder Brother to John of Gaunt, great Grandfather to the present King Henry the fifth. And for a beginning it is privately whispered, that King Henry was of a weak capacity, and easily abased; the Queen of a malignant spirit, and bloodily ambitious: the Privy Council, if wise enough, yet not honest enough, regarding more their private profit, than the public good; that through their delinquencies, all France was lost, and that God would not bless the usurped position of King Henry. With these suggestions the Kentish men seemed to be taken; which being observed by an instrument of the Duke of York, called Mortimer, he takes his time, and tells the multitude, that if they will be ruled by him, he will put them in a course to work a general Reformation, and free them for ever, from those insupportable burthens of Taxations, so often, upon every flight occasion obtruded upon them. These promises of Reformation and Freedom from Imposts, so wrought with the people, that they drew to a head, and made Mortimer, the Duke of York, their Leader; who styling himself Captain Mendl-all, marched with no great numbers, but those well ordered to Black-beach, where between Eltham and Greenwich, he lay by the space of a month exercising his men, and fending for whom he pleased, and for what he pleased. Then he presents to the Parliament the complaints of the Commons, that the Queens Favourites share amongst them the Revenues of the Crown, whereby the King is enforced for the supportation of his present estate, to tax and burthen the Commons, to their utmost undoing, and to the general impoverishment of the Kingdom: That the Commons have their commodities daily taken from them for the purveyance of the Kings Household, for which they are not paid, nor any allowance for payment thereof given, but only Court-promises: That upon the apprehension of any manner of treason or Felony the Kings men, Servants, before conviction, beg the Goods and Lands of the impeached; whereupon indirect and unlawful proceedings are used by subornation of wretches, emissaries of Jurors, and great men Letters to the Judges; whereby Justice is perverted, and the innocent after attained, if not executed, yet at least imprisoned to their undoing: That the Commons have no legal proceedings in their Law-suits, so as the rightful owners of Inheritance dare not, (if opposed by any Courtier) maintain their Titles, or attempt the recovery of their interest, how just soever: That the Kings Collectors and other Accomptants are much troubled in paying their Accompts by new exacted Fees; and by being infcrred to procure a late invented Writ of Quorum Nonin, for allowance of the Barons of the Cinque-Ports, and their suing out their Quietus at their own charge, without allowance from the King: That the Bayliffs of Sheriffs, under colour of the Green Wax out of the Exchequer, do levy greater sums than are by the Register justifiable, yet maintained: That they cannot have the freedom of electing Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament; but by Letters from the Favourites of the Court, to their Friends and Retainers, the Knights and Burgesses are commonly chosen: That they are too much troubled with too often coming to attend the general Sessions, being enforced in many places to make five days journey to the place where they are kept. These and some other were the complaints of the Commons; but the Captain for his own particular (after protestation made to live and dye in the quarrel of the King) required that his Majesty would be pleased to receive again into favour, the truly noble Prince the Duke of York, and with him the Right Honourable the Dukes of Exeter, Buckingham, and Norfolk, and the ancient Noblemen of the Realm, by the undue practices of Suffolk and his complices, commanded from his presence; and that all their opposites might be banished the Court, and put from their Offices: That there might be a general amotion of corrupt Officers, an abolition of the Green Wax, and other Infrumments of Extortion out of the Exchequer; a qualification of proceedings in the King's Bench; an abolition of unequal purveyance of provocation for the Kings Household, and a present execution of the Promoters, Slags, Farmers, Tellers, and Esks, whom he pretended by wrongful information to have abused the King, and wronged his Subjects. These Petitions are sent from the Lower-House to the Upper, and from thence committed to the Lords of the King's Privy Council; who having examined the particulars, explode them as frivolous, and the Authors thereof to be presumptuous Rebels. Whereupon the King is solicited by his Privy Council, to prosecute them by force rather than interest; which advice is seconded by the Queen, as conceiving they secretly aimed at her: and hereupon the King draws his Forces to Greenwich, and appointeth divers Lords to affall the Rebels; but the Lords could get no followers to fight against them who fought only for reformation of abuses, and for punishment of such Traytors as the Lord Say himselfe. Whereupon the Lord Say is presently committed to the Tower, the King and Queen...
Queen retire to London, from whence within two days, the King being now eighteen thousand strong, marcheth in person towards Captain Mendall, who politickly withdraweth his Forces into Strevenock-wood; upon notice whereof the King retireth again to London, but the Queen longing for dispatch, sends the two Stafford, Sir Hungerfrey and William, with many hostages in the Court; to follow the Rebels, who were soon cooled; for they found Captain Mendall, a thousand strong, whom they gave them, and in the first encounter, slew Sir Hungerfrey and afterwards his Brother, and pull all the rest to flight. The Kings Forces being at Blackheath, could neither by threats or iniquities be gotten to go to the Rescue; but rather wished the Queen and her Favourites in the Stafford house: or that the Duke of York were in England, to aid his Cousin Mortimer (now first acknowledged to be of his kindred) and many of them fled away to the Rebels, whose number from Suffolk and Surrey daily increased, whereas yet their Captain restrained from forraging or taking away any thing by force; and so returned again to Blackheath, where the Kings Army lay the night before, but was now fallen down to Greenwich. And now the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Buckingham are sent to expound with the Rebels about their demands; to whom Jack Cade gave very good language, but defendants affirming no condition from Arms, unless the King in person would bear the grievances of the Subject, and pass his Princely word for the reformation of their wrongs. This resolution of his made known to the King, who was not sure of his own Souldiers Faith, made him march presently away to Killingworth Castle in Warwickshire, where he fortified himself as expecting a siege, having left the Lord Scales only to guard the Tower. Jack Cade taking advantage of the Kings departure, cometh to Southwark, where he quarters his men, straitly charging them to commit no out-rage, nor do wrong to any; which was duly observed. The next morning he marcheth to London-Bridge, where he caused his men to cut the Ropes of the Draw-Bridge, no reliance being made against him; and so in good order matched up by London-flow, upon which he struck his Sword, saying; Now is Mortimer Lord of London. The Mayor of London, Sir Thomas Cholton, standing upon the threefold of his barge, bade him take heed he attempted nothing against the quiet of the City; To whom he made answer. Let the world take notice of our honest intention by our actions. And indeed this orderly carriage of himself and his company won him a good opinion amongst the common sort of people: And now assuming to himself the place of Chief, he sends out his Letters of safe conduct, to such whom he pleased to make use of; amongst other, he wrote this Letter to Thomas Cock, Draper of London.

Upon Cock's admission, he had private conference with three other that came with him; to whom, at their departure he gave these instructions in writing: Ten shall charge all Lombards and Merchant-strangers, Genoese, Venetians, Florentines, and others, this day to draw themselves together, and to ordain for us the Capital, twelve Howard's compleat of the left foot, four and twenty Briganti, twelve Bottle-axes, thirteen Glaces, fix Horsemen with Saddle and Bridle complete, and armed with Money in ready Money: and if they shall fail them, we shall strike off the heads of as many as we can get. But they failed not, but sent him what he had demanded: who thereupon the next morning, being the third of July, returns to London; and presently sends to the Lord Scales, to bring his Prisoner the Lord Say to the Guild-hall, whither he had called the Lord Mayor with his brethren; before whom he caused the Lord Say to be arraigned, who craving to be tried by his Peers, was forthwith taken from his Keeper, carries to the Standard in Cheapside, and there had his head chopped off; which being pitched upon a Pike, was borne before him to Mile-end, whither he went to have conference with the Rebels of Essex; and by the way meeting with Sir James Cremer, High Sheriff of Kent, who had lately married the Lord Say's Daughter, he caused his head also to be cut off; and carried likewise before him in derision. The next morning we came again to London; where after publick execution done upon some of his fellows, and particularly upon a petty Captain of his, named Parle, that had done things contrary to his Proclamation; upon a displeasure taken against Alderman Mapes, he sent and seized upon all his Wares and Goods, and fined Alderman Hove five hundred Marks. Whereupon, the Citizens finding him to grow every day more inoffensive, sent to the Lord Scales for aifurance, who senteth Matthew Guns an old Souldier to them, with some Forces and Furniture out of the Tower; who presently make a stand at the Bridge, where Cade notwithstanding forbeareth his passage, and then began to let fire upon horsemen, where many aged and impotent people miserably perished. Captain Bingham, Alderman, Station and Robert Herfon, valiantly fighting, were slain; yet upon a fresh supply, the Londoners recovered the Bridge again, and drove the Rebels beyond the Stomp in Southwark; at which time, both sides being weary, agreed of a Truce, till the next day. After the Retreat, Cade finding he had lost many of his bel men, was driven, for supply, to set at liberty all the Prisoners in Southwark, as well Felons as Debtors; when now his company entering into consideration of their danger, and of the desperate Services their Captain had brought them to, began to discover by their countenances, their willingness to leave this course: whereof the Archbishop of Canterbury having notice, he with the Bishop of Winchester came from the Tower by water to Southwark, and there allowed the King General Pardon under the Great Seal of England; which was so welcome to the Rebels, that without taking leave of their Captain, they withdrew.
The Reign of King Henry the Sixth.

Jack, Cade took, and is slain. The

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and with the Duke of Somerset (now enlarged) marched toward Wales: while the Duke of York, having notice which way the King came, by another way marched toward London: who, being told, the Duke of York, would not admit him entrance, he passed the River Thames by Blackheath, marched into Kent, and encamped at Bexleyheath. The King in his pursuit came to Blackheath, and there pitch'd his Tents; from whence he sent the Bishops of Winchester and Ely, the Lord Rivers, and Richard Andrews, Keeper of the Privy Seal, to know the cause of this commotion: and to make offer of reconciliation, if the Duke's demands were not unreasonable. The Duke made answer, that nothing was intended against the King's Person, his Crown or Dignity: All that was fought, was to remove ill Counsellours from about the King, but especially Edward Duke of Somerset; whom if the King would be pleas'd to commit to ward, till his Legal Trial might be had in Parliament, he would then not only dismiss his Army, but come unto his presence as a loyal Subject. Hereupon the Duke of Somerset is committed to prison: The Duke of York dismiss'd his Army, and came into the King; in whose presence, (contrary to his expectation) he found the Duke of Somerset, which so mov'd him, that he could not hold, but presently charg'd him with Treason: which the Duke of Somerset not only denieth, but re- criminates the Duke of York to have confir'd the King's death, and the usurpation of the Crown. Whereupon, the King remov'd to London, the Duke of York, as a Prisoner riding before him, and the Duke of Somerset at liberty; which was not a little marvell'd at by many. And now the King calleth a Council at Wolfs- minster, where the two Dukes are earnest in excuting each other; but while the Council are debating of the matter, there comes a flush of lightening out of France, which diverted them. For the Earl of Kendal, and the Lord L'Ester, came Ambassadors from Burgandy, offering the command of the Crown of England; if they might but be assur'd to be defend'd by land and sea, but withal, at the same time there came a report, that Edward Earl of March, Son and Heir to the Duke of York, with a great power as marching towards London. Here was matter for a double confutation, and for this latter, it was resolv'd on, that the Duke of York, should in the presence of the King and Nobility, at the High Altar in Paul's, take his Oath of Submission and Allegiance to King Henry; which he accordingly did, and then had liberty to depart to his Castle at Wigmore. And for the former, the Earl of Shrewsbury with about three thousand men was sent into Gascoigne, who arriving in the Isle of Man, pass'd with his power, and took Frenc'cake and other pieces; but having received in the night instructions from Burgundy, a certain Conspirators, he makes all the speed he can to thither, and enters the Town before the French had notice of his coming: so that many of them were slain by the Lord L'Ester in their beds. Shortly after there arrived the Earl of Shrewsbury's Son, Sir John Talbot, with the battard of Somerset, and two and twenty hundred men, by whole means Burg- deaux.
The Reign of King Henry the Sixth.

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down is well manned with English, in which time the Earl was not idle, but went from place to place to receive the offered submission of all places where he came: and having taken Chatis-
lon, he strongly fortified it whereupon the French King raiseth an Army, and besiegeth Chatis-
lon, to the relief whereof, the Earl made all that pos-
sible, and with eight hundred Horse, appoin-
ting the Earl of Kendal, and the Lord L'Ejfor to follow with the Foot. In his way he surpris-
feth a Tower the French had taken, and put all
within in to the Sword; and meeting five hun-
dred French men, that had been foraging, ma-
ny of them he slew, and the rest he chafed to
their Camp. Upon whose approach the French
left the siege, and retired to a place which they had formerly fortieth; whither the Earl
followeth them, and resolutely chargeth them
so home, that he got the entry of the Camp:
where being one through the Thigh with an
Harquebus, and his Horse foil under him, his
Son defirous to receive his Father, loft his
own life, and therein was accompanied with his
Bafflard Brother Henry Talbot, Sir Edward
Hall, and thirty other Gentlemen of name.
The Lord Malins with three score other were
then Prisoners, the rest fled to Bardeaux, but
in the way a thousand of them were killed, and
thus on the last day of July, in the year 1453,
at Chatislon, the most valorous Earl of Shrews-
bury, the first of that name, after four and
twenty years service beyond the Sea, ended
his life and was buried at Ramin Normandy
with this Inscription upon his Tomb, Here lieth
the Right Noble Knight John Talbot, Earl of Shrews-
bury, Wexford, Waterford, Valence, Lord Talbot
of Goodrich, and Orchenfield, Lord Strange of
Blackmares, Lord Verdon of Alton, Lord Crome-
nel of Winksfield, Lord Lewes of Warfoppe,
Lord Furnival of Sheffield, Knight of the No-
able Orders of St. George, St. Michael, and the
Golden Fleece, great Marshal to King Henry the
Sixth, of his Realm of France. The Earl of Kendal,
the Lords Monforrest, Roheine, and
Dangledas entred the Castle of Chatislon, and
made it good against the French the space of
twenty years: but having in the end, they
perished it, upon composition to have
liberty to depart to Bardeaux: and now the Gas-
caigne were as ready to open their Gates to the
French, as they were before to the English; by
means whereof, in short time, the French re-
covered again all Gascaigne except Bardeaux,
and that also at length, upon condition that
both Garrisons and Inhabitants with all their
substance might safely depart for England
and Calicie, and that the Lords L'Ejfor and Durant,
with thirty others, upon pain of death should
never after be found in the Territories of
France.

At this time upon St. Bartholomew's day, an
custom in that nation, being, that the Mayor of Lon-
don, and the Sheriffs should be present in giving
prizes to the best Wretters, it happened that
at the Wrestling-place near Moor-field, the Pri-
or of St. John's was there to see the fops, when
a servant of his most humbling the disgrace to be
boiled before his Master, against the custom of
the place, would have wrestled again, which the
Mayor denied; whereupon the Prior fetched
Bow-men from Clerkenwell, to resit the Mayor,
and some sloughter was committeth; the Mayors
Cap was shot through with an Arrow, he
nevertheless would have had the spot go on,
but no Wretters came; yet the Mayor Sir John
Norman told his Brethren, he would stay a while
to make trial of the Citizens resistent against
him; which he had no sooner said, but the Cit-
izens with Banners displayed came in great
numbers to him, and fetcht him home in great
triumph. Upon the neck of this began the quarrel in Holborn, between the Gentleman of
the Inns of Chancery, and some Citizens; in
appeasing whereof, the Queens Attorney and
three more were slain.

And now the Duke of York by all means la-
boureth to stir up the hatred of the Commons
against the Duke of Somerset, repeating often
what did hitherto England intimated by Somerset's
giving up the strong Towns of Normandy; and
how he abused the Kings and Queens favour to
his own gain, and the Commons grievance:
then he addreath himself to those of the No-
bility that could not well brook his too much
commanding over the Kings and Queens affec-
tion. Amongst others he lifeth upon the two
Newls, both Richards, the Father of the other,
the one Earl of Salisbury, the other of Warwick;
with whom he deals so effectually, that an
indiffusible knot of friendship is knit betwixt
them; by whose assistance (the King lying dan-
gerously sick at Claringdon) the Duke of Som-
set is arbitrated in the Queens great Chamber,
and sent to the Tower; and in a Parliament now con-
voaked, appeareth of Treafor, and many damns-
sons objecteth against him. Whereupon the
King, though weak, is brought to London, of
purpose to dissolve the Parliament; and that dis-
folved, the Duke of Somerset is presently fet at
liberty again, and not only so, but is made Ca-
pain of Calicie and Guinifer, the only remain-
ing the English had in France. Upon this the Duke
of York and his party, with a great power,
marshc towards London; against whom, the King
attended with the Duke of Somerset, the Duke
of Buckingham, and his Son, both named Han-
over, Henry Earl of Northumberland, James Earl
of Wiltshire, John Earl of Pembroke, many
thousand men, marched forwards; at St. Al-
bans both Armies meet: The Duke in the morn-
ing sends a Letter to the King, protesting his
fidelity and sincerity, only he delivers the Duke
of Somerset may be delivered, to stand or fall
by the Judgement of his Peers; and this he
would have, or dye in the pursit. The King
for answer, commandeth him to desband, and sub-
misst to his mercy, and not expect, that he will
deliver any in his Army, who have shewed
their loves in standing to him. Herewith the
Duke acquaints his friends, who hereupon fall
every one to his quarter: The Earl of Warwick
fell upon the Lord Clifford's quarter, where the
Duke of Somerset hating to the refuge, was
slain, and with him the Earl of Northumberland,
Hamfrey Earl of Stafford, the Lord Cliff-
ford, and about five thousand others, besides
not by that house; but the King himself fet in
the neck with an Arrow; the Duke of Buckingham
was by the side; and the Lord Duke, in the faces;
the Earl of Dorset so hurt, that he was fain to be con-

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ried home in a Cart: The King's Army had been increased after his coming forth to eight thousand; but now they are all dispersed or slain; and the King, unguarded, is left in a poor, naked house, whither, to be freed from the danger of Arrows, he had withdrawn himself. The Duke of York, having notice where the King was gone with Warwick and Salisbury; who all three upon their knees, present themselves before him, making humble Petition to him for pardon of what was past; and now seeing the common enemy was slain, they had what they aimed at. To whom the King thus affectionately, said, Let there be no more killing then, and I will do what you will have me. This first Battle of St. Albans was fought upon the three and twentieth day of May, in the three and thirtieth year of King Henry's Reign. The bodies of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford were buried in the Chappel there. And now the Duke of York in the Kings name, commands a Surcease from further hostility: and in all reverent manner conveyeth the King to London, where they keep the Feast of Pentecost together. At which time a Parliament is summoned to begin at Wolminster, the ninth day of July; and therein it is enacted, that the Duke of Gloucester should be declared publicly a Royal Subject, and that none should misreport or dispute the actions of the Duke of York; or of any in his company: and moreover the Duke of York is made Protecor of the Kings Person, and of the Realm, the Earl of Salisbury is made Lord Chancellor, and the Earl of Warwick Captain of Califfes, wherein they all carried themselves with unblamable demeanour.

In this mean time, the Queen not well pleased with these proceedings, seeks all means to incite the Lords of her party, and they as much seek to incite her to make opposition; the puts the Duke of Buckingham in minde that these Traitors had slain his hopeful Son at St. Albans; the eldest the now Duke of Somerset, that by them his dear Father lost his life: And they again put the Queen in minde of the unfaferable indigity done to her, in making her Husband only a King in name, setting a Tutor over him, as though he were a child, whilest the Duke of York and his Complices manage all. Upon which incitation, all the Enemies of the Yorkshire Faction are assembled by the Queen at Greenwich, where it is debated of some course to be taken for restoring the King to his former liberty and Government. At length it is concluded, that the Duke of York should be commanded to give over his place of Protecorship, for that the King was of years and discretion sufficient to rule of himself without a Guardian; and the Earl of Salisbury to surrender his place of being Lord Chancellor, for that the great Seal was never delivered him, being that which was now used, was made since the Kings restraint, and therefore not sufficient: to which conclusion of theirs, the King, easie to be wrought upon, yields his consent, and thereupon they are both discharged from their Offices, and summoned to appear at the Council Table at Greenwich. But the Lords were wiser then to put themselves in their hands, and therefore make answer, that none had power to dispose them, nor to command their appearance in any place, but in Parliament; and so they continued about London, placing and displacing whom they pleased, and by their triumvirate authority, took John Holland Earl of Exeter out of Sanctuary, and sent him prisoner to Pomfret Castle. These proceedings gave occasion to the licentious multitude to raise commotions, and the Pretenses of London upon a very flight occasion, fall upon out-landish Merchants, rifle and rob their houses; and the Mayor assembling a company of Substantial Citizens to support them, the King of the disorderly of the disorderly flies to Sanctuary, Commissioners are sent to enquire and punish the offence; but when the Mayor and Commissioners were set, tidings came that the Commons were up in Arms; whereupon the Commissioners left the business to be proceeded in by the Mayor, who so discreetly ordered the matter, that many of the offenders were punished, some by death, others by fine, and all things were quieted and appeased.

At this time the French having nothing to do against the English in France, would needs be doing something against them in England. They set out two Fleets, one under the conduct of William Lord Powys, the other of Sir Peter Bressy; the Lord fell upon Fulney in the West Country, the Knight upon Sandwich in Kent, where some hurt they did, but not of importance to counter vary their Voyage.

And now the Queen finding the little respect the Londoners bore to her party or the King, perfuaded the King, as for his health and recreation, to make a Progress into Warwickshire, which he did, by the way, hunting and hawking; and the Queen making few of nothing but pastimes; and this she did, with a purpose the easieter to entrap the three Lords of York, Salisbury, and Warwick. To whom the writ most loving Letters, earnestly inviting them to be at Coventry by an hour appointed; which they not doubting any fraud, intended to have done; but hearing by the way of the mischief plotted against them, they caused their Retinue to go on-ward the way to the Court, as though themselves were coming after; but they provided otherwise for their safety, the Duke of York with a Groom and a Page getting him to Wigmore Castle, the Earl of Salisbury to his Castle of Middleham in the North, and the Earl of Warwick to the Sea-side, and so to Calife. But before they parted, they agreed upon an Alphabet, by which they might have intercourses of Letters, yet their intentions kept undiscovered.

The King unwitting of this mischief intended against the Duke of York and his friends, returneth to London, where he calleth a Council; and therein of his own accord, determ ined that some course might be invented for a perfect reconciliation of all parties: promising upon his Salvation, (an extenuation not usual with him) to entertain the Duke of York and his friends, that all discontentes should be removed, and a perfect amity on all parts be established: to which end messengers are dispatched to the Duke of York, and all other
his party, commanding them upon urgent affairs of the Realm, and upon Royal Promise of safe conduct, to repair to his Court at London, at a day appointed. The Duke of York accordingly came, and with 400. men well apparelled, lodged at his house called Baynards Castle; the Earl of Salisbury with 500. men, lodged likewise at his house called the Harbour: The Duke of Exeter ( lately released) and the Duke of Somerset with 800. men, were lodged within Temple Bar: The Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford with 1500. men were lodged in Holborn: The Earl of Warwick with 600. in red Jackets with juggled Staves, embroidered behind and before, were lodged at the Grey-Friers in London. Upon the following day the King and the Queen came to London, and were lodged at the Bishop's Palace; the Mayor having five hundred well appointed men in readines, rode with a competent number all day long round the City, for preservation of the Kings Peace, The Lords lodging within the City, held their Council at Black-Friers; the other, at the Chapter-house at Westminster: Between both, the Reverend Archibishop of Canterbury, the Son of Henry Bembocher Earl of Effy, with some other of the most able Prelates interceded so, that by their mediation it was at last concluded, that all wrongs and misdemeanours on every side should be forgotten and forgiven, that each side should be friends to the other, and both be obedient to the commands of the King. Besides this in general, there were some particular Articles to be performed by the Duke of York, the Earl of Salisbury and Warwick, which afterward was ratified of the great Seal of England, the 24. day of March, in the 36. year of the Reign of King Henry the sixth. Upon the publication whereof, a solemn Proclamation was made in Paul's Church, at which the King was present with his Crown on his head; before him hand in hand went the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Salisbury, the Duke of Exeter, and the Earl of Warwick, and so one of the one, another of the other part, till they were all marshalled: behind the King came the Queen, the Duke of York leading her by the hand, who in going made shew of favourable countenance towards him. Divine Service ended, they return to the Court in all outward appearance truly reconciled; but all was diffembled, as will presently appear: for presently upon this, an affray fell out between a servant of the Earl of Warwick's, and a Courtier, who in the encounter is dangerously wounded; the Earls men fleeth; the Kings Servants seeing their fellow hurt, and the offender escaped, watch the Earls coming from the Council Table, and affait him; many are hurt, but the Earl geth to Wherry, and so escapes to London; the Queen incontinently commands the Earl to be committed to the Tower, but he foreseeing the danger, pohts to Yorkshire, where he acquaints the Duke of York, and his Father the Earl of Salisbury of all the occurrences, with the palpable discovery of the Queens cannon'd disposition, advising them to stand upon their Guard, and to provide against the approaching storm. Hirfield speeded to Calices,
The Reign of King Henry the Sixth.

The Duke of Buckingham is received at the Exchequer, and comes out of Ireland, where he has laid open his title to the Crown.

The Duke of York, having first attacked the Earl of Warwick, and then the Earl of Surrey, made himself master of London, and the whole kingdom.

The Earl of Warwick is received at the Exchequer, and comes out of Ireland, where he has laid open his title to the Crown.

The Earl of Warwick having notice, that his Father the Earl of Salisbury was upon march to meet him, passed over the river, and without impeachment, joined with him and his friends near Exeter.

The King with the Dukes of Somerset, and Buckingham, with a great Army marched towards them, and near to the Town of Northampton both Armies met. The Earl of March with the advice of the Earl of Warwick prepares for the fight: The Queen (the King more intense to devotion then fighting) did the like. The fight continued about two hours, where the Queen in battle and the King above seven thousand men; but upon the fall of Henry Duke of Buckingham, the King fled, and John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Thomas Lord Egremont, John Lord AMCarelin, and some other of account were slain. The Queen with the Duke of Somerset, taking with them the young Prince, fled to the Bishoprick of Durham. The King himself was taken, and as a Prisoner conveyed to London: where the Tower is yielded to the Earl of Warwick; the Lord Seales in disguised apparel endeavouring to escape, is taken by the watermen, and being beheaded, and his Corps carelessly left upon the Sands. Thomas Thrope one of the Bishops of the Exchequer, in the Habit of a Monk, his Crown torn, purposing to fly to the Queen, is taken and committed Prisoner to the Tower; and after by the Commons Beheaded at High gate. The Duke of York being advertised of this good success, leaveth Ireland and pois to London, where in the Kings name, he summons a Parliament; which being assembled, he in the presence of the Lords in the Upper House, placeth himself in the Imperial Seat, and with great boldness lays open his rightful claim to the Crown of England, as being the Son and Heir of Anne, Daughter and Heir of Roger Mortimer Earl of March, Son and Heir of Philip, the Fole Daughter and Heir of Lisel, Duke of Clarence, the third Son of Edward the Third, and elder Brother of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, Father of the Uffrances Henry the Fourth, Grandfather to King Henry the Sixth. And after relating the many miseries that had beenfallen the Realm since the time of this usurpation, he concluded, that he would not expect nor desire possession of the Crown, except his doughter be indisputable, and his title without exception. This being a business of importance, required deliberation; but in conclusion, the Duke having beforehand prepared the Lords Spiritual, and few of the Nobility being present, that were not of his part, the Burgelies were easily persuaded; and it was generally resolved, and enacted accordingly, that King Henry during his life, should retain the title and honour of a King; that the Duke of York should be declared Heir apparent to the Crown, and Protector of the Duke of Perse, his Lands and Dominions, and that at any time, any of King Henry's Friends, Allies, or Favourites in his behalf should attempt the dissanuing this Act, that then the Duke should have present possession of the Crown. It is not unworthy the note, that while the Earl of March was declaring his title in the Upper House, it happened in the Nether House, that a Crown which hung in the middle of the House, to garnish a Branch to let light upon, without touch or winde, fell suddenly down as likewhile at the same time fell down the Crown which flood on the top of Dover-Castle. A sign as some thought, that the Crown of the Realm should be changed. As soon as the Parliament was dissolved, the Duke dispatched Letters into Scotland, requiring in the Kings name, the Queen, the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and all other of the Nobility that remained in the Kingdom, with all speed, to repair to the strong place of defense in London; but they laid other work in hand, for having gotten together of English and
and Scots, to the number of eighteen thousand, they came marching into England. Against whom went the Duke of York with his younger Son the Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, (leaving the King in the custody of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Warwick) and approaching near the Queens Army, he was certified by the Scots, that the enemy far exceeded his power, both in number, and in all warlike preparations (he not having in his Army above five thousand men) and therefore the Earl of Salisbury advised him to retire, and to attend the coming of the Earl of March, who was gone into Wales to raise the March men. But the pride of his former Victory made him deaf to all counsel of declining the Batter, and so hastened on by his destiny, from Sandal Castle he marched on to Wakefield Green; where the Lord Clifford on the one side, and the Earl of Wiltshire, on the other, were placed in Ambuscade. The Duke of York supposing that the Duke of Somerset who led the Batter had no more Forces then what were with him, undauntedly marched towards him; but being entered within their danger, Ambushed on both sides, brake out upon him, and flew with him through three thousand of his men, the retied. The Earl of Salisbury was taken Prisoner, and hammers Rutland nor above twelve years old, who came thither but to see fashions, is made a Sacrifice for his Fathers transgressions, who kneeling upon his knees, with tears begging life, is unmercifully stabbed to the heart by the Lord Clifford, in part of revenge (as he swore) of his Fathers death. And the Queen most unwomanly in cold blood caused the Earl of Salisbury, and as many as were taken Prisoners, to be beheaded at Pembrey Castle, and to have their heads placed on poles, about the Walls of York. Thus died Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, who had taken to Wife Cieely Daughter of Ralph Nevil, the first Earl of Welford, by whom he had the eight sons and four Daughters his eldest Son Edward was young, his second Son Edward was afterward King of England; his third Son Edmund Earl of Rutland was slain with his Father; John, Thomas, and William died young; his seventh Son George was after Duke of Clarence; his youngest Son Richard surnamed Croceback, was after King of England. Anne his eldest Daughter was married to Henry Holland Duke of Exeter, his second Daughter Elizabeth was married to John de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, his third Margaret to Charles Duke of Burgogne, his fourth Ursula died young. This Duke being dead, had his head crowned with a paper Crown, together with many circumstances of degrading him; but this act of fright was fully afterwards recompounded upon their heads that did it.

The Earl of March hearing of this Fathers death, laboured now to much the more earnestly, in that he laboured for himself; and parted from Sherwood whose Inhabitants were molt firm unto him, he increased his Armies to the number of three and twenty thousand, and presently took the field: and having advertisement that Jasper Earl of Pembroke, with the Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire followed after him with a great power of Welf and Irish, he suddenly marched back again, and in a Plain near Mortimer's Cross, on Candlemas day in the morning gave them Batter, where with the slaughter of three thousand and eight hundred, he pits the Earls to flight. George Tremor who had married Queen Katherine, Mother to King Henry the sixth, and divers Welsh Gentlemen were taken, and at Hertford beheaded. Before the Batter, it is said, the Sun appeared to the Earl of March like three Suns, and suddenly it joyned altogether in one; for which cause some imagine, that he gave the Sun in its full brightness, for his Badge of Cognizance. The Queen in the mean time encouraged by the death of the Duke of York, with a power of Northern men marched towards London: but when her Souldiers were once South of Trent, as if the River were the utmost limit of their good behaviour, they fell to forrage the Country in most barbarous manner. Approaching St. Albans, they were advertised that the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Warwick were ready to give them Batter; whereupon the Queens Vaward hasteth to pass through Saint Albans; but being not suffered to pass, they encountered with their Enemies in the Field called Berwick Heath. Who perceiving the main Batter to stand still, and not to move; which was done by the treachery of Lovelier, who with the Kentish men had the leading of it, they soon made the Southern men to turn their backs and flye: upon which flight the ret in doubt of each others well-meaning shuddled away, the Lords about the King perceiving the danger withdrew themselves. Only the Lord Bonville coming in a complemenat manner to the King, and saying it grieved him to leave his Majestie, but that necessity for the safeguard of his life enforced it, was importuned, and Sir Thomas Kyriel a Knight of Kent likewise, by the King to stay; he passing his Royal Word that their stay should be no danger to them: upon which promise they stayed, but to their cost. For the Queen hearing that the Commons had beheaded Baron Tharp at High gate, the in revenge thereof, caused both their heads to be stricken off at St. Albans: so that the Batter was sparred at this Batter the full number of three and twenty hundred, but no man of name, but only Sir John Gray, who the same day was made Knight, with twelve others at the Village of Ceneby. And now the King was advised to send one Thomas Hor, (that had been a Barrister) to the Victor, to tell them, that he would gladly come to them, if with convenience it might be done: whereupon the Earl of Northumberland, appointed divers Lords to attend him to the Lord Clifford's Tent, where the Queen and the young Prince met to their great joy: but it was now observed, as it were in the design of King Henry; that although he were a most pious man, yet no enterprize of War did ever prosper where King Henry was present. No enterprize of War ever prospered where King Henry was present.
they went to the Abbey, where they were received with Anthems, and withal an humble Petition to be protected from the outrage of the loose Souldiers; which was promised, and Proclamation made to that purpose, but to small purpose, for the Northern men said, it was their bargain to have all the spoil in every place, after they had passed 

Trent:

so they robbed and spoiled whatsoever they could come at. The Londoners hearing of this disorder, seeing there was no more assurance in the Kings promise, to keep the Northern men out of their Gates; intomuch that when they were fentro, to lend over to the Camp certain Cart-loads of Lenten Provision, which the Mayor accordingly provided, the Commons rose about Cripplegate, and by strong hand kept the Mayor from the Camp. He then on the Mayor sends the Recorder to the King's Council, and withal intreats the Dutches of Bedford, and the Lady Scales, to interced for him to the Queen; and to excuse his not using force, considering how dangerous it might be in these doubtful times, to stir their fury that would not easily be allayed. It was well advised to send women to intreat a woman, for by this means they prevailed, that some of the Lords of the Council, with a guard of four hundred good Souldiers were appointed to go for London to enquire and certify of these things: when suddenly news was brought, that the Earl of March with a great Army was marching towards them. For the Earl of Warwick having gathered together his scattered Troops, and joined with the Earl of March, they hasted towards London, and were joyfully received upon the eight and twentieth day of February; and upon Saturday the second of March, the Earl of Warwick, with all his Army in St. John's field: and having cast them into a ring, read unto them the agreement of the last Parliament, and then demanded, whether they would have King Henry to reign still? who all cried, No, no: Then he asked them, whether they would have the Earl of March eldest Son of the Duke of York (by that Parliament proclaimed King) to reign over them? who with a great clamour cried, Yea, yea: Then went there certain Captains, and others of the City, to the Earl of March at Baynard's Castle, to acquaint him with what was pass'd; who at first seem'd to exauce himself, asunable to execute so great a charge: but animated by the Archbishops of Canterbury, the Bishops of London and Exeter, and the Earl of Warwick, he at last contented to take it upon him. And thereupon the next morning he went in Proclamation to Paris, and offered there; and after Te Deum sung, he was in great state convey'd to Westminster, and there in the great Hall, feated in the Kings seat, with the Sceptre of St. Edward in his hand. And then again the people, of whom there was a great concourse, were loud demanded, if they would acknowledge him to be their King? to which with great willingness they all cried, Yea, yea. Then taking homage of divers Noblemen there present, he was with Proclamation and great solemnity convey'd to the Abbey, and placed in the Quire as King, whilst Te Deum was singing. That done, he offered at Saint Edward's Shrine, and then returned by water to Paris, and was lodged in the Bishops Palace; and upon the fourth of March he was generally Proclaimed King, by the name of Edward the Fourth. And here in the course of all Writers, ends the Reign of King Henry the Sixth, that it may be truly said, Never came any to be King so soon after his Birth, nor left to be King so long before his Death; for he came to be King at eight months old, and he left to be King, living twelve years after. There was indeed in that pace of time, a certain viciuity, sometimes a King, and sometimes no King; the pages whereof must be related in the following Kings Reign.

**Of his Taxation.**

In the first year of his Reign, Parliament was holden at London, where the Queen Mother with the young King in her lap came and sat amongst the Lords; and there was then granted a Subsidy of five Nobles upon every sack of Wool that should pass out of the Land, for three years: but if carried out by Merchants strangers, then to pay three and forty shillings for every sack. In the third year of his Reign a Parliament was holden at Westminster, wherein was granted a Subsidy of twelve pence in the pound of all Merchandize coming in, or passing out of the Realm, and three shillings of a Ton of Wine, for the term of three years. In his sixth year, in a Parliament at Westminster was granted a Subsidy, of every Ton of Wine three shillings, and of other Merchandize, except Wool, Fell, and Cloth, twelve pence in the pound. Also of every Parish through the Realm (except Cities and Boroughs) the Benefice being in valuten Marks, Ten of that Parish should pay six shillings eight pence; and of every Benefice of the value of ten pounds, ten Parochioners should pay thirteen shillings four pence; and so ratably of every Benefice, from the lowest to the highest. And for the Inhabitants of Cities and Boroughs, every man being worth twenty shillings above his household-stuffe, and the apparel of him and his Wife, should pay four pence, and so after that rate to the richest.

**Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.**

In the 32 year of this King, the Lord Mayor of London first began to go by water to Westminster to take his Oath, where before they used to go by Land. Also in this Kings Reign the Art of Printing was found out at Maguncia in Germany, by a Knight called John Gutenberg, and brought into England by William Caxton, of London Mercer, who first practiced the same in the Abbey at Westminster in the year 1471. In the 32 year of his Reign, in the Parliament then holden, it was Enacted, that when wheat was sold for six shillings eight pence the quarter, Rye for four shillings, and Barley for three shillings, it should be lawful for any man to carry the said kindes of Corn into the parts beyond the Sea without licence; so it were not to the Kings Enemies or Rebels; which Act was afterward confirmed by King Edward the Fourth.
Affairs of the Church in his time.

A Great Schism was in the Church in this King's time by reason of Anti-Popes; for remedy whereof, a Council is called at Constance, to which the Emperor of Constantinople and Teyts and sent their Ambassadors. In this Council John the third and twentieth is convented, condemned, depofed, and imprifoned. Gregory the twelfth, and Benedict the thirteenth are deposed, and Osbo Colonna, by the name of Martinus the fifth, is chosen Pope. During these confitions in the Western Church, the Chriftians in the Eastern Church are utterly ruined. The Emperor med, but to death in a pres of people, and the great City of Constantinople won by the Turk, made ever since the fett of his Empire. In the fix and thirtieth year of this King, Reynold Peacock, Bishop of Chichefter, who had laboured many years in tranlating the Holy Scripture into English, was accufed and confuted, for holding and publihing certain opinions at that time held Herefical, which at latly openly at Pauls Crofs he revoked; that he had held, there was no neceffity to believe that Chrift defcended into Hell: also no neceffity to believe in the Communion of Saints, or that the Universal Church cannot erre in matters of Faith; or that it is necessary to believe and hold whatsoever a General Council shall determine: Also that he had held, that Spiritual perohns ought to have no Temporal Pofterions; and that perohnal Tythes were not due by Gods Law. These Points he openly renounced, but was notwithftanding deposed of his Bishopfip; only a certain Pension was affigned him to live on in an Abbey, where soon after he died.

Works of Piety done by him, or others in his time.

The King himfelf founded two famous Colledges, the one in Cambridge, to our Lady and St. Nicholas, called the Colledge-Royal, or the King-Colledge; the other of Eaton besides Wintfors, called of our Blessed Lady: to the maine-tenance whereof, he gave 3400 pounds by year. In the 28th year of his Reign, his Queen Margaret began the Foundation of Queens-Colledge in Cambridge. In the time of his Reign alfo, Henry Chichly Archibishop of Canterbury founded two Colledges in Oxford, one called All-Souls-Colledge, the other Bernard-Colledge. In his time alfo, Humphry Duke of Gloucefler (but others fay, Thomas Kemp, Archibishop of Canterbury) built the Divinity School in Oxford; alfo the faid Archibishop built Pauls Crofs in form as now it flanitheth; and William Winters, Bishop of Winchefter and Lord Chancellour of England founded Mary Magdalene Colledge in Oxford. In his feventeenth year, Ralph Lord Croman, built the Colledge of Tofthal in Lancifhire. Alfo this year William Eafffied Mayor of London, caufed to be built at his own charge the Water-Conduit in Fleetfreet. In his ninth year, John Welli Mayor of London, caufed the Conduit commonly called the Standard in Cheapside to be built. In his firft year the Well-Gate of London, sometime called Chambrelain-gate, and now Neogate, was begun to be new built by the Executors of Sir Richard Whittington, Lord Mayor of London. In his fifth year, John Reynold Mayor of London, gave certain Lands to the City of London, for which the City is bound to pay for ever, all Fifteens that shall be granted to the King, (so as it pays not three Fifteens in one year) for three Wards in London; namely, Doughtie-Ward, Billifgate-Ward, and Agate. Alfo this year the Tower at the Draw-Bridge of London was begun by the fame Mayor. In his four and twentieth year, Simon Eyre Lord Mayor of London built the London-Hall in London, to be a Free-House for Grain and Fuel for the poor of the City, and a fair Chappell at the Exit-end of the fame, leaving, in flock a thoufand pounds, which afterward King Edward the Fourth borrowed and never paid it again. Alfo in this King's time, William de la Pool Duke of Suffolk, and Alice his Wife, Daughter to Thomas Chanucer, Son to Geffy Chanucer the famous Poet, translatd and encrefed the Manour place of Ewelme in Oxfordfide, and built new the Parifh Church of Ewelme, and an Hospital or Alms-houfe for two Priests, and thirteenth poor men, to which he gave three Manours, Ramings in Hampfhire, Cowick in Wiltfhire, and Merib in Buckinghamfide: They alfo founded the Hospital of Donington Castle.

Casualties happening in his time.

In his fifth year was so unfeafonable weather, that it rained almoft continually from Eafter to Midsummer. In his seventh year, the eighth of November, the Duke of Normandy was like to have been drowned paffing through London-Bridge, his Barge being fet upon the Piles, overwofted fo, that thirty perohns were drowned, and the Duke with others that escaped, were fain to be drawen up with Ropes. In his feventeenth year was fo great a dearth of Corn, that people were glad to make them bread of Fern-roots. In his eighteenth year all the Lions of the Tower died. Alfo in this year, the 18. day of July, the Poftern-Gates of London by Eaff Smithfield againft the Tower of London, fank by night more then feven foot in the earth. In his two and twentieth year, on New-year day, near unto Bedforde, a very deep water-r, which ran between the Towns of Swelfline and Harlifwood, broke suddenly fill, and divided it felf, fo that by the space of three miles, the bottom remained dry: which wonder, many thought to confine the division of the people, and falling away from the King, which happened shortly after. In the three and thirtieth year of his Reign, besides a great Blazing-Star, there happened a strange light, a Moniftrous Cock came out of the Sea; and in the prefence of a multitude of people at Portland, made a hideous crowing three times, each time turning about clapping his Wings, and beckening towards the North, the South, and the Weft, as alfo many prodigious Births. In his fix and thirtieth year, in a little Town in Bedforde, it rained blood, whereof some drops appeared in sheets hung out to dry.
Of his Wife and Issue.

He married Margaret Daughter of Roger Duke of Arundel, and Titular King of Jerusalem, Sicilie, and Arragon, by whom he had a small Portion, and little Strength of Alliance; yet might it have been a good match, if they could have changed conditions with one another, that he might have had her active and stirring Spirit, and she her soft and milde disposition. She was his Wife fix and twenty years, and after her Husband's depulsion from the Royal Throne, his Forces being vanquished at the Battel of Tewksbury, in a poor Religious House whither she had fled for safety of her life, was taken Prisoner and carried Captive to London, where she remained in durance, till Duke Roger her Father purchased her liberty, unto whom she returned, and lastly died in her native Country. By her King Edward had issue only one Son named Edward, who when the day was lost at Tewksbury, sought to escape by flight; but being taken, was brought into the presence of King Edward, whose reflute answers provoked King Edward so much, that he dashed him on the mouth with his Gauntlets, and then Richard the Crookedstake ran him into the heart with his Dagger. His Body was buried amongst the poor persons there lain, in the Monastic Church of the Black-Friers in Tewksbury.

Of his Death and Burial.

Upon King Edward's recovering the Crown, he was committed to the Tower, where the 21. of May, in the year 1472, he was murthered by the bloody hand of Richard Duke of Gloucester; the day after he was brought to Paul's Church in an open Coffin bare-faced, where he bled; thence carried to the Black-Friers where he also bled; from thence in a Boat to Bersy Abbey, without Priest or Clerk, Torch or Taper, saying or singing, and there buried; but afterward at the appointment of King Edward was removed to Westminster, and there interred, and a fair Monument made over him.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was tall of stature, spare and slender of body, of a comely countenance, and all parts well proportioned. For endowments of his minde, he had vertues enough to make him a Saint, but not to make him a God; as Kings are said to be Gods; for of that commanding power there being two parts, Parere subiectis, & debellare superbus, he wanted the latter. He was not sensible of that which the world calls Honour, accounting the greatest Honour to consist in humility. His greatest imperfection was, that he had in him too much of the Log, and too little of the Stork; for he would not move, but as he was moved, and had rather be devoured, than he would devour. He was not so stupid, not to know prosperity from adversity; but he was so devout, to think nothing adversity, which was not a hindrance to Devotion.
The Reign of King Henry the Sixth.

Eskn of the Privy Chamber to King Henry the fifth, whose life he wrote; John Pole a Priest, who wrote the life of St. VVulfran, alias Nitter, who wrote divers Treatises against the VVickhurifie: Peter Curch a Student in Oxford, and a defender of VVickhurifie's Doctrine; for which he fled, and was put to death beyond Sea: Thomas Walfingham born in Norfolk, a diligent Historiographer: Thomas Kingshead the younger, an excellent Preacher, who wrote divers Treatises: Thomas Radburn a Monk of VWincester, and an Historiographer: Peter Payne an earnst Professor of VVickhurifie's Doctrine, for which he fled into Bohemia: Nicholas Cpton a Civilian, who wrote of Heraldry, Colours in Armony, and of the duty of Chivalry: John Capgrave born in Kent, an Augustine Friar, who wrote many excellent Treatises, particularly the Legend of English Saints: Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, Protector of the Realm, well learned in Astrology, for whose use he wrote a special Treatise intituled Tabula Diurnaria: John VValthamfit, of other name, called Framentheria, Abbots of St. Alahan, who wrote divers Treatises: and amongst others, a Book of the Records of things happening whites he was Abbos, which Book Holingfield had bad seen, and in some paffages of his time followed a Roger Onley accused of Treson, for praftising with the Lady Eleanor Cathbam by forcery to make the King away; and thereof condemned, and died for it: he wrote one Treatise entituled Contra vni'gi superflitiones: and another De sua Inno-centia: Henry VVالفingham a Carmelite Friar of Norwich, who wrote sundry Treatises in Divinity: John Lydgate a Monk of Beroy, who had travelled France and Italy to learn Languages, and wrote many works in Poetry: Thomas Beckington Bishop of Bath, who wrote against the Law Salique of France: Michael Trigvury born in Cornwall, whom for his excellent learning, King Henry the fifth made Governor of the Université of Caen in Normandy, after he had conquered it: Reynold Peacock Bishop of Chichester, who wrote many Treatises touching Christian Religion: Robert Flemming, who wrote a Dictionary in Greek and Latin, and a work in Verfe of sundry kindes. Richard Flemming Bishop of Lincoln, who wrote divers Books, one of the Etymology of England. Nicholas Montacute an Historiographer: John Stow a Monk of Norwich, and Doctor of Divinity in Oxford: Nicholas Banges, born in a Town of Norfolk, of that name, who wrote an History called Adumustiones Chronicorum: Robert Bale, who wrote a Book De Re militari: Thomas Dando a Carmelite Friar of Marborough, who wrote the life of Alfred King of the VVeff Saxons: Robert Bole surnamed the Elder, Recorder of London, who gathered a Chronicle of the Cittoms, Laws, Foundations, Changes, Offices, Orders, and publick Assemblies of the City of London, with other matters touching the perfect description of the same City; he wrote other works also touching the state of the same City, and the Acts of King Edward the Third.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this King's time.

In his first year, Sir Wlliam VValders was Mayor. Wlliam Easffield, Robert Tatarfield, Sheriffs.

In his second year, Wlliam Cromer was Mayor. Nicholas James, Thomas Wulford, Sheriffs.

In his third year, John Michel was Mayor. Simon Seman, John Bywaters, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year, John Coventry was Mayor. Wlliam Milred, John Brekle, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year, Sir John Raineetzt was Mayor. John Aural, John Highbam, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year, Sir John Gedaty was Mayor. Henry Fravick, Robert Oteley, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year, Sir Henry Barton was Mayor. Thomas Duffwurst, John Abbos, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year, Sir Wlliam Easfield was Mayor. Wlliam Ruffe, Ralph Holland, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year, Nicholas VVotson was Mayor. VValter Cherfey, Robert Large, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year, Sir John de VVelles was Mayor. John Alerley, Stephen Brown, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year, Sir John Porvus was Mayor. John Olney, John Paddesley, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year, Sir John Braule was Mayor. Thomas Chaton, John King, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year, Sir Roger Oteley was Mayor. Thomas Barnweel, Simon Eyre, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year, Sir Henry Frowick was Mayor. Thomas Cawtorth, Robert Clifton, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year, Sir John Michel was Mayor. Thomas Merfield, Wlliam Gregory, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year, Sir Wlliam Easfield was Mayor. Wlliam Halfe, Wlliam Chapman, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year, Sir Stephen Brown was Mayor. Hugh Dyke, Nicholas Tune, Sheriffs.
In his eighteenth year, Robert Larg was Mayor.
Philip Maipes, Robert Marshal, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year, Sir John Paddley was Mayor.
John Smitc, William Welinbale, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year, Robert Clifton was Mayor.

In his twenty first year, John Aderley was Mayor.

In his twenty second year, Sir John Paculfe was Mayor.
John Sutton, William Wanut, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year, Robert Glopton was Mayor.
William Comin, Richard Ovow, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fourth year, Sir Sirvedeyy was Mayor.
John Olney, William Blen, Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year, Sir Geoffrey Fielding was Mayor.
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year, Sir Philip Malpas, William Dene, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year, Sir Philip Gregory was Mayor.
Matthew Philip, Christopher Whitton, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year, Sir John Field was Mayor.
Richard Lee, Richard Alley, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year, Sir John Norman was Mayor.
John Walsen, Thomas Cook, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year, Sir Stephen Foster was Mayor.
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year, Sir Thomas Canning was Mayor.
Robert Horne, Geoffrey Buhlen, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year, Sir John Norman was Mayor.
John Darrby, Godfrey Fielding, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year, Sir Stephen Foster was Mayor.
John Field, William Taylor, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year, Sir William Marrow was Mayor.
John Young, Thomas Oldgrace, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year, Sir Thomas Canning was Mayor.
John Seyward, Ralph Verney, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year, Sir Godfrey Buhlen was Mayor.
William Abraham, Thomas Scot, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year, Sir William Hulin was Mayor.
Robert Hulin, Thomas Canning, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year, Sir Richard Lee was Mayor.
Richard Flemming, John Lambert, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of

KING EDWARD

THE FOURTH.

Edward Earl of March, born at Roan in New
dy, Son and Heir of Ri-
chard Plantagenet, Duke
of York, slain in the Bat-
tel at Wakefield, succeed-
ed his Father in the Right, but exceeded him
in the Poffeffion of the
Crown of England; and that by virtue of
an Act of Parliament lately made, wherein
theaid Duke of York not only was declared
Heir apparent to the Crown, and appointed
Protector of the King and Kingdom: but it
was further Enacted, that if King Henry, or
any in his behalf, should attempt the difannulling
of this Act, then that the said Duke of York
His Heir should have the present poffeffion; which
because his Friends attempted to do, therefore
justly doth Edward Earl of March his Son, by
virtue of this Act, take poffeffion of the Crown, and is proclaimed King of England, by the
name of Edward the fourth, through the City of
London, on the fifth day of March in the
year 1460. But before he could have leisure
to be Crowned, he was forced once again to try
his fortune in the field by Battle: For King
Henry in the North was raising a new Army,
gainst whom King Edward upon the twelfth of
March, marched with his Forces from London:
and by safe Journeys came to Pontefet Castle,
from whence the Lord Fitzwater was sent to
guard the Passage at Ferrivride, to stop the En-
emies approach that way: King Henry likewise
advanceth forward, lending his power under
the Conduit of the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of
Northumberland, and the Lord Clifford,
whilest himself with his Queen and Son stay at
York. The Lord Clifford very early on Pint-
Sunday, with a Troop of Northern men, falls
upon those that guarded Ferrivride, and defeat-
ed them with the slaughter of the Lord Fitz-
water, and the Bastard of Salisbury. The Earl of
Wick hearing of this defeat, comes pos-
ing to King Edward's Camp; and in his presence
killing his Horfe, protested his Resolution to
fand with him to the death. Upon this Reso-
fution of the Earls, the King made pretenely
Proclamation, that all who were afraid to fight,
should at their pleasure depart; but to those
that would slay he promised good reward: ad-
ing withal, that if any that stayed, should after
turn his back or flee, then he that should
kill him, should have double pay. After this
he gave order to the Lord Fauconbridge, and Sir
Walter Blunt, to lead on the Yarrow; who in
their march about Damfingdale, came encountered
with the Lord Clifford (who formerly in cold
blood had slaughter the young Earl of Rut-
land) and he being tirickren in the Throat with
an Arrow, (some say) without a head, and
preently dying; The Lord Nevil Son and Heir
of the Earl of Wiltshire was also slain, with
most of their Companies, and the rest put to
flight. The next day likewise (the Duke of
Norfolk being dangerously fick, to whom that
place was alligned) Fauconbridge and Blunt con-
tinue the leading of the Vanguard; and on
Palm-Sunday, by break of day, they came to
a plain field between Tuxton and Sexton, from
where they made a full survey of King Henry's
Armies; and certificd King Edward, that the En-
emy was three score thousand strong; where his
Army was but forty thousand and six hundred.
Whereupon a second Proclamation was made
through the Camp, that no quarter should be
kept, nor prisoner taken. The Armies being
both in light, the Lord Fauconbridge gave direc-
tion to the Archers (upon a signal by him given)
to shoot every man a flight-Arrow (for
that purpose provided) and then to fall back
three stripes, and stand. The Northern men in
the mean time played their Bows till all their
Arrows were empty; but their Arrows fell
short of the Enemy by three score yards:
and not only did no hurt to the Enemy, but did
hurt hurt to themselves; for their Arrows being
spent, and coming to hand-blows, their own
Arrows flicking in the ground, galled their
fins and pierced their feet. Ten hours the Bat-
tel continued doubefull, till the Earl of Nor-
thumberland being slain, with the Lord Bea-
mont, Gray, Duces, and spells, Sir John Nevil,
Andrew Trelap, and many other Knights and
Eliques, the Earls of Exeter and Somerset fled,
leaving the Conquest to King Edward: but the
blood was that ever England felt, for there fell
that day fix and thirty thousand seven hundred
three score and fifteen persons, no prisoners
being taken but the Earl of Devonshire.
The Battle ended, King Edward hastes to York,
where he caufed the heads of his Father and
other Friends to be taken down and buried
with their bodies, lattjng in their places the
Heads of the Earl of Devonshire, and three
other, there at that time executed. The Earl of
Somerset acquainting King Henry with this
overthrow, persuades him with his Queen and
Dd 2 Son
Son, to flee to Berwick, where leaving the Duke of Somerset, they lie further for succour to the King of Scots, who comforted them with promise of relief, but maketh a sure bargain; for in lieu of a pension to be allowed to King Henry, leaving the Town and Castle of Berwick were delivered to him. Queen Margaret and her Son are sent into France, who obtained of Lennox the eleventh her Cousin, that all of King Edward's friends were prohibited day or traffic in the French King's Dominions: but all King Henry's friends might live there freely. After this King Edward comes to London, and upon his entrance to the Tower, makes four and twenty Knights, and the next day four more; and upon the 28. day of June, in the year 1461, he rode from the Tower to Westminster, and was there Crowned in the Abbey-Church.

Shortly after a Parliament is summoned, which began at Westminster the fourth of November; in which all Acts of King Henry the Sixth prejudicial to King Edward's Title, are repealed; and therein John Earl of Oxford, a valiant and wise man, (he who in a former Parliament had disputed the question concerning the precedence of Temporal and Spiritual Barons, a bold attempt in those days; and by force of whole Argument, Judgement was given for the Lords Temporal) with his Son Aubrey de Vere, Sir Henry Percy, William Tyrrel, and Walter Montgomery, Equitares, were, without answer convicted of treason, and beheaded. And to encourage others to well deserving, King Edward at this time advanced many in honour; his Brother George he created Duke of Clarence; his brother Richard Duke of Gloucester, John Lord Neville Brother to the Earl of Warwick, he made first Viscount, then Marques of Montacute; Henry Bowcher Brother to the Archbishop of Canterbury, is made Earl of Essex; and William Lord Fauconbridge, Earl of Kent. And now their new honours are presently put into employment; the Earls of Essex and Kent, accompanied with the Lords Andrea and Clinton, Sir John Howard, Sir Richard Wolfegrave, and others, to the number of thousand, are appointed to scour the Seas: who landed in Britain, took the Town of Cinquest, and the Isle of Ely, and then returned. At this time Henry Duke of Clarence, Ralph Percy, and divers others came in, and humbly submitted themselves to King Edward's mercy; who professed his proposition of freely pardoning them, and as many other that would submit themselves as they did.

All this time King Henry was in Scotland, and Queen Margaret in France; where she obtained of the French King, a company of five hundred men, with whom she failed towards Newcastle, and landed at Timmouth, but suddenly again returned, and was her self by remitté beaten to Berwick; but her company was driven on the shore before Barnburgh Castle, where they let their Ships on fire, and fled to an Island called Holy Island: but were so faile, that by the Battard Ogil and John Manners, Esquire, that many of them were slain, and almost four hundred taken prisoners, only their Colonel Peter Bristie happened upon a Fisherman, who brought him to Berwick to Queen Margaret; and by her was made Captain of the Castle of Alnwick, which he with his French men kept, till they were rescued. Shortly after, Queen Margaret having got together a great company of Scots, and other of her Friends, bringing her Husband with her, and leaving her Son at Berwick, entered Northumberland, took the Castle of Barnburgh, made Captain thereof of Sir Ralph Gray; and then came forward to the Bithropolis of Durham, whither referred to her the lately reconciled, and now again revolted Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy, and divers others, who all together made a competent Army. King Edward hearing hereof, makes preparation both by Sea and Land; and first he sends Viscount Montacute with some Companies into Northumberland, whom he in person followeth with his whole power: The Viscount marcheth towards King Henry, and by the way encountreth the Lord Hungerford at Hyleg-moor; but he, with Lord Balf, upon the charge ran away, leaving Sir Ralph Darcy alone with his own Regiment, who were valiantly fighting, died. After this the Viscount understanding that King Henry was incamped in Lavelin-plaine, near the River of Douw in Hamshire, marcheth thither by night, and yer upon him in his Camp; whereupon the King's Men receive with a desperate resolution, but were in the end with great slaughter overthrown. Henry Percy, of the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Beaufort, Molins, Hungerford, Mowphant, Holby, and Sir John Findard, with many others, are taken prisoners. King Henry himself by the swiftness of his Horfe escaped, but very hardly; for one of his Hench-men that followed him, was taken, who had on his head, King Henry's Helmet, or some of his, his high Cap of Eflaire, called Aboes, garnished with two rich Crowns, which was presented to King Edward at York the fourth of May. The Duke of Somerset was beheaded presently at Hexam, the other Lords and Knights were had to Newcastle, and there after a little reprieve, were likewise put to death. Besides these, divers others, to the number of five and twenty, were executed at York, and in other places: This Duke of Somerset was never married, but had a natural Son named Charles Somerset, who was afterward created Earl of Warwick, Sir Humphrey Neville, and William Talbot calling himself Earl of Kyme, Sir Ralph Gray, and Richard Threlfall, with divers others that escaped from this Battle, hid themselves in secret places; but yet not so closely, but that they were espied and taken. The Earl of Kyme was apprehended in Riddelsdale, and brought to Newcastle, and there beheaded; Sir Humphrey Neville was taken in Holderness, and at York left his head. After this Battle called Hexam Field, King Edward came to the City of Durham; and from thence into Northumberland, the Earl of Warwick, the Lord Montacute, the Lords Fauconbridge and Scrope, to recover such Castles as his enemies there held; which they effected; and taking in the Castle of Dunstanbrough, they found in it John Gois, servant to the Duke of Somerset, who was brought to York, and there beheaded; and taking in the Castle of Barnbrough, they found in it Sir Ralph Gray, whom he be had hower to be true to King Edward, and was
The Reign of King Edward the Fourth.

The Earl of Warwick set foot into France to treat of a marriage with the Lady Bona.

The Queen fled into France.

The Earl of Pembroke had good Sea little better than a Vauban.

The Mayor of London ordered that the Lord Treasurer was placed before him.

Serjeants at Law made.

In the mean time King Edward married the Lady Elizabeth Gray.

Sir Ralph Greyden was abroad in France.

In this time King Edward carries the Lady Elizabeth Gray.

Sir John Gaunt was a good man, and a great scholar.

The Guild of King Henry; they degraded from his order of Knighthood at Doncaster, by cutting off his gilt Spurs, renting his Coat of Arms, and breaking his Sword over his head; and then beheaded him.

In this mean time, King Henry (upon what occasion no man knows; but only led by the left hand of destiny) venturing in diffique, to come into England, and fizing from place to place, was at length discovered, and taken by one Cauton, or as others say, by Thomas Talbot, son to Sir Edward Talbot of Bofhaul; who deceived him, being at his dinner at Waddington-Hall in Lincolnshire, and brought him towards London, with his Legs tied under the horfe belly: in whose company were also taken Doctor Manning Dean of Windfor, Doctor Bole, and one Eilerton, whom the Earl of Warwick met by the way, and brought them all to the Tower of London; whilst the drestilled Queen, with her Son, once again is driven to fly for shelter into France; whither the new Duke of Somerset and his Brother John failed also, where they lived in great misery; and the Earl of Pembroke went from Country to Country littler better than a Vagabond.

At this time King Edward, to reward his followers, distributeth the Lands and Possessions of those that held with King Henry amongst them; but first made Proclamation that whatsoever of the contrary fiction would come in and fuchlike, should be received to the Clearneffe, and re-ferred to their Patrimonies.

In the fourth year of King Edward, in Michaelmas Term were made eight Serjeants at Law, Thomas Young, Nicholas Gentry, Richard Neel, Thomas Brow, Richard Pigot, John Catchly, and Guy Fans; who held their Feast in the Bishop of Ely's place in Belharn, where the Lord Grey of Ruthein, then Lord Treasurer of England, was placed before the Lord Mayor of London, being invited to the Feast; which gave such a diffalfe to the Mayor, that he presently departed with the Aldermen and Sheriffs, without calling of their Feast: and it was required to be a precedent in time to come.

And now King Edward no less inventive to perform the Office of a King in peace, than he had been before of a Captain in War, confidering with himself, that feditious and civil diffentions must needs breed disorders in a State, and that disorders bred by troubled times, are not like subdued waves, but will in time fettle of themselves, but recover clearnesse, like rufhing water, which once being up and let alone, will in time over-run the whole ground where they grow. He like a good Gardiner feeks to weed them out before they grow too rank, and endeavors to make a general reformation of abuses; and to that end in Michaelmas Term in the second year of his Reign, three days together he fate publickly with his Judges in Westminster Hall on the Kings Bench, to acquaint himfelf with the orders of that Court, and to observe what needed reformation in it, either at Bench or at Bar: as likewise he ordered the Officers of his Exchequer to take more moderate Fees; and to be more in tentive to the benefit of the Subject, than to their own unjust gain. He also daily frequented the Council Table, which he furnished for the most part, with such as were gracious amongst the Citizens, whom he employs about refpeces and business of private confequence; whereon mysteries of State were imitated only to such as he selected to be of his more pri vate Cabinet Council; by whom he being now of the age of three and twenty years, was advis ed that it was now time to provide for polli City, by taking a Wife; and to provide affo for the present time, by taking a fit Wife, which they conceived to be no where to flily found as in France; both thereby to bury old grudges between the two Nations, and also to avert af fance from Queen Margaret, the only distur ber of the State. And this being counsel, it only remained to make choice of a fit man for that employment, for which none was thought fo fit as Richard Neville Earl of Warwick; he therefore is presently fent into France, to treat of a Marriage to be had between King Edward and the Lady Bona, Daughter to Lewis Duke of Sutwy, and lifier to the Lady Carlisle then Queen of France; a Lady, no less for beauty and ver tuous qualities, than for Nobility of Blood, worthy to be a Queen. The Propofition is in France readily embraced, and willingly affented unto all parts. But in the mean time King Edward being hunting in Westwood Forrest be sides Stony-Stratford, he chanced to come to the Manour of Grafton, where the Dutchefs of Bedford then lay; and where her Daughter by Sir Richard Woodville, the Lady Elizabeth Gray, Widow of Sir John Gray of Grafton, (then at the right Battel of St. Albans, became a fuitor to her; and when he could not obtain her fuit by terms of wanton love, he was forced to seek it by terms of Marriage.

And here we may well think, there was no small conflict in King Edward's minde, between the two great Commanders, Love and Honour, which of them should be most potent; Honour put him in minde that it was against his Law, to take to Wife a meaner person than himself: but Love would take no notice of any difference of degrees, but took it for his Prerogative to make all perons equal. Honour perfuad feder him that it flood him much to make good the Ambaffege, in which he had fene the Earl of Warwick; but Love per fued him, that it flood him more to make good the Ambaffege sent to himself from a greater Prince. In conclusion, it appeared to be true which one obferves, Improbe amor, qui ne meret ris fortuna cognusc. Is it that Love will not make a man to do? Whether it be, that Love brings upon the minde a forgetfulness of all Circumstances, but such as tend to its own satisfaction: or whether it be that Love is amongst Patrons, as Oys amongst Liquors, which will always be supreme and at the top. Honour may be honoured, but Love will be obeyed; and therefore King Edward though he knew no Superior upon earth, ye he obeys the fummoms of Love; and upon the first day of May marriage the faid Lady Gray at Grafton;
the first of our Kings since the Conquest that married his Subject: At which marriage none was present but the Dutches of Bedford, the Prietl, two Gentlemen, and a young man to help the Prietl at Mass. The year was 1366. With great solemnity, he was Crowned at

Wolminster. It is not unworthy the relating the speech which King Edward had with his Mother, who sought to crost this Match.

"Where you stay (faith he) that she is a Widow, and hath already Children, by Gods blessed Lady, I am a Batchelor, and have some too; and so each of us hath a proof, that neither of us is like to be barren: And as for your objection of Bigamy, (for his Mother had charged him with being contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) Let the Bishop (faith he) lay it to my charge when I come to take Orders, for I understand it is forbidden a Prietl,

"But I never will it was forbidden a Prince. Upon this marriage the Queens Father was created Earl Rivers, and made High Constable of England; his Brother the Lord Anthony was married to the sole Heir of the Lord Scalf, and by her had that Barony; her Son Sir Thomas Grey was created Marquess Dorset, and married Cecily, heir to the Lord Bawtle. It may be thought a happy fortune for this Lady to be so matchted; but let all things be considered, and the miseries accruing to her by it, will be found equivalent, if not over-weighing all the benefits. For brift, by this match she drew upon herself the envy of many; and was the caufe that her Husband fled the Realm, and her self in his absence glad to take Sanctuary; and in that place to be delivered of a Prince, in a most unprincely manner. After which, surviving her Husband, she lived to see her two Sons most cruelly murdered; and for a conclusion of all, she lived to see her self confined to the Monastery of Benwood in Southwark, and all her goods confiscate by her own Son in Law.

And now the Earl of Warwick at his return, found that knot tied in England, which he had laboured to rive in France: His Ambassadors frustrated, the Lady Bona deluded, the King of France whitened, and himself made a flake, and the disgracefull instrument of all this, which although this be refered in a high degree, yet he had not been a Courrier so long, but in that time he had sufficiently learned the Art of dissembling; he paft it over lightly for the present, but yet carried it in his minde till a fit opportunity; and therupon procures leave to retire himself to his Castle of Warwick.

King Edward in the mean time, having just caufe to suspend he made the French his enemies, seek to make other Princes his friends. He enters into a League with John King of Aghan, to whom he sent for a present a score of Coffsal Ews, and five Rams, a small present in them, but great in the event; for it proved of more benefit to Spain, and of more detriment to England than could at first light have been imagined. And to secure himself at home, he took truce with the King of Scots for fifteen years. And where he had married before his two Sisters, Anne the eldest to Henry Holland Earl of Exeter; and Elizabeth to John de la Pole Duke of Suffolk, he now matchted Margaret his third Sitter to Charles Duke of Burgoyne, which proved a greater affiance to him, than that which he had loft in France.

By this time the Earl of Warwick'spleas began to be so well within him, that he could no longer contain it; and having with much ado drawn to his party his two Brothers, the Archibishop of York, and the Marquefs Montacute, he seeks also to draw in the Kings two Brothers, the Duke of Clarence, and the Duke of Gloucester: but he found Gloucester so referred, that he durst not close with him; the Duke of Clarence he found more open, and to himhe ad- dresseth himself, complaining of the disgrace he had sustained by the King in his employment into France, and other wrongs. To whom the Duke prevalently made answer, in as great complaint of his Brothers unkindnesse to himself; saying, he had married his Wives Brother Anthony to the Heir of the Lord Scalf; and her Son Thomas to the Heir of the Lord Bawtle: but could finde no match of preferment for him being his own Brother. And upon this agreement in complaints they agree to join against King Edward; and to make the knot the firmer, the Duke of Clarence takes to Wife Isabel the Earl of Warwick's Daughter; and withir hale affured into himhalf of the Lands the Earl held in right of his Wife, the Lady Alice, Daughter of Richard Beaumont, Earl of Warwick deceased. Upon this marriage the Earl of Warwick discovered to him what heither he had concealed, concerning his project for the restoring of King Henry; to which Clarence gave approbation, with promife to affit him in it to his uttermost.

At this time Sir Thomas Cock, late Mayor of London, was, by one Hawkins apprehended for Treson, for which he was sent to the Tower, and his place in London feized by the Lord Rivers. The case was this, the said Hawkins came to Sir Thomas, requesteing him to lead a thousand Marks upon good faire, who answered, he would first know for whom it should be, and for what intent; and understanding it should be for the use of Queen Margaret, he refused to lend a penny. The matter reitd two or three years, till the Earl of Hawkes was laid in the Tower, and brought to the Bench, called The Duke of Exeters Daughter; by means of which pain, he confessed amongst other things the motion he had made to Sir Thomas, and accused himself so far, that he was put to death. Sir Thomas Cock lying in the Tower from Whit所提供之 till Michaelmas, had his place in Essex named Gyddilke spoiled, his Deer in his Park destroyed; and though arraigned upon life and death, he were acquitted of the Indictment: yet could not be deliuered till he had paid eight thousand pounds to the King, and eight hundred to the Queen.

And now the Earl of Warwick fendeath to his Brothers the Archibishop and the Marquefs, to prepare all things ready to set on foot the intended revolt from King Edward, and to procure some rebellion commotion in the North, whilst he and his new Son in Law would provide to go forward with the work; which they accordingly did in Yorkshire, an occasion being taken
taken for the breach of an ancient custom there, to give to the poor people of St. Leonards in the City of York, certain quantities of Corn and Grain. This Commotion the Archibishop and the Marquefs underhand fomented; yet to-colour the matter, the Marquefs opposed the Rebels, and cut off the head of Robert Haldorn their Captain: but his head being cut off, the Rebels got them other Captains; Henry, Son and Heir to the Lord Fitzwee, and Sir Henry Neville, Son to the Lord Latimer; the one the Nephew, the other a Cousin-german to the Earl of Northampton, Lords, who had been their valuable Captain Sir John Cotyrew. These when they could not enter York came marching towards London, all the way exclaming against King Edward, as an unjust Prince, and an Utoper. King Edward hearing of this Commotion, sends Sir VWilliam Herbert, whom of a mean Gentleman, two years before he had made Earl of Pembroke, and his Brother Sir Richard Herbert, together with the Lord Stafford of Southwick, to suppress the Rebels; and they with an Army of seven hundred, most Welchmen, march towards them: but the Lord Stafford being put from his Inne where he used to lodge, by the Earl of Pembroke, took such a dilatate at it, that he withdrew his Archers, and gave over the business. Yet the Earl of Pembroke though thus forfaken, with his own Regiment encountered the Rebels, slew Sir Henry Neville, and divers others; and when being upon the point of Victory, one John Clupam a ferviant to the Earl of Warwick, coming in with five hundred rationally fellows, and crying aloud a Warwick, a VWarwick, the Welchmen supposing the Earl had been come, turned presently their backs and fled: five thoufand of them were slain, the Earl of Pembroke himself, and his much lamented Brother, Sir Richard Herbert, a most goodly performer, were taken prisoners, brought to Benbery, where both of them, with ten other Gentlemen, were put to Death. And now the Northamptonshire men joyning with the Rebels in this fray, made them a Captain named Robert Haldarn, but they named him Robin of Riddlesdale; and suddenly came to Grafen, where they took the Earl Rivers Father to the Queen, and his Son Sir John Woodville, brought them to Northampton, and there without Judgement beheaded them. King Edward advertised of these mischances, wrote to the Sheriffs of Somersethire and Devonshire to apprehend the Lord Pembroke of Southwick (who had foolishly forfaken the Earl of Pembroke) and if they could take him, to put him to Death; who being soon after found in a Village within Bremmarsh was brought to Bridgewater, and there beheaded. After this Battle fought at Hedgecote, commonly called Banbury field, the Northern men returned to Warwick, where the Earl with great joy received them; and hearing that King Edward with a great Army was coming thither, he sent for his Son in Law the Duke of Clarence, with all speed to repair unto him: who joyning together, and using means cunningly; by having some communication of Peace, to make the King secure; and to take little heed of himself, they took advantage of his security; and in the dead of the night set on his Camp, and killing the watch before the King was aware, at a place called Woodhay, four miles from Berwick, they took him prisoner in his bed, and presently conveyed him to Middletham Castle in Yorkshire, to be there in safe custody with the Archibishop of York. And now they had the prey in their hand, if they had as well looked to keep it, as they had done to get it: But King Edward whether bribing his Keepers, or otherwife winning them by fair promises, got too much liberty; sometimes for his recreation to go a hunting, by which he caused Sir William Stanley, Sir Thomas of Berwly, and others of his Friends, at a certain time to meet him, who took him from his Keepers, and set him again at liberty: whilst the Earl of Warwick nothing doubting his Brother's the Archibishop's care in safe keeping him, and thinking the brunt of the Wars to be now past, dismissed his Army, and intended only to finde out King Henry, who was kept a prisoner, but few men knew where.

King Edward being now at liberty posteth to York, and from thence to Lancashire; where his Chamberlain the Lord Hastings had raised some Forces; with which he marcheth to London, and is there joyfully received. The Earl of Warwick likewise fendeth to his Friends, and makes preparation for a new Army; whilst in the mean time, by the mediation of divers Lords an interview in Westminster-Hall, is agreed upon, and lefom. Oath taken on both sides for safety, between King Edward, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earl of Warwick; but each party standing strictly upon terms tending to their own ends, they parted as great Enemies as they met: and so from thence the King went to Canterbury, the Duke and the Earl to Lincoln; whether they had pre-appointed their Forces to repair, under the conduct of Sir Robert Wellis, Son and Heir of the Lord Wellis, a man of great valour and experience in the Wars. King Edward to take off so able a man from the Ears part, sends for his Father the Lord Wellis to come unto him; who taking with him his Son in Law Thomas Dymick, and coming to attend the Kings pleasure, was told by his Friends how wonderfully the King was incensed against them: whereupon for their safety, they take Sanctuary at Westminster. But upon the Kings Princely word they came into him, who commanded the Lord Wellis to write to his Son, to dehfe from adhering to the Earl of Warwick, Lord Wellis of Southwick (who had according did; but Sir Robert Wellis notwithstanding his Father's Letters, continuing firm to the Earl still, so much incensed King Edward, that he cauf'd both his Father and Sir Thomas Dymick, to be beheaded. He supposed perhaps, that the Lord Wellis was himself underhand a Friend to the Earl, and had not dealt sincerely with him, in procuring his Son to leave that party. But now Sir Robert Wellis seeing the King draw near to Stamford, where he had pitched his Tent, and hearing of his Fathers beheading, was much disfretted what to do: to decline Battel with the King, he thought would fow too much fear; and to give him Battel before the Earl of Warwick were come with his Forces, would fow too much boldnef. But his Vifs fere filled with
with a desire of revenging his Father's death, that he thought he could never shew boldness enough; and therupon encountering with the Kings Army, far greater than his own, opprest with multitude was taken prisoner together Thomas de Land, and divers others: who presently in the same place, were put to execution. As soon as Sir Robert Wells was taken, the Lincolnshire men to make themselves the lighter to run away, threw off their Coats; for which cause, this Battel was afterward called Left-coat field: In which, it is reported, were slain above ten thousand men.

The Earl of Warwick hearing of this defeat, and not having present means to raise an Army sufficient to oppose King Edward; when he could by no means draw the Lord Stanley to his party, he determined to fall into France, and hiring Ships at Dartmouth in Devonshire, he with his Son in Law the Duke of Clarence, and their Wives took to Sea; and thinking to land at Calais, of which Town he himself was Captain, he was by the Lord Vaucler a Gascoigne, whom he had left his Deputy there, repelled; and with so great inhumanity, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was there on labour, was fain to be delivered in the Ship, (all the courtiers in that dirtifhes shewed was only to send a flagon or two of wine) which fact of Vaucler, when King Edward heard of, he was so well pleased with it, that he presently sent him a Patent to be Captain of the Town, himself; and the Duke of Burgogny, for the same service, sent unto him Philip de Comines (who hath written the History of these times) with a grant of one thousand Crowns pension during his life. Never man was better paid for one act of diffembling; for the truth was, Prie enere excluits foras, it was out of his love that he suffered him not to enter the Town: for he knew there were many great ones in it so addicted to King Edward, and so maliciously bent against the Earl, that if he or any of his company should have come, they would in all likelihood have done them some mischief. And hereof he made a good proof for: For when the Earl took to Sea again, the Lord Vaucler sent sent him word, he should take heed where he landed, for that the Duke of Burgogny lay in wait to take him: which advertisement did the Earl more good, than the keeping him out of Calais did him hurt. The Earl upon this advertisement landed at Dieppe in Normandy, whereof when King Lewis heard, he sent and invited him to come to his Court at Ambois; where he received him with no less honour than if he had been a King: In the mean time, King Edward made enquiry for all such as were aids to the Earl of Warwick; of whom some were apprehended as guilty, some fled to Sanctuary, and some submitted to the Kings mercy; as John Marques Monteaus, whom he courteously received. Queen Margaret; who at this time forfeited with Duke Roynor her Father, hearing of the Earl of warwick's arrival, with her Son Prince Edward, came to Ambois; and with her also came Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford, lately escaped out of Prison, and fled into France: between whom a new combination is made, and for a foundation of firmamity, King Henry's Son Prince Edward, marries Anne the Earl of Warwick's second Daughter: After which marriage the Duke of Clarence and the Earl took a solemn Oath, never to leave the War till either King Henry or his Son Prince Edward were restored to the Crown. But now about this time, comes a Gentlewoman out of England, to the diffembling Lord Vaucler at Calais, and pays him in his own coin; For she made a figure of intending great good to the Earl of Warwick, but had a purpose indeed to work his ruine: and by this shee the passed unobserved to the Duke of Clarence, whom she persuaded to forsake the Earl of Warwick, as one that intended wholly the robbing out of the Houfe of Turck, and only the advancing of the Houte of Lancaster; which he might well perceive by his marrying his second Daughter to Prince Edward, King Henry's only Son; and this reason with some other was so urgent, that the Gentlewoman, that it fank deep into the Duke of Clarence his minde. So fit Agents of State are women, sometimes, that can transact a business in covert; which if men should attempt, they would soon be discovered. And from this time forward the Duke of Clarence, as if the Gentlewoman had taught him the art of diffembling, fought secretly to reconcile himself to his Brother King Edward; but made a fair shew till to the Earl of Warwick.

And now the Earl of Warwick having been six months in France, in this time he had procured from the King of France, both Ships, and Men, and Money; and receiving Letters out of England, that many Lords and others were ready to adventure their lives in this quarrel, if he would come (for the people generally held him in such admiration, that they thought the Sun was taken from the world, when he was absent) And this in great part for his great Hospitality, who it is said, used to spend (at a Breakfast) to the Ears of Oxford and Pembroke took to Sea: and though the Duke of Burgogny had a Fleet at Sea to intercempt him, yet his Fleet being tempest scattered; and King Edward desiring to equal that Fleet, having provided no other, the Earl had a quiet passage to land at Dartmouth in Devonshire; where being landed, he made Proclamation in King Henry the sixth's name, that all good Subjects should prepare to fight against King Edward, who contrary to the right had usurped the Crown. Upon which Proclamation, it is scarce to be believed, how many thousands of men referred to him; with which Forces he made towards London: Upon notice of whose approach, on Sunday next after Mischaelmas day, one Doctor Godward a Chaplain of his, preaching at Pauls-Crofts, did so far fort his Ears pions Intention, that many of his Auditor were moved to favoure the Earls proceedings, so much, that the Marquefs Mountague, who had in King Edward's behalf levied six thousand men about London, found them all inclinable to go with him to the Earl of Warwick, and accordingly went and joyned with him. King Edward hearing of the great flocking of people to the Earl, sent forth Letters into all parts of the Realm for raising an Army; but few came, and those few with no great
The Reign of King Edward the Fourth.

great good will: which when he perceived, he began to doubt his case; and thereupon accompanied with the Duke of Gloucester his Brother, the Lord Hastings his Chamberlain, (who having married the Earl of Warwick's Sister, yet continued ever true to King Edward) and the Lord Scrope Brother to the Queen; he departed into Lincolnshire, and coming to Lynn, he found there an English Ship, and two Hulks of Holland ready to make fail: whereupon he, with the fore-named Lords, and about seven or eight hundred persons entered the Ships, having no provision with him but only the apparel they wore: and so bare of money, that he was main to reward the Mater of his Ship with one of his Garters: and thus making course towards the Duke of Burgoyne Country, they were presently chaled by eight great Ships of Eafterlings, open Enemies both to England and France; which drove him before a Town in the Country called Algenware, belonging to the Duke of Burgoyne; where by chance the Lord Governor, Governor of that Country, at that time was, who defended them from the Eafterlings, and brought them to the Hague in Holland, where they had all things minished to them, by order from the Duke of Burgoyne.

At this time, upon news of the Earl of Warwick's approach, Queen Elizabeth forsook the Tower, and secretly took sanctuary at Windsor; where in great penury forsoak of all her friends, she was brought to bed of a Son called Edward, who like a poor mans child was christened: the Godfathers being the Arch and Prior of Windsor, and the Lady Sarah Godmother.

And now the Earl of Warwick entring the Tower, removes King Henry out of his hold of durance, where he had been almost nine years, into his own Lodging, where he was served according to his Estate; which the Earl did more congratulase than the King himself. Upon the sixth day of October, King Henry accompanied with the Archbisp of York, the Prior of St. John, the Bishop of London, the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and other Noblemen, apperellae in a long Gown of blue Velvet, was conducted through London, to the Bishops Palace, where he reitd till the thirteenth of that month; on which day he went on in solemn Procession about Paul's Church, wearing his Imperial Crown; the Earl of Warwick bearing up his Train, and the Earl of Oxford the Sword before him. The next day in all usual places about London, King Edward was proclaimed an Ufortier, and all his partrakers Traitors to God and the King; whereof John Lord Tiptoft Earl of Warwick, as a partraker with King Edward, was made the first example. This Lord had been Lieutenant for King Edward in Ireland, where having done something for which he fled, he was afterward found on thop of a high tree, in the Forrest of Waybridge, in the County of Huntling: and being there taken, was brought to London, attainted, and beheaded on the Tower-Hill, and after burned at the Black-Friers.

About this time happened an accident not unworthy to be related: Sir William Harkford Knight, one of the chief Justices at the Law, who dwelt at Anmary in Devonshire, a man of great poftitions; and having no Son, the Lord Fitzwarren, Sir John Stalectre, and Sir William Bellion, married his Daughters, and were his Heirs: This man grew into such degree of Melancholy, that one day he called to him the Keeper of his Park, charging him with negligence in suffering his Deer to be stolen: and thereupon commanded him, that if he met any man in his Circuit in the night time, that would not stand or speak, he should not spare to kill him whosoever he were. The Knight having thus laid his foundation, and meaning to end his doletful dayes, in a certain dark night fecretly conveyed himself out of his houfe, and walked alone in his Park. The Keeper in his night-walk hearing one ftringing, and coming towards him, asked, who was there? but no anwer being made, he willed him to stand; which when he would not do, the Keeper shot, and killed him, and coming to see who it was, found him to be his Mater.

On the twentieth day of November a Parliament is held at Windsor, wherein King Edward and all his partrakers are attainted of high Treason, and all their Lands and Goods forfeited to, King Henry's use. George Plantagenet, Duke of Clarence is by Authority of this Parliament, adjourned Heir to Richard Duke of York his Father, and that Dutchy settled upon him and his Heirs, notwithstanding the Prima geniture of Edward: Upon him also was entailed the Crown of England, in cafe Heirs male of the Body of King Henry failed. Jasper Earl of Pembroke, and John Earl of Oxford, are fully restored to their Lands and Honour; and Warwick and Clarence are made Governors of the King and Kingdom. To this Parliament came the Marquse Montague, exculing himself, that for fear of death he had taken King Edward's part; which excule was accepted. Queen Margaret is sent into France; but by reason of contrary winds was keepd back all that Winter.

About this time Jasper Earl of Pembroke going into Wales to view his Land in Pembrokeshire, found there the Lord Henry, born of Margaret, the only Daughter and Heir of John the first Duke of Somerset, not being then full ten years of age, kept in manner like a Captive, but honourably brought up by the Lady Herbert. Him he brings with him to London, and presents him to King Henry; whom when the King had a good while beheld, he said to the Lords about him: Lord Herbert, this is no other than our Adversaries, leaving the poftition of all things, shall hereafter give place. Which if it be true, it shews a very Prophetical Spirit to have been in King Henry; that could so long before foretell a thing so unlikely to happen; for this was he that was afterward King Henry the Seventh, before whom at that time there were many lives in being, of both the Houses of York and Lancaster.

Shortly after this, by the Duke of Burgoyne means, King Edward is furnished with eighteen tall Ships, two thousand Dutchmen; and fifty thousand Florens of Gold; and thus furnished, he took to Sea, and landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, where he found but cold entertainment;
nevertheless he made a wary march to Tork, where likewise he found no great expression of welcome; so as he was forced to change his pretence, fleeing deeply and receiving the Sacrament upon it, that he came not to disturb King Henry, but only to recover his own Inheritance; and for the more show thereof, warranting Prince Edward’s Living; which proposition seemed so reasonable, that many, who refited him before, were as ready to assist him now: And if he be blamed for breaking his Oath, it must be considered, it was Regni causa, to recover his Kingdom, which perhaps was the Inheritance he meant, when he took his Oath, that he intended nothing but to recover his Inheritance: and so he brake not his Oath neither. From Tork he marched towards Wakefield and Sandal, leaving the Castle of Pontefract upon his left hand, where the Marquefs Montacute with his Army lay, but did not offer to stop him: from Wakefield he came to Doncaster, and from hence to Nottingham, where there came to him Sir William Parr, and Sir James Harrington with fix hundred men; also Sir Thomas Burgh, and Thomas Montagney, with their aids, who cau’d him to make a Proclamation in his own name; affirming they would serve no man but a King. From this time he was followed by three thousand able men, and well armed came unto him: From Leicester he came before the Walls of Coventry, into which City the Earl of Warwick had withdrawn himself, keeping himself close therein with his people, being about six or seven thousand men: three days together King Edward provoked him to come forth to Battel; but he stay’d for more Forces, and would not do it: whereupon King Edward marched forward to Warwick, eight miles from Coventry, thinking thither at least he should have drawn the Earl of Warwick; but neither would that do it: Indeed the Earl looked for the coming of the Duke of Clarence, with twelve thousand men to join with him; but that expectation proved vain. For the Duke was now fully reconcil’d to his Brother King Edward, and brought all his Forces to join with him, only he fought to make a fray between him and King Edward and the Earl: But though King Edward offered general pardon, and other fair conditions; yet none would please the Earl without restoring of King Henry. But now to repair the defection of the Duke of Clarence, there came to the Earl of Warwick at Coventry, the Earl of Oxford, the Duke of Exeter, and the Marquefs Montacute; by whose coming that side was not a little strengthened; yet all this aid would not make the Earl of Warwick to come to Battel: whereupon King Edward marched forward towards London, both sides feek to make London their friend, the Earl of Warwick tends to his Brother the Archbishop of York, to labour in it; who thereupon cau’d King Henry to mount on Horseback, and to ride from Pauls through Cheap, down Waller, supposing that this flying of the King would have allure the Citizen to affist him; but this device prevailed not, but eight thousand men, a small proportion to withstand King Edward: and when the Archbishop of York faw this backwarknels in the Citizens, or rather indeed as inclination to King Edward, he secretly sent to him to receive him into grace; which, upon promise to continue faithful hereafter, he obtained. The eleventh of April, in the year 1471, and the eleventh of his reign, King Edward made his entry into the City of London, riding first to Pauls Church, and from thence to the Bishops Palace, where the Archbishop of York presented himself unto him, and having King Henry by the hand delivered him to King Edward (six months after his re-adoption of the Crown) and then King Edward being seif’d of his person, went from Pauls to Witt-minsters, and there gave God most hearty thanks for his safe return. The reasons alledged here by Philip Commyns for the Citizens receiving of King Edward, feem scarce worthy of so good an Author: One cause (faith he) was because King Edward being extremly indebted in the City, if they had not received him, they should have lost their debt; Another, because he had won the love of many Citizens Wives who im-portuned their Husbands to receive him.

The Earl of Warwick, having Intelligence that King Edward was received into London, and King Henry delivered into his hand, marched out, and encamp’d at St. Albans, and after from thence to the front of Barnet, and the two Armies met. The Earl of Warwick comes with his Army to Battel.

The two Armies meet.
the Earl of Warwick had won the field; and he had perhaps done indeed, but for a strange misfortune which happened to the Earl of Oxford, and his men; for they having a Star with streams on their Liveries, as King Edward's men had the Star of Warwick's men, by reason of the Mift, nor well discerning the badges so like, shot at the Earl of Oxford's men that were on their part; whereupon the Earl of Oxford cried Treason, and fled with eight hundred men. At length after great slaughter made on both sides, King Edward (having the greater number of men, as some write, though others say the contrary) caused a new power of fresh men (which he had kept hid) to come on; which the Earl of Warwick observing being a man of an invincible courage, nothing dismayed, rushed into the midst of his Enemies, where he advanc'd so far, that amongst the press he was stricken down and slain. (Though, some write, that the Earl seeing the desperate estate of his Army, leapt on a Horse to fly; and coming to a Wood where was no passage, one of King Edward men came to him, killed him, and spoiled him to the naked skin.) The Marques Montacute, then, the Earl of Warwick's brother, lost his Life, and left the Victory to King Edward. On both sides were slain, as Full faith, ten thousand at the least: Edward's faith but fifteen hundred, but then he means only of the Kings side. Upon the Kings part were slain the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Montjoye Son and Heir, Sir Humphrey Bagcher Son and Heir to the Lord Berners, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. On the Earls part, were slain the Earl himself, the Marques Montacute, and three and twenty Knights, of whom Sir William Tyrell was one, the Duke of Somerset, and the Earl of Oxford fled into Wales, to Jasper Earl of Pembroke. The Duke of Exeter being stricken down, and so wounded, that he was left for dead, amongst other the dead bodies, because he was not known; but coming to himself, he got up, and escaped to Newport, and thence to Pembroke, where he was safe. The bodies of the Earl and Marques were brought to London in a Coffin, and by the space of three days lay open faced in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul; and then buried with their Ancestors in the Priory of Bifham. This Earl of Warwick was Richard Neville, Son and Heir of Richard Neville Earl of Salisbury, who married the Daughter of Richard Beauchamp, the fifth Earl of Warwick, and in her right was Earl of Warwick, in his own, of Salisbury. He was also Lord Montague, great Chamberlain, and great Admiral of England, Lord Warden of the North Marches towards Scotland, and great Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster: He had iffive Daughters; Isabel married to George Duke of Clarence, and Anne, first married to Prince Edward, King Henry the Sixth's Son, and after to Richard Duke of Gloucester.

We may here observe a constellation of different influences, concurring all to the overthrow of this great Warwick; whereas if any one had been missing, the wheel of his Fortune had not perhaps turned; for if the City of York had not too credulously believed King Edward's Oath, not to disturb King Henry; or if the Marques Montacute had stopped (as he might) his passage at Pomfret; or if the Duke of Clarence had not at the very point of the Battle, at St. Albans, deferred his party and joined with King Edward; or if Queen Margaret had not by King Henry been kept from coming into England in time; or if the Rounders had not been reconstituted; and deceived his expectation, he had never perhaps been overthrown as he was: But Fate's incomprehensible, destiny will finde ways that were never thought of, will make way, where it finds none; and that which is ordained in heaven, shall be effected by means, of which Earth can take no notice.

Queen Margaret, when it was too late, accompanied with John Longfrater, Prior of St. John's, and the Lord Wenlock, with divers Knights and Equestries, took flighting at Harfton, the four and twentieth of March, but by rempelt was kept back till the thirteenth of April; and then with her Son Prince Edward, she landed at Weymouth, and from thence went to an Abbey hard by, called Cerne, and then to Bemly in Hampshire, whither there came unto her, Edmund Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Earl of Devon, kept with divers others, among whom it is resolved once more to try their fortune in the Field. But then the Queen would have had her Son Prince Edward to be sent into France, there to remain in safety, till the next Barrel were tried; but they being of a contrary minde, and especially the Duke of Somerset, she at length conferred, though afterward she repented it. From Bemly she with her Son and the Earl of Somerset palteff on to Briflow, intending with what power they could raise in Gloucefher, to march into Wales, to join with Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who was there making preparation of more Forces, King Edward hearing of these things, resolves to cross this conjunction, and follows Queen Margaret with a great power to close, that near Tenbury in Gloucefher he overtakes her Forces, who resolutely turn and make head against him; and the battle was fought on the Queens part, leading the Vant-guard, performed the part of a valiant Commander; but finding his Soldiery through wearinesse begin to faint, and that the Lord Wenlock, who had the conduct of the Battle on the Queens part, moved not, he rode into him, and upbraiding him with cowardise or treachery, never said, but with a Poleax beat out his brains: And now before he could bring in his men to the rescue, their Vaward was routed, and John Earl of Devonshire, with above three thousand of the Queens part were slain. The Queen her self, John Beaumont the Duke of Somerset's Brother, the Prior of Saint John's, Sir Fereis Cifson, and divers others were taken prisoners; all which except the Queen, were the next day beheaded. At which time Sir Richard Crofts preferreted to King Edward King Henry the Sixths Son, and after to Richard Duke of Gloucester.
Hr Son Prince Ed-ward is murdered.

The Duke of Somerset, and others beheaded.

Queen Margarret is kept in durance, till her Father feathed her away.

The Earl of Warwick makes disturbance about London.

The Reign of King Edward the Fourth.

(as some say) struck him with his Gantlet, and then presently George Duke of Clarence, Richard Duke of Gloucester, Thomas Grey, Marques Dorset, and William Lord Hastings standing by, fell upon him in the place, and murdered him. His body was homely interred with other ordinary Corps, in the Church of the Monastery of the Black-Friers in Westminster. After the victory thus obtained, King Edward repaired to the Abbey Church of Westminster, to give God thanks for his good success; and finding there a great number of his enemies that were fled thither to savethemselves, he gave them all free pardon; only Edward Duke of Somerset, John Langstaff Prior of Saint John, Sir Thomas Ts fitness, Sir John Cifton, and divers other Knights and Esquires, who were apprehended there, and brought before the Duke of Gloucester, sitiing that day as Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolk as Marshal, were all arraigned, condemned, and judged to die; and accordingly upon the Tuesday, being the seventh of May, they were all, and twelve other Knights more, on a Scaffold set up in the middle of the Town, beheaded, but not defeminated, and permitted to be buried. The same day Queen Margarret was found in a poor house of Religion, not far from thence, into which she was fled for safeguard of her life; but she was after brought to London, and there kept a prisoner, till her Father ransomed her with great sums of money. This was the last pitch Battel that was fought in England, in King Edward the fourth's days; which happened on the fourth of May, being Saturday, in the eleventh year of his Reign, and in the year of our Lord 1471.

King Edward being afflicted that as long as any partaker of King Henry lived and were at liberty, he should never be free from plots against his life, sent Roger Vaughan, a Gentleman much reckoned of in his own Country, to entrap Jasper Earl of Pembroke, who had escaped from the last encounter; but he having notice of the plot before, prevented it by striking off Vaughan's head.

After thefe Great Clouds were thus dispers'd, there arose a little Cloud, which gave the Realm, at least the City of London, no small disquiet. For now, Thomas Battard Faconbridge, who had been employed by the Earl of Warwick to cow the Seas, hearing of these debates; having inniched himself by Piracy, gathered together an Army of seventeen thousand men; and coming to London, imperiously commanded admission into the City, and re-leafament of King Henry out of prison: but being denied entrance, and hearing that King Edward, with great power, was coming towards him, he brings up his Shipping to Saint Katherine's, and taking with him his most desperate men, with them he marched to Kingstonbridge; but finding that Bridge broken down; and all the places of passage guarded, he withdrew his Forces into Saint George's field, from whence he prepared to assault the City of London: for the effecting whereof he landed all his Ship Ordnance, and planted them all along the Banks side, with which he bartered down many houses, and much annoyed the City; but the Citi-zens on the other side lodged their great Artillery against their Adversaries, with which they so galled them, that they durst not abide in any place along the water side, but were driven even from their own Ordnance. Then he appointed his men to set fire on the Bridge, and withal caused three thousand to pass over the Thames, and some of them to assault Aldgate, and some Bishopsgate; but they were in all places by the industry of the Citizens repelled, and chiefly by Robert Baffet, and Ralph Jocelyne Aldermen. Upon this he retired to Blackbeath, and there encamped by the space of three days, but then hearing that King Edward was coming with a great Army, he got him to his Ship, but the reit fled, some one way, some another. The one and twentieth of May, the King coming to London, the citizens for their pains and care, and dubbed the Mayors, the Recorder Ursewick, and Baffet and Jocelyne Aldermen, Knights.

And now the time was come for King Henry to be delivered out of all his troubles; for the bloody Duke of Gloucester entering the Tower, where he found King Henry nothing at all troubled with all his Groffes, struck him into the heart with his Dagger, and there flew him. And now we have had within the space of half a year, one Parliament proclaiming King Edward an Ulfurper, and King Henry a lawful King; and another proclaiming King Edward a lawful King, and King Henry an Ulfurper: That we may know in humane affairs, there is nothing certain, but uncertainty; nothing flable, but inhabitability.

King Edward, presently after the interment of King Henry, draws his Forces towards Sandwich in Kent, where some of the followers of Faconbridge, to the number of eight or nine hundred, had in the Castle there, strongly fortified themselves; but upon their asking pardon, and submitting themselves to the King, with promise to be faithful Subjects ever after, they had their pardon granted them, and then they delivered up both Castle and Ships, to the number of thirteen, to the King's use. But how this Composition was observed, may be imagined; when Faconbridge, who was comprised in the same pardon, was afterward taken and executed at Southwampen; Spicing, and Quatning the Captains that assailed Aldgate and Bishopsgate, and were in Sandwich Castle at the surrender thereof, were profecely beheaded at Canterbury; and their heads placed on Poles, upon those Gates. And by a Commision of Oyer and Terminery, many both in Effex and Kent, were arraigned and condemned for this Rebellion, and more fined.

And now King Edward Eight, is to be secured from all suspected persons, sent there by his own Bishop of York, Brother to the Earl of Warwick, over to Guiamourshe to be kept in safe custody; and there he remained a long time, till at length by friendship he was delivered, and shortly after died. Likewise John Earl of Oxford, who after Barnet Field yielded himself to King Edward, had his life pardoned; but yet was sent over Sea to the Castle of Hammes, where for the space of twelve years he was shut up in a strong Prison, and narrowly looked to; whose Lady all that time was not sufferd to come un-
The Reign of King Edward the Fourth.

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* The French King read, and thereupon withdrawing himself, caused the Herold to be brought to his presence, to whom in private he gave this answer: That the Duke of Bourgaigne, and the Earl of Saint Paul the Contable, (by whose intercession he knew the King of England was drawn to this design) would but delude him, for that they were Diffemblers and Impostors; and therefore said, it would conduc more to the honour of the King of England to continue in the League with him, through an old Adversary, than to hazard the forces of France, on the promised alliance of new-comers. Receivers: And to commend me (sai he,) to the King thy Matter, and say what I have told thee; and then with an honourable reward of three hundred Crowns, dismiss him. The Herold promised to do all that in his lay, and (beyond his Commision) showed the French King ways, (by working upon the Lords Howard and Stanley) by which he might enter into a Treaty for Peace, which he doubted not would fort to a good conclusion. The French King glad to hear it, gave the Herold, besides the other reward, a piece of Crimson Velvet of thirty yards long; and withal sent to King Edward the good willer Hope he had in his Stable, as also an AS, a Wolf, and a Wilde Boar, beasts at that time rare in England: And then the Herold returning to Callice, delivered to King Edward the French King's answer.

And now to make good the French King's allegation to the Herold, the Duke of Bourgaigne who had promised in the word of a Prince, to bring to Callice by this time two thousand Launces, and four thousand Souldiers or light-Horfe, failed to come: Whereupon the Lord Sealer is by King Edward sent to the Duke, to put him in mind of his promise, and to hasten his coming with his promised Forces: But the journey was to little purpose, only it occasioned the Duke with a small troop of Horfe to come to the King, formally to excuse himself for having been so backward; but the cause (he said) was, for that he had being inbred in the siege of Nuns, he could not depart thence, without infinite disgrace, if neither composition nor submission were enforced; which now notwithstanding, because he had not yet sent to it at his return, he was enforced to do, by the necessity of the beleaguered; but promised to supply all defects, both with his presence and power, and that speedily.
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according to therechafe, reproacheth

in great

King Edward for entring into it himfelf; fayThat his Predeceffors had by many brave
exploits gotten fame and reputation upon the
French; and now he had brought his Souldiers
only to fhew them the Countrey, and return as
they came; adding withal, that to make it appear he was able without help of the Snglifh to
ing,

The Duke
of Burgoigne
reproaditcb,

KingE«/»

ward for
making the
Peace.

of himfelf, he utterly difclaimed any beby that Truce, until three months after the

fubfift

nefit

privately difpatcheth ameffen-

defired

ger

an Herauld

if

,

in fiiew

no

it

took not effect, he

;

but was indeed

office or eftimation

,

and not

acquainted with the plot and party* This counArms, with a Coat made
of a Trumpets Banncr-rowl, addrefled himfelf
terfeit Purfuivant at

to the King of England, and upon adfhilfion to
his prefence, infinuates the French Kings defire, which was , to have Commillioners on
both parts affigned , to confer of the means to

between the two
a cefTation from
Arms for fome time. And fo well this Meffenger delivered his errand , that it was credited,
and the Kings requeft granted ; and thereupon
Letters of fafe conduct are fent of both fides,

reconcile the

Kings

;

or

differences

at leall to

conclude

for fuch Commiflioners as to this purpofe fhould

meet at Amyens. For King Edward came the
Lord Howard, Sir Anthony Sentleger, and Doctor
Morton*, after made Lord Chancellour ot England.
For King Lewis came the Admiral of
France, the Lord Saint P/'m-,and Heberg Bifhop

Kings.

palTed by the

Whereupon he

and yet fo to treat, that

Dukes abfence

to any of the Kings houfhold, but to
Villkrs the Mafler of the Horfe, who only was

two

Th:s Conclufion was the more eanly comKing of France his following the
Heraulds counfel; for he diflributed fixteen
thoufand Crowns amongll King Edward's Counfellors and Favourites ; two thoufand Crowns
to the Lord Hafiings the Kings Chamberlain
;
and to the Lord Howard, Sir John Cheyney , Sir
Anthony Sentleger, and Montgomery, the refidue;
of.

might difclaim the knowledge of the overture

in the

known

Peace between the

wherein the Dukes of Burgoigne and

:

Britain, are included if they will accept there-

were returned to their own Countrey j
great fnuffe returned home.
For the better confirmation of what is agreed An interview beupon between the two Kings , an enterview is tween
the

done to mediate a Peace

a fellow of

The conditions of

years

the Fourth.

After long Conference , Articles
of Enreux.
of Peace were concluded on to this effect : That
the French King fhould pay prefently to the
King of England, threescore and fifteen thoufand Crowns , and from thenceforth annually
fifty thoufand Crowns, during the lifeof King
"Edward
That within one year, the French King
fhould fend for the Lady Elizabeth the King of
England's, Daughter, andjoynherin Marriage
to the Dauphin : That the Lord Howard , and
Sir John £heyney Mailer of the Horfe, fhould
remain in Hnlbge there, till the Englifh Army
had quitted France, and a general Peace for nine
:

English

and fo

in a

;

but before the fame

French King fends the Englifh

is

Kings
, the two
is agreed
an hundred upon.

effected

Army

Tonne of Gafceigne Wine , to be drunk out
amongft the private Souldiers, and therewithal
free licence for Commanders and Gentlemen to
recreate themfelves in Amyens;whtre they were
lovingly entertained by the Burgers of the
Town, by the Kings exprefs command. The
place of enterview of thefe two Kings , is The place
and manner
agreed on. to be at Picqu'my, a Town three miles of their indiltant from Amyens,kHed in a botrom,through tei view.
which the River of Some runneth ; over which
a rtrong Bridge was built, and in the midft,
thereof {a grate made overthwart with Bars, no
wider afunder then a man might well thrull in
his Arm ; covered with boards over head , to
avoid the rain: four of the Bed-Chamber on
both fides, are appointed to fearchthe rooms,
to prevent traps or Inftruments of treachery:
and being by them certified that all was clear,
King Edward
the Kings advance themfelves.
being come in fight of the place , made a
rtand ; being told, that the circumltance of
coming firfl to the place was a matter of great
difparagement in point of State but the French
King more regarding fubftance than circumflance, gave the King of England the advantage
to come at his pleafure, and went firfl: to the
Bar appointed for Conference, and there did
attend King Edward's leifure. He had in his
company John Duke of Bourbon, with his Brother the Cardinal, and eight hundred men at
Arms. King Edward had with him his Brother
the Duke of Clarence, theEarl of Northumberland, the Lords Chamberlain and Chancellour,
and at his back his whole Army in Battel. The
Kin^s lovingly falute each other, and complements
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ments of courtiers reciprocally paid: which finall'd them with their Noblemen there present, take all their Oaths upon the Holy Evangelists, in all their power, to observe the Articles of Accord agreed on. After which, in private, the French King importunes King Edward that the Duke of Britain might be left out of these Articles: but after much urging to that purpose, King Edward gave this refolute answer, that if King Lewis desired the friendship of England, he should not molest the Duke of Britain; for that he was resolved, at any time to come in person to relieve him, if he were disturbed: King Edward pretended the many kindnefses he had formerly received of the Duke of Britain; but it was conceived, that the defire of compafing the Earls of Richmond and Pembroke, now in the Duke of Britain's Country, were the great motives of his flanding so firmly for him. After more fervious discourse, King Lewis told King Edward, that he would never see him at Paris; therefore he must come to court his French Ladies there: and if he committed any sin, he merrily told him, that Cardinal Wolsey should be his Confessor, who (he might be sure) would affign him an easy penance; as one that loved to kifs fair Ladies himself; but when King Edward seemed not unwilling to accept his offer, he was then glad to put it off with other discourse: for that (as he told Commons) too many English Princes had been there before.

The money to be paid to King Edward by the Articles, is accordingly paid; and thereupon the French hostages are delivered, and the English Army retires to Collev, and from thence is transported into England; and then the English hostages are likewise delivered. This Peace was made to be made only by the Holy Ghost; because on the day of meeting, a white Dove came and sat upon the King of England's Tent: though the Dukes of Gloucester and Buckingham thought it was made by no good spirit.

King Edward being returned into England, had his minde running still upon the danger that might grow from the Earl of Richmond: he therefore dispatched Doctor Stillington, and two other his Ambassadors, to the Duke of Britain, to send him over to him, under this subtile pretence, that he meant to match him in marriage with the Lady Cicely his youngest Daughter; and withal, sent also no small store of Angels to speak for him; which so prevailed with the Duke, that he delivered the Earl of Richmond to the Ambassadors, who conducted him thence to Saint Odelas; where whileft they stayed for a wind, the young Earl by the cunning plotting of Peter Landais, the Duke's Treasurer, (more out of scorn that he was not gratified by the English Ambassador, to the proportion of his place, than any love to the Earl) escapes into the Sanctuary: from whence, neither prayers nor promises could get him out: Nevertheless up put Peter Landais his promise he should be safely kept there, the Ambassadors departed, and returned home, acquainted King Edward with the Duke of Britain's courtie in delivering him, and their own negligence in suffering him to escape; only making amend with the

promife of Peter Landais: which might be to King Edward some contentment, but was no satisfaction.

At Christmas following, being the sixteenth year of his Reign, he created his eldest Son Edward, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earl of Chefefer. His second Son he made Duke of York; giving the Order of Knights-hood to the Son and Heir of the Earl of Lincoln, and many others. He created also four and twenty Knights of the Bath, whereof Brian Chief Justice, and Littleton a Judge of the Common Pleas were two.

About this time, there were two examples of severity feen; not unworthy the relating, but only to make us see how dangerous a thing it is to Ludee cum satia, to speak words that may be taken as reflecting upon the King. The first was of Walter Walker, a wealthy Citizen, dwelling at the Crown in Cheefeife: This man one day when his Child cryed, bid him be quiet; and next day he made him Heir of the Crown: which words being sooner or later, as persperation, he was called in question about them, arraigned, condemned, and put to death. The other was Thomas Burdes of a Borough in Warkshire Esquire: It happened that King Edward hunted in his Park, he being from home, and there killed a white Buck, whereas Master Burdes made special account: so as coming home, and finding that Buck killed, he wished it horns and all in his belly that had confounded the King to kill it: and because none confounded the King to kill it but himself, it was thought these words were not spoken without a malignant reflecting upon the King; and thereupon Burdes was arraigned and condemned, drawn to Tyburn, and there beheaded: though Markham, then Chief Justice, chose rather to lose his place, then affent to the Judgement.

And now he began ambition to toil in Richard Duke of Gloucester: whereof the too much heat fell upon his Brother the Duke of Clarence, how to rid him out of the way: to which end he seeks to raise jealousies in King Edward's head against him, telling him, that some of Clarence his followers were Sorcerers and Necromancers, and had given forth speeches, that one whose name began with G. should disinherit his Children, and get the Crown: and for a colour of this suggestion, one of the Duke of Clarence his Servants, who came with him out of Ireland from Dublin, where the Duke was born, is in his Master's absence, by the procurement underhand of the Duke of Gloucester, indited, arraigned, condemned, and executed at Tyburn for a Conjuror, and all within the space of two days: and the Duke of Gloucester, to make shew that he had no hand in this fellow's death, set on the Duke of Clarence to complain of it to King Edward; and in the mean time finds matter, at least colour of matter, to make him swear he had no hand in his imprisonment, bids him be of good cheer, for it should not be long ere he would see him released: and he kept his word; for not long after, by his procurement, he was drowned in a Butt of Malmsey, (and this was his releasemen) and then laid in his bed, to make the people believe that he was
he died of distemps: whole death King Edward, though perhaps confentning to it, so much referred, that afterwards, when he was foid to for any man Pardon, he would fighting break out into fuch words: Obfolute Brother! for whole life not one man would open his mouth. Being dead, he was buried at Trunkbury in Glouceftersire, by the Body of his Darchefs, who great with Childie, died of pofion a little before.

It was now the two and twentieth year of King Edward's Reign, when James King of Scotland sent Ambassadors to treat of a marriage between his oldelT Son James Duke of Rothes, and Cicely King Edward's second Daughter. This overture for a Match, was by the King and his Council readily embraced, and a great part of the Portion was delivered to the Scots with this Proviso, That if the marriage did not proceed, the Provost and Merchants of Edinburgh should be bound to repay it again. But the Scotch King, who had other phantimes in his head, and would take counfel of none but his own will, and diverted alfo perhaps by the King of France; not only dafled the proceeding in the Match, but the whole Nobility that perfuaded him to it; inform'd that his Brother the Duke of Albany was enforced to abandon the Country, and to fly for refuge into England: by whom King Edward being informed of King James his fickle disposition, was fo much incenfed, that under the conduct of the Duke of Glouceftir, accompanied with the Duke of Albany, I fet an Army of twenty thoufand againft Scotland; who in their way took in Berewick, and beleved the Cafile; which being retoluely defended by the Earl Bothwel, the Duke left the Lord Stanly to continue the fiege, while he with the reit of the Army, marched toward Edinburgh; where within the Cafile of Mayden, King James had immur'd himfelf. But the Nobility of Scotland fearing the danger they were in, endeavoured by humble humiliffion to procure Peace, at leaft a ceffion from War, which with much importunity they obtained, upon these conditions: That folicitation should be presently given, for all damages fufained by the late incursions: That the Duke of Albany should be fully retriev'd to grace and place, with an aboliion of all difcontent between his Brother King James and him: That the Cafile of Berewick, (which had been now out of the poftification of the English, one and twenty years) should immediately be ferrendred into the Generals hands, and from thence no redution of that, or the Town attempted: That all fuch sums of money as upon propofition of the marriage had been delivered, should be repaid. All which, except the firft Article, were accordingly performed.

When this confents with Scotland was indifferentiy accommodated; King Edward receives intelligence from his Ambaffadour Leiger in France, that the French King not only denied the payment of the annual Tribute of fifty thoufand Crowns, agreed upon and sworn to, upon the ratification of the late concluded Peace, but had also married the Dauphin of France to the Lady Margaret Daughter of Maximian, Son of the Emperor; which to much incenfed King Edward, that he resolves to revenge it; and by the advice of his Council, open War was prefently Proclaimed againft France. But while King Edward is making prepara-tion, and inveting to the bufines, he is attacked by the hand of death; and upon the ninth of April, in the year 1483, at Westminster ended his mortal life.

Of his Taxations.

In his second year, he fent his Privy Seal through England, to move men to give him a certain fumme of money towards relifting the Scots, which was granted and given liberally: In his feventh year, in a Parliament at Westminster, were refumed all manner of gifts, which the King had given from the firft day he took poftification of the Realm, to that time. In his eighth year, at a Parliament were granted two fifteens and a Demy. In his thirtieth year, a Parliament was holden, wherein a Subsidy was granted; and the year following, toward War to be undertaken in the Marches, a new way of rai- sing money is defired, called a Benevolence, by which great fummes of money were gotten of the Subject: And it is not unworthy the relating, what an old rich Widow at this time did; whom King Edward, amongst others, having called before him, merrily asked, what she would willingly give him towards his great charges? By my troth (quoth fie) for thy lovely countenance, thou shalt have even twenty pounds. The King looking scarce for half that fumme, thanked her, and lovingly kiss'd her; which he wrought with the old Widow, that shef presently swore, she should have twenty pound more; and paid it willingly. Not long before his death he was by ill Counfellors put upon a diftrefiif course for raiing of mo- ney; which was, by fining men for Delinquen- cies against Penal Statutes; by which course no money was gathered; but before it came to full execution, he dying, that also died with him.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In his fourth year, he newly devis'd the Coin both of Gold and Silver, as at this day it is; the Gold, he named Royals and Nobles, the Silver, Grosses, and half Grosses; the new Great weighing feantly three pence; and the Noble of fix fhillings eight pence, appointed to go for eight fhillings four pence. In his fifth year it was proclaimed in England, that the Beaks or Pykes of Shoes and Boots should not pass two Inches, upon pain of curfing by the Clergy, and forfeiting twenty fhillings to be paid, one Noble to the King, another to the Cordwy- ners of London, and the third to the Chamber of London; and for other Countries and Towns the like order was taken. Before this time, and since the year 1382, the Pykes of Shoes and Boots were of fuch length, that they were fain to be tied up to the knees with Chains of Silver, and Gold, or at leaft with filkien laces. The length of Beaks and Pykes of Shoes limited.
The Reign of King Edward the Fourth.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In this King's time the Jubilee, which was before but every fifteenth year, was, by Pope Sixtus the fourth, brought to be every five and twentieth year. Also, where before this time, the Scottish Bishops had no Metropolitan, but the Bishop of York was Metropolitan and Primate of Scotland: Now in this King's time, Pope Sixtus appointed the Bishop of Saint Andrews to be Metropolitan of Scotland, who had twelve Bishops under his obedience.

Works of Piety done in his time.

This King laid the foundation of the new Chappel at Windsor, and his Queen Elizabeth founded the Queens College in Cambridge, and endowed it with large Poffessions. About his fifteenth year, Dofter Woodlark Provost of Kings College in Cambridge, founded Katherine-hall there. In his seventeenth year, the Wall of the City of London, from Cripplegate to Bishopsgate, was built at the Charges of the Citizens; also Bishopsgate it self was new built by the Merchants Almains of the Steelyard. Also in this year died Sir John Crofby, Knight, the Mayor of London, at the repairing of the Parifh Church of St. Hils in Bishopsgate-street, where he was buried, 300. Marks: to the repairing of the Parifh Church of Howorth in Middlesex, forty pounds: to the repairing of London Wall, an hundred pounds: to the repairing of Rochester Bridge, ten pounds: to the Wardens and Commonalty of the Grocers in London, two large Pots of silver chafed half gill, and other Legacies. About this time also, Richford Rawson, one of the Sheriffs of London, caufed an house to be builded in the Church-yard of St. Mary Hospital without Bishopsgate, where the Mayor and Aldermen use to sit and hear the Sermons in Easter Holy-days. In his nineteenth year, William Taylor Mayor of London, gave to the City certain Tenements: for which the City is bound to pay for ever, at every fifteen granted to the King, for all such as shall dwell in Conderainstreet ward, laid at twelve pence a piece, or under. And about the same time, one Thomas Ham, Sheriff of London, builded, at his costs, the great Conduit in Cheapside. In his third and twentieth year, Edward Shaw Goldsmith, who had been Mayor of London, at his own costs re-edified Cripplegate in London, which Gate in old time had been a prifon.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

In his third year, the Minifter of York, and the Steeple of Chrifts-Church in Norwich were burnt. In his feventeenth year, fo great a Peftilence reigned in England, that it swept away more people in four months, than the Wars had done in fifteen years paff. Also in his nineteenth year was another Peftilence: which beginning in the latter end of September, continued till the beginning of November, twelve-months following; in which space of time innumerable people died.

Of his Wife and Issue.

King Edward had been contracted to Elizabeth Daughter to John Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, married after to Sir Thomas Butler, Baron of Sudley: but he married Elizabeth the Widow of Sir John Gray, Daughter of Richard Woodville, by his Wife Jacqueline Duchess of Bedford: She lived his Wife eighteen years and eleven months; by whom he had three Sons and feven Daughters. Edward his eldest Son, born in the Sanctuary at Westminster: Richard his second Son, born at Shrewsbury: George his third Son, born also at Shrewsbury, but died a Child. Elizabeth his eldest Daughter promised in marriage to Charles Dauphin of France; but married afterward to King Henry the Seventh: Cicely his second Daughter promised in marriage to James Duke of Rohifay, Prince of Scotland; but was married afterward to John Vifcount Wells, whom the out-lived, and was again re-married, but by neither Husband had any Issue: She lieth buried at Quarca in the Isle of Wight. Anne his third Daughter was married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal and high Treasurer of England, by whom he had two Sons, both dying without Issue: the lieth buried at Framingham in Norfolk. Bridget his fourth Daughter, born at Elizabht in Kent, became a Nun in the Nunnery of Dartford in Kent, which King Edward had founded, Mary his fifth Daughter was promised in marriage to the King of Denmark, but died in the Tower of Groenbil, before it could be feomnized: the lieth buried at Windfor. Margaret his sixth Daughter died an Infant: Katherine his seventh Daughter was married to William Courtney Earl of Devonfrire, to whom the bare Lord Henry, who by King Henry the eight was created Marques of Exeter.

Concubines he had many, but three special; and would use to say, that he had three Concubines, who in their several properties excelled: One, the merrieft, another, the yfliet: the third, the holieft Harlot in his Realm; as whom no man could lightly get out of the Church to any place, unlefs it were to his bed: The other two were greater perfons than are fit to be named: but the merrieft was Shrewsbury's Wife: in whom therefore he took special pleasure. This woman was born in London, worshipfully defcended, and well married; but when the King had abused her, anon her Husband (as he was an honest man, and did know his good, not presuming to touch a Kings Concubine) left her up to him altogether.

By thefe he had natural Issue, Arthur fornaed Plantaogene (whole mother, as is fuppofed, was the Lady Elizabeth Lucy) created Vifcount Lilby, by King Henry the eight, at Bridoel in London: and Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Thomas Lulmy Knight, to whom the bare Nichard, afterward Lord Lulmy, from whom the late Lord Lulmy did defend.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was (faith Cornwine) the goodliest personage that ever mine eyes beheld, exceeding the
tall of stature, fair of complexion, and of most princely presence: and we may truly say, he was of full age before he came to one and twenty; for being but eighteen years old when his father died, he fixed out his Livery presently: so as he began the race of his fortune just like Angulus Caius, each of them at the fame age succeeding an Anceflour after a violent death; and each of them left to set on a roof, where but only a foundation was laid before. For his conditions, he was of an erecte\n\ncomforte both of body and minde, but something juggling on the fleshes side; and never any man, that did marry for love, did for lit\n\ntle love marriage; for he took as much pleasure in other mens Wives as in his own. He was never more confident, then when he was in dan ger, nor ever more doubtfull then when he was secure. Of the four Cardinal Vertues, Fortitude and Prudence were in him naturally: Temperance and Justice, but to serve his turn. He was Politick even to irreligion; for to compass his ends he would not f*tch to sware what he never meant. Yet he was Religious beyond Policy; for before Battels, he used to make his Prayers to God; after Victories to give him Thanks. He was far from being proud, yet very ambitious; and could use fa\nmiliarity, and yet retain Majesty. He was a great Briber; and what he could not get by Force, he would by Rewards; as much as what he could not get by Battery, he would by Mines. He was too credulous of Reports, which made him be in error, sometymes to the hurt of him\nfelf, oftentimes of others. He had made the White Rose to flourish as long as Henry the Fourth made the Red; if he had not made it change colour with too much Blood. He had been fortunate in his Children, if he had not been unfortunat in a Brother; but he was well enough served, that would think a Wolf could ever be a good Shepherd. He had an excellent art in improving his favours; for he could do as much with a small courtefe, as other men with a great benefit: And that which was more, he could make advantage of disadvantages: for he got the love of the Londoners by owing them money; and the good will of the Citizens by lying with their Wives.

Of his Death and Burial.

Whether it began from his minde, being extremely troubled with the injurious dealing of the King of France; or from his body by intemperance of diet, to which he was much given: He fell into a Sickness (some say a Carachere, some a Feaver) but into a Sick\n\nness whereof he died. In the time of which sickness, and at the very point of death, Sir Thomas More makes him to make a speech to his Lords; which I might think to be the speech of a sick man, if it were not so found; and of a weak man, if it were not so long: But it seems Sir Thomas More delivers rather what was fit for him to say, than what he said, the Contents being only, to exhort his Lords, whom he knew to be at variance, to be in love and concord amongst themselves; for that the welfare of his Children, whom he must now

leave to their care, could not otherwise be preserved but by their agreement. And having spoken to this purpose so much as his weaknesse would suffer him, he found himself sleepy; and turning on one side, he fell into his long sleep, the ninth of April, in the year 1483. when he had lived one and forty years, reignd two and twenty years, and was buried at Wind\n\nsor, in the new Chappel, whose foundation himself had laid.

Of Men of Note in his time:

Men of valour in his time were many; but himself the chiefest; the rest may be observed in reading his story. For men of Letters, we may have leave at this time to speak of some strangers, having been men of extra\n
ordinary fame; as Johannes de Monte Regio, Petrarchus and Blanchinus, all great Altrono\nmers; Ludovicus Pontanus, Paulus Caffrinus, and Antoninus Rosellanus, all great Lawyers; Servo\n
nians, Savanarola, and Barzizius, all great Physicions; Baffurion and Caffinus, both great Cardinals; Argropole, Philalethus, Datus, Leonards, Aristims, and Poggius, all great men in humane Literature. And of our Country\nmens, John Harding an Equefr, born in the North parts, who wrote a Chronicle in English Verfe; and, among other special points therein touched, hath gathered all the Submissions and Homages made by the Scottish Kings, even from the dayes of King Alexander; whereby it may evidently appear, how the Scottish Kingdom, even in manner, from the first establishing thereof here in Britain, hath been appertaining unto the Kings of England, and holden of them as their chief and superior Lords. Julian Bemer, a Gentleman of excellent gifts, who wrote certain Treatises of Hawking and Hunting; also a Book of the Laws of Arms, and knowledge appertaining to Heraldes. John Fortescue a Judge, and Chancellour of England, who wrote divers Treatises concerning the Law and Politick Government: Rochus, a Charter\n
house Monk, born in London, who wrote divers Epigrams. Walter Hunt, a Carmelit Fryer, who for his excellent learning, was sent from the whole body of the Realm, to the General Council holden first at Ferrara, and after at Florence, by Pope Eugenius the fourth; where he amongst others disputed with the Greeks, in defence of the Order and Ceremonies of the Carmelit Fryers, who wrote a Chronicle called Froelis Temporum, and an Appendix unto Trewia, besides divers other Books and Translations. John Milverton, a Carmelite Fryer of Brifon, and Provincial of his Order, who, because he defended such of his Order as preached against endowments of the Church with Temporal Professions, was committed to prifon in the Cattle of Sain\n
Angelo in Rome, where he continued three years. David Morgan a Welchman, who wrote of the Antiquities of Wales, and a de\n
scription of the Country. John Tiptoff, a Noble\nmans born, who wrote divers Treatises, but left his head in the year 1471. Robert Huggon born in Norfolk, who wrote certain vain Prophecies.

William Caxton who wrote a Chronicle.
Thomas Norton, born in Briflor, an Alchemift, Segan a learned Gentleman, and a Student for a title in Oxford; who for his pleasent wit and merry conceits, was called to Court. But most worthy of all to be remembered, Thomas Littleton, a reverend Judge of the Common Pleas, who brought a great part of the Law into Method, which lay before confusedly dispersed; and his Book called Littleton’s Tenures.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,  
Sir Hugh Witch was Mayor.  
George Ireland, John Lack, Sheriffs.

In his second year,  
Sir Thomas Coox was Mayor:  
William Hampton, Bartholomew James, Sheriffs.

In his third year,  
Sir Matthew Philip was Mayor:  
Robert Baffet, Thomas Muschamp, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Mayor.  
John Tate, John Stone, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,  
Sir Ralph Varney was Mayor.  
Henry Weaver, William Constantine, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,  
Sir John Tong was Mayor.  
John Brown, Henry Bric, John Darby, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,  
Sir Thomas Oldcrow was Mayor.  
Thomas Stallbrock, Humphrey Hayford, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,  
Sir William Taylor was Mayor.  
Simon Smith, William Herriot, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,  
Sir Richard a Lee was Mayor.  
Richard Gardiner, Robert Dredge, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,  
Sir John Stockton was Mayor.  
John Crocey, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,  
Sir William Edwards was Mayor.  
John Allen, John Shelley, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,  
Sir William Hampton was Mayor.  
John Brown, Thomas Bledlow, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,  
Sir John Tate was Mayor.  
Sir William Stocker, Robert Belisdon, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,  
Sir Robert Dredge was Mayor.  
Edmund Shaa, Thomas Hill, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,  
Sir Robert Baffet was Mayor.  
Hugh Bric, Robert Calvich, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,  
Sir Ralph Joceline was Mayor.  
Richard Ranion, William Horn, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,  
Sir Humphrey Hayford was Mayor.  
Henry Collet, John Stocker, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,  
Sir Richard Gardner was Mayor.  
Robert Harding, Robert Bifield, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,  
Sir Bartholomew James was Mayor.  
Thomas Ilam, John Ward, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,  
Sir John Brown was Mayor:  
Thomas Daniel, William Bacon, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year,  
Sir William Herriot was Mayor.  

In his twenty second year,  
Sir Edmund Shaa was Mayor.  
William White, John Matthew, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of
KING EDWARD
THE FIFTH.

1483.

King Edward the fourth being dead, his eldest son Edward, scarce yet eleven years old, succeed
ed in the kingdom, but not in the crown; for he was proclaimed King, but never crowned: and indeed it may not so
properly be called the Reign of Edward the Fifth, as the Tyrant of Richard the Third, for from the time of King Edward's death, though not in name, yet in effect, he not only ruled as King, but reigned as a Tyrant. Prince Edward, when his Father died, was at Ludlow in Wales, where he had lived some time before, the better by his presence to keep the Welsh in awe; he had about him of his Mothers Kin
dred many; but Sir Anthony Woodville, the Earl Rivers, his Uncle, was appointed his chief Counsellor and Director. The Duke of Glo
caster was at this time in the North; but had word presently sent him from the Lord Ha
glings, Lord Chamberlain, of his Brother King Edward's death; who acquainted him withal, that by his will, he had committed the young King, his Queen, and other Children, to his care and government; and thereupon putting him in mind, how necessary it was for him speedily to repair to London; But the Duke of Glocaster needed no spur to set him forward, who was already in a full career; for he had long before projected in his minde, how he might come to attain the crown; and now he thought the way was made for him. For as it was said, the very night in which King Edward died, one Miflerbrook, long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one Potter dwelling in Redcross-street without Cripples-gate; where he shewed unto Potter that King Edward was departed: To whom Potter answered, By my troth man, then will my Master the Duke of Glocaster be King: What cause he had to fo think, is hard to say; but surely it is not likely he spake it of nought. And now the young King was coming up to London with a strong guard, partly to make a first expression of his greatness, and partly to oppose any disorders that might be offered. But the Duke of Glocaster finding this proceeding like to be a rub in his way, at least, not fit for his designs, he pre
sently falls to undermining; writes most loving Letters to the Queen, protesting all humble and faithful service to the King and her; but
withal perswading her, that this great guard about the King might be presently dismi
ssed; which did but minister matter of suspicion, and would be apt to breed new jealousies in them who were now throughly reconciled. The Queen of a nature easie to be wrought upon, gives credit to his glowing Letters; and thereupon lends in all haste to her Son, and to her Brother the Lord Rivers; requiring them by all means for some causes to her known, to dismiss their Guards (not mentioning by whose advice she writ them; which if she had done, they would never have done it) but now upon her Letters they presently did, and came forward with only a sober company. And now is Glocaster's first work done; but he, knowing that the work yet behind was too great to be done by himself alone, gets the Duke of Buckingham, and the Lord Haf
ing, two of the greatest men of power at that time in the Kingdom, to join with him in opinion, that it was not fit the Queens Kin
dred should be wholly about the King; and others of better blood and desert, to be estran
ged from him, and therefore by all means fit, to endeavour to remove them: To which the Duke of Buckingham is easily wrought upon, a promise to have the Earldom of Hertford con
ferred upon him: and the Lord Hafings not
hardly, upon a hope by this means to cut off many, whom in King Edward's days he had justly offended. And now another great work was done; it remains in the next place to put it in execution, which was presently thus effectcd.

The young King had been at Northampton, and
from thence was gone to Ston-Strafford; wher
the two Dukes of Glocaster and Bucking
dom arrived; but pretending the Town to be
too little for the entertainment of their Com
panies, they went back to Northampton, and
alliging at the same Inne where the Earl Ri
ers had taken up his lodging for that night, in	ending the next morning early to overwrite the King. Upon this their accidental meeting, great fuses of courtesie past between them; and Supper ended, the Dukes pretending wea
riness, retired to their Lodgings, the Earl to his; but the Dukes being entred into their Cham
bers, enter into confutation with their private friends, in which they spent a great part of the night, and then secretly get the Keys of the Ime Gates, suffering none to pass either in or out; whereas the Earl having notice by his Hoft, though he suspected the worit, yet felt
The Reign of King Edward the Fifth.

Glocefier, the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earl Rivers, the Duke of Glocefier's Chamber, where he

found the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl Rivers had been let in Council; with whom he expou-

sates the reason of this course, to imprison him in his own against his will: But they instead of

answer, command presently to lay hands on him, charging him with many crimes, whereof

themselves were only guilty: And then taking

order for his safe imprisonmen:, they speedily

took Horfe, and came to Stow-Stratford, at

tsuch time as the King was taking horse, whom in

all respect they thought it proper. But pre-

rently in the Kings presence, a quarrel is pick

against the Lord Richard Gray, the Kings half

Brother: The Duke of Buckingham making rela-

tion to the King, that he and the Marqueis his

Brother, with the Earl Rivers the Queens Bro-

ther, had endeavoured, and almost effected, to
draw to themselves the whole managing the aff-
fairs of the Kingdom, and to set variance be-

 tween the Peers of the Realm; and particu-

larly, that the Lord Marqueis without any War-

rant, had taken out of the Tower of London

both Treasurie and Armour, to a great quanti-
ty: but to what purpose though they were igno-

rant, yet there was just cause to suspect it

was to no good end: And therefore it was

thought expedient by the advice of the Nobil-

ity, to attach him at Northampton, to have

him forth coming to make his answer for theft

and many other his over-bold actions: The

King unable to found the depth of thefe plots,
mildly fay unto him: What my Brother Mar-

queis hath done, I cannot fay; but for my

Uncle and Brother here, I dare anfwer, that

they are ignorant of any unlawful practices ei-

ther againft me or you. Oh (faith the Duke

of Buckingham) that hath been their cunning
to keep their treachery from your Graces know-

ledge: And therupon, infantly in the Kings

presence, they arrested the Lord Richard, Sir

Thomas Vaughan, Sir Richard Hall, and brought

the King and all his company back to Northam-

pton, putting away all his old Servants, and

placing in their rooms creatures of their own,

whom they had power to command. At which
dealing the young King wept, but it booted no-

thing; and to colour the matter, the Duke of

Glocefier at Dinner lent a Diff from his own Ta-

table to the Lord Rivers, bidding him be of good

cheer, for all shortly should be well: But the

Lord Rivers thanking the Duke, prayed the

Meftenger to carry it to the Lord Richard, with

the fame meffage for his comfort, as one to

whom fuch adverfity was strange: but as he

himself, he had all his days been acquainted

with it, and therefore could the better bear it.

But for all this comfortable countefie of the

Duke of Glocefier, he lent the Lord Rivers, and

the Lord Richard, with Sir Thomas Vaughan in-

to the North Country, into divers places to

prison, and afterward to Pomfret, where in con-

clusion they were all beheaded.

And now the Duke of Glocefier having thus
gotten the custody of the King; set forwards

toward London, giving out by the way, that the

Marqueis and the Queens Kindred had plotted

the destruction of the King, and of all the an-
cient Nobility of the Realm, and to alter the

Government of the Common-wealth; and that

they were only imprisoned to be brought to

t heir trial according to Law: And the bet-
ter to settle these fuggelions in the apprehen-

sion of the Vulgar, they brought along with

them divers Cartes laden with Armour, (of "heir

own providing) with Dry-fats and great Cheifs,

wherein they reported to be Treafure for the

payment of Souldiers; with which they to po-

tleft the common people, that all was belived

for truth which was thus rumored: But the

King was always of all ways, to have five of the

Duke of Glocefier's instruments manacled and

pinioned like Trayers; and thefe in every

place where the King lodged, to be dispersed

and given out to be men of great birth, drawn

into this vile plot of Treafon by the Queens

Brother: who much feem to be penitent for

their offence, and to confefs their own guilt:

And this device continued acting till the King

came to London, where their Vizards were pul-

led off, and the difguife was soon discovered.

The Queen in the mean time having intelli-
gence of thefe doleful accidents, and fearing

there were worse to follow; with her fecond

Son and five Daughters takes Sanctuary at

Welfminifter: and the young King hearing of

these things, with tears and lights exprefied his

grief: but the Dukes making protestation of

their fidelity, and care of his safety, seemed

only to marvail why he should be melan-

choly.

At this time a meffenger came from the

Lord Chamberlain to the Archbishop of York,

Lord Chancellour of England, to humble to

him, that there was no fear of any thing, for

that he affured him all should be well. Well

(quoth the Archbishop) be it as well as it will;

I affure him, it will never be fo well as we

have feen it. And thereupon, prefently after

the meffengers departure, he calleth up his

Servants (being then in the night) and taking

the great Seal with him, came before day to

the Queen, whom he found tting alone on the

Rufhes, all defolate and dismayed, whom he

conforted the bet he could; affuring her, that

if they Crowned any King but her Son, whom

they had with them, he would prefently after

Crown his Brother whom he had with her; and

therewithal delivering to her the Great

Seal, departed: but soon after bethinking him-

self better, he thought he had done too rashly:

to deliver the Great Seal to the Queen; and

therefore fent for it again, and had it delivered

him: yet shortly after, reproofed for deliver-

ing it, by the Council Table, he had it taken

from him, which was then delivered to Doctor

Raffet, Bishop of Lincoln, the moft learned man

of that time.

And now the Duke of Glocefier foreseepive-

ly carries himself towards the King, with fo

much fiew of care and faithfulness, that by a

general confent of the Council, he is appoint-

ed and eftablidh Protector of the King and

Kingdom; and by this means, he hath the

King in his custody: It remains now, how to

give his Brother the Duke of York; for without

having both, he were as good (as to his pur-

pofe) have neither: And to effect this, he

makes
makes the effect to become a cause; for whereas by his undue dealings, he had made the King melancholy, he now makes that Melancholy a cause to require his Brothers company to make him merry; and therefore wishes some course may be taken, either by persuasion or other wife, to procure the Queen to send the Duke of York to keep his Brother the King company.

Here the Archbishop of York, the Lord Cardinal, the man thought most fit to be sent in this employment, rife up and faith, he would do his best endeavour to persuade her; but if he could not, he then thought it was not to be attempted against her will, for that it would turn to the high displeasure of God, if the privilege of that holy place should now be broken, which had so many years inviably been kept, which both Kings and Popes so good, had granted, so many had confirmed, and which holy ground was more than five hundred years ago, by Sain Peter in his own person, accompanied with great numbers of Angels by night, so specially hallowed and dedicated to God; and for proof whereof, there is yet in the Abby, St. Peter's Cope to shew; that from that time thitherward, there never was so undeavour a King, that durst violate that sacred place, nor so holy a Bishop that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore (faith he) God forbid, that any man, for any earthly thing, should enterprise to break the immunity, and liberty of that sacred Sanctuary: and I trust with God's Grace, we shall not need it, at least my endeavours shall not be wanting, if the Mothers dread and womanish fear be not the ler. Womanish fear, nay womanish frowndness, (quoth the Duke of Buckingham) for I dare take it upon my Soul, the welle- knowneth there is no need of any fear, either for her Son, that is shut up, and prosecuting his discourse, declareth at large, that as there was no just cause for the Queen to keep her Son, so there was great cause for them to require him; and that for breach of Sanctuary in this cause there could be none; for that he had often heard of Sanctuary men, but never heard of Sanctuary Children. And to this purpose having spoken much, it was well attested to by the Lords that were present, and with this Interdiction is the Archbishop (upon whom the Queen specially relied) sent unto her; who after humble salutations, acquaints her with his Message, earnestly persuading her not to oppose the Lord Protectors request, and giving her many reasons, first that she ought not, and then that she could not keep him in Sanctuary. She answered all his reasons, though with great mildness, yet with great earnestness, so as the Archbishop finding little hope to prevail with her by persuasion, turns the tenor of his speech another way; telling her plainly, that if she did not consent to send her Son, he doubted some sharper course would speedily be taken. This warning faink do deep into the Queens minde, that after a little pausing, taking her Son by the hand, she said, My Lord Archbishop, here he is, for my own part I will never deliver him; but if you will have him, take him, and at your hands I will require him; and there with weeping bitterly, Dear Child (faith she) let me kiss thee, before we part. God knows whether ever we shall meet again: and so the Child weeping as fast as she, went along with the Archbishop to the Star-Chamber, where the Lord Protector and other Lords had all staid the while looking for his coming back: and as soon as he was enter the Room, the Protector rifting the Child, rife up and embraceth him, saying, "Dear Nephew, now welcome with all my heart, next to my Sovereign Lord your Brother, nothing gives me to much contentment as your presence: and we may believe him, he spake as he thought; for now he had the prey which he so much desired. A few days after, pretending to have them lodged in a place of more security, until the diftempers of the Common-wealth might better be quitted; he causeth them in great pomp and state, to be conveyed through the City to the Tower, there at pleasure to remain, till the time of Coronation; whereof there was great fprew of preparation made.

But now the great work is to be done, the Protectors fray to the two Princes, and to be made away; and how to have it done, How opus, hoc labor est: there must be potent Instruments, and none so potent as the Duke of Buckingham; and he, by a match to be concluded between their Children, and an equal partition of the Treasures of the Realm between them two; not only is drawn to confide, but is most forward to contrive and plot intrigues to effect it. The first rub in the way was the Lord Hastings; who being found to fam his old Master King Edward's Sons, that nothing could remove him, it was fit to remove him out of the way; which was done in this manner: All the Lords of the Privy Council, in the Protectors name, are convened to the Tower, where they are convened, for the Coronation of the young King, are propofed, until the Protector came in; who taking his Chair, very affably faught them, merrily jefting with some, and more then ordinarily pleasant with them all: when after a little talk, he said to the Bishop of Ely; My Lord, I hear you have very good Strawberries at your Garden in Holborn; I pray let us have a meaf of them: Mott gladly saith the Bishop) and presently fent for some: And then the Protector rising up, prayed the Lords to spare his absence a little; and so departed. Within the space of an hour he returned; but so changed in countenance, and with fuch inward perturbations, which with fighings and other affoniante gestures he exprefied, that it made them all to marvail. After long silence (the better to prepare them to the more attention) he conffrup, What they deferred that nefariously had practis'd his destruction? This unexpected interrogation struck such amazement amongst the Lords, that they all fate gazing on one another, and were as it were, trick-en dumb. At length the Lord Hasting, by Buckingham's intertation, as one presuming of his intimacy with the Protector, boldly anwcr'd, that they deferred the punishment of Traytors; which all the reft by their silence approved: Whereat the Protector rifer up, and with a ferious look upon the Lord Hasting, replied: Why is it the old Sorecars my Bro-
thers Widow, and her partner that common
Strumpet Jane Shore, that have by incarnation
conspired to bereave me of my life: and though
by God's Grace I have escaped the end of their
malice, yet see the mischief they have done me;
for behold (and then he bared his left
arm to the elbow, and shewed it) how they
have caus'd this dear limb of mine to wither,
and make it bleed; and for should all my body
have been serv'd; if they might have had
their will a little longer. Tho' to whom the
Queens Religious courses were not unknown,
and who knew his withered arm to have been
such from his birth, fain gazing one upon anoth-
er, not knowing what to think or say; till the
Lord Hastings, thinking thereby to leave all
blame upon the Queen, and excuse his Paramour
Miftris Shore,(whom ever since the death
of King Edward he had entertain'd for his
bed-fellow, and had but that morning parted
from) her with a sober look submissively said,
If the Queen have conspired—that which word
was no sooner out of the Lord Hastings mouth, then
the Protector clapping his hand upon the
board, and frowningly looking upon him, said:
Tellst thou me of If and And? I tell thee,
They, and none but they have done it; and
thou thy self art partaker of the willany. Who
is, my Lord, quoth he? Yeas thou Travtou,quoth
the Protector, and不应e, his hand. God be thanked
that time is past. In faith man, said the Lord
Hastings, I never stood in fo great dread of
life; as I did when thou and I met here; and
lo, how the world is changed! Now stand
my Enemies in the danger, as thou mayest hap to
hear hereafter: (for the Enemies he meant,
were the Lord Rivers, and others of the Queens
Kindred, who that very day were beheaded at
Pomfret) and I never so mirmery, nor in so good
furety as now I am. That we may know, there
is nor a greater Omen or sign of ill fortune,then
to prepare of good. And indeed, such is the
uncertainty of our estate in this life, that we
feldom know when we are in a tempell at Sea,
nor when we are in a Calm on Shore; thinking
our felves oftentimes most safe, when we are
most in danger; and oftentimes to be in dan-
ger, when we are most safe: He only is in the
true Haven that can say, as Chrift teacheth us,
They will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven:

The Lord
Hastings is
beheaded.

His report
of Privileges
and Wirings.
made one that was Schoolmaster of Paul’s standing by when the Proclamation was read, to say, Here is a gay godly calf; for all away for hoist; To whom a Merchant answered, It was written by Preists. And now by and by it were in revenge of her offence, the Protecor sent the Sheriffs of London into the house of Shore’s Wife, and spoiled her of all her Goods, above the value of three thouend Marks; and then conveying her through London and the Tower, there left her prisoner; where he laid to her charge, that she went about to bewitch him, and was of counsel with the Lord Hoffsings to destroy him. In conclusion she was laid into Lud- gate, and by the Bishop of London put to open Penance for Incontinency; going before the Crofs in Procession upon a Sunday, with a Taper in her hand: in which, although she were out of all array, save her Kirtle only; yet went she the faire and lovely, and withal so womanly and demurely, that many who hated her course of life, yet pitied her course usage, and were not a little grievous to see her misery. And indeed, this may be said in her behalf, that being in extraordinary favour with King Edward, yet she the never used it to the hurt of any, but to the relief of many: and was ever a Mediator, an Orator.

Now it was so contrived by the Protecor, that the very day in which the Lord Hoffsings was beheaded at London, and about the very fame hour, there were beheaded at Pomfret, the Lord Rivers, and the other Lords and Knights that were taken from the King at Northampton and Stony Stratford; which was done in the presence, and by the Order of Sir Richard Ratcliff Knight, whose service the Protecor specially used in that business; who bringing them to the Scaffold, and not suffering them to declare their innocence, left their words might have inclined men to hate the Protecor, calcium them hastily without Judgement or Order of Process to be beheaded.

When these were thus rid out of the way, then thought the Protecor, that now was the time to put himself in possession of the Crown: but all the study was, by what means this matter being fainght then left, might be broken to the people, in such wise as that it might be well taken: for what purpose it was thought fit to call this Counsell Edmund Shaw Knight, the then Mayor of London; who upon promise of advancement, should frame the peoples inclination to it. And because spiritual men are best hearkened to, for matters of Conscience, some of them were used also; amongst whom, choice was made of John Shaw Clerk, Brother to the Mayor; Fryer Penker, Provincial of the Order of the Angelline Fryers; both great Preachers, both of more learning than vertue, of more fame than learning. These two were appointed to preach, the one at Paul’s Crofs, the other at the Spittle, in praife of the Protecor: Penker in his Sermon fo loft his voice, that he was fain to leave off and come down in the midst: Shaw by his Sermon loft his reputation; and soon after his life, for he never after durft converse, for the very fame of the world.

But now was all the labour and study, to finde out some convenient pretext, for which the people should be content to have the Prince depofed, and the Protecor be received for King; to which purpose many things were devised; the chief was to allege Bastardy either in King Edward himself, or in his Children, or in both. To lay Bastardy to the Protecor, opened founded to the reproach of the Protecor’s own Mother, who was Mother to them both; he would therefore that point should more favourably be handled: but the other point concerning the Bastardy of his Children, he believed was effectual to the uttermost: The ground whereof was, that King Edward had been formerly contracted to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, by whom he had a Child; though the said Lady, having been examined about it, confessed plainly, they were never affured. Yet upon this pretext, Doctor Shaw taking for his Text, Bastard Plants shall take no deep root; in his Sermon declared, that King Edward was never lawfully married to the Queen, but was before God, Husband to the Lady Elizabeth Lucie, and to his Children Bastards. And besides that, neither King Edward himself, nor the Duke of Clarence were reckoned very fit for the Children of the noble Duke Richard, as those that by their favours more resembled other known Men; but the Lord Protector (fait he) is the Father own figure, his own counsels, his own voice, the very print of his visage, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke. Now, it was before devised, that just at the speaking of these words, the Protecor should have come, to the end that these words meeting with his presence, might be taken among the hearers, as though the Holy Ghost had put him in the Preachers mouth, and so should move the people even then to cry King Richard; King Richard! that might be alter said, he was specially chosen by God, and in a manner by Miracles: But this device failed; for whether by to Protecors slackness in coming, or the Doctors haste in preaching, he had pass’d those words, and was gone clean to another matter before the Protecor came; so as afterward seeing him come, he was fain to leave the matter he had in hand, and out of all order and frame began to frame other words; and this is the very noble Prince, the Father own figure, his own counsels, the very print of his visage, the plain express likeness of that noble Duke. While these words were in speaking, the Protecor accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, pass’d through the people into the place where the Doctors set; and there fain to hear the Sermon: But the people were so far from crying King Richard, that they cried name on the Preacher, for abusing his sacred Function with so shameful a Sermon.

The Tuesday following this Sermon, the Duke of Buckingham with divers Lords and Knights came to the Guildhall in London; and there before the Mayor and whole assembly of Citizens, made a very solemn and long Oration, wherein he recited many grievances of the late King Edward’s Government; his many unnecessary Communications and unjust forfeitures; and therefore to bring his Children to the Crown, and then remembered them of the late Sermon made at Paul’s Crofs; by a learned Doctor; who clearly...
clearly shewed the Bastardy of King Edward's Children; and that Richard Duke of Gloucester was the only rightful and indubitable Heir to the Crown of England: which the Lords of the Kingdom having taken into their consideration, had thereupon agreed to accept him for their King; and now himself was come to acquaint them with it, and to require their consents. Which oration ended, all men stood wondering at the motion, but no man offered to speak a word. At which the Duke, marvelling, as supposing the Mayor had prepared them before; he asked the Mayor privately, what this silence meant? who answered, that perhaps they had not heard or understood what it was he said. Whereupon the Duke with a more audible voice repeated the same matter again, in a more earlent and plain expression; yet neither did that move them to fly any inclination to the motion. Then the Duke whispering with the Mayor, it was thought that the Citizens being used to have such motions made them by their Recorder, they would better hear it from him; and thereupon the Recorder is commanded to move them in it: but the Recorder (called Fitzwilliams) being an honest man, and newly come to his place, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last the Duke seeing their resolved fullness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to choose the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would join with them in this choice or no. At this, certain fervants of the Duke, and other of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, call up their Caps, and cried aloud, King Richard, King Richard; whereas, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelling what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence. At last the Duke seeing their resolved fullness, told them plainly, that all the Nobility and Commons of the Realm were agreed to choose the Protector for their King, as the true and undoubted Heir; so as he needed not to have moved them to it, but only for the great respect they all bear to this honourable City; and therefore required them plainly to speak their minds, whether they would join with them in this choice or no. At this, certain fervants of the Duke, and other of their procuring, standing at the lower end of the Hall, call up their Caps, and cried aloud, King Richard, King Richard; whereas, though the whole multitude of Citizens marvelling what they meant; yet the Duke taking advantage of it, repeated only as near as he could the words of the Duke, but added nothing of his own; so as neither did this move the people to break their silence.

The next morning according to appointment, they all meet at Baynard's Castle; where the Duke of Buckingham lends up word to the Lord Protector, that himself with the Lord Mayor and his Brethren, were come to present a supplication to him, concerning a business of great importance: But the Protector (though pre-acquainted with all passagers, yet) made it strange what their supplication should be; and answered, that though he suspected nothing which the Duke of Buckingham presented to him, yet he desired at least some flight intimation to what might tend. To this it was answered, that the business they came about was to be made known to himself in person; and therefore humbly besought him of admittance in his presence. Upon this, as it was seen well assured of their meaning towards him, he appeared unto them in an upper Gallery, making semblance as though he would prevent all danger, by standing something aloof and in his Fort: To whom the Duke of Buckingham, in behalf of the Mayor and Nobility there present, in most respectful and reverent manner makes request, that his Grace would pardon what he should deliver to him: and much circumstance he used, before he would discover their cause of coming: but though long, still, yet as last he told it: That in respect of the urgent necessities of the Commonwealth, they all humbly intreated him to take upon him the Government of the Kingdom, as in his own right, to whom all rendered their Allegiance. At which words, the Protector starting back, as if he had heard something most unpleasant to hearing him, palely answered: I little thought, good Citizens, that any of all men would have moved me to a matter which is to things in the world I most decline: Far be it from me to accept of that, which without apparent wrong to my dearest deceased Brothers sweet Children, and my own upright Consciece, I cannot well approve of. And then being about to proceed in this premeditated dissimulation; the Duke in a seeming abrupt passion, kneeling upon his knee, said: Your Grace was pleased to give me free liberty to deliver unto you in the name of this worthy assembly the tender of their dutiful obedience to you: but I must further add, that it is unanimously resolved on, that your late Brother King Edward's Children, as being generally known to be illegitimate, shall never be admitted to the Crown of England; and therefore if your Grace shall neither regard your self nor us so much, as to accept it, we are directly determined to continue you, till the House of Lancaster, that will be more fit for unto our own and our good. These words wrought so powerfully upon the Protector's passions, that with some change of countenance, and not without seeming relutuation, he said: Since I perceive the whole Realm is so resolved, by no means to admit my dear Nephews, being but Children, to reign over you; and seeing the Right of succession belongs justly to me, as the indubitable Heir of Richard Plantagenet Duke of York, my illustrious Father: We are contented to confedend to your importunities, and to accept of the Royal Government of the Kingdom, and will, to the uttermost of my power, endeavour to procure and maintain the welfare thereof. And having so said, he came down from his Gallery, and very formally, prevailed them all: which so pleased the golden multitude, that presently they fell to acclamations, Long live King Richard our dread Sovereign Lord! and then every man departed.
The REIGN of
KING RICHARD
THE THIRD.

1483.

It was now the eighteenth day of June, in the year 1483, when Richard Duke of Gloucester took upon him the Crown: so as the imaginary Reign of Edward the fifth continued but just ten weeks. The next day, King Richard with a great train went to Westminster Hall, and placed himself in the Court of the Kings Bench, saying, he would take the Crown upon him in that place where the King himself sittest and ministrith the Law; because he considered that it is the chiefest duty of a King to administer the Laws: And here to get the love of the people by a feigned clemency, he sent for one Foger out of Sanctuary, who for his falseness and treachery was fled thither; and there in the sight of all the people, caused him to kis his hand.

After his return home, he took to Wife the Lady Anne, youngest Daughter of the great Warwicke, and the relict of Prince Edward, Son of Henry the sixth, though the could not be ignorant, that he had been the Author both of her Husband's and Fathers death. But women affections are Eccentric to common apprehension; whereas the two Poles are Paffion and Indifference.

Against his Coronation he had sent for five thousand men out of the North; and these being come under the leading of Robin Riddifdale, upon the fourth of July; together with his new Bride, he went from Beaufort Castle to the Tower by water, where he created Edward his Son a childe of ten years old, Prince of Wales; John LordHoward Duke of Norfolk, his Son Sir Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey; William Lord Berkeley Earl of Nottingham; Francis Lord Lovel Viscount Lover and his Chamberlain, and the Lord Stanley (who had been committed prisoner to the Tower, in regard his Son the Lord Strange was reported to have levied Forces in Lancashire) not only that day was releifed out of Prifon, but was made Lord Steward of his Household. The Archbishop of York was likewise then delivered; but Morton Bishop of Ely (as one that could not be drawn to the delinquenting of King Edward's Children) was committed to the Duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his Castle of Brokewick in Wales, there to be in custody. The same night were made seventeen Knights of the Bath, Edmund the Duke of Suffolk's Son, George Gray the Earl of Kent Son, William the Lord Zouches Son, Henry Abbercoven, Christopher Willoughby, Henry Barnington, Thomas Arundel, Thomas Boleyn, Gervas Clifton, William Say, Edmund Bedingfield, William Enderby, Thomas Lewkenor, Thomas of Ormond, John Brown, and William Berckley. The next day, being the fifth of July, the King rode through the City of London to Westminster, being accompanied with the Dukes of Norfolk Buckingham, and Suffolk; the Earls of Northumberland, Arundel, Kent, Surrey, Wiltshire, Huntingdon, Nottingham, Warwick, and Lincoln; the Vicounts Life, and Level, the Lords Stanley, Audley, Darres, Ferrers of Chartley, Powis, Scrop of Upoale, Scrop of Bolton, Gray of Cadmor, Gray of Pitton, Stuart, Calham, Morley, Burgavens, Zouch, Ferrers of Cropby, Wells, Lumley, Materoves, Herberts and Beckham, and fourscore Knights. On the morrow, being the sixth of July, the King, with Queen Anne his Wife, came down out of the White Hall, into the great Hall at Westminster, and went directly to the Kings Bench; and from thence, going upon Ray-cloth, bare-footed, went to St. Edward's Shrine, all his Nobility going with him, every Lord in his degree. The Bishop of Richfetter bore the Cros before the Cardinal: Then followed the Earl of Huntingdon, bearing a pair of gilt Spurs, signifying Knighthood. Then followed the Earl of Bedford, bearing St. Edward's Staff for a Relicf; After him came the Earl of Northumberland bare-headed, with the pointlefs Sword in his hand, signifying Mercy: The Lord Stanley bare the Mace of Contibution: The Earl of Kent bare the second Sword, on the right hand of the King, naked, with a point; which signified Justice to the Temporality: The Lord Lover bore the third Sword on the Kings left hand, with a point, which signified Justice to the Clergy: The Duke of Suffolk followed with the Scepter in his hand, which signified Peace: The Earl of Lincoln bore the Ball and Crosses, which signified Monarchy: The Earl of Surrey bore the fourth Sword before the King, in a rich Scabbard; which is called the Sword of Estable: Then went three together; in the midst went Garter King of Arms, in his rich Coat; and on his right hand went the Mayor of London, bearing a Mace; and on his left hand went the Gentleman-Usher of the Privy Chamber: Then followed the Duke of Norfolk, bearing the Kings Crown between his hands: Then followed King Rich-ard
2.27

The Reign of King Rich ard the Third.

...chard in his robes of purple velvet, and over his head a canopy, borne by four barons of the cinque-ports; and on each side of the king went a bishop; on one side the bishop of bath; on the other of durham; then followed the duke of buckingham, bearing the kings train, with a white staff in his hand, signifying the office of high steward of england. then followed the queen's train; before whom was born the steeper, the ivories, the dove, sir john corbet, miss灵活性 and the crown; her felt apparelled in robes like the kings, under a rich canopy, at every corner thereof a bell of gold; on her head wore a circlet, set full of precious stones, the countes of richmond bearing her train; the duchesses of norfolk and suffolk in their coronets, attending, with twenty ladies of estate most richly attired. in this order they passed the palace into the abbey: and going up to the high altar, there shifted their robes; and having other robes open in divers places from the middle upward, were both of them anointed and crowned: and then after the sacrament received, (having the host divided between them) they both offered to st. edward's shrine, where the king left st. edward's crown, where with he had been crowned, and put on his own: and this done, in the same order and state as they came, they returned with his façade, and there held a most princely feast: at the second course whereof, there came into the hall sir richard dymock the kings champion, making proclamation, that who soever would say that king richard was not lawful king of england, he was there ready to prove it against him; and thereupon threw down his gantlet; and then all the hall cried, king richard, king richard. and thus with some other ceremonies the coronation ended; and the king and queen returned to their lodgings.

Preferently after this, king richard sent a solemn ambassador to lewis king of france, to conclude a league and amity with him: but the french king did abhorre him and his cruelty, that he would not to much as see, or hear his ambassadors; but sent them away with shame, in digresse of their matter.

At this time, with his queen, he made a progress to glossefer, under colour to visit the place of his old regne, but indeed to be out of the way, having a special villany to be effecte: for though he had satisfied his ambition, by depoying his dear nephews of their liveloods; yet it satisfied not his fear, if he deprived them not also of their lives. for effect whereof, his old friend the duke of buckingham was no fit instrument; it must be one of a bafer metal: and to finde out such a one, he needed not go far; for upon inquiry, he was told of two that lay in the next chamber to him; sir thomas and sir james tyrrell, two brothers like jacob and efan, not more near in blood then different in conditions; of equal goodlines of perfowage both, but not of equal goodness of minds; sir thomas a man of an honest and sober disposition; but sir james of a turbulent spirit, and one who gaping after preferment, would not fiek to make a fortune out of any villany. being told of this man as he was lying at the close-stool, he presently rose and went to him: where being met, the match is soon made up between them; for he found sir james more ready to undertake the work, than he was himself to fet him about it. truly remising to procure him free passage to the place where the work was to be done: for king richard had formerly sent a trusty private of his named john green, to sir robert brackenbury then lieutenant of the tower, thinking that he, having been raised by itself, would not have refused to do the deed himself; but when he heard how averse he was from it, good lord (sith he) whom may a man trust? once he few plainly, that whilest he was lieutenant, there was no possibility to effect it. to remove therefore this rub, he sends his letters mandatory to brackenbury, to deliver presently the keys of the tower to sir james tyrrell, who being now lieutenant for the time, and having the two innocent princes under his custody, gets two other, as very villains as himself; the one miles forrest, the other jame digbition, his horle-keeper, a big lurdy knave: and thence he makes his under-agents; who coming into the children's chamber in the night, (for they were suffered to have none about them, but one black will, or william slaughting a bloody rafcal) they suddenly lapped them from their clothes and keeping down by force the feather-bed and pillows hard under their mouths, so filled them, that their breath failing they gave up their innocent souls to god: whom when the murderers perceived, first by their struggling with the pains of death, and then by their long lying still, to be throughly dead; they laid their bodies out upon the bed, and then fetched sir james to see them; who presently caus'd their bodies to be buried under the stairs, under a heap of stones: from whence they were afterward removed to a place of christian burial, by a prieft of sir robert brackenbury; who dying within a few days after, and none knowing the place but himself, was caute that it hath not been known to this day; and gave occasion afterwards to the imposture of perkins warbeck in king henry the sevenths reign. some report that king richard caus'd their bodies to be taken up, and closed in them lead, and then to be put in a coffin full of holes, hooked at the ends with iron, and to cast into a place called the black deeps, at the thames mouth; to be sure they should never rise up, nor be seen again. and now see the divine revenge upon the actors of this execrable murth: miles forrest, at st. martins le grand, piecemeal rot- tied away: digbition liv'd at colles a long time after; but deteled of all men, died in great misery: sir james tyrrell was beheaded afterward on the tower hill for treason; and king richard himself, after this abominable fact done, never had a quiet minde, troubled with fearful dreams; and would sometimes in the night start out of his bed, and run about the chamber in great fright, as if all the furies of hell were raging about him: that it was verified in him, ultime tresiphone verna against facs fono wera.

Confederacies in evil are seldom long-lived, G 2 and
and commonly end in a reciprocal destructi-
on: and so was it now with King Richard and
the Duke of Buckingham; They had confeder-
ated together to the destruction of many;
and now their confederacy dissoves in both
their ruines: but what the caufe was of their
disnothing, is not so certain: we believe it was
that the Duke thought not himself so well re-
warded, as his great services had deferved; or
whether it were, that King Richard thought
not himself absolute King, as long as the Duke,
whose means he came to be King, was in such a
height of greatness; or whether it were (as
was rather thought) that the Duke being a man
ambitious, and of an aspiring spirit; though
he had himself been the means to bring King
Richard to the Crown; yet when the Crown
was put upon his head, so envied at it, that he
turned his head another way, as not enduring
the figh; and for the fame caufe, was willing
not to have been prefent at the Coronation,
pretending fickness in excufe of his absence:
but that King Richard lent him a sharp meetlage,
requiring him to come, or he would fetch him:
whereupon the Duke went, but with fo ill a
minde, that he bore it in minde ever after.
Whatever it was, certain it is, that prefently
after the Coronation, there grew great jealou-
sies between them, and the Duke retired him-
self to his Castle at Brifkwicke, where he had
the Bishop of Ely in cuftody; here we may obferve
the unearchable depth of the Di-
vine Providence; the bottom whereof,
the foundeft judgement of man can never found,
as working effects by contrary caufes: for where
King Richard had committed the Bishop to the
Duke, as to one that would have a moft watch-
fuleye over him; this which the King did for
the Bifhops greater punishment, proved a
means afterward of the Bifhops greater ad-
vancement, and a means at the prefent of King
Richards ruine: for the Duke being retired
home, and having his head fo full of thoughts,
of necffity it required vent; for his own
recreation, would sometimes fall in talk with the
Bifhop; with whole discourse (as he was a man
of great wit and solid judgement) the
Duke was fo taken, that he grew to delight in
nothing more than to be conferring with him.
One time it happened that the Duke had open-
ened his minde something freely to him, and the
Bifhop following him in his owne way, and cu-
ningly working upon that humour of the Duke,
which he found moft working in the Duke;
which he perceived to grow out of envy to
King Richard, he faid to this purpofe: My
Lord, you know I followed firft the part of
King Henry the Sixth, and if I could have had
my wife, his Son fhould have had the Crown,
and not King Edward: But after that God had
ordained King Edward to Reign, I was never fo
mad, that I would with a dead man strife against
the quick. And fo was I to King Edward also
a faithful Chaplain, and glad would have been
that his Childe had fecceeded him: Howbeit,
if the fecret Judgement of God have otherwife
provided, I purpofe not to labour to fet up that
which God pulleth down. And as for the Lord
Protector, and now King;—and even there
he left: faying, he had already medil too

much with the world; and would from that
day meddle with his Books and his Beads, and
no further. Then longed the Duke exceedingly
to hear what he would have faid; be-
caufe he ended with the King, and there sud-
ddenly ftopped; and thereupon intreated him to
be bold to fay whatsoever he thought: where-
of he faithfully provifed there should never
come hurt, and pereadventure more good than
he would think; and withal, that himself pre-
tended to ufe his fecret counfels; which (he faid)
was the onely caufe for the which he had
procured of the King to have him in his cufto-
dy. The Bifhop humbly thanked him, and
faid, In good faith my Lord, I love not to talk
much of Princes, as a thing not all out of pe-
ril, though the word be without fault; for so
much as it fhall not be taken as the party meant
it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to continue it.
And ever I think on AEsop's Tale, that when
the Lion had proclaimed on pain of death, that
no horned Beafh fhould abide in a certain
Wood; one that had in his forehead a bunch of
feath, fled away a great pace; the Fox that
faw him run fo fay, asked him whither he made
all that halfe? who anfwered, In faith I neither
wot nor reck, for I were once hence, because of
the Proclamation made of horned Beasts: Why
fool (quoth the Fox) thou myfelf abide well
enough, it may be in thee, for it is no horn that is in thy head: Now if thou
be) that wot I well enough; but what if he
call it a horn, where am I then? The Duke
laughed at the Tale, and faid: My Lord, I
warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boar
shall pick any matter at any thing here spoken;
for it fhall never come near their ear. Then
faid the Bifhop, In good faith Sir, if it did, the
thing I was about to fay, taken as well as afore
God I meant it, could delerve but thanks; and
yet taken as I ween it would, might happen
to turn me to little good, and you to lefs.
Then longed the Duke much more, to hear what it was: whereupon the Bishop faid, My Lord, as
for the late Prote&or, fith he is now King in
poftition, I purpofe not to difpute his title:
but for the weal of the Realm, I could with
him in thofe excellent virtues which God
hath planted in the perfon of your Grace; and
there left again. The Duke now that marvel-
ing at this sudden paufe, faid, My Lord, I cannot
not but note your sudden flopping in your speech, fo as your words come not to anydirec-
tsentence, whereby I may have knowledge, ei-
ther what your inward intent is now toward the
King, or what your affection is toward me: I
therefore intreat you to ufe no more such ob-
scurity but plainly to difclove your minde un-
to me, who upon mine honour will be as secret
in the cafe, as the dead and dumb perfon is to
the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bi-
shop then upon confidence of the Dukes pro-
mife, faid, My Lord, I plainly perceive, the
Kingdom being in the cafe as it is, under fuch a
King as now we have, mutt needs decay and be
brought to confufion; but one hope I have,
that when I consider and daily behold your no-
bile Perfonage, your Juflice, your ardent Love
towards your Country, and in like manner the
great love of your Country towards you: I

The Duke
of Bucking-
am pletes
with Merion
Bishop
of Ely, to put
down King
Richard and
the Earl of
Richmond.
must needs think this Realm fortunate, that hath such a Prince in theire, meer and apt to be a Governor; in whose person confifteth the very undoubted Image of true honour. And then taxing the preferd King with many cruelties and oppressions, he concluded, saying And now my Lord, if either you love God, your Lineage, or your native Countrey, you must your self take upon you the Crown and Imperial Dignity: But if your self will not, I dare not. But if your self will take it upon you, I then adjure you, by the faith you own to God, and by the love you bear to your native Countrey, to devise some way how the Realm may by your Princely Policy be reduced to some convenient regiment, under some good Governor by you to be appointed: And if you could devise to set up again the Lineage of Lancaster, or advance the eldest Daughter of King Edward to some puissant Prince: not only the new Crowned King should little enjoy the glory of his Dignity, but all Civil War should ceaze, and Peace and Profite should again flourish. When the Bishop had ended his sayings, the Duke fighed, and spoke not of a good while; which fore abated the Bishop, and made him change colour; which the Duke perceivd, he said, Be not afraid my Lord, all promsies shall be kept; so for that time they parted. The next day the Duke went for the Bishop, and having rehearsed unto him the communication that had beene before, he went on and said, My Lord of Ely, since I perceive your true heart and sincere affection toward me, I will now discover unto you all that hath paffed my own imaginations. After I had found the diffillation and fallence of King Richard, and especially after I was informed of the mother of the two young Princes, to which (God be my judge) I never confedered; I so much abhorred the light, and much more the company of him, that I could no longer abide in his Court; but being a caufe to depart, I took my leave of him, (he thinking nothing left, than that I was displeased,) and so returned to Brecknock to you; but in that returning, whether it were by inspiration, or else through some melancholic distinction, I had divers imaginations how to deprive this unnatural and bloody Butter of his Royal Seat and Dignity. First, I fantasied, that if I lift to take upon me the Crown, now was the time, when this Tyrant was abhorred and detested of all men; and knowing not of any that could pretend Title before me: In this imagination I relifted two daies at Tewkesbury; in my journey from thence, I mused and thought, that it was not best nor convenient to take upon me as a Conquerour, for then I was sure that all men, and specially the Nobility would oppose me; but at last there sprung up a branch in my head, which I surely thought would have brought forth fair flowers, but they turned indeed to dry weeds: for I suddenly remembered that the Lord Edmund Duke of Somerset, my Grandfather, was with King Henry the Sixth, in two or three degrees of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster: so that I thought certainly, my Mother being eldest Daughter to Duke Edmund, that I was next Heir to King Henry the faith, of the Houfe of Lancaster: This Title pleased well such as I made of my Council, and much more it elevated my ambitious intent; but while I was in a maze, whether I were left suddenly to set this Title open amongst the Common people, or else keep it secreat a while, see what chance: As I rode between Worcestcr and Bridgemorth I met with the Lady Margery Countess of Richmord, now Wife to the Lord Stanly, who is the Daughter and Heir to John Duke of Somerset, my Grandfathers elder Brother (which was as clean out of my mind, as if I had never seen her) so that she and her Son the Earl of Richmord have both of them Titles before mine; and then I clearly saw how I was deceived: whereupon I determined, utterly to relinquish all such fantastical imaginations concerning the obtaining the Crown my self; and found there could be no better way to settle it in a true ettablifhment, than that the Earl of Richmord, very Heir of the Houfe of Lancaster, should take to Wife the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward, the very Heir of the Houfe of York; so that the two Roses may be united in one: and now (faith the Duke) I have told you my very minde. When the Duke had faid this, the Bishop was not a little glad, for this was the mark he had himselfe aimed at: and thereupon, after some complements of exolging his device, he faiid: Since by your Graces incomparable wisdom, this noble conjunction is now moved; it is in the next place necessary to consider, what friends we shall first make privy of this intention. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with the Countezes of Richmord the Earls Mother; who knoweth where he is, either in Captivity, or at large in Britaine. And thus was the foundation laid of a League, by these two great men; by which the death of the two young Princes was fully revenged: and it was not told of only, but presently put in execution; for now is Reynold Bray employed by the Bishop, to his Miftris the Dutchefe of Richmord; Doctor Lewis the Dutchefles Phyfician was employed by her to the Queen Elizabeth; Hugh Convey and Thomas Rame were employed to the Earl of Richmord to acquaint them, but in most secret manner, with the intended plot, and to procure their promises to the proposed marriage; which was no hard matter to make them all willing to their own wishes. This doctor, Instrumentes are employed to draw in parties to the confederacy: Bray by his credit drew in Sir Giles Dawbery, Sir John Chynnym, Richard Gildford, Thomas Rowe, and others; Ursack like wise drew in Hugh Convey, Thomas Celappyer, Thomas Reper, with some others: Doctor Lewis drew in Edward Courteny and his Brother Peter Bishop of Exeter. It is memorable that Thomas Convey being sent most part by Sea, and Thomas Rame most part by Land; yet came to the Earl of Richmord in Britain, within the space of little more than an hour; upon whose information of the plot, the Earl acquaints the Duke of Britain with it, who, though by Hutton King Richard's Ambadoulour, he had by many great offers been solicited to detain him in priſon; yet he both readily promiséd, and really performed both his advice and
The Reign of King Richard the Third.

The Duke of Buckingham is aided by the Earl of Kent.

And he is beheaded.

The Judgment of God upon Bannister.

Bannister, in a fit transports, quite paddled over incontinently to the Earl of Richmond.

...and aid to the Earl of Richmond. In this mean time Bishop Morton, not without asking the Dukes leave, though without obtaining it, secretly in disguise, gets him into his life of Ely; and there having done the Earl good Offices by procuring of friendly Letters to Britain from thence returned no more; till afterward the Earl being King, sent for him home, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury.

But though all these things were carried closely, and Ooth taken by all for secrecy, yet came it to King Richard's knowledge: who notwithstanding dissembling it, sends for the Duke of Buckingham to come unto him; and he, putting off his coming with pretended excuses, is at last peremptorily sent for to come upon his Allegiance: when he returned this resolute answer: that he owed no Allegiance to such a perjured Ishumane Butcher of his own Flesh and Blood: and so from that time preparation for Arms is made on both sides. The Duke had a good power of Wellmen, and the Marquis of Dorset having gotten out of Sanctuary, was labouring in Yorkshire to raise Forces; the like did the two Courtyers in Dorsetshire and Cornwall, and Guilford and Rame in Kent. King Richard setting forward with his Forces, the Duke of Buckingham doth the like, intending to Glanfield to have appalled the Severn, and so to have joyned with the two Courtyers; but such abundance of rain at that time fell, that the Severn was broken out, and impossible to be passed over; which the Wellman seeing, and taking it for an ill sign, they secretly flight away: so as the Duke left well near alone, without either Page, or so much a Foot-man, repaired to the house of one Humfrey Bannister near to Shrewbury; who having been railed by him, and his Father before him; he thought himself safe under his roof: But Bannister upon Proclamation made by King Richard, that whosoever could apprehend the Duke, should have a thousand pound for his labour; like an ungrateful and perfidious wretch, discovered him to John Milton, High Sheriff of Shropshire, who took him in a pill'd black Cloak, as he was walking in an Orchard behind the house; and carried him to Shrewsbury, where King Richard then lay, and there without Arraignment or Legal proceeding, he was in the Market-place beheaded. Whether Bannister received the Proclaimed reward from the hand of the King, is uncertain; but certain it is, that he received the reward of a Villain from the hand of Divine Justice, for himself was afterward hanged for man-slaughter, his eldest Daughter was deflowered by one of his Carriers, or as some say, stricken with a foul Leprolie; his eldest Son in a desperate Laziness murthered himself, and was found to have done so, by the Coroners Inquest; and his younger Son in a small puddle was strangled and drowned.

Upon this disfarr of the Duke of Buckingham, his complices shifted for themselves; some taking Sanctuary, some keeping themselves in unknown places, but many conveyed themselves into Britain to the Earl of Richmond: of whom the Marquess Dorset, John Lord Welles, the Bishop of Exeter and his Brother Sir John Bannister, Sir Edward Woodville Brother to Queen Elizabeth, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir Giles Dunley, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Cheyne, and his two Brethren, Sir William Brackley, Sir William Brandon, and his Brother Thomas, Sir Richard Edgecumbe, Hollowell and Paynings Captains, were the chief. Whilest these things are in doing, King Richard receives intelligence from Hutton his Ambassador legate in Britain; that the Duke not only refused to refrain the Earl of Richmond, but intended also to give him affiance: whereupon the King took present order for preparing his Navy to stop the Earl landing in any Port of England. He apprehended also in divers parts of the Realm, certain Gentlemen of the Earl of Richmonds confederation; but coming himself to the City of Exeter, and to the Castle there, and understanding that it was called Rugemount, he suddenly fell into a dump, and as one attainted, said; Well, I see my days be not long: He spake this of a Prophecy told him, that when he came once to Richmond, he should not live long after: which fell out to be true, not in respect of this Castle, but in respect of Henry Earl of Richmond.

Upon the twelfth day of October, in the year 1484, the Earl of Richmond with forty Ships, and five thousand armed Britains took to Sea: but that evening by tempest of weather, his whole Fleet was dispersed; so as only the Ship wherein the Earl himself was, with one little Bark, was driven upon the Coast of Cornwall: where discovering upon the shore great store of armed Soldiers to rebut his landing, he hiofed Sail, and returning toward France, arrived in Normandy; whence sending Messengers to Charles the Eighth King of France, he was by him not only kindly invited to come to his Court, but was aided also with goodsummes of money to bear his charges. After this, the Earl returning into Britain, received there the news of the Duke of Buckingham's death, and the dispersing of the Confederates Forces; with which, though he was at first much troubled, yet was he as much comforted afterward, when he saw the Marquess Dorset, and those other Lords and Captains come unto him: soon after whole coming, upon Christmas day before the High Alter in the great Church of Rheims, the Earl of Richmond gave Oath, to marry the Lady Elizabeth, as soon as he should be quietly settle in the Government of England: and thereupon all the Lords and Knights there present did him homage; and in the same place each to other religiously vowing, taking the Sacrament upon it, never to cease professing War against King Richard, till either his Deposition or Destruction.

King Richard being informed of these things, makes diligent enquirey after all such as might be suspected to be favourers of Richard's afociation: of whom Sir George Brown, and Sir Roger Clifford with four other Gentlemen are apprehended, and executed at London: Sir Thomas Stiegel, who married Anne the Duke of Exeter's Widow, this King's own Sister, and Thomas Rame, Esquire were executed at Exeter.
The Earl having pulled this danger in Britain, and being arrived in France, addressed himself to the French king, imploring his aid; and hath it promised and performed: and in this time John V'st Earl of Oxford, who had long time been kept prisoner in the Castle of Hamburgh, so far prevailed with James Blunt, Captain of the Fortresses, and Sir John Fartford, Porter of the Town of Calais; that not only they suffered him to be at liberty, but accompanied him also to the Earl of Richmond, to whom Captain Blunt gave assurance that the Fortresses remained wholly at his Devotion. At this time also there referred to the Earl, divers young Gentlemen that were Students in the University of Paris, professing their service; amongst whom was Richard Fox, at that time famous for his learning; with whom after-ward the Earl advised in all his affairs, made him one of his most Privy Council, and at last Bishop of Winchester.

But now King Richard having been dispoin- pointed of his delight in Britain, hath applied in this manner in his head to disappoint the Earl of Rich- mond of his Marriage with the Daughter of Queen Elizabeth; and to this end, he sent to the Queen, (being full in Sanctuary) divers meffengers, who should first excite and purge the King's mind of this purpose against her; and then should largely promise promotions innumerable, not only to her self, but also to her Son Lord Thomas Marguefs Drft: by Force of which promises the meffengers prevailed with her, that not only she began to relent, but at last was content to submit her self wholly to the Kings pleasure. And thereupon putting in oblivion the murther of her innocent Children, the butchering of her own Brother and Son, the infamy of her Royal Husband, the aspersion of Adultery cast upon her self, the imputation of Balfard laid to her Daughters, forgetting also her Oath made to the Earl of Richmond's Mother: reduced by flattering words, she first delivered into King Richard's hands her five Daughters; and after sent Letters to the Marguefs her Son, being then at Paris with the Earl of Richmond; willing him by any means to leave the Earl, and with all speed to repair into England; where for him were promised great Honours and Promotions: Assuring him further, that all offences on both parts were forgotten and forgiven; and both he and the incorporated in the Kings Favour. If we consider at this credulity in the Queen, we may conceive the was moved with the two great motives of Fear and Hope; she feared (no doubt) that if she denied the Kings request, he would presently take some sharp course both against her and her Daughters; and she hoped that if they yielded to his request, he would undoubtedly perform his promise, seeing it was as easy for him to keep it as to break it.

But now King Richard's purpoce being to marry one of his Brother King Edward's Daughters; there was one impediment which directly hindered it, that he had a Wife living, and how to be rid of her, that he might bring new affairs upon himself, he could not well; yet this he resolved, that he would of her
her he would by some way or other: but before he would life extremity, he would first try milder ways: and first he abstained both from her bed and company, and complained to divers of her barrenness; which coming to her ear, he hoped might cause her to dye with grief: And when this device failed, he then caused a rumour to be spread among the people, that she was suddenly dead: hoping the very conceit thereof would kill her: When this device also failed, (for the Queen hearing of it, and mistrusting the word,) with a most forcible countenance came unto him, demanding what she had done, that he should judge her worthy to dye? who answered with fair words, bidding her be of good cheer, for (to his knowledge) she should have no other cause he then made fure work; for within few days after, whether by poyon, or by what other means, it is not certainly known, she departed this life; and with all solemnity, not without some formality twas of King Richard, was interred in St. Peter's Church at Westminster.

King Richard now by his Wives death, having made himself way to marry another, used all the alluring means he could devise, to win the love of the Lady Elizabeth his niece, but making little or no attempt to purchase his desire by Rafe, if he could not otherwise; and had perhaps done it, but that the storms threatened from beyond the Seas; growing every day more strong than other, forced him to protract the execution of his desires, and look to the prevention of his present danger. The Lord Stanley is commanded presently to levy Forces for the Kings aid, as he will justify his integrity to him: but yet is not permitted to go down into the Country, until he had left George Lord Strange his eldest Son, as a pledge of his Loyalty behinde him. And now King Richard being informed (though the information was craftily suborned by his Enemies) that the Earl of Rich mond was out of hope of any great adherence from France, discharg'd the Ships which he had appointed to guard the Seas, and likewise all the Soldiers; only order is given for diligent watching of the Beacon.

At this time, one Morgan Kidderly, a Student at the Inns of Court, with great hazard of his life, passed over to the Earl; informing him, that King Richard by all means laboured to match himself with the Lady Elizabeth; which so wrought with the Earl, that he saw there was no lingering: and the more, being by him further informed, that Rice ap Thomas and John Savage, two powerful men in their Countries, were ready with great Forces to affist him: Whereupon, not having above two thousand Mercenaries, and but indifferent Shipping to convey him over, about the middle of August he put to Sea, and by the advice of the said Kidderly, steer'd his course for Wales, and on the fourteenth day after his departure from Harles, arrived at Milford Haven; and there landing his Forces without trouble or impediment, from hence marched peaceably to Hereford; where the Inhabitants he was joyfully received. Here he receiveth news by Captain Arnold Butler, that the Earl of Pembroke with all his retinue was upon the way to join with him; also thither came to him Richard Griffith, and John Morgan, with a band of brave Welfmen; and the same day Sir Gilbert Talbot with all the Earl of Shrewsbury's Tenants (being about two thousand well appointed men) came unto him: with these the time was brought him, that Sir Robert Harley and Rice ap Thomas were ready with a great power to stop his passage, which somewhat troubled him, that his friends so suddenly should revolt: but it was but a trick of Rice ap Thomas to make his bargain the furer: for soon after, Rice ap Thomas meets him, and offers him his service, so as the Earl will pledge his faith to perform his promise formerly made; which was, that having once obtained the Crown, he would make Rice sole Governor of Wales: which was now attent'd to, and afterward performed.

At this time the Lord Stanley with five thousand men had taken up his lodging at the Town of Leicester; but hearing of the Earls march that way, he left Leicester and went to Adderbury, too daring to shew himself openly for the Earl, for fear the King should put his Son the Lord Strange to death, whom he had left an Hostage with.

All this time King Richard lay at Nottingham, and was as it were fatally taken with a spirit of security, hearing that the Earl had but small assistance either from France or in England; and therefore fighting him as little able to do any greater matter: but when he heard that part of his own Forces was revolted to him, then he began to look about him, and fends present direction to the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Northumberland and Surrey, with Sir Thomas Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, with all speed to bring their Forces to him at Lutterworth; from whence upon their arrival, hearing that the Earl was encamp'd at Liefield, he marcheth thitherward: At which time, Sir Walter Hungerford and some others, withdrew themselves from King Richard's part; and Sir John Savage, Sir Brian Stanfords, and Sir Simon Digby, with their several Forces, joyned with the Earl.

King Richard took the advantage of a large Plain near Bosworth, adjoyning to a hill called Anne Beamo; where he encamp'd: And observing by his Adversaries manner of approach, that they meant to give him Battell, he the next morning put his Forces in order: The Vaunce guard was led by the Duke of Norwalk, which consisted of one thousand two hundred Bowmen, flanked with two hundred Couravers, under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey: The Battell King Richard led himself, which consisted of a thousand Bill-men, enpaile with two thousand Pikrs: The Reparward was led by Sir Thomas Brackenbury, consisting of two thousand mingled Weapons, with two wings of Horse men, containing fifteen hundred, all of them cast into square Maniples; especcially the Lord Stanley's coming with two thousand, most of them Horsemen; But the Lord Stanley carried himself so warlike, that he might neither give cause of supicion to the King, nor yet cause of disadvantage to the Earl; that when early in the morning the Earl sent unto him, defining his
his present repair; he answered, that he must look for no aid from him, till the Battel should be joined; and therefore advised him, with all possible speed to give the onfet. This anfwer somewhat staggered the Earl, because his number did but little exceed one half of the Kings: Yet to make the best show he could, by the advice of his Council of War, he made his Vaufard open and thin; of which John Earl of Oxford had the leading: The Earl himfelf led the Battel, Sir Gilbert Talbot commanding the right wing, and Sir John Savage the left: whole Souldiers being all alike clad in white Coats and Hoods of Prize, by the reflection of the Sun upon them, made an admirable view of their Enemies, double the number. The Rereward was governed by the Earl of Pembroke, which confifted moft of Horfe, and some Pikes and black Bills. King Richard, to incourage his Souldiers, made a solemn speech unto them: But alas! what hope could he have to put them in heart, whose hearts he had loft? or to raffe alacrity in others, who had none in himfelf? For now the remembrance of his fore-paffed vanities, and specially a fearful Dream he had the night before, wherein it feemed to him, he faw divers Images like Devils, which pulled end haled him, not affuring him to take any reft or quiet: so damped his fpirits, that although he fea a good face upon the matter, yet he could not chose but have a prefaging fear, that the date of his days was not far from expiring: The Earl of Richmond on the other fide, having a clear confidence in himfelf, and speaking to men that followed him for love, had the eafier means to give them encouragement: which he did with fo cheerful a countenance, as though al- ready he had got the Victory. After their military exhortations ended, King Richard commanded to give the onfet. Between both Armies there was a great Marsh; which the Earl left on his right hand, that it might be a defence for his Souldiers on that fide; and besides, by fo doing he had the Sun at his back, and in the faces of his Enemy. When King Richard fot that the Earls company was paffed this Marsh, he commanded with all speed to fet upon them. Then were the Arrows let fly on both fides, and thofe spent, they came to hand-frokes; at which encounter comes in the Lord Stanley, and joys with the Earl. The Earl of Oxford in the mean time, fearing left his company fhou’d be compaffed in with the main body of his Enemies, gave charge in every rank, that none fhou’d go from the Standard: whereupon they knitting themfelves together, and ceased a while from fighting: which the Enemy feeing, and muttering some fraud, they also paufed and left striking. But then the Earl of Oxford, having brought all his Band together, fet on the Enemy afreth; which the Enemy perceiving, they placed their men fìnder and thin before, but thick and broad behind; and refolutely again began the fight. While these two Van-guardes were thus contending, King Richard was informed that the Earl of Richmond with a small number was not far off: whereupon he presently makes towards him; and being of an

invincible courage, whereof he was now to give the laft proof, he made fo furious an allufat, that firft with his own hands he flw Sir Williams Brandon, who bore the Earls Standard; next he unhoft and overthrow Sir John Cheyney, a strong and ftrong man at Arms; and then affaulted the Earl of Richmond himfelf, who (though no man would have thought it, yet) for all the Kings fury held him off at his Leuncope point, till Sir William Stanley came in with three thoufand freef men; and then oppref with multitudes, King Richmond is there flain. It is faid that when the Battel was at the point to be loft, a whif Horfe was brought unto him, with which he might have faved himfelf by flight, but out of his undaunted courage he refufed it, faying, He would that day make an end of all Battels, or elfe lose his life. In this Battel Henry Earl of Northumberland, who led King Richard’s Rereward, never flroke ftrke; as likewife many other, who followed King Richard more for fear than love; and fo King Richard, who had deceived many in his time, was at this time deceived by many: which was not unforefen by fome, who caufed a Rhyne to be fet upon the Duke of Norfolfs Gate the night before the Battel, which was this:

Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,

For Dicken thy Mother is brought and fold.

Yet notwithstanding this warning, the noble Duke continued firm to King Richard; and more confidering what he was towards him, than what towards others, followed him at the laft, and in his quarrel left his life. This John Howard was the Son of Sir Robert, Earl of Norfolk, Knight, and Margaret eldefl Daughter of Thomas Membury Duke of Norfolk, in whole right he was created Duke of Norfolk by King Richard the Third, in the yeare 1483: having beene made a Baron before by King Edward the Fourth. The whole number flain in this Battel on King Richard’s part was not above a thoufand perfones; whereof of the Nobility, besides the Duke of Norfolk, only Walter Lord Ferrers of Chariley, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir Robert Brackenbury Lieutenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen more. Sir William Catesby, one of the chief Counsellours of King Richard, with divers others, was two daies after beheaded at Leifer: Amongst thofe that ran away, were Francis Viscount Lofvel, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his Brother, who took Sanctuary in Saint Johns at Glocefer. Of Convaine and Prisoners there were great number. Henry Earl of Northumberland, was brought on King Richard’s fide, intercmeffed not in the Battel, was incontinent taken into favour, and made of the Counfeil: But Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, though he submitted himfelf, yet, as having beene specially familiar with King Richard, was committed to the Tower; where he remained a long time: but at laft was delivcred and highly promoted. On the Earl of Richmond’s part were flain scarce a hundred perfones; (fome fay but ten)of whom the principal was Sir William Brandon, the Earls Standard-bearer. This Battel was fought at Ratmor, near Bosworth in Leicercifhire, the two and twentieth day of
day of August, in the year 1485, having continued little above two hours. Presently after the Battle, the Earl of Lincoln in the field, Sir Gilbert Talbot, Sir John Martyn, Sir William Willoughby, Sir Rice de Thomas, Sir Roger Peynt, Sir Humfrey Stanley, Sir John Tawkesville, Sir Hugh Powshal, Sir R. Edgecumbe, Sir John Pyke, and Sir Edmund Carew: and then kneeling down, he rendred to Almighty God his hearty Thanks for the Victory he had obtained; and commanded all the hurt and maimed perfons to be cured: whereat the people rejoicing, clapp'd their hands and cried, King Henry, King Henry: which good will and gladness of the people when the Lord Stanley saw, he took the Crown of King Richard, which was found amongst the spoils in the field, and set it on the Earl's head, as though he had been elected King by the voice of the people. It may not be forgotten, that when King Richard was come to Beverforth, he sent to the Lord Stanley to come presently to his presence: which if he refused to do, he swore by Chrills Paffion, that he would strike off his Sons head before he dined: whereunto the Lord Stanley anfwered, That if he did do, he had more Sons alive, and he might do his pleasure: but to come to him, he was not then determined. Which anfwer when King Richard heard, he commanded the Lord Strange immediately to be beheaded; but being at the very time when both Armies were in fight of each other; his Lords perfwaded him, it was now time to fight, and not to put to execution: and so the Lord Strange elafped.

Of his Taxations.

We must not look for Taxations in kinde in this Kings Reign; for he drew from his Subjects not money so much as blood; and the money he drew was moli by blood, which drew on Confcations: whereof let never any Prince make a Precedent: for where Taxations properly do but Toutes, these did Deglude. Yet in his second year, he called a Parliament, wherein besides the great confinations of thofe that were then attainted, he imposed upon the people a great Tax, which what it was, is not recorded.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

Having gotten the Crown by perfent courfes, he fought to eftablifh it by wholefome Laws; for in no Kings Reign were better Laws made, than in the Reign of this man. Amongst other of his Laws, it was enacted, That from thenceforth the Comonalty of the Realm fhould in no wife be charged by any imposition called a Benevolence, nor any fuch like charge: and that fuch actions called a Benevolence, before this time taken, fhall be taken for no ex- ample to make any fuch like charge hereafter; but fhall be damned and annulled for ever. Many other good Laws were by him made: that we may say he took the ways of being a good King, he had come to be King by ways that had been good.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In his time the troubles of the Temporality kept the Clergy at quiet; and though there were complaimings in the fleets, there was none in the Church. Only Shore's Wife might complain, why she should do Penance for offending lightly against only the Seventh Command- ment; and King Richard do none for offending heavily against all the ten: but that perhaps he had gotten some good fellow to be his Confeffor.

Works of Piety done by him.

As bad as this King was, yet some good works he did; he founded a Colledge at Middleton beyond York, and a Colledge Chancrilly in London; near unto the Tower, called our Lady of Barking: He endowed the Queens Colledge in Cambridge, with five hundred Marks of yearly Revenue; and disfored the great field of Whitefwood, which King Edward his Brother had inclofed for Deer.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

In his second year, at the time when the Duke of Buckingham meant to pass with his Army over Severn, so great an inundation was of water, that men were drowned in their beds, houses were overturned, children were carried about the fields swimming in Cradles, beasts were drowned on Hills: which rage of water continued ten days; and is to this day in the Countrys hereabout,called the Great Water, or the Duke of Buckingham's water.

Of his Wife and Issue.

He married Anne the second Daughter of Richard Neville the great Earl of Warwick, being the Widow of Edward Prince of Wales, the Son of King Henry the fifth: she lived his Wife to the last year of his Reign; and then, to make way for another, was brought to her end, and laid at rest in the Abbey of Westminster: By her he had only one Son, born at Middleton near Richmond in the Countiy of York; at four years old, created Earl of Salisbury by his Uncle King Edward the Fourth; at ten years old created Prince of Wales by his Father King Richard, but died soon after.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

There never was in any man a greater uni- formity of Body and Minde than was in him; both of them equally deformed. Of Body he was but low, crook-backed, hook-shouldered, fplay-toowed, and goggle-eyed, his face little and round, his complexion swarthy, his left arm from his birth dry and withered; born a Monster in nature, with all his teeth, with hair on his head, and nails on his fingers and toes. And julf fuch were the qualities of his minde: One quality he had in ordinary, which was, to look favoringly when he plowed, sternly when he executed. Those Vices, which in other men are Passions, in him were Habits; and
and his cruelty was not upon occasion, but natural. If at any time he shewed any vertue, it was but pretence; the truth of his mind was only lying and falsehood. He was full of courage, and yet not valiant; valour consisting not only in doing, but as well in suffering, which he could not abide. He was politicke, and yet not wife; Policy looking but to the middle, Wisdom to the end: which he did, and did not. And it was not so much Ambition that made him desire the Crown, as Cruelty; that it might be in his power to kill at his pleasure: and to say the truth, he was fierce of the number of men who consist of flesh and blood, being nothing but blood. One miracle we may say he did; which was, that he made the truth of History to exceed the fiction of Poetry, being a greater Hero than those that were renown'd. He would fain have been accounted a good King, but for his life he could not be a good Man; and it is an impossible thing to be one without the other. He left no issue behind him: and it had been pity he should, at least in his own Image. One such Monster was enough for many Ages.

Of his Death and Burial.

Being slain in the Battel at Bosworth, as before is related; his body was left naked and defpoiled to the very skin, not so much as a clot of blood, to cover his priy parts: and taken up, was trufled behind a purifying at Arms, one Blanche Sengly, or White-hair; his head and arms hanging on one fide of the Horse, and his legs on the other; and all be-sprinkled with mire and dirt, he was brought to the Grey-Friers Church within the Town of Leicefter, and there for some time lay a miserable Spectacle; and afterward, with small Funeral Pomp, was there interred. But after this, King Henry the Seventh caufed a Tomb to be made, and set up over the place where he was buried, with a Picture of Alabaster, representing his person; which at the Suppreffion of that

Monastery was utterly defaced: Since when, his Grave, overgrown with Nettles and Weeds, is not to be found; only the Stone-Chrift, whereby in his Corps lay, is now made a Drinking-Trough for Horses at a common Inn in Leicefter, and remains the only memory of this Monarch's greatness. But his body (as it reported) was carried out of the City, and contemnously bestowed under the end of Bow-bridge, which gives paflage over a branch of Stuarts, upon the West side of the Town. Upon this Bridge (the like report runneth) ftood a Stone of fome height; against which King Richard, as he passed toward Bosworth, by chance ftook his Spur: and againft the fame Stone, as he was brought back, hanging by the horse fide, his head was defhafed and broken: as a Wife Woman (forfouth) had forefett'd; who before his going to Battel, being asked of his Suc-cess, faid, That where his Spur ftook, his head should be broken. But these are but reports. He had lived seven and thirty years, Reigned two, and two months.

Of men of Note in this time.

Of men of Note for wickednefs and villany, enough have been mentioned in the body of the Story: and for men of Valour and Learning, they will fitter be placed in a better Kings Reign.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his firft year,
William Billedon was Mayor.
Thomas Newland, William Martin, Sheriffs.

In his fecond year,
Thomas Hill was Mayor:
Richard Cheffer; and he dying, Ralph Afty,
Thomas Britton, Sheriffs.
The Reign of

KING HENRY

THE SEVENTH.

1485

Henry Earl of Richmond born in Pembroke Castle, Son to Edmund Earl of Richmond, by his Wife Margaret; sole Daughter of John Duke of Somerset, which John was Son of John Earl of Somerset, Son of John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, by his third Wife Katherine Swinford; and by this descent, Heir of the Houfe of Lancaster: having won the Battle of Bosworth, against King Richard, is by publick acclamations fauted King of England, on the 22. day of August, in the year 1485; and this was his first Title. And now to take away a root of danger, before his departure from Leicester, he sent Sir Robert Willoughby to the Castle of Sheriffhate in the County of York, for Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwick, Son and Heir to George Duke of Clarence, being then of the age of fifteen years, whom King Richard had there kept a prisoner all his time; who was thence conveyed to London, and shut up in the Tower to be kept in safe custody. In the same Castle also King Richard had left refiding the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter to King Edward the fourth: and her now King Henry appoints honourably attended to be brought up to London, and to be delivered to the Queen her Mother. This done, he took his journey towards London; where at his approaching near the City, Thomas Hill the Mayor, Thomas Brittin and Richard Cheffer Sheriff, with other principal Citizens, met him at Sker- ditch, and in great state brought him to the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, where he offered three Standards: In the one was the Image of St. George; in the other was a red fiery Dragon, beaten upon white and green Sarce- ner; in the third was painted a Dan Cow, upon yellow Tarnern. After Prayers said, he departed to the Bishops Palace; and there fotted a feaon: And in the time of his stay there, he advised with his Council, and appointed a day for solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth: before which time notwithstanding, he went by water to Whiminfir, and was there with great solemnity Anointed and Crowned King of England, by the whole consent as well of the Commons as of the Nobility, by the name or Henry the Seventh, on the thirtieth day of October, in the year 1485, and this was his second Title. And even this was receaved to Cadwallader, last King of the Britains, seven hundred ninety and seven years past; That his Off-Spring should Reign and bear Dominion in this Realm again.

On the seventeenth day of November following, he called his High Court of Parliament; where, at the first sitting, two scruples appeared; One concerning the Burgesses for that many had been returned Burgesses and Knights of Shires, who by a Parliament in King Richard's time had attained still: and it was thought incongruous for men to make Laws, who were themselves out-lawed: For remedy whereof an Act was presently paffed for their refunding, and then they were admitted to fit in the House. The other concerning the King himself, who had been attainted by King Richard: but for this, It was resolved by all the Judges in the Chequer Chamber, that the possession of the Crown takes away all defects; yet for Honours sake, all Records of his Attach- der were taken off the File. And to these scruples thus removed, the Parliament began; wherein were attainted, first, Richard late Duke of Gloucester, calling himself Richard the Third: Then his Attendants at the Battle of Bosworth; John late Duke of Norfolk; Thomas Earl of Surrey; Francis Viscount Lovel; Walter Devereux; late Lord Ferrers; John Lord Zouch; Robert Har- rington; Richard Carterton; Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeley of Wely; Robert Middleton; James Harington; Robert Brackenbury; Thomas Pilkington; Walter Hope; William Catesby; Roger Wake; William Sayepe; Humfrey Stafford; William Clark of Wenlock; Geoffrey St. Germain; Richard Wals- kin Herauld at Arms; Richard Sewel; Thomas Pitter; John Wolfe; John Kendall late Secretary to the late King Richard; John Buck; Andrew Rat; and William Brampton of Burford. But notwithstanding this Attainder, divers of the persons aforesaid were afterwards not only by King Henry pardoned, but restored also to their Lands and Livings. As likewise he caused Proclamation to be made, that whatsoever would submit themselves, and take Oath to be true Subjects, should have their Pardon: whereupon many came out of Sanctuaries and other places; who submitting themselves, were received to mercy.

And now King Henry considering that Panis & Præmia Rex Publice continuat; after punishing for Offences, he proceeds to rewarding for Service; and first, Jasper Earl of Pembroke his Uncle he created Duke of Bedford; Thomas Lord Dukedone Earls created.
Lord Stanley he created Earl of Derby; the Lord Chancellor of Britain, his special friend, he made Earl of Bath; Sir Giles Daubeny he made Lord Daubeny; Sir Robert Willoughby was made Lord Brook; and Edward Stafford eldest Son to Henry late Duke of Buckingham he restored to his Dignity and Possessions. Besides, in this Parliament an Act was made, for setting the Crown upon the person of King Henry and the Heirs of his body successively for ever. And then with all speed he sent and redeemed the Marquefs Dorset, and Sir John Bouchier, whom he had left Hothages in France for money; and called home Morton Bishop of Ely, and Richard Fox, making Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Fox Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, and Bishop of Winchester. Besides these, he made also of his Privy Council, the Duke of Bedford, John Earl of Oxford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, John Bishop of Ely, Sir Will. Stanley, Lord Chamberlain of his Houftold; Sir John Elphinstone upon his person; Lord Steward of his Houftold; Giles Lord Daubeny John Lord Dynaum, after made Lord Treasurer of England; Sir Reginald Bray, Sir John Chelney, Sir Richard Grifford, Sir Richard Tusfial, Sir Richard Edgecomb, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Edmund Powings, Sir John Rylfe, with some other.

These things thus done, as well in performance of his Oath, as to make his Crown fit the furer on his head; on the eighteenth day of January, he proceeded to the solemnizing his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth; which gave him a third Title: And indeed this conjunction made a wreath of three fo indifensible, that no age since hath ever questioned it: and it is fixt upon a Tree planted so happily by the waters tide, and hath at this day so many flourishing branches, that there is good hope it will continue as long as the World continues.

And now whether King Henry desired any sudden Restoration upon his person, or whether he did it to follow the example of France; in the very beginning of his Reign, he ordained a band of tall perfonable men to be attending upon him, which was called the Kings Guard; which no King before, and all Kings since have always used: But though he provided a Guard for defence of his own body, yet for the body of his people he could provide none; for at this time a Sicknes (of the Symptome called the Sweating Sicknes) feized so violently upon them, that within a short time many thousands perished: particularly in London, two Mayors successively, and six Aldermen within eight days died: and for this Sicknes no Physick afforded any cure; till at last this remedy was found: If a man were taken with the sweat in the day time, that then he should prefently lie down in his Cloaths, and fo lie till the whole morning, and twenty hours; if he were taken in the night, then he should not rise out of his bed, for the space of four and twenty hours; not provoking sweat, nor yet eating or drinking at all, but at least very moderately. In this sicknes there was one good circumstance; that though it were violent, yet it lasted not long: for beginning about the one and twentieth of September, it cleared up before the end of October following.

And now all things being set in good order in the South parts, there ariseth a little storm in the North, but was soon disperfed. For King Henry, making a journey into the North parts, to shew himself there where he had not yet been; and where the respect to King Richard might have left some opposites: as his coming to Lincoln, was certified that the Lord Lovel and Humfrey Stafford were gone out of Sanctuary in Cockfet; but whither, no man knew. The King therefore not much regarding it, went forward to Toke; and being come thereto, it was then plainly told him, that the Lord Lovel with a strong power was at hand, and would presently invade the City. This made the King in a great straight; for neither had he any Army ready; nor if he had men, had he any Weapons or Munition for them. Yet in this straight, he commanded the Duke of Bedford, with three thousand men to set out against him, but so ill armed, that their Armes were of the most part with the head of tanner Leather, who being come near the Camp of the Rebels, caufed Proclamation to be made, that whoever would submit themselves as Loyal Subjects, should have their Pardons, and be received into Grace: which Proclamation so prevailed, that it made the Lord Lovel secretly in the night to flee away; and then the Army, left without a head, submitted themselves to the Kings mercy. The Lord Lovel fled into Lancashire; and there for a time lurked with Sir Thomas Broughton, a man powerful in those parts. Humfrey Stafford took Sanctuary in a Village called Culsionham, two miles from Albington: but the Sanctuary being judged, by the Jultices of the Kings Bench, to be no lawful defence for Traytors; he was taken from thence by force, and conveyed to the Tower, afterward to Trybun, and there hanged. His Brother Thomas was pardoned, because it was thought he was drawn in by his Brother Humfrey.

In this year John Perseful the Mayor of London's Carver, waiting at his Table, was chosen one of the Sheriffs of London, only by Sir John Collet, then Mayor, drinking to him in a cup of Wine, (as the custom is to drink to him whom he lift to name Sheriff) and forthwith the said Perseful sat down at the Mayors Table, and covered his head, and was afterward Mayor himself.

At this time a mean instrument attempted a great work; by which we may fee, how far imagination may out-go reason: One Richard Simond a Priest, a man of base birth, though some learning had a Scholar of better birth, the Son of a Shoemaker (some say a Baker) named Lambert Vyned; but of a pregnant wit and comely personage: Him he gives over to be Edward Earl of Warwick, lately (as was said) escaped out of Prifon, but of them of being of like years and figure; with this Scholar or his, he falls into Ireland, and so forth with the matter, that not only the Lord Thomas Fitz- Gerard Earl of Kildare, and Deputy of Ireland, but many other of the Nobility gave credit to his words; and as those that affected the House of York, were ready to take his part, and even already saluted the young Sultan King, Withal they
they sent into Flanders to the Lady Margaret, Sitter to the late King Edward, and Widow of Charles Duke of Burggaigne, requiring aid and assistance from her. This Lady being of the Houfe of York, bare an inward grudge againft King Henry, being of the Houfe of Lancaster; and therefore, though she well understood it was but a coloured matter, yet was willing to take advantage of it: and thereupon promised her assistance. King Henry being advertized of these things, advized with his Council; by whom it was agreed, that two things prefently should be done. First, to grant a pardon to any that would submit themselves, for any ofience whatsoever, though it were for High Treafon: The next, that the Earl of Warwick should be openly fhewed abroad in the City, and other publick places; whereby, the report spread abroad of his being in Ireland, might appear plainly to be falle. Withal, the Queen Elizabeth, Widow of King Edward the fourth, and Mother to the prefent Queen, was advised with the Earls of Hereford, and to live confined in the Abbey of Ber Mond fray in Southwark; where in great penfiveness within a few years he died. But for what caufe this fervility was ufed againft this Queen, is not altogether certain: To fay, (as was commonly faid) that it was for rending her felf and her Daughters into the hands of King Rich ard, were manifest injustice, to punifh her for doing things out of fear, which elle the fhould have been complicated to do by force: and to fay (as fome also have faid) that it was for giving aid underhand to Perkin, were a manifest unlikelihood, that the fhould aid a Counterfeiter againft her own Son inlaw: we muft therefore content our felves with knowing the bare colourable pretext, and leave the true reafon as a fecret of State. But this fhewing abroad of the true Earl of Warwick, though it fatisfied fome, yet not all: for some went out fhadowed under the name of the Earl of the first, and not the true Warwick. At leaft the Earl of Lincoln, Son to John de la Poul, Duke of Suffolk, and Elizabeth Sitter to King Edward the fourth, would not omit to take the advantage, though he knew that Symnel was a Counterfeiter. And thereupon, as soon as the Parliament was defolved, he fled fecretly into Flanders, to his Aunt the Lady Margaret Duches of Burggaigne; between whom it was concluded, that he and the Lord Lovel fhould go into Ireland, and there attend upon the Counterfeiter Warwick, and honour him as a King; and with the power of the Irish men bring him into England: but it was concluded withal, that if their actions fucceeded, then the Counterfeiter Warwick fhould be depofed, and the true be delivered out of Prison, and Anointed King. And to this purfue, the Earl of Lincoln by the aid of the Lady Margaret, had gotten togetherness two thousand Arms, with one Martin Smart, a valiant and expert Captain to be their Leader. With this power the Earl failed into Ireland; and at the City of Dublin, caused young Lambert, the Counterfeiter Warwick, in molt folemn manner, firft to be proclaim’d, and after to be Crowned King of England: and then with a great number of beggarly and unarmed Irish men, under the conduct of the Lord Thomas Gerardine Earl of Kildare, they failed into England, and landed at a place called the Pile of Fawney, not far from Lancaster; hop’d there by the means of Sir Thomas Broghton, a powerful man in that Country, to have their Army both furnifh’d and increaf’d. King Henry hearing that the Earl of Lincoln was landed at Lancaster, assembled a great Army, conducted by the Duke of Bedford, and the Earl of Oxford, and with thefe he marched to Nottingham, and there by a little Wood called Bowwes, he pitched his Field: whither there came unto him, the Lord George Talbot Earl of Shrewbury, the Lord Strange, Sir John Cheyney, and divers other Knights and Gentlemen. In which mean time the Earl of Lincoln being entred into Yorkshire, paffed quietly on his journey, without doing spoil or hurt unto any; trufting thereby to have won the people to come to his aid; but when he perceived few or none to refent unto him, he then determined to venture a Battel from the fecond to the third time, and thence took his way from York to Newark upon Trent.

King Henry understanding which way he took, came the night before the Battel to Newark; and going three miles further, near to a Village called Stoke, there waited the approach of the Earl of Lincoln; so the next day they joyned Battel; where after a long fight of the leaft three hours; though the Amintim, and specially their Captain Martin Smart behaved themselves moft valiantly; yet their Irish, being in a manner but naked men, were at laft overthrown; four thoufand slain, and the reft purloined, but not one of their Captains; for the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Lovel, Sir Thomas Braghton, Martin Smart, and the Lord Gerardine were all found dead in the very place, where they had flood fighting; that though they loft the Battel, yet they won the reputation of bare and honourable Souls. Only of the Lords two reports, that according to one, he fave himfelf by flight, in pafling over the River of Trent, he was drowned. On the Kings part, though fome were faine, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a Saturday (oberved as always fortunate to King Henry) being the fixteenth of June, in the second year of King Henry’s Reign. The young Lambert and his Mafter Simond the Prieff, were both taken; and both had their lives faved: Lambert, becaufe but a Childe, Simond became a Prieff; yet Simond was kept in priifon, Lambert was taken into the Kings Kitchin, to turn the Spit in the turn of his fortune, and at laft made one of the Kings Faulkner.

In the beginning of his third year, King Henry having been in Yorkshire, to settle the minds of that people, about the mift of the Augufi came to New-castle upon Tyne, and from thence to the Army of the Southerners. To them to the, Richard Fox, lately before made Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcoube Componentr of his Houfe, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scott: A Peace, by reafon of the peoples backwardnes, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promife from the King, that it fhould be renewed before

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They were all found dead in the very place, where they had stood fighting; that though they lost the Battel, yet they won the reputation of bare and honourable Souls. Only of the Lords two reports, that according to one, he saved himself by flight, in passing over the River of Trent, he was drowned. On the King's part, though some were slain, yet not any man of note. This Battel was fought on a Saturday (observed as always fortunate to King Henry) being the sixteenth of June, in the second year of King Henry's Reign. The young Lambert and his Master Simond the Priest, were both taken; and both had their lives saved: Lambert, because but a child, Simond became a Priest; yet Simond was kept in prison, Lambert was taken into the King's Kitchin, to turn the Spite in the turn of his fortune, and at last made one of the King's Faulkners.

In the beginning of his third year, King Henry having been in Yorkshire, to settle the minds of that people, about the midst of August came to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence to the Army of the Southerners. To them there was sent, Richard Fox, lately before made Bishop of Exeter, and Sir Richard Edgcumbe, Comptroller of his House, to conclude a Peace or Truce with James King of Scott: A Peace, by reason of the peoples backwardness, could not be obtained: but a Truce was concluded for the term of seven years; with a promise from the King, that it should be renewed before.
fore the first seven years should be expired. At this time Ambassadors came from the King of France, to King Henry; who declared, that their Master King Charles was now at War with Frank Duke of Orleans, for that he successed the Duke of Orleans and other Rebels against the Realm of France; and therefore requested, that for the old Familiarity that had been between them, he would either affit him, or not affit the Duke, but stand Neuter. King Henry answered, that having received courteys from them both, he would do his uttermost endeavour to make them friends: and to that end, as soon as the French Ambassadors were departed, he sent Christopher Orsuck his Chaplain over into France, who should first go to the French King, and after to the Duke of Britain, to mediate a Peace between them.

In the time of Orsuck's Ambassage, King Henry caugeth his Wife the Lady Elizabeth to be Crowned Queen, on Saint Katharine's day in November, with all solemnity; and at the same time delivered the Lord Thomas Marquefs Dorso out of the Tower, and received him again into his former favour.

He first travelled between the two Princes to prepare Peace; but they, though making a Show to incline to Peace, prepared for War, and offers on neither side would be accepted. In which time Edward Lord Woodville, Uncle to the Queen, made fuit to the King, for leave to go over with a power of men, in aid to the Duke of Britain; which suit though the King denied, yet the Lord Woodville would venture it; and with a power of four hundred able men, got secretly over, and joyned with the Britains against the French. This the French King took ill at King Henry's hand; but being informed that it was against the Kingswill, he seemed satisfied; and a Peace was concluded between France and England, to endure for twelve months. But in conclusion, King Henry finding that the French King dealt not really with him, but only held him with pretences; he called his High Court of Parliament, requiring the same arms what he was given when it was concluded, that the Duke of Britain should be sided; and to that end great sums of money were by Parliament granted. This determination of the Parliament, King Henry signifieth to the French King, hoping it would have wrought him to some terms of Peace. But the King of France little regarding it, proceeded on in his violent courst against the Britains; so as at last, on the eight and twentieth day of July, the Britains gave Battel to the French, near to a Town called St. Aultyn; having appalled seventeen hundred of the Britains in Coats with red Crosses, after the English fashion, to make the French men believe they were all English, although indeed they had no more English than the four hundred of the Lord Woodvile's; But notwithstanding this device, the Victory fell to the French; so that all the English men almost were slain, with the Lord Woodville himself besides five thousand Britains. The Duke of Orleans, and the Prince of Orange, who were on the Britains part, were taken Prifoners. The French loot twelve hundred men; and amongst other, that

valiant Italian Captain James Galeot.

This news being brought into England, caugeth King Henry to make haste to send forth his Army; and thereupon the Lord Brook, with Sir John Cheynys, the Lord John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Grebe, Sir Thomas Leighten, Sir Richard Lacy, and Sir Edmund Carmell, are sent over with all speed into Britain; having with them eight thousand men, to aid the Duke of Britain against the French. But while this War was thus set forward, the Duke of Britain died; leaving in effect, one only Daughter, the Lady Anne (for the other being the younger, died soon after) and then the chief Rulers of Britain falling at disposition amongst themselves, little regarded the defence of the Countrey: whereupon the Englishe returned home, within five months after their setting forth; and the French King getting the upper hand of the Britains, and marrying the Lady Anne sole Daughter of the Duke of Britain, incorporated that Dutche to the Crown of France.

In the last Parliament, a Subsidy was granted, for the furnishing out an Army into Britain; and it was agreed that every man should be assayed after the rate of his Subsidy, to pay the tenth penny of his goods: which Tax, the moit part of Yorksire and the Bishoprype of Durham: refused to pay: whereas the Collectors complained to Henry Earl of Northumberland, President of the North Parts; The Earl signifieth to the King, and the King commands him to levy the fame, by diftreff or otherwise (without sparing of any) as he should think most meet. The rude multitude, hearing of this Command from the King, with great violence set upon the Earl, by the exciting of a simple fellow named John a Chamber; and alledged all the fault to be in the Earl, as chief author of the Tax; they cruellly murdered both him and divers of his houfhold Servants. And to make good their seditious fafher, they assembled a great number, and made one Sir John Eyestrem their Captain; Declaring, that in defence of their liberties, they would make the Earl to yield, if they might rythe ftood, as long as none opposed them: but when Thomas Earl of Surrey appeared with an Army, though they skirmifhed a while, yet they were foon confounded, and their Ring-leader John a Chamber was taken, and at Tack on a Gibbet fet upon a square pair of Gallows, like an Arch-traitor, was hanged, and many of his Complices on a lower Gallows; the innocent people for the moit part pardoned. But Sir John Eyestrem fled into Flanders, to the Lady Margaret Dutchefs of Burgandy; the common and sure refuge for all Rebels against King Henry. After this, the King appointed Sir Richard Townsend to gather the Subsidy, and would not pafs the payment of a Penny. This year, notwithstanding this Tax, the King borrowed of every Alderman of London two hundred pounds, and of the Chamber nine thousand eighty two pounds, seventeen shillings and four pence, which was paid again at the time with great thankfulness; which he did at a time he needed not, nor to the end perhaps he might do it another time, when he needed.

At this time James the third, King of Scots, "King Henry leads an Army to aid the Duked of Britain, the French King marries the Hoit of the Duke of Britain, The Earl of Northumberland demands in cabining to the Subsidy, 1489."
Land, having by some errors of Government incurred the hatred of his Nobility and people, laboured with King Henry, as also with the Pope, and the King of France, to make an accord between him and his people; who had compelled Prince James his Son, to be the Titular head of those Arms which they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by Ambassadors; but could receive no other, but this outrageous answer. That there was no talking of Peace, unless he would resign his Crown. Which answer the Kings proceeded against, declaring by their Ambassadors, that they thought it a common injury to themselves, and that the Example was not fufferable for Subjects to lift their hands against their Sovereign. Hereupon it came to a Battel at Bannockburn, where King James, rashly beginning the fight, before his whole Forces were come, was (notwithstanding the contrary commandment of the Prince his Son) slain in the Mufl of that field, where his body fell the Battel landed.

About this time, a difference fell out which grew to a war, between the Emperor Frederick, and some Towns of his in Flanders, especially Gazaun and Burges: In this war, the Lord Ravenstein a principal person about Maximilian, not only forsook the Emperor and his Son Maximilian his Lord, (corrupted as was thought from France) but made himself head of the popular party, feizing upon the Towns of Ipre and Sluys: and not only this, but forthwith with sent to the Lord de Cordes, Governor for the French King in Picardy, to aid him against some Towns in Flanders: To which the Lord de Cordes, willing of any occasion to fet foot in Flanders, was easily drawn. But King Henry not liking to have the French to near his English pale, lent over the Lord Morley with a thousand men, who should join with the Lord Daniell then Deputy of Calais, to reftit them. Amongst other Acts by them performed, this was chief. That the Lord de Cordes, taking with the Lord Morley Sir James Tyrell Captain of Guifnes, Sir Henry Willoughby, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Henry Talbot Marshal of Calais, and others to the number of two thousand, issued secretly one night out of Calais, and came to Newport, and from there to Dussande; where the Lord Daniell commanded all men to send back their Horses: which the Lord Morley only refusing to do, was caufe that he only of all the Captains was slain with a Gun: for the rest after their arrows discharged, fell prostrate to the ground; by which means the Enemies Ordinance over-shot them, killing only the Lord Morley that was on Horseback. Here they flew of the Enemy to the number of eight thousand; of the English part was slain the Lord Morley, and not above a hundred more. This Victory so enriched the English, that they who went forth in Cloath, came home in Silk; and they who went on foot, returned back on Horseback. Upon this defeat, the Lord de Cordes lying at Ipre with twenty thousand, and thinking to be revengeed besieged the Town of Newport; and so strongly assaulted it, that one day his men entred, and let up his Banner upon a Tower of the Town; when suddenly a Bark arriving with only fourscore fresh English Archers, so terrifed them, thinking their number to be far greater, that the French were glad to leave their Banner behind them, and give over the affaull; and the night following the Lord de Cordes (who so much longed for Calais, that he would commonly say, he would be content to lie seven years in Hell, so that Calais were in the possession of the French) broke up his siege, and returned to Holding with as much shame, as the English to Calais with honour.

A little before this time, Francis Duke of Britain dying, left only one Daughter, the Lady Anne, affienced to Maximilian King of the Romans; and so to solemn a manner, that the taking upon her to be the Bride, and being laid in her bed, was contented to permit Maximilian's Deputy, in presence of many noble witneses, as well men as women, to put his leg fryst naked to the knee, between the spousal sheets; accounting that Ceremony to amount to the Confirmation. The King of France likewise had been contract to the Lady Margaret, Daughter to the forefaiied Maximilian, and had received her to that end: Yet all this notwithstanding, out of a violent desire to join the Dutchy of Britain to the Crown of France, he diisannulled and made void both the Contracts. But to the end he might do it without opposition of the King of England, he sent Ambassadors, the Lord Fransc of Luxemburg, Charles Marignane, and Robert Gagnite, to King Henry; partly to conclude a Peace, but chiefly to procure King Henry's good will to make void the forefaiied Contracts; to which though King Henry was not willing to give content, yet he confessed willingly to have a Treaty for Peace; and to that end, sent over Thomas Earl of Ormond, and Thomas Goldenfne Prior of Christ's Church in Canterbury, to the French King about it. But during this Treaty, and before conditions of Peace could be agreed on, the French King had gotten into his possession the Lady Anne, and did desire the Honour of her; which underhand dealing so incensed King Henry, that he presently called his High Court of Parliament, and there declared the just cause he had of War with France, desiring their Benvolence to the Charge thereof, which was as readily granted as desired, and great fummes of money were soon collected.

In the year 1491, being the fifth year of the Kings Reign, on the sixth of April, the Nobility of the Realm assembled in the Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, where also was the Mayor and Aldermen, and principal Citiens in their Liveryes: to whom Doctor Morton Lord Chancellor made an Oration; declaring from his own Letters, that the King of Spain had won the great and rich City and Country of Granada from the Moors; which had been in their possession above seven hundred years; and having, in places of their conquests, built Churches to the Honour of Christ, was thereupon entituled the Catholick King. For joy whereof the Commons were sung with great festimomity.

In the month of May was holden a solemn Juffting at the Kings palace of Steren, now called Richmond, which continued the space of a month.
month, sometimes within the Palace; and sometimes without, upon the Green before the Gate; in which James, Sir James Parker running against a Gentleman named Hugh Pagheman, by reason of a faulty Helmet, was strucken into the mouth at the first stroke; so that his tongue was born to the hinder part of his head, in such fort that he died presently upon the place.

And now Maximilian having received back his Daughter from the King of France, was so displeased, that he presently sent an Ambassador, one James Constable, to King Henry, requiring him to take his part in a War against the French King; which promise he promised to provide ten thousand men, with pay for two years: King Henry contented to it; and having provided himself of a puissant Army, on the sixth day of October failed to Calais; but sending his Ambassador Christopher Urswick, and Sir John Resby to Maximilian, requiring his promised Forces; they found him altogether unprompted of either men or money: which brought King Henry into a great strait what he should do: To proceed in the War, with his own Forces alone, would be full of hazard; to return home without doing any thing would bring an imputation upon him amongst his Subjects; as though he had used the presence of War but as a trick to get money: at last, he resolved to do something; and thereupon went and besieged Bolognæ, having in his Army, of chief Lords, Jasper Duke of Bedford, his Lieutenant General, Thomas Marques of Dorset, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Dorset, Kent, Devonfer, and Ormonde, many Baron, as Downes, Abergeley, Dale, Ware, Zouch, Holfing, Cuthman, and others. During his Siege of Bolognæ, (in which there were but a few flaws, and none of note, but Sir John Sisage, who riding to take view at what place the Town might best be assaulted, was set upon by certain French men, and by them slain) King Henry was secret-ly dealt with by the Lord Cardes Governour of Heymoutis, on the King of France's behalf, to accept of certain conditions of Peace. Who thereupon sent Richard Fox, Bishop of Exeter, and Giles Lord Davenfort to conclude them; which amongst other Articles were, That King Henry without quitting his claim to France, should, for a Peace to continue during the two Kingdoms, receive in present of Charles King of France, for his charges in that War, seven hundred forty and five thousand Ducators, which in English money amounts to one hundred eighty thousand two hundred and fifty pounds; and five and twenty thousand Crowns yearly, towards the expenses he had been at before in aiding the Britains; which (by the English called Tribute) was duly paid, during all the Kings Reign, and after King Henry his Son afterward, longer then it could continue upon any computation of charges. There were also agreed by the French King unto all King Henry's principal Counsellors, great Penions, besides rich gifts for the present. Whether which the King did permit, to save his own parre from Rewards, or to communicate the envy of a benefite that was displeasing to his people, was diversely inter- preted: for certainly, the King had no great fancy to own this Peace; and therefore a little before it was concluded, he had under-hand procured some of his best Capitains and Men of War, to advise him to a Peace under their hands in an earneit manner, in the nature of a Supplication; that he might have it to flew for justifying himself, and to give some allay to the discontentments of many, who had sold and engaged their estates upon the hopes of the War. After the Peace thus concluded, he went to Calais, where he stayed some time, and the seventeenth of December following came to Welfminster, where he kept his Christ-mas.

Soon after his return, he elected into the Or- der of the Garter, Alphonse Duke of Calatriva, Son and Heir to Ferdinand King of Naples: to whom Christopher Urswick the Kings Almoner, was sent to Naples to carry it; which as soon as Alphonse had received it, he apperellled himself presently in the Habit, before a great assembly, indeed to shew what favour he was in with the King of England.

There had been a disturbance in the Realm be- fore, by a Counterfeit Son of the Duke of Clarence; but that device had two main imperfections: One, that the true Son of the Duke was forth coming, and to be shewed openly for convincing the false; the other, that though the counterfeit had been the true, yet he could have laid no claim to the Crown, as long as any Daughters of King Edward the fourth were living. Now therefore a device is found, by which those imperfections were both of them amended, for now a Counterfeit was set on foot, who pretended to be Richard the younger Son of King Edward the fourth; so that ne- ther any other could be produced to convince him of being false, nor any Daughters of King Edward could hinder his Right for claiming the Crown. This device was first forg'd by Margaret Dutchess of Burgundy, a woman that could never be quiet in her minde, as long as King Henry was quiet in his Kingdom; and by this device she hoped, if not to put him clean out of his fear, yet tould at least to disturb him in it; and this was the purpose of the plot: but by what instrument it was set forth, by what abettors fomented, and what issue the device had, are worthy all to be related. The Dutchess having formerly given out, that Richard the younger Son of King Edward, was not mar- ther, but in comparison spared, and sent secretly away to seek his fortune; and having after long search gotten at last a fit Boy to personate a Prince, keeps him secretly a good time with her; in which time she so thoroughly instructed him in all Circumstan- ces, and he afterward put them so gracefully in practice, that even those who had seen and known the young Prince while he lived, could hardly perceive but that this was he. It is true, though he were not King Edward's Son, yet he was his Godson; and might perhaps have in him some bafe blood of the House of York. This Perkin Warbeck, (for so was the youths name, called Perkin, as a diminutive of Peter) when he so-perfectly had learned his Jeftion, that he was fit to come upon the Stage; he sent him into Portugal, that coming 1
from a strange Country, it might be thought, he had been driven to wander from one Country to another, for safeguard of his life, at least that the of all other might not be suspected. From Portugal she caused him to pass into Ireland, where the House of York was specially suspected, in respect of the great love which Richard Duke of York, Father of King Edward the fourth, had won amongst them; by reason whereof, this Perkins as esteemed his Grand-childe, was well entertained by them, and held in great estimation. He had not been long in Ireland, the French King sent for him; for being at that time at variance with King Henry, he thought he might make good use of Perkins, as a pretender against King Henry for the Crown. Perkins being come to Paris, was entertained in a princely fashion; and for his more honour, had a guard assigned himover which the Lord Congested was Captain; He had not been long at Paris, when there reformed to him Sir George Neville Balfard, Sir John Tyler, Richard Robinson, and about a hundred other English. Amongst the rest, one Stephen Fryen, that had been King Henry's Secretary for the French Tongue; but discontented, fled, and became a chief Instrument in Perkins's proceedings. But this flour of Perkins lasted not long; for as soon as Peace was concluded between the two Kings, the King of France dismissed Perkins, and would keep him no longer. Then passed he secretly to his first foundress, the Lady Margaret, who at his first coming, had thought of supplanting him to be Chief Countersfeit: but causing him in great assembles to be brought before her, as though the had never seen him before; and finding him to answer directly to all questions she put unto him: the openly professed, that she was now satisfied, and thought him verily to be her true Nephew, and thereupon assigned a Guard of thirty persons, clothed in Murrey and Blue, and called him the White Rofe of England. Upon report hereof many in England were inclined to take his part; and Sir Robert Clifford, and Robert Barsley were sent into Flanders, to acquaint the Dutch with the peoples respect to Perkins: and indeed Sir Robert Clifford upon sight and conference with him, wrote Letters into England, wherein he affirmed, that he knew him to be the true Son of King Edward, by his face, and other Linements of his body. King Henry hearing of these things, sent certain epilplets into the same King: which in the first instance, fled to Perkins, and by that means the better search out who were of the Conspiracy with him. Whose names being returned unto the King, he caufed them to be apprehended and brought to his presence: the chief of whom were John Ratcliff, Lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Monford, and Sir Thomas Thynneys Knights, William Dawbery, Robert Ratcliff, Thomas Creffny, and Thomas Aftwood: Also certain Priests, William Richford D. of Divinity, Thomas Boys, D. William Sutton, William Wesly, Dean of Pauls Robert Layern and Richard Lifley,of whom some hearing of it, fled to Sanctuary; others were taken and condemned, as Sir Simon Monford, Robert Ratcliff, and William Dawbery, who were all three behelden. The Lord Lord Fitzwater pardoned of life, was conveyed to Callice, and there laid in hold; where seeking to make escape by corrupting his Keeper, he left his head. Shortly after, Sir Robert Clifford, returning out of Flanders, (not as some think, sent a slip from the beginning, but rather now at last, either disaffuming the fraud, or won by rewards) submitted himself to the Kings mercy; discovering unto him as far as he knew, all that were either open or secret abettors of the Conspiracy; amongst whom, he accused Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlain: his accusation being confirmed, Sir William was on a commission between them, Sir William had said, that if he had not been known, that the young man named Perkins were the Son of King Edward the fourth, he would never fight nor bear Arms against him. These words being confidered of by the Judges, seem ed to express a tickle hold of Loyalty; for who could tell how soon he might be perswaded that he knew it? and upon the matter was to be disloyal to King Henry; but for want of better: and withal it struck upon a string, which had always founded harsh in King Henry's ears, as preferring the Title of York before that of Lancaster. Sir William being hereupon arraigned; whether trusting to the greatness of his favours, or the smallnes of his faults, denied little of that wherewith he was charged, and upon confession was adjudged to die; and accordingly on the sixteenth day of February was brought to the Tower-hill, and there beheaded; after whose death, Giles Lord Darby was made Lord Chamberlain. This was that Sir William Stanley, who came in to rescue the Earl of Richmond, when he was in danger of his life, who fet the Crown upon his head: and was the cause of his being faint ed King: And could it enter into his breast, to put him to death, that had faved his life and done him so many great services besides? But it may be said, It was not the Earl of Richmond that did it, but the King of England: for certainly, in many cases, a King is not at liberty to the mercy, so much as a private man may. Though there be that affirm, the cause of his death was not words only, but real acts, as giving aid to Perkins underhand by money. And it seems there was some conflict in the minde of King Henry, what he should do in this case; for he stayed six weeks after his Accusat, before he brought him to his Arraignment. However it was, the summer following, the King went from Engledo to Lathem, to the Earl of Derby, who had married his Mother, and was brother to Sir William Stanley: perhaps to congratulate his own fatety; perhaps to conci dely with him his Brothers death; but certainly to keep the Earl from conceiving any finister opinion of him: For to think that Sir William's being to be Earl of Chester, (an Honour appointed to the Kings Son) or his great wealth, (for he left in his Castle at Hol, in ready money forty thousand Marks, besides Plate and Jewels) were causes that procured or set forward his death; are considerations very unworthy of fo just a Prince, against a servant of fo great despairing. But in this mean while Perkins having gotten a power of idle loose fellows, took to
The Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

The King of Scots in Perkin's quarrel enters and spoils Northumberland.

A Commotion in Cornwall by the Infraduction of Thomas Flammeck, a Lawyer, and Michael Jephthab Smith.

Sea, intending to land in Kent; where, though he were repelled, yet some of his Soldiers would needs venture to go on Land, of whom a hundred and sixty per sons were taken prisoners, whereas of five were Captains; *Mortford, Carbic, Whitehalls, Qnatinon, and Gemyns.* The hundred and fifty per sons were brought to London, railed in Ropes, like Horfes drawing in a Cart, who upon the Arraignment, confessing their offence, were executed, some at London, and fome in Towns adjoining to the Sea. Perkin finding no entertainment in Kent, failed into Ireland, and having stayed there while, and finding them alfo, being a naked people, to be no competent afliftants for him, from thence he failed into Scotland, where he fo moved the King of Scots with his fair words and colourable pretences, (made no doubt before by the Dutchefs of Burgogny) that he received him in great hate, and caufed him to be called the Duke of York; and to perfwade the world, that he thought him so indeed, he gave him in marriage the Lady Katherine Gourdon, Daughter to Alexander Earl of Huntingly, his own near Kinwoman; and foon after, in Perkin's quarrel, entered with a pifant Army into England, making Proclamation, that whofeover would come in and aid the true Duke of York, fould be fpared; but none coming in, he then used all kinds of cruelty, and the whole County of Northumberland was in a manner walled, whereas Perkin at his return, expresfed much grief, faying, It grieffed him to the heart, to fee fuch havoc made of his people: To whom the King anwered, Alas, alas, you take care for them, who for any thing that appears are none of yours; for not one of the Country came in to his Succour. King Henry, inccined with this bold attempt of the King of Scots, called his High Court of Parliament, acquainting them with the necelfity he had of a prefent War to revenge his indignity offered him by the Scots; and thereupon, requiring their aid by money, had a Subfidy of fix confiderable thousand pounds readily granted him; and then in all halfe a pifant Army is provided, and under the conduct of the Lord Daverny, fent into Scotland; but before he arrived there, he was suddenly called back by reafon of a commotion begun at Cornwall, for payment of the Subfidy lately granted, though it were not great, yet they grudged to pay it. The Ring-leaders of this Commotion were Thomas Flammeck a Gentleman learned in the Laws, and Michael Jephthab Smith, who laying the blame blame of this effection upon John Morton Archbishop of Canterbury, and Sir Reynold Bray, as being chief of the Kings Council, exhorted the people to take up Arms; and having assembled an Army, they went to Taunton, where they flew the Provost Peron, one of the Commiffioners for the Subfidy, and from thence came to Wells, intending to go to London, where the King then lay, who having revoc'd the Lord Daverny, appointed Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey (after the death of the Lord Dinhum) made Lord Treasurer of England) to have an eye to the Scots, and if they made invasion, to reft them. In the mean time James Twichet Lord Audley confederated himself with the Re- leaders, who from Wells went to Salisbury, and from thence to Winchester, and fo to Kent, hoping there to have great aid; but found none; for the Earl of Kent, the Lord Albemarle, John Brook, Lord Cobham, Sir Edmund Poyning, Sir Richard Quifold, Sir Thomas Beauchief, John Peakey, and William Sew, were ready in Arms to receive them; whereupon the Rebels brought their Black-battle, four miles distant from London, and there they fett on the top of a hill encamped themselves; whereof the King had knowledge, he presently sent John Earl of Oxford, Henry Beauchief Earl of Liff, Edmund de la Peul Earl of Suffolk, Sir Ricm exp thomas and Sir Hansfrey Stanly to encamp the hill on all fides, that to all hope of flight might be taken from them; and then fet forward himfelf, and encamped in St. George's fields; where for encouragement he made divers Banneries. The next day he fent the Lord Daverny to fet upon the Rebels early in the morning, who firft got the Bridge at Dedford Strand, though strongly defended by the Rebels Archers, whose Arrows were reported to be full Cloth-yard in length; but notwithstanding, the Lord Daverny coming in with his company, and the Earl affailing them on every fide, they were foon overcome: In which conflict were flain of the Rebels above two thousand, taken prisoners a very great number, many of whom the King pardoned, but of the chief Authors none for the Lord Audley was drawn from Newgate to Tower-hill, in a Coat of his own Arms, paint- ed upon paper, reverfed and all torn; and there on the four and twentieth day of June was beheaded; Thomas Flammeck and Michael Joseph were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads and quarters pitched upon stakes, fet up in London and other Places, of the King's Army were flain not above three hundred: It is memorable; with what comfort Joseph the Blacksmith cleared up himfelf at his going to execution, faying, That ye he hoped by this that his name and memory fhould be everlat- ing; so dear even to vulgar spirirs is perpe- tuity of Name, though joyned with infamy: what is it then to Noble Spirits, when it is joy- ned with Glory?

In the mean time the King of Scots, taking ad- vantage of these troubles in England, invaded the Frontiers, forraaped the Bisipromp of Durham, and at laft befieged the City of Norham, whereof Richard Fox then Bishop of Durham was owner: who thereupon fent prefently to the Earl of Surrey, acquifiting him with this: Infeation: Whereupon the Earl, taking with him Ralph Earl of Wemasland, Thomas Lord Barnes, Ralph Lord Nevil, George Lord Strange, many other Lords and Knights, and an Army of little left then twenty thousand men; besides a Navy, whereof the Lord Brook was Admiral, fet forward againft the Scots, and not only forced the Scots to raife the fiege of Norham Caflle; but followed them also into Scotland where he overthrew and deftroyed the Castle at Callimfrair, the Tower of Heten-hill, the Tower of Edington, the Tower of Fulden, and at laft by competition took the strong Caflle of Heyton, and rafed it to the ground.  

1496. The King of Scot invades the Frontiers, but is repelled.
At the Earls being at Hopton, the King of Scots sent to him Marchmont and another Herald, requiring him at his Election, either to fight with him with their whole Armies, or else they two to fight with him in single combat; upon condition, that if the victory fell to the Scottish King, the Earl should deliver for his Ransom the Town of Berwick: Whereunto the Earl made answer, that the Town of Berwick was the King his Mistress, and therefore not for him to dispose of; but for his offer of single Combat, he willingly accepted it, and thought himself highly honoured by such a match: But King James of Scotland had no meaning to perform either one or other, but privately in the night fled back into Scotland, and then the Earl returned to Berwick. In the mean time, one Peter Hylaes, a man of great learning and policy, was sent Ambassadour to the King of Scots, from the King of Spain, to mediate a Peace between the two Kings of England and Scotland; who finding the King of Scots conformable to his motion, found after the King of England (who was never averse from Peace upon honourable conditions) no less inclining to: and so a Truce was concluded for certain years; upon condition, that Perkins Warbeck should be sent out of the Scottish Dominions.

About this time the Lord Complayner, and others sent from Philip Archdale of Auffria, and Duke of Burgundy, came to King Henry for a conclusion of Amytis, and to procure the English Merchants return again to his Country: for being Henry of Burgundy before, upon displeasure with the Flemings, but specially with the Lady Margaret, for asserting Perkins Warbeck, not only had banished all Flemish Wares and Merchandizes out of his Dominions, but had also restrained all English Merchants from having any Traffick in any of their Territories, cutting the Mars for all English Commodities to be kept at Calais: but now, upon this invitation, and having found it had been a great hindrance to his own Merchant-Adventurers, and therupon some Intimations had risen, he willingly condescended to their request, and so the English rejoined again to the Archdales Dominions, and were received into Antwerp with general Proclamation; so glad was that Town of the English mens returns.

In the eleventh year of this Kings Reign, died Civicly Dutches of York, Mother to King Edward the Fourth, at her Castle of Berkmestaid, being of extremage age; she had lived two years next to theTY of her Body Crowned, and four Murthered: she was buried at Sherbingham by her Husband.

Shortly after the Truce concluded between England and Scotland, Perkins Warbeck was commanded to depart out of the Scottish Dominions: who thereupon with his Wife and Family failed into Ireland: where understanding that the Corish men were ready to renew the War again, he thought best not to let pas for so an occasion; and thereupon, having with him four small Ships, and nor above tixscore men, he failed into Cornwall, and there landed in the month of September, and came to a Town called Bodmin: where with fair words and large promi-
for making enquiry of the Offenders, and for affailing their Fines, which they did with great severity to some, with great mildness to others, to all with equity.

It was now the fourteenth year of the Kings Reign, when one Sebastian Gobato, a Genoese Son, born at Brissow, persuaded the King to man and Victual a Ship at Brissow, to search for an Island, which (he said) he knew to be replenished with rich Commodities, who letting forth with three other small Ships of London Merchant, was drowned home two years after, when he had made a large discovery Westward, and would have gone to Cataia, if the Mariners had not forced him to return; as likewise six years before, one Christopher Columbus a Spaniard, made the first discovery of America.

Perkins being in the Tower and carefully guarded, yet found means to escape, and fled to the Priory of Sheen near Richmond, where discovering himself to the Prior of that Monastery, he begged of him for Gods sake, to get the Kings Pardon for his life, which the Prior effectuated: but then was Perkins brought to the Court at Westminster, and was one day fettered in a pair of Stocks before Westminster-Hall, and there stood a whole day; the next day he was set upon a like Scaffold in Cheape-Street, and there standing the whole day alfo, he then read openly his Confession, written with his own hand, wherein he declared his Parentage, and the place of his Birth, and all the passages of his Life, and by what means he was drawn to make this attempt. After this, he was committed again to the Tower, and care taken that he should be better looked to than he was before. But all the care notwithstanding once again Perkins attempted to escape, and drawing into a Confederacy with him the young Earl of Warwicke; by fair words and large promises so corrupted his Keepers, Strangways, Blewets, Affwood, and Long Roper, Servants to Sir John Digby Lieutenant of the Tower, that they intended to have slain their Matter, and set Perkins and the Earl of Warwicke at liberty: But this practice was soon discovered, so that Perkins and John a water, sometime Mayor of Cork in Ireland, one of Perkins chief Founders, were on the sixteenth day of November arraigned at Westminster and condemned, and both of them on the two and twentieth day were drawn to Tyburn and there hanged; and Perkins took upon his death, that the Confession on he had formerly made was true: soon after also Blewet and Affwood, two of the Lieutenants men, were in the same place executed. On the one and twentieth day of the same month, Edward Plantagenet Earl of Warwicke was arraigned at Westminster before the Earl of Oxford, then High Steward of England; not for conferring to break Prison, but for conspiring with Perkins to raise Sedition, and destroy the King: and, upon his confession, bad Judgement, and on the eight and twentieth day of the same month, in the year 1499, was brought to the Scaffold on the Towerhill, and there beheaded. This Earl of Warwicke was the eldest Son of the Duke of Clarence, and was the last Heir-male of the name of Plantagenet, and had been kept in the Tower from his infancy out of all company of Men and fight of Beasts; so as he scarcely knew a Hen from a Goose, nor one Blast from another; and therefore could never know how to practice his escape of himself, but by Perkins Constabulary: for which cause the King fa- voured him so far, that he was not buried in the Tower, but at Baffman by his Auncles. And thus ended the designs of Perkins Warwick, which had troubled both the Kingdom and the King, the space of seven or eight years, a great part of the Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

But in the time of Perkins being in the Tower, another like practice was set on foot; for an Anglican Friar called Patrick, in the County of Suffolk, having a Scholar named Ralph Wiford, a Cordwainers Son, he caunited him to take upon him to be the Earl of Warwick, lately by great chance gotten out of the Tower; and they going together into Kent, when the Friar perceived some light credit to be given to him, he then stuck not to declare it openly in the Pulpis, defiring all men to assist him. But this practice was soon discovered, and both the Master and the Scholars were apprehended and arraigned; the Scholar Wiford was hanged on Shrove-tuesday at S. Thomas Watting, and the Friar was condemned to perpetual Prison for at that time to much reverence was attributed to Holy Orders, that a Priest of such proportion against the King, yet had his life spared: and this practice was some cause to exasperate the King against the Earl of Warwick, who though innocent in himself, yet was noot in pretenders: and besides King Ferdinand of Spain, with whom at this time there was a Treaty for marriage of his Daughter to Prince Arthur, had written to the King in plain terms, that he gave no assurance of his Sons affection, as long as the Earl of Warwicke lived; and thus all things unfortunately concurred to bring this innocent Prince to his end.

In the fifteenth year of his Reign, partly to avoid the danger of the Plague, then reigning in England; but chiefly to confer with the Duke of Burgoyne about many important business: the King and Queen failed over to Colicic, where at an interview between them and the Duke, at St. Peter's Church without Colicic, the Duke offered to hold the Kings Surrump at his alighting, which the King by no means would permit, but depending from Horse-back, they embraced with great affection: and after Communication between them, the King and Queen in the end of June returned into England.

In his feventeenth year, two great Marriages were solemnized: the Lady Katherine of Spains was sent by her Father King Ferdinand, with a perfect Armament of Ships into England; where she arrived at Plimoth, the second day of October; and, on the fourteenth of November after, was espoused openly to Prince Arthur, both being clad in white: he of the age of fifteen years, she of eighteen: at night they were laid together in one Bed, where they lay as Man and Wife all that night: when morning appeared, the Prince (as his Servants about him reported) called for drink, which before he had not used to do: whereas one of his Chamberlaines asking him the cause, he answered merrily, saying, I have been this night in the midst of Spains, which is a hot Country, and that
that makes me so dry: though some write, that a grave Marron was laid in Bed between them, to hinder actual Consummation. The Ladies portion was two hundred thousand Duckers; her joynture the third part of the Principality of Holmby, Caflle and Cheyter. At this Marriage was great solemnity and Royal Jultings: during which time there came into London an Earl, a Bishops, and divers other Noble Perfons, sent from the King of Scots for a conclusion of Marriage (before treated of) between the Lady Margaret, the Kings eldest Daughter, and him; where the Earl, by Proxy in the name of King James his Master, affinced and contrated the said Lady, which Contract was published at Pauls Crofs, the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul; for joy whereof, Te Deum was sung, and great fires were made through the City of London; and it such joy were made when the march was made, what joy shoulde be made now at the issue of the March, when by the Union of those persons is made an Union of these Kingdoms; and England and Scotland are but one great Britain? The Ladies portion was ten thousand pounds, her joynture two thousand pounds a year, after King, and in present one thousand. When this March was propounded at the Council Table, some Lords opposed it; obferving, that by this means the Crown of England might happen to come to the Scotch Nation. To which King Henry answered, What if it should? It would not be an accession of England to Scotland, but of Scotland to England: and this answer of the King passed for an Oracle: and so the March proceeded, and in Auguft following was conffimuated at Edinburgh, and the conducted thither in great flate by the Earl of Northumberland.

Prince Arthur after his marriage, was fent again into Wales, to keep that Countrie in good order; to whom were appointed for Counfellers, Sir Richard Pool his Kinfman and chief Chamberlaine, Sir Henry Vermyn, Sir Richard Crofs, Sir David Philips, Sir William Old, Sir Thomas Engelfield, Sir Peter Marten, John Waite, Henry Marten, and Doctor William Smith President of his Council; but within five months, his marriage, at his Castle at Ludio, he deceafed, and with great folemnity was buried at the Cathedral Church at Worcester. His Brother Henry Duke of York was stayed from the Title of Prince of Wales, the space of half a year, till to women it might appear, whether the Lady Katherine, the Relat of Prince Arthur, was with childe or no. The towardlines in learning of this Prince Arthur is very memorable; who dyeing before the age of feventeen years, was faid to have read over all or most of the Latin Authors, besides many other.

And now prince Arthur being dead, and the Lady Katherine of Spain left a young Widow; King Henry lath to part with her Dowry, but Catly being defirous to continue the Alliance with Spain; prevailed with his other Prince, though with some refufition, fuch as could be in thefe years (for he was scarce twelve years of age) to be contrated with the Princes Katherine his Brothers Widow; for which marriage, a fepifation, by advice of the moft learned men at that time in Christendom, was by Pope furmifh the fecond granted, and on the five and twentieth day of June, in the Bishop of Salisbury'shoule in Flet-ntrt, the marriage was folemnized.

But before thefe time Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, Son to John Duke of Suffolk and Lady Elizabeth Sister to King Edward the fourth, had in his fury killed a mean perfon, and was thereupon indicted of Merchur; for which although he had the Kings Pardon, yet because he was brought to the Kings Bench-Bar, and there arraigned, he took it for so great a blemiff to his Honour, that in great rage he fled into Flanders to his Aunt the Lady Margaret; where having stayed a while, when his passion was over, he returned again. But after the marriage between Prince Arthur and the Lady Katherine, whether it were that in that folemnity he had run himself in debt, or whethcr he were drawn to do fo by the Lady Margaret, he passed over the fecound time, with his Brother Richard into Flanders. This put the King into fome doubt of his intention; whereupon he hath recourfe to his utifal courfe in fuch cafes, and sent Sir Robert Conyn Captain of Hamn, to difcover the truth, to learn the depth of their intentions: And to take away all fuppfion of his employment, the first Sunday of November, he caufed the faid Earl and Sir Robert Conyn, with five others, to be accuses openly at Pauls Crofs, as enemies to him and his Realm.

In conclusion, Sir Robert Conyn acquainted the King with divers of that faction; amongst whom, William Lord Courtry, and William de la Pole, Brother to the forefaid Earl of Suffolk, who were taken but upon fuppfion, yet held long in Prifon but Sir James Tyrrell (the fame that had murdered the two young Princes in the Tower) and Sir John Wifham, who were proved to be Traytors, were accordingly that, and on the fith day of May at the Tower-hill beheaded. Whereof when the Earl heard, despairing now of any good fuccefs, he was wandering about the Country, Sifting finding no succour, he submitted himfelf at last to Philip Duke of Austria, by whom afterward he was delivered to King Henry, by this occasion; Ferdinand King of Aragon, by his Wife Isabella Queen of Cafille, had only two Daughters, the eldest whereof named Jane, was married to this Philip Duke of Austria; the youngerr named Katharine to Arthur Prince of England: and now Queen Isabella being lately dead, by whose death the Kingdom of Cafille defended in Right of his Wife, to this Duke Philip; they were failled out of Germany into Spain, to take pofiefion of the Kingdom; but by tempeft and contrary wifdes were driven upon the Coast of England, and landed at Yewmouth in Dorsetshire; where deliring to refresh themselves a little on shore, they were invited by Sir Thomas Trenthard (a principal Knight in that Country) to his house, who presently fent word to the King of their arrival. King Henry glad to have his Court honoured by fo great a Prince, and perhaps upon hope of a courtesie from him, which afterward he obtained; fent presently the Earl of Arundel to wait upon him, till himself might fol;
follow; and the Earl went to him in great magnificence, with a gallant troop of three hundred horse, and for more state came to him by Torch-light. Upon whose Majestie, though King Philip had many reasons of hate on his journey; yet not to give King Henry diffidence, and withal to give this Queene a com-
fort of seeing the Lord Katherine his Sitter; he sent upon speed to the Queen at Windsor, while her Queen followed by exili journeys. After great magnificence of entertainment, King Henry taking a fit opportunity, and drawing the King of Caffie into a room, where they two only were private, and laying his hand civilly upon his arm, said unto him, Sir, you have been fasten upon my Coast; I hope you will not suffer me to wax upon yours. The King of Caffie asking him what he meant by that speech? I mean it (said the King) by that hare-brain'd fellow the Earl of Suffolk; who being my Subject, is protected in your Country, and begins to play the fool when all others are weary of it. The King of Caffie an-
swered; I had thought, Sir, your felicity had been above those thoughts; but if it trouble you, I will banish him. King Henry replied, that his defire was, that the said gentlemen should be delivered to him; with the King of Caffie a little confudted and said, That can I not do with my Honour: Well then (said the King) the matter is at an end: as left the King of Caffie, who held King Henry in great estimation, composing his countenance, said, Sir, you shall have him; but upon your Honour, you shall not take his life. I pro-
misse it upon your Honour, said King Henry; and he kept his promise, for he was not put to death during all his Reign; but yet he took such order, that in the Reign of his Son King Henry the Eighth, he had his head cut off. During the King of Caffie being here, a Tre-
aty was concluded and bears date at Windsor; which the Fleming term Incontrovertible main, for that the free Fishing of the Dutch upon the Coasts and Seas of England, granted in the Treaty of Uvedemus, was not by his Treaty confirmed, as all other Articles were. And now when King Henry had received the King of Caffie into the Fraternity of the Garter, and had his Son Prince Henry admitted to the Order of the Goldene-fleece; and that the Earl of Suf-
fellke was brought over and committed to the Tower, the King of Caffie departed home.

In this Kings time were two Calls of Ser-
jeants at Law; one in his eleventh year, in
which were called nine Serjeants, Mordant,
Higham, Kingsfoule, Constable, Butler, Tacyly,
Frouck, OXenbridge, and Confable; who kept their Feast at the Bishop of Ely's Palace in Hol-
burn, where the King, the Queen, and all the chief Lords dined. The other Call in his twenti-
hethyear, in which were called eleven Serjeants, Robert Bradell, William Gowrell, Thomas Maron,
George Edger, Lewis Pollard, Guy Palmes, and William Fairfax, who kept their Feast at the Archbishops House in Lambeth.

King Henry having gotten as much honour as the esteemment of neighbouring Princes could give him, began now to be intensive to getting of wealth; wherein he quickly found Instru-
ments fit for his purpose, but especially two,
The Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

torney must speak with you about it. And it is part of the Report, that it cost the Earl for a composition, fifteen thousand Marks. And to show further the King's extreme diligence: I remember (faith Sir Francis Bacon, Lord of Verulam in his History) to have seen long since a Book of accounts of Empson, that had the Kings hand almost to every leaf, by way of singing: and was in some places polluted in the Margaret with the Kings own hand likewise, where was this remembrance:—

* * *

Item, received of such a one five Marks for the Pardon to be procured, and if the Pardon do not pass, the money to be repaid, except the Party be some other was satisfied.

And over against this Memorandum (of the Kings own hand) Otherwise faithful. This (faith he) I do the rather mention, because it shews in the King a carnesse, but yet with a kind of junfrus.

In his three and twentieth year, there was a sharp prosecution against Sir William Capel, now the second time, for mis-government in his majorly: The great matter was, that in some payments he had taken notice of false monies, and did not his diligence to examine who were the Offenders: for which, and some other things laid to his charge, he was two thousand pounds, whereas, being a man of honest, he refused to pay a farthing; and thereupon was sent to the Tower, where he remained until the Kings death. Kneiforth, likewise, that had been lately Mayor of London, and both his Sheriffs, were for abuses in their Offices question'd and imprisoned, and not delivered but upon payment of one thousand four hundred pounds, Sir Lawrence Almier, who had likewise been Mayor of London, and his two Sheriffs, were put to the Fine of one thousand pounds; and Sir Lawrence for refusing to pay it, was committed to prison, where he stayed till Empson himself was committed in his place. By these courses he accumulated to great store of Treasure, that he left at his death, most of it in secret places, under his own key, and keeping at Richmond (as is reported) the sum of near 18,000 hundred thousand pounds and more. But though by this course he preserved to the King's estate, yet by it he lost the great treasure (the peoples hearts) but that he something qualified it by his last Testament, commanding that Restitution should be made of all such monies as had unjustly been levied by his Officers.

It seems King Henry, after the death of his Queen the Lady Elizabeth, had an inclination to marry again; and hearing of the great beauty and vertue of the young Queen of Naples, the Widow of Ferdinand the younger; he sent three confident persons, Francis Martin, James Braybrook, and John Stile, to make two inquiries; one of her person and conditions, the other of her estate: Who returning their answer, that they found her Beauty and Vertue to be great, but her Estate to be only a certain Pension or Exhibition, and not the Kingdom of Naples, as he expected: he then gave over any further meditating in that matter. After this, another Treaty of marrying was brought to the King, betwixt him and the Lady Margaret Dutches Dowager of Savoy, only daughter to Maximilian, and Siller to the King of Caffel; a Lady wife and of great fame: In which business was employed, for his first piece, the Kings then Chaplain, and after, the great Prelate, Thomas Wooley. It was in the end concluded, with ample conditions for the King, but with the promise de Futuro only, Which marriage was procrastated from time to time, in respect of the incontinence of the King: which held him by firs till he died.

He left Executors, Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Richard Fitz-James, Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Durham, John Bishop of Worcester, John Knight, Thomas Duke of Norfolk and Treasurer of England, Edward Earl of Wessex and Lord Chamberlain, John F. Knight, chief Justice of the King's Bench, and Robert R. Knight, chief Justice of the Common Pleas. A little before his death, he had concluded a Marriage (in which negotiation Fox Bishop of Winchester was employed) between his younger Daughter the Lady Mary, of the age of ten years, and Charles King of Caffile, not much elder: but though concluded, yet not solemnized; and she was afterward married to Lewis the French King.

Of his Taxations.

In his third year, there was by Parliament granted toward the maintaining an Army in Britain, that every man should pay the tenth penny of his Goods: which Tax thought at first withfidd in Yorkshire and Durham, yet was afterward levied to the uttermost. In his seventh year, towards his Wars in France, a Benevolence was by Parliament granted, by which great summes of money were collected of the richer fort only. In his eleventh year, a Subsidy of sixfirc hundred pounds was granted him by Parliament, towards his Wars with Scotland, which came afterward the infurrection in Cornwall. In his ninthteenth year a Subsidy was granted him by Parliament. In his one and twentieth year, he raised great summes of money from Offenders against Penal Statutes: the greater, but the unjustly way for raising of money, that ever any King of England used; and not consent with this, he required, and had at the same's benevolence both from the King of Caffel, and the Little Duke, that every man should pay Richard Fox, then Bishop of Winchester; who attending the Clergy before him, exhorted them to be liberal in their contribution: but the Clergy being of two sorts, rich and poor, made each of them several excuses: The rich and such as had great livings, said, they were at great charges in keeping Hospitality, and maintaining their Families; and therefore desir'd to be spared. The poor sort alleged, that their means were small, and scarce able to find out necessaries, and therefore desir'd to be born. But the Bishop answered them both with a pretty Dilemma, saying to the rich, It is true, you live at great charges in Hospitality, in apparel, and other demonstrations of your wealth; and seeing you have more to spend in that order, there is no reason but for your Princes service you should do it much more, and therefore you must pay. To the poorer sort he said, though your lives be small, yet your frugality and economy, and you spend not in haute-keeping and apparel as others do; therefore be content for yourselfly.

King Henry's Executors.

King Henry's Dilemma to draw the Clergy to contribute to the King.

King Henry at his death leaves eighteen hundred thousand pounds in ready money.
The Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

This King was the first that ordained a company of tall strong men (naming them Yeomen of the Guard) to attending about the person of the King; to whom he appointed a Librariy by which to be known, and a Captain by whom to be chosen. In his time the authority of the Star-Chamber, which fitted before by the Common Laws of the Realm, was confirmed in certain cases by Act of Parliament. In his time were made these excellent general Laws: One, that from thenceforth fines should be final, and conclude all straggers rights: Another for admission of poor pursuors, In forma pauperis, without paying Fee to Counsellor, Attorney, or Clerk. Another, that no person that did afflict by Arms or otherwise the King for the time being, should after be Impeached thereof, or Attained either by course of the Law, or by Act of Parliament; and that if any such Act of Attainer did happen to be made, it should be void, and of none effect. Another for the Benevolence, to make the summes which any had agreed to pay, and were not brought in, to be leviable by course of Law. Another, that Murtherers should be burnt on the Brawn of the left hand, with the Letter M. and Thieves with the Letter T. so that if they offended the second time, they should have no mercy, but he put to death and this to reach also to Clerks Convicted. In his fifth year, it was ordained by Parliament, that the Mayors of London should have Confravation of the River of Thames, from the Bridge of Stanns to the waters of Thames and Medway. In his seventeenth John Shaw Mayor of London caufed his Brethren the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the water side when he went to Westminster to be presented in the Exchequer: he also caufed the Kitchens and other houses of Office to be built at the Guild-hall; where since that time the Mayors Fealt hath been kept, which before had been in the Grocers or Taylors Hall. In his eighteenth year King Henry being himself a Brother of the Taylors Company, as divers Kings before had been, namely, Richard the third, Edward the fourth, Henry the sixth, Henry the eldest, Henry the fourth, and Richard the second, also of Dukes 11, Earls 28, Lords 48, he now gave to them the Name and Title of Merchant Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever:

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In the tenth year of his Reign, John Bough toon, Widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certain opinions of John Wickliffe. In his seventh year, King Henry, finding great inconvenienc by the privilege of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope Alexander, deliring him by his authority, to adjudge all English men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treson, to be enemies to the Christian Faith; and co prohbit the privilege of Sanctuary to all such as had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500, a Jubliee in Rome was celebrated; whereof Alexander the then Pope, by his Minister Gasper Pons a Spaniard, gave notice to the King, offering withal, that those who would come to Rome, should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubliee, as if they came; and to the end the King should not Sunder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the Pope, and also promised to bellow it upon a War against the Turk; by which course he gathered great summes, for which he had other use than to spend it to idely. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope Alexander the sixth died of Poyfon, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the Vatican, where his Son Valentine meaning to poyson Adrian Cardinal of Cornetta, sent thither certain flagons of Wine infected with Poyfon, and delivered them to a servante of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for one of his own provision being not yet come: The servante that had the poiuned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son Valentine came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poiyned; but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died: his Son by the strength of youth bare it outstong with long languishing.

Works of Piety and other Structures by him, and others divided.

Greenwich enlarged by King Henry.

Richmond newly built.

The Savoy.

The Title of Merchant Taylors when first given.

The Mayors Feast when first kept at Guild-hall.

The Church of the City of London.

The Name and Title of Merchant Taylors, as a name of worship to endure for ever.

In the tenth year of his Reign, John Bouchton, Widow, was burnt in Smithfield, for holding certain opinions of John Wickliffe. In his seventh year, King Henry, finding great inconvenience by the privilege of Sanctuaries, wrote to Pope Alexander, desiring him by his authority, to adjudge all English men being fled to Sanctuary for the offence of Treson, to be enemies to the Christian Faith; and to prohibit the privilege of Sanctuary to all such as had enjoyed it before: which request the Pope granted, to the great contentment of the King, and quiet of the Realm. In his sixteenth year, being the year 1500, a Jubilee in Rome was celebrated; whereof Alexander the then Pope, by his Minister Gasper Pons a Spaniard, gave notice to the King, offering withal, that those who would come to Rome, should notwithstanding at a certain price have Pardons, and as full a benefit of the Jubilee, as if they came; and to the end the King should not hinder his purpose, both offered part of his gains to the Pope, and also promised to bellow it upon a War against the Turk; by which course he gathered great summes, for which he had other use than to spend it to idely. In the two and twentieth year of this King, Pope Alexander the sixth died of Poyson, by this accident: He went to supper in a Vineyard near the Vatican, where his Son Valentine meaning to poyson Adrian Cardinal of Cornetta, sent thither certain flagons of Wine infected with Poyson, and delivered them to a servante of his, who knew nothing of the matter; commanding him, that none should touch them, but by his appointment: It happened, the Pope coming in something before supper, and being very dry through the immoderate heat of the season, called for one of his own provision being not yet come: The servante that had the poioned Wine in keeping, thinking it to be committed to him as a special Wine, brought of it to the Pope; and while he was drinking, his Son Valentine came in, and drank also of the same; whereby they were both poiyned; but the Pope only overcome of the Poyson, died: his Son by the strength of youth bare it outstong with long languishing.

Works of Piety and other Structures by him, and others
another at Newcastle, and a third at Southampton. And drawing near his end, he did these works of Charity: He granted a general Pardon to all men, for any offence committed against any of his Laws, Thieves, and Murderers only excepted: He paid also all Fees of all Prisoners in all Goals in and about London, abiding there for that cause only: He paid also the Debts of all such persons as lay in the Counters or Ludgate for forty shillings or under, and some also for ten pounds. In his eighteenth year, the Chappel of our Lady, above the East-side of the High Altar at Westminster Church, with a Tavern called the White-Rose near adjoining, was taken down, in which place a most beautiful Chappel was then prefently begun to be built by King Henry; the charges whereof amounted to the summe of fourteen thousand pounds (as Stow witnesseth.) In his second year, the great Conduit in Cheshiefe at the charges of Thomas Alcoider of London, was new made; and the Crofs also in Cheshiefe was new built; towards the charges whereof Thomas Fisher Mercer gave five hundred Marks. In his fourteenth year, the Conduit in Greatfrecia was begun to be built by the Executors of Sir Thomas Hil Grocer, late Mayor of London. Also this year, Hugh Clapton Mayor of London, builded the great Bridge of Stratford upon Avon; as likewise a fair Chappel towards the South-end of that Town; and near unto the same, a pretty house of Brick and Timber, where he lay and ended his life: He gazed also the Chancel of the Parish Church in that Town; and made a way of four miles long, three miles from Albury towards London, and one mile beyond Albury. In his tenth year, John Tate Mayor of London, builded the Church of St. Anthonies with a Free-School, and certain Alm-houses for poor men. In his time his Mother the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond built two Colledges in Cambridge, one called Chriftis Colledge, the other St. John's; and endowed them with large Poffeffions, for the maintenance of Learning. Edward Bishop of Winchester, founded Corpus Chrifti Colledge in Oxford, and William Smith Bishop of Lincoln, Bracon's Colledge: He also built at Lichfield an Hospital, for a Master, two Priests, and ten poor men; as likewise a Free-School, with a School-Master, and an Ufher. Anne Aveling gave an hundred Marks towards the building of the Church in Ciefter. In his time also John Alcock Bishop of Ely, builded Jesus Colledge in Cambridge: and in his two and twentieth year Theobald Mayour of London builded the Conduit at Bishopfgate at his own charge; and gave to the Fifhmongers certain Tenements; for which they are bound to allow to four Scholars, two at Oxford, and two at Cambridge, to each of them four pounds a year; also to poor people and Prisoners in Ludgate something yearly. In his twentieth year, Sir William Cafl-Mayor of London, caused all Hunsftedch to be paved over; which till that time, had lien very noxiously to all travellers that way. In his fortieth year, all the Gardens without Margate (which had continued time out of minde) were destroyed, and of them was made a plain Field, for

Archers to shoot in. In this Kings time also, Thomas Savage Archbishop of York, repaired the Castle of Carloue, and the Manor of Sroby, and founded the Chappel at Mulesfield in Chesire, where he was born. Also in his time Sir Stephen Gunning Mayor of London, founded a Free Grammar School at Wolverhampton in Staffordshire, where he was born; and gave Lands sufficient for a Master and an Ufher, leaving the oversight to the Merchant Taylors in London. This Town of Wolverhampton, commonly called, is originally and rightly called Whiffrane, or Whiffram, upon this occasion. The Town was anciely called Hampton, to which a noble Woman named Whiffrane, a Widow, for sometime Wife of Athelm Duke of Northampton, obtained of King Ethelred, to give lands to the Church there which she had founded; and thereupon the Town took the addition of the said Whiffrane. In this Kings time also John Colet Dean of Painsford, founded Pains School in the Church-yard there.

Casualties happening in his time.

In his first year, happened the Sicknes called the Sweating Sicknes, which though it continued not long, yet took away many thousands; and in his two and twentieth year, the like Sweating Sicknes happened again; but, by reason of Remedies found in the former, took away fewer.

In his second year Wheat was sold for three shillings the Quarter, Bay-falt at the like price.

In his seventh year Wheat was sold at London for twenty pence the Bushel, which was counted a great dearth. In his tenth year, Wheat was sold at London for six pence the Bushel, Bay-falt for three pence half-penny, Nantwich Shillings for six pence, white Herrings nine shillings the Barrel, red Herrings three shillings the Cade, red Sprats six pence the Cade, and Gafargon Wines for six pounds the Tun. In his fifteenth year Gafargon Wine was sold at London for forty shillings the Tun, a quarter of Wheat four shillings, and Bay-falt four pence the Bushel. The two and twentieth of August 1485, the very day that King Henry got the Victory of King Richard, a great fire was in Bread-freet in London, in which was burnt the Parfon of St. Mildred's, and one other man in the Parfonage there.

In his tenth year, in digging a new Foundation in the Church of St. Mary Hill in London, the body of Alice Blackway, which had been buried in the Church a hundred fifty years before, was found whole of skin, and the joints of her Arms pliable, which Corps was kept above ground four days, without annoyance, and then again buried.

In his twelfth year, on Bartholomew day, at the Town of St. Becks in Bedfordshire there fell Hail-stones that were measured eighteen Inches about.

A dead body found in a whole of skin above a hundred years after he was buried.

In his thirteenth year, on the one and twentieth of December, suddenly in the night broke out a fire in the Kings Lodgings, being then at his Manor of Sloen; by violence whereof a great part of the old Building was burnt, with Hangings, Beds, Apparel, Plate, and many Jewels. In his fifteenth year, the Town of Brabam in Nor
Norfolk was burnt: also this year, a great Plague happened, whereof many people died in many places, but specially in London, where there died in that year thirty thousand.

In his twentieth year, Alum which for many years had been sold for six shillings a hundred, rose to five Nobles a hundred, and after to four Marks.

In his two and twentieth year the City of Norwich was well-near consumed with fire. Also in the same year, in July, Gallery new builded at Richmond, wherein the King and the Prince his Son had walked not an hour before, fell suddenly down, yet no man hurt.

The great Temple which drave King Philip into England, blew down the Golden Eagle from the Spire of Pauls; and in the fall, it fell upon a sign of the black Eagle, which was in Pauls Churchyard, in the place where the School-house now standeth; and battered it and brake it down. This the people interpreted to be an ominous Prognostick upon the Imperial House; as indeed it proved: for this King Philip being the Emperour Son, arriving in Spain, sickned soon after; and being but thirty years of age, deceased: upon whose decease his Wife Queen Anne, out of her tender love to him, fell distracted of her Wits.

Of his Wife and Children,

He married Elizabeth eldest Daughter of King Edward the Fourth, being of the age of nineteen years; whom two years after his Marriage he caused to be Crowned: She lived his Wife eighteen years, and died in Childbed in the Temple of London, the eleventh of February, the very day in which she was born; and is buried at Westminster, in the magnificent Chappel and rich Monument of Copper and Gilt, which her Husband had erected. He had

by her three Sons and four Daughters: his eldest Son Arthur was born at Winchester, the twelfth day of September, in the second year of his Reign, and died at Ludwidge, at fifteen years old and a half: and of this short life some cause may be attributed to his Nativity, being born in the eighth month after conception: He was buried in the Cathedral Church of St. Marie in Pariis; where he is buried, in the South-side of the Quire he lies entombed in Touch or Jet, without any remembrance of him by Picture. His second Son Henry was born at Greenwich in Kent, on the two and twentieth day of June, in the seventh year of his Fathers Reign; and succeeded him in the Kingdom. His third Son Edmund was born in the tenth year of his Fathers Reign, and died at five years of age, at Bishops Hatfield, and lies buried at St. Peters in Westminster. His eldest Daughter Margaret was born the ninth and twentieth day of November, in the fifth year of her Fathers Reign; and at fourteen years of age was married to James the fourth King of Scotland; unto whom the bare three Sons, James, the third, Arthur, and Alexander, and one Daughter, which three last died all of them young; and after the death of her Husband King James, (slain at Flodden-field in fight against the English) she was re-married to Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus, in the year 1514, to whom the bare Margaret, espoused to Matthew Earl of Lenox, Father of the Lord Henry, who died at the age of nine months, and lieth interred in the upper end of the Chancel in the Parish Church of Stepney near London: Her second Son was Henry Lord Darnley, reputed for Periagon the goodliest Gentleman of Europe; who married Mary Queen of Scotland, the Royal Parents of the most Royal Monarch James the first, King of Great Britain. Her third Son was Charles Earl of Lenox, Father to the Lady Arbeles. King Henry's second Daughter the Lady Elizabeth was born in the year 1492, at three years of age died, and was buried at Westminster; His third Daughter the Lady Mary had been promised to Charles King of Caliile; but was married to Lewis the twelfth, King of France; who dying three months after, she was then married to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk: His fourth Daughter, the Lady Katherine was born in the year 1503, in the eighteenth year of her Fathers Reign, and died an Infant.

Of his Personage and Conditions.

He was of body lean and spare, yet of great strength; of stature somewhat higher than the common fort; his eyes gray, his hair thin, of a fair complexion, and pleasing countenance. Concerning his Conditions, he had in him the Browse of a Prince, and of a private man; affable, yet reserved. We might say he was Politick, if not rather that he was Wise: for though he used tricks of Cunning sometimes, yet solid Circumpection more. He loved not War, but in case of necessity; always Peace, but with conditions of Honour. Never any Prince was les addicted to bodily pleasures of any kind, than he. Three pleasures he had, but in three cafes; one for Satyry, another for Honour, and the third for Wealth; in all which he attained his end. His great respect of the Church was feen by his great employment of Church-men; for through the hands of Bishops Moron, Bishops Fox, and his Chaplain Uffewich, the greatest part of all his Negotiations passed. He was frugal from his Youth, not covetous, still affable and kindly: and therefore what defect he had in this kind, must be attributed to age and weakness. The City of London was a Paradise, for what good fortune forever befell him, he thought he enjoyed it nor, till he acquainted them with it. His Parliament was his Oracle; for in all matters of importance he would ask their advice; and he put his very Prerogative sometimes into their hands. He was no great lover of Women; yet all his great fortune both precedent and subsequent came by Women; his own Title to the Crown was by a Woman; his Confirmation in the Crown was by a Woman; his transmigration of the Crown to his Politery, was by a Woman: The first by the Lady Margaret, descended from John of Gaunt; the second by the Lady Elizabeth, eldest Daughter of King Edward the fourth; the third by the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of himself King of England, and married to James the Fourth, King of Scotland; by means whereof, as he was...
The Reign of King Henry the Seventh.

By Ben Jonson

The Prince that joyed the two Roes in one, for he was the Founder of joying the two Kingdoms in one. And lastly, it may be said of him as was said by one of Angius Caeftt, Ecter, qui quem promissi fapius amavit: For Cadwalader last King of the Britains seven hundred years before had prophesied of him; and of later time King Henry the sixth plainly foreshadowed him.

Of his Death and Burial.

In the twentie and twentieth year of his Reign, he began to be troubled with the Gout; but a defluxion also taking into his Breast, wafted his Lungs, so that thrice in a year, and specially in the Spring, he had great fits and labours of the Pulpick, which brought him to his end; at his Palace of Richmond, on the two and twentieth day of April in the year 1508. when he had lived two and fifty years, reigned three and twenty and eight months, being dead, and all things necessary for his Funeral prepared; his Corps was brought out of the Nor- chamber, into the great Chamber, where it rested three days; and every day there was a Dirge and Mafs sung by a Prelate, Mitered; and from thence it was conveyed into the Hall, where it remained also three days, and had a like service there; and so three days in the Chapel: Upon Wednesday the ninth of May, the Corps was put into a Chariot, and over the Corps was a picture of the late King, laid on Cushions of Gold; and the Picture was apparelled in the Kings rich Robes, with a Crown on the head, and a Ball and Scepter in the hands: when the Chariot was thus ordered, the Kings Chaplain and a great number of Prelates set forward, praying; then followed all the Kings Servants in Black; then followed the Charior, and over the Chariot nine Mourners, and on every side were carried torches, to the number of sixty; and in this order they came from Richmond to St. George's Field, where the corpse met with it all the Priests and Religious men within the City and without: The Mayor and Aldermen, with many Commoners, all clothed in Black, met with the Corps at London Bridge; and so the Chariot was brought throughout the City to the Cathedral of St. Paul, where the Body was taken out, and carried into the Chroy, and set under a goodly Hearse of Wax; where, after a solemn Mafs, was made a Sermon by the Bishop of Rochester: The next day the Corps in like manner was removed to Westminster; Sir Edward Howard bearing the Kings Banner. In Westminster was a curious Hearse full of Lights, which were lighted at the coming of the Corps; and then was the Corps taken out of the Chariot by six Lords, and set under the Hearse, which was double roiled: when the Mourners were set, Garter, King at Arms cried, For the soul of the Noble Prince Henry the seventh and late King of this Realm: The next day were three Masses solemnly sung by Bishops, and after the Masses was offered the Kings Banner and Courier; his Coat of Arms, his Sword, his Target, and his Helm, and at the end of the Mafs, the Mourners offered up rich Pall of Cloth of Gold and Bodkin: and when the Chrise sung Librums, the Body was put into the Earth; then the Lord Treasurer, Lord Steward, Lord Chamberlain, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Kings Houfhold brake their Staves, and cast them into the Grave: Then Garter cried with a loud voice, Vive le Roy Henry le huitieme, Roy d' Angliëre & de France, sire d'Irlande: And thus ended the Funeral.

Of Men of Note in his time.

Of Men of Valour and Arms, they are to be seen in the History of this Kings Reign: For men of Letters in his time, of Foreigners were Santius Pagninus a great Hebrician; Leoncricus, Gattinaria, Celatius and Optatus, Physicians; Angius Niphius, Jacobus Faber, Stephanus and Pighius, Philosophers; Petrus Brandon, and the famous Clerk Renckin, who restored again the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue. Of our own Country, there lived in his time, George Ripley a Carmelite Frier of Bofom, who wrote divers Treatises in the Mathematicks; and after his death was accounted a Necromancer; John Erghom born in York, a Black Frier, studious in Prophecies, as by the Title of the works he wrote may appear. Thomas Maclerie a Welfman, who wrote of King Arthur, and of the Round Table. John Royle born in Warwickshire, a diligent searcher of Antiquities, and wrote divers Treatises of Historical Argument: Thomas Scroop furnamed Bradley, of the Noble Family of the Scroops, entred into divers Orders of Religion, and after withdrew himself to his house, where for twenty years he lived the life of an Anchoret; and after, coming abroad again was made a Bishop in Ireland, and went to Roode in Amblaflage; from whence being returned, he went barefooted up and down in Norfolk, teaching the Ten Commandments, and lived till near a hundred and old, John Tomney, an Aughite Frier in Norvich, who wrote certain Rules of Grammar, and other things princed by Richard Pincon. Robert Fabian a Shiffe of London, and an Historigapher. Edmund Dudley, the faman whom King Henry used to take the forreiters of Penal Statutes; who wrote a Book entituled Arbor Rei-publicae. John Bockingbam an excellent Schoolman: and William Blackeye a Carmelite Frier, a Doctor of Divinity; and a Necromancer.

Mayor and Sheriffs of London in this Kings time.

In his first year,
Sir Hugh Brice was Mayor.
John Tate, John Swan, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Sir Henry Cellet was Mayor.
John Percival, Hugh Clapton, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
William Horn was Mayor.
John Fekel, William Remington, Sheriffs.
In his fourth year,
Robert Tate was Mayor.
William Impey, Ralph Tinley, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
William White was Mayor.
William Capel, John Brooks, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
John Matthew was Mayor.
Henry Cote, or Coot, Robert Revel, and he dying,
Hugh Pemberton, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Hugh Clepton was Mayor.

In his eighth year,
Sir William Martin was Mayor.
William Purchase, William Wallack, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Ralph Adnery was Mayor.
Robert Fabian, John Winger, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Richard Chawrie was Mayor.
Nicholas Alwin, John Warner, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir Henry Colles was Mayor:
Thomas Knutsforth, Henry Somer, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
John Tate was Mayor.
John Shee, Richard Hezon, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
William Purchase was Mayor.
Barthol. Rede, Thomas Winder, or Windout, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir John Percival was Mayor.
Thomas Bradbury, Stephen Gennings, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Nicholas Aldmine was Mayor.
James Wilford, Thomas or Richard Brad, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
William Remington was Mayor.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir John Shea was Mayor.
Lawrence Aymer, Henry Hede, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of

KING HENRY
THE EIGHTH.

KING Henry the Seventh being deceased, his only son Prince Henry heir by his Father of the House of Lancaster, and by his Mother of the House of York; by unquestionable right succeeded in the Crown, at the age of eighteen years, on the two and twentieth of April, in the Year 1509, who having been trained up in the study of good Letters all his Fathers time; he governed at first as a man newly come from Contemplation to Action, as it were by the Book; in so regular and fair a manner, that as of Newe Government, there was said to be Quiquamium Nomen; so of this Kings, there might as just be said, Decennium Henry; and perhaps double so long a time, comparable with so much time of any Kings Reign, that had been before him. How he came to alter, and to alter to such a degree of change as he did, we shall then have a fit place to shew, when we come to the time of his alteration.

King Henry, having learned by Books, that the weight of a Kingdom is too heavy to lie upon one mans shoulders, if it be not supported by able Councillors; made it his first care, to make choice of an able Council; to which he called William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Chancellor of England, Richard Fox Bishop of Winchester, Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, and Treasurer of England, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Steward of his Household, Charles Somerset Lord Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lovel, Sir Henry Wyat, Doctor Thomas Rishal, and Sir Edward Poyning; by advice of these Councillors, his first Act after the care of his Fathers Funeral, was the care to perform his Fathers Will, in marrying the Lady Katherine of Spain, the Relief of his Brother Prince Arthur; to which perhaps, but in respect of formal piety, he had not the greatest devotion; and for relinquishing whereof, he might (no doubt) more easily have obtained a Dispensation from the Pope; than his Father had done, for getting it to be allowed; but obstinacy in his Fathers desire, and respect to his Councils advice, so far prevailed with him, that he would not be Crowned, till that were performed, that one Coronation might serve them both; and so on the third day of June following, he married the said Lady at the Bishop of Salisbury House in Fleet-street; where of many great Solemnities, I will remember but this one; that though the Bride were a Widow, yet to shew she was a Virgin Widow, she was attired all in white, and had the hair of her head hanging down behind at the full length; and then (having made in the Tower Court and twenty Knights of the Bath two days after being Midsummer day, he was Crowned at Westminster, together with his Queen, by the hands of William Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, with all circumstancies of State in such cafes usual; and then all the Nobility, Spiritual and Temporal, did him Homage; and the people being asked whether they would receive him for their King, they all with one voice, cried, Yes, Yes. This done, his next Act was another part of performing his Fathers Will, which was to proclaim Pardons for all Offences, (Treason, Murder, and Felony only excepted) and to have restitution made of all goods unjustly taken from any; and because the Instruments of such injustice are always most odious, and nothing gives the people so much contentment, as to see their Persecutors punished; he therefore caused Empson and Dudley, the two chief Actors of the late unjust proceedings, to be committed to the Tower, and divers of their inferior Agents, called Promoters, as Canby, Page, Smith, Derby, Wight, Simpson, and Scott, to be fet on the Pillory in Cornhill, with Papers on their heads, and then to ride through the City, with their faces to the Horse tails; with the flame whereof in seven days after, they all died in Newgate. Shortly after a Parliament was called, whereof Sir Thomas Ingley was chosen Speaker; and therein Empson and Dudley were attainted of High Treason, and after arraigned; Edmund Dudley in the Guildhall, on the seventeenth of July, and Sir Richard Empson at Northampton in October following; and on the seventeenth of August the year following, they were both of them beheaded on the Tower-hill, and their bodies and heads buried, the one at White-Friers, the other at the Black.

On Midsummer Eve at night, King Henry came privily into Cheapside, cloathed in one of the Coats of his Guard, to behold the fame; and this first year King Henry spent in Juilts and Masks, which were almost perpetual, performed with great Magnificence always; and sometimes with great acts of Valour on the Kings part specially.

In February the same year, Ambassadors came from
from the Kings Father in law, the King of Ara
gon, requiring aid against the Moors; in which
service, the Lord Thomas Darcy, a Knight of
the Garter, making suit to be employed, he
was sent thither, and with him the Lord An-
thony Gray, Brother to the Marques Dalset,
Henry Guilford, Wolsum Brown, and William Sid-
ney, Esquires of the Kings House, Sir Robert Con-
sable, Sir Roger Hastings, Sir Ralph Ellerton,
and others, who, on the Monday in the Rega-
ton Week, departed out of Plymouth Haven
with four Ships Royal, and on the first of June
arrived at the Port of Cadiz in South Spain;
whence coming the King of Aragon's hear-
ing, sent to bid them welcome; but advertis-
ing them thither, that he had other occasion of new
troubles with France, took truce with the
Moors, and therefore they might return again
to their own Countrey, to whom yea he allow-
ed wages for all his Souldiers. Whereupon
the Lord Darcy and all his men went aboard their
Ships; but Henry Guilford, Wolsum Brown, and
William Sydney, desirous to see the Court of
Spain, went thither, and were honourably en-
tertained. Henry Guilford, and Wolsum Brown
were made Knights by the King; who gave to
Sir Henry Guilford a Canton of Granado; and
to Sir Wolsum Brown an Eagle of Sicily on a Chief,
to the augmentation of their Arms; William
Sydney so excuted himself, that he was not made
Knight, After this they returned to their Ships
and their Ships into England.

During the time that the Lord Darcy was in
Spain, the Lady Margaret Dutchefs of Savoy,
Daughter unto Maximiliano the Emperor, and
Governor of Flanders, and other of the King's
Court Natives, pertaining to Charles the young
Prince of Caffile, sent to King Henry for fifteen
hundred Archers, to aid her against the Duke
of Gelders, which the King granted; and there-
upon Sir Edward Papers Knight of the Garter,
and Comptroller of the Kings House appointed
to go, accompanied with his Son in Law the
Lord Clinton, Sir Matthew Brown, Sir John Dig-
by, John Wrogton, Richard Willerick, and others
to the number of fifteen hundred, took Shipping
at Sandwich, and passing over to the said Lady
Regent, did her there great service; for which
John Norton, John Fosse, John Scot, and Thomas
Linde were Knighted; and then with many
thanks and rewards returned, not having lost
in all the Journey, by War or Sickness, above
an hundred men.

In the third year of King Henry's Reign, one
Andrew Barton a Scottish Pyrate, was grown so
bold, that he robbed English ships more than he
should. At last the King sent his Admiral,
Sir Edward Howard, to reprefent him, who in a
fight wounded the said Barton, that he died;
and then taking two of his Ships, brought the
men Prisoners to London; and though their
offence deferred no less than death, yet the
King was so mercifull as to pardon them all; pro-
vided they departed the Realm within twenty
days. The King of Scots hearing of the death of
Barton, and taking of his Ships, sent to King
Henry, requiring reparation; but King Henry
answered his Herald, that he rather looked for
thanks for sparing their lives, who so justly had
defered death.

The third year also of King Henry's Reign,
the French King made sharp War against Pope
Julius the second; whereupon King Henry
wrote to the French King, requiring him to
defait his War against the Pope, being his
Friend and Confederat; but when the King
of France little regarded his request, he then
sent him word to deliver him his Inheritance of the
Dutchy of Normandy and Guayen, and the
Countreys of Anjou and Mayne; as also his
Crown of France, or else he would recover it
by the Sword. But when the King of France
was not moved with this threatening neither;
King Henry then joining in League with the
Emperor Maximiliano, with Ferdinand King of
Spain, and all the rich order Princes, retired
by advice of his Council to make War on the
King of France, and to that end made prepara-
tion both by Sea and Land.

This year the King kept his Christmas at
Greenwich, in a most magnificent manner. On
New-years day was presented one of his Jo-
vial Devices, which, only for a Pattern what
his shows at other times were, I think fit to set
down at large. In the Hall was made a Caffle,
garnished with Armillery and Weapons, in a
molt warlike fashion, and on the Front of the
Caffle was written, la Fortrefq Dangereuf:
within the Caffle were fix Ladies, cloathed in
Ruffet Satten, laid all over with leaves of Gold;
on their heads Crowls and Caps of Gold. After
this Caffle had been carried about the Hall, and
the Queen had beheld it, in came the King with
five other, appareld in Coats, one half of Ruffet Satten, with Spangles of fine Gold;
the other half of Gold, and the rest of the
heads Caps of Ruffet Satten, embroidered with
works of fine Gold. These six assaulting the
Caffle, whom the Ladies seeing so lulty and cou-
rageous, they were contented to folace with
them; and upon further communication, to
yield the Caffle; and so they came down and
danced a long space; after that the Ladies led
the Knights into the Caffle, and then the Caffle
suddenly vanifhed out of their sights. On
the twelfth day at night, the King with eleven more
were disguifed, after the manner of Italy, cal-
led a Mask; a thing not seen before in England.
They were appareld in Garments long and
broad, wrought all with Gold, with Vitfors and
Caps of Gold. And after the Banquet done,
their Maskers came in, with fix Gentlemen dis-
guifed in Silk, bearing daft Torches, and de-
pired the Ladies to dance, and after they had
danced and communed together, took their
leave and departed.

The first of February began the Parliament,
of which was Speaker Sir Robert Sheffield,
Knight, where the Archbishop of
Canterbury fliewed the wrong which the King
of France did to the King of England, in with-
holding his Inheritance from him; and there-
upon the Parliament concluded; that War
should be made on the French King and his
Dominions.

At this time King Ferdinand of Spain, having
War with the French King, wrote to his Son in
Law King Henry, that if he would lend over an
Army into Bavy, and invade France on that side;
he would aid them with Ordinance, Horses, and
and all other things necessary: whereupon Thomas Gray, Marquefs Dorset, was appointed to go, and with him the Lord Howard, Son and Heir to the Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Brook, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Ferrers, the Lords John, Anthony, and Leonard Gray, all Brothers to the Marquefs; Sir Griffith ap Rice, Sir Maurice Berkeley, Sir William Sands, the Baron of Burford, and Sir Richard Crawford his Brother, William Haver, John Melton, William King of Ely, and Sir Henry Willoughby, with divers others, to the number of a thousand men, who being at Southampton on the fiftenth of May, the third of June they landed on the Coaft of Bidey, whither, within three days after their arrival, came the King a Marquefs and an Earl to welcome them; but of such necessaries as were promised, there came none: for the English being in some want of victuals, the King of Navarre offered to supply them, which they accepted; and promised thereupon not to molest their Territories. After the Army had lien thirty days, looking for aid and provision from the King of Spain, at laft a Bishop came from the King, defiring them to have patience a while, and very shortly he would give them full contentment. In the mean time the English men forced to feed upon much Garlick, and to drink of hot Wines, fell into such sickness, that many of them died; at laft eighteen hundred persons: which the Lord Marquefs feeing, he went to the King to know his pleafures who fent him another, that very shortly the Duke of Alba fhould come with a great power, and joy in with him: and indeed the Duke of Alba came forward with a great Army, as if he meant to joyn with him as was promised; but being come within a days journey, he suddenly turned towards the Realm of Navarre; and entering the fame, chafed out the King, and conquered the Kingdom to the King of Spain's ufe. This Spanish policy pleafed not the English, who finding nothing but words from the King of Spain, and being weary of lying so long idle, they fell upon some small Towns in the borders of Guien; but, for want of Horfes, as well for service as draught, were unable to perform any great matter: at which time, being now Oliver, the Lord Marquefs fell sick, and the Lord Howard fupplied his place of General. To whom the King of Spain once again fent excufing his prefent coming, and requiring him, being the time of year was now past, that he would be pleased to break up his Army, and difperfe his Companies into Towns thereabouts till the next Spring, when he would not fail to make good all his promifes: Hereupon the Lord Howard and his Company went to Rendes, the Lord Willoughby to Gorfechance, and Sir William Sands with many other Captains to Fentery. King Henry in the mean time, hearing what the King of Spain intention was; fent his Herald Windor with Letters to the Army, willing them to tarry there; for that very shortly he meant to fend them a new supply of Forces, under the conduct of the Lord Herbert his Chamberlain; but this meafage fo incenfed the Soldiers, that in a great fury they had flain the Lord Howard, if he had not yielded preternaturally to return home; who thereupon was forced to hire Ships, and in the beginning of December they landed in England; being caught by this experience what truth is to be given to Spanish promises.

About the fame time that the Marquefs went into Spain, Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral of England, with twenty great Ships made forth towards Britain: where letting his men on land, he burned and waited divers Towns and Villages, and being threatened by the Lords of Britain to be encountered, to encourage his Gentle-men, he made order of them Knights; as Sir Edward Broad, brother to the Lord Willoughby, Sir Griffith Down, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir John Burdet, Sir William Perton, Sir Henry Sherburn, and Sir William Ball. The British were near thousand, the English but five and twenty hundred; yet the British, not con-tented with this advantage of number, would needs use policy besides; for, by the advice of an old experienced Captain, their General commanded his men, that as soon as the Battles were joyned, they fhould retire a little, mean-ting thereby to draw the English into some dif-ad-venture; but the common Soldiers not knowing their Generals purpofe, and supposing he had fent some prefent danger, instead of retiring took their heels and fled; fo giving the English by their British policy, if not a Victory, at laft a safety to return to their Ships. After which the British fied for Truce, and could not obtaih it; for the English Admiral pursued his Forraging the Country, till fearing there were many French Ships abroad at Sea, he came and lay before the Ifle of Wight. King Henry in the mean time followed his pleasures, and in June kept a folemn Jult at Greenwich, where he and Sir Charles Brandon took up all comers; and the King fiewed himfelf no lefs a King at Arms than in Estate.

After this, King Henry having prepared men and Ships ready to go to Sea, under the Go vernance of Sir Anthony Othoebred, Sir Edmund Ichingham, William Sidney, and divers other Gentlemen; appointed them to take the Sea, and to come before the Ifle of Wight, there to joyn with the Admiral; which all together made a Fleet of five and twenty fair Ships: and to Portsmouth he went himfelf to fee them, where he appointed Captains, for one of his chiefef Ships called the Regent, Sir Thomas Knave Matter of his Horfe, and Sir John Carnew of Downs-hire, and to another principal Ship called the Sovereign, he appointed for Captains, Sir Charles Brandon, and Sir Henry Guilford; and then making them a Banquet, fent them going. The French King likewise had prepared a Navy of nine and thirty Ships in the Haven of Brift, whereof the chief was, a great Carrick, called the Cordeliers, pertaining to the Queen his Wife. These two Fleets met at the Bay of Britain, and there entered a terrible fight: the Lord Admiral made with the great Ship of Deep, and falted her; Sir Charles Brandon and Sir Henry Guilford being in the Sovereign, made with the great Carrick of Brift, and laidiffe to fitime to her; but, whether by negligence of the Miter, or by reason of the feoke from the Ordinance, the Sovereign was call at the stern of the Carrick; whereas the French men
houted for joy; which Sir Thomas Knott seeing, suddenly he caus'd the Regent in which he was, to make to the Carrick, and to grapple with her a long board; and when they of the Carrick perceived they could not get ainder, they let slip an Anchor, and so with the_stream the Ship turned, and the Carrick was on the West side, and the Regent on the Lee side; at which time a cruel fight passed between these two Ships: But in conclusion the English men enreader the Carrick, which when a Gunner faw, he desperately fere fire on the Gun-powder (as some fay) though others affirmed, that Sir Anthony Northfread following the Regent at the Stern, bow'd her on divers places, and fet her powder on fire; but howsoever it chance'd the Carrick and the Regent both were confumed by fire. In the Carrick was Sir Peter Morgan, and with him nine hundred Men: In the Regent were Sir Thomas Knott and Sir John Carew, and with them seven hundred Men, all drowned and burnt. King Henry to repair the los of the Regent, caus'd a great Ship to be made, such a one as had never been feen in England, and name'd it Henry Gracete Dici.

Though King Henry had hitherto followed his pleafures, as well agreeing with his youth and conftitution; yet he neglected not in the mean time the fefterer duties of his place; he frequenc'd daily his Council Table, and no matter of importance was refolved on, till he had heard it first maturely discussed: as was now a War with France, which he would not enter into upon his own head, nor yet upon advice of his private Council, till he had debated and concluded in Parliament; whereupon he call'd his High Court of Parliament, wherein it was refolved, that himfelf in perfon with a Royal Army, fhould invade France; and towards the charges thereof an extraordinary Subsidy was willingly granted.

On May even this year, Edmund de la Pool Earl of Suffolk was beheaded on the Tower-hill: This was that Earl of Suffolk, whom King Philip Duke of Austria had delivered up into the hands of King Henry the Seventh, upon his promise that he would not put him to death; which indeed he performed; but King Henry the Eflhing was not bound by that promise, and by him he was; and shortly after, to bring another Lord in his place, Sir Charles Brandon was created Viscount Lifhe.

For all the great preparations for France King Henry forbore not his course of Revelly, but kept his Christmas at Greenwich, with divers curious devices, in most magnificent manner. In March following, the Kings Navy Royal, to the number of two and forty Ships was fet forth, under the conduct of Sir Edward Howard Lord Admiral, accompanied with Sir Walter Deveraux, Lord Ferrers, Sir Walfam Brown, Sir Edward Lechingham, Sir Anthony Payniga, Sir John Wollap, Sir Thomas Windham, Sir Stephen Bull, William Fizwilliams, Arthur Placenteg, William Sidney Eifique, and divers other Gentlemen, who failing to Brittain, came into Bertram Bay, and there lay at Anchor in fight of the French Navy. Hereon Sir John was Admiral, who keeping himfelf clofe in the Haven of Breff; the English Admiral intended to aflail him in the Haven; but because his Ships were too great to enter the Bay, he caus'd certain Boats to be manned forth, thin king thereby to roule out the French; but when this neither would draw them to come abreast, he then call'd a Council, where it was determined, that first they should aflail Prior John and his Gallies, lying in Blankefide Bay, and after set upon the reft of the French Fleet in the Haven of Breff; and it was further appointed that the Lord Ferrers, Sir Stephen Bull, and others should go on Land, with a convenient number, to affaulk the Balwarks, which the French had there made; while the Admiral with Row Barge, and little Gallies entered into the Bay, that to the French men might at once be aflail'd both by Sea and Land. But though this were determined by a Council of War, yet the Lord Admiral had a trick by himfelf, for by the advice of a Spanish Knight called Sir Alphonso Caesar, affuring him that he might enter the Bay with little danger; he called to him William Fizwilliams, William Cook, John Colley, and Sir Walfam Brown, as his moft truy friends, making them privy to his intent, which was to take on him the whole enterprise with their affifants only; and fo confident he was of success, that he wrote to the King to come thereto in perfon, to have the honour of the victory himself; but it seems the King had better Fires, at leaft went not; and thereupon on Saint Marys day the Admiral put himself in a small Row Barge; and appointing three other small Row Ships, and his own Ship-Boat to attend him, therein on a sudden row'd into the Bay, where Prior John had moor'd up his Gallies just to the ground; which Gallies, with the Balwarks on the Land, shot mortally, yet the Admiral went on, and coming to the Gallies, drove out the French men, the Bay was shallow, and the other Ships, by reason of the Tide was spent, could not enter; which the French men perceived, they entred the Gallies again with Morris Pikes, and began a new fight; whereupon the Admiral attempting to return back into his Row Barge, which by violence of the Tide, was driven down the stream, was thrown over-board and drowned; the field was not therein, but the enterprize; the fore-named Alphonso was also there slain; upon which soreful accident, the Lord Ferrers with the rest returned into England. After whose departure Prior John came forth with his Gallies; and coasting over the Borders of Suffolk, burnt certain poor Cottages; but the King made suddenly a new Admiral, the Lord Thoma Howard, eldest Brother to him that was drowned, Son and Heir of the Earl of Surrey whose men the French had saw, the Sea was calm; the French were no more to be seen on any Coast of England.

King Henry had hitherto performed Acts of Arms, though in Jelt, yet with great magnificence; he will not perform them with less, being now in earnest, and specially to deal with so potent an Adversary: and therefore when it was concluded by Parliament, that he should make a War against himself in perfon; he first before to prepare the way for him, George Dalles Earl of Shrewsbury high Steward of his Household.
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Houhold, accompanied with the Lord Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, the Lord Davenant Prior of Saint John, Sir Robert Ratclife Lord Fitzwater, the Lord Hastings, the Lord Cobham, Sir Rice ap Thomas, Sir Thomas Blunt, Sir Thomas Cornewall and others, to the number of eight thousand, who arrived at Calais about the middle of May; after him in the end of May, followed Sir Charles Somerset, Lord Herbert, Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Pierce Earl of Northumberland, the Lord Gray Earl of Kent, the Lord Stafford Earl of Wiltshire, the Lord Dudley, the Lord Delaware, Sir Edward Hoby, Sir Edward Dimmock, Sir David Owen, with the number of two thousand. These Generals joyning together, 

On the twenty and twentieth day of June, one thousand, this day, before the strong Town of Terwin, which City was strongly fortified; and in it was Governor the Lord Paul Troy, who had with him six hundred Horfemen, and five and twenty hundred Almain, besides the Inhabitants. Here at the very first two happened disaffairs to the English, one, that the Baron Caron was slain with a shot from the Town; the other, that Sir Nicholas Vaux, and Sir Edward Belknappe coming from Calyfeye, with four and twenty Cart's of Provision, were fet upon by the Duke of Vendôme, Lieutenant of Picardy, and many of the English, plain, and the Provision taken. In this fame was the English Camp at Terwin, when King Henry the last day of June came himself to Calais, and on the one and twentieth of July took the field, having in his Army of fighting men not above nine thousand, but with Pioneers and others that attended the Marchings, to the number of three hundred and three hundred men: His forward was led by Charles Brandon Viscount Laffa, his main Batel by himself, and Sir Henry Guiford carried his Standard; and in this order he marched forward to the siege of Terwin, entering upon the French ground the five and twentieth of July. On the morrow after, by negligence of the Carters, that mistook the way, a great Gun called the John Evangelist, was overthrown in a deep Pond of water, and could not at that time be recovered, but a few days after, the Master Carpenter taking with him a hundred Labourers, went and weighed it up; but having carried it ready to bring away, was yet upon by eight hundred French; and the most of his company slain: The Gun was taken by the French, and carried to Bulloghe. In the French Army were to the number of eleven thousand Footmen, and four thousand Horse; whereof were Captains, the Lord De la Puye, the Lord De Fréams, the Duke De Longueville, the Earl of Saint Paul, the Lord of Frewigs, the Lord of Clermont, and Richafs de la Poal an English man, Son to John Duke of Suffolk. The Armies were come within two miles one of another, and some light skirmishes passed between them, particularly one; on a day called the dry Wednesday, for the day was wonderful hot, and the King with his Army staid in order of Battle, from fixa clock in the morning, till three in the afternoon: after this, the King removed towards Terwin; and as the Army marched, another of the Kings Bombards of Iron, called the Red Gun, was overthrown in a lane, and there left; which the French understanding, went with a great power to fetch it away, as they had done the other; but the Lord Berners, Captain of the English Pioneers, prevented them; and though sent upon by the French to the number of nine or ten thousand, yet by the valour of the Earl of Essex, and Sir Rice ap Thomas, with the bold adventures of Sir William Tyler, and Sir John Sharp, they recovered it, and brought it late to the Camp. On the fourth of August King Henry came before the City of Terwin, where he strongly fortified himself with Ordinance, and other warlike defences. In which mean, the Captain of Bulloghe knowing that many of the Garrison of Calais were gone with the King, thought to take advantage of their absence, and do some great exploit upon Calais; and thereupon with a thousand men, came to Newham Bridge, and killing the Watchmen, took it; but afterward some of his Company going to fetch Booties, and coming so near the Walls of Calais, that they were defrayd; about five rogue Coopers and other Artificers issuf forth, and driving them back, recovered again Newham Bridge, and took divers of them prisoners; especially when the Gate of Calais, called Bulloghe Gate, was opened, and that Caliceps the under-Marsh, with two hundred Archers issu'd forth, and joynd with them. The French prisoners were brought to Calais, and there fold in open Market amongst others a Cooper of the Town of Calais bought a prisoner that dwelt in Bulloghe, and had of the Prisoner for his ransom, a hundred Crowns; when the money was paid, the French man made the Cooper to fee him safe delivered, and to conduct him out of danger, the Cooper was content, and went himself alone with the French man, till he came beyond the Cawfey, and there would have departed; but the French man perceiving that the Cooper was aged, and that no refuge was nigh, by force took the Cooper prisoner, and carried him to Bulloghe, making him pay two hundred Crowns, before he was delivered.

Whilst King Henry lay thus at the siege of Terwin, on the eleventh of August the Emperour Maximilian came to Ayre; which King Henry understanding, went and met him between Ayre and the Camp, where with great complements they felavd each other; but their complements were broken off by the extremal sore weather which happened that day: the morrow after, the Emperour Maximilian came from Ayre to the Kings Camp, wearing a Croft of Saint George, as the King's Souldier, and receiving wages of him for service, an hundred Crowns a day: An honour never done to any King of England before; and yet was no disparagement to the Emperour; for he was royally received, and lodged in a Tent of Cloth of Gold; that as no Emperour before had ever been Souldier to a King; so no Souldier before was ever lodged in such a Tent. At this time the City of Terwin, being in some diftre of want of Viuels; the French King appointed all his Souldiers to the number of eight thousand;
The English defeat the French in a Battel called the Battel of Spurs.

Tournay is delivered up to King Henry.

King Henry lays siege to Tournay.

Thos, and to see victuals by any means conveyed into it; the charge of which Convoy was committed to Mounser De Prisnot: but King Henry by advice of the Emperor Maximilian had made Bridges to pass his men over the River, to the other side of the Town, while it was ease, and his; in such sort, that when the French Convoy came with their Victuals, and thought to have entred the Town, they found the English Army there ready to refute them; whereupon a fierce Battel was fought between them: but in conclusion the French were put to flight, and fled so fast, that from thence it was called the Battel of Spurs, for that they used more their Spurs in running away, than their Launces in fighting. In this Battel, the Duke of Longueville, the Lord of Clermont, Captain Bayard, and others to the number of twelve score were taken prisoners, and all brought to the Kings prifence; with six Standards that were likewise taken. After the Battel, the King made Sir John Pecheys Banneret, and John Carre Knight, who had both of them done great service in this encounter. King Henry having obtained this Victory against the French, he comand him to burn and remove the Town from relief of Victuals, and without plying his Battel more fiercely than before; made the Townsmen soon fall to deposite composition, and upon condition, that the Souldiers may depart with Horse and Armour, they yielded up the Town into the Kings hands. This was done on the eighteenth of August, and the Earl of Shrewsbury entered the Town the same night, and set up the Banner of Saint George in the highest place of it, in sign of Victory, and swore all the Townsmen to be true Subjects to the King of England. The four and twentith of August, the King himself entred the Town, and dined in the Bishops Palace, where it was resolved, that the Walls and Fortifications of Tournay should be razed, and the Town burnt all but the Cathedral Church and the Bishops Palace were set on fire, to be kept there to the Kings use.

After this it was concluded, that the King should lay siege to the City of Tournay; whereupon he set forward in three Battels: the Earl of Shrewsbury led the Vanguard; the King and the Emperor, the Battel; and the Lord Chamberlain the Rearward. In this order the Kings Army marched forwards towards Tournay; by the way, he went and vifited the young Prince of Casilfe, and the Lady Margaret, Governors of the Prince, in the Town of Lijle, where with all Magnificence, or rather indeed Reverence, he was entertained; and after he had stayed there three days, he took his leave, and being gone a mile and somewhat more out of the Town, he asked where his Capt lay, and no man there could tell the way, and guide they had none; the night was so dark and muddy; by chance at last they met with a Vissueller coming from the Camp, who was their guide, and conducted them to it. By which we may see, to what diffref the great Prince might be brought by a little over-light.

On the one and twenty day of September, the King removed his Camp towards Tournay; and being come within three miles of the Town, he few Garter King of Arms to common the Town; but they, though they had but few men of War amongst them, yet stood upon their Gard, whereupon the King begirt it on all sides, and made such batterie upon it, that though it were written on the Gares of the Town, graven in stone, James to us perdon ton Pecellege; thou hast never loit thy Maidenhead; yet now they were glad to lose it: and in conclusion they sent a Trumpet to require a Parley, and then sued for mercy and yielded it up, and paid ten thousand pound's Sterling besides for redemption of their liberties; and then Master Thomas Woffley, the Kings Almoner, calling before him all the Citizens young and old, swore them to the King of England; the number of whom was fourscore thousand. This done, the King entered into Tournay, and calling into his presence Edward Guilfard, William Fizwilliam, John Delone, William Tyler, John Sharp, William Higffy, John Steege, Christopher Gournf, and some other valiant Gentlemen; he gave to them the Order of Knighthood. And then remembering the great entertainment the Prince of Castile and the Lady Margaret had given him at Lijs, he would not be behinde them in such Courtefie; and thereupon invited them solemnly to his City of Tournay, whom at their coming he brought into the Town in great triumph: during their abode in Tournay, amongst other complements of entertainment, there was had a Juffs, where the King and the Lord Lijs answered all comers: after the Juffs, was a sumptuous Banquet; after the Banquet, the Ladies danced, and then came in the King, and eleven other in a Mask, all richly apparelled with Bonnets of Gold: and when they had passed the time at their pleasures, the Garments of the Maskers were cut off amongst the Ladies, take them that could. This was King Henry's disposition, that he could not forbear Revelving himself and his Arms; and Ladies must be entertained as well as Souldiers. And here Maximilian the Emperor finding the French Forces to be but weak, persuaded King Henry to proceed on and pursue his Victories: but he being young and of a quiet disposition, and considering with himself that he had not entred the War for any cause of his own, but to revenge the injuries done to the Pope: and thinking by this already done the French sufficiently lefton'd to acknowledge their error, and the rather, for that Winter was now drawing on; he resolved to put this end to the War: and for taking his leave of the Emperor; and leaving Sir Edward Poynings Governor of Tournay, he returned to Calier; and from thence into England, and then rode in Poit to the Queen at Richmond.

Whilest King Henry was thus busied in his War with France, the King of Scots, though his Brother in law, yet intrigued by the French King, and taking advantage of King Henry's absence, assembled his people to invade England; but before his whole power could come together, the Lord Hume his Chamberlain with seven or eight thousand men entered the Borders; but as he was returning with a great bovey of

L 2
Carrel.
The Lieutenant on whom all power in Scotland was devolved, was called the Earl of Roxham, so called in favour of his Countrey, faith, not the fifth part of that number. 

Battel, unless his Son followed after him the Lord Admiral, with the Admiral himself came and joined: and now having many great Lords and Knights in his Army, he appointed to every one their station; and then was informed, that King James being removed six miles from Roxham, lay embatteling upon a great Mountain called Fledaden, where it was impossible to come near him, but with great disadvantage; for at the foot of the hill, on the left hand, was a great marsh ground full of reeds and water; on the right hand was a River called Till, so swift and deep that it was not passable; on the backside were such craggy Rocks and thick Woods, that there was no affailing him on that part; the forepart of his Camp he had fenced with his great Ordinance. Being in such a hold, the Earl of Roxham found there was no possibility of a Battel, unless he could draw him from the Hill: without the which a Cornry by which Scotland was determined to send the Scots Purfuitant at Arms with a Trumpet to the King of Scots, to let him know that he was ready on Friday following to give him Battel, if he would abide it; whereunto the King of Scots by his Purfuitant Holi made answer, that at the day prefixed he should finde him ready for Battel as he defined, that he would willingly have come to such a match as if he had been at Edinburgh; but though he made this answer, yet he would not leave the strong hold he was in, but kept himself still upon the Hill; at last, Thomas Lord Howard, Son and Heir to the Earl of Roxham, having viewed the Countrey round about, declared to his Father, that if he would fetch but a small compass, and come with his Army on the back of his Enemies, he should enforce the Scots King to come down out of his strength, or else flip him from receiving of victuals. This counsel of the Lord Howard his Father followed, and King James perceiving what their meaning was, thought it flipt not with his honour to be fore-falled out of his own Realm: and thereupon immediately raised his Camp, and got to another Hill, but not so steep as the other: which the Earl of Roxham perceiving, he determined to mount it; and to fight with the Scots, before they should have leisure to fortifie their Camp: and herewith making a short Speech, for encouragement of his Soul- diers, he divided his Army into Battles; the Vanguard was led by the Lord Howard, to whom was joyned as a Wing, Sir Edward Howard; the middle-ward was led by the Earl himself; and the Rear-ward was by Sir Edward Stanley; the Lord Dacre with a number of Aber- men was set apart by himself, to succour where need should be; the Ordinance was placed in the Front, and in other places, as was thought most convenient: and in this order they march forward towards the Scots. On the other side King James reckoning upon the benefit of the Hill, thought the English half mad, to venture a Battel upon such disadvantage; and thereupon making a Speech to encourage his Souldiers, who were of themselves fo forward, that they needed no encouraging, he divided the Battels in this manner; the main Battel he led himself to, to which he ascribed the two Wings; the right led by the Earl of Hume, Crawford, and Montefo; the left by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, together with the Lord Howard, L. Chamberlain: so that they were of Victory, that the King first, and after all the Lords and meaner men, put away their Horses, as thinking they should not need them; which confidence was afterward their undoing: for when the Battel was joyned, Sir Edward Howard in getting up the Hill, was so assaulted by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, that he was left almost alone, and in manifest peril to be slain; in comes the Lord Dacre with his Horse- men and trod under foot the Scottish Battel of Speers on foot, which he could not have done, if they had kept their Horses. And this part of the Scottish Army being led by the Earls of Crawford and Montefo, they were both of them slain, and the whole Battel put to flight. In another place the Earl of Argyle, like upon the Battel led by the Earls of Lenox and Argyle, putting it to flight, with the slaughter also of the two Earls. King James notwithstanding, maintaining the flight still with great resolution, till Sir Adam Forman his Standard-bearer was beaten down; and then not faining, though despairing of success, he rushed into the thickest of his Enemies, amongst whom he was beaten down and slain; and to make his death the more honourable, there died with him three Bishops (whereof one was Alexander Archbishop of Saint Andrews, the Kings bafe Son) two Abbots, twelve Earls, and twelve Lords, of Knights and Gentlemen very many, in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners (as Paulus早点信仰 faith) amongst whom was Sir William Scott Chancellour to the said King, and Sir George Fountaine, his Serjeant Porter; the Lord Hume, and the Earl of Hume; got hord down and escaped. Neither was the Battel without blood to the English; for there were slain at least a thousand, and that which in a Defeat was strange many also taken prisoners; for many in pursuing the Scots, went rashly so far, that they knew not which way to return, and by bands of Scots, that had not fought that day, were set upon and taken. When the field was done, the Lord General called to him certain Lords
Lords and Gentlemen, and made them Knights, as Sir Edward Howard his Son, the Lord Scroop, Sir William Percy, Sir Edward George, and others.

This Bartel was fought on Friday the ninth of Sept, in the year 1543, called by some Bramston, by some Eldon field. King James here slain was the fame that had married the Lady Margaret, eldest Daughter of King Henry the Seventh, and Sisler to the present King Henry; and might have enjoyed many happy days, if he had kept himself firm to his alliance; but being carried away with the inveterate spleen between the two Nations, and propension to France, he ended his life, though honourably, yet miserably under many wounds. It is a very memorable, but scarce credible thing; which (from the mouth of a very credible person who saw it) George Buchanan relates concerning this King; that intending to make a War with England, a certain old man of venerable aspect, and clad in a long blue Garment, came unto him, and leaning familiarly upon the Chair where the King sat, said, I am Sir John of Laughar Tower, and thereupon bawled, that thou proceed not in the War thou art about; for if thou do, it will be thy ruine: and having so said, he pressed through the company, and vanished out of sight; for by no inquiry it could be known what became of him. But the King was too resolute to be frighted with Phantasm, and no warning could divert his Delinity, which had not been Delinity if it could have been diverted. The day after this Bartel, his Body, though disfigured with wounds, was known by the Lord Duke and others to be his; and thereupon bowedell, embalmèd, and wrapped in lead, was brought to the Monastery of Sheen in Surrey, and there interred; but at the dissolution of that House was taken up and thrown into a walle roome amongst timber and stone; which John Stow faith, he fo few, and farther relacje, that the feme of Laughar Tower, Glafier, Queen Elizabeth, being at Sheen, in new Glazing the Windows, either upon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the feet; but smelling the sweet perfumes of the Balms, gave it to their Matter; who opening the lead, found therein the head of a man, retaining fancy, though the moisture were clean dryed up, whose hair both of head and beard was red: which afterward he caufed to be buried at St. Michaelis Church in Woodstreet, where he dwelled. But notwithstanding this relation of Stow, John Lefley Bishop of Rofi affirmed, that it was held for certain. The Body thus found, was the Body of the Lord Buchanan slain in that Bartel, Buchanan faith, of Alexander Elfloton, who in countenance and feature was like the King; and that King James was seen alive the fame night at Kelis, whence he passed to Jerfalem, and there spent the rest of his days in holy contemplation: but however it was, he was never seen any more in Scotland.

King Henry being now returned from Tourney into England, and finding the great express done in his absence against the Scots; on the day of the Purification of our Lady, at Lambeth he created the Earl of Surrey Duke of Norfolk, with an augmentation of the Arms of Scotland; Sir Charles Brandon Viscount Lifes, he created Duke of Suffolk; the Lord Howard high Admiral, he made Earl of Surrey, Sir Charles Somerset Lord Herbert his chief Chamberlain Earl of Worescer, and shortly after Sir Edward Stanley he made Lord Montegle; and in March following, Master Thomas Wolsey his Almoner, was made Bishop of Lincoln. Here before we go further, it will be fit to say something of this man, that he be not a lub afterward in the way of the Story: He was born at Ipswich in Suffolk, the Son of a Butcher; proceeding in learning, he was made Fellow of Magdalen College in Oxford, and afterward Schoolmaster of the School there, in which time the Marques Dorset committed three of his Sons to be instructed by him; and having a Benefice fallen in his Gift, lent for them one Christmas, and belowed it upon him; whereas Wolsey going to take possession of it, at his being there, so that when his manner is not delivered, he was by Sir Amyas Paulet let by the heels, which afterward he remembered to Sir James his no small trouble, for he made him attend his pleasantries for six or seven years; all which time he lay in the Middle-Temple, where he re-edified the Gate-house next the street very Humphrons, setting the Cardinals Arms upon it, to appease him. After this disgrace he went over-Sea, where he fell in acquaintance with Sir John Naphat Treasurer of Calis, and by him was preferred to be King Henry the Seventh's Chaplain: and now being by this means in the King's eye, he so diligently carried himself, that he soon got into the Kings heart. One time it happened, the King had occasion to send a Melissaer to the Emperour Maximilian, about a businesse that required haste; for which purpose the man was thought more fit than Wolsey; whereupon, when the King called him, gave him his Pendant, and bade him make all speed he could: Wolsey departed from the King at Richmond about noon, and by the next morning was got to Dover, and from thence by noon that day was come to Calis, and by night was with the Emperour; to whom declaring his Message; and having a present dispatch, he rode that night back to Calis, and the night following came to the Court at Richmond. The next morning he presented himself before the King, who blamed him for not being yet gone, the matter requiring haste; to whom Wolsey answered, that he had been with the Emperour, and had dispatched the business, and for proof showed the Emperours letters the King wondered much at his speed, but then asked him if he met not with his Pursuivant, whom he sent after to advertise him of a special matter he had forgot; whereupon, Wolsey answered, May it please your Grace, I met him yesterday upon the way, but that businesse I had dispatched before, taking the boldnesse so to do without commissione, as knowing it to be of special consequence; for which boldnesse I humbly intreat your Grace's Patience. The King not only pardoned him, but bestowed presently upon him the Deanship of Lincoln, and soon after made...
made his Almoner. In this state King Henry the eighth found him, with whom also he grew into such favor, that he made him Bishop of Spain-
city; and having won Towney, made him Bishop of that City, and returning into England, the Bishopric of Lincoln falling void by the death of Doctor Smith, made him Bishop of that Diocese. And thus far the Story hath now brought him; but soon after he was raised higher; for Doctor Bawmbridge Archbishop of York dying, he was translated from Lincoln to that See: and that he might not be inferior to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he procured of the Pope to be made Cardinal, and Legat a Latere; and after by the King was made Lord Chancellor of England: and being come to his height of Dignity, he fo carried himself in Expendence of Honth, in number of Rentme, and in all Circumstances of State, that no Subject before or since hath in any degree come near him: and if we may say it, he was the first debarker of King Henry for, to the end, where he had been himself, he perjured the King that he should not need trouble himself with frequenting the Council Table as he did, but take his pleasure, and leave those things to his Council, whereof himself would always give him true Information. This was plausible Counsel, and no mar-
vail if it were embraced of a young King, coming from the mouth of so great a Prelate.

In this fifth year of the King, the Citizens of London finding themselves grieved with the Inclosures of the common fields about Shiftington, Hogsdon, and Shorditch, and other places adjoining, went one morning, and threw down all the Hedges, and filled up all the Ditches; whereas though the Kings Council were at first offended, yet the Mayor and City shewed them such reasons, that they reiled satisfied, and the Fields were never since hedged.

In the same month of May this year, Pope Julius the Second sent to King Henry a Cap of Maintenance and a Sword; and being angry with the King of France, transferred, by Authority of the Lateran Council, the title of Christianismo from him upon King Henry, which with great solemnity was published the Sunday following, in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul; but this solemnity must not pass without Reveiling, Masques, and Jults; wherein the King and the Duke of Suffolk were defendants against all comers; who having the Duke of Longueville, and the Lord of Clarmont to be espectators, spread the fame of their Chi-
valry into Foreign Nations.

And now the great love, that had been long between King Henry and the Flemings, began to abate upon this occasion; King Henry the Seventh had concluded a match between his Daughter and Charles Prince of Spain, but, by reason of her young years, and for want of assurance of Joynture, the match was deferred during his time; but now King Henry the Eighth seeing his Sister of convenient years, began to call upon it, and signified so much to the Council of Flanders; but they, whether having other ends, or out of Spanish delays, put him off with excuses, and at last sent him word plainly, they could do nothing in it that

The fields about King Henry's residence laid open.

The Pope gives King Henry the Title of Christianismo.

A Peace is concluded with France; and the King of France marries the Lady Mary, King Henry's younger Sis-
ter.

year. The King of France had soon Intelligence how much King Henry disliked these Spanish dealings, and meant to make some good use of it, for the ends he began to propose to himself, which were to get the Lady Mary for himself, and thereby procure Peace with England, being now old, and weary of the War. And for this purpose he got the new Pope Leo the tenth to be his Mediator, and of both them sent Am-

The Pope designs the Crown to the Dauphin.

A Peace is concluded with France; and the King of France marries the Lady Mary, King Henry's younger Sis-
ter.

And now King Henry by advice of his Coun-
icl, and specially of Woolley Bishop of Lincoln, concluded both the Peace with France, and the Mar-
rriage of his Sister the Lady Mary, with the French King; but yet it stuck a while upon fome differences, King Henry demanding Bul-

The Pope gives King Henry the Title of Christianismo.

A Peace is concluded with France; and the King of France marries the Lady Mary, King Henry's younger Sis-
ter.
Crown over her head as too massive for her to wear; and the day following she was received into Parliament, with magnificent ceremonies. In honour of whole marriage and Coronation, the Dauphin had caused a solemn Juits to be proclaimed, which should be kept in Paris the seventh of November. Upon report of this Proclamation in England, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marqueses Dorset, and his four Brothers, the Lord Clinton, Sir Edward Nevil, Sir Giles Capel, Thomas Cheyne, and others obtained leave of the King to be at the Challenge, where they all behaved themselves with great value, but specially the Duke of Suffolk, whose glory the Dauphin took much emu'd, so that he got a Dutch man, the tallfet and strongest man in all the Court of France secretly as another person to encounter him, with a purpose to have the Duke foiled; but indeed it turned to his greater honour: for he foiled the Dutch man in such fort, that when they came to the Barrier, the Duke by main strength took him about the neck, and fo pommelled him about the head, that he made the Blood fliue out at his nofe: many other Princes and Lords did bravely and all at three times the Juits ended.

King Henry was not long behind to solemnize it in England also; for at Greenwich the Christmas following, on New years night, and Twelfth night, he preferred such strange and magnificent devices, as had seldom been seen; and the third of February following, he held a solemn Juits, where he and the Marqueses Dorset answered all comers, at which time the King brake three and twenty Spears, and threw to the ground one that encountered him both man and horfe.

At this time preparation was making for King Henry in perfon to go to Callice, there to meet with the French King and Queen, but death hindered the design; for before the next Spring, the first of January the French King died at the City of Paris, fourscore and two days after his marriage; teaching others by his example, what it is for any man to marry a young lady. King Henry hearing of the French Kings death, sent the Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Richard Wimpfield, and Doctor Weft, to bring over the Queen Dowager, according to the Covenants of the Marriage. Whereupon the Queen was delivered to the Duke by Intendence, who obtaining her good will to be his Husband, (which was no hard matter, that had been her first love;) wrote to the King her Brother for his consent; whereas the King seemed to flick a while, but at last consented, so as he brought her into England unmarried, and then married at his return; but the Duke for more surety married her secretly in Paris, and after having received her Downer, Apparel, and Jewels, came with her to Callice, and there openly married her with great solemnity. At their coming into England, King Henry to shew his contentment with the marriage, in the company of the Duke of Suffolk, the Marqueses Dorset, and the Earl of Essex, all richly appalled, held a new page of Juits, and running courts on Horseback in manner Vesti, as fast as one could follow another, to the great delight of the beholders.

This year the King being at his Manour of Okeing; Wolsey Archbishop of York came and showed him Letters that he was elected Cardinal; for which Dignity he disabled himself, till the King willing him to take it upon him, and from thenceforth called him Lord Cardinal, but his Hat and Bull were not yet come: after which Doctor Warham Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor of England, finding Wolsey, being now Cardinal, to meddle more in his office of Chancellourship, than he could well suffer, resigned up the Seal, which the King pretently gave to Wolsey. About this time, Cardinal Campeius was sent by Pope Leo to King Henry, to sollicitate him to a War against the Turk, with whom Cardinal Wolsey was joyned in Commination; who hearing of the ragged retire of his fellow Cardinal, sent store of red Cloth to Callice to make them fit followers of so great a Lord: and when Campeius was landed at Dover, Cardinal Wolsey caused the Gentry of Kent to wait upon him to Blackheath; where he was met and received by the Duke of Norfolk and many Prelates, and there in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, shifted himself into his Cardinals Robes. Eight Miles had he been laden with necessaries; but Wolsey not thinking them enough for his honour, sent him twelve more. But now see the flame of pride; for in Cheapdike his Mules by some mishance overthrew their Carriages and Coffers on the ground, whose lids flying open, shewed the world what treasure it was they carried, old Breeches, Boots, and broken Shoes, broken meal, Marrow-bones, and Crutches of Bread; exposing him to the laughter of all the people: yet the Cardinal went jogging on shore with his Croffes, guilt Axe and Mice, unto Pauls Church; and by the way had an Oration made him by Sir Thomas More, in the name of the City; and then waited on with many Bishops, was conducted to Bath place, where he was lodged for his own particular: he got well by the Journey, for the King gave him the Bishopric of Salisbury: but the errand he came about, which was to sollicit the King for a War against the Turk, he could not obtain; it was well known to be a bur device to get money, without any intention of what was pretended.

In his seventh year King Henry kept his Christmas at his Manour of Eltham, where on Twelfth night according to his custom, was a stately mask of Knights and Ladies, with solemn Dancing, and a most magnificent Banquet.

It was now the eighth year of King Henry's Reign, when the new League between him and the French King was proclaimed in the City of London: and this year Margaret Queen of Scots eldest Sifter to King Henry, having before married Archibald Douglas Earl of Angus; by reason of diversion amongst the Lords of Scotland, was glad with her Husband to fly into England, and to seek succour at her Brothers hands, who affigued to her the Castle of Linlithgow in Northumberland to reside in: where she was delivered of a Daughter named Margaret. From thence the King sent for her and her Husband to come to his Court, and thereupon...
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

This year the King kept his Christmas at his Manor of Greenwich; where on Twelfth night according to his custom, rare devices with great magnificence were performed; after which time the King exercised himself much in Hawking, which was like to have proved no good sport to him; for one time following his Hawk and leaping over a Ditch with a Pole, the Pole brake, so that if one Edmund Mody, a footman had not leapt into the water, and left up his head which was fast in the clay, he had been drowned.

Twelve hundred Carpenters and Masons sent to build a Cattle in Suffolk.

Cardinal Wolsey crept divers new Courts.

In this year also there happened in the City of London an Insurrection against strangers, especially of Artificers, complained that Strangers were permitted to resettle firher with their Wares, and to exercise hand-crafts, to the great hinderance and impoverishing the Kings own Subjects; and not only so, but that they were borne out in many great In- lences, and wrongs they offered to the Eng- lish, as one time it happened, a Carpenter in London, called Williamson, had bought two Pigeons in Cheapside, and was about to pay for them, when a French man took them out of his hand. They were brought before a Carpenter: Well (said Williamson) I had bought them; and I will have them; Nay (said the French man) I will have them for my Lord Ambaf- sadour! hereupon they grew to words, and complaint was made to the French Ambassadour, who fo aggravated the matter to the Mayor, that the Carpenter was sent to prison, and when Sir John Bakers sued to the Ambassadour for him, he answered, By the Body of God, the English Knave was worthy to lose his life for denying any thing to a French man; and other an- swer he could have none. Many like and worse insolencies were offered by strangers, which one John Lincoln a Broker drew into a Bill, and prevailed with Doctor SDS, Preach- er on Easter Tuesday at the Spittle, to read it openly in the Pulpit, which so stirred up many, that strangers could hardly pass the streets, but were stricken, and sometimes beaten down. At last, the King, seeing many of the Pretences and other af- semblings, rid some strangers houfe to house, and much mischief was like to be done: but by the care of the Mayor and Aldermen, and by the industry of Robert Brak Recorder, and Sir Thomas More that had been under-Sheriffe of London, they were gotten to be quiet, and many of the disturbers were sent to prison, whereof Lincoln and twelve other were hanged, four hundred more in their shirts; bound in ropes and halters about their necks (and thereupon called the black Wagon) were brought to Woff- minster, where the King himfelf fed that day; and when the Cardinal had charged them with the greatnes of their offence; they all cried, Mercy, Mercy: and then the King by the mouth of the Cardinal, pardoned them all; which clemency purchased the King no small love amongst the people.

In the ninth year, in June, King Henry had many Ambassadors at his Court; for whose entertainment he prepared a costly Juff; himself and twelve more against the Duke of Suffolk and other twelve. The King had on his head a Ladies fleev full of Diamonds; and perhaps
Cardinal Woffley makes Dukes and Earls to serve him of Wine, and to hold the Ban on at the Lavatory: and when the Archbishop of Canterbury, writing a Letter to him, subscribed, Your Brother William of Canterbury, he took it in great dudgeon to be termed his Brother.

It was now the tenth year of King Henry's Reign, when the King of France, longning much to have Tourney refrained to him, by great gifts and greater promises won the Cardinal Woffley, to move the King in it; who upon his perussions, was contented to be treated with all about it; so to which the King of France sent the Lord Banquet High Admiral of France, and the Bishop of Paris, who in their attendance, having above fourtore Gentlemen, and with their servants and all, above twelve hundred, arrived in England; and on Monday the seven and twentieth of September, at Blackheath by the Earl of Surrey, High Admiral of England, attended likewise with above five hundred Gentlemen and others, who conducted them to London, where they were lodg'd at Merchant-Taylors Hall: The last of September, the Ambassador went to the King at Greenwich, where after long communication, an Agreement was last concluded under pretence of a marriage to be had between the Dauphin of France and the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of England; that in name of her marriage money, Tourney should be delivered to the French King, he paying to the King of England, for the Castle he had made in that City, six hundred thousand Crowns in twelve years, but fifty thousand Crowns yearly: and if the Marriage should chance not to take effect, then that Tourney should be again referred to the King of England; for perfonal没 how much of his Chattents. Hostages should be delivered; namely, Mounfieur de Menouancie, Mounfieur de Mannec, Mounfieur de May, and Mounfieur Morret; and moreover, the French King should pay to the Cardinal of England a thousand Marks yearly, in recompence of his Revenues, received before of his Bithoprick of Tourney: All things thus concluded, the Cardinal made to the Ambassador a solemn Banquet, and after presented them with a flately Mummary. The eighth of October, the King feated them at Greenwich, and at eight even presented a Rare Mask of Knights and Ladies, with rare devices and great magnificence: The next day, Sir Thomas Exem Mayor of London feated them at Goldsmiths Hall, and then delivering their four Hostages, they took their leave. At whose departure the King gave to the Admiral of France, a garnish of gilt Vehfels, a pair of covered Basons gilt, twelve great gilt Bowls, four pair of great gilt Pots, a standing Cup of Gold, garn Sherd with great Pearles; and to some other he gave Plate, to some other Chains of Gold, to fome rich Apparel: to the great commendation of his liberality. Shortly after their departure, the Earl of Warenfey, Lord Chamberlain, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord of St. John, Sir Nicholas Vace, Sir John Pechy, and Sir John Sulien, as Ambassador from the King of England, accompanied with Knights, Gentlemen, and others, in the number of above four hundred armed and unarm'd, and in Carriages, and from thence went to Paris; where, after Royal entertainment by the King, with divers Masks and flately Shews, they took their leaves and rode to Tourney to see the City deliver'd to the French men, on the eighth of February, to the great grief of the English Cartífon. After the English Ambassador were returned, King Henry to clear up the four French Hostages, left here for performance of Covenants, on the feventh of May, presented a solemn and flately Mask, wherein himself, the Duke of Suffolk, and French Queen were Attors: and on the eight of March following was a Solemn Jults helden, and with great magnificence performed.

In the eleventh year of King Henry's Reign died the Emperor Maximilian, for whom, the King caused a solemn Obleque to be kept in Pauls Church. After whose death, to the French King and the King of Spain endeavours by fundry plots each of them to get the Empire; but in conclusion, Charles King of Ciffile (afterwards called Charles the fifth) was elected Emperor; for joy whereof a solemn Mafs was sung at Pauls, the feventh of July, at which were present the Cardinal Campaignis, the Cardinal of York, the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, and Suffolk, with the Ambassadors of Spain, France, Venice, and Scotland: And this year the King kept Saint George Feast at Windsor, with great solemnity.

At this time divers young Gentlemen that had been in France, after the manner of that Country, carried themselves; so familiarly with the Kings, that the Lords of his Council thought it a disparagement to them; and thereupon, with his leave first obtained, they banished them the Court, and in their places brought in more fane and grave men, as Sir Richard Wifedge, Sir Richard Terningham, Sir Richard Woffley, and Sir William Kingdon.

In the Summer of this year, the Queen, lying at her Manour of Hawning in Essex, desired the King to bring thither the four Hostages of France, to whom she made a Royal Banquet, and in September following, the King lying at his Manour of Newholt in Essex, otherwise called M

beautifull.
Beaulieu, where he had newly built a stately mansion, invited the Queen and the French Hostages thither, whereafter a sumptuous Banquet, he prevailed upon them with an extraordinary Mask; for the Masters were the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Effex, the Marquis of Dorset, the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Richard Winsted, Sir Richard Wastyn, and Sir William Kingston, the youngest of whom was fifty years old at least, that the Ladies might see what force they had to make age young again.

At this time the French King was very desirous to see the King of England, with whom he had entered into such a League of alliance, and to that end made means to the Cardinal, that there might be an interview between them at some convenient place, to which the Cardinal, not so much to satisfy the French King, as to shew his own greatnes in France easily condenced; and thereupon persuaded King Henry, how necessary it was, that such an interview should be: and then were sent to Gascoyne, under the rule of Sir Edward Belknappe, some fay three thousand, but Godwin fay eleven hundred; whereas three hundred Masons, five hundred Carpenters, two hundred Painters, Glifters, and other Artificers, who spent two months erecting the Building built on the Plain before the Castle of Guignes, a magnificent Palace of Timber, expressly made without and within, wherein both the Kings in June next following, agreeing to come, and to answer all comers at the Tilt, Tourneys, and Barriers; whereas Proclamation was made in the Court of England by Orléance King of Arms of France, and in the Court of France by Clarenceus King of Arms of England: whereas these things were preparing on Condition thus, as the King and Queen were come from Even-fog to their Manour of Greenwich; suddenly there blew a Trumpet, and then entered into the Queens Chamber four Gentlemen, who brought with them a Wagon, in which sat a Lady richly apparelled; which Lady acquainted the King, that the four Gentlemen, there present, were come for the Love of their Ladies, to answer all comers at the Tilt on a day by the King to be appointed; which day was thereupon appointed on Shrovetide next ensuing, where they all behaved themselves with great valor, to the great delight of the King and Queen.

By this time King Henry was ready for his journey into France, and so removing from his Manour of Greenwich, on Friday the fifth and twentieth of May, he with his Queen arrived at Canterbury, where he meant to keep his Whit-sunday. At which time the Emperor Charlel, returning out of Spain, arrived on the Coast of Kent, where by the Vice-Admiral of England, Sir William Fitz-william he was conducted to land, and there met and received by the Lord Cardinal in greatstate. After which the King himself rode to Dover, to welcome him and on Whit-Sunday early in the morning conducted him to Canterbury, where they spent all the Whitsunday in great joy and foliage. The chief cause that moved the Emperor at this time to come on land, was to have dissuaded the King from any interview with the French King, but when he saw him so forward in that journey, he then only endeavoured to persuade him, that he should put no trust in the French King’s words, and with great gifts and promises, prevailed with the Cardinal to join with him in this persuasion. The last of May the Emperor took his leave, and the same day the King made fall from Dover and landed at Calais, together with the Queen and many Lords and Ladies. The fourth of June the King and Queen removed from Calais, to his Privately Lodging beside the Town of Guignes, the most Royal Building that ever was seen; likewise Francis the French King had his lodging prepared close to the Town of Ard, in a strange but most magnificent fashion. Both Kings had given power and authority to the Cardinal to affirm and confirm, bind or unbind whatsoever should be in difference between them; no less an honour to the Cardinal than confidence in the Kings. On Thursday the seventeenth of June, the Kings met in the vale of Adventure so magnificently attired, both themselves and all their followers, that from thence it was called the Camp of cloth of Gold. Here they spent that day in loving compliances, and at night departed, the one to Guignes, the other to Ard. On Saturday the ninth of June, were set up in a place within the English pale two Trees of Honour, with fitly rooms and stages for the Queen, and thither thither two Kings came, more Royally accompanied; where in most magnificent manner they performed acts of valour, both on foot and horseback; and after them all the great Lords both of France and England did the like: this solemnity of Judas and Masks was continued to the four and twentieth day of June; at which time the Kings and Queens took leave of each other: the French King and Queen removed to Ard, the King and Queen of England to Calais, where he remained till the tenth of July, and then riding toward graveling was by the way met by the Empereur, and by him conducted thither, and in most Royal manner entertained; whereof when the French King heard, he began from that day forward, to have King Henry in a kind of jealousy, as though to love him and the Emperor both were inconstant, and could not stand together. On Wednesday the eleventh of July, the Emperor and his Aunt the Lady Margaret Ditcheful Savoy, came with the King of England to the Town of Calais, and there continued with Feasting, Dancing, and Masking, till the fourteenth of July. In which time, all the Articles of the League of Tripartite, between the Emperor and the Kings of England and France were reviewed; to which the King of France had so fully condenced, that he had sent Monseigneur de Roche to the Emperor with Letters of credence; that in the word of a Prince he would inviolably observe and keep them all: which notwithstanding, he dispensed with his confidence afterward, in breaking them all. On Saturday July 14, the Emperor took his leave and went to graveling; the King with his Queen returned into England.

It was now the twelfth year of King Henry’s Reign, when being returned from Calais, he kept his Christmas at Greenwich with great magnificence;
The Cardinal had long borne a grudge against the Duke of Buckingham, for speaking certain words in his disgrace, and now hath made his way for revenge. It is said that the Duke once holding the Baion to the King; the Cardinal when the King had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water; which the Duke disdaining, shed the water in his Shooter; with which the Cardinal incensed, that the Duke would sit upon his throne. The Duke, to shew that he might take notice of the Cardinals malice, came the next day to Court richly apparelled, but without skirts to his Doublet. The King demanding, what he meant by that strange fashion? he answered readily, that it was done by way of prevention; for now the Cardinal should not sit upon his skirts. But this Jelt did the Duke so good, for the Earl of Surrey Lord Admiral, who had married the Dukes Daughter, the Cardinal had caused to be sent Deputy into Ireland, and the Earl of Northumberland, the Dukes special friend, he had caused upon certain suspected crimes to be imprisoned; so as the Duke having his friends sequestred from him, he lay now open to accusations, and accusations shall not be wanting; for the Duke having some time before put from him in disfavour one Charles Knott, that had been his Surveyor, and inward with him; his old Cardinal sets to him, that he would thereby get out of him against the Duke. And whether it was out of desire, or out of hope of reward; or because the matter was so offended, this Knott confessed to the Cardinal, that the Duke had once fully determined to make away the King; being brought into a hope to be King himself by a vain Prephete, which one Nicholas Hopkins (a Monk of an House of the Charter Order, besides Brixton, called Henton) sometimes his Confessor, had opened to him; and as for the Cardinal, that he had often heard the Duke swear, he would punish him soundly for his manifold mifdoings. And now had the Cardinal matter enough for Accusation, which he so aggravate to the King, that the King bade him do with him according to Law. Hereupon the Duke is apprehended, and brought to the Tower by Sir Henry Morys Captain of the Guard, the fifteenth of April, and shortly after in Guildhall before Sir John Bragg, then Lord Mayor, was indicted of divers points of high Treason; the substance whereof was, that in the second year of the Kings Reign, and at divers times before and after, he had imagined and compassed the Kings death at London and at Thornbery in Gloucestershire; and that in the fifth year of the Kings Reign, he went in perfon to the Priory of Henton, and there had conference with the foresaid Nicholas Hopkins, who told him he should be King; and that he had often said to the Lord Archbishop, who had married his Daughter, that if King Henry died without issue he would look to have the Crown himself. Upon these points he was arraigned in Westminster Hall, before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting then as High Steward of England, the Duke of Suffolk, the Marques Dorset, the Ears of Worcester, Devonshire, Eves, Shrewsbury, Kent, Oxford and Darby; the Lord of St. Johns de la Ware, Fitzwater, Willoughby, Brook, Cobbam, Herbert, and Morley. The Duke pleaded for himself till he sweat again, but all boosted not; for by thfe Peers he was found guilty and condemned, and so on Friday the seventeenth of May, was led by John Keynes, and John Sevession Sheriffs of London to the Scaffold on Tower Hill, there and there beheaded. The Augue Triers took his body and head, and buried them. This Edward Baman, Duke of Buckingham was the last High-Constable of England the greatest place, next the High Steward, in the Kingdom whose power extended to reftain some actions of the King. He was also Earl of Hereford, Stafford, and Northampton; He married Eleanor the Daughter of Henry Earl of Northumberland, and had Issue Henry Lord Stafford (Father to Henry Lord Stafford late living) and three Daughters, Elizabeth married to Thomas Howard Earl of Surrey, Katherine married to Ralph Nevil Earl of Westmorland, and Mary married to George Nevil Lord of Aungavory.

In this mean while, a New War was begun between the Emperor and the King of France for compelling whereof, the Cardinal of York was sent attended with the Earl of Worecest, Lord Chamberlain, the Lord of Saint John, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Humber, the Bishop of Durham, the Bishop of Ely, the Duke of Armagh, Sir Thomas Bollen, Sir John Pen, Sir John Hufsey, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Henry Guiffard, and many other Knights, Gentlemen, and Doctors. On the twelfth of July he arrived at Callicy, whither came to him the Chancellour of France, and the Count de Police attended with four Hundred Horfe, as Ambaffadors from the French King; and from the Emperor the like, with Commissions to treat and conclude of Peace. There were also Ambaffadors from the Pope, whom the Cardinal moved to have the Pope to be a party also in their League, but they wanting Commission, Letters were presently sent to Rome about it, and in the time till answer might be had, the Cardinal went to Bruges, to speak with the Emperor, with whom having layed thirteen daies, after most Royal Entertainment, he returned back to Callicy; and then fell presently to the Treaty of Peace with the French Princes, but was colder in the matter than he was before, as having had his edge taken off by some dealings with the Emperor, fof no thing was concluded; but that the Fishermen of both the Princes might freely Fish on the Seas without disturbance, till the end of February following; whereof he sent adverfitement to both the Princes; to the Emperor by the Lord of Saint John, and Sir Thomas Bollen; to the French King by the Earl of Worcester, and the Bishop of Ely. During all which time of the Cardinals stay in Callicy, all Writs and Patents were there by him seal'd, and no Sheriffe could be chofen for lack of preference, having the Great Seal there with him, and full power in things, as if the King had been there in perfon. Before he returned, he made a

M M 2 new
new League with the Emperor, and intimated to the French King, that he doubted the King of England would not hereafter be so much his friend, as heretofore he had been; whereas, though the King of France were much offended, yet he signified by his Letters (perhaps discomfortingly) that he would continue the King of England’s friend as much as ever: only he inveighed against the Cardinal, as a man of no truth, and withdrew many of the Pensions which he had before given to some English. Presently upon this, was Tournay beleiged by the Lord Hugh of Mancoda a Spaniard; and though the French King sent great Forces to succour it; yet it was rended up to the Emperor the 1st of November, in the thirteenth year of King Henry’s Reign.

This year Pope Leo died the first of December, suspected to be poisoned by Barnaby Mallespin his Chamberlain, whose Office was always to give him drink. After whose death, Doctor Pace was sent to Rome, to make friends in the behalf of the Cardinal of York; who was brought into a hope through the Kings favour to be elected Pope: but that hope was soon quailed; for before Doctor Pace could get to Rome, Adrian the sixth was chosen Pope. This Doctor Pace was a very Learned and Religious man, yet through croffes in his employment fell mad and died; in whose place of employment succeeded Doctor Stephen Gardiner.

On the second of February, King Henry being then at Greenwich, received a Bull from the Pope, whereby he had the Title given him to be Defender of the Christian Faith, for him and his Successors for ever; which Title was ascribed to him for writing a Book against Luther, as it was given out; but thought to be written by Sir Thomas More, or by Fisher Bishop of Rochester: of which Book (faith Holinghead) I will only say thus much, that King Henry in his Book, is reported to rage against the Devil and Antichrist, to cast out his foam against Luther, to raise out the Name of the Pope, and yet to allow his Law, Which Book Luther answered with as little respect to the King, as the King had done to him.

In this mean time, many difpleasures grew between the two Kings of England and France; specially two: one, that Frenchmen feized upon English Ships as they paffed: for remedy whereof, one Christopher Cree an expert Seaman, was fent with five Ships to safeguard the Merchants. Another, that the Duke of Albany was returned into Scotland, contrary to that which was covenanted by the League; which though the King of France denied to be done with his privy, yet King Henry knew the Duke of Albany had Commiffion from the French King to return, which did the more exasperate him; and hereupon were Mutters made in England, and a note taken of what habitation all men were.

This year died the Lord Brook, Sir Edward Poynings Knight of the Garter, Sir John Peche, and Sir Edward Pelham, all valiant Captains, suspected to have been poysoned at a Banquet made at Ard, when the two Kings met last.

At this time Owen Douglass Bishop of Dasa

killed out of Scotland into England, because the Duke of Albany, being come thither, had taken upon him the whole government of the King and Kingdom; whereupon Clarentia the Herauld was sent into Scotland, to command the Duke of Albany to avoid that Realm; which he refusing, the Herauld was commanded to defie him. Thereupon the French King feized all English mens goods in Bondurancie, and imprisoned their perfons; and retained not only the money to be paid for the restitution of Tournay, but also withheld the French Queens Dowr: whereof, when King Henry underftood, he called the French Ambassador refraining in England, to give account thereof; who thought he gave the bare reasons he could to excuse it, yet was commanded to keep his house; and the French Hoftages remaining here, for the money to be paid for the delivery of Tour- naye, were restrained of their liberty, and com- mitted to the custody of the Lord of Saint Johns, Sir Thomas Lovell, Sir Andrew Windja, and Sir Thomas Nevyle; each of them to keep one; and withall, all French men in London were committed to prison, and put to their Fines; and all Scotch men much more. There were then also sent to Sea under the conduct of Sir William Fitz-William Vice-Admiral, eight and twenty great Ships, and seven more towards Scotland; who set fire on many Scotch Ships in the Haven, and at length took many prifoners and returned.

King Henry hearing, that the Emperor would come to Callicre, to pass into England, as he went into Spain; appointed the Lord Marques Doffet, to go to Callicre, there to receive him, and the Cardinal to receive him at Dover. The Cardinal taking his journey thither on the tenth of May, rode through London, accompanied with two Earls, six and thirty Knights, and a hundred Gentlemen, eight Bis- hophs, ten Abbots, thirty Chaplains, all in Velvet and Sattin; and Yeomen seven hun- dred. The five and twentieth of May being Sunday, the Marques Doffet with the Bishop of Chichefor, the Lord de la Warre, and divers others, at the water of Graveling, received the Emperor, and with all honour brought him to Callicre, where he was received with Procelenion, by the Lord Bernre Lieutenant of the Town, On Monday he took Shipping at Callicre, and landed at Dover; where the Cardinal with three hundred Lords, Knights and Gentleman received him, and in great state brought him to the Castle, where he was lodged. On Wednesday being Ascension even, the King came to Dover, and there with great joy and gladness the Emperor and he met. On Friday in the afternoon they departed from Dover, and came that night to Canterbury, and from thence the next day to Greenwich, where the Queen received her Nephew with all the joy that might be. Here to honour the Emperours presence, Royal Jufts and Turneys were appointed; where the King, the Earl of Devonshire, and ten Aids, kept the place against the Duke of Suffolk, the Marques Doffet, and other ten Aids, on their part. On Friday the fifth of June, the Emperor and the King with all their Companies went to London, where the City
City received them with Pageants, and other as rare devices, as at a Coronation, and the Emperor was lodged at the Black-friers, and all his Lords in the new Palace of Bridewell. On Whitsunday the King and the Emperor rode to the Cathedral Church of Saint Pauli, where the Cardinal sung Mass, and had his Traveller and his Cup-board. Before Mass, two Barons gave him water, and after the Gospel, two Earls, and the next day, the Duke of York, which pride the Spaniards much disdained. After many Festivals in other places, at last they rode to Windsor, where they stayed a whole week; and there, on Corpus Christi day, the Emperor wore the Mantle of the Garter, and sat in his own Stall. On the same day both the Princes received the Sacrament, and took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them. On the morrow after, they came to Winchester; before whom coming thither there was come to Hampton, the Earl of Surrey Admiral of England, with all the Kings Navy, and with him the Lord Fitzwater, the Baron Carvel, Sir Nicholas Carew, Sir Richard Winkfield, Sir Richard Jerningham, Francis Brian, Sir William Barettine, Sir Adrian Furse, Sir Edward Donne, Sir Edward Chamberlin, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Anthony Poynt, Sir Henry Sherburn, and the Vice-Admiral, Sir William Fitz-williams, Sir Edward John Cornwall, Sir John Wallop, Sir Edward Ichingham, Sir William Sidney, Anthony Brown, Giles Hussy, Thomas Moor, John Raffell, Edward Bray, Henry Owen, George Cibbem, Thomas Oldhall, Thomas Level, Robert Ichingham, Anthony Kvet, Sir John Trenaille, Sir William Skivington Master of the Ordinance, and John Fabian Serjeant at Arms, by whom chiefly a design was moved, though now noised only that it was butto scour the Seas for thesafe conducting of the Emperor. For the Earl of Surrey, having wafted the Emperor over to the Coast of Bukey, upon his return, made to the Coast of Britain; and there landing seven thousand of his men, marched to the Town of Marley, and by assault took it: having won this Town the Earl called to him certain Gentlemen and made them Knights; as Sir Francis Brian, Sir Anthony Brown, Sir Richard Cornwall, Sir Thomas Moor, Sir Giles Hussy, Sir William Ichingham, Sir John Rainford, Sir George Cobham, Sir John Cornwall, Sir Edward Edgley, and some others; and after the Earl had lain a while on the Coast of Britain, he was commanded home by the Kings Letters: who thereupon brought back his whole Fleet to a place called the Cow under the Isle of Wight, and then went on land, leaving divers of his Ships under the Government of the Vice Admiral Sir William Fitz-williams.

In this mean time divers exploitst were achieved between them of the Giron in the Marches of Callic, and the French men of Buflage; where the French commonly had the worst: but being of no great moment, may well be passed over without relating. Likewise at the same time the Lord Risf, and the Lord Dukes of the North, appointed to keep the Borders against Scotland, burnt the Town of Kelfie, and fourcure Villages, and overthrow eighteen Towers of stone, with all their Bulwarks.

King Henry intending now to go seriously on with his Wars in France, levied an Army, which under the conduct of the Earl of Surrey, he went over to Callic; whether the Earl being come, he divided his Army into three Battals: the first was led by Sir Robert Raleigh; Lord Fitzwater, the middleward by himself; and his Brother the Lord Edmund Howard, the Rearward by Sir William Sands, and Sir Richard Winkfield, both of them Knights of the Garter: and Sir Edmund Gualdeford was Captain of the Horsemen. In this Order the Earl entered the French ground the second of September, and took his Journey towards Hedring. By the way there came to him a great power of Burgoguins, sent by the Lady Margaret, according to the Articles of the League. All the Towns, Villages, and Castles in the Country, through which they passed, they burnt and sacked; as the Town and Castle of Selles, the Town of Brunbridge, Stenker, Basington, and Mansfield, with divers others. On the 15. of September, they came before the Castle of Hedring, and laid siege unto it; but the Castle being well fortified, and the Earl having not battering Ordinance, which by reason of the foul weather, he could not bring with him, after eleven days he raised his siege; and published to the Town of Dorset, that the Town and raised the Callic, as also the Town of Dorset, and then the year being far spent, came back to Callic the sixteenth of October.

At this time the Duke of Albay, being established Governor of Scotland, raised an Army of fourcure thousand men, with which he approached the Borders, but made no Invasion, as thinking perhaps that the only report of his great Army would fright the English; but yet this stayed not the Lord Marguls Dorset, Warren of the East and middle Marches, to enter into Tividale, and fo forward ten Miles into Galloway, burning all Towns and Villages on every side as he passed. All that night he carried within the Scottish ground, and the next day being Good-Friday, withdrew back into England, with a head of four thousand Cartel; having burned Grimley, Monmouth, Dunford, Myles, Askew, Cramling, and many other Towns and Villages.

In King Henry's fourteenth year, on the fifteenth of April began a Parliament, which was holden at the Black-friers, whether the King came, and there set down in his Royal Seat; at his feet on the right side sat the Cardinal of York, and the Archbishop of Canterbury; and at the Rail behind stood Doctor Twisde Bishop of London, who making an Oration, told there the causes of calling this Parliament; which were (as he said) for remedying of mischiefs by the Common Law, as Recoveries, Foreign Vouchers, and corrupt Trials; and for making new Laws for the good of the Commonwealth; whereof notwithstanding, no one word was spoken all the time of the Parliament, nor any other thing done, but a Subsidy granted; but howsoever, being commanded to chuse their Speaker, they chose Sir Thomas More, who at first disdaining himself, at last made two Petiti-
The Speaker makes two Petitions to the King.

A subsidy with much ado granted.

The Cardinal to move them to it, bore them in hand, that the Lords had agreed to four shillings of the pound; which was untrue, for the Lords had granted nothing, but stayed to see what the Commons would do, whereof when the King heard, he reproved the Cardinal for it; saying withal, that ere it were long, he would look to things himself, without any Substitution. Which speech of the Kings, thought it danted the Cardinal for a while, yet he soon recovered his spirits, and was as paremptory afterward as he had been before. After this the Parliament was Prorogued till the tenth of June; during which Prorogation, the Commons people laid to the Burgess. We hear say, you will grant four shillings of the pound, we advise you not to do so, that you may go home, with many like threarings. At this time, the Cardinal, by his power Legantine, dissolved his Convocation at Paul, convoked by the Archbishop of Canterbury, calling him and all the Clergy to the Convocation at Westminster: which was never seen before in England (De Hal. 465.) and thirtieth of July, the Parliament was adjourned to Westminster; and there continuing till the thirtieth of August, was that day nine of the clock at night finished.

About this time the Bishop of Durham died, and the King gave that Bishoprick to the Doctor; who resigned the Bishoprick of Bath to Doctor John Clerk, Master of the Rolls; and Sir Henry Marnet, who was Vice-Chamberlain, was made Lord Privy Seal, and shortly after was created Lord Marnet: Also during this Parliament, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, Ballard, son to King Edward the fourth, at Bridewell, was created Vicount Lisle, in the right of his Wife, who was Wife before to Edmund Dudley, beheaded.

The fifteenth of June, in the fifteenth year of the Kings Reign, Christian King of Denmark with his Queen, driven out of his Country, came into England, and was lodged at Bath; and after he had been feated by the King and the Queen of England, and received great gifts of both, returned again into Flender, where he remained as a banished man: some years after, King Henry sent Doctor Henry Standish, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Sir John Baker Knight, into Denmark, to perwade the people to receive him again into his Kingdom; but they could not prevail, he was so much hated for his cruelty.

About this time the Earl of Kildare, having recovered again the favour of the Cardinal, was sent Deputy into Ireland, as he had been before, where he reduced the wild Irish to indifferent conformity. All this while had England Wars both with the French and with the Scots. In Scotland the Marquess of Dorset threw down the Castles of Wodborough, of Nef, gate, of Blackettar, of Mackail, and burnt to the number of seven and thirty Villages, yet never came to skirmish. In France the Lords Sands, Treasurer of Calais, with twelve hundred armed men went before Bullogne, where he skirmished with the Enemy; and after taking divers Churches and Castles in the Enemies Countrey, returned back to Calais, with the 106
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

The Duke of Suffolk, in feft with an Army in France.

Joys only of a dozen men. King Henry being advertised that the Duke of Albany was providing of Forces in France, with which to return into Scotland, sent forth his Vice-Admiral Sir William Fitz-williams with 200 beat for thousand French.

The Duke of Suffolk, in feft with an Army in France.

All this while King Henry had plaid with the French, but now he means to be in earnest, and therefore sends over the Duke of Suffolk with an Army, the four and twentieth of August; attended with the Lord Monteacute and his Brother Sir Arthur Pool, the Lord Hertford, Son to the Earl of Worcester, the Lord Ferrers, the Lord Morney, the Lord Sands, the Lord Barkley, the Lord Powis, and the Baron Carlows, Sir Richard Wingfield, Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, Sir John Vere, Sir Edward Neville, Sir William Kingfime, Sir Richard Wofen, Sir Andrew Wifne, Sir Robert Wingfield, Sir Anthony Wingfield, Sir Edward Guiffor, Sir Edward Greville, Sir Edward Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Lucy, Sir Everard Digby, Sir Adriam Fyfle, Sir Richard Cowfield, Sir William Garrett, Sir William Sidney, Sir Henry Osa, and many other Knights and Gentlemen. In the whole Army were six hundred Demi-lances, two hundred Archers on Horfeback, three thousand Archers on foot, and five thousand Bill-men. Also seventeen hundred taken out of the Garrisons of Hamfomes, Guiffor, and Collices, in all ten thousand and five hundred, besides two thousand fix hundred Labourers and Pioneers. With this Army the Duke of Suffolk took the field, his Vanguard was led by the Lord Sand, the Captain of the right Wing was Sir William Kingfime, and of the left Sir Everard Digby: the Captain of all the Horfemen was Sir Edward Guiffor, Marfhal of Collices; the Duke himself led the Battel, and Sir Richard Wingfield the Rearward. The Dukes enterprize was the winning of Bell Castle, which the Lord Sands and the Lord Ferrers attempted, and had it yielded to them; and then Sir William Wingfime was placed Captain in it. At this time the Dutch of Bourbon, high Confiable of France, began to have his minde alienated from the King of France, and to draw him the more on, the Duke of Suffolk sent Sir John Keffel (afterward created Duke of Bedford) to him, who paffing in disguised Apparel, so prevailed with him, that he profeffed to take part with the Emperour, and the King of England; who having ten thousand Almains in his pay, it was thought fit (for encouragement of the English) to proclaim in the Army the access of so powerful an affiainant: and thereupon the Duke of Suffolk, removed to Asl and go forward into Picardy. At Corders between Terrin and St. Omer, there came to him the Lord of Jiflivein, and with him of Spaniards, Almains, and others, three thousand foartmen, and five hundred Horfe. With these Forces, the Duke marching on, took forth the rich Town of Ancor, then the Castle of Beanguard, and then by an fault the Town of Bray, though two thousand good men of War were in it: After this, the Towns of Cappe, and Roy, Lihons and Duncker. And then came before the Town of Montedidier, in which were a thousand foot and five hundred horfe; yet upon Sir William Seyguing, Batteries was yielded to him. From hence he removed to Roy, where he joined with his whole Army; and there on Abockland day, in the chief Church of Roy, made Knigifs, the Lord Herlet, the Lord Powis, Oliver Mavors, Arthur Pool, Richard Sands, Robert Jorningham, Robert Saluyry, Edward Benningfield, Rich-ard Corlett, Thomas Wentworth, William Star-ten, Walter Mavis, George Warram, and Edward Seynor (that was after Duke of Somerset.) The day after, the Army removed to a place called Nicle, from thence to Penva, and then to Eminford, where the Duke made John Dudley, and Robert Ulryght Knights, and from thence on the eighth of November, to a place called Mum Saint Martin; here the Wiffmen began to murmure, that they might not return home, the Winter being so far spent; but there was to the number of a thousand persons, under the leading of Sir John Wihfampe, who having no wages but what they could get by booties, and were therefore called Armes; these, and others, and the Wiffmen, had more desire to stay, than the Wiffmen had to be gone; for the great gains they made by the poifs of so many Towns that were taken. The thirteenth of November the Duke removed to a place within two miles of Begnain Castle, defended by great Marifhes, that lay before it, but the Froit being at that time so great that many lost their Fingers and Toes with cold, and some died; Sir Edward Guiffor acquainted the Duke, that he thought the Marifhes were hard enough frozen to bear great Ordinance; whereupon the Duke bid him venture it then and go on, which he resolutely did, and had the Castle prettily delivered up to him. In this mean time, the King hearing in what state the Army was, had prepared his thousand men to be sent to the Duke for a relief, under the leading of the Lord Mowsey; but before they could be put in order to pafs the Sea, the Duke, partly by the extremity of the weather, and partly by the murmuring of the Souldiers, was constrained to break up his Army, and return to Collices.

In this mean time, the Scots knowing that the strength of England was gone into France, took boldeñefs to invade the Marches; but then the Earl of Surrey, Treasurer and High Admiral of England, with fix thousand men, being fent againŠthem, took divers of their Caftles and Holds; and at Tewdrich, skirmishing with a great Garrison of Scots, overthrew them, and took and burned both the Town and Castle. And now the French King finding that the Scots did not work any great trouble to the English, whereby to keep them from molesting of France, and thinking it to be for want of the Duke of Albynnes præsence, whom they accounted their Gouvernor, he therefore prepared a Navy of Ships to reinforce him in to Scotland; but when the Duke of Albyn

He win many Tows.
heard that Sir William Fitz-williams was sent with a great Fleeter to stop his passage, he brought his Ships into the Haven of Brest, and gave it out that he would not go into Scotland that year; which being told to the King of England, he commanded that his Ships also should be laid up in Havens till the next Spring, and now he left the curing of the Scur; for when he saw the Kings Ships discharged, he then boldy took Shipping himself, and failed into Scotland; whether being come he presently levied a great Army, and approached the English Borders; but when he heard the Earl of Surrey was coming against him with a mighty power, he then sent a Herald to him, promising of his Honour, to give him Barrat; and if he took him prisoner, to give him good quarter. To whom the Earl answered, that he would not fail to abide his Battel; but if he took him prisoner, the quarter, he would give him, should he be cut off his head, and send it for a Prentis to his Master the King of England. At this time, the Earl of Surrey being at Auerweck, came the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the Lords Clifford, Dacre, Lanier, Ogle, and Dare, with many Knights, Gentlemen, and other Souldiers, to the number of forty thousand; and from the Court came the Master of the Horse, Sir Nicholau Carr, the Earl of Westmorland, and others. The lad of October, the Duke of Albien sent two or three thousand men over the water to besiege the Castle of Warke; who by battery of their Ordinances won the outermost Ward, called the Barnekin; and continuing their battery, won the second Ward; but then Sir William Lisfe, that was Captain of the Castle, in his forth with those few he had left, drove the French men from the place, and slew of them to the number of three hundred: a memorable service, and for which the Earl of Surrey afterwards gave him great thanks. The Earl would gladly have followed his Enemies into their own Borders, but that his Commision was only to defend England, and not to invade Scotland. Shortly after the Queen of Scots, Mother to the King, sent to her Brother the King of England, for an intollence from War, till a further communication might be had; which being granted, the English Army brake up, and the Earl of Surrey returned to the Court.

And now for a while we must be content to hear of petty occurrences, because greater did not happen; which if it make us like the story of the worfe, it may make us like the times the better; seeing they are over the best times that afford least matter to be talked of: but this time will last but a while; for shortly we shall come to hear Occurrences, that have been matter of talk to this day, whereof the like have never scarce been seen, and will hardly be believed, when they are heard; a Marriage dissolved after twenty years consummation; Houses built in Piety, under pretence of Piety demolished; a King made a Captive; a Pope held a Prisoner; Queens taken out of love, put to death out of loathing; and the Church stile shaken, that it hath stood in dissonance ever since.

At this time the Emperor Charles sent to the

King of England two Mules trapped in Crimdon Velvet, richly embroidered; also eleven goodly Jennets trapped with Ruffler Velvet, richly wrought; four Spears, and two Javelins of strange Timber, and work richly garnished; and five Brace of Grey-hounds. To the Queen he sent two Mules richly trapped, and high Chairs after the Spanish fashion; which Presents were thankfully received both of the King and Queen.

At this time in the month of October the Cardinal sent our Commissions, that every man, being worth forty pounds, should pay the whole Subbidy before granted, out of hand; which he called an Anticipation: which fine new word, he thought, would make them pay their money the more willingly; but they loved their money better than any words he could devise.

In this year the King sent the Lord Morley, Sir William Hulffy Knight, and Doctor Lee his Almoner, to Ferdinand Archduke of Auffria, with the Order of the Garter; which he received in the Town of Nuremberg, to his great contentment.

In this year, through Books of Prognostications, foreseeing much hurt to come by wars and floods, many persons withdrew themselves to high grounds, for securing themselves specially one Bolon, Prior of Saint Barthelemy in Smithfield, builded him an House upon Harrow on the Hill, and thither went and made provision for two months. These great waters should have fallen in February, but no such thing happening, the Albatrosses excused themselves, by saying, that in the computation they had misconceived in their number an hundred years.

In this mean time, many enterprizes were attempted, between the English men of Callice and Guystage, and the French men of Bulilign and the Frontiers of Picardie; and till Sir Williams Fitz-williams Captain of Guystage; Sir Robert Jenningham, Captain of Newham Bridge, Sir John Walsop, and Sir John Gage, were the men that did the French most hurt.

This year, the first of September, was Doctor Thomas Hambledain, Master of the Rolls received into London, by Earls, Bishops, and divers Lords and Gentlemen, as Ambassadour from Pope Clement; who brought with him a Rofe of Gold for a prentis to the King; and on the day of the Nativity of our Lady, after a solemn Mass sung by the Cardinal of York, the said Prentis was delivered to the King, which was a Tree forged of fine Gold, and with Branches, Leaves, and Flowers refembling Roses.

About the beginning of Winter, the Adventurers called Kreegers being not above two hundred, and of them five and twenty Horlomans, made an attempt to fetch some booby from a Village not far from Mussell; whereas the Earl of Dammartin having notice, set upon them with a far greater number, and flew most of them; and this was the end of the Kreegers, as brave men as ever served any Prince.

In the next year, there came to London divers Ambassadours out of Scotland, about a Peace to be had; and a marriage to be concluded, between the King of Scots, and the
the Lady Mary Daughter to the King of England.

At this time the Lord Leonard Gray, and the Lord John Gray, Brothers to the Lord Marchepis Daflets, Sir George Cobham Son to the Lord Cobham, William Cary, Sir John Dudley, Thomas Wyatt, Francis Points, Francis Sidney, Sr Anthony Brown, Sir Edward Seymour, Oliver Maunser, Percival Hart, Sebation Newdigate, and Thomas Calen, Esquires of the Kings Household, made a challenge of Arms against the Feast of Christmats, which was proclaimed by Winder the Herald, and performed at the time appointed very nobly, as Tills, Turneys, Barriers, and the assault of a CAffe erected for that purpose; in the Tile-yard at Greenwich, where the King held his Christmats that year with great state and magnificence.

About this time, John Jokin Steward of the Household to the French Kings Mother, came into England, and was received in secret manner, into the house of one Doctor Lark, a Prebendary of Saint Stephens; who oftentimes talked with the Cardinal, about a Peace to be concluded between the two Kings of England and France: of whose often Meetings Mounfieur de Prate the Emperours Ambaffador grew very jealous. The four and twentieth of January, Mounfieur Brinyon, President of Roum, came to London as Ambaffador from the French King, and was lodged with the said John Jokin; which small things should not be related; but that they were preparatives to great matters afterward.

On Sunday the fifth of March, were receiv'd into London Mounfieur de Beav Lord of Comber, Marshal of Flanders, Mounfieur John de la Cohe President of Maixies, and Mafter John de la Gheche, as Ambaffadors from the Lady Margaret in the name of the Emperour, who required three things. First they demanded the Lady Mary the Kings only Daughter to be presently delivered, and she to be named Emperour, and as Governes take possession of all the Low-Countries. Secondly, that all such summes of money as the King should give with her in Marriage should be paid incontinent. Thirdly, that the King of England should pay the Sea in person, and make War in France the next Summer. The first two demands were not agreed to for certain causes; and as to the third, the King said he would take time to advise. On Thursday the ninth of March a Gentleman came in Pult from the Lady Margaret, with Letters signifying, that whereas the King of France had lien long at the Siege of Paris, he had now ordered to raise his siege, and was himself taken prisoner by the Imperialists; for joy whereof, Bonfires and great Triumph was made in London, and on the twelfth of March being Sunday, the King himselfe came to Pauls, and there heard a solenn Mafi. But for all this shew of joy, it was thought, if the King of France had not now taken prisoner, that the King of England would have joyed in amity with him, as being angry with the Flemings; for Inhauling his Coyn in Flanders, which caufed much money to be conveyed out of England thither. The King of France being taken prisoner, was after some time conveyed into Spain, and at last brought to Medril, where he fell so fick, that the Physicains had little hope of his life, unless the Emperour would be pleased speedily to visit him; upon whose visitation he recovered his health, though not presently his strength: In which time many propositions were made for his delivery, but the Emperour would accept of none; without restitution of the Duchy of Burgauge. At last, the French King weary of imprisonement, and longing for liberty, was content to agree to any conditions: the chief whereof were, that the French King by a certain day should be set at liberty, and within six weeks after should resign to the Emperour the Duchy of Burgauge; with all Members pertaining to it; and at the same instant, should put into the Emperours hands the Dauphin of France, and with him either the Duke of Orleans his second Son, or else twelve principal Lords of France, whom the Emperour should name; and that there should be between them a League, and perpetual confederacy for defence of their estates: Of whose atonement when King Henry heard, as before he had exprefted plainehess that he was taken prisoner; so now he sent Sir Thomas Chirney to him, to express his joy for being set at liberty; to sudden the interchange of love and hate amongst great Princes. The French King being thus delivered, the Emperour married the Lady Iofelet, Daughter to Emanuel King of Portugal, and had with her in Dower eleven hundred thousand Duckets; though three years before, being at Windfor he had consented to give the Wife the Lady Mary the Kings Daughter.

At this time Cardinal Wolsey obtained Licenofe of the King to erect a Colledge at Oxford, and another at Ipswich; and towards the charge of them got leave also to suppress certain small Monaileries, to the number of forty; and after got a Confirmation of the Pope, that he might employ the Goods and Lands belonging to those House, to the maineance of those two Colleges: a pernicious Precedent; and that which made the King a way afterward, to make a general suppression of all Reiligions Houfes; though indeed there be great difference betweene converting of Monaileries into Colledges, and utter subverting them.

In March King Henry lent Cobert Tranfal Bishop of London, and Sir Richard Winkes field Chancellour of the Dutchy of Lowafters, into Spain, to confer with the Emperour about matters of great importance, and particularly about War to be made in France; and yet were these two Princes to this time in League; but he thought he obferved the carriage of these two Princes towards one another, and how convertible their Leagues were into War, and their War into Peace, shall finde it a strange Riddle of Regim di festo; and their Leagues to have been one fomple complements, where the fcale was turned with the leaft grain of a circumstance; and though they were bound by Oath, yet that Oath made the Leagues but little the firmer, seeing the League might be broken, and yet the Oath kept; for while one gave the occasion, and the other took it; though they were both accretaories, yet neither was principal; and where there

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The Cardi- nal of Rome, Cardinal Wolsey, towards the erection of two Col- ledges.
At this time the French Kings Mother, as then Regent of France, procured by her Ambassadors, at first a Truce, and afterward a Peace with England, which was proclaimed in London, the eighth of September. By the Covenants of which Peace, the King of England should receive at certain days twenty thousand hundred Crowns, which in sterling money amounted to the summe of four hundred thousand pounds; whereas fifty was to be paid in hand. Sir William Fitz-williams, and Doctor Taylor; was sent to the Lady Regents, to take her corporal Oath, and likewise King Henry the four and twentieth of April, at Greenwich, in presence of the Ambassadors of France, Rome, and Venice, took his corporal Oath, to observe the Peace between him, and his loving Brother the French King, during his life, and one year after.

In this Winter was a great mortality in London, for the Term was adjourned, and the King kept his Christmas at Greenwich, with a small number, and was therefore called the still Christmas. At which time, the Cardinal coming to the Court, took order for altering the face of the Kings House: many Officers and other servants were discharged, and put to their penions, in which number were four-score and four Yeomen of the Guard: who before having had twelve pence the day with check, were now allowed but six pence the day without check, and commanded to go into their Countreys.

On Shrovetuesday this year, a solemn Juifs was held at Greenwich; the King and eleven other on the one part, the Marquefs of Exeter, and eleven other of the other part.

In his nineteenth year King Henry kept a solemn Christmas at Greenwich, with Revels, Masks, Disguisings, and Banquets, and the thirtieth of December and third of January were solemn Juifs held, when at length the King and fourteen other with him came to Greenwich, and there putting on masking Apparel, took his Barge, and rowed to the Cardinale place, where were at supper many Lords and Ladies, who danced with the Maskers, and after the Dancing was made a great Banquet. This Christmas was a Play at Graves-Inne, made by one Master Roe a Sergeant at Law; the effect whereof was, that Lord Government was ruled by Distraction and Negligence, by whose evil order Lady Publick Weal was put from Governance. This the Cardinal took to be meant by him; and thereupon sent the said Master Roe to the Fleece, though the Play were made long before the Cardinal had any authority; by which we may see how inurbable companion supficion is to a guilty conscience.

The fourteenth of January came to the Court Don Hugo de Arandoa, a Grandee of Spain, as Ambassadour from the Emperor to the King, with a large Commission, to make King Henry Judge, how just the conditions were, which the Emperor required of the King of France: and about this negotiation there were two years in England: so defirous the Emperor was to continue good correspondence with the King of England.

On Shrovetuesday the King and the Marquefs of Exeter with others, in most sumptuous attire

The year

1546

Dukes and Earls created.

The Cardinal feeks to raise money by a Commission: which the people oppose, and the King disclaims.
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attire came to the Tilt, and ran many courses were broken; and then disarming them, they went into the Queen's Chamber, where a spacious Banquet was provided. But this Banquet was one of the last of the Queens preparing; for bitherto there had been no exception taken to the lawfulness of her marriage, but now came over Ambassador's from the King of France, requiring to have the Kings Daughter the Lady Mary, to be given in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, second Son to their Master the French King, wherein they that were the suitors for it, were the hinderers of it; for amongst it was the President of Paris, who made a doubt whether the marriage between King Henry and the Lady Katherine of Spain, having been his Brothers Wife, were lawful or no: but howsoever the French Ambassador's at Greenwich on Sunday the fifth of May, in the Name of their Master the French King, took their Oaths to observe the League concluded between them during the Absence of the King shortly after we were forewarned Sir Thomas Bulmer, Vicount Rockward, and Sir Anthony Brown Knight, as Ambassador's to the King of France, to take his Oath in person for performance of the League.

But enough of small Occurrence; and indeed there will be Occurrences now more worthy to be related, but more lamentable to be heard; for now the Duke of Bourbon General of the Emperor's Army in Italy, was slain by a shot from the Walls of Rome, as he was passing by; upon whose death the Army entred and sacked the City, made the Pope flee to the Castle of Saint Angelo, and there coopered him up; abated the Cardinals, and put them to grievous ranonmes, spared neither Sacred Places, nor Religious Persons, but commeted all manner of barbarous and inhuman cruelty. These infolencies of the Emperor committed against the Pope; together with the hard conditions the Emperor had imposed upon the King of France for setting him at liberty: and the Emperours breach of promise in not marrying the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter, were the apparent caues of King Henry's breaking the League with the Emperor Charles: but more enforcing though concealed caue, perhaps was the growing greenness of the Emperor, by his acquitts in Italy and other places; enough to breed a jealousy in all neibhouring Princes; and indeed King Henry had some caue to think the Emperours spirits were grown higher with his Victories, seeing where before he was wont always to write Letters to King Henry with his own hand, and subscribe them, Your Son and Faithful Friend; now after his Victories in Italy, he causid his Secretaries to write them, subscribing only Charles; And yet a more preffing caue, though perhaps when the Cardinals spleen against the Emperor, for denying him the Bishopric of Toledo in Spain. But whichever of these was the predominant caue, all of them together made a caue sufficient for King Henry to fall off from amity with the Emperor; and his falling off from the Emperor, caue sufficient to fall in with the King of France: and thereupon the two Kings send their several Heraulds to the Emperor: King Henry's Herauld, the French King his Herauld Guyen, to expostulate their grievances with the Emperor, and the refusal to return a satisfactory Answer, to defe his as their Enemy. The Emperor heard the Heraulds with great temper, and answered Claevity very mildly; that he knew his Matters grievance was grounded upon misinformation, wherein he spake shortly reftifie him by his Letters, as defining nothing more than to continue his friend; but Guyen he answered roughly, bidding him tell his Master that he had broken his faith, in not performing the Covenants agreed upon for his liberty; and with these answers diffimated them; only Guyen not thinking it fit to deliver his answer, being in such terms, by word of mouth, obtained to have it sent in writing. The Heraulds being returned home, and delivering the answers; the King of France was so satisfied, to be charged with breach of faith, that he soon after sent an other defiance to the Emperor, telling him plain terms, that he lyed in his threat, and thereupon challenged him to the Combat, requiring him to appoint the field, and himself would the Weapons. The Emperor accetted the challenge, but other occurrences intervening hindered the performance.

In this mean time, the Cardinal was appoinind to go Ambassador to the King of France, carrying with him twelve score thousand pounds, to be employed by the French King, and other the Confederates, in a War against the Emperor, who the eleventh of July took shipping at Dover, and landed that day at Calais; with whom was Catthor Thonful Bishop of London, the Lord Sands Chamberlain to the King, the Earl of Dorly, Sir Henry Gutfard, Sir Thomas More, with other Knights and Gentlemen, in all to the number of twelve hundred Horse. At Anytime he was assisted by the French King himself, and by his Mother, and by all the chief Peers of France; By whom it was agreed, that Articles of Accord should be offered to the Emperor; which if refused then the French King should marry the Lady Mary King Henry's Daughter, and they both to be Enemies to the Emperor. These things concluded, the Cardinal returned, and on the last of September came to the King of Richmond: In October following, there came Ambassador's from the French King, to take King Henry's Oath, for observing the League with the King of France: and on Sunday the tenth of November, King Henry at Greenwich received the Order of Saint Michael by the hands of the Lord Anna's de Membrance, great Master of the Kings Household, and Mountaine Humberies; as likewise the same day at Paris the French King received the Order of the Garter by the hands of the Lord Lisle, Doctor Taylor Master of the Rolls, Sir Nicholas Carew Master of the Kings Horse, Sir Anthony Brown, and Sir Thomas Wratlaby Knight otherwise called Garen King of Arms, who were sent thereth with the whole Habit, Collar, and other Habilities of the Order.

The King of France gives the Emperor the Arts, and challenges him to a Combat.
Upon King Henry's defiance of the Emperor in the French Kings quarrel English Merchants their Ships and Goods were attacked in Spain, and in the Low-Countries, as likewise all Spaniards and Flemings Merchants were attacked here; which being very detrimental to both Nations; at last, by mediation of Hugo de Mendax, the Emperors Ambassadors to the Court, a reconciliation was made, and free traffic between the Nations was revived.

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1159. King Henry begins to be troubled in mind about his marriage.

The Queen is allowed her Council to debate the lawful-ness of her marriage. The Pope sends his Legate to hear the cause.

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In his twentith year, on the two and twentith of February, Sir Piets Butler of Ireland, was created Earl of Ogery. And now King Henry began to be troubled in mind about his marriage with Queen Katherine; but whether his trouble of mind grew for scruple of Conscience, or from defire of change, was by many men doubted; some thought he had felt his affection upon the Lady Anne Boleyn, whom afterward he married; and to make way for that marriage, moved this scruple, that he might be divorced; but this is not likely, for he married not the said Lady, till above three years after this doubt had been moved; and three years was a long time to have affection be delayed, which commonly is impatient of delay: if King Henry's own propitiousness may be taken, it was very like, that in his mind he partly knew what his friends in Spain would give him; but if you will not, then your pleasure be fulfilled: and having told, it is the rofe up, and making a low curteisy, departed. The King being advertised that she was going out of the House, commanded the Crier to call her again; who thereupon called her, saying, Katherine Queen of England, come into the Court; which her Gentleman-Usher Master Grifiths bearing, told her, Madam, you are called: Well (said he) it makes no matter, I will not tarry, go your way, and thus he departed, and never after would appear in any Court, but appealed from the Cardinals to the Pope himself. The Queen being gone, the King said, I confess she hath been to me the most dutiful and loving Wife that ever Prince had; and if it were not for this scruple of my Conscience, I would not leave her for any womean living; and having now referred the Judgment of the cause to the Pope, he is chiefly to be blamed that he had not, in the beginning, a juster opinion about her marriage; for he might have known that his scruple was not likely to be answered, and that he might begin the beginning of a just error.

The Quee...
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

The truth; it was strange, Prince Arthur and she having lain five months together, and he no less then almost 16 years old.) But whilst arguments were thus urged on both sides, and no certainty could appear, the King sent the two Cardinals to the Queen, lying then in Bridewell, to persuade her, she should submit her self to the Kings pleasure, and not to stand so peremptorily to her Appeal. The Cardinals coming to her, found her at work amongst her Maids, with a skin of white thread about her neck; who having heard her message, answered, That in all other things she would willingly submit her self to the Kings will, but in this, which concerned her honesty, and the legitimacy of her Children, the dart not, but would rely upon the wisdom and piety of both their Fathers, who (she knew) would never have attended to the marriage, if there had been the least disturbance of unlawful sort; and another answer she would not give. Upon their return to the King, when he perceived the could not be removed from her opinion; he commanded the Court to go on; so that at last it came to judgement; which every man expected should be the next day. At which day the King came thither (but in so secret a manner that he might hear and not be seen) where the Kings Council at the Bar calling for Judgement; Cardinal Campanius, as being chief Commissioner, stood up and said; I find the case very doubtful, and the party defendant standing to her Appeal, I will therefore give no Judgement, till I have conferred with the Pope; and therefore I adjourn the Court for this time, according to the Order of the Court of Rome, which hears no causes judicially from the last of July till the fourth of October; at which termination of time, King Henry was not a little angry, and the Duke of Suffolk, being present in the Court gave an exclamation which was the means of expediting the proceeding, to begin to think it necessary to remove him, and to take him off from that great object which had made him so pressing; and indeed he made short work with him; for soon after he sent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk to him for the Seal, which yet he would not deliver to them, till they brought him a Warrant under the Kings own hand. When the Seal was brought to the King, he delivered it to Sir Thomas More, Speaker then of the Parliament (the first Layman that bore that Office in any memory) and in his room was chosen Speaker Thomas Audley, Attorney of the Duthy. Wolsey now removed from his Chancellourship, was in the Parliament then holden charged with points of Treason; but that charge was to clearly taken off by his servent Thomas Cromwel, who was then of the House, that the Cardinal was acquitted, to the great commendation of Cromwel, both for abilities in himself, and faithfulness to his Master.

After this, the King being informed, that all those things, which the Cardinal had done by his power Legantine, were within the cafe of Pramunire; he caused his Attorney Christopher Hales to lay out a Pramunire against him; and thereafter the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk were sent unto him, to let him know that the King's pleasure was, he should go to Ather, a House near to Hampton-Court, belonging to his Bishoprocks of Winchester, and there to reside whereupon the Cardinal, having first deliberated up all his Moveables to the Kings use (the greatest store and richest that was ever known of any Subject) went presently to Putney by water, and from thence rode to Ather, where he and his family continued three or four weeks, without either Bed, Sheets, Table-cloaths, or Dishes to eat their meat in, or money whereby to buy any, but what he was forced to borrow of the Bishop of Carlile. After this, his matter for the Pramunire being called upon in the Kings Bench, his two Attorneys confessed the Action, and thereupon had Judgment to forfeit all his Lands and Goods, and to be out of the Kings Protection; but the King of his clemency sent him a sufficient Protection, and left him the Bishoprocks of York and Winchefter, with Plate and Stuffe convenient for his Dignity. His Bishoprocks of Duresme was given to Doctor Tunful, Bishop of London; his Abbey of Saint Albans to the Prior of Norwich; and the Bishoprocks of London to Doctor Stokesly, Ambassadour then beyond the Seas.

In this mean while, Margaret Dutcches of Suffolk, Aunt to the Emperor, and the Lady Luys Dutcche, of Angouleme, Mother to the French King, met at Combray to treat of a Peace between the Emperor, the Pope, and the Kings of England and France, where were present Doctor Tunful Bishop of London, and Sir Thomas More then Chancellour of the Duthy of Lancaster, Commissioners for the King of England; after long debating, through the diligence of the said Ladies, a Peace was concluded; and was thereof called, The Womans Peace, and was indeed as fickle as women, for it was soon broken, and neither of the Princes trusted the other e'er the more for it. Previous to this Peace before this time there had been wholly disputed by the Cardinal and by the Clergy, but now, growing sensible of that error, he called his High Court of Parliament; in which the Commons complained harply of their grievances against the Clergy, specially in fix things. The first, for that they excelled unreasonable sums of money, as due Fees, for the purchase of men's lives, as Wills and Testamentes: infomuch that Sir Henry Guildford

The Queen continues in her Appeal

In aDRAMATIC allele and is cordially to Wolsey.
Guilford, Knight of the Garter, and Comptroller of the Kings House, declared openly, that he and others being Executors to Sir William Compton paid for the Probate of his Will to the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury a thousand marks.

The second, the extreme exactions, which spiritual men used in taking of Corps or Mortuaries.

The third, that Spiritual men became Farmers of great Graves and Farms to the prejudice of Husbandmen and Grackers.

The fourth, because many Abbeys, Priors, and other spiritual men, kept Tan houses, and bought and sold Wool, Cloth, and other Wares, as temperal Merchants.

The fifth, because such Clergy-men as had the left livings would take the utmost of their right, and yet live in the Court, or in Nekkerman or in Bishop house, where they spent nothing.

The sixth, because divers ignorant men amongst them held ten or twelve Benefices to themselves, severally, and yet lived not upon any one of them, but kept great Scholars at small pension.

These things before this time might not be touched, because the Bishops were Chancellors, and had all the rule about the King; but now the King looking better into the matter, gave way to these complaints: whereupon the Burgesses drew up three Bills; one of the probate of Teltaments; another for Mortuaries; and the third for Non-reliance, Plurality, and taking of Farms by spiritual men. The Bill of Mortuaries passed first the House of Commons, and was sent up to the Lords; when two days after, was sent up the Bill of probate of Teltaments, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury, and all the Bishops much frowned, but especially John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, who rose up and said: My Lords, you see what Bills come daily from the Commons house, and all is the destruction of the Church; for Gods sake, consider what a Realm Robbery was, and when the Church went down, then fell the Glory of that Kingdom: Now with our Commons is nothing but down with the Church; and all this meemeth, is for lack of Faith only. When these words were reported to the House of Commons, they took the matter very hunounly; and thereupon sent their Speaker Thomas Audley, with thirty of the House to the King, complaining what a dishonour to the King and the whole Realm it was to say, that they which were elected for the wifet men of all Shires, should be charged to lack faith, which was all one as to say, they were Infidels and no Christians; so as what Act or Laws ever they made should be taken as Laws made by Pagans and Heathens, and not worthy to be kept by Christian men: And therefore humbly besought his Majesty to call the said Bishop of Rochester before him, to give an account of the words he had spoken. Whereupon within few days after, the King sent for the Bishop, and acquainted him with the Commons complaint against him, who excused himself, by saying he meant the doings of the Bohemians was for lack of Faith, and not the doings of the House of Commons; of which excuse, the King sent word to the Houfe by Sir William Fitz-william Treasurer of his Houfhold; but it pleased the Commons nothing at all. After divers meetings between the Lords and Commons, about the Bills of probate of Teltaments and Mortuaries, the Temporality laid to the Spirituality their own laws, and constitution, and the Spiritualty defended them, by prejudice, and ufage; to whom a Gentleman of Greyer-Inne made this answer. The ufga bath ever been of Thieves to rob on Shoouters-hill; is it therefore lawful? Whiltele these Bills were in debate, an Act was passed, which releaved to the King all such sums of money as he had borrowed at the Loan, in the fift feth of his Reign; which Bill at firft was much opposed, but the most part of the Houfe being the Kings Servants, it was at laft affented to: which once known in the Country abroad, made much murmuring, and the Parliament to be ill spoken of; for every man courted a fure debtor, as fome made their Wills of the money, and fome turned it over in fatisfaction to their creditors. To quality which grievance, the King granted a general pardon for all offences (certain excepted) and was a means also to have the three Bills passed; one for a probate of Teltaments, another for Mortuaries, and the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-reliance, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual persons, though this laft with some qualifying.

During this Parliament, the King created Vicount Rochford, Earl of Willshire, the Vicount Fitzwater Earl of Essex, and the Lord Hasting's Earl of Huntingdon.

This time, the Lords of the upper Houfe had drawn certain Articles against the Cardinal, and sent them down to the Houfe of Commons, the chief whereof were these:

First, that without the Kings ottent, he hath procurred himself to be made a Legate, by reason whereof he took away the right of all Bishops and spiritual persons.

Secondly, That in all his Writings which he wrote to Rome, or to any Foreign Prince, he wrote Ego & Rex meus, I and my King; so preferring himself before the King.

Thirdly, That without the Kings ottent, he carried the great Seal of England with him into Plantations.

Fourthly, That having the French Pes, he presumed to come and breath upon the King.

Fifthly, That he confufed the Cardinals Hat to be put upon the Kings Cain.

Sixthly, That he would not suffer the Kings Clerk of the Markes to sit at Saint Albans.

Seventhly, That he had lent infinit numbers of treasu res to Rome for purchasing of his Dignity.

These Articles were read in the House, and if not otherwise proved, yet confedted afterward under the Cardinals owne hand, which added to the former prammure; all his Lands and Goods were feized on to the Kings use.

This Parliament being ended, the King removed to Greenwich, and there kept his Christians with his Queen Katherine in great state; for though this matter, of making void the marriage between them, was hotly pursued by the King; yet abating onl only from her bed, he con-
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

He prepared to be infantated, and
sent for to the King for his rich Alter and Pall.

An Act made that no more Annates should be paid to Rome.

Not no Appeals to the Pope.

 bishop, and from the Archbishops to the King:
and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation.

At this time the Cardinal lying ill at

After, and his Affairs dying, left lying to near the King, he might one time or other get access to the King's presence, and come again into favour; they said means to have him sent further off, and therupon the King sent him to go to his Dioces of York, and not to go Southward without special Licence; whereupon in Lent he made great preparation for his Journey, and having in his train to the number of an hundred and three-score perfons, bycastle journeys came to Peterborough, and there kept his Easter; the week after he went to Stamford, then to Newark, and so to Southwark, where he continued most part of all that Summer: and then rode to Scroby, where he stayed till Michaelmas, and then came to Canowd Castle, within seven miles of York, where he kept a plentiful house for all comers: and repaired the Castle, being greatly in decay, having above three hundred Artificers in daily wages. At last, he determined to be installled at York, the next Monday after Allhollan-day; against which time great preparation was made, and the Cardinal went to the King, to lend him the Mitre and Pall, with which he used to wear at any great Solemny. At which pretension the King marvelled no little; saying to the Cardinal, whether it were about him, what a thing is that pride should this reign in a man that is quite underfoot? but before the day of Installation came, he was arrested in this manner; Sir Walter Walshe one of the Kings Privy-Chamber was sent down to the Earl of Northumberland, with whom he was joyned in Commission to arrest the Cardinal; whereupon they go together to Canowd, where the Cardinal lay: and being entred into the house, it was told the Cardinal, that the Earl of Northumberland was come, and in the Hall; then (quoth the Cardinal) I am sorry we have dined, for I doubt our Officers are not provided of any good cheer. With that he went and brought the Earl up, welcoming him in a complememental manner, as if he had come but only to visit him; but being come into the Chamber, the Earl with a soft voice, laying his hand upon the Cardinal's arm, said, My Lord, I arrest you of high Treason: the Cardinal somewhat astounded; asked to see his Commission, which the Earl denying to shew, then (quoth the Cardinal) I will not obey your arrest; at that instant Walter Walshe came in, and kneeled down to the Cardinal; who asked him if he were joyned in Commission with the Earl; who answered, he was: well then, said the Cardinal, I trow you are one of the Kings Privy-Chamber, your name is Walshe: I am content to yield to you, but not to my Lord of Northumberland, unless I see his Commission: the meanest of the Kings Privy-Chamber is sufficient to arrest the greatest Peer of the Realm, by the Kings Commandement, without any Commission. Then the Earl took the Cardinals Keys from him, and put him in custody of his Gentlemen: some few days after he was conveyed from Canowd to Pomfret, and after to Sheffield Park, where he had kinde entertainment, and laid with the Earl of

An Act given by the Emperor to the Master of St. John of Jerusalem the Island of Malta, in supplying of the Island of Rhodes, which the Turk sometime before had won from that Order.

In this year the New Testament having been translated into English, by Tindal, Joy, and others, and which no command for reading it, were sharply punished by command of the Bishops and Sir Thomas More then Lord Chancellour: but none was more violent in the matter than the Bishop of London, who caufed all the Books to be brought into Paul's Church-yard, and there burned.

King Henry having heard by good information, that when Cæsarea was sent Legate into England, he had brought with him a Bull of Divorce; but was afterward upon change of the Popes mind, commanded to burn it; saw plainly by this, that the Pope had no meaning of proceeding really in the matter, but to keep it aloof for his own ends; neither to displease the Emperor by granting it; nor King Henry by not granting it, but promising expedition to keep him in expence; yet using delays to keep him in dependance: and therefore resolved now to take such a course, that he should not need to care whether the Pope granted it or no; and thereupon caused a Proclamation to be published, that no person of what estate or condition forever, should purchase, or attempt to purchase from the Court of Rome, any thing prejudicial to the Justification, or Prerogative of this his Realm, upon pain of imprisonment, and other punishments at his Grace's pleasure; and shortly after an Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annates, or money for Bulls to the Pope; for as much as it was proved, there had been paid for Bulls of Bishops, since the fourth year of King Henry the seventh, an hundred and three-score thousand pounds, besides what had been paid for Parons and other Dispensions. Another Act was also then made, that no person should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of Rome, but from the Committie to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Arch.
of Shrewsbury and his Lady eighteen days, till at last sitting one day at dinner, his colour was observed to change, and being asked how he did? nor well (faith he) I have something sud- denly at my stomach as cold as a wheatlofe, which I know is wind; I define to have some- thing from the Apothecary, to break wind; which was brought, and the Earl seeing the same taken, he took it, and thereupon broke wind indeed; but whether it were he took it in too great a quantity, or that there was some foul play used, he fell soon after into such a looopeness, that the night following he had above fifty tboles; yet the next day he rode to Nort- hingham, and the day after to Lichfield Ab- bey; being so sick by the way that he was rea- dy to fall off his Mule: coming to the Abbey Gates, the Abbot with all the Convent met him; to whom he said, Father Abbot, I am come li- ther to lay my bones among you; and then was led up into his Chamber, and went to bed; where growing ficker and ficker, the next mor- ning Master Kingfion Lieutenant of the Tower, who had been sent to bring him up, coming to him, and asking him how he did? I do butto- ry (faih he) the pleafure of God, to render up my poor foul into his hands; for this is my cafe, I have a Flux with a continual Fever; the medicines by my command, the only thing that can be a amendment within eight days, either excoriation of the entrails will enfe, or frenzy, or else prefent death; and the beft of them is death; and (as I fuppofe) this is the eighth day. Sir (faih Master Kingfion) you are afraid of that you have no caufe; for I affure you, the King com- manded me to fay unto you, that you fhould be of good cheer, for that he beareth you as much good will as ever he did: No, no (Maffe Master King- fion) faid the Cardinal, I fee how it is framed; but if I had fervfed God as diligently as I have done the King, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs: but it is a juft reward for my fiddly to do him fervice; nor regarding the fervice of God to do him pleafure; and hav- ing fo faid, his speech failed, and incontinent the clock struck eight, and then he gave up the ghost: which made fome about him remember, how he had faid before, that at eight of the clock they fhould flay in their Master's King- dead he was buried in the Abbey of Lichfield. This man held at once the Bishoprach of York, Winchifler, and Durham, the Dignities of Lord Cardinal Legat and Chancellour of England, the Abby of Saint Alhan, divers Priories, and sundry great Benefices in Commonwealth: he had also in his hands, as it were in Farm, the Bishop- rach of Bath, Wincifler, and Hereford, which having been given by Henry the Seventh to ftrangers, that lived out of the Realm, they fuffered Wifley to enjoy them, receiving of him a Pension only. The retinue of this Prelate is fcarce cefid, a thoufand perfons daily in his household, of whom many Knights and fome Lords; all which greatnes as it came by the Kings favour, fo by the withdrawing of his fav- our it was overthrown: fo true is that faying of Solomon. The Kings favour is as dust upon the grave; but his wrath is as the roaring of a Lion, and as a messenger of death. After this the King removed from Hampton-Court to Greenwich,
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

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dation of the King's judgment, so deny it at first when it was demanded as a right, and to grant it afterward, when it was refused as of grace.

In this Parliament time, on the 30 of March, Sir Tho. More Lord Chancellor with twelve of the Lords, came into the Lower House, acquainting them, that through the matter of the King's Divorce, he might sufficiently rest upon the judgment of learned men in his own Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, yet to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he had sent into France, Italy, the Popes Dominions, and the Venetians, to have their opinions; and then causing them to be read, Sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box certain writings sealed, which were the determinations of the Universities of Orleans, of Paris, of Anjou, of Burges, of Bolonia, of Padua, and of Tholos: all which were peremptory in these two Points; That the Brother, by the Law of God, might not marry the Relief of his Brother; and then being against the Law of God, that it is not in the power of the Pope to dispence with that Law, after the divorce, the King hath not sought this Divorce for his pleasure, but for discharge of his Conscience: and this, they departed. The King himself, when he heard of these determinations, was so far from rejoicing at it, that he rather mourned, as for the loss of so good a Wife; yet converted with her as he had done before, in nothing altered but abstaining from her bed. But being willing the Queen should know these determinations; in Whitsun week after, he sent divers Lords to acquaint her with them, requiring her thereupon to recall her Appeal, and to refer the matter to eight indifferent Lords; which the utterly refused, giving her usual Answer, that she was his lawful Wife, and would abide the Determination of the Court, of Rome, but of no other. After Whitsun, the King and Queen removed to Windsor, and there continued the Council, of the King removed to Woodstock and left the Queen at Windsor, where she remained a while, and after removed to Esherhurst, whither the King sent to her divers Lords, first to persuade her to be conformable to the Law of God; which if they could not do, then to let her know, that his pleasure was, she should be either at one of these three places, his Manor of Oking, or of Esherhurst, or the Monastery of Bilham, and there to continue without further molesting her with his suits.

And now Cranmer is to play his part. It chanced that Dr. Stephen, Dr. Fox, and he met at Waltham one day at dinner; where falling into discourse about the case then in agitation of the King's Marriage with Queen Katharine: the other Doctors thought the Marriage might be proved unlawful by the Civil Law; but (said Cranmer) it may better be proved by the Law of God; and it is my manner to do it: which words of his being made known to the King, Cranmer is sent for, and commanded to set his reasons down in writing: which he did write, and showed them to the King; and he was asked whether he would hand to that which he had written? who answered, he would, even before the Pope himself; his Majesty pleased; marry (said the King) and to the Pope you shall go: and thereupon sent him to the Court of Rome; and with him Thomas Bulen Earl of Wiltshire, Doctor Stukeley, Earl of Lincoln, Dr. Let the King Almoner, and others: where awaiting to Bolon to where the Pope was, had a day of Audience appointed, but was hindered by a ridiculous accident; for the Pope holding out his foot for them to kiss his Toe, as the manner is, a Dog of the Earls by chance in the room, ran and caught the Pope foot in his mouth, and made it for that time unfit to kiss. After this, when Cranmer had made his Proposition, he was told it should be answered when the Pope came to Rome: so the Ambassadors were dismissed, and Cranmer went to the Empourers Court, where in private Conference he satisfied Cornelia Agrrippa, the most learned at that time about the Emperor, and brought him to be of his opinion. Cranmer returning home, and giving the King this satisfaction, the King's Marriage with Queen Katharine was soon after dissolved by Parliament, and the Bishop of Canterbury accompanied with Dr. Stukeley Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winche钢厂, Sir Edward Wingfield, and other learned men, rode to Doutable where Queen Katharine then lay; where being cited to appear, and making default fifteen days together, for lack of appearance, she was divorced from the King, and the Marriage declared to be void and of none effect; and from thenceforth it was decreed, she should no more be called Queen, but Princes Dowager: after which time, the King never saw her more.

At this time, being the four and twentieth year of King Henry's reign, Sir Thomas More, after long suit, delivered up the great Seal, which was then delivered to Tho. Anderley Speaker of the Parliament, which Parliament began at the Blackfriers, was adjourned to Westminster, and there at nine a clock at night dissolved, and was therefore called the Black Parliament. This Tho. Anderley first made Lord Keeper, and shortly after inserted in the whole room of Speaker, Humfrey Wingfield of Graye's Inn was chosen. On the first of September this year, the King being at Windsor, created Anne Bulen Marichon of Pembroke, giving her 1000 pounds land a year: and then being diligent to talk with the King of France in person on the 10 of October, taking the said Lady with him, and divers Lords, as the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Marquess of Dorset and Exeter, the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Surrey, Essex, Derby, Rutland, Suffolk and Huntingdon, with divers Vicounts, Barons, and Knights, he failed over to Calais; and on the 20 of October met with the King of France at Bailleul, with whom he stayed four days; in which time he did him honour, the King of France honoured the two Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk with the Order of Saint Michael; and then both Kings went to Calais, where the French King stayed certain days, in which time to do him honour, the King of France honored two of his great Lords with the Order of the Garter; and then after great magnificence in revelling and feasting, on the 20 of October the French King departed from Calais, and King Henry returned into England; where on the 14 of November following, he married secretly the Lady Anne Bulen, which marriage was not openly known till Batler after, when it was perceived.
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

The Queen, being delivered of a daughter named Elizabeth,

The judgment of God upon unlawful oaths.

The Queen is delivered of a daughter named Elizabeth.

The Order of Knights hound imposed upon all men of forty pounds' burden, was taken into the King's Service, Queen Anne, Elizabeth.

The Holy Maid of Mantua is delivered of a daughter named Elizabeth, whose abettors were Richard Master a Priest Parson of Aldington in Kent; Ed. Egging, Dr. of Divinity a Monk of Canterbury; Richard Ribby and Thomas Gold, Gentlemen, This Maid had learned to counterfeit falling into Trances; in which she would deliver many strange things, and amongst others, said, that by Revelation from God and his Saints, she was informed, that if King Henry proceeded to the Divorce, and married another, he should not be King of England one month after. And here we may see how credulous oftentimes great Scholars are in believing Impostures, when Warham Archibishop of Canterbury, and Epper Bishop of Rochester were thought to give credit to this Counterfeites, that we need not wonder at St. Ambrose, who though he gave credit to many lying miracles, yet were such as had more probability in them than this, which consisit in nothing but making of faces, as upon Examination of the said Maid and her attendants, Abbettes were confeded; and thereupon the said woman and all of them were condemned, drawn to Tyburn and there hanged.

In this mean time the Scots had been troublesome, and made incursions upon the Borders; till at last, Commissioners being sent to treat of agreement, a Peace was concluded, to continue both the Kings lives; which on the twentieth of May this year, was openly Proclaimed.

About this time at the suit of the Lady Katherine Dowager, a Bull was sent from the Pope, which curbed both the King and the Realm; which Bull was set up in the Town of Dunkirk in Flanders, the Messenger not daring to come nearer; and because it was known that the Lady Dowager had procured this Curfe to be fent, the Duke of Suffolk was fent to her, lying then at Bungen besides Huntingdon, to discharge a great part of her household servants; yet leaving her a convenient number like a Prince.

It was not the first time that King Henry's reign, when in a Parliament holden, an Act was made for establishing the succession in the Crown, upon the Queen Elizabeth; to which, till the Lords, Knights, and Burgesses were sworn; and after Commissioners were sent into all parts of the Realm, to take the oath of all men and women to the said Act. Another Act was also made, which authorized the King to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the Popes Authority to be utterly abolished. But Doctor John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, Sir Thomas More Knight, and Doctor Willson Parson of Saint Thomas Apfiftes in London, expressly declared at Lambeth, before the Archibishop of Canterbury, to take the Oaths; of whom Doctor Willson recanted, but the other two, persisting in their opinion, were both of them beheaded. Of these two Bishops Fisher was heard to foretell the great, that if he thought the King would set forth the Scripture in English, rather than he would live to fee that day, he would cut his own throat; which I therefore relate, that the judgment of God may be seen upon such unhallowed Oaths.

A little before this time one Elizabeth Barton, named the Holy Maid of Kent, came to be dif-
the Tower, being demanded his upper Garment (meaning his Gown) you shall have it, said he, and gave them his Cap; spying it was the uppermost Garment he had: also, when being upon the Scaffold, the Hangman kneeled down and asked him forgiveness; I forgive thee (said he) but I promise thee, thou wilt never have credit by cutting off my head, my neck is firm, and when he was put to the Stake, he had a gray beard, he stroked it out, and said to the Hangman, I pray you let me lay my head over the blocks, left you should cut it; for though you have Warrant to cut off my head, you have none to cut my beard. But his Devotion was noジェeting matter. For he used to wear a shirt of hair next his skin for a perpetual penance; and oftentimes in the Church he would put on a Surplice, and help the Priest to say Mass; which he forbore not to do, even when he was Lord Chancellor of England, as one time the Duke of Norfolk coming to the Church tound him doing it. Two memorable things are recorded of him; one, which shews his great integrity, and the small reckoning he made of riches; that having paved through so many great employments, and born so many great Offices; yet in all his life he never Purchased above one hundred pounds a year, not left any great res- t of their, when he died. The other, which shews his filial piety, that being Lord Chancellor of England, at the same time that his Father was Judge of the Kings Bench, he would always at his going to Westminster, go first to the Kings Bench and ask his Father bleeing before he went to fit in the Chancery.

The tenth of July this year the Lord Deere of the North was arraigned at Westminster, of high treason, before the Duke of Norfolk, as high Steward of England; his Indictment being read, he fo answered every part and matter therein contained, that by his Peers he was found not guilty; a rare thing to stop a current that ran with such violence. The one and twentieth of September Doctor Taylour Master of the Rolls was discharged of that Office: and the nineteenth of October following, Sir Thomas Cromwell was sworn in his place.

This year the King of the Scots was inhaled Knight of the Garter, by his Deputy the Lord Ermin; and Stephen Gardiner, who after the Cardinals death, was made Bishop of Winchester, was sent Ambassadour Legier into France, where he remained three years. Also in January of this year, Katherine Prince Dowager, fell into her last Sickness; to whom the King sent the Emperours Ambas- sodaur Legier, desiring her to be of good comfort; but she finding her approach, caught only one of her Gentlewomen to write a Letter to the King; commending to him her Daughter and his, and befieching him to be a good Father to her: and then delivering her further, to have some consideration of her Servants, on the eight of January, at Kimbolton, she departed this life, and was buried at Peterborough. A Woman of notorious and virtuous life, and of so great oblique- nousness to her Husband, that from her only merit, is grown a reputation to all Spanish writers. Also the nine and twentieth of January this year, Queen Anne was delivered of a child before her time, which was born dead.

And now King Henry began to fall into those great disorders, which have been the blemish of his life, and have made him to be blotted out of the Catalogue of our bel Princes; for first in October of this year, he sent Doctor Lee and others to visit the Priories, and Nunneries in England, who let at Liberty all those Religious persons that would forsake their habit, and all that were under the age of four and twenty years; and in December following a survey was taken of all Chantry, and the names of such as had the gift of them. After which, in a Parliament holden the fourth of February, an Act was made, which gave the King all Religious houses, with all their Lands and Goods, that were of the value of three hundred marks a year and under; the number of which houses were three hundred and seventy and fix; the value of their Lands yearly, above two and thirty thousand pounds, their moveable Goods one hundred thousand, the Religious persons put out of the same houses above ten thousand. This year William Tindal was burnt at a Town in Flander, between Bruges and Mechlin, called Plakew, for translating Elyfegns, the seven Testaments, and divine parts of the Old; who having been for a long time imprisoned, was upon the Lord Cromwell's writ ing for his Deliverance, in all haste brought to the fire, and burnt.

It was now the eight and twentieth year of King Henry's Reign, when on Monday there were solemn Julis holden at Greenwich, from whence the King suddenly departed and came to Westminster, whose sudden departure struck great amazement into many, but to the Queen especially, and not without cause; for the next day the Lord Rochford her Brother, and Henry Norris were brought to the Tower of London, prisoners, whether also the same day at five a clock in the afternoon, was brought Queen Anne her self, by Sir Thomas Adeley Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Cromwell Secretary, and Sir William Kingston Lieutenant of the Tower, who at the Towe r gate fell on her knees before the said Lords, beseeching God to help her, for she was innocent of that whereof she was accused: On the fifteenth of May she was arraigned in the Tower before the Duke of Norfolk, sitting as High Steward of England. When her Indictment was read, she made unto it wife and disiret answers, that she seemed fully to clear herself of all matters laid to her charges; but being tried by her Peers, whereof the Duke of Suffolk was chief, she was by them found guilty, and had Judgment pronounced by the Duke of Norfolk: immediately the Lord Roch ford her Brother, was likewise arraigned and condemned: who on the seventeenth of May, together with Henry Norris, Mark Stenson, William Brereton, and Francis Walford, all of the King's Privy Chamber, about matters touching the Queen, were beheaded on the Tower Hill. Queen Anne her self on the mienthe of May, on a Scaffold upon the Green within the Tower, was beheaded with the Sword of Justice by the
the Hangman of that Town; her body with the head was buried in the Quire of the Chappell there. This Queen Anne was the Daughter of Thomas Bulen Earl of Wiltshire, and of Lady Elizabeth Daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk; the Earl Father was the Son of Sir William Bulen, whose Wife was Margaret the Second Daughter and Co-heir of Thomas Butler Earl of Ormond, and the said Sir William was the Son of Sir Geoffrey Bulen, Lord Mayor of London, who lieth buried in Saint Leondard Church in the Isury, whose Wife was Anne eldest Daughter and Co-heir to Thomas Lord Hoo and Hisings: and his descent was out of the House of the Bulen in the Country of Norfolk: Thus much for her Parentage.

For her Religion, she was an earnest Protet\(\)for, and one of the first Countenancers of the Gospel: in Alms-deeds so liberal, that in nine months space, it is said the distributed among the poor, to the value of fifteen thousand pounds: Now for the Crimes for which she died, (Adultery and Incest;) proofs of her guiltiness there are none recorded; of her innocence many: and first, her own clearing of all objections, at the time of her Arrangement, then Cromwell's Writing to the King, after full examination of the matter; that many things have been objected, but none confessed, only some Circumstances had been acknowledged by Mark Smit\(\)ton: (and what was Mark Smi\(\)ton, but a mean fellow, one that upon promise of life, would say any thing; and having said something, which they took hold of, was soon after executed left he should retract it;) lastly, they that were accused with her, they all denied to the death: even Henry Norris; whom the King specially favoured, and promised him pardon if he would but confess it. It was a poor proof of Incest with her Brother, that coming one morning into her Chamber before she was up, he leaned down upon her Bed, to say something in her ear; yet this was taken hold for a proof: and need be no marvel, if we consider the many adversaries he had, as being a Protestant, and perhaps that in Incest, the King himself, not greatly his friend: (for though he had excluded the Pope, yet he continued a Papist still) and then who knows not, that Nature is not more able of an Accomp to make an Oak, than Authority is able of the least furmin to make a certainty. But howsoever it was, that her death was contrived; certain it is, that it ca\(\)t upon King Henry a dishonourable Imputation; insomuch that where the Protestant Princes of Germany had resolved to choose him for head of their League; after they heard of this Queens death, in such a manner, they utterly refused him as unworthy of the honour, and it is memorable what conceit Queen Anne her self had of her Death; for at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, she called one of the Kings Privy Chamber to her, and said unto him, Command me to the King, and tell him, he is content in his course of advancing me: for from a private Gentleman, he made me Marquess, from a Marquess a Queen; and now that he had lost no higher degree of worldly honour for me, he hath made me a Martyr.

Immediately after her death, in the week before Whitsuntide, the King Married Jane Seymour, Daughter to Sir John Seymour, who at Whitsuntide was openly shewed as Queen: and on Tuesday in Whitsun-week his Brother Sir Edmund Seymour was created Vicount Beauchamp, and Sir Walter Hungerford was made Lord Hungerford.

The eighth of June the Parliament began; during the which, the Lord Thomas Howard, without the Kings assent, had affianced the Lady Margaret Douglas, Daughter to the Queen of Scots, and Niece to the King: for which he was attainted of Treson, and an Act was made for like offenders hereafter; and so he died in the Tower, and the long time remained there a Prisoner: yet afterward was let at liberty, and married Matthew Earl of Lenox, who by him had Henry, Father of James the first King of Great Britan.

In the time of this Parliament, the Bishops and all the Clergy had a solemn Convocation at Paul's Church in London; where after much disputation and debating of matters, they published a Book of Religion; intituled, Articles devised by the King, wherein the Book are specially mentioned but three Sacraments: namely, Baptism, Eucharist, and Penance; also certain Injunctions were set forth, whereby many of the old Holidays were abrogated, specially those that fell in Harvest time.

The two and twentieth of July, Henry Duke of Richmond and Somerset, base Son of King Henry by Elizabeth Blunt, died at St James, and was buried at Thetstone in Norfolk.

The nine and twentieth of June the King held a great Julls and Triumph at Westminster, but a disastrous Sea-fight was on the water, where one Gates a Gentleman was drowned in his Harref, and by the breaking of a Gun two Mariners were fore maimed: in July following Thomas Cromwell, Secretary to the King, and Master of the Rolls, was made Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal: and the nineteenth of July the Lord Fitz-Warren was created Earl of Balb, and the day following, Lord Cromwell was made Lord Cromwell; and on the eighteenth of July, Vice-\(\)General under the King over the Spirituality, who late divers times in the Convocation of Houfe, amongst the Bishops as head over them, and now was the flate of Religion in England come to a strange pas: because always in passing, and had no confidence; for at first, the Authority of the Pope was excluded in some cases only, a while after in all; but yet his Doctrine was wholly retained. Afterward his Doctrine came to be impugned, but in some few points only: a while after, in many more; that the Fable of Proteus might no longer be Fable, when the Religion in England might be his true Moral; and indeed, it could be no otherwise; the distance between the two Religion being not possible to be passed per saltum, but must be done by degrees, which degrees may be observed in the progress of the story; for when at first it was permitted only to read the Bible in English, now it came to be permitted to pray in English; for now in September the Lord Cromwell set forth Injunctions to have the Lords Prayer, the Ave, the Creed, the

Religion al\(\)tered in Eng\(\)land by de\(\)}
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

An insurrection in Lincolnshire for innovation of religion. The King goes in person, and supersedes it.

Another insurrection in the North; for suppressing the Earl of Shrewsbury called army for suppressing done in without Commission was glad to ask the King pardon.

A miracle of the dead (swelling of the River Don.)

Sir Ralph Everard his valiant carriage.

Another insurrection.

the ten Commandments, and all Articles of the Christian Faith translated into English, and to be taught by all Persons and Curates to their Parishioners; which innovation did stir up the People, and in Lincolnshire they assembled to the number of twenty thousand, against whom the King himself went in person, who, winning by peroration their chief Leaders, brought the rest upon pardon to submit themselves: but when he had himself done the work of Mercy, he afterward sent the Duke of Suffolk, with Sir Francis Brian, and Sir John Ruffell, to do the Work of Justice, who caused Nicholas Adelton, and a Monk naming himself Captain Cobler, and thirteen other (Ringleaders of the Sedition) to be apprehended, and most of them to be executed. But this Commission was scarce appeased, when presently there arose another in the North-parts, where forty thousand were assembled, giving themselves out for an Holy Pilgrimage, where on some side of their Ensigns they had Christ hanging on the Cross, on the other side the Cup and Bread of the Sacrament, as taking Arms only for maintenance of the Faith of Christ; and were so bold as the Earl of Hertford, Sir Robert Constable, Sir John Balmer, and his Wife, Sir Thomas Perry Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, Sir Stephen Hamilton, Nicholas Tempest Esquire, and others began to conspire, although each of them before had been pardoned by the King: but this as being but the fig end of the Commission, was soon suppressed, the Lord Darcy was beheaded on the Tower-hill, the Lord Hussy at Lincoln, Sir Robert Constable was hanged in chains at Hull, Sir John Balmer: Paramount was burnt in Smithfield, and most of the other were executed at Tyburn. Tanta multi sunt, fo great a matter it was, to make the Realm be quiet, in so great innovations of Religion.

This year on Saint George's Feast, the Lord Cromwell was made Knight of the Garter, and on the twelfth of October, which is Saint Edward's even, at Hampton-court, the Queen was delivered of a Prince; (but with so hard a labour, that she was fam to be ripe) and the Child was named Edward, whose Godfather was the Duke of Buckingham, the Child being the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Suffolk, his Godmother was his sister the Lady Mary: At his Bishops, his Godfather was the Duke of Suffolk; on the eighteenth of October, he was made Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earl of Chester; but the Birth of his Son brought not so much joy to the King, as the Death of his Queen brought him sorrow; for within two days after the died, and was buried at Windsor, and so much was the Kings grief for her death, that he continued a Widow more years after.

It is not unworthy the relating, what a miserable dissolution befell the Family of the Geraldines, or Fitz-Garretts (Earl of Kildare in Ireland) about this time; for Gerald Fitz-Garret, who had been ten years Deputy in Ireland, up on the complaint of some fault, was sent for over into England, where not making a satisfying answer, he was committed to the Tower; but before his coming over, had with the Kings leave, left Deputy there his own Son, a young man of no above twenty years of age, but yet ripe of under-
understanding, and fit for the place. This young Lord hearing, that his Father was committed Prisoner to the Tower, and soon after, as the rumour increased, that he was put to death, in rage to be revenged, rose up in Arms: and having five Uncles in the Country, (men of great estimation) drew them (though some of them unwillingly) to take his part: Amongst other outrages he committed, the Arch bishop of Dublin was slain in his presence: the Father in the Tower hearing thereof, with great grief died; the Son and his Uncles, upon the King's sending an Army, were all either taken or submitted; and being sent for over into England, those of his Uncles, that against his wills had been drawn into the action had good hopes of their lives, till entring the Ship of Passage, which was called the Cow, they then presently despaired, because of a Prophecie, that five Sons of a certain Earl should be carried into England in the belly of a Cow, and never after return; and indeed it fell out, that all this time, the King's adver saries, exasperating the King against them, and laying, there would never be quietness in Ireland, as long as any of the Geraldines were alive, they were all put to death: one only of the Son of the Family remained, a youth of thirteen years of age, who though at that time sick of the Small pox, yet made shift to save himself by flight, fled first into France, and frightened from thence, afterward into Flanders, and driven from thence, at last into Italy, where protected by Reginald Pole, at that time made Cardinal by Pope Julius the third, he was afterward, by his means, restored to his Dignity and his Patrimony.

This year Edward Seymour, Vicount Beauchamp, the Queen's Brother was created Earl of Hertford; and Sir William Fitz-Wiliam, Lord Admiral, was created Earl of Southampton, Master Penelop was made Vice Treasurer, Sir John Ruffell was made Controller of the King's House, and divers Gentlemen were made Knights. In February divers Roads were taken down by the Kings commandment, as the Road of Boxley, called the Road of Grace, which was made with vices to move the eyes and lips; also the Road called St. Saviour at Bermondsey Abbey in Southwark, and divers others. In May a Friar Observant, called Friar Forrest, who had taken the Oath of Supremacy himself, yet privately persuaded others, that the King was not Supreme head of the Church; was thereupon examined, and for his defence said, that he took the Oath with his outward man, but his inward man never confented to it: but this answer served not his turn from being condemned; and on a pair of Gills prepared for him, in Southfield, he was hanged by the middle, & arm-holes, all quick, and under the Galls was made a fire where with he was confumed: A little before his execution, a huge great Image was brought to the Galls, fetched out of the same Kent, which the King had in great reverence, called Darrel Gatheren, of which went a Prophecie, that this Image should set a whole Forrest on fire, which was thought to take effect, in setting this Friar Forrest on fire, and confuming him to nothing.

In September, by the special motion of the L. Cromwell, all the notable Images, unto which were made any special Pilgrimages & offerings, were taken down and burnt; as the Images of Wolfgang, Ipswich, Wrothferr, the Lady of Wilt- den, with many other; and forthwith by means of the said Cromwell, all the orders of the Friers and Nuns, with their Cloysters and Houses, were suppressed and put down: also the Shires of counterfeiting Saints; amongst others, the Shires of The, Becket in the Priory of Christ-Church was taken to the Kings use, and his Bones, Scull, and all which was there found, with a piece broken by the wound of his head, were all burnt in the same Church by command of the Lord Cromwell; and the one and twentieth of October, the Church of The, Becket in London, called the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acres was suppressed; the sixteenth of November, the Black-friers in London were suppressed; the next day the White-friers, the Gray-friers, and the Monks of the Charterhouse, and to all the other immediately after: only three Abotts relist, the Abbot of Colchester, the Abbot of Reading, and the Abbot of Gloucester, and two of them, all were suppressed. The four and twentieth of November the Bishop of Rochester preached at Pauls-Croft, and there shewed the blood of Bales, affirming it to be no blood, but Honey clarified and colour'd with Saffron, as it had been evidently proved before the King and Council. The number of Monasteries suppressed, were six hundred forty five, besides fourscore and ten Colleges, one hundred and ten Hospitals, and of Chapellies, and one hundred and free Chappells two thousand three hundred forty five. But now to make amends for the suppressing of so many Monasteries, the King intituled certain new Bishoprics, as at Wellsminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Briffon, Chelsey, and Gloucester; and assigned certain Canons and Prebends to each of them.

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The third of November, Henry Crowned Marques of Exeter, and Earl of Devonshire; Henry Pole Lord Montacute, Sir Nicholas Care of Bridlington, the ninth of the Garter, Sir Nicholas de la Pole, the third of March; two Priests condemned with them were hanged at Tihour; Sir George Pol though condemned also, yet had his pardon. About this time one Nicholas, alias Lambert, being accused for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament, appealed to the King, and the King was content to hear him; whereupon a Throne was set up in the Hall of the Kings Palace.
lase at Westminster, for the King to sit and when the Bishops had urged their Arguments & could not prevail, then the King took him in hand, hoping perhaps to have the honour of conversing in Heretick, when the Bishops could not do it. Siffed and promised him pardon if he would recant; but all would not do: Nicholas re- mained obstinate, the King mit his Honour, the Delinquent mit his pardon, and shortly after was drawn to Smithfield, and there burnt.

About this time King Henry being informed that the Pope, by instigation of Cardinal Pole, had earnestly moved divers great Princes to invade England, he as a provident Prince, endeavoured as earnestly to provide for defence; and to that end rode himself to the Sea-coasts to see them fortified, and in needful places Bulwarks to be erected: He caufed his Navy to be rigged, and to be in readiness at any short warning: He caufed Musters to be taken in all Shires; and lists of all able men in every County, in London especially; where Sir William Forman the then Major, certificated the number of fifteen thousand, not that there were more, but that so many were ready prepared; and of Aday, the King himself saw Mustered in St. James Park; where the Citizens strove in such fort to exceed each other in bravery of arms, and forwardness of service, as if the City had been a Camp, and they not men of the Gown, but all profent Souldiers, which they performed to their great cost, but greater commendation.

It was now the one and thirtieth year of King Henry's reign, and the nine and fortieth of his age: when having continued a widower two years, he began to think of marrying again; and he needed not to be a suitor for a Wife, for he was fued unto to take one. The Emperor solicited him to marry the Dutchess of Amidan; but to marry her he must first obtain a Licence from the Pope, and King Henry was resolved rather to have no Wife, than to have any more to do with the Pope. Then the Duke of Clewe made suit unto him for the Lady, and he was a Protestant Prince; and so, though differing in points of Doctrine, yet in the main point of excluding the Pope, both of one mind. Many about the King were forward for this Match, but the Lord Cromwell especially; and indeed it concerned him more than any other, that the King should take a Protestant Wife, seeing his actions had been such, as none but a Protestant Queen would ever like; and if the Queen should not like them, the King, though done by his leave would not like them long. Hereupon much means was used, that Ambaffadours came from the Duke of Clewe to conclude the Match; and then the 11 of December the Lady her felt in great fate was brought to Collyce, and then over to Dovers; and being come to Richceter, the King secretly came to see her, afterward she was conducted to London,met by the way in several places, by all the great Lords and Ladies of the Kingdom. The third of January she was received into London by Sir William Holty, Knight, then Lord Mayor, with Orations, Pageants, and all complements of State, the greatest that ever had been seen. On Twelfth-day the Marriage was solemnized: the Archbishop of Canterbury did the Office, the Earl of Overstein a German Lord gave her. In April following the Lord Cromwell, as though he had won the Kings heart for ever by making this match, was made Earl of Effsc; for in March before, Henry Bowerich Earl of Effsc; and the antient Earl of England had broke his neck, by seeking to break a young Horfe, leaving only one Daughter, and the dying without issue, the Earldom came to the Family of Devereux, which yet enjoyed not the honour, till after this time, in Queen Elizabeth's time, and then made, but not restored.

The ninth of March, the King created Sir William Paulet Treasurer of his Haufe, Lord Saint-John; Sir John Raffel Comptroller, Lord Raffel; and shortly after Sir William Par was created Lord Par. The eighth and twentieth of April began a Parliament at Westminster, in the which Margaret Countess of Salisbury, Gertrude Wife to the Marquets of Exeter, Reynold Pole Cardinal, Brother to the Lord Montes- cuit, Sir Adrian Puken, Thomas Dingle Knight of Saint John, and divers others were attainted of high Treafon; of whom Puken and Dingle, if the tenth of August, were beheld, the Countes- tels of Salisbury two yeares after: and in this Parliament the Act of the fix Articles was eftab- lished, and Sir Nicholas Hare was returned to his place of Speaker in the Parliament.

It was now five months after the Kings Mar- riage with the Lady Anne of Clewe; and though the King, at the fift night of the Lady, did not like her Person; yet, whether as respecting the honour of Ladies, he would not disgrace her at the firit meeting; or whether he meant to try how time might work him to a better lik- ing; or indeed, that he would not give diffidence to the German Princes at that time, for some ends he had a working, he disfembled the matter, and all things went on in a fiew of contentment on all hands. But for all thes fheows, the crafty Bishop of London, Stephen Gardiner, find- ing how the world went with the King, affection towards the Queene, and for her fake with Cromwell; to the fitter of iftains and cares, af- fected (not to the Queen, as milking her Religion; not to Cromwell, as envying his greatnes;) he fo brought upon the Kings inclination, what by fuggesting, and what by aggravat- ing, that the Lord Cromwell, the ninth of July, sitting in the Council Chamber, was suddenly apprehended and committed to the Tower; and the nineteenth of the fame month was at- tainted by Parliament, and never came to his Anfwer; by a Law, (which as some reported) he himselfe had caufed to be made; and the eight and twentieth of July was beheaded on the Tower-hill; for crimes (as appears in Re- cord) of Heretie and Treafon. This Lord Cromwell was born at Putney, a Village in Surrey education: near the Thames side, Son to a Smith, after whose deceas his Mother was married to a Sheever; for the prophaney of his Wife he was firft entertained by Cardinal Wolsey, and by him employed in many great Affairs: The Cardinal falling, the King took him into his service; and finding his great abilities, firft ad- vanced him for his worth, and then for his pleafure overthrew him. But the greatt part of Stephen Gardiners practione had been done be-
fore: for at Midsummer before, the King caused the Queen to remove to Richmond, as for her health and pleasure; and in the time of her absence, on the sixth of July, four certain Lords to the Lower House of Parliament, who there declared certain causers, for which the King married with the Lady Anne of Cleve, was not to be conned lawful; and so carried the matter, that the Convocation clearly determined, the King might marry any other; and so might the Being thus Divorced, it was further Enacted, she should no more be called Queen, but the Lady Anne of Cleve. The fault for which this Divorce was decreed, is not expressly delivered; some say a precontract of the said Lady with a Lord of Germany was pretended: but it seems to have been for some womanish defect in her body; as she feared not to affirm, that she had never been carnally known by the King in all the time of their living together: and as it is said, when her Ladies one time faid unto her, that they looked now every day to hear of her great belly; she stood up, and said, she was long enough, unless saying, How doth thou sweet heart? Good morrow sweet heart, and such like words, could make a great belly; for (said she) more than this there never passed between the King and me. However it was, the willingly submitted to the Decree, whether out of fear, or perhaps as little liking the King as the King did her; and afterward led a private life here in England, well respected of the King, and dying sixteen years after, in the fourth year of Queen Mary, was buried at Westminster.

About this time Leonard Grey, Deputy of Ireland, was on the Tower-hill beheaded, for suffering his nephew Gerald Fitz-Gerard to escape, who had been declared an enemy to the State; and then also was Thomas Fynes, Lord Deere, a young man of four and twenty years of age, hanged at Tilbury, for killing a mean person upon a fud, to ferve all the fourth of August, Thomas Epton a Monk of Westminster, for denying to take his Oath, to be true to the King, had his Monks Garment plucked from his back, the last that was seen in such habit in England till Queen Mary's days.

The sixth of July in the second and thirtieth year of his Reign, King Henry had been divorced from the Lady Anne of Cleve, and now the eighth of August following, the Lady Katharine Howard, Niece to the Duke of Norfolk, and Daughter to the Lord Edward Howard, was shewed openly as Queen at Hampton-Court.

On the tenth of June the following year, Sir Edmund Knott of Norfolk, Knight, was arraigned before the Officers of the Green-cloth, for striking one Master Cleer of Norfolk, within the Tennis-court of the Kings House; being found guilty, he had judgment to lose his right hand, and to forfeit all his Lands, Goods, whereupon there was called to do execution, first the Serjeant Surgeon, with his Instruments pertaining to his Office, then the Serjeant of the Woodyard, with a mallet and a block to lay the hand upon, then the Kings Master Cook with a knife to cut off the hand, then the Serjeant of the Larder to cut the knife right on the joynts, then the Serjeant Ferrier with fearing Irons to tear the veins, then the Serjeant of the Poultrey with a Cock, which Cock should have his head smitten off upon the same block, and with the same knife; then the Yeoman of the Chantry with bare cloaths, then the Yeoman of the Scullery, with a pan of fire to heat the Irons, a chafer of water to cool the ends of the Irons, and two forms for all Officers to set their fluff on, then the Serjeant of the Cellar with Wine, Ale, and Bever, and then the Serjeant of the Ewy, with Bacon, Ewe, and Towels: all things being thus prepared, Sir William Pickering Knight Marshal was commanded to bring in his prisoner, Sir Edmund Knott, to whom the Chief Justice declared his offence, which the said Knott confessed, and humbly submitted himself to the Kings mercy; only he declared, that the King would spare his right hand and take his left, because (said he) if my right hand be spared, I may live to do the King good service of world sublimination, and reason of his fault, when the King was informed, he granted him to lose neither of his hands, and pardoned all his of his Lands and Goods. The Summed up thirty and thirteen years near, King Henry, with his Queen Katharine, made progress into the North parts, and returning at Allhollantide to Hampton-Court, he was there informed of the Queens dissolute life, first before her marriage with one Francis Deereham, a Gentleman of Norfolk, whom employed afterward in Ireland, she had lately again at Penfret received into her Service; and so since her marriage with one Thomas Colepeper, of the Kings Privy-chamber; whereupon the thirteenth of November, Sir Thomas Wriothesly Knight, Secretary to the King, was sent to the Queen at Hampton-Court, to charge her with that Crime, and discharging her household, to cause her to be conveyed to the Tower, there to remain, till the Kings pleasure should be further known: The Delinquents being examined, Deereham confessed, that before the Kings marriage with the Lady Katharine Howard, had bett him a pre-contract between himself and her; but when he once understood the Kings liking towards her, he then waved and concealed it for her preference: so the first of December these Gentlemen being arraigned at the Guildhall, they confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment to die, as in cases of Treason: the tenth of December, they were drawn from the Tower to Tilbury, where Colepeper was beheaded, and Deereham was hanged and disembowed: Colepeper's body was buried in Sepulchres Church in London, but both their heads were set on London bridge: the two and twentieth of December, there were arraigned at the Kings Bench, the Lords William Howard and the Lady Margaret his Wife, Katherine Tyme, and Alice Westwyck Gentlewoman, Joan Blamer, Wife to Anthony Blamer Gentleman, Anne Howard Wife to Henry Howard Esquire, and Brother to the Queen, Edward Howard Esquire, who were all condemned for misprision of Treason, for concealing the Queens midemeanor, and adjudged to forfeit all their lands and goods during life, and to remain in perpetual prison. The sixteenth of January the Parliament began at Westminster, where the Lords and Commons Petitioned the King, that he would not vex himself with the Queens offence, and that both she and the Lady Richford might be attained by Parliament and
and that to avoid procrastinating of time, he would give his Royal assent unto it, under the great Seal, without staying for the end of the Parliament. Also that Durham and Colpepper having been attained before by the Common Law, might be attained likewise by Parliament: all which was attented to by the King; and after, on the thirtieth of February, the Queen and the Lady Rochester were beheld on the Green within the Tower, where they confessed their offences, and died penitently: yet something to take off the offences of this Queen; it is certainly said, that after her condemnation, she protested to Doctor White, Bishop of Winchester, her last Confessor, that as for the act for which she was condemned, she took God and his Holy Angels to witness, upon her soul's salvation, that she died guiltless.

Before this, on the three and twentieth of January, King Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland, whereas before Edmund Dudley, the Kings Gentlemen, without any attained Lords of Ireland; and this title was given him both by the Parliament here, and by the Parliament holden in Ireland, before Sir Anthony Stanglers Knight, the Kings Deputy there.

About this time Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, the King's Son to King Edward the fourth, having been imprisoned upon supplication of a practice, for betraying of Calixte to the French, while he was the King's Lieutenant there, was now found to be innocent of the fact; and thereupon the King to make him some reparation for his disgrace, sent him a King, and a very gracious message, by Sir Thomas Wriothesly his Secretary; whereat the said Vicount took great joy, that the day following, of that very joy he died: so deadly a thing is any passion, even joy it self, if it be extreme. After his death Sir John Dudley, his wife's son, was created Vicount Lisle. This Sir John Dudley was son to Edmund Dudley, beheaded in the thirty-seventh year of this Kings Reign, and was made Vicount Lisle in right of his Mother.

During this Parliament, one George Ferrers, Gentleman, servant to the King and Burgesses for the Towne of Plymout in Devonshire, in going to the Parliament House, was arrested in London by a processe out of the Kings Bench, for a Debt wherein he was late afore condemned, as surety for one Welden, at the suit of one White, which arrest being signified to Sir Thomas Myl Knight, Speaker then of the Parliament, and to the Knights and Burgesses there; order was taken, that the Serjeant of the Parliament, called Saint John, should be sent to the Counter in Britt Street (whither the said Ferrers was carried) and there demand to have him delivered: but the Officers of the Counter not only refused to deliver him, but gave the Serjeant such language, that they fell at last to an affray, and at what time the Sheriffs coming, they also took their Officers part; for that the Serjeant was fain to return without the Prisoner; which being signified to the Speaker and the Burgesses; they took the matter in so ill part, that they would sit no more without their Burgesses: and thereupon rising up, repaired to the upper House, where the whole Case was declared by the Speaker, before Sir Thomas Audley Lord Chancellor, and the Lords and Judges there assembled, who judging the contempt to be very great, referred the punishment thereof to the House of Commons it self: whereupon returning to their places again, upon new debate of the Case, they took order that their Serjeant should once more repair to the Sheriffs of London, and demand the prisoner, without carrying any Writ or Warrant for the matter. It is true, the Lord Chancellour offered to grant a Writ, but the House of Commons refused it: being of a clear opinion, that all commandements from the neather House were to be executed by their Serjeants without Writ, only by shewing their Mace, which is his Warrant: but before the Serjeants return into London, the Sheriffs better advised became more mild, and upon the second demand, delivered the prisoner without any denial; but then the Serjeant had further in charge, to command the Sheriffs and Clerks of the Counter, to appear and desire the next morning before the House of Commons, there where any commandement of theirs were charged by the Speaker with their contempt, and compelled to make immediate answer, without being admitted to any counsel. Sir Roger Cholmeley Recorder of London offered to speak in the cause, but was not suffered, nor any other but the parties themselves: in conclusion, the Sheriffs and White who had caused the Assrett, were committed to the Tower; the Officer that did the assrett, with four other Officers, to Newgate; but after two or three days, upon the humble suit of the Mayor, were set at liberty; and because the said Ferrers being in execution upon a condemnation of debt, and set at large by privilege of Parliament, was not by Law to be brought again into execution; and fo the Creditor without remedy for his Debt, against him as his principal debtor, thence after long debate, by the space of nine or ten days together, they at last resolved to make an Act for the purpose, for the discharge of the said debt, against Welden who was principal debtor, and to discharge Ferrers that was but surety: wherein notwithstanding, the House was divided, and the Act passed but by fourteen voices: the King being advertized of this proceeding, called before him the Lord Chancellour and the Judges, the Speaker and divers of the Lower House, to whom he declared his opinion to this effect: first commending their wisdom, in maintaining the privileges of their House (which he would not have to be infringed in any point) he alledged, that he being the head of the Parliament, and attending in his own person upon the business thereof, ought in reason, to have privilege for himself and all his Servants attending upon him; so as if the said Ferrers had been no Burgess, but only his servant; yet in that respect, he was to have the privilege as well any other: for it understandeth not, nor shall it be any blemish to your own persons, but also for your necessary servants, even to your Cooks and Horse keepers, enjoy the same privilege; infomuch, as my Lord Chancellour here present hath informed us, that whilest he was Speaker of the Parliament, the Cook of the Temple was arrested in London, and in execution upon a Statue of the Staple, and for so much, as the said Cook during
all the Parliament served the Speaker in that office, he was taken out of execution by Privy-
ledge of Parliament; the Prerogative of which Court, (as our learned Council infor-
meth us,) is so great, that all Acts and Processes coming out of any other Court, must for a
time ceafe and give place to it; and touching the party himself, though for his prefumption he was worthy to have loft his debt, yet I com-
mand your equity, that have restored him to his debt againft him that was the principal: When the King had faid this, Sir Edward Mein-
tacte Lord Chief Justice, rofe up and confir-
mned by many reafons, all that the King had faid, as likewise did all the other Lords, none speak-
ing any thing to the contrary.

It was now the four and thirtieth year of
King Henry's Reign, when in May he took a loan of
money of all fuch as were valued at fifty
pounds and upwards in the Subfidy Book; the
Lord Privy-Seat, the Bishop of Wincheffer, Sir
Thomas Boky, and Sir Thomas Wrihifley were
Commissioners for the loan in London, who fo
handled the matter, that none of the Chief Citizen
and Merchants obtained a thousand marks imprefl' in
the Kings ufe; for which Privy-Seals were deli-
vered to repay it again within two years.

At this time were many complaints made by
the Englifh againft the Scots, partly for receiving
and maintaining divers Englifh Rebels, fled into
Scotland, and partly for invading the Englifh
Borders: but fill when the King of England
was preparing to oppofe them, the English
Kings would fend Ambaffeftors to treat of reconcile-
ment, till at laft, after many defultory pranks of
the Scots, the King of England, no longer endur-
ing fuch abufe, fent the Duke of Norfolk his
Lieutenant General, accompanied with the Earl
of Shrewbury, Darby, Cumberland, Surrey, Hart-
ford, Augus, Rutland, the Lords of the North
parts, Sir Anthony Brown Mafter of the Kings
Horse, and Sir John Grege, Comptrolier of the
Kings Houfe, with others to the number of twen-
ty thousand men; who on the one and twentieth
of October entred Scotland; where laying but
eighteen miles from Stirling, they leaped into
Albany, and Cafifes, and then, with no more pref-
ence offered, for want of volunteers returned to
Barwick: as foon as he returned, comes abroad
with their air, raifeth a power of fifteen
thousand men, and uflng great threatnings what
he would do, invaded the Weft Borders: but the
ege of his threatnings was foon taken off;
for the Baffard Davis, with Jack of Mus-
grave, fetting upon them with only an hundred
Light-Horfe, and Sir Thomas Wharton with three
hundred, put them to flight; upon a conceit,
that the Duke of Norfolk with all his Army
had been come into thofe parts; where were
taken prisoners of the Scots, the Earl of Caf-
file and Glencarn, the Lord Maxwel Admiral of
Scotland, the Lord Flemmifg, the Lord Seper-
wel, the Lord Oliphant, the Lord Gray, Sir
Oliver Sinclair, the Lords Minion, John Ross
Lord of Gray, Roger Erksin Son to the Lord Er-
kill, Sir Lord of Gordon, the Lord Maxwel's two
Brothers, John Leyfi Eifon Son to the Earl of
Rathus, George Hans Lord of Hemilton, with
divers other men of account, to the number of
above two hundred, and more than eight hun-
}
Cattle shot so fiercely upon them, that having burnt only a part of the Town, they returned to Leith; but whilst they lay there, they so waited the Country, that within seven miles every way of Edinburgh, there was not a Town, nor Village, nor house that was left unburnt; at Leith the eleventh day of May, the Lord General made Knights, the Lord Clinton, the Lord Cavers, Sir William Wrangtont, Sir Thomas Halcroft, Sir Edward Dord, Sir Francis Heth, 1544.

In this year Proclamation was made, whereby the people were licenced to eat white meats in Lent; but strictly forbidden the eating of flesh; whereupon shortly after, the Earl of Surryst with divers other Lords and Knights were imprisoned for eating of flesh contrary to the Proclamation.

The third of June this year, there came out of Ireland three Lords, of whom Obrine was here created Earl of Thomond, (which honour his posterity enjoyeth to this day) Mack William a Bary, was created Earl of clashick Forth, and Mack Gilp argick was made Baron of Erieke.

King Henry had already had five Wives, all of them Maids, and of the good life at them; he will now therefore try his fortune with a Widow, and thereupon the twelfth of June, in the five and thirtieth year of his Reign he took to Wife the Lady Katharine Frer, Widow of the Lord Latimer, late deceased, who was then proclaimed Queen; but how lucky would this match have proved, if the King had longer lived, God knows, seeing in a short time of three years they lived together, it was no small danger she escaped: which though it happened not till a year or two after this time, yet will not unfly be spoken of in this place, that so her story may come together; this Queen as being an earnest Protestant had many great adversities, by whom she was accust to the King, to have Heretical Books found in her closet; and this was so much aggravated against her, that they prevailed with the King, to sign a Warrant to commit her to the Tower, with a purpose to have her burne for Herelie; this Warrant was delivered to Writheley Lord Chancellour, and he by chance, or rather indeed by Gods Providence, letting it fall from him, it was taken up and carried to the Queen: who having read it, went foon after to visit the King, at the same time keeping his Chamber, by reason of a fore Leg; being come to the King, he presently fell into talk with her, about some points of Religion, demanding her resolution therein; but he knowing that his nature was not to be cropt, specially considering the case she was in, made him answer, that she was a woman accompanied with many imperfections, but his Majesty was wife and judicious, of whom the must learn as of her Lord and Head: Not so by Saint Mary (said the King) for you are a Doctor Kate to instruct us, and not to be instructed by us, as often we have seen hertofore: Indeed Sir (said he) if your Majesty have to conceive, I have been mistaken; for if hertofore I have held talk with you touching Religion, it hath been to learn of your Majesty some point, whereof I stood in doubt, and sometimes that with my talk I might make you forget your present infirmity: And is it even to sweet heart? (quoth the King) why then we are friends, and to kissing her, gave her leave to depart. But soon after, was the day appointed by the King's Warrant for apprehending her; on which day, the King dispised to walk in the Garden, had the Queen the Queen with the French, and suddenly the Lord Chancellour with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden with a purpose to apprehend her: whom as soon as the King saw, he leapt to him, and calling him knave and fool, bid him avast out of his presence: the Queen seeing him to angry with him, began to intrest for him, to whom the King said: Ah poor foul, thou little knowest what it is he came about; of my word sweet heart he hath been to thee a very knave. And thus by Gods Providence was this Queen preferred, who else had tasted of as bitter a cup, as any of his former Wives had done.

About this time King Henry and the Empe- rour sent Garnet and Tofjon dars, Kings at Arms, to demand performance of certain Articles of the French King: which if he denied, they were then commanded to deifie him: but the French King would not suffer them to come within his land, and so they returned; whereupon King Henry caused the said demands to be declared to the French Ambaffadoure at Wesminster; and in July fent over six thousand men, under the leading of Sir John Walsiphe accompanied with divers Knights and Gentlemen; Sir Thomas Seymour was Marshall of the Army, Sir Robert Bowes Treasurer, Sir Richard Cornwal Captain of the Horfe, and Sir George Carew his Lieutenant.

There were likewise Sir Tho. Palmer, Sir John Rainford, Sir John Saint-John, and Sir John Gaffignhe Knights, that were Captains of the Foor. Their Commissio was to join with the Emperor, and together to make War upon France. The third of August open War was proclaimed in London, between the Emperor and the King of England on the one part, and the French King on the other, as mortal enemy to them both; and to all other Christian Princes besides, as he that had confessed.
himself with the Turk, Sir John Walsopp marching forth of Calais with his Army, joined with the Emperours Forces, who together went and besieged Landresly, a Town lately fortified by the French, lying within the Borders of the Emperours Dominions: to raise this siege the French King had raised a mighty Army; with which he came on if he meant to give the Emperour Battel; and therupon the Emperour raising his siege, with a purpose to encounter him, the French King took the opportunity to put men and multitudes into the Town, which was the thing he intended; and having done this, the night following departed with his Army; and then the Emperour seeing him gone, and finding the Winter coming on, and no hope of sudden getting the Town, being now newly supplied, he also broke up his Army, and returned home.

This year the Sunday before Christmas, the Lord Wriothesly, Brother to the Queen, who had married the Daughter and Heir of Henry Bourchier Earl of Essex, was at Hampton-Court created Earl of Essex; and Sir William Page Knight, Uncle to them both, was made Lord Parr of Horton, and Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; and on New-years day Sir Thomas Wriothesly, the King's Secretary, was made Lord Wriothesly of Tichfield.

In June this year, Matthew Earl of Lenox fled out of Scotland, and came into England, whom King Henry received kindly, and gave him in marriage the Lady Margaret his Sisters Daughter, by whom he had Henry, Father of our late King James of blessed memory:

Thames Addeley Lord Chancellor, being latterly dead, Thomas Lord Wriothesly succeeded him in the place; and now was an Army levied to go for France: the Duke of Norfolk and the Lord Privy Seal, accompanied with the Earl of Surrey the Duke's Son, the Lord Gray of Wilton, the Lord Ferrers of Chorley, and his Son Sir Ralph Devereux; Sir Thomas Chesterly Lord Warden of the Channel Ports, the Lord Mayor, the Lord Bryan, Sir Francis Bryan, Sir Thomas Payn, Captains of Gaffeters, with many other Knights and Gentlemen, about Whitfastide passed over to Calais, and marched toward M uitre, joined with the Emperours Forces, under the leading of the Comte de Boron; which two Armies laid siege to Muitre, whereof Mounfieur de Bies, one of the Marshalls of France was Captaine, but being then at Bullogne, and hearing of the siege of Muitre, he left Bullogne, and with his Forces came thither, which was the thing that was desired, to draw him from Bullogne; and thereupon was the Duke of Suffolk appointed to pass over with the Kings Army, accompanied with the Earl of Arundel Marshal of the Field, the Lord Saint-John, the Bishop of Wincheste, Sir John Gage, Comptroller of the Kings House, Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Kings Horfe, with divers others, who the nineteenth of July came and encamped before Bullogne; the four and twentieth of July the King in person, accompanied with the other forces of the Nobility, came to Calais; and the six and twentieth encamped before Bullogne on the North-side, many batteries and assaults were made, so long, till at last the Town upon composition yielded, and the Duke of Suffolk entered and took possession, suffered six thousand French, as was agreed, with bag and baggage to depart. The eight of September King Henry entered the Town himself, and then leaving the Lord Lifte Lord Admiral his Deputy there, he returned into England, landing at Dover the first of October. Many enterprises after this were made by the Dauphin of France and by Monsieur de Bies for recovery of Bullogne, but they were still repelled, and the English kept the Town in plight of all they could do; although at one time there came an Army of eighteen thousand foot, at another time an Army, wherein were reckoned twelvethousand Launce Knights, twelve thousand French Footmen, six thousand Italian, four thousand of Legionary Soulers of France, a thousand men of Arms; besides eight thousand light Horfe; great Forces certainly to come and do nothing.

Whilest these things were doing about Bullogne, the Ships of the Wett Country and other places were laden aboard on the Sea, and took above three hundred French Ships; so that the Gray-fryers Church in London was laid full of Wine, the Affin fryers, and Black-fryers full of Herrings and other Fish, which should have been conveyed into France.

About this time the King demanded a Benevolence of his Subjefts, towards his Wars in France and Scotland; to which purpose, the Lord Chancellour, the Duke of Suffolk, and other of the Kings Council came at Baynard's-Castle, where they first called before them the Mayor and Aldermen; and because Richard Read Alderman, would not agree to pay as they saw him, he was commanded to serve the King in his Wars in Scotland, which the obligative man rather chose to do, than he would pay there: he was required; but being there, he was taken prisoner by the Scots, to his far greater damage, than if he had agreed to the Benevolence required: for at this time Sir Ralph Evers Lord Warden of the Marches, after many fortunate Roads into Scotland, assembled four thousand men, and entering Scotland now again, was encountered by the Earl of Arran, by whom he and the Lord Ogilvye, and many other Gentlemen were slain, and divers were taken prisoners, of whom Alderman Read was one.

It was now the seven and thirtieth year of King Henry's Reign, when on Saint Georges day Sir Thomas Wriothesly Lord Chancellour was made Knight of the Garter: also Trinity Terri was adjourned by reason of the Wars, but the Exchequer and the Court of the Tents were open.

At this time the English Fleet went before New-haven, but being there encountered by a far greater Fleet of French, they returned; with whose retreat, the French Admiral, emboldened, came upon the Coast of Sussex, where he landed Souliers; but upon firing of the Beacons was driven back, after which he landed two thousand men in the Isle of Wight, but there was repelled, though reported to have in his Ships thricethree hundred men.

In August this year, died the valiant Captaine the Lord Paynys, the Kings Lieutenant of his Town of Bullogne; and the same month also died
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk.

Henry who by the way were met by the young Prince and many Lords, and conducted to the King at Hampton Court:

- In his seventh and twelfth year, the three and twentieth of November, a Parliament began at Westminster, wherein was granted to the King a Subsidy both of Spirituall and Temporall, and all Colleges, Charteries, and Hospitalts were given to him to dispose of: the four and twentieth of December the Parliament was prorogued, on which day the King coming to the Parliament Houfe, the Speaker made to him an Oration, which the Lord Chancellor was used to answer; but at this time the King would answer himself: the effect whereof was that where Master Speaker had commended him for many excellent qualities that were in him, he thanked him for it, not that he had them, but for putting him in mind how necessary it was he should have them: then he thanked the whole House for their Subsidy, and for giving him the Colleges and Charteries, which he promised he should apply to the Peace of the Realm: lastly, he acknowledged their love to himself, but found fault with want of love to one another; for what love, where there is not concord? what concord when one calleth another Heretick and Anabaptist? and he again calleth him Papist and Hypocrite? and this not only amongst those of the Temporal, but even the Clergy-men themselves preach one against another, inveigh one against another, without Charity or Discretion; come to be filetype in their old Mumpsonus, and others so curious in their new Sumpsonus, that few or none Preacheth truly and sincerely the word of God: now therefore let this be amended, fear and serve God, be in charity amongst your selves, to the which, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you: and this said, the Acts were openly read, to some he gave his Royal Assent, to some divers silenced not.

While the Oath for the Peace was thus taken by both Kings, Bulloigne remaining still in King Henry's possession, Mounfieur de Chaillons Captain of Mont-plague began to make a new BastilIon at the very mouth of the Haven of Bulloigne, naming it Chalions Garden: hereof the Lord Gray of Wilton as then Deputy of Bulloigne advertised the King by Sir Thomas Palmour, requiring to know his pleasure whether he should raie it, as a thing very incommodious to the Town, or let it stand; the King asked advice of his Council, who all agree, that the Conditions of the Peace ought in no wise to be infringed, and therefore to let the BastilIon stand; whereupon the King caufed his Secretary the Lord Paget, to write a Letter to the Lord Gray, to that purpose, but then called Sir Thomas Palmour secretly to him, bidding him tell the Lord Gray, that whatsoever he had written in his Letter, yet with all speed possible, he should raie the Fortification to the ground; Sir Thomas Palmour replying, that a message by word of mouth being contrary to his Letter, would never be believed; well (said the King) do you tell him as I bid you, and leave the doing it to his choice: upon the coming back of
Sir Tho. Palmour, the Lord Gray called a Council, shewing them the Kings Letters, and withal Sir Thomas Palmour's Missal; and then asked their advice, what in this case he should do? who all agreed without any question that the Letter was to be followed, and not the Missal: to which the Lord Gray himself said nothing, but caused the Missal to be written Verbatim from Sir Thomas Palmour's mouth, and therewith the Council to set their hands to it; this done, the night following he sallied forth with a company of armed men and Pioneers, and overthrew the Fortification to the ground, and then sent Sir Thomas Palmour with Letters to the King, who, as soon as he saw them, asked aloud, What, will he do it or no? Sir Thomas Palmour delivering his Letter, said, Your Majesty shall know by these; and then the King half angry, Nay tell me (faith he) will he do it or no? being then told it was done, and the Fortifications clean razed, he turned to his Lord's and said, What say you my Lords to this, Chatsillo Garden is razed to the floor: Whereof one presently answered, he that had done it was worthy to lose his head; to which the King straightforwardly replied, That he would rather lose a dozen such heads as his was that so judged, than one such servant as had done it: and therewith commanded the Lord Gray's Pardon should presently be drawn; the which he sent with Letters of great thanks, and promise of reward; the cause why the King took this course withal, lest if he had written the razing of the Fortification in his Letter, it might have come to the French mens knowledge, before it could have been done, and so have been prevented; and this may be taken as a scenery of King Henry's great capacity.

It is now the eighth and thirtieth year of his Reign, when about Michaelmas, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, and Henry Earl of Surrey, committed to the Tower, and why.

The Duke of Norfolk, and his Son the Earl of Surrey committed to the Tower, and why.

The Earl is beheld.

King Henry died.

1547.

Of his Taxes.

In his fourth year, in a Parliament at Westminster, was granted to the King, two Fifteenths of the Temporality, and two Tenths of the Clergy, and Head-money; of every Duke ten Marks, an Earl five pounds, a Baron four pounds, a Knight four Marks, and every man valued at eight hundred pounds in Goods, to pay four Marks, and so after that rate till him that was valued at forty shillings, and he paid twelve pence, and every man and woman of fifteen years and upward four pence. In his fifth year, a Parliament was holden, where in divers Subsidies were granted to the King, towards the charges of his Wars in France: in his fourteenth year, order was taken by the Cardinal, that the true value of all men's subsidence might be known, and he would have had every man sworn, to tell what they were worth, and
and required a tench part thereof, towards the Kings charges in the present wars, as the Spirituality had granted a fourth part; this the Laydemes thought very hard, and therupon were execuced for taking Oath, and were allowed to bring in their Bills upon their honneties; but when all was done, after much labouring by the Cardinal, the Clergy granted one half of all their yearly Spiritual Revenues, for five years, and the Temporality two shillings in the pound, from twenty pounds upwards, and from forty shillings to twenty pounds, of every twenty shillings twelve pence; and under forty shillings, of every head of sixteen years, and upwards, four pence, to be paid in every two years. In his sixteenth year, the Cardinal of his own head attempted by Commission, to draw the people to pay the sixth part of every mans substance in Plate or Money; but this was generally opposed, and the people in many Countreys rife upon it, so as coming to the Kings knowledge, he utterly disallowed it, and blamed the Cardinal exceedingly for attempting it. In his four and twentieth year, a Parliament was held, and amongst the Charges towards his charges of making fortifications against Scotland. In his one and thirtieth year, a Subsidy of two shillings in the pound of Lands, and twelve of Goods, with four fifteens were granted to the King, towards his charges of making Bulwarks. In his five and thirtieth year a Subsidy was granted to be paid in three years, every English man being worth in goods twenty shillings and upwards to five poundes, to pay four pence of every pound, and from five poundes to ten pounds, eight pence, and from ten poundes to twenty pounds, six pence; from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound two shillings: Strangers as well Denizens as others, being Inhabitants, to pay double; and for Lands, every English man paid eight pence of the pound, from twenty shillings to five pounds, and from five pounds to ten pounds eleven pence, and from ten pounds to twenty pounds, two shillings, and from twenty pounds and upwards, of every pound three shillings, strangers double; the Clergy fix shillings in the pound of Benefices, and every Priest having no Benefice, but an Annual stipend, six shillings eight pence yearly, during three years.

Of Laws and Ordinances in his time.

In a Parliament held in his sixteenth year, divers Laws were made, but two most spok'd of; one for Apparel, another for Labourers. In his twelveth year, he caus'd the Statues against Incloures to be reviv'd, and commanded that decayed houses should be built up again; and that Incloued grounds should be laid open; which though it did some good, yet not so much as it might have done, if the Cardinal for his own benefit had not procur'd liberty for great men, to keep up such Incloures, to the oppreッション of poor men. In his seventeenth year, the King lying at Eltham, divers Ordinances were made by the Cardinal touching the Governance of the Kings House, and were long after called the Statues of Eltham. In his eighteenth year, in the month of May, Proclamation was made against all unlawful Games, so that in all places, Tables, Dice, Cards, and Bowls were taken and burnt; but this order continued not long, for young men being restrained from these Games, fell home to drinking, some to sealing of Conies and Deer, and such other misdemeanours: Also in this year, was an inchanting of Coin, for the preventing the carrying it over to places where it went at a higher rate; so that the angel that went before but for seven shillings, should now go for seven and six pence, and every ounce of Gold should be five and forty shillings, which was before but forty, and other Coins accordingly. In his twentieth year, Sir James Spencer being Mayor of London, the Watch used on Midsummer night was laid down. In his three and thirtieth year, in a Parliament then held, an Act was made, that whosoever should pay any person should be boyled to death, by which Statute, one Richard Kaye, who had provoked divers persons in the Bishop of Rochester's place, was boyled in the bowful at Southwark, to the terrible example of all other. In his two and twentieth year, three Acts were made, one for probate of Testaments, another for Mortuaries, the third against plurality of Benefices, Non-residence, buying and taking of Farms by spiritual persons. In his thirtieth year it was ordained by Cranmer the Kings Vicar General, that in all Churches a Register should be kept of every Wedding, Christening, and Burial within the same Parith for ever. In his one and thirtieth year, the King first instituted and appointed fifty Gentlemen called Pensioners, to wait upon his person, assigning to each of them fifty pounds a year, for the maintenance of themselves and two Horses. In his six and thirtieth year, Proclamation was made for the inhancing of Gold to eight and forty shillings, and Silver to four shillings the ounce; also he caus'd to be coined bafe money, minting it with Brass, which was for some time called the fifth year of Edward the sixth, and called in the second year of Queen Elizabeth. In his fifteen and thirtieth year, the Brothel-houses called the Stews on the Bankside in Southwark, were put down by the Kings Commandement, and it was done by Proclamation and sound of Trumpet. In his three and twentieth year, it was enacted, that Bucharers should sell their meat by weight, Beef for a half-penny the pound, and Mutton for three farthings: also at this time foreign Bucharers were permitted to sell their flesh in London-hall Market, which before was not allowed; in his time also the Government of the President in the North was first instituted, and the first President there was Thomas Bishop of Durham.

Affairs of the Church in his time.

In the year 1517, the eighth year of this Kings reign, Martin Luther in Wittenberg in Germany, a Frier of the Order of the Hermite, taking occasion from the abuse of Indulgences, began to preach against the Authority of the Pope, and to bring in a Reformation of Religion; for repressing of whom, the Council of Diet and Cards forborne.
of Trent was called by Pope Paul the third, in the year 1543, which continued above forty years, but was never received in the Kingdom of France; which Council, by decreeing many things to be points of faith, which were not so accounted before, hath made no small distraction among Papists themselves: against this Luther, King Henry wrote a Book with great bitterness, and with as great bitterness was answered. At the same time with Luther, there arose also in the same Country other Reformers of Religion, as Zwinglius, Oecolampadius, Melancthon, who differing from Luther in some few points, made the difference which is at this day of Lutherans and Protestants, so called at first at Augsburg, for making a Proclamation in defence of their Doctrine, which soon after spread all Christendom over. King Henry in the six and twentieth year of his Reign, had excluded the Popes Authority out of his Realm; but thinking the work not sufficiently done, as long as Abbeyes and Priories kept their statton, which were, as it were, his Fortresses and Pillars; there was not long after means found to have them suppressed; for apprehensions being laid upon them (and perhaps no more than truth) of Adulteresses and Murthers, they by Act of Parliament in his eight and twentieth year, at least near four hundred of them were suppressed, and all their Lands and Goods conferred upon the King. In his one and thirtieth year, and all in his five and thirtieth year, all Colledges; Chantries, and Hopitales, so as the Hives being now all removed, there have never since any Bees or Drones been seen in the Country. In this Kings time the City of Rome was taken and sacked by the Imperial Army, forcing the Pope to fly to his Cattle Saint Angel, and there kept a Prifoner, till he agreed to such conditions as his Adverteryies propounded. In the two and twentyith year of this Kings Reign, a Proclamnation was set forth, that no perfon should purchase any thing from the Court of Rome; and this was the first blow given to the Pope in England. In his three and twentieth year, the Clergy submitting themselves to the King, for being found guilty of a Presumtibus, were the first that called him Supreme Head of the Church. In his four and twentyith year a Parliament was holden, wherein one Act was made, that Bishops should pay no more Annuities or money for their Bells to the Pope, and another that no perfon should appeal for any cause out of this Realm to the Court of Rome, but from the Commisary to the Bishop, and from the Bishop to the Archbishop, and from the Archbishop to the King, and all causes of the King to be tried in the upper House of the Convocation. In his six and twentieth year, in July, John Frith was burnt in Smithfield, and with him at the same flame one Andrew Howet a Tailor, both for denying the Real presence in the Sacrament; and in a Parliament holden this year, an Act was made which Authorizd the Kings Highness, to be Supreme Head of the Church of England, and the Authority of the Pope to be abolished, and then also was given to the King the first Fruits and Tenth of all Spiritual Livings:

and this year were many put to death, Papists for denying the Kings Supremacy, Protestants for denying the Real Presence in the Sacrament; and it is incredible what number for these two caufes were put to death in the last ten years of the Kings Reign, of whom if we should make particular mention, it would reach a great way in the Book of Martyrs. In his eight and twentieth year, the Lord Cromwell was made Vicar General under the King, over the Spiritualities, and rate divers times in the Convocation House among the Bishops as head over them; and in September this year, he set forth Injunctions, commanding all Parfons and Curates to teach their Parishioners the Pater-noster, the Ave, and Creed, with the ten Commandements and the Articles of the Christian Faith in the English tongue. In his one and thirtieth year, was set forth by the Bishops the Book of the six Articles, condemning all for Hereticks, and to be burnt, that should hold,

1. That the Bod of Christ was not really present in the Sacrament after Confection.
2. That the Sacrament might not truly be administered under one kind.
3. That Priests entred into holy Orders might marry.
4. That vow of Chastity entered into upon mature deliberation, were not to be kept.
5. That private Masses were not to be used.
6. That Annual Confession was not necessary in the Church.

This year also the Religion of Saint John in England, commonly called the Order of Knights of the Rhodes, was disfolved; and on Ascension-day, Sir William Welsford Knight, Prior of Saint John departed this life, for thought (as was reported) after he heard of the disfollution of his Order; for the King took all the Lands that belonged to that Order into his own hands: in his six and thirtieth year, the Letany or Procession was set forth in English, with commandement by the King, to be generally used in Parish Churches.

Works of Pity done by him or others in his time.

Upon the supprission of Abbeyes, King Henry instituted six new Bishopricks and six Cathedral Churches, endowing them with convenient maintenance; he also gave competent Penitents during their lives, to such Religious persons as were turned out of their Cloyfters; he also instituted in both the Universities Professors of the Hebrew and Greek Tongues, of Divinity, Civil-Law, and Phyfick, allowing to each of them forty pound a year; he also founded a College at Cambridge; he gave at his death a thousand Marks to the poor; and to twelve poor Knights of Windsor, each of them twelve pence a day for ever, and every year a long Gown of White Cloth: but his greatest work of Pity was his putting down the Stews in Southwark: Margarets Counsell of Rich mond, the Kings Grandmother, founded two Colleges at Cambridge, Christ-Church and Saint Johns. In the fifth year of this Kings Reign George Minor Mayor of
of London, re-edified the decayed Seecle of the Church of Waltham-flow in Eeef, adding thereto a fiefe bell with a Chappel where he lieth bored; on the North side of the Church-yard there he founded a fair Almshouse, for a Prieft and thirteen poor men and women, giving them a weekly maintenance; he also for the commodity of Travellers made a Canfey of Timber over the Marshes, from Waltham-flow to Lock-bridge towards London. In this Kings eighth year Richard Fte Bishop of Winchester founded Corpus Christi College in Oxford, minding to have made it a house for Monks; but Hugh Oldham Bishop of Exeter, persuaded him to make it rather a College for Scholars, and joyning with him in it, contributed great sums of Money towards it, containing himself only with the name of a Benefactor. In his seventheen year King Henry built the Tower of Greenwich. In this Kings time Cardinal Wolffe founded two Colleges, one at Oxford, another at Ipswich; to this College at Oxford he had given four thousand pounds a year. But in the later part of his Life, being all concerned in the King, the King took the Lands, but yet gave the College a competent maintenance for a Dean, eight Prebends, and a hundred Fellows; which College is now called Christ-Church, and accounts King Henry for their Founder. His College at Ipswich was demolished. This Cardinal also built Hampton Court, the chiefest at this day of all the Kings Houses; and built or enlarged White-hall called then York-Place. King Henry in his four and twentieth year, built also his Minion House of Saint James, where also he made a fair Park. This place before had been an Hospitall of Sifters, with whom the King compounded, giving them Penions during their lives. In his thirtieth year, Nicholas Gilfen Grocer, then Sheriff of London, built a Free-School at Raisiffe near London, with maintenance for a Master and an Under; he also built an Almshouse there for an hundred poor Men, Women, and Children. In his one and thirtieth year, Thomas Haufton, the then Sheriff of London, gave certain Tenements to Haberdashers, for finding of ten Almshofer of the same Company. In his six and thirtieth year, Sir John Allen who had been twice Mayor of London, and at the Kings Council, gave at his death to the City of London, a rich Coller of Gold, to be worn by the Mayor; which Coller was first worn by Sir William Laxton on Saint Edwards day, at the election of the new Mayor, who gave to every Ward in London twenty pounds, to be distributed amongst poor Householders; besides to richest persons, whereof three thousand, to every one a Gown of broadcloth, and a black Cap; and thirty women, to every one a Gown of the like Cloth, and a white Kercif. In the eight and thirtieth year, King Henry gave to the City of London, for relief of poor people in St. Bartholomew Spittle, the Church of the Gray fivers, and two Parish Churches, the one at St. Nicholas in the Shambles, the other St. Eunis in Kingste-market, all to be made one Parish Church of the Grayfriers; and in Lands he gave for the maintenance of the same five hundred Marks a year for ever.

and this Church to be named Christ-Church, founded by King Henry the eighteighth. The Lady Elizabeth Holly (the Widow of Sir William Holly Knight, late Lord Mayor of the City of London) by her late Will and Testament, dated the 17 of February 1543, and in the thirty fifth year of the Reign of King Henry the eighth, and proved at London in the Prerogative Courts of Canterbury the 28 of March 1544, did will her Executors, her Cousin Mr. Andrew Jak Alderman (afterwards Knight and Lord Mayor of London) and her Brother Thomas Scopham, that they should provide a place or plot of ground, whereon should be erected six Almshouses for fixed aged men, Women, or others both, to inhabit and dwell in, for the maintenance of which, the willed that her said Executors should purchase such much Land or Tenements within the City of London, or Liberties of the same, as would amount de claro above all charges to the yearly value of ten pound sterling, to be distributed in this manner: that is to say, to every of the said six Almshouses seven pence by the Week, to be paid on every Saturday or Sabbath-day weekly, and the remainder of the said yearly ten pound to be distributed in Coals yearly, in the Winter season, and amongst the said six Almshouses, and this to continue for ever whiles the World shall endure, as by the said Will may appear, which was afterwards accordingly effected by her said Executors; which said Lady Elizabeth Holly and Sir William Holly, were great Grandfather and great Grandmother unto John Holly Knight, Earl of Clare, &c. deceased.

Deaths of his time.

In his ninth year happened a Sweating-sickness, whereof infinite multitudes in many parts of England died, especially in London; and so violent, that in three, and sometimes two hours, it took away men's lives, and scared neither rich nor poor; for in the King's Court the Lord Clinton, the Lord Grey of Wilton, and many Knights, Gentlemen, and Officers died of it. It began in July, and continued to the midst of December. In his thirteenth year was a great Mortality in London, and other places of the Realm, and many men of Honour and Worship died; amongst others; Doctor Fox-James Bishop of London, in whose place Doctor Tenfant succeeded. In his fifteenth year, after great rains and winds there followed to fore a Frott, that many died for cold; and some left Fingers, some Toes, and many their Nails. In his nineteenth year, by extremity of rain in feed-time, there followed an agreat dearth of Corn, which would have caused great calamity; but that it was relieved in London by Merchants of the Steel-yard out of Germany, and a thousand quarters supplied out of the Kings own provision. In his twentieeth year, in the end of May, began in London another Sweating-sickness, which afterwards spreaded all places of the Realm by reason whereof of the Term was adjourned, and the Circuit of the Assizes also; many died in the Court, as Sir Francis Poynter, Sir William Compton Knights, and
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

William Cary. Esquire of the Kings Privy Chamber; the King himself for a space, removed almost every day, till he came to Tithinghanger, a place of the Abbot of St. Alban, where he with the Queen and a small number remained, till the flicknels was past. In his thirtieth year, the manner of casting Pipes of Lead for conveyance of water underground, without using of Soder, was first invented by Robert Brooke Clerk, one of the Kings Chaplains: a profitable Invention; for thereby, two men and a boy will do more in one day, than could have been done before by many men in many days: Robert Cooper Goldsmith, was the first that made the Instruments, and put this Invention in practice. In a Rebellion in the North, in this Kings time, when the Duke of Norfolk was sent with an Army against the lands, and their day of battle between them was appointed, it happened, that the night before a small Brook called Dam, running between the two armies, upon the fall of a small rain, swelled to such a height, that it was not passable by either foot or horse; a thing which had never happened before upon a greater rain, and was then accounted (as indeed it was) no less than a Miracle. In his third and thirtieth year, was a great Mortality in the Realm, by reason of hot Ages and Fluxes, and withal so great a drought, that small Rivers were clean dried, much Carrel died for lack of water, and the Thomas was grown so shallow, that the Salt-water flowed above London Bridge, till the rain had encreased the fresh waters. In his fifth and thirtieth year, the first cast Pieces of Iron that ever were made in England, were made at Buckfchord in Suffex by Ralph Hage and Peter Bearde. In his fixt and thirtieth year, was a great Plague in London, so as Michaelmas Term was adjourned to Saint Albans, and there kept. In his seventh and thirtieth year, on Tuesday in Easenweek, William Foxley Pot-maker for the Mint of the Tower of London, fell asleep, and could not be waked with pinching, or burning, till the first day of the next Term, which was full fourteen days; and when he awaked, was found in all points, as if he had slept but one night, and lived forty years after. About his fifteenth year, it happened that divers things were newly brought into England, whereupon this Rhyme was made:

Divers things neath brought into Englaund.

The first cast Pieces of Iron made.

One that first four tens days together without wakings.

Katherine, Daughter of Ferdinand King of Spain, the Relic of his Brother Arthur, she lived his Wife above twenty years, and then was divorced from him; after which she lived three years by the name of Katherine Dewergy, the deceased at Kimbolton in the County of Huntingdon, the eighth of January in the year 1535, and lieth interred in the Cathedral Church of Peterborough, under a Hearse of black Say, having a white Crofs in the midst. His second Wife was Anna, second Daughter of Sir Thomas Bulien Earl of Wilts鲱re and Ormond; she was married to him the five and twentieth day of January, in the year 1533. He lived his Wife three years, three months, and five and twenty days, and then was beheaded, and her body buried in the Choir of the Chappell in the Tower. His third Wife was Jane, Daughter of Sir John Seymour, and Sister to the Lord Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, and Duke of Somerset, she was married to him the next day after the bearing of Queen Anne, lived his Wife one year, five months, and four and twenty days, and then died in Child-bed; and was buried in the midst of the Choir of the Church within the Chapel of Windor. His fourth Wife was Anne, Sister to the Duke of Cleve, she lived his Wife six months, and then was divorced; she remained in England long after the Kings death, and accompanied the Lady Elizabeth through London, at the solemnizing of Queen Marias Coronation. His fifth Wife was Katherine, Daughter of Edmund, and Neece of Thomas Howard his Brother Duke of Norfolk; she was married to him in the two and thirtieth year of his Reign; lived his Wife one year, six months, and four days, and then was beheaded in the Tower of London, and buried in the Chancel of the Chappell by Queen Anne Bulien. His sixth Wife was Katharina, Daughter of Sir Thomas Parr of Kendal, and Sister to the Lord William Parr, Marquess of Northampton; she was first married to John Nevil Lord Latimer, and after his death to the King at Hampton Court, in the fifth and thirtieth year of his Reign: she was his Wife three years, six months, and five days; and then surviving him, was again married to Thomas Seymour Lord Admiral of England, unto whom she bore a daughter, but died in her Child-bed, in the year 1548. He had Children by his first Wife Queen Katherine, Henry born at Richmond, who lived not full two months, and was buried at Westmister; also another Son, whose name is not mentioned, lived but a short time neither: then a Daughter named Mary, born at Greenwich, in the eighth year of his Reign, and came afterward to be Queen of England. By his second Wife, Queen Anne Bulien, he had a Daughter named Elizabeth, born at Greenwich, in the fifth and twentieth year of his Reign; who succeeded her Sister Mary in the Crown: he had also by her a Son, but born dead. By his third Wife, Queen Jane, he had a Son named Edward, born at Hamton-Crom in the nine and twentieth year of his Reign, who succeeded him in the Kingdom. Besides these, he had a bafe Son, named Henry Fitz-Foy, begotten of the Lady Tobeyes, called Elizabeth Blant, born at Blackmore in Essex, in the tenth year of his Reign; who was made Duke of Richmond and Somerset; married Mary Daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, with whom he lived not long, but died at St. James by Westminter, and was buried at Ermingham in Suffolf.

Of his Perownage and Conditions.

He was exceeding tall of stature, and very strong; fair of complexion, in his later days corpulent and burly: concerning his condition,
ditions, he was a Prince of so many good parts, that one would wonder he could have any ill; and indeed he had not many ill, till flattery and ill counsel in his latter time got the upper hand of him. His cruelty to his Wives may not only be excused, but defended; for if they were intemperate, he did but justice; if they were not so, yet it was sufficient to satisfy his conscience, that he thought he had caufe to think them so; and if the marriage Bed be honourable in all, in Princes it is sacrilegious. In supprefling of Abbeys he shewed not little Piet, but great Providence; for though they were excellent things being rightly used, yet most pestilential, being abufed; and then may the ufe be justly sup- prefled, when the abuse fcarce poifibly can be restrained. To think he supprefled Abbeys out of covetoufnefs and defire of gain, is to make him extremely deceived in his reckoning; for if we compare the profit with the charge that followed, we fhall find him certainly a great forer by the bargain. He was so far from pride, that he was rather too humble, at leaft he convened with his Subjects in a more tillifian manner than was usual with Princes. So valiant, that in his whole life almost, was nothing but exercises of valour; and though performed among his friends in jeft, yet they prepared him against his Enemies in earnest, and they that durft be his Enemies found it. It may be faid, the complication of his Government for the first twenty years was fanguine and jovial; for the reft, choleric and bloody: and it may be doubted. whether in the former, he was more prodigal of his own treasure, or in the latter of his Subjects blood: for as he spent more in Fictions, than any other King did in Realities; fo in any defterminer of his people, he had no other Phyllick, but to open a vein: but we fhall do him extreme wrong, to think that all the blood he fed in his time, was of his shedding; they were the Bishops that were the Duke to make the bloody Laws; the Bishops that were the Pharaohs, to put them in execution: the King oftentimes fcarce knew what was done. Certain it is, when a great Lord gets a Gentlewoman the fecond time on the Rack, the King hearing of it, exceedingly condemned him for fuch extreme cruelty. As for Religion, though he brought it not to a full Reformation, yet he gave it to a great a beginning, that we may truly fay of that he did, _Diunitum pluris set_. They who charge him with the vice of luft, let them fhow fuch another example of continence as was feen in him, to lie fix months by a young La- dy, and not to touch her; for fo did he with the Lady Anne of Cleve: but this is to make _Nofigyres_; I like better to leave every voyage growing upon its falk, that it be gathered treeth; which will be done by reading the story of his Life.

Of his Death and Burial.

It is recorded of him, that in his latter time he grew to far and flothful, that engines were made to lift and remove him up and down; but howformerly in the fix and fifteenth year of his age, whether by a Drapecle, or by reason of an Ulcer in his Leg, he fell into a languishing Fever, which brought him into fuch extremity, that his Physicians utterly defpaired of his life, whereof yet none durft speak a word to him, till Master Deny one of his Privy Chambre took the boldnefs to go to him, telling him of the danger he was in, and withal putting him in mind to think of his fouls health; to which he answered, that he confedd his fins to be exceeding great, yet had fuch confidence in the mercy of God through Chrift, that he doubted not of forgivenefs though they had been much greater; and being then asked by Master Deny, if he would have any Divine brought to him with whom to confer, he answered he would willingly have the Archbishop Cranmer, but not yet a while, till he had taken a little ref: whereupon the Archbishop being then at Cranfords was pretty fent for; but before he could come, the King was grown speechlefs, only leeming to retain a little memory, fo as putting out his hand, and the Archbishop deliring him to fhew some sign of his faith in Chrift, he then wrung the Archbishop hard by the hand, and immediately gave up the ghoft, the eight and twentieth of January, in the year 1547, the fix and fifteenth of his age, and in the reign of his eight and thirtieth: By his body with great solemnity was buried at Windfe under a moft coldly and darely Tomb, begun in copper and gilt, but never finished.

Men of Note in his time.

MEN famous for the Sword were many in his time, and in a manner all, that it is hard making choice without being partial, unlefs we fhall prefcr Dukes of equal valour before others of meaner calling; and then will the Dukes of Norfak and Suffolk hold worthi- ly the place firft, and next to them the young Earl of Surrey, who had been more fortunate if he had been left valiant. Of men of Letters in his time, there were whole Armies in foreign parts: the most famous were Sandus, Ludovici Vites, John Rychull, Erasrum Rottardamum, Erasrum, Cornarum, Sedaciel, Martinus Sadok, England were John Collet Dean of Pralns, and Founder of the Shoal there. Williams Lilly born at Oldibam in Hampshire, firft School-Ma- fter of Pauls School, Thomas Linkeer a learned Physician, John Skelton a pleafant Poet, William Horman Vice-Provoft of Eaton, who wrote di- vers works, Sir Thomas More, William Tindal, John Raftal a Citizen and Stationer of London, Christopher Saint-Germam an excellent Lawyer, Sir Thomas Elyot, John Leland a diligent fearch of Antiquities, Sir John Bouchirch Knight, Lord Berners, who tranflated the Chronicles of Fryfold out of French into English, Henry Stan- dard Bishop of Saint Aphay, who wrote a Book against Erasrum translation of the New Testa- ment: Arnold of London, who wrote certain Collections touching Historical matters, ThomaS Lueps a Londoner, who wrote fundry vertu- ous Treatises, Henry Bradbam a black Monk, who wrote the Life of Saint Werburgh, and al- moft a certain Chronicle: John Peftlurgh, and More, who wrote inftructions for the perfect understanding of the French tongue, John Skelton a Corneli man, who wrote certain abbrevi-ations.
of Chronicles, with a Treatise of the Wars of 
Troy, Anthony Fitz-Herbert, a Judge, who wrote 
an Abridgement of the Law, Wilfrid Holmes 
who wrote a Treatise of the Rebellion in Lin-
colnhire, Thomas Lanquet who wrote an Epitome 
of Chronicles, and also of the winning of Bul-
loge, Thomas Soneman of Gernsey, who wrote 
divers notes of Histories, Cuthbert Tuned Bishop 
of Durham, Robert Whittington, who wrote di-
vers Treatises for the instruction of Gramari-
ans, John Ruffel, who wrote a Treatise entitled, 
Super Iure Comenius & Poppulo Commentaries in 
Cartica; Simon Fitz a Knight man, who wrote 
a Book called the Suppllication of Beggars, George 
Bullen Lord Rockford Brother to Queen Anne, 
who wrote divers Songs and Sonnets, Francis 
Bignal, Knight born in Yorkshire, who wrote a 
Book against the Clergy, entitled De Impro-
priationibus, Henry Lord Morley, who wrote di-
vers Treatises, as Comedies and Tragedies, as 
the Life of Seftaries, and certain Rhymes: 
William Batesile alias Thynne, who restored 
the Works of Chaucer, Richard Tarpin, who serving 
in the Garrison of Calais, wrote a Chronicle 
of his time, and died in the year 1541. Sir Thomas 
Wyat, Knight, who wrote divers matters in 
English Metre, and translated the seven Peni-
tential Psalms, and (as some say) the whole 
Psalter; he died of the Pestilence, as he was 
going Ambassador to the Emperor, in the 
year 1541. Henry Howard Earl of Surrey, who 
 wrote divers Treatises in English Metre; John 
Field a Londoner, who wrote a Treatise of mans 
Free-will, De Servorum minimis Arbitrio, and Col-
lections of the Common Laws of England, 
Robert Shagleton born in Lancashire, who wrote 
a Treatise of the seven Churches, and certain 
Prophecies; William Parry a Welsh man, who 
wrote a Book entitled Speculum Fvvenum.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in this 
Kings time.

In his first year, 
Thomas Bradly was Mayor for part of the 
year, Sir William Capel for the rest. 
George Monox, John Dug, Sheriffs.

In his second year, 
Sir Henry Kebble was Mayor. 
John Milborne, John Relf, Sheriffs.

In his third year, 
Sir Roger Atchely was Mayor. 
Nicholas Sheiton, Thomas Morfine, Sheriffs.

In his fourth year, 
Sir William Copinger was Mayor for part of the 
year, Sir Richard Haddon for the rest. 
Rob. Holdemes or Alders, Rob. Fearther, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year, 
Sir William Brown was Mayor. 
John Dones, John Brug, Roger Beford Sheriffs.

In his sixth year, 
Sir George Monox was Mayor. 
James Taforch, John Mundy, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year, 
Sir William Butler was Mayor. 

In his eighth year, 
Sir John Relf was Mayor. 
Thomas Seymoure, John or Rich. Thurston, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year, 
Sir Thomas Exmerve was Mayor. 
The Baldrie, Ralph, or Richard Simon, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year, 
Sir Thomas Merfone was Mayor. 
John Allen, James Spencer, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year, 
Sir James Tarford was Mayor. 
John Wilkinjon, Nicholas Patrick, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year, 
Sir John Brag was Mayor. 
John Speakington, John Kyne, alias Kible, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year, 
Sir John Milborne was Mayor. 
John Brevon, or Britain, Tho. Purgiter, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year, 
Sir John Mundy was Mayor. 
John Ruffel, John Champneys, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year, 
Sir Thomas Baldrie was Mayor. 
Michael English, Nicholas Jenning, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year, 
Sir William Bailey was Mayor. 
Ralph Dodmore, William Buch, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year, 
Sir John Aiken was Mayor. 
John Cauntor, or Calson, Christ. Aikew, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year, 
Sir Thomas Seymoure was Mayor. 
Stephen Pecocks, Nicholas Lamberts, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year, 
Sir James Spencer was Mayor. 
John Hardy, William Hollis, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year, 
Sir John Ruffel was Mayor. 
Ralph Warren, John Long, Sheriffs.

In his twenty first year, 
Sir Ralph Domsor was Mayor. 
Michaell Dormor, Walter Champion, Sheriffs.

In his twenty second year, 
Sir Thomas Pargiter was Mayor. 
Will, Dansey, or Dansey, Rich. Champion, Sheriffs.

In his twenty third year, 
Sir Nicholas Lamberts was Mayor. 
Richard Grefham, Edward Alibam, Sheriffs.
The Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

In his twenty fourth year.
Sir Stephen Peacock was Mayor.
Richard Reynolds, John Martin; Nicholas Pinchin, John Priest; Sheriffs.

In his twenty fifth year.
Sir Christopher Askew was Mayor.
William Forman, Thomas Kitson, Sheriffs.

In his twenty sixth year.
Sir John Champney was Mayor.
Nicholas Levefon, William Denham, Sheriffs.

In his twenty seventh year.
Sir John Allen was Mayor.
Humphrey Monmouth, John Cetes, Sheriffs.

In his twenty eighth year.
Sir Ralph Warren was Mayor.
Robert or Rich, Paget, William Bowyer, Sheriffs.

In his twenty ninth year.
Sir Richard Gregson was Mayor.
John Gregson, Thomas Lewin, Sheriffs.

In his thirtieth year.
Sir William Forman was Mayor.
William Wilkinson, Nicholas Gibson, Sheriffs.

In his thirty first year.
Sir William Hellys was Mayor.
Thomas Feyer, Thomas Hamilton, Sheriffs.

In his thirty second year.
Sir William Reche was Mayor.
William Laxföne, Martin Bow, Sheriffs.

In his thirty third year.
Sir Michael Damer was Mayor.
Rowland Hill, Henry Suckley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fourth year.
Sir John Cetes was Mayor.
Henry Hoberthorne, Henry Amcoats, Sheriffs.

In his thirty fifth year.
Sir William Bowyer was Mayor.
John Thiford, Richard Dobbs, Sheriffs.

In his thirty sixth year.
Sir William Laxton was Mayor.
John Thiford, Andrew Jnd, Sheriffs.

In his thirty seventh year.
Sir Martin Bow was Mayor.
George Barne, Ralph Allen, or Alley, Sheriffs.

In his thirty eighth year.
Sir Henry Hoberthorne was Mayor.
Richard Jarsey, Thomas Curteis, Sheriffs.
The Reign of

KING EDWARD

THE SIXTH.

T was now in the year 1547, when on the eighth and twentieth of January King Henry dying, Prince Edward his Son, the third Wife, the Lady Jane Seymour, and the only Son he left behind him, as well by right of Inheritance, as by his last Will, succeeded him in the Kingdom; to whom as being but nine years old, and therefore unripe for Government, he had assigned eight and twenty Counsellours; a fit number, if agreeing amongst themselves; too many if at variance: and at variance they would soon fall, if there were not a Moderator to keep them in concord; the first work therefore necessary to be done in this new world, was to make choice of such a man as might be to the Counsellours a Moderator, a Protector to the King, and in his minority, to the Kingdom. To this place by common consent of the King and Council: Edward Seymour Earl of Hartsford, the King's Uncle was chosen to hold the place, until the King should accomplish the age of eighteen years. In which Office the first thing he did, was to make the young King Knight, who presently thereupon, made Henry Hobbethorn Mayor of London Knight; and then King Henry's Obsequies being solemnly performed, on the seventeenth of February, were raised in honour the Earl of Hartsford Protector, to be Duke of Somerset, William Earl of Essex, to be Marques of Northampton, Dudley Vicount Lisle, to be Earl of Warwick, Wrothley Lord Chancellor, to be Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Seymour the Protectors Brother was made Lord Sudeley, and Admiral of England, Sir Richard Rich was made Lord Rich, Sir William Willingly was made Lord Willoughby, and Sir Edmund Sheffield was made Lord Sheffield of Butterwick: On the nineteenth of February the King in great state rode from the Tower to the Palace of Westminster, where the day following, he was Crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury, with all rites accustomed, in great solemnity. At which time a general Pardon was proclaimed for all offenders, excepted, namely the Duke of Norfolk, Cardinal Pole, Edward Courteny, elder Son to the Marques of Essex, Master Fortescue, Master Throgmorton, and Doctor Peter Bishop of Worcester, who was fled to Rome, to avoid taking the Oath of Supremacy, all which six continued unpardoned, till the first year of Queen Mary, and then were restored. A few days after the Earl of Southampton Lord Chancellor, for being contumacious to the rest of the Lords in matters of counsel, was removed both from his Office of being Chancellor, and from his place in Council, and the great Seal was delivered Sir William Paulet, Lord Saint-John, and Lord great Master of the Kings Housethold.

Within two months after the death of King Henry, died Francis King of France also, for whom solemn Obsequies were kept in Paris Church, as he likewise had kept before at Paris for King Henry; these two Kings were of so consenting natures, that they had certainly been great friends while they lived, if they had not been Kings, and that jealousy of state had not made them oftentimes not to be themselves.

King Henry before his death had left in charge with the Lords of his Council, by all means possible, to procure a proceeding in the marriage with the young Queen of Scots; and now in discharge thereof the Lord Protector himself, with an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and six thousand Horse, besides Labourers and Pioneers, had set out to the Realm of Scots, in the third of September: at which time all Edward Lord Clinton with a Fleet of three score Sail assisted by Sea; but before he would do any hostile Act, he caused Proclamation to be made, that his coming was only to have performance of the Articles heretofore agreed on for the marriage, tending to the good of both Kingdoms, if they would yield unto, he would then return in peaceable manner, and the more to draw them on, where before it was demanded to have the Queen brought into England, and there to be brought up, he the Protector was content, she should remain in Scotland till years of content; this demand, the more moderate, of the Scots accorded very reasonable, but those of the French and Papal Faction, who were the greatest persons, and the greatest number, strongly opposed: whereupon the Lord Protector presently put his Army into Array; the Lord Grey and Sir Francis Bryan, with eight hundred Light-Horse, were sent before to provide Lodging for the Army, and to give advertisement of the enemies approaches; then followed the Avant-guard, in number between three and four thousand Foot, one hundred men at Arms, and six hundred Light-Horse, led by the Earl of Warwick; then followed the main Battel, consisting of above six thousand Foot, six hundred
The Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

Laid with numbers, they were put to flight, and chased almost to the edge of their Camp. In this fight the chiefest Force of the Scottish Horse-men was defeated, the Lord Hames by a fall from his Horse lost his life, his Son and Heir, with two Priests, and six Gentlemen were taken prisoners, and about fifteen hundred slain: the next day, the Protector and the Earl of Warwick rode towards the place where the Scottish Army lay, to view the manner of incamping. As they returned, an Herald and a Trumpeter from the Scots overtook them, who having obtained Audience, the Trumpeter said, that the Lord Hauke his Master, to spare effusion of Christian blood, would fight upon the whole quarter, either with twenty against twenty, or with ten against ten, or else try it between the Lord General and himself: the Protector answered, that for number of Combatants, it was not in his power to conclude any bargaining; and as for himself, that being in Pucklick charge, it was not fit he should hazard himself against a man of Private Conditions, which otherwise he would most willingly accept there. The Earl of Warwick desired the Lord General that he might accept the Challenge; and, Trumpeter (faith he) bring me word, that his Master will perform the Combat with me, and thou shalt have an hundred Crowns for thy pains; nay, rather (faith the Lord General) bring me word, that thy Master will abide and give us battle, and thou shalt have a thousand Crowns for thy pains: and thereafter, when no other agreement could be made, a general battle was resolved on; in the Army of the Scots were five or six and thirty thousand men; in the Avant-guard, commanded by the Earl of Angus, about fifteen thousand; in the Battel, over whom was the Lord Governor, about ten thousand; and the Arrears, as many, led by the vaillant Gowdean, Earl of Hauntey, Hackbutters they had none, nor men at Arms, but about two thousand Horse-men (Pickers as they term them) the rest were all on foot, well furnished with Jacks and Sculls, Pikes, Daggers, Breaches and Hackbutters, and the Scottish Horse-men began to hove about the English Army, and to come pricking towards them, sometimes within length of their staves, using provoking words, to draw the English from their strength; but the Protector, not moved with their provocations, maintained a close march till he came to Salt-Prefon by the Frith, where he incamped within two miles of the Scottish Army: and here the Scots having gotten the advantage of a Hill came upon the English with the number of twelve hundred Horse, besides five hundred foot that lay in ambush behind the Hill, at which time the Lord Gray and Francis Brian, impatient of such braveries, obtained leave of the General to encounter them, and so as they came scattered upon the field, within a stones cast of the English, and were beginning to wheel about, the Lord Gray with some Troops of Light-horse-men, charged them home, and was forthwith seconded by certain numbers of Demilances, and both of them backed with a thousand men at Arms; yet the Scots refolutely maintained the fight three hours and more, but in the end, over-
how he flourished to the Marriage? Made this answer, That he liked the Marriage well enough, but he liked not this kind of woing. This Victory of Munglborough against the Scots, was on the tenth of December, the very same day on which thirty years before a Victory had been had against them at Flodden field; so as it seems this day was fatal to the Scots, and confirms the opinion of Astrologers, that there are days to some men fortunate, and unfortunate to others, if they could be known.

This victory struck such a terror into many of the Scots, that the Earl of Bathuel & divers chief Gentlemen of Tivendale & Miers submitted themselves to the King of England, and were received by the Protector into his protection; after this, the English Army took many Towns and Caffles, and then for want of Provision, returned into England, having now above five and twenty days in Scotland, and not loit above three hundred. After the taking of Munglborough, the Duke of Buckingham managed to take many Knights, but three especially; namely, Sir Ralph Saller Treasurer, Sir Francis Brian Captain of the Light Horse, and Sir Ralph Vane Lieutenant of all the Horsemen; he made Banner, which is a dignity above a Knight, and next to a Baron; and these were the laft from that time to this, did ever receive this dignity. But notwithstanding this great overthrow at Munglborough, the Governor of Scotland would not yet be quiet; but assailing the people, made unto them an Oration, exhorting them to defend the liberty of their Country, and not to be daunted with any event of war.

In this time many distractions and troubles happened in England; partly, in matters of Religion, and partly about Incloures: and first for Incloures, the Lord Protector caufed Proclamation to be fur forth, commanding that they who had alienated any Lands accoutned or held in Lieu, should upon a certain pain, before a day assigned, lay them open again. And then in matter of Religion, certain Injunctions were fur forth, for removing of Images out of Churches; and divers Preachers were fent with Instructions to difcourage the people from praying to Saints, or for the dead; from use of Beads, Afhces and Processions; from Masfes, Diriges, praying in any unknown Tongue; and for defect of Preachers, Homilies were appointed publicly to be read in Churches: and many for offering to maintain those Ceremonies, were either punished, or forced to recant. Edmund Bamer, Bishop of London, was committed to the Fleet, for refusing to receive these Injunctions; Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was likewise committed first to the Fleet, and after to the Tower, for that he had preached, It was well these changes in Religion were made, until the King were of years to govern by himself; for the like caufes Tindall, Bishop of Durham, Heath, Bishop of Rochester, and Day, Bishop of Chichester, were in like manner committed to prison, and all of them dispoifled of their Bishopricks; and that which was worfe, the Bishopricks themselves were dispoifled of their Revenues, in such foment, that a very small part remained to the Bishops that came after.

And now a Parliament was held, in the first year of the King, and by Prorogation in the second; where, divers Charters, Col- ledges, free Chappells, Fraitiveuries and Guildes, with all their lands and goods, were given to the King; which being sold at a low rate, en- riched many, and enmoibled fome, and thereby made them firm in maintaining the change: also it was then ordered, that no man should speak againft receiving the Eucharist in both kinds, and that Bishops should be placed by Collation of the King under his Letters Pa- tens, without any election preceding, or confirmation ensuing; and that all Procelles Eccle- siastical should be made in the Kings name, in Writs at the Common Law; and that all perons exercising Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, should have the Kings Arms in the Seals of their Officer; and further, the Statute of the fix Articles and other Statutes concerning punishment of Loll- taine, was repealed, and the Kings Supremacy over the whole of England, confirmed.

All this while the Wars in Scotland continued, and were managed by the Lord Gray of Window with variable success; and now about this time was sent to him in aid, the Earl of Shrewsbury, with fifteen thousand men; against him, at the time of the Scots, was sent the Rhinegrv with ten thousand French; who entering into consultation, how to remove the young Queen out of the reach of the Englfs, provided a Fleet, and failing about Scotland, notwithstanding the English Fleet lay in wait to impeach their paf- fage, yet conveyed her safely into France, being then but fix years old, accompanied in the jour- ney with James her fafe Brother, John Erskin, and William Levien; and in April following was married to France the Dauphin of France.

You heard before the alterations in Religion: how bear the troubles; for when the In- junctions were fent abroad into the Country, and Commissioners appointed to enforce them, executed: one Mafter Body a Commissioner, as he was pulling down Images in Cornwall, was suddenly by a Priest flabbed into the body with a Knife. Hereupon the people flocked together in divers parts of the Shire, taking Arms, and beginning to commit outrages; and although the chief Offender was hanged and quartered in Smithfield, and many of his Complices exe- cuted in divers parts of the Realm, and withal a Pardon proclaimed to all that would lay down Arms; yet neither could that feverity, nor this lenity refrain them from their. infelicities; but in divers Countries, as Suffolk, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucefhir, Warwickfhir, Wolfsbury, being commonly in Somersfhir and Devonfhir, great Assemblies of people gathered to a head; whose chief Leaders were Humphrey Arundel, and about three or four of inferior note, but many Priests, Some of thofe (we may infer) were Common-wealth mutineers; and some mutined for Religion; who were for the Common-wealth could agree upon nothing; some would have no Justices, none no Gentlemen, none no Lawyers, nor ordinary Courts of Justice; but above all, Incloures muft down; but whether all, or which, or how to be imployed, none could tell. The religious Mutineers were not altogether so various in their voices, as having some
some few among them by whom they were guided: these in the name of the people, 
headed up these Articles following; upon grant-
ing of which, they professed that both their 
bodies and goods should be at the King's devotion.
1. That Cures should administer Baptisms at all 
times of necessity, as well on week-days as on holy-days.
2. That their children might be confirmed by the 
Bishop.
3. That the Maaj might be celebrated, no man 
communing with the Priest.
4. That they might have reformation of the 
Lords' holy in their Churches.
5. That they might have holy Bread and holy 
Water in remembrance of Christ's precious 
Body and Blood.
6. That Priests might live unmarried.
7. That the six Articles, set forth by King Hen-
ry the Eighth, might be continued, at least 
till the King should come to full age.

Upon these demands, the King, although he 
was dead, would little prevail with un-
reasonable men: yet to discharge the place he 
held, he sent them in writing Answers to them 
all, and withal a general Pardon, if they 
declined and lay down Arms. But the sedition 
growing the more outrageous, the fairer they 
were intrusted; and finding themselves unable to 
submit to their own estates, began to think 
upon the spoil of Cities; and first they came to 
Exeter, and demanded entrance, which the Cit-
izens refusing, they fell to fortifying the City, 
but the Citizens prevented this, by casting in 
wood and maintaining the fire, till they had cast 
up a half Moon within: upon which when the 
Seditious attempted to enter, they were present-
ly hewn and cut in pieces: and after this they 
mined the walls, laid Powder, and rammed the 
mouth; but the Citizens prevented this also, by 
making a counter-minaire, whereinto they poured 
such plenty of water, that the wet Powder could 
not be fired. All this while, the Lord Raffles, Lord 
Privy Seal, who had been sent down to suppresse 
the Commotion, lay at Huntingdon, expecting 
more Forces; whilst the Citizen of Exeter for 
twelve days together endured to great famine, 
that they were fain to eat Horses, and make 
bread of course Brud moulded in cloaths; for 
that other wise it would not cleave together. At 
lait the Lord Gray came to the Lord Raffles with 
supply of Forces, who after many conflicts with the 
Rebels, forced them to take their siege at 
Exeter; and thereby freed the City from many 
miseries: to whom the King afterward gave the 
Mannor of Exondty,in reward for their loyalty. 
After this, the Rebels rallying their Forces, 
were again sent upon by the Kings Army, and the 
greatest part of them slain, the rest fled; many 
taken and executed by Marshal Law; the 
chief Leaders were sent to London, and there 
executed. The sedition being thus suppressed, it is 
memorable what sport Sir William Kingston 
the Provost Marhial made, by vertue of his Of-
Fice, upon men in misery. One Bawer, Mayor of 
Bodmin in Cornwall, had been amongst the 
Rebels, not willingly, but enforced: to him the 
Provost sent word he would come and dine with 
him; for whom the Mayor made great provision; 
a little before Dinner, the Provost took the 
Mayor aside, and whispered him in the ear, 
that an execution must that day be done in the Town, 
and therefore required to have a pair of Gal-
lows let up against dinner should be done; the 
Mayor failed not of his charges presently after 
dinner the Provost taking the Mayor by the 
hand, intreated him to lead him to the place 
where the Gallows was, which when he beheld, 
he asked the Mayor if he thought them to be 
strong enough; yes (said the Mayor) doubtles 
s they are; Well then, said the Provost, get 
you up speedily, for they are provided for you. I 
hope (answered the Mayor) you mean not as you 
spoke: In short (said the Provost) there is no re-
medy, for you have been a buffer Rebel; and so 
without repit or defence he was hanged to 
death; a most uncourteous part, for a guest to 
offer his host. Near the said place dwelt a Mill-
er, who had been a buffer in that Rebellion; 
who, fearing the approach of the Marshal, 
told a sturdy fellow his servant, that he had occa-
This the Fellow 
cried out, that he was not the Miller, but 
the Mills man: Nog Sir (said the Provost) I will 
take you as your word; and if thou best the Miller,
thou art a knave; and if thou best not, thou art 
a false lying knave: and bowsever, thou canst 
carly do the Mayor better service than to hang for him; 
and to without more ado he was dispatched.

When this Sedition in Devonshire was appea-
red, there arose another in Norfolk; and that spe-
cially upon a grievance for Incloures; the 
Rebels had got one Robert Ket, a Tanner of 
spindolms, to be their Leader, and were grown to 
a Body of twenty thousand, setting themselves 
at Monford near Mount-Swerry, where they car-
ried a face as it were of Justice and Religion; 
for they had one Gowers an idle fellow to be 
their Chaplain, who morning and evening read 
solemn Prayers, also Sermons they had often; 
and as for Justice, they had a Bench under a 
Tree, where Ket usually sat, and with him two 
of every Hundred whence their Companies had 
been raised, to bear complaints, &c to give Judg-
ment (and from hence were Warrants sent in 
the Kings name, to bring in Powder, shot, Victu-
als, and all things necessary: Which Tree hath 
ever since been called the Tree of Restoration. 
And now being grown to a height, they prefen-
ted certain Complaints to the King, requiring, 
he would send a Herald to them, to give them 
satisfaction. The King, though he took it for 
a great indignity to have such base Fellows to 
capitulate with him, yet framing himself to the 
time, he returned this answer: That in October 
following he would call a Parliament, wherein 
their Complaints should be heard, and all their 
Grievances should be redressed, requiring them 
in the mean time, to lay down Arms, and return 
to their houses, and thereupon granting them a

An Inlurre-
ction in 
Norfolk about 
Incloures, 
by Robert 
Ket, a 
Tanner.

Their views of Religion.
The Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

but this was so far from satisfying the Seditionists, that hereupon first they assaulted the Town of Norwich, took it, and made the Mayor and the Town Council their Servant, and then returned again to their flight at Cowesfield. Not long after, William Parke, Mayor of Northampton, and the Lord Sheffield, the Lord Wentworth, twelve Knights and fifteen hundred horse, with a small Band of Italians, were sent against them; whom the Seditionists stoutly opposed, and must mischief was done on both sides; the Lord Sheffield, falling with his Horse in a Ditch, was taken prisoner, and as he pulled off his Helmet to show who he was, he was by a Butcher strucken down with a Club and a knife. So as the Marquis with his Forces not prevailing, there was an accord of the Earl of Warenwick, with six thousand Foot, and fifteen hundred Horse, with whom were the Lords Wolfljghy, Pow'y, & Gray, his two Sons Ambrose and Robert, and many Knights and Gentlemen of Name. When the Earl was come near to the Camp of the Seditionists, he sent a Herald to them, offering them the Kings Pardon, if they would desist; but they were so far from accepting it, that a young Boy turned up his naked breast towards the Herald, and bid him kiss it. Upon this, many Sirriffes passed between the Earl and them, with lobs sometimes to one side, and sometimes to another, at last they came to a Battel: where the Rebels placed in the Front all the Gentlemen they had taken prisoners, meaning they should be the first slain, of whom yet very few were hurt, but of the Rebels were slain above two thousand, and now once again the Earl offered them pardon, if they would desist; but for all their Jolies, they continued obstinate still. At last, the Earl sent to know if they would entertain their Pardon, in case he should come in Person and assure them of it: This moved them much; and then they answered, They knew him to be so honourable, that from himself they would embrace it. Whereupon the Earl riding to them, and cautioning their Pardon to be read, they threw away their Weapons, with all joy and prosperity to the King. Nine of the principal Rebels were hanged upon the Tree of Reformation; kept himself flying away was taken and hanged in Chaim upon Norwich Cattle.

The day of this defeat of the Seditionists was a long time after observed for a Festive day by the Inhabitants of Norwich, and this ended the Sedition in Norfolk. When at the same time another arose in York, whereof the chief movemens were William Oliver a Gentleman, Thomas Dale a Parish Clerk, and Stephenson a Poet, to whom were assembled four or five thousand, who took their encouragement from a certain Prophecy, which did foretell, Thus the time should come, when there should be no King: when the Nobility and Gentry should be destroyed; when the Reign should be ruled by four Governors elected by the Commons, holding a Parliament in commotion, which should begin at the South and North Seas of England; and that time they understood to be the present, and that the Rebels of Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire, should draw together to accomplish this Prophecy. But as soon as they heard that the Tumults of Devonshire and Norfolk were quieted, they found that they were deceived in the understanding of the Prophecy; and therefore presently, upon the Kings Pardon, they fell off and dispersed, their chief Leaders, Oliver, Dale, and four others were executed at York; and with this, the Spirit of Sedition was quite laid in all places of the Kingdom.

But the King of France taking advantage of these Seditions, though he had been in Treaty before of Peace with England, yet now brake of the Treaty, proclaimed War, and denounced it by his Embassador to the King: hereupon all Frenchmen in England, not Denizens, were taken prisoners, and all their Goods seiz’d for the King; which the French King understanding, he sent a Fleet of Ships to surprize Greatsey and Jersey, but was repulsed with the loss of a thousand men. After this, he levied an Army by land, and went himself in Person against Bullogr, defended by the valiant Sir Nicholas Arnold; but being weary of the Work, he left his Lieutenant Chalif to pursue the Siege, who having made many fierce Batteries, and at last attackes, and not prevailing, he then attempted to hinder the Town from supply of Victuals, and to this end charged a Gallery with Bravel & Stones, meaning to sink it in the Haven, but the English took the Galley before it was sunk, and made use of the stones for their own defence; after this they made faggots of light matter, mixed with Pitch, Tar, Tallow, Robin, Powder, and Wild-fire, with intention to set the Ships in the Haven, but that enterprise was defeated by the Bullogarts, and the faggots taken from the French; and more than this there was little done in those parts at this time.

But in England, in the meantime, an unfortunates accident happened, which beginning upon a very light occasion, produced afterward very heavy effects; whereof, though there were many concurrent circumstances, yet the original cause was the pride of a Woman, upon a point indeed wherein the natures of Women are commonly molt tender, Precedency of Place: the Protector had married Anne Standhope, a Woman of a haughty stomack, and the Lord Admirals Brother, the Queen Dowager, a Lady of great meed; the nearness of the Husband's occasions of the Ladies often meeting, where the Dutchess would inwardly murmur, why she being the Wife of the elder Brother, & the better man, should give place to her, who was the wife of the younger Brother, and the meaner man; this envy of hers towards the Queen, bred a malice in her towards the Admiral, as thinking the mischief she did to the Husband, to be a part of revenge upon the Wife; and though the Queen shortly after died in Child-birth, yet the malice of the Dutchess towards the Admiral lived still (so hard a thing it is for malice, once settled in a Womans heart, to be removed;) out of this malice, she purs divers families into her Husband the Protectors head, against his Brother the Admiral, as though he went about to procure his death, to the end, he might aspire to the place he held; but certainly, as milking his Government being a Protestant, who was himself a Papist: In this case causes of jealousy against the Admiral were obvious enough, for it was

known
known that in King Henry the time, he had aimed at the marriage of the Lady Elizabeth King, Henrietta second Daughter; and now his Wife the Queen Dowager being dead (and not without suspicion of poison) he fell upon that marriage afresh, which could not but be thought to tend but to some very high aspiring end: The Protector a plain man, and one that had not the deepest insight into practices, whether too importantly provoked by his Wife, or whether out of an honest mind, not willing to patronize faults, though in a Brother, gave way to Accusations brought against him, to as in a Parliament then holden, he was accordin for attempting to get into his custody the Person of the King, and Government of the Realm, for endeavouring to marry the Lady Elizabeth the Kings Sister, for persuading the King in his tenderness and of ruling upon the business of ordering of himself; and which points (though perhaps proved, yet not sufficiently, against him, who was never called to his answer) he was by Act of Parliament condemned and within few days after condemnation, a Warrant was sent, under the hand of his Brother the Protector, to cut off his Head; wherein (as after it proved) he did as much, as if he had laid his own Head down upon the Block; for whilest these Brothers lived and held together, they were as strong Fortrefs one to the other; the Admirals courage supporting the Protectors Authority, and the Protectors Authority maintaining the Admirals stoutnes; but the Admiral once gone, the Protectors Authority, as wanting support, began to totter, and fell at last to utter ruine. Besides, there was at this time, amongst the Nobility, a kind of faction; Protectors who favoured the Protector for his own sake, and other the Papal inclination, who feared him: and for his Brothers sake, but his Brother being gone, both sides forsook him, even his own side, as thinking they could expect little assistance from him, who gave no more assistance to his own Brother; and perhaps more than all this, the Earl of Warwick, at this time, was the most powerful man both in Courage and counsel amongst all the Nobility, and none so near to watch him as the Admiral, while he lived; but he being gone, there was none left that either was able and dure, or dure and was able to hand against him: however it was not long after the Admirals death, the Protector was invaded with sundry Accusations, wherein the Earl of Warwick made not always the greatest show, but yet had always the greatest hand; one thing the Protector had done, which though a private act, yet gave a publick dislike. To make him a Mantion house in the Strand (the same which is now called Somerset-huse;) he bakned down a Church and erected Housese by the Strand Bridge; in digging the foundation whereof, the bones of many who had been there buried, were cast out and carried into the fields; and because the Stones of those Housese and the Church sufficie not for his work, the Steeple, and most part of the Church of St. John of Jerusalem near Smithfield, was mined and overthrown with Powder, and the Stones applied to this expensif Building; and more than this, the Cloyster of Pauls on the North side of the Church, in a place called Pardun Church-yard, and the dance of Death very curiously wrought about the Cloyster, and a Chappell that stood in the midst of the Church-yard; also the Chandrel House, that stood on the South side of Pauls (now a Carpenters Yard) with the Chappell, Timber, and Monuments therein, were beaten down, the bones of the dead carried into Finsbury fields, and the Stones converted into this Building. This Act of the Protectors did something alienate the peoples minds from him; which the Earl of Warwick perceived, thought it now a fit time to be fall-'ling upon him; and thereupon drew eighteen of the Privy Council to join with him, who withdrawing them selves from the Court, held secret confidations together, and walked in the City with many Servants waoneoned, and in new Liberties; whereof when the Protector heard, he sent Secretary Peter to them, to know the causes of their Assembly, requiring them to refer to him peaceably, that they might commune together as Friends; but in the mean time, he armed five hundred men, and removed the King by night from Hampton-Court to Windsor: On the other side, the Lords at London, having first taken possession of the Tower, sent for the Mayor and Aldermen of the City, to the Earl of Warwick Lodging at Elly-house in Holborn; to whom the Lord Riche, then Lord Chancellor, made a long Oration, wherein he shewed the ill Government of the Lord Protector, and the many miscarries that by it were come upon the Kingdom, and thereupon requiring them to join with the Lords there assembled to remove him; and presently that day, a Proclamation was made in divers parts of the City to that purpose, to which the Lords and Counsellors that subscribed their names were chiefly: The Lord Riche, Chancellor, the Lord Saint-John Lord great Master, the Marques of Northampton, the Earl of Warwick Lord great Chamberlain, the Earl of Arundel Lord Chamberlain, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Southampton, Sir Thomas Cheynel Treasurer of the Household, Sir John Gage Con--table of the Tower, Sir Williams Peter Secretary, Sir Edward North Knight, Sir Edward Montague chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir John Baker Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Edward Wotton, Sir Richard Southwell Knights: and Doctor Wotton Dean of Canterbury. In the afternoon of the same day, the Lord Mayor assembled a Common Council in the Guild-hall, where two Letters arriv'd almost in one instant, from the King and the Lord Protector, for a thousand men to be armed for defence of the Kings Person: another from the Lords at London, for two thousand men to aide them in defense of the Kings Person also, both pretending alike, and therefore hard hard to 1 oeple them both. The Recorder set forth the complaint of the Lords against the Protector, in such sort, that he made many inable to favour that side, but one named George Stafford, better advs'd, kept up, and in a long Speech shewed what miscarries had come to the City by opposing the King; and therefore gave his opinion, to suspend giving aide to the Lords, at least for a time. His advice was hearkened unto, after his death the Protector is accurs'd.
and thereupon the Court resolved only to arm an hundred Horsemens, and four hundred Foot, in defence of the City: and to the Letters returned submissively, but dilatory Answers. After some other passages between the Protector and the Lords, Sir Edw. Whitchfield, Captain of the Guard, was sent from the Lords to Windsor; who so well persuaded the King of the Lords loyal affection towards him, and of their moderate intention towards the Protector, that the King was content to have him presently removed from him, and suffered him within two days after to be carried to the Tower; in whose absence, seven Lords of the Council, and four Knights, were appointed by turns to attend the Kings Person; and for Affairs of State, the Government of them was referred to the whole Body of the Council: soon after were sent to the Protector in the Tower, certain Lords of the Council, with Articles against him, requiring his present Answer, whether he would acknowledge them to be true, or else stand upon his justification. The chief Article was this, that he took upon him the Office of Protector, with express condition, that he should do nothing in the Kings Affairs, but by means of the late Kings Executors, or the greatest part of them; and that contrary to this condition, he had hindered Justice, and subsverted Laws, of his own Authority, as well by Letters, as by other Commands; and many other Articles, but all much to this purpose.

The Protector, whether thinking to speed better by submission than by compelling; or perhaps finding himself not altogether innocent (for in deed so great a place, who can bear himself with such incorne but he will commit errors with which he may be taxed?) subscribed an acknowledgment with his own hand, humbly submitting himself to the Kings mercy, and defining their Lordships favour towards him. Upon this submission, three months after he had been imprisoned, he was released, entertained, and feated by the King, and sworn again to be a Privy Councillor, but no more Protector: At which time, between him and the Lords, a sight at least of perfect peace was made; and to make it more firm, the Duke of York, who was afterwards married to the Lord Effingham, Son and Heir to the Earl of Warwick, at which marriage the King was present; and to honour their reconcilement and this Marriage; The Earl of Warwick was made Lord Admiral of England, Sir John Mansfield, and Sir Robert Corbet, were created Earl of Bedford, the Lord Saint-John was created Earl of Wiltshire, and soon after made Lord Treasurer, Sir William Page, Controller of the Kings House, was made Lord Page; Sir Anthony Woodfield, Captain of the Garter, was made Controller; and Sir Thomas Davies was made Captain of the Guard: But of the other side, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Southampton, were put off from the Council; of whom the Earl of Southampton died shortly after at Lincoln Place in Holborn, and was buried in St. Andrews Church there.

About this time a Parliament was held at Westminster, whereon one Act was made against speaking of Prophéties; another against unlawful Affembles: but for fear of new tumults, the Parliament was unanimously dissolved, and Gentlemen were commanded to retire to their Country Habitations; and for the same cause also, Trinty Term did not hold.

About this time also, Pope Paul the third died; after whose death the Cardinals being divided about the Election of a new Pope, the Imperial part, which was the greatest gave their Voices for Cardinal Pole; which being told him, he disowned himself, and wished them to choose one that might be more fit for the glory of God, and good of the Church: upon this topic, some that were no friends to Pole, and perhaps looked for the place themselves, if he were put off, laid many things to his charge; amongst other, that he was not without suspicion of Lutheranism, as having been so very conversant with Immanuel Tremellium, and Anthony Flaminii, great Lutherons; and not altogether without our blemish of inconstancy, there being a young Nun that was thought to be his Daughter. But of these Criminations Pole so cleared himself, that he was afterward more importuned to take the place than he was before: and thereupon one night the Cardinals came into him, being in bed, and sent him word they came to adore him (which is one special kind of electing the Pope;) but he being awaked out of his sleep, and acquainted with it, made answer, That this was not a work of darkness, and therefore required them to forbear till the next day, and then to do as God should put into their minds. But the Italian Cardinal, attributing this putting off to a kind of Stupidity and Lethargy in Pole, looked no more after him, but the next day chose Cardinal Montanus Pope, who was afterward named Julius the Third.

And now the King of France, upon many just Considerations, was grown delirious to have a Peace with England; and thereupon sent one Guidolet a Florentine into England, to make some overture of his desire to the Lords of the Council, who addressing himself to the Earl of Warwick, whom he knew to be most prevalent, so prevailed, that it was concluded four Embassadors should be sent from the King of England into France, and four from the French King, to Treat with them. The Commissioners for the English were John Earl of Bedford, William Lord Paget; Sir William Peter, and Sir John Melf, Secretaries of State. For the French, were Monseigneur Passyon, Monseigneur Chalume, Gaylart de Martier, and Richard de Dffre. Much time was spent to agree about a place of Meeting; till at last the English, to satisfy the French, were contented it should be before Bullaigne, where were many Meetings, and many differences about Conditions: but in conclusion, a Peace was concluded upon certain Articles, the chief whereof was, that Bullaigne and the places adjacent should be delivered up to the French within six Weeks after the Peace Proclaimed; and that the French should pay for the same two hundred thousand Crowns, within three days after delivery of the Towns; and other two hundred thousand Crowns upon the fifth day of April following; Hoftages were on both sides given for performance, and
to those Articles the French King was sworn at Arment, and the King of England in London: The Lord Clinton, who had been Deputy of Bullogne, was made Lord Admiral of England.

Prefently after this Agreement, the Duke of Brunswick sent to the King of England, to offer his Service in the King's Wars, with Ten thousand Men, and to Intreat a Marriage with the Lady Mary, the King's eldest Sifter. To this offer the King Anwered was made, That the King's Wars were ended: And touching the Marriage with the Lady Mary, That the King was in Speech for her Marriage with the Infanta of Portugal; which if it succeeded not, he should then be favourably heard. Upon this, the Emperours Embassadours demanded of the King, That the Lady Mary might have free exercit of the Mafs; which the King not only constantly denied, but thereupon Sermons were exercised at the Court, and order taken, That no Man should have any Benefice from the King, but first he should Preech before him: And shortly after, under pretence of preparing for Sea-matters, five thousand pounds were sent to relieve Protestants beyond the Seas. At this time also an Embassadour came from Gustavus King of Sweden, to enter League with the King for Entercourse of Merchants; and for which charge was then also given, that the King of England should be admitted in Ireland.

About this time the Queen Dowager of Scotland, going from France to her Country, passed through England, having first obtained a Safe Conduc, she arrived at Portsmouth, and was there met by divers of the English Nobility: conducted to London, she was lodged in the Bishop's Palace: After four days staying, having been Feasted by the King at White-Hall, she departed, being waited on by the Sheriffs of Counties to the Borders of Scotland. And now was one Stewart a Scot apprehended in England, and imprisond in the Tower, for intending to poiyon the young Queen of Scots, whom the King delivered to the French King upon the frontiers of Collyer, to be by him justified at his pleasure.

At this time certain Ships were appointed by the Emperor, to Transport the Lady Mary either by violent or by stealth out of England; whereupon Sir John Gates was sent with Forces into Effex, where the Lady lay: and besides, the Duke of Somerset was sent with two hundred Men, the Lord Privy Seal with other two hundred, and Master Steeleg with four hundred more, to several Coasts upon the Sea; and the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Peter were sent to the Lady Mary, who, after some Conference, brought her to the Lord Chancellor's House at Lyne in Effex, and from thence to the King at Welfminster. Here the Council declared unto her, how long the King had permitted her the use of the Mafs, and considering her obstinacy, was resolved now no longer to permit, unlefs she would put him in hope of some conformity in short time. To which she answered, That she could not change, so she would not trouble it. Reply was made, That the King intended not to constrain her Faith, but to restrain the outward prolelion of it; in regard of the danger the Example might draw. After some like entrance of speeches, the Lady was appointed to remain with the King, when there arrived an Embassadour from the Emporur with a threatening Message of War, in case his Cousin the Lady Mary should be denied the free exercit of the Mafs: Hereupon the King prefently advised with the Archbishops of Canterbury, and with the Bishop of London and Rochester, who gave their Opinion, That to give Licence to sin, was sin; but to continue at sin, might be allowed, so it were not too long, nor without hope of Reformation: Then Answer was given to the Embassadour, That the King would fend to the Emporur within a month or two, and give him such satisfaction as should be fir.

And now the King being uncertain of the faith, both of his Subjects and of his Confe-
derates, intended by alliance to strengthen himself; and thereupon sent one Barwick, to the King of Denmark with private Intructions, to Treat of a Marriage between the Lady Elizabeth, the King's youngets Sifter, and the King of Denmark's eldest Son: but when it came to the point, this Lady could not be induced to entertain Marriage with any:

After this the Marquess of Northampton was sent Embassadour to the French King, as well to present him with the Order of the Garter, as to Treat with him of other secret Affairs: With him were joyned in Commission the Bishop of Ely, Sir Philip Hobbe, Sir William Pickering, Sir John Mion, and Master Smith Secretary of State: also the Earl of Woreser, Rutland, and Ormond were appointed to accompany them; as likewise the Lords Ely, Fitzwater, Bray, Abergavenny, and Evers, with other Knights and Gentlemen of Note, to the number of Sixand twenty: And for avoiding of an inmoderate Train, Order was given, That every Earl should have but four Attendants, every Baron but three, every Knight and Gentleman but two, only the Commissioners were not limited to any number. Being come to the Court of France, they were fent with brought the King, being then in his Bed-Chamber: To whom the Marquess presented the Order of the Garter, wherewith he was presently invested. Then the Bishop of Ely in a short Speech, declared how the King of England, out of his love and desire of Amy, had fent this Order to his Mijlety; defiring withal, That some Persons might be authorized to Treat with them about some other matters of Importance; whereupon a Commission went forth to the Cardinal of Lorrain, the Constable, the Duke of Gujy, and others. At first, the English demanded, That the young Queen of Scots might be lent into England for perceiving of Marriage between King Edward and her. But to this the French answered, That the conclusion had been made long before for her Marriage with the Dauphin of France. Then the English proposed a Marriage between King Edward and the Lady Elizabeth the French King's eldest Daughter. To this the French said cheerfully incline; but when they came to talk...
The Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

...and with him Peers to the number of seven and twenty: The Dukes of Suffolk and Northumberland, the Marquises of Northampton, the Earls of Derby, Bedford, Huntingdon, Rutland, Bath, Suff., Worester, Pembroke, and Hereford: The Barons, Abergavenny, Audley, Wharton, Evreux, Latimer, Borough, Zouch, Stafford, Wentworth, Darby, Sherborne, Wynton, Cromwell, Cobham, and Bray. The Lords being set, the Indictments were read, in number five, containing a Charge, for railing Men in the North parts of the Realm: And at his House, for affailing Men to kill the Duke of Northumberland: For refiling his Attachment, for railing London, for assailing the Lords, and deviling of their deaths. To all which he pleaded, Not guilty, and made a satisfaction. Answer to every Point, though the Kings Learned Council pressed them hard against him. The Lords set the Laws together, where Exception was taken by some, as a thing unfit, That the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquises of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke should be of the Jury; seeing the Prisoner was chiefly charged with practices against them: But to this the Lawyers made Answer, That a Peer of the Realm might not be challenged. So after much variation of Opinions, the Prisoner was accused of Treason, but by most Voices found guilty of Felony; and that by a Statute lately by his own procurement made, That if any should attempt to kill a Privie Counsellor, although the Fact were not done, yet it should be Felony, and be punished with death. But upon his being accused of Treason, the Axe of the Tower was presently laid down, which made people conceive he had been acquitted of all; who therefore for Joy gave to great Shout, that it was heard as far as Cheapside-Cros: But Edward was little the better for being acquitted of Treason, seeing he was found guilty of Felony; and had Judgment to die. It is thought by some, he might have saved his life, if he had demanded his Clergy: but it is rather thought, that in that Statute Clergy was denied. Two months after his Condemnation, (much against the Kings will) he was brought to the Tower-Hill to execution; where being ascended the Scaffold, he entered into a Speech, wherein though he justified himself, for any matter tending to the hurt of the King or Kingdom; yet he confessed, he was justly by the Law brought to his death; and thanked God that had given him so large a time of repentance, especially that he had opened his eyes, to see clearly the light of the Gospel: And going on in his Speech, a sudden noise arose, of some crying Amen, amen, which made many think the Tunstall had been come, but was indeed the voice of some that had been warned to be at the Execution, and were come somewhat late: But the Tunstall being apprehended, the Duke went on with his Speech, and at last commending his Soul to God, with a countenance not shewing any sign of fear, or perturbation, only his cheeks a little redder than they used to be, he peaceably laid down his head upon the Block, and in a moment, with one stroke of the Axe, had it plucked off. The
The Death of this Duke made the Duke of Northumberland more odious to the people than he was before; and there were some that dipped Handkerchiefs in his blood, and kept them to upbraid the Duke of Northumberland withal, when he came himself afterward to the like end. After execution of the Duke, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Patroux, were hanged at the Tower-Hill, Sir Michael Stanhope, and Sir Thomas Arundell were there beheaded.

After the Duke's condemnation, it was thought fit to have something done for avverting the King's mind from taking thought; and to that end, one George Ferrers, a Gentleman of Lincolns-Inn, was appointed, in the Christmas time, to be Lord of Misrule; who so carried himself, that he gave great delight to many, and come to the King, but not in proportion to his heveniefs.

About this time was a call of seven Serjeants at Law, who kept their feast at Gray's-Inn; of whom, Master Robert Brooke, Recorder of London, was the first; and the next Master Dyer, who was chosen Speaker the next Parliament.

About this time also, the Lord Paget was committed to the Tower, for what cause is not certain; and being a Knight of the Order, his Garret was taken from him by Garret King at Arms, upon that pretence, that he was sold to be no Gentleman, either by Father or Mother; and the Garret was then bellowed on the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Northumberland Eldeft Son; and the Lord Rich, Lord Chancellour, was put off from his place, and the Seal then delivered to Doctor Thomas Godriick Bishop of Ely.

About this time also three great Ships were set forth at the Kings charge, for discovery of a Passage to the East India by the North Seas; the chief Pilot and Director in this Voyage was one Sebastian Gabobs an Englishman, born at Brisdel, but a Son of a German: these Ships at the last arrived in the Countrey of Muscovia, but not without loss of their Captain Sir Hugh Willoughby, who being tossed and driven by tempest, was afterward found in his Ship frozen to death, and all his people.

At this time also the Duke of Suffolk, the Duke of Northumberland, and the Duke of Somerset, three Daughters, which he had by Frances, Daughter of Charles Braken, and Mary Queen of France, were married at Dunham Houfe: The eldest Jane, to the Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth Son to the Duke of Northumberland; The second Katherine, to Henry, Son and Heir to the Earl of Pembroke: The youngest, Mary, being some what deformed, to Martyn Keynes, the Kings Gentleman Porter. And then also Katherine, the Duke of Northumberland's eldest Daughter, to the Lord Holfing, eldest Son of the Earl of Huntington, and now had the Duke of Northumberland gone a great way in his deceil; it remained to perfwade King Edward to exclude two of his Sifters from Succession in the Crown; for that done, his Daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, would come to have a title: For as for pretenders out of Scotland, or any other, he made no great matter. And now to work the King to this perfwasion, (being in a

languishing fickness, not far from death) he incollates to him, how much it concerned him to have a care of Religion, that it might be preferred in purity, not only in his own life, but as well after his death; which would not be, if his Sifter the Lady Mary should succeed, and she could not be put by, unless her other Sifter, the Lady Elizabeth, were put by also, seeing their rights depended one upon another; but if he pleased to appoint the Lady Jane, the Duke of Suffolk's eldest Daughter, and his own next Kinswoman to his Sitters, to be his Successor, he might then be sure that the true Religion should be maintained, to Gods great glory, and be a worthy Act of his own religions Providence. This was to strike upon the right string of the young Kings affection, with whom nothing was so dear as prefervation of Religion; and thereupon his last Will was appointed to be drawne (contrived chiefly by the Lord Chief Justice Mountague, and Secretary Cecil) by which Will, as far as in him lay, he excluded his two Sifters from the Succession, and all other, but the Duke of Suffolk's Daughters; and then causit it to be read before his Council, he required them all to affent unto it, and to subscribe their hands; which they did, both Nobility, and Bishops, and Judges did: Only the Archbishop Cranmer refuted at first, Sir James Hales a Judge of the Common-Place to the last, and with them also Sir John Baker Chancellour of the Exchequer. And now remained nothing for the Duke of Northumberland's purpose, but that the King should die; which soon after he did at Greenwich, the sixt of July, in the year 1553. One point of the Duke's policy mutt not be forgotten, that fearing what troubles the Lady Mary might raise after the Kings decease, if she should beat liberty; he therefore, seeing the Kings drawing on, ufed all means possible to get her within his power; to which end Letters are directit to her in the Kings name from the Council, willing her forthwith to repair to the King, as well to be a comtoit to him in his sickness, as to see all matters well ordered about his Person: Whereupon, the Lady supping no thing, adhered her self with all speed to the Journey; till being upon the Way, she was advertisit of the Duke's design; and then she returned to her House at Howfden, and so escaped the flame: by whose escape, the whole Deight of the Duke of Northumberland was disappointed; as soon after will be seen.

Of his Taxations.

In no Kings Reign was ever more Parliaments for the time, nor fewer Subsidies; the greatest was in his last year, when yet there was but one Subsidy, with two Fifteens and Tenthis, granted by the Temporality, and a Subsidy by the Clergy. And indeed to shew how loath this King was to lay Impositions upon his people, this may be a sufficient argument; That though he were much in debt, yet he chose rather to deal with the Foreign in the Low-Countries for money upon loan, at the interest of fourteen points for a hundred, for a year. But his ways for raising of money, were by selling
The Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

Peter Martyr was sent to read a divinity Lecture in Oxford; Bucer and Fagius in Cambridge. In this King's fourth year, all Altars in Churches were commanded to be taken down, and Tables placed in their rooms. In his fifth year, the Book of Common Prayer was established.

Casualties happening in his time.

In his second year, St. Anne's Church within Aldergate was burnt. In his fifth year, a Sweating Sickness inflicted first Shirley, and then the North parts, and afterwards grew most extream in London, so as the first Week there died eight hundred people, and was so violent, that it took men away in four and twenty hours, sometimes in twelve, and sometimes in six: Amongst other of Account that died of this Sickness, were the two Sons of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, who died within an hour after one another, in such order that both of them died Duke. This distaste was proper for the English Nation, for it followed the English wherever they were in Forain Parts, but feiz'd upon none of any other Country. In this year one Mr. Arden of Kent, by procurement of his Wife, was murdered in his own house; but being dead, his body was carried out and laid upon the ground, in a Clofe hard by, where this is Memorable. This for two years after, the ground where his body lay, bore no grafts, but represented still as it were a picture of his body, only in the space between his legs and arms there grew grafts; but where any part of his body touched, none at all. Yet this Marvellous Accident was not so much for the Murderer, as for the Curles of a Widow Woman, out of whose hands the said Matter Arden had uncharitably bought the said Clofe, to her undoing. And thus the Divine Justice, even in this World oftimes, works Miracles upon Offenders, for a merciful warning to men, if they would be so wise to take it. In the sixth year, the third of August at Midland floods, eleven miles from Oxford a woman brought forth a child which had two perfect bodies from the navel upward, the legs for both the bodies grew out at the midst where the bodies joyned, and had but one issue for the Excrements of them both they lived eighteen days, and were Women Children. This Year also were taken at Quainton three Dolphins, and at Blackwall five more, the leaff of which was bigger than any Hore. Works of Piety done by him, or others in his Time.

His King gave three Houeses to the Relief of the Poor: First, for the Father's and Beggars Children, he gave the late Gray-Friers in London, which is now called Chrift's Hospital. Then for lame and defeased people, he gave the Hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, and St. Bartholomew in Well-Smithfield. This for the riotous and idle people, he gave his House of Bredin; and for their Maintenance, he took six hundred pounds a year land from the Houfe of the Swep, (which had been long abated) and bellofed it upon these Houfes to which

Selling of Chantry Lands and Houfes, given him by Parliament; and by inquiring after all Church Goods, either remaining in Cathedral and Parish Churches, or embazzeled away, as Jewes, Gold and Silver Chalices, ready mon-ey, Copes, and other Velliments; referring to every Church one Challice, and one covering for the Communion Table, the rest to be applied to his benefit. He also raised money by enquiring after offences of Officers in great places; in which enquiry one Beaumont Matter of the Rolls, being convinced of many Crimes, surrendered all his Offices, Lands, and Goods into the Kings hands: Also one Whaley, Receiver of Yorkeshire, being found a Deliquent, surrendered his Office, and paid a great Fine belides. Also the Lord Paget, Chancellour of the Dutchie, convinced that he had sold the Kings Lands and Timber-Woods without Commission, and had applied the Kings Fines to his own use for thefe and other offences, surrendered his Office, and was fined at four thousand pounds, which he paid in hand. One thing more was done in this time for raising of money; twenty thousand pounds weight of Bullion was appointed to be made so much bafer, that the King might gain thereby a hundred and forty thousand pounds.

Of his Laws and Ordinances.

In his third year a Parliament was holden; wherein one Act was made against spreading of Prophecies, and another, against unlawful Assemblies. In his fourth year a Parliament was holden, wherein Priests Children were made legitimate: and twelve for loan of money was forbidden. In his fifth year it was ordained, That the Laws of England should be admitted in Ireland; and a King at Arms named Duffer, was newly in frustrated, and Ireland whose Province was all Ireland; and he was the first fourth King of Arms, and first Herald appointed for Ireland. Also in his fifth year, bafe moneys formerly coined, were crie down; so as the shilling went but for nine pence, and shortly after but for six pence, the groat but for three pence, and shortly after but for two pence.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

In the first year of this Kings Reign, Injuri-ions were set forth, for pulling down and removing all Images out of Churches; also certaine Homilies were appointed to be made by Learned men, to be read in Churches, for the peoples instruction: And at Easter this year, it was ordered, That the Sacrament of the Lords Supper should be miniftered to the Lay-people in both kinds. Also Marriage was allowed to Clergy men; aicular Confirmation and Prayer for the dead were forbidden: And it is observable, That the very same day that Images were pulled down at London, the great overthrow was given to the Scots at Mucklebarough. Also at this time, by the Archbishop Cranmer's means, divers learned Protestants came over into Eng-land, and had here entertainment, a Peter Mar-tyr, Martin Bucer, and Paulus Fagius; of whom
which he added four thousand Marks a year more. By his Example, Sir William Chefeier Alderman of London, and John Chatterpe Draper, at their own Costs made the Brick-walls and way on the backside that leadeth to the Hospit.

al of St. Bartholomeu, and also covered and vaulted the Town-Ditch, which before was very noyome. In the second year of this King, Sir John Greffham, then Mayor of London, founded a Free-School at Hoft in Norfolk: Alfo at his deceafe he gave to every Ward in London ten pounds, to be distributed amongst the Poor, and to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. In his third year, Sir Rowland Hill, the then Lord Mayor of London, caufed to be made a Cawfeley commonly called Overlant Pavenient, in the High-way from Stone to Northolt, in length four miles, for the eafe of Horfe and Man. He caufed also a Cawfey to be made from Dun.

church to Brafton in Warwickshire, more than two miles in length; and gave twenty pounds towards the making of Rotton Bridge three miles from Coventry. He made likewise the high-

way to Kilburne near London. Alfo four Bridges, two of them of Stone, containing eig

teen Arches in them both; the one over the River of Sworn, called Achem Bridge, the other Temple Bridge, and two other of Timber at Stoke, where he built alfo a good part of the Church. A Free School likewise he built at Drayton in Shropshire, with Matter and Usher, and gave ftu-

ficient Stipends to them both. Alfo he purcha-

sed a free Fair to the foid Town, with a free Market weekly; and every fourteen daies a free Market for Cafile. Besides all this, he gave to the Hospital of Christ-Church in London in his life-time five hundred pounds, and at his death a hundred. In this Kings fourth year, Sir Andrew Jedd, Mayor of London, founded a noted Free School at Twmbridge in Kent; and gave thereforfe pounds land a year to the Skinner's of London, for which they be bound to pay twenty pounds to the School-Master, and eight pounds to the Usher of his Free School at Tum-

bridge yearly for ever. In his fifth year, Sir George Bornes, who was Mayor of London, gave a Wind-Mill in Finsbury Field to the Herba-

difters of London, the profits thereof to be dif-

tributed to the poor of that Company; alfo to St. Bartholomew the Little certain Tenements to the like ufe.

Of his Perfonage and Conditions.

Concerning his Perfonage, it is faid, he was in Body beautiful, of a sweet appe 

th, and specially in his eyes, which feemed to have a harf 

ly liveliness and luftre in them. Concerning his Clothes, in manner of Fafhion, there is not much to be faid; but in manner of Difpofition and Inclination very much, even to admiration. For though his Tree was not yet come to the maturity of bearing Fruit, yet it was comor the forerunners to bear plenty of Buds and Blossoms: For proof of his Merciful Difpofi 

tion, this one example may be fufficient: When one John Butcher was to be burned for Blafph 

emy and Heretick, all the Council could not get him to sign the Warrant, till the Archbifhopp came, with much importance, periward him, and then he did it, but not without weep 

ing. For his pregnancy of Wit, and knowledge in all kinds of Learning, we shall need but to hear what Cardan (who coming into England, had often Conference with him) reporteth of him, That he was extraordinarily skillful in Languages, and in the Politicks; well fenn in Philofophy, and in Divinity, and generally in deed a very Miracle of Art & Nature. He would answer Embaffadours sometimes upon the sudden, either in French or Latine: He knew the flace of Foreign Princes perfectly, and his own more: He could call all Gentlemen of accounts through his Kingdom by their names. And all this when he had fcarce yet attained to the age of fifteen years, and died before sixteen; that from hence we may gather, It is a fign of no long life, when the Faculties of the Mind are ripe fo early.

Of his Death and Burial.

In the Sixth Year of his Reign, which was the year before he died, he fell sick of the Meafels, and being well recovered of them, he fell fon after into the small Pox, and of them alfo was fo well recovered, that the Summer following he rode a Progres, with a greater Magnificence than ever he had done before; having in his Train no fewer than four thousand Horfe. In January following (whether procu 

red by finifter practice, or growing upon him by natural infirmity) he fell into an indispofo 

tion of body, which soon after grew to a Cough of the Lungs. Whereupon a rumour was spread abroad by some, That a Nofegay had been gi

ven him at New-Years-tide, which brought him into his flow, but deadly Confumption:

By others, That it was done by a Clyfter. However it was, he was brought at laft to great extremity; that his Physicians difpaired of his life; and when Physicians could do him no good, a Gentleman (thought to be prepared for the purpofe) took him in hand, and did him hurt: For with her applications his Legs fcarcely, his Pulfe failed, his Skin changed colour, and many other Symptoms of approaching death appeared. The hour before his death, he was over-heard to pray thus himfelf, O Lord, God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life: O Lord, then know how happy it were for me to be with thee: yet for thy Chofens fakes, if it be thy will, fend me life and health, that I may ftay here: O Lord God, fave thy chofen people of England, and defend this Realm from Papiftry, and maintain thy true Religion; that I and my People may praise thy holy Name, for thy Son Jefus Chrifts fake. So turning his face, and feeing hone by him, he faid, I though you had never been fo nigh: Yet, faid Doctor Owen, we heard you speak to your felf. Then faid the King, I was praying to God: O I am fain, Lord, have mercy upon me, and receive my spirit; and in fo faying, gave up the Ghoft, the fithday of July, in the year 1553, and the Sixteenth year of his age, when he had Reigned fix years, five monfths, and nine daies. It is noted by fome, that he died the fame month, and the fame day of the month, that his Father King Henry the Eighsb had put Sir F.
Thomas More to death. His Body was buried
upon the ninth of August, in the Chappel of
St. Peter's Church in Westminster, and laid near
to the Body of King Henry the Seventh his
Grandfather. At his Funeral, which was
on the tenth of August following, his Sister
Queen Mary shewed this respect to him, that
tho' Doctor Day, a Popish Bishop, Preach-
ched, yet all the Service with a Communion was
in English.

The Reign of King Edward the Sixth.

Men of Note in his Time.

His Kings Reign being short, and having
but small Wars, had not many Sword-men
famous for any Aet they did; Gownmen there
were some, as Edward Hatley & Counsellour in the
Law, who wrote a notable Chronicle of the
Union of the Two Houses of York and Lanca-
ster; William Hugh, a Yorks-hire man, who wrote
a notable Tretitcle, called, The Troubled Man's
Medicine; Thomas Sterndald, born in Southam-
pton, who turned into English Meeter seven and
thirty of David's Psalms.

The Interregnum between the Death of King Edward,
and the Proclaiming at London of Queen Mary.

King Edward being dead, the Duke of
Northumberland took upon him to fit at
the Sern, and ordered all things at his
pleasure: so two days after, he, with others of
the Council, sent to the Lord Mayor, that he,
with six Aldermen, and twelve principal Com-
mons, should repair presently to the Court; to
whom when they came, it was signified that
King Edward was dead; and that by his last
Will, to which all the Nobility and Judges
had given attenth, he had appointed the Lady
Jane, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, to suc-
ceed him; his Letters Patents whereof were
shewed them, and thereupon they were requi-
ted to take their Oaths of Allegiance to the
Lady Jane, and to secure the City in her be-
half; which whether delightful or in-
cerely, whether for love, or fear, yet they
did, and departed. The next day, the Lady
Jane in great State was brought to the Tower
of London, and there declared Queen; and by
Edict, with the sound of Trumpets proclaimed
so through London: at which time, for some
words seeming to be spoken against it, one Gil-
bert Pot, a Vintners servant, was set in the Pul-
lorey, and left both his Ears. Before this time,
the Lady Mary having heard of her Brothers
death, and of the Duke of Northumberlands
design, removed from Hereford to her Manour
of Keninghulm in Norfolk, and under pretence of
fearing infection, (having lately lost one of her
Household-Servants of the Plague) in one day
the rode forty miles, and from thence after-
ward to her Castle of Framingham in Suffolk;
where taking upon her the name of Queen, there
resolved to her the most part of all the Gen-
tlemens both of Norfolk and Suffolk; offering
their Affiliation; but upon condition, she would
make no alteration in Religion, to which the
condefcended; and thereupon, one morning,
her the Earls of Oxford, Bath, and
Suffolk, the Lord Hunsford, Thomas Wratton,
and John Marland, Barons eldest Sons; and of
Knights, Chamberlins, Drury, Wolvyny, Shetan,
Beningfield, Jerryngam, Sattard, Frisam, and
many others. The Lady Mary being thus affi-
"
rearly you: And I (said the Duke) obey your Atrel; yet I beleech your Lordship to use mercy towards him whole acts have been no other than were enjoyned by Commission. You should have thought of that sooner (said the Earl;) and thereupon committed him to a Guard, and left him to the Queens mercy. Thus ended all this great Duke's designs in his own destruction, and brought him to fall on his knees to them, who had often before bowed their knees to him; and the Earl, who at the Dukes going out could have been contented to spend his blood at his feet, was now contented to be made an instrument of his fall: So sudden are the turns of mens affections, and so unstable is the building upon their affections; at least no man must look to have his case be of any weight against him, who hath his own cafe put in the Balance. Together with the Duke his three Sons, John, Andrew, and Henry, the Earl of Huntingdon, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gates, John and Henry, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Doctor Sands were conveyed towards London, and brought to the Tower; and the next day the Marques of Northumberland, the Lord Robert Dudley, and Sir Robert Care. Before which time, the Duke of Suffolk, enquiring his Daughters, the Lady Jane's Chamber, told her, She must now put off her Royal Robes, and be contented with a private life. To which she answered, She would much more willingly put them off, than she had put them on; and would never have done it, but in obedience to him and her Mo- ther. And this was the end of the Lady Janes Ten days Reign.

Mavors and Sheriffs of London in this Kings Reign.

In his first Year,
John Groftam was Mayor.
Thomas White, Robert Cherifey, Sheriffs.

In his second year,
Henry Amoors was Mayor.
William Lock, Sir John Aslip, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir Rowland Hall was Mayor.

In his fourth year,
Sir Andrew Tud was Mayor.
Augustine Hinde, John Lion, Sheriffs.

In his fifth year,
Sir Richard Dake was Mayor,
John Lamberti, John Cowper, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir George Barne was Mayor.
William Garret, or Gerard; John Mainard, Sheriffs.
The REIGN of
QUEEN MARY,

1553.

The Lady Mary having been Proclaimed Queen in London, and other parts of the Realm; removed from her Cattle of Framlingham towards London; and being come to Westminster in Effect, on the thirtieth of July, the Lady Elizabeth her Sitter, with a Train of a Thousand Horfs, rode from her Place in the Strand to meet her. On the third of August the Queen rode through London to the Tower, where at her Entrance were prefented to her Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Edward Lord Courcy, Stephen Gardiner, late Bishop of Winchester, and the Dukes of Somerset; who all kneeling down, they kissed them, and said, Thine is my Prifoner, and then caufed them prefently to be fet at Liberty. The next day the Queen, on the Lord Courcy to the Marquifte of Exeter; and the fame day also the not only refored Stephen Gardiner to his Bifhoprick of Winchester, but a few days after made him Chancellor of England: Yet this was the Man that had prefcribed to her Mothers Divorce, and had written Books against the lawfulness of her Marriage. The fifth of August, Edmund Bonar, late Bifhop of London, Prifoner in the Marshalls, an Altar to God, the old Bifhop of Durham, Prifoner in the Kings-Church, had their Par- dons, and were restored to their Sees. Shortly, after, all the Bifhops, which had been depriving in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were restored to their Bifhopricks, and the new removed, as Ridley was removed from London, and Bonar placed; Skory from Chichefeher, and Day placed; Miles Coverdale from Exeter, and West placed; John Horfe from Worfeher, and Heath placed. All the Bifhops men that were married, or would not renounce their Religion, were put out of their Livings, and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms.

On the thirteenth of August, one Mafter Bourne a Canon of Pauls, Preaching at Pauls Crofs, not only prayed for the dead, but also declared, that Doctor Bonar Bifhop of London, late restored, and there in preience) for a Sermon by him made four years before, in the fame place, and upon the fame Text, had unjustly been call into the vile Prifon of the Marshalls; which Speech fo offended fome of the Auditor, that they cried, Pull him down, Pull him down; and had certainly done him violence, (for a Dagger was throw at him,) if Mafter Bradford, a Proteftant Preacher, had not step into his place and appeafed the Tur- mult, and Mafter Rogers another Proteftant Miniftre, (who were both afterward burnt for Re- ligion,) had not refifted away Bourne into Pauls School.

Hitherto Queen Maryes Reign had been without blood, but now the Catarrhus of feve- rity will be opened, that will make it rain blood: for now on the eighteenth of August, John Dudley Duke of Northumberland, William Parre Marquifte of Northampton, and John Earl of Warwicke, Son and Heir to the Duke, were arraigned at Westminster-Hall before Thomas Duke of Norfolk as High-Steward of England; where the Duke of Northumberland, after his Indictment read, required the Opinion of the Court in two Points; First, Whether a man doing any Act by authority of the Prince Court, or by warrant of the Great Seal of England, might for any fuch Act be charged with Treafon? Secondly, Whether any fuch per- fons as were equally culpable, and by whole Commandments he was directed, might be his Judges, and pass upon his Trial? Whereunto was anfwere, That concerning the fift, the Great Seal, which he alledged for his Warr- rant, was not the Seal of the Lawful Queen of the Realm, but of an Ufurer, and therefore could be no warrant for him. And as to the fe- cond, It was refolved, That if any were as deeply to be touchd in the Cafe as himfelf, yet fo long as no attainer were of record againft them, they were perpons able in Law to pass upon his Trial, and not to be challenged but at the Prince's pleafure. After which Anfwers, the Duke used few words, but confelfed the Indictments, and accordingly had Judg- ment to die. By whom example, the other Prifoners arraigned with him, confelled the Indictments, and thereupon had Judgment. The nineteenth of August, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John, and Sir Henry Gotes, Brethren, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knights, were Arraigned at Westminster, who confessing their Indict- ments, had Judgment, which was pronounced by the Marques of Winchefer, Lord High Treafurer, fitting that day as Chief Juftice. After thefe Condemnations followed the Execu- tions; for on the two and twentieth of Au- gust, John Duke of Northumberland was brought to the Tower-Hill, and there beheaded: being condufted upon the Scaffold in a Gown of green col- our, damask, he put it off, and then made a long Speech, wherein he asked the Queen forgive-
The Reign of Queen Mary.

The Queen's life was marked by events of great political and religious significance. After her coronation, she faced numerous challenges, including the rebellion of the Northern Flower, the persecution of Protestants, and the attempts of Elizabeth to claim the throne. Her marriage to Philip II of Spain was a significant event, and the marriage of the English nobility to Spanish princesses led to the establishment of the Tudor dynasty in Spain.

The reign of Queen Mary was also marked by a series of religious reforms, including the introduction of Catholicism and the suppression of Protestantism. The queen's policies were directed towards the restoration of Catholicism in England, and she was determined to assert her authority over the Church of England.

Mary's reign was marked by her strong commitment to the Catholic faith and her efforts to bring England back under the aegis of the papal see. Her policies and actions led to the execution of many Protestant nobles and the restoration of bishops and archbishops to their sees. The queen's reign was a time of great change and conflict, and it set the stage for the subsequent reign of Elizabeth I, who would ultimately succeed her on the throne.
matches pronounced for Queen Mary.

The match is concluded with Philip Prince of Spain.

With greater advantages to her than to him.

Yet is opposed by divers especially the Duke of Kent, who having communicated the matter with the Duke of Suffolk, the lady Janes Father, with Peter Care, a Knight of Devonshire, and divers others, intended only to make secret provision, but not to stir till Prince Philip should be come, that to their cause of taking Arms might have the better colour. On the fourteenth of January, Robert Dudley, Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was arraigned at the Guild-Hall of high treason, who confessed the Indictment, and had Judgment given by the Earl of Suffolk, to be drawn, hanged, bowelled and quartered.

But now in Councels communicated to many, it is a hard matter to have counsel kept, and Sir Peter Care finding that their Plot was discovered fled privately into France, where lurking for a while, he was afterward taken at Bruxelles, and brought Captive into England, as likewise at the same time and place Sir John Cheek King Edward's School-Master was taken, who being drawn by tortours to embrace the Papal Religion, with very grief afterward of his error pined away and died; Sir Peter Care lived many years after, and died in Ireland; though it be falsely recorded, they were both burnt for Religion, in June this year Wyat hearing of Sir Peter Care's flight, and that all their purpose was discovered, was driven before his time to enter into Arms, giving out for the Caufe, that it was not to attempt any thing against the Queen, but only to remove ill Councillors, and chiefly to repel Prince Philip, lest by his Marriage the Kingdom should come in subje4tion to the Spaniard. With Wyat were joined Sir Henry Jefey, Sir George Harper, Anthony and William Knew, and divers other Gentlemen, who against him were the Lords Argievency, Sir Thomas Cheney, Lord Warden of the Ports, Sir Robert Sontwell Sheriff of Kent, Sir Warram Sontiger, Sir Thomas Kemp, Sir Thomas Myle, Sir Thomas Finch, with divers others; yet all those great men had such doubts of the people, that they durst not proceed but very warily. The five and twentieth of January, news came to London of Wyat rising; against whom was presently sent the Duke of Norfolk with Sir Henry jermingham Captain of the Guard, Sir Edward Bray, Sir John Fegges, John Cert, Roger Appleton Esquires, and five hundred Souldiers out of London appointed to go after him, under the leading of Captain Bretts. And now set in times of Sedition, how uncertain a thing it is to truitt to the people; for before Brets could overtake the Duke, Sir George Harper was secretly got to London; so persuaded him that he and his five hundred Souldiers left the Duke, and went all to Wyat; which made the Duke and those with him presently to fly, and put such boldness into Wyat, that now he marched with great force with confidence towards London, with so great terror to all forts of people, that at Westminster, Halt the Serjeants and other Lawyers pleading in harness.

In the mean time, the Duke of Suffolk was perceived in Warrick, to be against the Duke of Norfolk, in a field of fifty men, who being in affiance of Wyat; against whom was presently sent the Earl of Huntingdon, and the Duke finding himself unable to make resistance,

flance, having with all his industry gotten to-
gether but of fifty men; he betook himself
to a Tenant of his, one Underwood, with whom
he hoped, and had promises, to remain undis- 
covered; still he might have opportunity to escape,
as some say: as others, to a Keeper of his Park,
called Nicholas Lawrence, who kept him in a
hollow Oak in the said Park for two or three
days: but whether Underwood or Lawrence,
either out of fear, or out of hope of reward,
he betrayed him to the Earl, by whom he was
taken, and under a strong Guard carried to
the Tower. Upon this, Queen Mary her self
came into London, where calling the Mayor
and chief of the City together, she made an
Oration, wherein she shewed the infidelity of
Wyatt, who though he pretended but only the
crofting of the Marriage, yet was now grown
to such prejumptuon, that he required to have
the Council of her Person; and to have
Councillors retained or removed at his plati-
fore. And as for her husband, she there
affirmed, and so it was, that she was no longer
of a mind to marry, but by the advice of her Council;
and for her self, that
that she was not so longing for a Husband, but
that if it were not more for the good of the
Kingdom, than for her own Satisfaction, she
would never once think of entertaining it.
Having by her Speech confirmed the Minds of
the Citizens; Forces were prcfently raised,
and placed about the Bridge, and other fit
places of the City. The third of February, Wyatt
with an Army of Three or four thousand came
to London, hoping of present entrance, but
finding the Bridge broken, and Souldiers plat-
ted to ret., him, after two days stay in South-
mark, he removed to King'ston, where he found
Likewise the Bridge broken, yet with great
industry suddenly repairing it, he paffed over
his Men, and meant with all speed to get to
the Court, before the Queen should have no-
tice of his coming, and Marriage made, and
adea of Waste, and an error upon that mistake
had not hindered him. For being come within
six miles of London, the Carriage of one of his
Great Ordinance brake, in bending whereof
too much time was spent (and Wyatt by no per-
fusions would go forward without it) that
the time was past, in which his Friends at Lon-
don expected his coming: which disappointment
made many in those parts to fall off, and
being perceived by those about him, many of
them also; so one half of his Army was sud-
denly gone and left him; among other, Sir
George Harp; the most intimate of all his COUN-
cil, went to the Queen and discovered all his
purposes: whereupon the Earl of Pembroke,
with a Company levied upon the sudden, was
sent against him, which made W; quickly break his pace,
sow it was Noon before he came to the Suburbs of
the City, and then placing his Ordinance upon a Hill, and leaving there the greatest
part of his Army, he only with five Ensigns
marched towards Ludge, and being encoun-
tered at Charing-Crofts by the Lord Chamberlain
and Sir John Gage, after a small fight put them
to flight in such form, that word was carried
to the Queen, how near Wyatt approached, and how
wonderfully he prevented all the way he came:
with which nothing dismayed, Well then

(foe the ) I will go in person against him my
self; and was preparing to do so indeed (to
much was her Father's Valour running in her
veins) but it needed not; for by this time Sir
Henry Jermyngham Captain of the Guard, Sir
Edward Bray Miller of the Ordinance, and Sir
Philip Parry had given him Battell, and thin
ny of his men: and that which was more, com-
ing to Ludge, he was denied entrance; and
then thinking to retire, he heard the Earl of
Penrwey with his Forces was behind at Chari-
ing Crofts; so as neither able to go forward
nor yet backward, he was at a stand and in
amazement, and then leaving a while upon
Stall by the Bell-Savage, after a little mulling
he returned towards Temple-Gate: where Cle-
rentow the Herald meeting him, fell to per-
swade him, not to be a cause of more effusion of
blood, nor by perfiling in obstinacy to ex-
clude all hopes of the Queen's mercy. The
Soldiers of Wyatt were earnest with him to have
it fought out; but Wyatt shewed all his endings, as he
had unsavedly begun, and added him to
Sir Maurice Berkeley, and getting up upon his horse
behind him, in that manner rode to the Court,
where he had not the entertainment he expec-
ted, for without more ado he was presently
sent away to the Tower. The Captain taken,
the reit made no resistance, few fled, and of the
other many were taken and laid in Prison; and
this was done the sixth of February. And now
conflstion was held what Delinquents should
be punished; where the first that was thought
on was the Lady Jane, in whom was verified,
The Fathers have eaten fower Grapes, and the Chil-
dren's teeth are fet on edge: The innocent Lady
must suffer for her Fathers fault; for her
Father the Duke of Suffolk had not this second
time made shipwreck of his Loyalty, his Daugh-
ter perhaps had never talked the faith-waters of
the Queens displeasure: but now as a Rock of
offence, she is the first that must be removed
and therupon is Doctor Ffrekean.sent for to ac-
quaint her, That she must prepare her self to
take the next day: Which Mayige was so trying
unpleasing to her, that she seemed rather to re-
joy she at it, as whereby she should at last be
free at liberty: And the Doctor being earnest
with her to leave her new Religion, and to
embrace the old: she answered, She had now
time to think of any thing but of preparing
her self to God by Prayer. Ffrekean thinking
she had spoken this, to the end she might have
some longer time of life, obtained of the Queen
three days longer, and then came and told so
much to the Lady Jane: Whereat the smiling
said, You are much deceived, if you think I
had any desire of longer life: for I affure you,
since the time you went from me, my life hath
been so tedious to me, that I long for nothing
so much as death; and since it is the Queens
pleasure, I am most willing to undergo it. Be-
tore she was brought to Execution, her Huf-
band, the Lord Guilford, had made faint and
obtained to see her, and have some conference
with her; but she refused it, saying, These
were rather augments of grief, than comforts
of death; she made no doubt, but they should
shortly meet in a better place, and in a better
condition of society: So on the twelfth of
February
The Reign of Queen Mary.

February her Husband the Lord Guilford first, and then she, an hour or two after, was beheaded within the Tower; where she acknowledged her fault to have deferr'd death, not for fearing the Crown, but for not relating it, being offered: and after Prayers to God, unclombing her fell, and putting a Handkerchief before her eyes, she laid her head down upon the Block, and patiently suffered death, more grievous to the beholders than to her self. This End had the Lady Jane Gray, a Lady of incomparable Piety, and (for her years) of incomparable Learning; for being not past seventeen years of age, she understood perfectly the Greek and Latin Tongues, and was so ready in Points of Divinity, as it she knew them by inspiration rather than by instruction; no less a Miracle in this kind than King Edward; and therefore no marvel if he appointed her to succeed him in the Kingdom, in the endowments of Man was so like unto him, that whilst she reigned, it might be thought he continued to reign himself, at least no more differing but only the Sex. It may not be for her justice, but for her's sake, that in her Arraignment gave the sentence against her, shortly after fell mad, and in her raving, cried continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and to end his life.

Two days after the Execution of the Lady Jane, namely, the fourteenth and fifteenth of February, twenty pair of Gallows were set up in divers places of the City, wherein were hanged fifty of Wyat's Faction; on the eighteenth of February Brett was hanged at Rochefort in Chains, Sir Henry lye, who had been taken in an old free Coat and an old pair of Hose, with his Brother Thomas lye, and Walter Mantell were hanged at Maidstone, Anthony Knevet, and his Brother William, with another of the Mantells, were executed at Sevenoak; but then on the twentieth of February, a sprinkling of mercy came, for four hundred of Wyat's followers, being brought before the Queen with halter about their necks, were pardoned, and let to liberty. But then severity soon began again, and on the three and twentieth of February, the Lord Henry Gray, Duke of Suffolk, and Father to the Lady Jane, who the week before had been arraigned and condemned, was on the Tower-Hill beheaded; and on the eleventh of April in the same place was beheaded (the Author of all this mischief) Wyat himself, whose quarters were fet up in divers places of the City, his head upon the Gallows at Hay hill, besides Hide-Park. This man, in hope of life, having before accused the Lord Courtney, and the Lady Elizabeth, the Queens Sitter, to be privy to his Conspiracy, yet at his death he clearest them, and proceeded openly, that they were altogether innocent, and never had been acquainted with his proceedings. Yet was this matter forg'd against them by Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor, that both of them in March before had been committed to the Tower, though in May following they were both again released; but yet confined, the Lady Elizabeth to Woodstock, under the custody of Sir Henry Bedingfield of Oxenburgh in the County of Norfolk; the Lord Courtney to Fotheringham, under the custody of Sir Thomas Treviham, who after some time was sent to liberty, and going into Italy there died. It is memorable, what malice this Bishop Gardiner bore to the Lady Elizabeth, by whose only procurement, not only she was kept in mortal hardness, but a Warrant was at last framed under certain Councilours hands, to put her to death; and had been done, but that Mr. Bridge Lieutenant of the Tower, pitying her cafe, went to the Queen to know her pleasure, who utterly denied that she knew any thing of it; by which means her life was preferred. Indeed the Bishop would sometimes say, how they cut off boughs and branches, but as long as they let the root remain, all was nothing: and it is not unworthy the remembering what trains were laid to ensnare her. The common Net at that time for catching of Protestant, was the Real Preence, and this Net was used to catch her, for being asked one time, What she thought of the words of Christ, This is my Body: whether she thought it the true Body of Christ that was in the Sacrament? It is said, that after some pafsinge, the thus answered:

Christ was the Word that spake it: He took the Bread, and brake it: And what the Word did make it, That I believe, and take it.

Which though it may seem but a slight expression, yet hath it more solidness than aseft light appears; at least it serv'd her turn at that time to escape the net, which by direct answer she could not have done. On the fourteenth of February, Thomas Lord Gray the Duke of Suffolk Brothers was beheaded, the lad, and indeed the least in De- linquency, that suffer'd for having any hand in Wyat's Conspiracy. There remained yet a fagge end, and was indeed but a fagge end, as nothing worth; for on the same day Sir Nicolai Throgmorton was being accused to have been a party to Wyat's Conspiracy, was at the Guildhall arraigned before Sir Thomas White, Lord Mayor, the Earls of Shrewsbury and Derby, Sir Thomas Bromley Lord Chief Justice of England, Sir Nicholas Hare Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield Master of the Wards, Sir Richard Southwell and Sir Edward Walgrave Privy Councilours, Sir Roger Chamerly, Sir William Portman one of the Justices of the Kings Bench, Sir Edward Sanders, one of the Justices of the Common Pleas, Mr. Stamford and Mr. Dyer Serjeants at Law, Mr. Edwad Gryffin Attorney General, Mr. Sandall and Peter Tichborne Clerks of the Crown, where the said Sir Nicholas Throgmorton so fully and dillerently answered all Objections brought against him, that he was found by the Jury, Not guilty; and was clearly acquitted: But the Jury notwithstanding was afterward troubled for acquitting him, and sent Prisoners, some of them to the Tower, and some to the Fleet, and afterward fined to pay a thousand Marks apiece at least, and some two thousand pounds, though these Sums were afterward something mitigated.

More
More of Wyatt’s Complices had been taken, arraigned, and adjudged to die, but in Judgment the Queen remembered Mercy, and gave them their Pardons, of which Number were Walter Ruston of Kent, Sir James Crofts, the Lord John Gray, Brother to the Duke of Suffolk, and some others.

About this time, a little before and after, were advancements in honour, the Lord William Howard, Lord Admiral of England, was created Baron Howard of Effingham, Sir John Williams was created Baron of Trolly, Sir Edward Chartleig, Sir John Bridg was created Baron Chawdor of Sudley, Gerard Fitz Garett Earl of Kildare and Baron of Ophelby, and not long after Sir Anthony Brown Master of the Horse, was created Viscount Madingley.

It is scarce worth remembering, That in the end of this first year of the Queen’s Reign, one Elizabeth Crofts, a Wench of eighteen years old, was by practice put into a Waif, and thereupon called, The Spirit in the Waif, who with a Whistle made for the purpose, whistled out many feticious words against the Queen, the Prince of Spain, the Mafi, Confession, and such other points, for which the said Penitence, standing upon a Scalfot at Paul’s Cross all the Sermon time, where she made open confession of her fault.

There had been great flour of Lay-men blood fired already, and now the time is coming to have Clergy-men fired; and for a prepara-
tive to it, on the tenth of April, Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley late Bishop of London, and Hugh Latimer late Bishop of Worcester, are conveyed from the Tower to Oxford, there to dispute with Oxford and Cambridge men in Points of Religion, but especially of the Eucharist; the Oxford men were Cofe, Chadly, Pye, Harfield, Smith, and Doctor Wofin Proctor: the Cambridge men, Young, Steaton, Watson, Ackinsh, Feekman, and Sedge-
wick: The Disputation ended, which (we may well think as the matter was carried) went against the Prisoners, on the twentieth of April they were brought again on the Stage; and then demanded, Whether they would perfit in their Opinion, or else recant? And affirmin-
g they would perfit, they were all three adjutted Hereticks, and condemned to the Fire; but their Execution we must not look for till a year or two hence; but in the mean-
time we have John Rogers the first Martyr of these Times, burnt at London the fourth of February; after whom the ninth of February, John Hooper, late Bishop of Worcester, burnt at Gloucester; after him, Robert Ferrar Bishop of Man, burnt at Carmarthen; after him John Brad-
ford, with many others; & then the two famous men Ridley and Latimer, no less famous for their constant deaths than their Religous lives, both burnt at Oxford the sixteenth of October.

This Rising of Wyatt had been a Remon to the Queen’s Marriage, and now to avoid all such ob-
(flites hereafter, the Queen in April called a Parliament; wherein were propos’d two things; one for Confirmation of the Marriage; the other for restoration of the Popes Primacy. This latter was not attented to but with great difficulty; for the six years Reign of King Ed-
ward had spread a plantation of the Protestant Religion in the hearts of many; but the Propos-
tion for the Marriage was attented to readily, but yet with the adding of some conditions, which had not been thought of in the former Articles. That King Philip should admit of no Stranger in any Office, but only Natives. 2. That he should innovate nothing in the Laws and Cu-
mons of the Kingdom. 3. That he should not car
y the Queen out of the Realm, without her con-
ent, nor any of her Children without consent of the Council. After surviving the Queen, he should challenge no right in the Kingdom, but suffer it to descend to the next Heir. 5. That he should carry none of the Jewels of the Realm out of the Kingdom, nor suffer any Ships or Or-
nanceto be removed out of the Realm. And lat-
ly, That neither directly nor indirecly, he should cause the Realm of England to be im-
gled with the War between Spain and France.

All things being thus agreed on, the Earl of Bedford Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Fitz-water, and divers other Lords and Gentlemen, are sent into Spain to fetch over Prince Philip, who ar-
ived at Southampton the twentieth of July, in the year 1554. and the three and twentieth came to Winchister, where the Queen met him, and the five and twentieth, the Marriage be-
tween them there was openly solemnized: (the dif-
parsity of years, as in Princes, not much regarded, though he were then but seven and twenty years of age, the eight and thirty) at which time the Emperour Embassadours being preffent, openly declared, That in considera-
tion of that Marriage, the Emperour had given to Prince Philip his Son, the Kingdoms of Naples and Hierfsalem; and thereupon (the solemn-
ity of Marriage being ended,) Garter King of Heralds openly in the Church, in the presence of the King, the Queen, and the Lords both of England and Spain, solemnly proclaimed the Title and Style of these two Princes, as fol-

goweth: Philip and Mary by the Grace of God King and Queen of England, France, Naples, Hierfsalem, and Ireland, Defenders of the Faith, Princes of Spain, and Sicily, Arch-
Dukes of Austria, Dukes of Milford, Burgan-
dy, and Brabant, Counts of Holland, Flanders, and Tyrol. After this, the King and Queen by earlie Journeys came to Windsor Castle, where the King was install’d Knight of the Garter, and the Earl of Suffolke with him: The eleventh of Auguft they removed to Richmond, the se-
ven and twentieth to Suffolk Place in Southwark, and the next day to London (where the late Shews that were made, may well enough be conceived without relating) from hence after four days they removed again to Richmond, where all the Lords had left to depart into their Countries, and indeed so many departed, that there remained not an English Lord at the Court but the Bishop of Winchister: From Richmond they removed to Hampton Court, where the Hall door within the Court was continually kept shut, so as no man might enter unless his errand were first known, which might perhaps be the fashion of Spain, but to English-

men seemd very strange.

About this time Cardinal Pole, sent for by the
The Reign of Queen Mary.

The King and Queen came over into England; and had come sooner, but that the Empour, fearing he might prove a Corrival with his Son Philip, had used means to stop his passage; but now that his Son's Marriage was past, he was content to let him pass; as though he did from Rome with the great authority of a Legate a Latere, yet he would not but come privately into London, because his Attaindour was yet upon Record; an Act therefore was presently passed to take it off, and to restore him in blood; for passing of which Act, the King and Queen in Person came to the Parliament House; whither a few days after, the Cardinal came himself, which was then kept in the great Chamber of White Hall, because the Queen, by reason of sickness, was not well able to go abroad: and here the King and Queen, on a sudden, took the Cloth of Elistare, and the Cardinal on their right hand, all the Lords, Knights and Burgesses being present, the Bishop of Winchester Lord Chancellor, made a short Speech unto them, signifying the presence of the Lord Cardinal; and that he was sent from the Pope as his Legate a Latere, to do a Work tending to the glory of God, and the benefit of them all; which (faith he) you may the better hear from his own mouth. Then the Cardinal roke up, and made a long solemn Oration, wherein he first thanked them for his restoring, by which he was enabled to be a Member of their Society: Then exhibiting them to return into the bosome of the Church, for which end he was come; not to condemn, but to reconcile; not to compell, but to call and require: and for their first work of Reconciliation, requiring them to repeal and abrogate all such Laws as had formerly been and are derogation against the Catholic Religion. After which Speech, the Parliament, going together, drew up a Supplication, which within two days after they presented to the King and Queen; wherein they shewed themselves to be very penitent for their former Errors, and humbly desired their Majesties to intercede for them to the Lord Cardinal and the See Apostolick, that they might be Pardon of all they had done amiss, and be received into the bosome of the Church, being themselves most ready to abrogate all Laws prejudicial to the See of Rome. This Supplication being delivered to the Cardinal, he then gave them Absolution in these words; [We, by the Apostolick Authority given unto Us, by the most Holy Lord Pope Julius the Third (Chrisii Vercgerent on Earth) do absolve and deliver you, and every one of you, with the whole Realm and Dominions thereof, from all Here- see and Schism, and from all Condemnations, Con- fusions, and pains for that cause incurrend: And also We do restore you again to the Unity of our Mother the Holy Church. ] The report hereof coming to Rome, was caule that a solemn Proclamation was made for Joy of the Conversion of England to the Church of Rome. And now the Queen had a great desire to have King Philip Crowned, but to this the Parliament would by no means assent.

In October this second year of her Reign a rumour was spread of the Queens being with child, and so forward, that she was quiedy and thereupon were Letters sent from the Lords of the Council to Bishop Bishop of London, that Prayers of Thanksgiving should be made in all Churches; and the Parliament it fell to be ced- dulous of, that they entered into consideration of the Education of the Child; and made an Act, desireing the King (out of the confidence they had in him) that if the Queen should fail, he would be pleased to take upon him the Rule and Government of the Child: But after all this, in June following, it came to be known, that it was but a Tympany, or at least the Queen so miscarried, that there was no Child, nor the Queen likely ever after to have any. But howsoever, in hope of the joy that was expected, in January this year, divers of the Council, as the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Controller of the Queens House, Secretary Bunyan, and Sir Richard Soutbwell Master of the Ordnance, were sent to the Tower, to discharge and set at liberty a great part of the Prisoners in the Tower; as namely, the late Duke of Northumberland's Sons, Ambrose, Robert, and Henry, also Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir James Craves, Sir Nicho- las Throgmorton, Sir John Rogers, Sir Nicho- las Arnold, Sir George Harper, Sir Edward War- ner, Sir William Stilwell, Sir Queen Catesby, William Gybbs Elquire, Cumbert Vaughan, and some others.

About this time one William Etherbone, Mullers Son, of the age of eighteen years, named, and bruitied himself to be King Edward the Sixth; for which being apprehended and exam- ined, he answered as one Lunatick, and there- upon was whipped at the carts tayl, and ban- nished into the North: but the year after, spreading abroad again, he was taken, and that he had talked with him, he was arrested and condemned of treason, and at Tyburn hanged and quartered.

In the month of March, the Queen was taken with a fit of Devotion, and thereupon called unto her four of her Privy Council, namely, William Marques of Winchester Lord Treasurer, Sir Robert Richseh Controller, Sir William Peter Secretary, and Sir Francis Engfield Master of the Wars, and signified unto them, That it went against her Conscience to hold the Lands and Poffessions as well of Monasteries and Ab- beys, as of other Churches, and therefore did freely relinquish them, and leave them to be disposed of, as the Pope and the Lord Cardinal should think fit; and thereupon charged them to acquite the Cardinal with her purpose. And shortly after in performance of this, John Hickman, late Dean of Pains, was made Abbot of Wolfhimer, and had poffession of the same, and with him fourteen Monks re- ceived the Habit at the same time: and on the twentieth of November, Sir Thomas was intima- ted Lord of St. Johns of Hirufaleme, and was put in poffession of the Lands belonging unto it. And when it was cold her, That this would be a great diminution of the Revenues of her Crown; she answered, She more valued the salvation of her soul than a thousand Crowns. A most religious speech, and enough, if there were but this, to show her to be a most Pious Prince.
The fourth of September this year, Ring Philip waited on with the Earl of Arundel, Lord Steward, the Earl of Pembroke, the Earl of Huntingdon, and others, went over to Calliche, and from hence Burnell in Braintree, to visit the Emperour his Father; who delivering him pos-

fession of the Low-Countries, in March following he returned into England; but on the sixth of July following, by reason of Wars with France, he paused again over to Calliche, and from whence he returned not till eighteen months after; which made great muttering amongst the Common people, as though he took any little occasion to be absent, for the little love he bore to the Queen.

In the third year of the Queen died Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, at his house in Southwalk, of whole death it is memorable, That the same day in which Bishop Ridley and Mr. Latimer suffered at Oxford, he would not go to dinner till four a clock in the afternoon, though the old Duke of York was come to dine with him the reason was, because he would first look of their being burn'd; and as soon as word of that was brought him he presently said, Now let us go to Dinner; where setting down, and eating merrily, upon a sudden he fell into such extremity, that he was fain to be taken from the Table, and carried to his bed, where he continued fifteen days, without voing any thing either by Urine or other wise, which caused his tongue to swell in his mouth, and so he died, after whose death, Nicholas Heath Arch Bishop of York was made Lord Chancellor.

And now comes the time of Arch Bishop Cranmer Execution, who the year before had been condemned and degraded by Commination from the Pope; after which, being by the fulbility of home, put in hope of life, out of frailty he subscribed to a Recantation, which yet did him no good; for whether it were that Cardinal Poole would no longer be kept from being Arch Bishop, (which he would not be long as he lived) or because he was before, to forget his being the chief Instrument of her Mother's Divorce; his Execution was resoluted to be the fourteenth of February, in the same place Oxford where Ridley and Latimer five months before had been: Before the Execution, Doctor Cole preached, who to make use of Cranmer's Recantation, told the people, they should do well to hearken to this Learned mans Confession, who now at his death, and with his death would testify which was the true Religion; never thinking that Cranmer would have denied his former Recantation: But Cranmer being brought to the Stake, (contrary to expectation) acknowledged, That through frailty he had subscribed it, praying God heartily to forgive it; and now for a punishment, that hand which had done it should first suffer, and therewithall throwing his right hand into the fire, he there held it, till it flirr, and then his while body was consumed; only (which was no small miracle) his heart remained whole and not once touched with the fire. The same year also, no fewer than eighty four of both Sexes were burn't for Religion: and it was a cruelty very far exceedeth, that the bones of Bun and Phil were some time before dead and burnt were taken up and publicly burnt in Cambridge. No sooner was Cranmer dead, but the very fame day was Cardinal Poole made Arch Bishop of Canterbury.

In the fourth year of the Queen, exemplary Justice was done upon a great Perfon; for the Lord Sturtz a man much in the Queen's favour, as being an erneated Papist, was for a Murther committed by him, arraigned and con-

demned, and he, with four of his Servants carri-

ed to Salisbury, was there in the Market-place hanged, having this favour to be hanged in a fiken halter, his Servants in places near ad-

joyning to the place where the Murther was committed.

The four and twentieth of April, Thomas Staff-

for, second Son to the Lord Stafford, with other to the number of two and thirty persons (let on by the French King) attempted to raise Se-
nation against the Queen, for marrying with King Philip, and coming out of France, arriv'd at Scarborough in Yorkshire, where they took the Cattle, but within two days were driven out by the Earl of Pembroke; and though taken and arraigned; The eighth and twentieth of May, Stafford was beheaded on the Tower-Hill, and the next day three of his Associates, Stella, Bradford, and Prator were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there executed. The first of May, Thomas Percy was first made Knight, after Lord, and the next day was created Earl of Northumber-

land, to whom the Queen gave all the Lands that had been his Aunciturs.

At this time the Queen intangled her self (contrary to her promife) in her Husband's Querelle, lent a dehance to the French King, by

Clarence King at Arms; and after on the Mon-

day in the Whitsun-week, by found of Trumpet, proclaimed open War against him in Cheesepie, and other places of the City; and shortly after, caused an Army of a thousand Horsie, and four thousand Foot, to be transported over, to the aid of her Husband King Philip, under the leading of the Earl of Pembroke Captain General, Sir Anthony Brown Vice Count Montague Lieutenant General, the Lord Gray of Wilton Lord Marshal, the Earl of Rutland General of the Horfe, the Earl of Lincoln Colonel of the Foot, the Lord Robert Dudley Master of the Ord-
nance, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord De la Werre, the Lord Bray, the Lord Chandos, the Lord Ambrose Dudley, the Lord Henry Dudley, with divers Knights and Gentlemen; who joining with King Philip Forces, they all set down before St. Quintus, a Town of the French Kings of great importance. To the rescue whereof, the French King lent an Army, under the leading of the Conflable of France, which conflited of nine hundred men at Arms, with as many light Horsie, eight hundred Reylers, two and twenty Ensigns of Lancetheletes, and sixteen Ensigns of French Foutmen: Their pur-

pose was not to give battle, but to put more Suc-
cours into the Town, which the Philippians per-
cieving, encountered them, and in the fight flew John of Baron Duke of Anglita, the Vice count of Torrain, the Lord of Chadscott, with many Gentlemen of account: They took prisoners the Duke of Marmory Conflable of France, the Duke of Montemper, Duke Longeville,
the Marshal of St. Andrews, the Lord Lewis Brother to the Duke of Marchmont, the Baron of Caston, the Alingrate Colonel of the Almarchant, Monsieur d'Oigny, Monsieur de Biron, and many others; and then pursuing the victory, under the government of the Earl of Pembroke, on the seventh and twentieth of August they took the Town of St. Quintin; in the assault whereof, the Lord Henry Dudley, youngest Son to the Duke of Northumberland, was with a piece of great Ordinance slain, & some other of account. The facade of the Town K. Philip gave to the English, as by whose valour chiefly it was won. The joy was not for great for this winning of St. Quintin, but there will be greater sorrow present for other losses. Many of the Garrison of Calais had been drawn from thence for service of St. Quintin, and no new supply sent; which being perceived by the French King, a Plot is laid how to surprize it, which yet was not so secretly carried, but that the Officers of Calais had intelligence thereof; who there upon signified it to the Council of England, requiring speedy Succours, without which, against to great an Army as was raised against them, they should not be able to hold out. But whether they gave no credit to their relations, or whether they apprehended not the danger to imminent as indeed it was, they neglected to send Supplies till it was too late: For the Duke of Guise, with no less speed than Policy, took such a course, that at one and the same time, he sent both upon Newhaven bridge, and also upon Ricebank (the two main Skcers for defence of the Town) and took them both, and then fell presently to batter the Walls of the Castle it self, and with such violence of great Ordinance, that the noise was heard to Antwerp, being a hundred miles off. But having made the Walls unserviceable, the English used this Stratagem, they laid trains of Powder to blow them up, when they should offer to enter; but this Stratagem succeeded not; for the French in making the Ditch, had so wet their cloths, that dropping upon the ground, the Powder would take no fire (for all things seemed to concur against the English) and thereupon the Castle was taken also, and with it the Town also been taken, but that Sir Anthony Ager, with the loss of his own life, and his eldest Sons, valiantly defended it, and for that time repelled the French; but their Numbers increased so fast upon the Town, that the Lord Wentworth the Deputy, seeing no other way of safety, demanded Parlee, where a Composition was made, that the Town should presently be yielded to the French King, the lives of the Inhabitants only saved, and safe conduct to pass away, saving the Lord Deputy with fifty other, such as the Duke should name. And here to be quit with the English for their hard usage at St. Quintin, the Duke caused Proclamation to be made, That all and every person of the Town should bring their money, jewels, and plate, to the value of a great, and lay it down upon the high Altar of the Church; by which means, an indescribable form of Treason was there offered, enough to enrich an Army, which had before enriched a Town. And now to make it appear how unable the Town was to hold out against so great an Army, it is said, there were in it: but only five hundred Soldiers of ordinary, and scarce two hundred more of able fighting men; but of other people, men, women, and children, four thousand and two hundred; all which were suffer'd to depart, saving the Lord Wentworth the Deputy, Sir Ralph Cheynwold Captain of the Castle, John Earlestone Captain of Richards, Nicholas Alexander Captain of New- ham bridge, Edward Grimston the Controller, John Rogers the Surveyor, with others to the number of fifty, who were all carried prisoners into France. And thus Calais, which had been in possession of the English above two hundred years, was won from the English in eight days, which King Edward the Third had not won from the French in less than a year. The Lord Wentworth was suspected, and in Queen Elizabeths time arraigned for betraying it, but was acquitted by his Peers. Calais thus won, the Duke with his Army marched to Guise, five miles distant, whereof was Cap- tain the Lord Gray of Wilson, who held out the siege and bastions five or six days with great valour and resolution, that he appeared in no thing inferior to the Enemy but in multitude; yet at last overthrows with their numbers, and imperturbed by his Soldiers, much against his own will, he made composition, that the Town and Calais should be wholly render'd, himself and all Officers remain prisoners, all other to depart with their Armour and Baggage. The King afterward ransom'd for four and twenty thousand Crowns. And now the Duke of Guise considering that Guise would be too costly a Castle to be kept, and too dangerous a neighbour to Calais, if it should be recovered, razed it with the Bulwarks and Fortifications to the ground. Guise thus won, there remain'd nothing within the English Pale, but the lit- tle Castle of Hamlet, whereof was Captain the Lord Edward Dudley, who considering that it was naturally strongly situat'd, as being environ'd with Pans and Marshes, yet it had but little help by Act of Fortifications, and being allus'd that the Duke of Guise would speedily come upon him, he secretly in the night with all his Garrison departed into Flanders, so as the Castle was not won, but taken by the Duke of Guise; and with the loss of this Castle, the English lost all their footing in Terra Forma, and the Kings of England all the reality of their Title in France, having nothing left but undam names.}

Prently after this, the French King caus'd the Marriage between his eldest Son Francis, Duke of Holstein, and Mery Steward, sole Heire of James the fifth, King of Scotland, to be solemn- lized: whereupon great Wars ensued soon after between England and Scotland.

Queen Mery being infinitely troubled in mind for the loss of Calais, sent prently forth her Admiral the Lord Clinton, with a Fleet of more than a hundred sail, to recover at least re- paration in honour, by doing some exploit upon France, who not finding opportunity to fet upon 

Haydock's, as he was appointed, fell upon the Town of Calais, which he took and burnt, and also divers Villages therabouts, and then returned. In which mean time, many great Confllicts having
having been between King Philip and the King of France; at last, by mediation of the Dutchess of Lorraine, a Treaty of Peace is agreed on, where all things seemed to be well accorded, but only that King Philip by all means required restitution of Calais, to which by no means the French would consent: But whilst they stood upon these terms, it happened that first the Emperor Charles King Philip's Father died, and shortly after Queen Mary, and the day after Cardinal Pole, and shortly after Sir John Parker of Sisophon in Kent, who had been a Privy Counsellor to Henry the eighth, Edward the sixth, and Queen Mary. And to our Story hath no further relation to either War or Peace, between the two Kings of France and Spain.

Of her Taxes.

She began with a rare Example; for in the first year of her Reign, was pardon'd by Proclamation the Subsidy of four shillings the pound of Land, and two shillings the pound of goods, granted in the last Parliament of King Edward the sixth. In her second year, in Parliament then holden, was granted to the King and Queen a Subsidy of the Livery, from five pounds to ten pounds, of eight pence to twenty pence, from ten pounds to twenty pounds, of twelve pence to twenty pounds, from twenty pounds upwards, fifteen pence in the pound; all Strangers double, and the Clergy fix shillings in the pound. If this were all, then upon the matter, in all her time, there came no new charge upon her people; for one Subsidy remitted, and one received, made but even. In her last year she borrowed twenty thousand pounds of the City of London; and paid twelve pounds a year Interest for every hundred pound.

Laws and Ordinances in her Time.

In her first year, on the fourth of September, there were proclaimed certain new Coins of Gold and Silver, a Sovereign of Gold of thirty shillings; the half Sovereign fifteen shillings; an Angel of ten shillings; the half Angel five shillings. Of Silver the pant, the half groat, and penny; all these Coins to be current as before. In her second year, Proclamation was made, forbidding the flooring in Hand-guns, and bearing of weapons. The year in which she was married to King Philip, a straight charge was made to all Victuallers, Taverners, and Alehouse-keepers, that they should not feem nor drink, nor any kind of viætuals, to any Serving-man whatsoever, unless he brought a testimonial to show whose servant he was. Also in a Parliament helden this year, amongst other Acts, the Stature Ex Officio and other Laws made for the punishment of Heretickes, were revived; but chiefly the Popes Bull of Dispensation of Abbeylend was there confirmed. In her second year, on Michaelmas Even, the Prisoners that lay in the Counter in Breadstreet, were removed to a new Counter made in Fleetstreet, the City purchase and building: which the removing was confirmed by the Common Council of the City.

Affairs of the Church in her Time.

In the first year of this Queen Regne, all Bishops which had been deprived in the time of King Edward the Sixth, were restored to their Bishopspricks; and the new removed, allowed beneficed men that were married, or would not forsake their Opinion, were put out of their Living; and other of a contrary opinion put in their rooms. About this year, on the seventh and twelfth of August, the Service began to be sung in Latin in Paul's Church. Also this year the Popes Authority was by Act of Parliament restored in England, and the Mafs commanded in all Churches to be used. In her second year, the calm is Abolished, and reconciled to the Church of Rome by Cardinal Pole: and first Fruits and Tents are restored to the Clergy; but this was soon revoked, the Council finding the necessity of it for the Queens support. In her fourth year, Monasteries were begun to be re-edified; of which number were that of Westminster, that of Sheen and Stan, that of the Black-Fryers, and the Fryers of Greenwich. Of the number of those that died for Religion in her time, there are recorded five Bishops, one and twenty Divines, and of all sorts of Men and Women, two hundred three score and seventeen.

Works of Piety done by her, or others, in her Time.

His Queen restored a great part of Abbeylands that were in her possession, and if she had lived longer, very likely she would have restored more. In her first year, Sir Thomas White then Mayor, erected a College in Oxford, now called St. John's College, before Bernard College: he also erected Schools at Briffou and Reading, and gave two thousand pounds to the City of Briffou to purchase Lands, the profits whereof to be employed for the benefit of young Clothiers for ten years, and after that to be employed in like manner, to the benefit of two and twenty other Shires and Cities. In her third year died Sir John Gresham, late Mayor of London, who founded a Free School at Hol in Norfolk, and gave to every Ward in London ten pounds to be distributed to the Poor also to Maids Marriages two hundred pounds. Cutber Tynful Bishop of Durham erected a goodly Library in Cambride, storing it with many excellent Books, and in written Books; he also bestowed much upon building at Durham, at Alnwick and at Tynbridge.

Casualties happening in her Time.

In her first year, on the seven and twentieth of August, the goodliest Ship in England, called The Great Harry, being of the burthen of a thousand Tuns, was burnt at Fishwich by negligence of the Master. In her second year, on the sixteenth of February, appeared in the Skie a Rainbow reverbered, the bow turned downward, and the two ends standing upward: Also two Suns shined at one time a good distance abunder,


The Reign of Queen Mary.

Of her Personage and Condition.

The price of Wheat and Malt in a dearth, was very high, in a plenty.

Of her Death and Burial.

Of Men of Valour in her time, there were many, as may be seen in the Story of her Reign; but to name some for example, there was William Herbert Earl of Pembroke, the chief affiant of King Philip in the winning of St. Quayns: there was William Lord Gray of Wilton, Captain of Graysho, who though he yielded the Town, yet more of tenderness to his Souldiers than out of fear of his Enemies, which he never else would have yielded up: and to speak of one of a meaner rank, there was Sir Anthony Ager, who in defence of the Town of Calais lost his life, but not till he made the Enemy turn their backs and fie. Of Learned men also there were very many, as John Rogers, born in Lancashire, who Translated the Bible into English with Notes. Richard Maryson Knight, born in Oxfordshire, who wrote divers
divers Treatises. Robert Record, a Doctor of Phyllick, who wrote a Book of Arithmetick.
Caius Bert Traftall, of a Worshipful Family in Lancashire, though base born, whose Anceytor came into England with the Conquerour as his Barbour, and therefore hath three Combs his Arms, Bishop first of London, and after of Durham, who wrote divers learned Works. Richard Sampson, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, who wrote certain Treatises. Lucas Shepheard, born at Cireficer in Essex, an English Poet. Jane Dudley, Daughter to Henry Grey Duke of Suffolk, wrote divers excellent Treatises. William Pern, a black Fryer, who wrote in defence of the Mass, and also divers Sermons. Henry Lord Stafford, Son to Edward Duke of Buckingham, who, amongst other things which he wrote, Translated a book out of Latine into English, entitled, Utriusque Posteritatis Differentia; which Book (as some think) was first compiled by Edward Fox Bishop of Hereford. John Hopkins, who Translated divers of Davids Psalms into English Meeter, which are to be found amongst those appointed to be sung in the Church.

Mayers and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first Year,
Sir Thomas White was Mayor.
Thomas Offley, William Hemet, Sheriffs.

In her second year,
Sir John Lyon was Mayor.
David Woodruff, William Chester, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir William Garrett or Gherard was Mayor.
Thomas Lee, or Leigh, John Machel, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir Thomas Offley was Mayor.
William Harper, John White, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir Thomas Cartes was Mayor,
Richard Maller, James Altham, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,
Sir Thomas Lee, or Leigh, was Mayor.
John Halfey, Richard Champion, Sheriffs.

THE
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth

Queen Mary dying on Thursday the seventeenth of November, in the Year 1558, her Sister, the Lady Elizabeth, of the age of five and twenty years, the only surviving Child of King Henry the Eighth, by undoubted Right, succeeded her in the Crown; which happening in a time of Parliament, Nicholas Heath Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor, sent to the Knights and Barnefies in the Lower House, to repair immediately to the Lords of the Upper Houfe; to whom he signified, That Queen Mary was that Morning dead, and therefore required their Affent to join with the Lords in proclaiming Queen Elizabeth; which accordingly was done, by the sound of Trumpet, firft at Westminster, and in the City of London. The Queen was then at Hatfield; from whence on Wednesday the three and twentieth of November, she removed to the Lord North's Houfe in the Charter-Houfe, where she stayed till Monday the eight and twentieth of November, and then rode in her Chariot thorough London to the Tower; where she continued till the fifth of December, and then removed to Somerfet Houfe in the Strand; from whence she went to her Palace at Westminster, and from thence, on the twelfth of January, to the Tower; and on the fourteenth of January, to Westminster to her Coronation; whereas we went, the said this Prayer: O Lord, Almighty and everlasting God, I give thee most hearty thanks, that thou hast spared me to this joyful day; and I acknowledge, that thou hast dealt as wonderfully and as mercifully with me, as thou didst with thy Faithful Servant Daniel whom thou deliveredst out of the Denne, from the cruelty of the raging Lions; even so was I exasperated, and only by thee delivered: To thee therefore only be thanks, honour and praise for ever. And it is incredible, what Pageants and Shows were made in the City, as she passed. On Sunday the five and twentieth of January, she was Crowned in the Abbey Church at Westminster, by Doctor Ogelthorp Bishop of Carlisle, with all Solemnities and Ceremonies in such case accustomed. At this time, to honor her Coronation, she conferred more Honours, than in all her time after: William Parre degraded by Queen Mary, she made Marquess of Northampton; Edward Seymour, whose Father had been Attainted, the made Earl of Hertford; Thomas Howard, second Son to the Duke of Norfolk, the made Viscount Bindon; Sir Henry Carie, her Cousin German, the made Baron of Hunsdon; and Sir Oliver Saint-John, the made Baron of Blithfield.

And now the Queen, though the were her self very wife, yer would not truft (and it was a great point of Wisdome that she would not trauft) to her own widome; and therefore she chose Counsellors to affift her: In which number she took Nicholas Heat Archbishop of York; William Parre Marquis of Winchester; Lord high Treasurer; Henry Fitz-Alan Earl of Arundell; Francis Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury; Edward Stanley Earl of Derby; William Herbert Earl of Pembroke; Edward Lord Clinton Lord Admiral; and William Lord Howard of Effingham; Sir Thomas Chetwynd, Sir William Peter, Sir Richard Sackwyt, and Nicholas Winton Dean of Canterbury; All which had been Counsellors to Queen Mary, and were of her Religion; but then to make a counterpoise of Counsellors of her own Religion, she joined with them William Parre Marquis of Northampton; Francis Roffel Earl of Bedford; Sir Thomas Parre, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Care, Sir Francis Knolles, and Sir William Cecil, late Secretary to King Edward the Sixth; and a little after Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom the made Keeper of the Great Seal. And having thus provided for the
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1549.


During this time, a Parliament had been summoned to begin at Westminster, upon the fifteenth of January; and now the Queen, for satisfaction of the People, appointed a Conference to be held between the Prelates of the Realm, and Protestant Divines now newly returned, who had fled the Realm in the time of Queen Mary; For the Prelates, were chosen John White, Bishop of Winchester; Ralph Bayes, Bishop of Croydon and Lichfield; Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln; Doctor Cole, Dean of Pauls; Doctor Langwell, Arch-deacon of Lams; Doctor Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and Doctor Chadby Archdeacon of Middlesex. For the Protestant sides were appointed Doctor Story, Doctor Cox, Doctor Sands, Doctor Whitchurch, Doctor Grindall, Master Horns, Master Goff, Master Elmer, and Master Smalle. The place was prepared in Westminster Church; where, besides the Dividants, were present the Lords of the Queen's Council, with all of the Nobility; as also many of the Lords House of Parliament. The Articles propounded against the Prelates, and their adherents, were these: First, That it is against the Word of God, and the Custom of the Ancient Church to use a Tongue unknown to the People in Common Prayer and in the Administration of the Sacrament. Secondly, That every Church hath authority to appoint and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiastical Rites, so they be to edification. Thirdly, That it cannot be proved by the Word of God, that there is in the Mass a Sacrifice Propitiatory for the living and the dead. For the manner of their Conference, it was agreed it should be performed in Writing, and that the Bishops should deliver their Reasons in writing first. The last of March was the first day of their meeting; where, contrary to the Order, the Bishops brought nothing in Writing; but said, they would deliver their minds only by Speech; This breaking of Order much displeased the Lords; yet they had it granted. Then role up Doctor Cole, and made a brief Declaration concerning the first Point: when he had ended, the Lords demanded if any of them had more to say? Who answered, No. Then the Protestant Party exhibited a written Book; which was distinctly read by Master Horn. This done, some of the Bishops began to affirm, they had much more to say in the first Article: this again much displeased the Lords; yet this also was granted them, to do at their next Meeting on Monday next; but when Monday came, so many other differences arose between them, that the Conference broke off, and nothing was determined. But in the Parliament there was better agreement; for there it was Enacted, That Queen Elizabeth was the lawful and undisputed Queen of England; notwithstanding a Law made by her Father King Henry the Eighth, that excluded both her and her Sister Mary from the Crown, seeing, though the Law be not repealed, yet it is a principle in Law, That the Crown once taken, cannot take away all defects. Also in the Parliament, First Fruits and Tithes were restored to the Crown; and the Title of Supreme Head of the Church of England was confirmed to the Queen, with an universal consent, that in the Upper House, none opposed these Laws, but only the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Sir Anthony Browne; Vicount Montague;
Montague: and in the Lower-House, only some few of Papal inclination, murmured, saying, That the Parliament was partial, and that the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, and Sir William Cecil, for their own ends, had cunningly begg'd
Voyces, to make up their Party.

The Supremacy thus confirmed to the Queen, the Oath was soon after tendered to the Bishops and others, of whom, as many as refused to take it, were presently deprived of their Living. And that we may infer, how inclining the Kingdom at this time was to receive the Protestant Religion: it is said, that in the whole Realm (wherein are reckoned above Nine thousand Spiritual Promotions) there were not more that refused to take the Oath, but only fourscore Parsons, fifty Prebendaries, fifteen Masters of Colleges, twelve Arch-deacons, twelve Deans, six Abots, and fourteen Bishops, (indeed all that were at that time, except Antony Bishop of Landaff) as Nicholas Heath Archibishop of York, Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, Carter Tangall Bishop of Durham, Thomas Thirlby Bishop of Ely, Guillern Bourn Bishop of Bath, and John Christopher fan Winchester, Thomas Watson Bishop of Lincoln, Ralph Bayne Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, Owen Osborne Bishop of Carlisle, James Towne Bishop of Exeter, and David Poul Bishop of Peterborough: and with these, Dr. Frekeham Abbot of Westminster: All who were at first committed to prison, but soon after delivered to the custody of private Friends, excepting these two favoy Prelates, Lincoln and Winchester, who threatened to excommunicate the Queen. Three only, namely, Carter Seer Bishop of Chester, Richard Pate Bishop of Worcester, and Thomas Goldswell Bishop of Saint Asaph, changed their Religion of their own accord: as also did certain Noble Personages, namely, Henry Lord Morice, Sir Francis Englefield, and Sir Peter Percevall, (who had been able Councillors to Queen Mary) Sir Thomas Shierley, and Sir John Gage.

In the Sees of the Prelates above-mentioned were plac'd Protestant Bishops, as Matthew Parker was made Archibishop of Canterbury, (who was consecrated by the Impostion of the hands of three that formerly had been Bishops: namely, William Baron of Bath and Wells, John Scory of Chichester, and Miles Coverdale of Exeter) and being consecrated himself, he afterward consecrated Edmund Grindall Bishop of London, Richard Cor Bishop of Ely, Edwyn Sand Bip Bishop of Worcester, Rowland Merich Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Yong Bishop of Saint Davys, Nicholas Bullingham Bishop of Lincoln, John Jessil Bishop of Salisbury, Richard Davis Bishop of Saint Asaph, Edward Gres Bishop of Rochester, Gilbert Barkley Bishop of Bath and Wells, Thomas Bembam Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, William Alley Bishop of Exeter, John Parkery Bishop of Norwich, Robert Harw Bishop of Winchester, Richard Chevney Bishop of Gloucester, Edmund Scambler Bishop of Peterborough, William Baron Bishop of Chichester, John Scory Bishop of Hereford, Young Archibishop of York, James Pickington Bishop of Durham, John Rafe Bishop of Carlisle, and William Downham Bishop of Chester.

While these things were done in England, the Treaty of Peace at Cambray continued full: wherein King Philip stood for the restitution of Calais to the Englishe, as firmly as if it had been his own Interest: and without it, would agree to no Peace with France: But when by Messeages he understood that his Suit for marriage with Queen Elizabeth was rejected: and that the Protestant Religion was established in the Kingdom, he then left Queen Elizabeth, seeing the way not be his, to himself; and though he became not presently a Foe, yet he became peculiarly left then a Friend, and forborne to do any more good Offices in that busines. Queen Elizabeth thus left to her self, agreed with the French King, to conclude her own peace apart: and thereupon, Delegates on both sides were appointed to meet at Cambray: For the Queen of England were Thursday Bishop of Ely, the Lord Williams, the Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain to the Queen, and Doctor Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York: For the King of France were, Charles Cardinal of Lorraine, the first Peer of France, Anneus Duclus of Memramcy, James Allen Lord of Saint Annes, and John Marville Bishop of Orleance, and Claude Ambrose Secretary to the Privy Council. The Commissioners meeting, the chief point in difference, was the restitution of Calais: for which the Englishe Commissioners, by the Queen's appointment,offered to remit two Millions of Crowns, that by just accout were due from France to England; but the Queen was not more desirous to recover Calais, than the French King was to hold it: And thereupon at last, it was concluded, that Calais should remain in possesstion of the French for the term of eight years: and then expired, it should be delivered to the Englishe, upon Forfeiture of five hundred thousand Crowns, for which, Hoftages were given: But all this not-withstading, though the Conditions were feared and sworn to, and though Hoftages were affigned to remain in England, till one or other were performed: yet all was fruitless, and came to no thing.

About this time, Henry King of France married his Daughter to Prince Philip of Spain, and his Sister Margaret to Emanuel Poiveller, Duke of Savoy: at the Solemnity of which Marriages, he would needs be a Tilter himself: and thereupon commanded the Earl of Montgomery to run against him, who unfortunately breaking his Lance upon the Kings Curassye, a splinter thereof (his Beaver being somewhat open) struck him so deep in the Eye, that within few days he ended his life: After whose death, Francis his Son, at the age of sixteen years,fucceeded him in the Crown, having by the Marriage of Queen Mary, the Tirole of Scotland, and upon ground thereof, laying claim to the Crown of England also, & giving the Arms of England, as properly belonging to him. And now begins the game of Fochion to be plaid, wherein the whole Effere of Queen Elizabeth lay at stake, a Game that will hold playing the most part of her Reign, and if not plaid well, will put her in jeopardy of losing all, fearig all about her was against her: Philip of Spain hath a quarrel to her, for being rejected in his suit; the King of France hath a quarrel to her in right of his Wife, which is now his right; the Queen of Scots hath a quarrel to her for detaining her In-
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The Pope hath a quarrel to her, for excluding his authority; the King of Sweden hath a quarrel to her, for flying his Son in the way of Marriage: And all the being and all her, whom hath she on her side, but only her own Subjects, Papists yesterday, and to day Protestants, who being fierce setted in their Religion, how shall they be setted in their Loyalty? And not being loyal, where can the find to cast Anchor for her safety? But it is a true saying, Nulla non est deputata; Wildone is a supply for all defects: And indeed the Queen being very wise in her self, and having a wise Council about her, she passion all these difficulties, though not without danger, yet with little or no hazard.

It happened at last it happened, and were not rather plotted of purpose that a Reformation of Religion was pretended in Scotland; but was indeed an incumbrance upon the Princes Authority; for at the preaching of John Knox, and other headstrong Ministers, not only Images and Altars were cut down and burnt, the Monasteries of Saint Andrew's, of Stone, of Stirling, and of Linlithgow were overthrown; but it was further put into the heads of the Nobility, that it was a great matter to take away Idolatry, and by force reduce the Prince to the precept of Law: whereupon there was presently a bandying of the Lords of Scotland, against the Queen Dowager, Regent of the Country; and in this case each of them fought for aid; The Queen Dowager had aid out of France, the Lords of Scotland lent aid to the Queen of England: But this was matter for contention. It seemed a bad example, for a Prince to give aid to the rebellious Subjects of another Prince; On the other side: It seemed no less than imperty, not to give aid to the Protestants of the same Religion; but most of all it seemed plain madness, to suffer adventuraries to be from near Neighbours, and let the French needle in Scotland, who pretend Title to England; upon such confidurations, it was resolved to feed them aid: and thereupon, an Army of six thousand Foot, and twelve hundred Horse, was sent under the Command of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Gray of Welton his Lieutenant General; Sir James Crichton; and to him; the Lord Strag, Lord Marth, Sir George Howard, General of the men at Arms; Sir Henry Percy, General of the Light-Horse; Thomas Huggen Provoft Mar- thall; Thomas Gower, Master of the Ordinance; Master William Pilem, Captain of the Pyoneers; and Master Edward Randall, Serjeant Major, and divers others. These coming into Scotland joined with the Scotch Lords, and set down before Leith, where pafted many small Skirmishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Affinats to whom, after some time, a new cappay of some two thousand Foot; whereof were Captains, Sir Andrew Corbet, Sir Rowland Stanley, Sir Thomas Hei- le; Sir Arthur Mannaring Sir Lawrence Smith, and others: yet with this new cappay there was little more done than before; many light Skir- mishes, many Batteries, and sometimes Affinats, so long till at last the young French King, finding these broys of Scotland to be too farious for him to oppose, he sent to the Queen of England, defiring that Commissioners might be sent to re-}

The Lords of Scotland sent for aid to Queen Elizabeth.

1560.

The Queen sends an Army to affit the Lords of Scotland.

A Peace is concluded between the King of France, and the Queen, and upon what terms, concile these differences; whereupon were dispatched into Scotland, Sir William Cecil, his principal Secretary, with Doctor Weller Dein of Canterbury, who concluded a Peace between England and France, upon these Conditions, That neither the King of France, nor the Queen of Scotland, should the first use the Arms of Titles of England or Ireland; And that both the English and the French should depart out of Scotland; And a general Pardon should be selected by Parliament, for all such as had been actors in those fins. This Peace was largely concluded, when Francis the young King of France died, leaving the Crown to his younger Brother Charles, who was guided altogether by the Queen Mother, and molested with the Civil dissensions between the Princes of Guise and Condé; for whole reconciliation, the Queen sent Sir Henry Sidney Lord President of Wales; and shortly after an Army, under the leading of the Lord Antony Dudley, Earl of Warwick, who arriving at Newhaven, was received into the Town; which having kept eleven months, he was then contrained, by reason of a Peltience, to surrender again upon Composition, and so returned.

About this time, when the Parliament was upon dissolving, it was agreed upon by the House of Commons, to move the Queen to affit that she might have Hope to succeed her; to which purpose Thomas Gargraves, Speaker of the House, with some few other chosen men, had access to the Queen, who humbly made the motion to her, as a thing which the Kingdom infinitely defined; seeing they could never hope to have a better Prince, than out of her Lovys: Whereunto the Queen answered in effect thus; That she was already married; namely, To the Kingdom of England: and behold (faith she) the Pledge of the Covenant with my Husband; and there- with the held out her finger, and fayed the King wherewith, at the time of her Coronation, the gave her self in Wedlock to the Kingdom: and if (with the) I keep my self to this Husband, and take no other; yet I doubt not but God will lend you as good Kings as if they were born of me; for as much as we fee by daily Experience, That the Hope of the best Princes do often destroy itself which he had; And for my self, it shall be sufficient that a Marble Stone declare, That a Queen having reigned such a time, lived and died a Virgin.

Indeed, before this time, many Matches had been offered her; Firth, King Philip: and when he was out of hope of matching with her herself, he then dealt with the Emperor Ferdinand his Uncle, to command his younger Son Charles, Duke of Asftrria, to her for a Husband. And when this succeeded not, then John Duke of Finland, second Son to Giovanni King of Sweden, was sent by his Father, to solicate for his eldest Brother Eric; who was honourably receiv- ed, but the Match rejected. Then Algoum, Duke of Huilsh, Uncle to Frederick King of Den- mark came into England, upon a great hope of Speeding; but the Queen behoved upon him the Honour of the Garter, and a yearly Pension, but not her self. Then James Earl of Arras, was commended to her by the Prefectants of Scotland; but neither the man nor the motion was accept- ed. Of manner Fortune, there were some at home
Great offers made by the Pope to the Queen, if she would become a Papist.

But the per\*\*\*ilted count\*\*\*ant in her Religion.

John Queen of Tyrone, began to rebel.

Queen Elizabeth re\*\*\*quires the Treaty of Edin\*\*\*boro\*\*\* to be confirm\*\*\*ed by the Queen Dowager. And her An\*\*\*er.

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home that pleased themselves with hope of her Marriage: First, Sir William Pictou, a Gentleman of a good House, and a good Eiilege, but that most commend\*\*\*ed him, was his ab\*\*\*solute of Letters, and sweet demeanour. Then Henry Earl of Arundel, exceeding rich, but now in his declining age. Then Robert Dudley, youngest Son of the Duke of Northumberland, of an excellent feature of face, and now in the flower of his age; but these might please themselves with their own conceit, but were not considerable in her apprehension: they might receive from her good Testimonials of her Prince\*\*\*ly favour, but never pledges of Nuptial love.

About this time the Earl of Feria (who had married the Daughter of Sir William Damer) being denied leave of the Queen for some of his Wives friends to live out of England, grew to incend\*\*\*ent, that he made means to purs the fourth, then Pope, to have her excommunicate as a Heretic and Usurper: but the Pope inclining rather to save than to destroy, & knowing that gentle cou\*\*\*sels prevail more with generous minds, than rough\*\*\*ness and violence; in most loving manner wrote under his hand, offering her to the.deleted from the Catholic Church; and as it is said, made her great offers, if she would hearken to his Counsel; particularly, That he would recall the Sen\*\*\*tence pronounced against her Mothers Marriage, confirm the Book of Common-\*\*\*Prayer in English, and permit to her People the use of the Sacra\*\*\*ment in both Kinds. But Queen Elizabeth neither terrified with the Earl of Feria\*\*\*s practices, nor allured with the Pople\*\*\*s great offers, according to her Motto, Semper eadem, pers\*\*\*sed constant in her Reflection, to maintain that Religion which in her Conscience she was persuaded to be most agreeable to the Word of God, and most consonant to the Primitive Church.

Whil\*\*\*ile these grounds of troubles are flowing in England, France and Scotland, it is not likely that Ireland will lye fallow; though indeed it must a Country that will bring forth troubles of it self, without Foreign, but however, to make the more plentiful. Here are troubles enough. For King Henry the Eighth made Earl of Tyrone to prevent the punishment of a private outrage upon a Brother, broke into open Rebellion against the Prince; and though his attempts were maturely made frustrate by timely opposition; yet this was as that in the beginning of the Queens Reign, sowed the Seeds of that trouble in Ireland, which afterward, took so deep root, that till the ending of her Reign, it could never thoroughly be root\*\*\*ed out; though this man a year or two after came into England, and calling himself at the Queens feet, acknowledged his fault, and obtained pardon.

The Treaty of Edinburgh should by promise have been confirmed by France; the French King while he lived; but he not having done it, Queen Elizabeth requires his Dowager, the Queen of Scots to confirm it; but the solicitation often to it by Throgmorton the Queens Leige in France, made always answer. She could not do it without the Consent of her Nobility in Scotland, Whereupon the French King suspecting that this Answer was but to hold her in amazement, while some mischief was practising against her, sent Sir Thomas Randolph into Scotland, to persuade the Lords there to enter into a League of mutual Amity with her, and other Protestant Princes; and further, by no means to part with their Queen, now a Widow, to marry again to any Foreign Prince; for which she alleged many great Reasons. In the mean while, the Queen of Scots, purposing to return into Scotland, sent before-hand Dr. Of\*\*\*s fret French Lord, to interest Queen Elizabeth, that with her leaves, the her might partake by Sea into Scotland; & Dr. Of\*\*\*s might pass by Land, But Queen Elizabeth openly denied both the one and the other, unless she would confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh; saying, It was no reason she should do the Queen of Scots courte\*\*\*e, if the Queen of Scots would not do her Right.

The Queen of Scots much troubled with this answer, expedit\*\*\*ed the matter with her Leige Throgmorton, and much complained of the unh\*\*\*s faultiness; but in the mean time providing shipp\*\*\*ing the loaded from Callicie; and under covert of mist, notwithstanding that Ships were laid to intercept her, she arrived safe in Scotland; where she inserted her Subjects in loving a manner that she gave great contentment to the whole Kingdom, as well as to the Parliament; and to the other, and than sent Letters to Queen Elizabeth, proffering all observance and readiness to enter League with her; to the might by Authori-\*\*\*ty of Parliament, he declared her Successor, which was her Right. To this Queen Elizabeth an\*\*\*\*\iflowered, That though she would so much degrete from her Right; yet she should be loth to endanger her own security, and as it were to covet her own eyes with a Grave-Cloth, while she was alive; but fell again to her old Abomination, requiring her to confirm the Treaty of Edinburgh: And now to shew the respect she bore her, when she Unckes the Dukes D\*\*\*s Anmole, D\*\*\*s Allen, and other Lords of France that had brought her home, returned through England; the gave them most bountiful and loving entertainment.

These two Queens indeed were both of great Spirits, and both very wise; but these grew fuch Jealoufies of State between them; (the Queen of Scots doubting left Queen Elizabeth meant to frustrate her Succession; Queen Elizabeth doubting left the Queen of Scots meant to prevent her Succession) that it kept them more alter-\*\*\*der in love, then they were next in blood, and was cause of many unkind passages between them: in all which, though the Queen of Scots were a very near match to the Queen of England, in the abilities of her mind; yet in the favours of Fortune she was much her inferior.

But now for all the causes which Queen Elizabeth threw to the Queen of Scots Unlueck, at their returning through England, yet new practices were again set on foot against her at Rome; the Duke of Guise especially laboring to have her be Excommunicated: but Pope Pius full averse from such Thoughs, meant now to try the Queen another way; and thereupon sent the Abbot Martinengi, and when he might not be admitted to enter into England, then caused the Bishop of Viterbo his Nuncio in France to deal entirely with the Queen Leige Throgmorton, that the other Princes might come; who would send their Repr\*\*\*sents to the Council of Trent, which he before had called. But the Queen nothing tendering this point, made preceptory answer. That a Pope
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When divers great persons were called in, the Queen was at the Head of a General Council; nor did think the Pope to have any more Right or Power to call it, than any other Bishop. This answer not only exasperated the Pope, but also alienated the King of Spain, mind from her, that he was never after so kind a friend to her as he had been; nor of her Embassadors ever after had any great liking to be employed to him. And now at this time, as the Abbots Marienvaeg was the first that ever was sent from the Pope into England, so Sir Edw. Carew, now dying at Rome, was the last Legate that was sent from the Pope to the King of England.

So likewise was the French, knowing well that she had drawn many ill-willers against her State, the endeavoured to strengthen it by all the means she could devise. She caused many great Ordinances of Braille and Iron to be cast; she repaired Fortifications in the Borders of Scotland; she erected the number of Ships, so as England never had such a Navy before; she provided great store of Armour and Weapons out of Germany; she caused Ministers to be held, and youth to be trained in exercises of Artillery; and to please those people (whose love is the greatest strength of all the great leave to have Corn & Gran transported, and called in all base Coins and Brass Money.

It was now the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when divers great persons were called in question: Margaret Countess of Lenox, niece to King Henry the Eighth, by his eldest Sister, and her second in the Earl of Lenox; for having had secret conference by Letters with the Queen of Scots, were delivered prisoners to Sir Richard Sackville, Master of the Rolls, and with him kept a while in custody. Also Arthur Poole and his Brother, whose great Grand-father, was George Duke of Clarence, Brother to King Edward the Fourth; Anthony Forstans, who had married their Sister, and others were arraigned, for conspiring to withdraw themselves to the Duke of Guise in France, and from thence to return with an Army into Wales, to declare the Queen of Scots, Queen of England; and Arthur Poole Duke of Clarence, which particulars they confessed at the Bar, and were thereupon condemned to die, but had their lives spared, in regard they were of the Blood-Royal. Also the Lady Katharine Gray, Daughter to Henry Gray Duke of Suffolk, by the eldest Daughter of Charles Brandon, having formerly been married to the Earl of Pembroke, eldest Son; and from him soon after lawfully divorc'd, was some years after found to be with Child by Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, with which Child being at that time in France, was presently sent for; and being examined before the Archbishops of Canterbury, and affirming they were lawfully married, but not being able within a limited time to produce witnesses of their marriage, they were both committed to the Tower; where she was brought to bed; and after by the convivence or corruption of their Keepers, being suffered sometimes to come together, she was with child by him again; which made the Queen more angry than before; so as Sir Edw. Warner Lieutenant of the Tower was put out of his place, and the Earl was fined in the Star-Chamber five thousand pounds, and kept in Prison nine years after. Though in pleading of his Case, one John Hales argued, They were lawful Man and Wife, by virtue of their own bare content, without any Ecclesiastical Ceremony. The Lady a few years after, falling through grief into a mortal sickness, hereby desisted the Queens Pardon, for having married without her knowledge and commending her Children to her clemency, died in the Tower.

At this time (the King being under Age) discontents amongst the Peers grew hot in France, of which there were two Factions; both pretending the cause of Religion: Of the One, the Duke of Guise, a Papist, was Head; of the other the Prince of Condé, a Protestant. But while Delirant Regina plebiscitur Archie, while their Princes are at variance, the people suffer for it; and chiefly, as being under the weaker protection, the Protestant party, whereupon Queen Elizabeth, having well learned the Leesons: Two varces agonaris, partes com proximus arces, and fearing left the fame of their disfention, might kindle a fire within her own Kingdom; sent over Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales, into France, to endeavour by all possible means their reconciliation; which when he could not effect, (and perhaps it was never meant he should effect it, but only to see what Invitations would be made to the Queen for her assistance) the whereupon, at the mean of the affixed Protestants, sent an Army of six thousand Southerners, under the Conduct of the Earl of Warwick, in assistance of the Prince of Condé, and other Protestant Lords, who delivered to him the Town of Neuvon, to hold in the King of France his name until such time as Calices were restored; but the Prince of Condé, marching to join with the English Forces, was by the Duke of Guise intercepted, and taken a Prisoner, which had been a great disappointment to the English, but that the Duke of Colen joined with him, besieged Caen in Normandy, & took it, together with Bayonne, Falsife, and Saint Lo. The French Hostages that were pledges for the payment of five hundred thousand Crowns, if Calices were not restored, were remaining still in England; who perceiving there was like to be War with France, prepared secretly to get away; but being ready to take Shipping, were discovered and brought back again.

In the mean while, the Prince of Condé drawn on with a hope, to marry the Queen of Scots, and to have the chief Government in France, during the Kings Minority, concluded a Peace with the King, and with the Guises; so as now, all French as well Protestant as Papists, were required to have the Nobility delivered up: But the Earl of Warren, perceiving the infid offers of the French Protestant, did not find it fit to make the least motion, when the Duke of Guise was still in France, and now upon his flight occasion to require him to be gone; he dearest all French both Protestant and Papists, out of the Town, & lays hold of their Ships; the French on the other side make ready to set fire upon the Town, saying, They fought not now for Religion, but for their Country; wherefore it was meet that both Protestant and Papists should join their Forces, seeing they had already concluded a Peace between themselves. And hereupon the Duke of Monmouth sent a Trumpeter to the Earl of Warwick, commanding him to yield the Town: who made answer by Sir Hugh Pumlet; That he would never yield it without the Queen's leave; he thereupon besieged the Town, and with a great violence of Battery, fought to get it by force.

Which
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Which Queen Elizabeth hearing, she sent a Commission to the Earl of Warwick to yield it up; if upon honorable Conditions; which soon after was accordingly done, after the English had held it eleven months; and then the Earl, without any detriment for yielding up a Town, which the Petition made him no less unwilling than unable to hold, returned into England: but that which was more doleful than the loss of Newboune, he brought the Petition with him into England. The recovery of this Town, not only made the French to triumph, but hereupon the Chancellor of France pronounced openly, That by this War, the English had lost all their Right to Callicie, and were not to require it any more, seeing it was one of the Conditions, that neither of the Nations should make War upon the other; which was the Point upon which the King of France and his Mother, when Queen Elizabeth sent Sir Thomas Smith to demand Callicie to be restored.

At this time there were such close designs amongst the Princes of Christendom, that a very good Politian could hardly understand them all. The Duke of Guise being slain in the Civil War, the Queen of Scots Dowry was not paid her in France, and the Scots were put off from being the Kings Guard: This exceedingly dilapidated the Queen of Scots; but then to please her again, and for fear lest hereupon the Court should apply itself to the friendship of the English, her Uncle the Cardinal of Lorraine solicits her affreth, to marry Charles Duke of Austria; offering her for her Dowry the County of Tyrol.

The Queen of Scots, to make use of her Uncler fears, and perhaps to bring Queen Elizabeth into an opinion of depending upon her, acquaints her with this motion, and therein requires her advice. Queen Elizabeth not willing the shoulard be with any foreign Princes, persuades her to take a Husband out of England, and particularly commended to her the Lord Robert Dudley, (whole Wife a little before had with a fall broke her neck;) promising withal, that if she would marry him, she should then by Authority of Parliament be declared her Successor, in Case she died without Issue. But when her Uncler and the Queen-mother were informed of this motion, they so much disdained the Marriage with Dudley, so far the Queen of Scots replied, one of them, and that March, and probably were in the Friendship of the French, they offered to pay her the Dowry-money that was behind, and to restore the Scots to all their former Liberties in France. And as for the King of Spain, he had indeed a Leiger Embassador here in England; but rather by way of Complement, and to watch advantages, than for any fincer sake; which he began to withdraw from the English, as far as he could, to trade with the Irish Lords.

And now the French Protestants may see what they brought upon themselves, by leaving the English at Newboune, and by trysting to their Country-men the French Papists, for their peace was but a trance, and the Marriage of Henry of Bourbon Prince of Navarre, with Margaret of Valois, the French Kings Sister was but a bait to entrap them; for upon the confidence of this Marriage, being drawn together into Paris, they were the reader for the slaughter; and a few days after the Marriage, which were all spent in Feasts and Masks, to make them the more Secure, upon a Watch-word given, the bloody Faction fell upon the Protestants, and neither spared age, nor sex, nor condition, but without mercy, and cons of humanity, slaughtered as many as they could meet with, to the number of many thousands.

It was now the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, a year fatal for the death of many great Personages: First died William Lord Gray of Wilton, Governor of Berwick, a man famous for his great Services in War; then William Lord Paget, a man of as great Services in Peace; who by his great defervings had wrought his advancement to sundry Dignities, and honourable places; and though zealous in the Roman Religion, yet held by Queen Elizabeth in great estimation to his dying day: Then Henry Manners Earl of Rutland, desecrated by his Mother from King Edward the fourth: And lastly, Francis the Dutches of Suffolk, Daughter to Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, and Mother to Queen Jane.

And now Queen Elizabeth finding howickle the French Protestants had carried themselves towards her, intended to make a Peace; and to that end sent Sir Thomas Smith into France, joining the Protestants in Communion with him; and in conclusion, a Peace was agreed on; whereof, amongst other Articles, this was one, That the Hostages in England should be freed, upon the payment of six hundred thousand Crowns: and this Peace was ratified by the Oath both of the Queen of England, and the King of France.

About this time the English Merchants were hardly used both in Spain, and in the Netherlands, upon pretence of Civil differences, but indeed out of hatred to the Protestant Religion; whereupon the English removed the Seat of their Trading to Embden in Frisland, but Gofman the Spanish Legier newly come into England, finding the great damages that the Netherlands sustained by these differences, endeavoured by all means to compote them; and thereupon Villautantine Montague, Nicholas Wooton, and Walter Haddon Master of the Renegates, were sent to Bruges in Flandes; who after many evantions, brought the matter at last to some indifferent agreement.

It was now the seventh year of Queen Elizabeth, when making a Progress, she went to Cambridge; where after she had viewed the Colleges, and been entertained with Comedies and Scholastical Disputations, she made herself a Latin Oration, to the great Encouragement of the Scholars, and then returned. Presently after her return, she made the Lord Robert Dudley Master of her Horse, first Baron of Denhig (giving him Denhig and all the Lands belonging to it) and then Earl of Leicester to him, and the Heirs males of his Body lawfully begotten; which Honour was conferred upon him with the greatest State and Solemnity that ever was known. And now Leicester, to endure himself to the Queen of Scots, accused Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord-Keeper, for being privy to the Libell of Hales, who affirmed the right of the Crown to belong to the Family of Suffolk, in case the Queen should die without Issue; and thereupon was Bacon cast into Prison;
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen seeks to marry the Lord Dalrymple, son of the Earl of Lennox, but the Commissioners refuse to consent to this marriage. The Queen Elizabeth dislikes her from it, and the Commissioners refuse to marry the Earl of Leicestershire.

Hereupon, the Queen proceeds to conclude a marriage with Sir Thomas Randell for Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Murray, and Liddington for the Queen of Scots at Burwick, entered into a Treaty concerning the marriage with the Earl of Leicestershire. The English Commissioners urge the great benefits that by this match would accrue both to the Queen of Scots and the whole Kingdom of Scotland: The Scots will be appeased, and the great disparagement it would be to the Queen of Scots, if refusing the offer made her of divers great Princes, she should match her self with to mean a Person as the Earl of Leicestershire. This matter held long debate, partly for the English Commissioners were so appointed by Queen Elizabeth: and partly for that the Scots Commissioners had a good mind to hinder her from marrying at all; and perhaps not the least, for that the Earl of Leicestershire, being very peripatetic, should she at last obtain Queen Elizabeth her self, by secret Letters warned the Earl of Bedford not to urge the marriage with the Queen of Scots too far; and was thought for this cause to favour Dalrymple under hand. The matter being in this manner protracted for two whole years together; the Queen of Scots impatient of longer delay, and being resolved in her mind what she would do, used means, that the Lord Dalrymple got leave of Queen Elizabeth to go into Scotland for three months only, under colour to be put in possession of his Father's lands, (though it be strange, the Queen upon any terms would let him go, if she really intended to hinder the marriage: but such was the desire, if there were not a plot in it,) and so in February he came to Edinburgh; who being a young man of not above nineteen years of an age of a comely countenance, and most princely presence, the Queen of Scots as soon as she saw him, fell in love with him, yet modestly dissembling it for the present, she thought to get a Dispensation from Rome because of their nearness in Contiguity. And now, her inclination being grown to apparent, that there was no concealing it, she sent Liddington to Queen Elizabeth, declaring her content. But the, through the suggestions of the Earl of Murray, being induced to believe that the Queen of Scots intention was, by this Marriage to get the Crown of England, and to bring in Popery, entered into consultation with her Privy-Council, what was to be done to hinder the Marriage; who all concluded, that there were the best ways: First, To have a Company of Souliards levyed for terror sake about the Borders towards Scotland; then to commit to Prison the Counsellors of Lennox, the Lord Dalrymple Mother; and to recall from Scotland the Earl of Lennox, and his Son Dalrymple, upon pain of the loss of all their goods in England: then that the Scots who were known to be of the Marriage, should be relieved and assisted: And lastly, That Katherine Gray, with the Earl of Hertford, should be received into some grace; above whom only (it was thought) the Queen of Scots was most solicitous, as being her Rival to the English Crown. Hereupon Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was sent to the Queen of Scots, to counsel her in the Queen's name, not to proceed in this Marriage; and to throw her into the many inconveniences that would accrue unto her by it. But she returned answer, that the matter was too far passed to be recalled; and that Queen Elizabeth had no cause to be displeased with it, seeing herein the followed her advice. Not to match with a stranger, but with an Englishman born,

Queen Elizabeth being informed of her Answer, calleth home the Earl of Lennox and the Lord Dalrymple his Son, commanding them upon their Allegiance to return: The Father modestly by Letters excuseth himself; the Son humbly in- treatheth her not to be a hindrance to his preferment; which he vows to imply in his Majesties Service, to the uttermost of his power.

And now to make him the fitter match for her, the Queen of Scots honoured him with Knighthood; then with the Dignities of the Lord Armackne, Earl of Roff, and Duke of Rothlery, which Dukedom by Birth pertained to the eldest Sons of the Kings of Scotland. After this, when he had not been above five months in Scotland, she married him, and with the consent of most of the Peers, declared him King. At this the Earl of Murray, and other whom he drew to his party, extremely fretted, and fell to moving of turbulent questions, Whether it were lawful to adum a Papist King? Whether the Queen of Scots might chuse a Husband at her own pleasure? and whether the Peers of the Kingdom might not out of their own Authority impose one upon her? But however, they rallied Arms, and had disturbed the Nuptials, but that the Queen levied an Army to encounter them; with which she pursued them so closely, that they were fain to flee into England for protection; where Queen Elizabeth made no attempt to receive them, seeing the Queen of Scots had received Paley, Sandford and Hales, which were fled out of England; but the Earl of Murray especially, who had always been found adverse to the
Affiant on the Bench; two Lawyers and a Notary; and the first President made in this place, was Sir William Sel-leger.

And now Queen Elizabeth, in a Progress went to Oxford; where she took pleasure in viewing the Colleges, in hearing Orations, in seeing of Comedies, till the Comedy of Palemon and Arcess turned into a Tragedy; for by the fall of a wall, through the multitude of people that pressed in to see it, three men were slain. At her coming away, she made an Oration to the Scholars, a sufficient remembrance for all the Orations they had made to her. And this year was a call of seven new Serjeants at Law, who kept their Feast at Gray's Inn, in Holborn.

Upon the Queen's return from Oxford, the Parliament began, where they presently fell upon the matter of succession, and moving the Queen to marry; in which points some went so far, that they spared not to accuse the Queen, as one careless of Polity; to desame Cecill with Libels and reproaches, as if he were her Counsellour in this matter; but above all, to curse Doctor Hair, her Physitian, who was thought to divest her from Marriage, by reason of I know not what womanish infidelity. At last in the Upper-House it was agreed, That Sir Nicholas Bacon Lord Keeper, their Oractor, should in all their names beseech the Queen to marry: and withall, to declare a Successour in the Crown, if she should happen to die without Issue; for which he gave many Reasons, declaring what mischiefs were likely to befall the Kingdom, if she should die before a Successour were designated. But in the Lower-House there were some, amongst whom were Bell and Mountain, (two Lawyers of great account) Dutton, Sir Paul Wentworth, and others, who grew to far higher terms, disparaging the Queens Authority, and saying That Princes were bound to design a Successour; and that in not doing it, the Queen should flee her self no better than a particle of her Country. The Queen was contented to bear with words spoken in Parliament; which spoken out of Parliament, she would never have endured: but not willing to expolituate the matter with the whole number, She commanded that thirty of the Higher House, and as many of the Lower, should appear before her, to whom She delivered her mind to this effect: That she knew what danger hangeth over a Princes Head, when a Successour is once declared; She knew that even Children themselves, out of a holy desire of bearing Rule, had taken up Arms against their own Fathers, and how could better Conditions be expedited from Kindred? She had by reading observed, That Successours in a collaterall Line have seldom been declared; and that Lewes of Orleance, and Francis of Angoumois, were never declared Successours, and yet obtained the Crown without any noise.

Lastly, she said, Though I have been content to let you debate the matter of Succession, yet I advise you to beware, that you be not injurious to your Princes patience. With these and the like Reasons, she gave so great satisfaction, that they never after troubled her with making any more such motion. And though she contended not in plain terms to declare a Successour, yet soon

B B b after
after She gave some intimation of it: for one horatious, a Reader of the Civil Law in London, who in his Lectures called the Queen of Scots. Right in question, was clapp'd up in Priscon for his labour.

In the beginning of her ninth year, Charles the 9th. King of France, sent his Ambassador Ramhout into England to the Queen, with the Robes and Ornaments of the Order of Saint Michael, to be bestowed upon which two of her Nobility the pleased; and the making choice of the Duke of Norfolk, and the Earl of Leicester, they were by Ramhout invested with them; An Honour that had never been conferred upon any Englishman, but only King Henry the 8th. King Edward the 6th, and Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolk, though afterward prostituted almost to any, without difference.

And now to return to the affairs of Scotland: The sixteenth of June last past, the Queen of Scots, in a happy hour, was at Edinburgh Cattle delivered of a Son, that was afterward James the faith of Scotland; and the first Monarch of Great Britain: whereof She pretentiously sent to Queen Elizabeth, by James Melrose: who thereupon sent Sir Henry Kilkenny to congratulate her safe deliverance, and her young Son, whose all demonstration of love and amity. But now the love of the Queen of Scots to her Husband the Lord Darby, was not so hot at first, but it was now grown to be so cold; and she had not heaped honours on him so far before, but now as fast the take them off: for where before in public Acts, she had used to place her Husband name first, now she caus'd it to be placed last, and in the coining of Money began to leave it quite out.

This unkindness between them, was fomented by one David Riske, an Italian, grows a great favourite of the Queen of Scots. The King's son on by his Lords, murdered him. The Queen of Scots is delivered of a Son.

David Riske, an Italian, grows a great favourite of the Queen of Scots. The King's son on by his Lords, murdered him.

Especially by the animation of the Earl of Murray.

The Earls Rising and Carriages

Who to strengthen her left, manumits the Earl But-
el.
many, that the Queen was conscious of the manner; which was the thing that by marriage they intended: And the suspicion once raised, they seek by all means to increase, that they may have the better colour against her, and to the very same end which had absolv'd Bothwell, and contented to the marriage, now takes Arms against her, as a Delinquent in both; force him to flee, and then seize upon the Queen, whom, clad in a very home-y Garment, they thrust into prison in Lochleven, under the Custody of Murray's Mother, who had been the Harlot of James the Fifth; but her self to have been his lawful Wife, and her Son his lawful Issue. Queen Elizabeth having at length notice thereof, sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland to expostulate with the Confederates, touching this insolent usage of the Queen; and to confult by what means she might be restor'd to her Liberty. But Throgmorton coming into Scotland, found the Confederates in more insolent terms than he had been report'd; being divided in Opinion, what to do with the Queen, some would have her banish'd perpetually into England, and when he came home would have her question'd before the Judges, committed to personal custody, and her Son proclaimed King: Others, more inhumane, who would have her at once depriv'd of Princely Authority, of life and all; and this Knox and some other Ministers thund'red out of the Pulpit. Throgmorton on the other side, all'dged many passages out of the holy Scriptures, touching Obedience to the higher Powers; maintaining, That the Queen was subject to no Tribunal, but that in Heaven; That no Judge upon Earth might call her in question; That there was no Office, nor Jurisdiction in Scotland, which was not deriv'd from her Authority, and revokable at her pleasure. They again opposed the peculiar Right of the Kingdom of Scotland; and that in extraordinary cases, they were to proceed besides order: taking up Buchanan's Arguments, in those days, by inflammation of Murray, and interposing Dialogue, de jure regni apud Scotus, wherein against the Right of the Scottish Hiclike, he endeavours to prove, That the People have power, both to create, and to depose their King. After all their debating, all that Throgmorton could get of them, was a Writing without any subscription, wherein they protest'd, They had not up the Queen for no other intent, but to keep her apart from Bothwell, whom she loved to desparately, that to enjoy him, she regard'd not all their railes; willing himself to rest satisfied with this Answer, till such time as the rest of the Peers met together. And notwithstanding all he could say, they shut up the Queen daily in more strait custody, though with tears she besought them to deal more mildly with her, and to let her but once have a sight of her Son, which would not be grant'd her. At last, when fair perswasions could serve to make her freely give over the Kingdom, they threatened to question her openly for incontinent living, for the Kings Murder, and for Tyranny, to go through fear of death, they compell'd her, unseen, to swear hard to three Instruments: In the first whereof, she gave over her Kingdom to her young Son, at that time scarce thirteen Moneths old. In the second, she con-fituted Murray Vice-Roy during the minority of her Son. In the third, in case he refused the Charge, there Governors were nominat'd; James Duke of Chafeteon, Giles, Spire Earl of Argyle, Matthew Earl of Lenox, John Earl of Adbull, James Earl of Morton, Alexander Earl of Glencairn, and John Earl of More. And presently she signified to Queen Elizabeth by Throg- morton, That she had made these Grants by compulsion through the Council of Throgmorton, tell- ing her, That a Grant extorted from one in Prison (which is a just fear) is actually void, and of no effect.

Five days after the Queen had made this Re-signation, James the sixth, the Queen Son, was Anointed and Crown'd King, John Knox preach-ing at the same time; but a Protestation was then put in by the Hamiltons, That all this ought to be no prejudice to the Duke of Chafeteon Herald, in his right of Succession against the Family of Lenox; but Queen Elizabeth had forbidden Throgmorton to be at the Action, That the might not seem by the presence of her Embassador, to approve their proceeding in displacing the Queen.

Fifteen days after this translation, Murray himself return'd out of France into Scotland, and within three days went to the Queen with some other of the Confederates, who charg'd her with many Crimes, and wish'd her if she tend'd her Life and Honour, to observe these Prescriptions: Not to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, nor desire to be at Liberty; Not to flir up the Queen of England, or the King of France to molest Scotland with any War; nor to think any more of Bothwell's love, or meditate Revenge upon Bothwell's Adversaries.

Murray being now proclaimed Regent of Scotland, he bindeth himself under his Hand and Seal to do nothing which shall concern War or Peace, the Kings Person or his Marriage, or the Liberty of the Queen, without the consent of the Confederates; and then gives Throgmorton warn-ing by Lydston, not to make any further interferences to the Queen's Liberty, for that he and the rest had rather run any hazard than to suffer it. Soon after he put to death John Hepburn, Dagnall, and others that were Bothwell's Servants, for having a hand in the Murther of the King: But they (which he little expected) when they were at the Gallow's, ready to die, protested before God and his holy Angels, that Bothwell had told them, that Morton and Murray were the first Authors of the Murther. They feed the Queen from all suspicion, like as Bothwell himself being Prisoner in Denmark, both living and dying, often protested with deep afflictions, That the Queen was innocent. And fourteen years after, Morton going to Execution, confess'd that Bothwell dealt with him to content to the murther of the King; which, when he refused utterly, unless the Queen under her hand Writing would allow of it, Bothwell made answer, That could not be, but the fact must be done without her know-ledge.

A little before this time, upon one and the same day died two of the Privy-Council, Sir John Majen and Sir Richard Scoukile, and the Queen was innocens. The Queen of Feathers of fear, lest her hand to three Instruments, to her own prejudice. 
Exchequer, a man both prudent and provident, and allied to the Queen by her mother Anne Boleyn. In his room succeeded Walter Mildmay, a man of Wisdom and Integrity: In Majeste Office came Sir Francis Knollys, who married Katharine Carie, the Daughter of Mary Boleyn, the Queens Mothers Sister.

It was now the year 1567, and the tenth year of Queen Elizabeth Reign, when the Earl of Stirling came into England from the Emperour Maximian, to Treat of the Marriage of the Queen with the Arch-Duke Charler, upon which very occasion the Queen a little before had sent the Earl of Suffolk to the Emperour, with the Order of the Garter: But in the Treaty of Marriage there fell out to many difficulties about Religion, maintenance of the Duke, about the Royal Title, and concerning Succession, that after it had been treated of seven whole years together, it came at last to nothing, and the Duke not long after married Mary Daughter to Alters the Fifth Duke of Bavaria; yet both he and the Emperour endeavoured to win her after a good correspondence with the Queen.

About this time there came from John Balfour Emperour of Russia and Muscovia, Stephen Tweedies, and Theodore Pogorell, with a Prefent of rich Furs of Otter, Munive, and the like, tending all service and obsequiousness to the Queen and the English. The Merchants by vertue of a Grant from Queen Mary, had combined them selves into a Society, which they called the Muscovia Company; and having large Priviledges granted them from the Emperour, went thither with a Navy yearly, making a very gainful Voyage: but then it proved most gainful, when for the Queens sake they obtained at the Emperour his hands, in the year 1569. That none but the Englise of that Company should Traffique in the North-parts of Russia. With these Russian Em buffadours there returned into England, Anthony Jaffens, who in his Travells made curious Observations of Russia, and wrote for a Geographical Description of it, and was the first of the English that followed through the Caspian Sea; and this year the eighth of June, Sir Thomas Sackville was created Baron of Buckhurst, at Whitehall.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven months kept a Prisoner at Laft, by the help of George Douglas, to whose Brother the she was committed, The made escape from Loche-lyon to Hamilton Caffle, where upon the testimonies of Robert Melvyn, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in prison, (which is jusfas mentis) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least fix thousand but when they came to Borth with Blavray, being but raw and unexpert Soldiers, they were soon defeated. In this Cafe the Queen fought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threefcore miles, and coming at night to the House of Macdouwell Lord Heryes, from thence she sent John Betson to Queen Elizabeth with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intima-

Whereupon the Bows in England, and requires access to Queen Eliz.-beth for peace.

1568.

Reasons for delaying the Queen of Scots Art.

Queen Elizabeth pro-
manced her aid, but de-
niced success yet com-
mans her about, in the

Sir Thomas Sackville was created Baron of Buckhurst, at Whitehall.

We have seen before the first Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy: Now comes in the second, having been eleven months kept a Prisoner at Laft, by the help of George Douglas, to whose Brother the she was committed, The made escape from Loche-lyon to Hamilton Caffle, where upon the testimonies of Robert Melvyn, and others, in a meeting of a great part of the Nobility, there was drawn a sentence declaratory, That the Grant extorted from the Queen in prison, (which is jusfas mentis) was actually void from the beginning. Upon which Declaration, great multitudes flocked to her, so as within a day or two she had gotten an Army of at least fix thousand but when they came to Borth with Blavray, being but raw and unexpert Soldiers, they were soon defeated. In this Cafe the Queen fought to save her self by flight, journeying in one day threefcore miles, and coming at night to the House of Macdouwell Lord Heryes, from thence she sent John Betson to Queen Elizabeth with a Diamond Ring, which she had formerly received from her, as a Pledge of mutual amity; intima-

ting, that she would come into England, and implore her aid, if her Subjects offered to prosecute her any further. Queen Elizabeth returned an

fiver, that she should expect fromm in abundant manner, all loving and friendly Officers.

But before the Meffenger was returned, He, contrary to the advice of her friends, entered into a small Bark, and with the Lords, Heris and Fleming, and a few others landed at Wickinton in Cumberland, near the mouth of the River of Der-

Ave, the seventeenth day of May; and the same day wrote Letters to the Queen in French with her own hand, the effect whereof was, That having made an escape from the hands of her insolent and rebellious Subjects, she was now come into Eng-

land, upon certain hope of her approved clemency: and therefore humbly defiring, she might forthwith be conducted to her presence. Queen Elizabeth sending Letters by Sir Francis Knollys, comforted her, and promised her aid and defence, according to the equity of her cause; but denied her access, for the matter was held guilty of many Crimes, committing command to have her brought to Carlisle, as a place of better safety. The Queen of Scots receiving this answer, and finding ac-

cess to the Queen, denied her, making request again by Letter, that she might have leave both to unfold the injuries she had received, and to an-

swer the crimes objected, in her own presence: humbly interreating her, that either she might be admitted to have conference and affiatice, or else have free leave to depart out of England, to gain supply elsewhere, and not to be held a prifon-
er in the Castle at Carlisle; for as much as she came voluntarily into England, relying upon her love so often professed. Upon these Letters, Queen Elizabeth exceedingly commiserated her case, and could have found in her heart to ad-

mit her to her presence, but that her Counsellors conceived it to be matter for consideration, what to do in this Cafe. To detain her in England, had many more occasions to it; to send her into France, as many, to send her back into Scotes, many more; as in conclusion, the most were of Opinion, to have her detained, as one taken by right of War, and not to be disturbed, till she had made satisfaction for assuming the Title of Eng-

land, and for the death of Darly her Husband, who was born one of the Queens Subjects. In this diversity of Opinions, Queen Elizabeth out of her own Judgment, sent word by Middemores, to the Regent of Scotland, that he should come himself in person; or else depose some fit persons to answer the Complaints of the Queen of Scots against him and his Confederates, and render sufficient Reasons wherefore they had depivred her, otherwise she would forsworn dismiss her, and with all the forces she could, settle her in her Kingdome. To this Summons, Murray obeyed, and comes to York, the place appointed for this Treaty, accompanied with seven more of his intimate friends, who were sent to the Infant King, namely, James Earl of Morton, Adam Bishop of Orkney, Rivers of Dunfermu, Patrick Lord of Lynedich, James Mack-gilly, and Henry Balmeray; and with these Lydington the Secretary, and George Buchanan. And the very same day came thither Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Raitt Earl of Suffolk, and Sir Ralph Sacker a Privy Counsellor, appointed

Com-
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Commissioners for Queen Elizabeth. For the Queen of Scots (who took it harmfully, that Queen Elizabeth would not hear the cause her self, but refer her to Subjects, being an absolute Prince, and not tied to their proceedings) there appeared John Leffy Bishop of Roff, William Lord Levingston, Robert Lord Boyes, Queen of Kilmainan, John Gourdon, and James Cechan. Being met, Lydington turning himself to the Scots in a wondrous liberty of Speech, gave them the Prince naturally to consider, what prejudice they should deal against themselves, murdering the Queen of Scots, and calling her Reputation in question publicly before the English professed enemies of the Scottish Nation. Likewise, what account they shall be able to give hereof to the King, when he shall grow to riper years, and shall see what an injury this was to the Kingdome, his Mother, and his own Perfon. Wherefore (said he) it seemeth requisite to forbear this business altogether, unless the Queen of England will enter into a mutual league of Offence and Defence, against all those, which under this presence, shall go about to molest us. Upon this Speech of his, the Delegates of the Queen of Scots made Protestation, That although it pleased the Queen of Scots to have the canie between her and her disloyal Subjects, debated before the English, yet she being a free Prince, and conscious to no earthly Prince whatsoever, did not thereby yield her self subject to the Jurisdiction and command of any person. On the contrary, the English protected, That they did in no wise admit that Protestation, in prejudice to the right which the Kings of England have anciently challenged as superior Lords of the Kingdome of Scotland. The day after, the Queen of Scots Delegates set forth at large the injurious dealing of Morton, Murray, Marre, Glescaurn, Hume, and others against the Queen; and how they had compelled her, for fear of death, to resign her Crown; which therefore (they said) was of no force. Murray and his Confederates make answer, That they had done nothing, but by content of the Peers in Parliament, and that in projecting of Bothwell, the Author of the Kings murder, whom the Queen protected; and as for her renunciation, that it was voluntarily and freely done. All this the Queen of Scots Delegates answered and confirmed, affirming in particular, That there are one hundred Earls, Bishops and Barons, (more or less) that have voices in the Parliament of Scotland, there were not in that tumultuous assembly they speak of, above four Earls, one Bishop, an Abbot or two, and six Barons; wherefore their earnest Request was, that the Queen of England should be sensible of these indignities offered her; and take some course for a speedy redress.

After this, some new Commissioners from Queen Elizabeth were added to the former, to some of whom the Queen of Scots took exception; unless the French and Spanish Embassadors might be taken in, and her self admitted into the presence of the Queen and them, publicly to defend her own innocency; and that Murray might be detained and cited, whom the affirmed, she was able to prove to have been the chief Plotter of the murder of her Husband Darley. This was held to be a just demand by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Arundel, Suffolk, Leicester, and the Lord Catesby. But Queen Elizabeth waxing somewhat angry, openly said, that the Queen of Scots should never want an Advocate as long as Norfolk lived: It was seen here, which is fast, that the heart of the King is insensible; for how Queen Elizabeth stood affected in this case of the Queen of Scots, no man could well discern; she detested the infidelity of her Subjects in deposing her, and yet gave no assistance to reprove his, and after nothing concluded, Murray a little before his return into Scotland, fully propounded the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Duke of Norfolk; which he with a modest answer rejected as a thing full of danger. But within, Murray the more to alliterate Queen Elizabeth mind from the Queen of Scots, gave out, that she had hasted away to the Duke of Abylly her Right to the Crown of England, and that the transactio was confirmed at Rome; he thowed Letters also which the Queen of Scots had written to some Friends whom the trusted; wherein he accused the Queen for not dealing with her according to promise, and boasting of succours he expected from some others. This last shewed something troubled Queen Elizabeth, neither could the conjecture from whence any such succour should come; seeing both France with the Civil Wars, and the King of Spain in the Low Countries had enough to do at home. But at last it brake out, that one Robert Ridolph a Florentine, under the habit of a Merchant in London, was furnished by Pope Pius the fifth, to make a secret communion of the Papists in England against the Queen, which he performed indeed with a deal of secrecy, and much cunning; whereupon the Queen of Scots was removed from Bolton (a Castle of the Lord Scroop) where all the neighbouring people were Papists; to Tynbore more toward the heart of the Country, under the Custody of George Earl of Shrewsbury.

About this time the Guises in France, and the Duke D'Alva in the Low-Countreis began to endeavour the utter extirpation of the Protestant Religion. In France, the Ministers of the Gospel are commanded within a limited time to depart the Kingdom; when Queen Elizabeth forgetting the fickleness of the Protestants at Newhaven, once again took upon her their protection supplies them with two hundred thousand Crowns in money, besides Munition in abundance, and withal humanity receives the French that fled into England; the rather, for that they made solemn protestation, they took not up Arms against their Prince, but only stood upon their own defence. In the Low-Countreis likewise, the Duke D'Alva breathing nothing but slaughter and blood, made the Dutch come flocking into England, as into a Sanctuary, where with all courtesy they were received.

And here it will be fit to shew how the War in the Low-Countreis began, which was thus: At which time the King of Spain brought in the Spanish Inquisition; a small number of the meanest sort of people, in tumultuous manner, call the Images out of Churches, and break them in pieces; and although that rumour was soon quitted, yet the King of Spain taking advantage at the
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Duke of Norfolk, first proceeding about the marriage with the Queen of Scots,

Letters of Mart granted against Spain.

1569.

... The Earl Murray being returned into Scotland, makes the Lords believe that he designs a meeting at Edinburgh, to consult about restoring the Queen to her Liberty; but as Hamilton Duke of Châlnotte, it happened that the Earl Murray could have been content the Queen should have been set at liberty; but that he knew, her liberty could not be without his favour; and Queen Elizabeth perhaps would willingly have had her restored to her Kingdom, but that she doubted, such restoring would indanger her own security: And thus, while they regarded their own ends in the first place, and hers but in the second, she had the fortune to be pitied, but not the happiness to be relieved; and all the could do her self, was but to tie the knot of her bonds the fatter: if she could have fate fill, they would perhaps have losten of themselves; but now, the more the fird, the more the was intangled.

And now the Definy of the Duke of Norfolk began to work: It was in every ones mouth, that the Duke should marry the Queen of Scots; and it is true, there had been motions made; but the matter not to forward, as the Voice of the People, which commonly prefight what will follow. It had been motioned to the Duke at York, by the Bishop of Roff, and afterward (in presence at least) by Murray himself at Hampton-Court; but the Duke, before he would resolve in the matter, deliberated with the Earls of Arranfell, Northumberland, Westmorland, Suffolk, Pembroke, Southampton, and Leicester himself, who all judged it fit, he should acquaint the Queen with it first, and then leave the matter to her liking. Within a few days, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton meeting the Duke in the Palace at Westminster, advised him, to move the Earl of Leicester himself to embrace the Match, seeing he had formerly led for it: but if he refused it, then at leaft to take him along with him, for that himself alone would hardly be able to procure the Queens content. A day or two after, the Earl of Leicester propounded the matter to the Duke, and then communicated it to the Earls of Arranfell and Pembroke, to whose Lloyd, together with Throgmorton, wrote the Queen of Scots, commending the Duke of Norfolk to her for a Husband; the Duke himself likewise wrote to her, tending his singular love and respect unto her. Upon this, Articles are drawn, written with Leicester own hand, and sent to the Queen of Scots; to which, if the contented, they then promised to procure, that Queen Elizabeth should give her consent, and that forthwith she should be restored in her Kingdom, and the Secession of England should be confirmed upon her. We may easily believe, the Queen of Scots was not hardly drawn to give content to her own devise; but in the mean time, the Duke had imparted to the Lord Lumley the whole proceeding, and had much ado to get the Earl of Leicester Content that he might advise of it with some other of his Friends; yet a little after, he opened the matter to Cecil; and

Articles between them are drawn by Leicester.

The rumour of this Marriage was soon come to the Queens Ears; which the Duke undertook, as he dealt earnestly with the Earl of Leicester, to have the matters propounded to the Queen out of hand. Leicester makes delays, and pretends caufes to put it off; which Cecil seeing, he advices the Duke to go and acquire the
But coming
at last to her
knowledge, she
commanded
Duke to ascend
his Allegiance,
to de-
fit, which he promis-
ged.

He is com-
mited to the Tower.

The Earl of
Northumberland,
Knights, Arms, in
the

pronounce Queen Elizabeth an Heretic; and
therefore to have utterly lost all Right of Sove-
reignty: By and by they send forth a Writing,
wherein they declare that they had taken
Arms for no other end, but that the Religion of
their fore-Fathers might be restored, wicked Con-
sellers removed from the Queen, the Duke of
Norfolk, and others of the loyal Nobility relieved,
who were now in disgrace; but towards the
Queen, professing themselves most dutiful Sub-
jects; with all they send Letters to the Papists all
the Kingdom over, requiring them to come to
their assistance; but they were so far from joy-
ning with them, that many sent both the Letters
and the Bearers of them to the Queen, and affor-
ded their aids and partes against them, no less
then the best Protestants; even the Duke of Nor-
folk himself was not backward in it.

These Rebels go first to Durham, where they
tear in pieces all the Bibles and Books of Com-
mon-Prayer they could find in Churches of the
English Tongue; when they had been twelve
days in Rebellion, they numbered their Army,
and could not reckon above fix hundred Horse,
and four thousand Foot; whereupon being cer-
tainly informed, that the Earl of Suffolk with
fome thousand, and the Earl of Walmersley with
twelve, were setting out against them, they be-
took themselves to Kebale, the chief House of the
Earl of Walmersley; going from thence, they
besieged Bernardi Castle, which for lack of Pro-
vision, was yielded to them. At which time be-
ing proclaimed Trantors, and hearing a fifth of the
great Forces that were coming against them, the
two Earls with a small Company get preiently
into Scotland, had by where the Earl of
Northumberland hid himself at Har court in a poor
Cottage, amongst the Grayhams (famous Rebs-
ners) who afterwards betrayed him to the Earl of
Murray: Walmersley made a shift to get into the
Low-Countries, where he had a fleder Ren-
nion from the King of Spain, and there lived even
to old age. Of the telt, that terrors and examples
take, there were hanged at Durham three time
and fix of the chief; amongst whom, Plontree a
noted Priest. At York they were executed, Simon Digby,
John Enbury, Thomas Bifhops, Robert Penman,
and at Leeds, when some years after, Christo-
pher and Thomas, and some other in other places.
After this, the heads of the Rebels being con-
victed of High-Treason, were proscribed; names
ly, Charles Earl of Walmersley, Thomas Earl
of Northumberland, Anne Countess of North-
umberland, Edward Dares of Morton, John Nevill
of Leverfeg, John Swainborn, Thomas Marten-
field, Ewinn Raffic, Brother to the Earl of
Suffolk, Christopher Nevill, Richard Norton,
Christopher Marmaduke, Robert and Michael
Tempeft, George Stafford, and forty others of
good account. "Out of the ashes of this Rebelli-
on, a new fire was kindled at Newcastle in Com-
monwealth by Leonard Dares, second Son to the
Lord Dares of Gyllifland; He was a Party with
the Earls in their Rebellion; but they breaking
forth sooner than he expected, and he at that time
being at the Court, and there admitted to kits
the Queens hand, rendered his Service to go
against the Commons; and to that purpose, was sent
forth, but in his Journey (branding himself with a dou-
ble dishonour) he consulted with the Rebels, and
encouraged
encouraged them to go on; and by virtue of Letters of Credence from the Queen, he surprised the Castle of Greyflock, and other Hounies of the Dares, and gathered together an Army of three thousand men: But being encountered by the Bri- son of Hunsfod, after a great fight, wherein, though he were crook-backt, he behaved himself valiant- ly, he was put to flight, and fled into Scotland, from whence soon after he paffed over the Low- Countries, and in great misery and poverty died at Louysyn.

But though the Queen were thus intangled with Rebellions at home, yet she was not care- less of the afflicted Protestants in France: for she stirred up the Protestant Princes to defend the common Cause; supplied them with money, taking in pawn the Queen of Navar's Jewels; and gave leave to Henry Champeron to lead into France a Troop of a hundred Horse, Gentlemen all, and Voluntaries, amongst whom were Philip Boteler, Francis Barlow, and Walter Rangleigh, a very young man, who now began to look into the World. But at the Queen of England affifted the French, so in revenge thereof, the King of France meant to affift the Scots, but that he was taken away by death.

There was at that time a Rebellion in Ireland also, raised by Edmund and Peter, Brothers to Border Earl of Ormond; but after many outrages by them committed, the Earl of Ormond first by per- vations, obtained of them to submit them- selves; and when notwithstanding they were committed to prison, he then obtained of the Queen they should not be called to the Bar, be- ing exceedingly grieved that any of his Blood should be attainted of Rebellion. The rest of Rebels were pursu'd by Sir Humphry Gilbert, and soon diered.

And now the Earl of Murray, Regent of Scot- land, when he had brought all things to his hearts d-ice, and thought himself secure, at Lunatick for his treason, was taken into the belly with a Bullet, beneath the Navil, and there fell down dead. The Actor was a Hamilton, who did it upon a private revenge, for that Murray had forced him to part with a piece of Land which he had by his Wife; who thereupon falling Lanatick, he in a great rage committed this slaughter.

After Murray's death, the Countrey being without a Regent, was cauf'd of many disorders, Thomas Care and Walter Sen, two principal men amongst the Scottish Borders, and devote to the Queen of Scots, made Inroads into England, waiving all places with Fire and Sword, till by Forces sent out of England, under the Command of the Earl of Suffet, and the Lord Hunsfon, they were defeated: In whose pursuit, three hundred Villages were fired, and above fifty Hides were overturned. For which service the Earl made many Knights in his Service, to Drury, Sir Thomas Adgener, Sir George Care, Sir Rakers Confoable, and others, and then returned. And now to prevent further disorders, the Lords of Scotland being ready to assemble about the election of a new Regent, they asked Council of Queen Eliz- abeth in the matter; but the making anser he would not meddle in, because the would not be thought to work any thing prejudicial to the Queen of Scots, whose case was not yet tried, they created Matthew Earl of Lenox Regent in place, which Queen Elizabeth did the better like, as conceiving he could not choose out of natural affection, but have a special care of the young King, being his Grand-child.

But while Queen Elizabeth favored the Kings Party in Scotland, the Earl of Huntley, the Duke of Caftle-Heralds, and the Earl of Argyle, (the Queen of Scots Lieutenants) employ the Lord Seton to the Duke D' Alva, requiring him for many great Reasons, to vindicate the Queen of Scots at liberty, and her Affiduous.
Lords of the Queen of Scots Party continuing to protect the English Rebels, the Earl of Suffolk once again, accompanied with the Lord Scroop, entered Scotland, burned the Villages all along the Valley of Anandale, and compelled the Duke of Cawley-Herald, and the Earls of Huntlie and Argyll, under a Writing signed with their own Hands and Seals, to forçage the English Rebels. Whereupon the Earl of Suffolk returning home, made these Knights, Edward Hasting[es], Francis Raffell, Valentine Brown, William Hilton, Robert Step[le]ton, Henry Careen, and Simon M'Dravse.

Queen Elizabeth's mind being now in great suspicione, by reason of that Ball from Rome, and the late conspiracie, in Norfolk, sent Sir William Cecil and Sir Walter Mildmay to the Queen of Scots, who was then at Chatsworth in Derbyshire, to confer with her by what means the search in Scotland was, and what she made of her, the re-involved in her former dignity, and her Son and Queen Elizabeth might be secured. The Queen of Scots did little deplore her own afflicted condition, putting herself wholly upon the Queens elemonie, when the Commissioners made unto her certain Propositions of Agreement: First, that the Treaty of Edinborough should be confirmed; Then, that she should renounce her Right and Title to England, during Queen Elizabeth's life, or any Children of her Body lawfully begotten; Then, that she should send her Son for a Hostage into England, with other six Hostages, such as the Queen should nominate: Then, that the Caftles of Hume and East-coffe, should be held by the English for three years; with some other. To which Propositions the Queen of Scots for the present gave a provident answer; but referred the full Answer to the Bishop of Roff, her Ambassadors in England, and her Council in Scotland; what he made of all, some of the Propositions, and not allowing others, the Treaty came to nothing.—but the matter reëd in the State it was before.

At this time Philip King of Spain had con- trasted a Marriage with Anne of Austria, Daughter to the Emperor Maximili, his own Nece of by his Sifter; who was now setting Sail from Zeland, towards Spain; when Queen Elizabeth, to testify her love and respect to the House of Austria, sent Sir Charles Howard with the Navy-Royal, to conduct her through the Britifh Sea.

And now was the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth Reign finishe[d], and some of the most important Acts he made Papists believe should be her la[t] but contrary, as if it were but her first, a new Caftell began, of celebrating the seventeenth day of Novem-[ber] (the Anniversary day of her Reign,) with ringing of Bells, Tiltings and Bonfires: which Caftell, as it now began, so it was never given over as long as the real was, and is not yet forborn long after her death.

At this time in Ireland, Conneghier O Brien, Earl of Thomond, not brooking the severe Go- vernment of Edward Pifton, President of Conneghier, entered into Cofultation with some few, to raise a new Rebellion; which, being at the point ready to break forth, was strangely discovered: for the day before they meant to take up Arms, Pifton knowing not at all of the matter, sent the Ead word in friendly manner, that the next day he and a few friends with him would be his Gue[sts]. The Earl convinced by his own Con- Science, imagined that his Intentions were rev- ealed; that Pifton would come as an Enemy, rather than a Guest. Out of which fear, he pre- Pentially sat fay into France; where repeating him seriously of his faults, he confedted the whole buffen to Norris the Queens Embassador in France; and by his intercession, was afterward pardoncd and restored.

In January, the thirteenth year of her Reign, Queen Elizabeth in Royal pomp entering the City of London, went to see the Battle where Sir Tho- mas Grahame had lately built for the use of the Merchants; and with found of Trumpets, and the voice of a Herald solemnly named it the Royal Exchange. A few days after, for his many great Services, he made Sir William Cecil Baron Burghley.

There were now about the Scottish affairs, in the name of the King of Scots, the Earl of Mar- ton, Pernare Abbott of Dumfermin, and James Mac-Gray; whom when Queen Elizabeth re- quired to know more clearly, for what causes they had depofed the Queen; they exhibited a long and tedious Commentary; wherein, with a cer- tain infolent liberty, they endeavored to prove, by the ancient Right of the Kingdom of Scotland that the people of Scotland were above the King, and urged Catholic Authority also; That Popular Magistrates are continued for the moderacion of the licentioseis of Princes: that it is law- ful for them, both to impress Kings; and upon just causes, to depose them. This Writing the Queen could not read without indignation; but to the Delegates, she gave this Answer; She saw no just cause yet, why they should handle the Queen in such manner; and therefore wished them to think upon some cause out of hand, how to allay the discontents in Scotland. Hereupon in Sir Nicholas Bacon house, Keeper of the Great Seal, a Proposition was made to the Bishop of Ro[s], the Bishop of Goway, and Baron Creving- fon, Delegates for the Queen of Scots, that for the security of the Kingdom, and the Queen of England; it was requisite, that before the Queen of Scots should be set at liberty, the Duke of Cawley-Herald, the Earl of Huntlie and Argyll, the Lords Hume, Herin, and another of the Bar- rons should be delivered for Hostages, and the Caftles of Dumbriton and Humes, yielded up into the hands of the English for three years. But they made answer, this to yield up great Perish- ages, and such Fortifications as were demanded, were nothing else; but to leave the miserable Queen utterly destitute of faithful friends, and naked of all places, fit for guard and defence: yet they offered, to give two Earls and two Bar- rons for Hostages, till two years was expired: which not being accepted, they at last abandon- there ther, and spake it openly; That now they plainly perceived the English meant to keep the Queen of Scots perpetually prisoner, and likewise to break off the Treaty; seeing they rigorously demanded such security as Scotland was not able to make good. And now Queen Elizabeth seeing that nothing could be done for her own, the King and Queen of Scots safety, unless both Factions in Scotland confented, she held it fit that
that the Lords of Scotland should themselves appoint some chosen persons to compound the matter.

While matters in England proceeded in this fort, the Queens Party in Scotland was hardly used: Dambriam Fryth, the trusty Castile in Scotland was taken: and J. Hamilton Archibishop of Saint Andrews, the Duke of Cofle-Herolds Brother, as an accessary to the mutther of Daries, was hanged without being arraigned according to Law. In England, the Queen of Scots had all her Servants taken from her, except ten only, and a Priet to say Maffe: with which indignities the Queen of Scots provoked, causeth a large Commentary of her Councils, with certain love Letters to the Duke of Nofolk, to be carried to the Pope, and the King of Spain, by Ridolphus, which being brought first to the Duke, Higford (one that waited on the Duke in his Bed-chamber) had copied out: but being commanded to burn them, he hid them under a Mat in the Dukes Bed-chamber: and that (if it should seem) purposely, Ridolphus to draw on the Duke to be head of the discontented Party in England, aggrandized to him the wrongs he had suffered: how against all Law he had been kept a long time in prison, and now, to his great disgrace, was not summoned to the Parliament: he exhibith in this a Catalogue of such of the Nobility, who had vowed to assist him: he shewed how the Pope (so the Catholick Religion might be promoted) would himself undergo all the charge of the War, and had already laid down an hundred thousand Crowns: whereof himself had distributed twelve thousand amongst the English that were fled: he promised, that the King of Spain would lend four thousand Horse, and six thousand Foot to his Assistance: to these Reasons the Bishop of Rothes added, that it was an easy matter for him to surprize the Queen; whom, when he had in his hands, he might set the Queen of Scots at liberty, and might easily obtain of Queen Elizabeth, a toleration of Religion. The former Reasons took some what with the Duke, but this point of surprizing the Queen, he abhorred, as an impious Fact, and therefore rejected as pernicious and dangerous.

In France, a little before this, was the Marriage solemnized between Charles the Ninth King of France, and Elizabeth of Austria, Daughter to the Emperor Maximilian; in gratulation whereof, Queen Elizabeth sent into France, Thomas Lord Buckhurst, who with great magnificence was received, and perhaps in relation, in regard of a motion now intended to be made: for the Lord Buckhurst having in his Retinue, one Gondio Cavalcante, a Noble man of Florence, the Queen-mother of France, as being a Florence her self, had often conference with him, when the would many times say, What a happiness it would be to both the Kingdoms, if a Match were made between the Queen of England, and her Son Henry Duke of Albany; and at last defir'd him to command the motion to the Queen of England, both from her, and from her Son the King of France, as a thing they both exceedingly desired. The Lord Buckhurst returned, having for a present from the King of France a Chain weighing a thousand French Crowns, and Cavalcante at his return made the motion to the Queen, who seemed not unwilling to hearken to it; for by this Match, there should be added to the Kingdom of England the Argill and the Dukedoms of Albany, Burkert, Arent, and in particular, by the Kingdom of France it self. Hereupon a Treaty was held, in which the French propounded three Articles, one concerning the Coronation of the Duke, another, concerning the Joint Administration of the Kingdom; a third, concerning a Toleration of his Religion: to which it was answered, That the two first Articles might in some fort be composed, but the third, scarce possibly; for though a contrary Religion might be tolerated between Subjects of the same Kingdom; yet between a wife and her Husband it seemed very incongruous and inconvenient: Yet the matter at last came to this conclusion, That if the Duke would afford his presence with the Queen at Divine Service, and not refuse to hear and learn the Doctrine of the Church of England; he should not be compelled to use the English Rites, but at his pleasure use the Roman; not being expressly against the Word of God. But upon these Fundiments they could not accord; and so the Treaty, after it had continued almost a year, brake utterly off. It was indeed generally thought, that the March was never really intended on either side, but that they both pretended a liking, as a step towards their own ends: for the Earl of Leicester (who knew the Queens mind than any man) wrote at this time to Sir Francis Walsingham, the Queens Embassador in France, that he found the Queens inclination to cold in the matter, that though the point of Religion were fully accorded; yet she would find one point or other to break it off.

At this time the continuance of the Duke of Norfolk's affection to the Queen of Scots, came to be discovered by a Packet of Letters, sent by Ridolphus to the Bishop of Rothes and by Bayly's confession (who brought the Letters) being sent upon the Rack: so that the Bishop of Rothes was confined to the Isle of Ely; Thomas Stanley, Sir Thomas Gerrard, and Roifon, were cast into the Tower; and Henry Howard, who had an aspiring mind to be Archbishop, was committed to the Archbishop of Canterbury's keeping. At the same time the Queen of Scots sent money to her Confederates in Scotland; which being by Higford delivered to one Brown to carry, and told it was Silver, when he found by the weight that it was Gold, he began to suspect something; and thereupon went and delivered both the money and Letters to the Lords of the Council. Upon this, Higford being examined, confessed the whole matter; and withall gave notice of that Commentary also of the Queen of Scots, which is mentioned before; two days after, the Duke himself being examined, and knowing nothing what his Servants had confessed, denied every particular; and thereupon was brought again to the Tower, by Ralph Sadler, Thomas Smith, Henry Nevil, and Doctor Wilton: And after him Bennet, who was the Dukes Counsell at Law: The Earl of Arundell and Southampton; the Lord Lumley, the Lord Cobham, Henry Percy, London, Pelony, Goodyer, and others, are committed to Prison; who, upon hope of Pardon, confessed all they knew concerning the matter. When these things, and especially the Commentary, which the Duke thought had been burnt, were
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

First, Whether an Ambashiador who raiseth Rebellion against that Prince to whom he is an Ambashiador, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambashiador, and is liable to Punishment? They answered, That such an Ambashiador hath forfeited the Priviledges of an Ambashiador, and is liable to punishment.

Secondly, Whether the Minister or Preator of a Prince, who is deputed by public Authority, and in whose room another is inaugurated, may enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambashiador? They answered, That if such a Prince be lawfully deposed, his Preator cannot challenge the Priviledges of an Ambashiador, forasmuch as none but absolute Princes, and such as have Right of Majesty, can appoint Ambashiadors.

Thirdly, Whether a Prince who is come into another Prince's Country, and held in Custody, may have his Preator, and if he shall be held an Ambashiador? They answered, If such a Prince have not left his Sovereignty, he may have his Preator; but whether that Preator shall be reputed as an Ambashiador or no, this dependeth upon the Authority of his Delegation.

Fourthly, Whether if a Prince gave morning to such a Preator, and to his Prince who is under custody that this Preator shall not from henceforth be accounted for an Ambashiador; whether that Preator may by Law challenge the Priviledges of an Ambashiador?

They answered, A Prince may forbid an Ambashiador to enter into his Kingdom, and command him to depart the Kingdom, if he contain not himself within his臣 limits; yet in the mean while he is to enjoy the Priviledges of an Ambashiador.

Upon these Answers, the Bishop of Roffe is warned by the Lords of the Council, that he shall no longer be effectually an Ambashiador, but be punished as his fault shall deserve. The Bishop alleged for himself, that he had not violated the Right of an Ambashiador Via Jus, but Via Falsi (to use his own words) and therefore advieth them, not to use harder measure to him than was used to the English Ambashiadors;
belonged not to the Queen England, but was the King of Spain from that subject; it is nevertheless condemned by the Form of Niplit dict (for so much as no man can renounce the Country wherein he was born, nor abjure his Prince at his own pleasure) and finally executed after the manner of Traytose.

Ireland at this time was indifferent quiet; for John Perce, President of Munster, had brought James Fitz Morris to submit himself, and crave pardon. Lord Oglethorpe returned into England, and Sir William Fitz Williams, who had married his Siter, succeeded in his room.

It was now the fifteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; when Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, on the sixteenth day of January, was brought to his Tryal at Westminster-Hall; where sate as Commissioners, George Talbot Earl of Shrewsbury (made high Steward of England for that day) Beauclergy Earl of Kent; Thomas Ratcliffe Earl of Suffolk; Henry Hastings Earl of Huntington; Francis Kefcl Earl of Bedford; Henry Herbert Earl of Pembroke; Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford; Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwicke; Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester; Walter Devereux Viscount of Hertford; Edward Lord Clinton, Admira; William Lord Howard of Effingham, Chamberlain; William Cecil Lord Burley, Secretary; Arthur, Lord Gray of Wintoun; James Blouf Lord Montjoy, William Lord Sand, Thomas Lord Wentworth, William Lord Berrow, Sir Walter Leyborne. Lord Paulten Lord St. John of Basing, Robert Lord Rich, Lord North; Edmund Bridges Lord Chandos, Oliver Lord St. John of Bifho, Thomas Sackville Lord Buckhough, and William Brayf Lord de la Warte. After silence bidden, Sir Owen Heston, Lieutenant of the Tower, was commanded to bring the Duke to the Bar; and then the Clerk of the Crown said, Thomas Duke of Norfolk, late of Kneppels in the County of Norfolk, Hold up thine hand; which done, the Clerk with a loud Voice readeth the Crimes laid to his Charge; That in the eleventh year of the Queens Reign, he had traytously consulted to make her away, and to bring in foreign Forces for invading the Kingdom; Also, That he dealt with the Queen of Scots concerning Marriage, contrary to his promise made to the Queen under his hand-writing: Also, That he believed with the Earl of Northumberlaid and Westumberlaid, that had hurled up Rebellion against the Queen; Also, That in the 13th year of the Queens Reign, he implored Auxiliary Forces of Pope Pius the Fifth, the Queens professed Enemy, of the King of Spain, and the Duke D' Alva, for the freeing of the Queen of Scots, and restoring of the Popish Religion: And lastly, That he sent supply to the Lord Heri, and other the Queens Enemies in Scotland.

These Indictments being read, the Clerk demanded of the Duke, if he were guilty of these Crimes, or not? Here the Duke requested he might be allowed to have Counsell. But Catherine chief Justice, made anfwer, That it was not lawful. Yet (fai the Duke) I have heard that Humphrey Stafford, in the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in a Cafe of Treafon, had one affidged to plead for him. To which Dyre chief Justice of the Common Pleas, made anfwer, That Stafford had Council affigned him concerning the Right of Sanctuary, from whence he was taken by force; but in the Indictment of Treafon, he pleaded his own caufe. After this, the Duke yielding to be tried by the Peers; first Barbon, Serjeant at Law, then Gerard the Queens Attorney; and lastly, Bromley, the Queens Solicitor, enforced the Crimes objected against him to all which, the Duke made colourable anfwer; but most of them being proved by sufficient evidence, he asked upon occasion. Whether the Subjects of another Prince, who is confederate, and in league with the Queen, are to be accounted Enemies to which Catherine anfwered, They were; and that the Queen of England might wage War with any Duke of France, and yet hold firm peace with the French King. When it grew towards night, the Lord High Steward demanded of the Duke, if he had any more to say for himself, who anfwered, I rely upon the equity of the Laws. After this, the Lords withdrawing a white, and then returning, the Lord Steward beginning at the lowest, asked them, My Lord de la Ware, Is Thomas Duke of Norfolk guilty of thefe Crimes of High Treafon, for which he is called in question? He rising up, and laying his hand upon his breef, anfwered, Guilty: in like manner they answered all. After this, the Lord Steward with tears in his eyes, pronounced sentence in form as is used. A few days after were Barnes and Malher executed, who confcripted with one Heri, to make away certain of the Counfellors, and to free the Duke; but Heri revealed the business privately, to whom Barnes (when he saw his Accuser brought forth) himself, said, Heri, thou went but one hour before me, elfe I had been in thy place for the Accuser, and thou in my room to be hanged: At the same time with them was hanged also Henry Ruff, for counterfeiting the Queens hand. But though the Duke were now condemned, yet the Queen was so tender of his cafe, that it was four moneths after before he was executed; at last, on the second of June, at eight of the Clock in the morning, he was brought to the Scaffold upon Tower-Hill, and there beheaded.

At this time, and upon this occasion, a Parliament was Assembled, wherein amongst other Laws, it was Enacted, That if any man should go about to free any person imprisoned by the Queens Commandment, for Treafon or suspicion of Treafon, and not yet Arraigned, he shall lose all his Goods for his life-time; and he imprisoned during the Queens pleasure; if the faid person having been Arraigned, the Refcuere shall forfeit his life; it condemned, he shall be guilty of Rebellion.

In the time of this Parliament, the Queen created Walter Devereux Earl of Essex, being before created Earl of Essex, and of age, and by what

The Duke of Norfolk is brought to his Trial, and condenmed.

The Duke is beheaded.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth. 369

Queen Elizabeth's friends the Lord de la Warr, and others, to the Queen, to charge her with many crimes, and what she answered.

The Queen's Solicitors, were sent to the Queen of Scots, to expostulate with her. That she had usurped the title and arms of the Kingdom of England, and had not renounced the same, according to the agreement of the Treaty at Edinburgh: That she had endeavoured the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk, without acquainting the Queen, and had had all forcible means to free him out of prison; had raised the Rebellion in the North, had relieved the Rebels both in Scotland, and in the Low-Countries; had implored aids from the Pope, the King of Spain, and others; had confpired with certain of the English, to free her out of prison, and declare her Queen of England; Lastly, That she had procured the Popes Bull against the Queen, and suffered her to be publicly named the Queen of England in Foreign Countries: All which accusations the Queen neither absolutely denied, or else freely extenuated: and though (as she said) she were a free Queen, and not subject to any Cicerate; yet she was content, and requested, that she might make her personal answer at the next Parliament.

About this time, the King of Spain by his Embassador here, complained to the Queen, that the Rebels of the Netherlands were harboured and entertained in England, contrary to the Articles of the League; whereupon the Queen forsook a severe Proclamation, That all the Dutch, who could any wayes be suspected of Rebellion, should presently depart the Realm, which yet turned little to D' Aube's, or the King of Spain's benefit; For herupon, Count Vander-Mark, and other Dutch going out England, surprized the Brill, first, then Flemish, and afterwards drove other Towns to revolt, and in a short time excepted the Duke D' Aube in a manner from the Sea. And this error, to suffer the Protestant Party to get possession of the Sea-Towns, hath been the cause they have been able to hold out, even all this long time, against the King of Spain. And now many Military men having little to do at home, got them into the Netherlands, some to Duke D' Aube; but the far greater number to the Prince of Orange: The first of whom was Thomas Morgan, who carried three hundred English to Flemish; then followed by his procurement nine Companies more under the conduct of Humphrey Gilbert; and afterward he became the Naurer of all our English Souldiers.

At this time Charles the French King setting his mind wholly (at least seeming so) upon the Low-Country War, concluded a peace, entered into a League with Queen Elisabeth; which was to remain firm, not only during their two lives, but between their Successors also, if the Successor dignifie the Survivor within a year, that he accepteth, otherwise to be at liberty. It was likewise agreed, what aid by Sea or Land, they should each of them afford to other upon occasion. And for ratification of this League; Edward Clinton Earl of Lincoln and Admiral of England, was sent into France, with whom went the Lords Dacre, Rich, Talbot, Sandys, and others.

The French King likewise sent the Duke of Montmorency and Paul Fauz into England, with a great Train; that the Queen in the presence of them, and the Embassador in Ordinary, might.

Great pretences for the marriage of Henry, Prince of Navarre, with the French Kings Sister, At which marriage was made.
France was wonderful importunation, that her Son Alfonso might have leave to come to see her: whereunto, being wearied with continual Letters and Meffages, she gave her content; but upon condition, that he should not take it for any dis-
grace to him, if he returned without obtaining his
Suit; But as soon as Queen Elizabeth had no-
tice, that his Brother Henry was elected King of
Poland, and that the King of France was very
fick, she gave intimation to Alfonso, by Edward
Hessey Governor of the Isle of Wight, that he
should not make too much haste into England
but that he procure Peace by some means or
other in France, and declared by some notable
Argument, his good will towards the Protestant
thereby to be the more welcome Guelf into
England. Hereupon a Peace was concluded in
France; and in certain places the Protestants
were allowed to exercise their Religion; and
then again the French King and the Queen-Mo-
ter used all their endeavours to have the Marriage
Go forward (for they were very dextrous that Al-
fonso who was of a crooked and perverse disposi-
tion, and prone to raise tumults) might be remo-
ved out of France; and withall, they requested of
Queen Elizabeth, that if the Duke of Alfonso
took his Voyage into Poland by Sea; he might
have publick caution to fail through the Britifh
Ocean. To this lift Request, the not onely con-
tented with all alacrity, but also made offer of a
Fleet to conduct him thither. In the mean while,
Alfonso fell sick of the Meazels, which his Mo-
ter signified to Queen Elizabeth by Count
Fleets, executing him thereupon for not coming into
England as he had determined. Trote de Cource
found the Queen at Canterbury, where she gave
him Royal entertainment; and Matthew Par-
erk Archbishop of Canterbury, Royal entertain-
ment to them both.

All this while, since the death of the Earl of
Mortimer, there had been no Regent in Scotland:
but now by the procurement of Queen Elizabeth
chiefly, James Douglas Earl of Morton is made
Regent; who, when his Authority in a Parlia-
mentary Assembly was established, Enacted many
profitable Laws for the defence of Religion a-
gainst Papists and Hereticks, in the name of the
King; But the protection and keeping of the
Kings Person, he continued to Alexander Erse,
kin Earl of Moray (to whom the custody of the
Kings in their tender years, by special privilege
belongeth) though he were himself in his Min-
istry: Upon these Conditions, That no Papists,
or favourab Ster persons should be admitted to his
preference. An Earl should come with only two
Servants attending him: A Baron, with only one:
All other, finge; and every one unran-
ed. The French King in the mean time, sent his Embaffidour Monfieur Fyrian to corrupt the
Earls of Atholl and Huntley, with large promi-
"ses, to oppose the Regent; Queen Elizabeth as
much labour'd to defend him: but though by
the Ministry of Kiligren, she had drawn James
Hamilton Duke of Caflie-Herald and George
Gordon Earl of Huntley, and the most emi-
tent of that Faction, upon indifferent conditions, to
acknowledge the Regent, yet William Kirkald,
Lord Orange, (whom Murray when he was
Regent had madeGovernor of Edinbrough Ca-
flie) the Lord Humes, Lydington, the Bishop of
Dunkeld.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth

Dunkeld, and others, would by no means admit of the Regent's Government, but held that Castlereagh, and fortified it in the Queen of Scots name, having Lydington for their Councillor herein, and truf ting to the natural strength of the place, and to the Duke of A"vus and the French Kings promises, to fend them supplies both of men and money. Now when these persons could by no means be drawn to accept of Conditions of Peace, and to deliver up the Caffe to the Regent, Queen Elizabeth (who could in no cafe indite the French in Scotland) suffered her self at length to be intertated by the Regent, to fend Forces, Guns and Ammunition, for assaulting the Caffe, upon certain Conditions, whereof one was, that ten Holfages should be sent into England, to be security for returning the Men and Ammunition, unless by the common hazard of War they should chance to miscarry. The Conditions being agreed on; William Drury Marshal of the Garrison at Barnwik, with some great Ordnance, and fifteen hundred Souldiers (among who were some Nobles and Peers, George Cariis, Henry Carter, Thomas Cecil, Henry Lee, William Knolles, Sutton, Cotton, Kelway, William Killigrew, and others, entered into Scotland, and besieged the Caffe, which after three and thirty days siege, was delivered up to the Regent for the Kings life, with all the peronels that were in it; amongst whom, Kircald Lord Grange, and James his Brother, Mufman and Cook Goldsmiths (who had counterfeited Cofyn in the Caffe) were hanged; although to redeem Granges life, a hundred of the Family of the Kircalds offered themselues to be in perpetual Servitude to the Regent, besides an annual Penion of three thou- sand Marks; and twenty thousand pounds of Sec- rifice money in present; and to put in caution, that from themc welth he should continue in duty and homage to the King; but it would not be accepted. Homes and the rest were spared, though Queen Elizabeth's merciful intercession; Lyding- ton was sent to Leith, where he died, and was suspected to be poisoned. A man of the greatest understanding in the Scotish Nation, and admired of an excellent wit, but very variable; for which, George Buchanan called him the Chamelion.

And now from this time Scotland began to breath, after long Civil Wars, and as well the Captains of both Parties, as the Souldiers, betook themselves into Sweden, France, and the Low-Countries, where they valorously behaved themselves, and won great commendation. As for John Lesly Bishop of Rofe, he was now set at liberty, but commanded to depart presently out of England, and being beyond the Sea, he con- tinued fall to solicit his Miftrels the Queen of Scots caufe, with the Emperour, the Pope, the French King, and the German Princes of the Poffith Religion; who all led him on with fair prom- 1ises, but performed nothing: For indeed, he in whom he had greatest confidence, which was the Duke of D' Avo, was at that time called away, partly out of Jealousie of State, as being thought to grow too great, and partly out of opinion, that by his cruelty he made the people to re- volt; and therefore in his place was sent Lod- crine Zwing, a man of great Nobility in Spain, but of a more peaceable disposition than D' Avo; and now this man did all good Offices to win Queen Elizabeth to him, and minding his own affairs only, would not interfere with the Scotish or English matters.

About this time, a frantick Opinion was held by one Peter Bourcher a Gentleman of the Middle Temple, that it was lawful to kill them that oppo- sed the truth of the Gospel; & so far was he poffeft with this opinion, that he assaulted the famous Seaman Captain Hawkins, and wounded him with a Dagger; taking him for Hutton, who at that time was in great favour with the Queen, and of her Privy Council, whom he had been informed to be a great Adversary to Innovations. The Queen grew so angry hereat, that She commanded Martial Law should be executed upon him presently, till her Council advised her, that Martial Law was not to be used, but in the Field, and in turbulent times; but at home, and in time of Peace, there must be legal proceedings: Hereupon Bourcher was sent to the Tower, where taking a brand out of the fire, he stuck it into the brains of one of his Keepers, named Hugh Longworth, and killed him; for which fact, he was condempned to death, being cut in pieces, and his head thrown out, and nailed to the Gallowes, and then himself hanged.

After the violent death of this Valient, we may speak of the natural death of two great personages: First, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Son of that Warlike Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, by his second Wife Agnes Tilney, This William was made a Baron by Queen Mary, and Lord High Admiral of England, and by Queen Elizabeth Lord Chamberlain, till such time, that being taken with age, he yielded up that place to the Earl of Sussex, and was then made Keeper of the Privy Seal, which is the fourth degree of Honour in England. His Son Charles succeed- ed him in the Dignity of his Baron alloys, who was after made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, and then Lord High Admiral of England. A while after he had diered Reginald Grey Earl of Kent, whom the Queen a year before of a private man had made Earl of Kent, when as that Title, from the death of Sir John Grey Earl of Kent, who had wafted his Patrimony, and was elder Brother to this man Grand-Father, had been alive for fifty years together.

At this time many particular Rebellion were in Ireland; the O'Conors and the O'Mores took Arms, and committed many outrages: In Mun- hery James Fitz-Morris, and Fitz-Edmund did the like; but by the industry of Sir John Perrot, President of Munster, were suppried. In Riffier, Bryan Mac Philips burnt Knockfergus, and many other joined in Rebellion with him. Against thefe, Walter Devereux (whom the Queen had lately created Earl of Effex) defir'd leave to go; which Sir William Fitz-Williams, Deputy of Ire- land oppoied, as fearing that the glory of so great an Earl would eclipse his light. But for this, the Queen finds a remedy, by appointing Effex to take a Patent of the Deputy, whereby to be made Governor of Riffier. But this remedy for Fitz-Williams might have made a fore in the mind of Effex (to receive his Author- ity from his inferior) but that the Nobles of his mind made him more to regard the Vacuum, than the Glory. And so, in the end of August; he landed to Knockfergus, having with him the Lords Darcy and Rich, and Sir Henry Knolles; and

Queen Eliz-abeth's time.

The Keepers of the Privy Seal, the fourth de- gree of Hon- our in Eng- land.

Reginald Grey a private man made Earl of Kent.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

As soon as Henry the Third, King of France, was come from Poland, Roger Lord North was sent into France, to congratulate his return, and happy Inauguration into the Kingdom; who thereupon together with the Queen-Mother, did forthwith send their joint Letters into England, strongly soliciting the subjects of Marriage between Alfonso and the Queen. In these letters, notwithstanding they used all possible devices (and left no means untried) to get the young King of Scotland to be sent into France, and to derive Agnes, who was the Regent, of his Authority, whereof the Queen of Scots also was desirous; she being persuaded, that if her Son were once gotten safely into France, she and the Catholics in England should be more mildly used. At which time, an abortion was cast upon the Queen of Scots, as if she had made the match between Charles Uncle to the Queen of Scots (who had lately the Earldom of Lenox confirmed to him by Parliament) and Elizabeth Countess the Countess of Shrewsbury. Daughter by a former Husband, upon which ground, both their Mothers, and some others also were kept in prison, for a time; and being doubted whereunto this marriage should tend; Henry Earl of Huntington, President of the Council in the North, is authorized with secret Instructions to examine it. It will be fit here to say something of this place of Government in the North; which from small beginnings is now become so eminent as it is at this day; whereas this was the Original. When as in the Reign of Henry the Eight, after that the Rebellion in the Northern parts about the abjuration of Ab- bies was quieted, the Duke of Norfolk tardied in those quarters, and many complaints of injuries done were tendered unto him, whereof some he complained himself, and others he commended unto him, and meant to move for his correction. Hereof when King Henry heard, he sent down a peculiar Seel to be used in these cases, and calling home the Duke, committed the same to Tunstail Bishop of Durham, and constituted Affiliants with Authority to hear and determine the complaints of the Poor, and he was the first that was called President; and from that time, the authority of his successor grew in credit.

It was now the year One thousand five hundred seventy five, and the eighteenth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when Henry the third King of France being returned from Poland, and Crowned at Rheims, was careful to have the League of Bibles confirmed; which in the year 1573, had been concluded between his brother Charles and the most Illustrious Queen Elizabeth; now therefore he confirmed it with his own Subscription, and delivered it to Dale the Queens Legier, as the Queen pleased not to take it in evil part. If the bands of a Minister; But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutual defence against all persons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also? Whereunto he answered, that it did comprehend it; he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and Alfonso being drawn to the Adverse party, there was no speech of the marriage for a long time.

In the Netherlands at this time, Lodovick Zwing, who as successor unto Duke D'Alva, was wholly bent to recover the Command of the Seas, which D'Alva had neglected; but not being sufficiently provided of a Navy, he sent Boshoot into England, that with the Queens leave, he might take up Ships and Mariners to go against the Hollanders and Zelnders; but this he would not grant; Then he made fast that the Queen would peace likewise ratified it; that he near next Minister; But a little after he demanded by Letters, whether the mutual defence against all persons mentioned in the League, was intended to comprehend the case of Religion also? Whereunto he answered, that it did comprehend it; he thereupon hearing this from the Queen, began presently to prepare War against the Protestants, and Alfonso being drawn to the Adverse party, there was no speech of the marriage for a long time.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth

Laws of Hospitality; yet because she would not be thought to violate the old Burghian Law, the
commanded by Proclamation, that the Ships of the
Dutch, which were made ready, should not go forth
of the Haven, nor yet the Dutch, who had taken up
Arms against the K. of Spain, enter into the Ports
of England; & by Name, the Prince of Orange, and
Fifty other the prime of that Faction; and this he
did the more willingly, because Zuinga at the in-
terception of Wilfon the English Embassador, had
removed the Earl of Westmiflrand, and other En-
gh's Fugitives out of the Domains of the King;
the Low States, and had also dissolved the English
Seminary at Duny; though in stead thereof, the Gar-
from the procuring of Pope Gregory the
thirteenth, set up another Seminary at Rheims.

And at this time the Prince of Orange, per-
cieving his Forces but small, and thinking himself
too weak for the King of Spain, and little hope of
aid from England, he entered into Consulta-
with the Confederate States, to whose pro-
tection they were bound, and in the most secrecy
to betake themselves: The Princes of Germany
they knew were not all of one mind, parted from
money very hardly, and did not every way, nor
would not by any means possible accord and con-
cun with them in their Religion; and therefore
they were not so fit. Then the French they
saw, were intangled in a Civil War, and had
enough of their own do to; besides the old
grudges and heart-burnings that were between the
French and Dutch; and therefore neither were
they fit for it. The English, as fit for any (if it might be obtained)
feeling they were Neighbours, of the same Re-
igion, and of a Language not much different,
strong in shipping, and rich in Merchandize.
Hereupon (considering the commodiousness of
the English Nation) they sent into England Phili-
pip Marnixe of Saint Alechand, James Dowfay,
william Noyell, and Doctor Mefller, who in an
honestable Ambaffege, offer the Countries of
Holland and Zealand to be peacefull or protected
by the Queen, forasmuch as she was descended
from the Princes of Holland, by Philippa Wife of
Edward the third, Daughter of William of Bara-
tries, Count of Henonia and Holland: by whose
Sifer, the Hereditary Right of those Pro-
vinces came to the King of Spain. To this offer,
the Queen takes time to answer; and at laft, ha-
voring mure advisedly of the matter, her Answer
was this: That as yet the conceived not how
with the fifty of her Hoards and an upper
Concurrence, she could receive those Princes
into her Protection, much less assume them into her
possession; but promised, she would deal es-
serely with the King of Spain, that a well con-
tioned Peace might be concluded. Presently
upon this, Zuinga Governor of the Low-Coun-
tries died; after whose death, the States of Bra-
bant, Flandes, and the other Provinces took
upon them the ancient Administration and Autho-
rity in the Common-wealth; which the King of
Spain was thin to confirm to them, till at length
as John of Austria were come, whom he determi-
ned to make Governor there. In the mean
time, Queen Elizabeth, in behalf of the King
of Spain, sent William Davifon in Ambaffege to
those Princes, to exhort them to be peaceable and
and quiet; which yet, by reason the Spanish
Souldiers were so outrageous, little prevailed.

In England all was calm and quiet for all this
year, onely a difference fell out between Sir
John Porter Governor of Berwick, and John
Cormichill Keeper of Edifdale in Scotland: In
composing whereof, the Regent of Scotland,
having given Queen Elizabeth some discontent-
ment, was fain to come unarmed before the Earl
of Huntingdon, appointed the Legate for England
at Berwick, and to the matter was taken up, and
the Regent ever after continued constant in ob-
erving the Queen, and to his great commendation,
reftrained the Free-booters of the Borders, to
the great good of both Kingdoms.

This year there dyed in Scotland, James Har-
miton Duke of Caffie-Herald, and Earl of Aran,
who was great Grand-child to James the Second,
King of Scots, by his Daughter appointed Tutor to
Mary Queen of Scots, and design'd Hair and
Governor of the Kingdom, during her mino-

At this time the Earl of Essex is come into Ire-
land again, where having done good services, and
being in the midst of Victory, he was on a sudden
commanded to resign his Authority in Ireland
and as though he was an ordinary Commander, he
set over three hundred Souldiers: which disgrace
was wrought by his adversaries in Court, to the
continual perplexiing of his milde spirit. And now
is Sir Henry Sidney the third time sent Deputy
into Ireland; who going into Ireland, there came
to him and submitted themselves Monf. Mau-
ch, Monf. Goyon, Tirtuch Lomdyk, the O-Count
and O-Moor, the Earl of Desmond, and the rebel-
lious Sons of the Earl of Clarendon, all whom he
received into favour, and with great commenda-
tion administered the province.

At this time the Spaniards in the Low-Countries
began to deal roughly with the people, and harried
the Inhabitants with all manner of spoil and inju-

The Earl of Essex going into Ireland again, is
dispossessed; with being made an ordi-

The States of the Low-
Countries make choice
of Queen Elizabeth to
be their Protector, and why.

The English
Seminary at
Duny is
abolished, and another
set up at
Rheims.

The Queen
Answers to
their offer.

Zuinga dying, John of
Austria is sent Governor
into the Nether-
lands.

John Smith
Embassador
into Spain, his<br>rode carriage.
Edward Horsey, Governor of the Isle of Wight, to congratulate his coming thither, and to offer his help, if the States called the French into the Netherlands; yet at the same time, Srentingham being exceeding importunate on the States behalf, they sent them twenty thousand pounds of English money (so well the could play her game of both hands) upon condition they should neither change their Prince nor their Religion, nor take the French into the Low-Countries, nor refuse a peace. 

The Earl of Effex, who had been Schoolmaster to King Edward the sixth, and was no less a Schoolmaster to his own Daughters whom he made skillful in the Greek and Latin Tongues, married all to mean of great Honour; one to Sir William Cecil, Lord Treasurer of England; a second to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, a third to Sir Thomas Hoby, who dyed Embattellour in France; a fourth to Sir Ralph Lovell; and the fifth to Sir Henry Killigrew. 

At this time, the Sons of the Earl of Clarendon, who scarce two months before had obtained pardon for their Rebellion, fell into Rebellion again; but were by the Deputy soon suppurt, and William Drury newly made President of Munster, reduced the whole province to good Order, except only the County of Kerry, which a number of Vagabonds were gotten, truing to the Immunities of the place. For King Edward the third made Kerry a County Palatine, and granted to the Earls of Desmond all the Royall Liberties which the King of England had in that County, excepting Wreck by Fire, Forfeiture, and Treason. The Governor notwithstanding, who wisely judged that these Liberties were granted for the better preservation of Justice, and not for maintaining the outrages of the malevolent, when not employed into it, and violently put to flight and vanished the mischievous crew, which the Earl of Desmond had placed there in ambush. The Earl in the mean while made great complaints of Drury to the Deputy, and particularly, of the Tax which they call Caffage, which is an execution of provision of Vintners at a certain rate, for the Deputies Family, and the Soldiours in Garrison. This Tax not he only, but in Limerick also many Lords refused to pay, alledged that it was not to be exacted but by Parliament; but the matter being examin'd in England, it appeared by the Records of the Kingdom, that this Tax was anciently imposted, and that by a certain Right of Majesty, a Prerogative Royal, which is not subjedt to Laws, yet not contrary to them neither, as the wise Civilians have observed. Yet the Queen commanded to use a moderation in exactions of this nature, saying She would have her subjects thorn, but not devoored. 

It was now the year 1577, and the twentieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when John of Austria, pretending to Queen Elizabeth nothing but Peace, yet is found to deal fiercely with the pope, to deprive her of her Kingdom, and himself to marry the Queen of Scots, and invade England: of which his prates the prince of Orange gives Queen Elizabeth the first Intelligence. Whereupon (finding his deep dissembling) he enters into a League with the States, for mutual defence both at Sea and Land, upon certain Conditions; but having concluded it, because she would not have it wrongfully interpréted, as though the meant to foster a Rebellion in the Netherlands; the feat Thomas Willebeke to the King of Spain with these Informations, That she had alwayes endeavored to keep the Low-Countries in obedience to the King of Spain, had persuaded even with threats the prince of Orange to accept of Peace, but unhappily, if the King of Spain have his Subjects obedient to him, they then requites him to restore their priviledges, and to remove John of Austria from the Government, who
not only was her deadly enemy, but labored by all means to bring the Netherlands into utter fer
titude. If this be granted by the King of Spain, the
then faithfully promiseth, That if the States perform not their Allegianc to him, as by their promis to her they are engaged to do, the will utterly forfay them, and bend her self with all her Forces to compel them. While life in
Spain unfoldeth these matters, John of Austria 
sendeth to Queen Elizabeth in most grievous manner accusing the States for disobedience and making a large declaration of the caufes for which he had taken up Arms again. Thus Queen El-
izabeth (like a fortunate Prince) fate as an Hon-
ourable Arbitrife between the Spanifh, the French, and the States; informeth that it was not untrue which one wrote, That France and Spain 
were Balances in the Scale of Europe; and Eng-
land the Beam to turn them either way; for they 
still the better, to whom the adhered.

About this time, when the Judges fate at the 
Affifts in Oxford, and one Roundland fakes a 
Book-feller was questioned for speaking appro-
priate things against the Queen, they were 
wrapt up with a perfeft favour; whether refund from the noyume smell of the pofton, or 
from the damp of the ground, is uncertain, but
all that were there present, almost every one, within forty hours dyed except Women and children
and the Contagion went no further. There dyed
Robert Bell, Lord chief Baron, Robert D’Oyly,
Sir William Bulington, D’Olye Sheriff of Oxford-
shire, Harcourt, Weyman, Pelisplace, the moft of
them men in this Art; Barnab the famous Law-
yer; almost all the Jurors; and three hundred
other, more or lefe.

This year the title of the Lord Latimer (which
had flouriished in the Family of the Nevilis even
since the days of King Henry the first) was
extinct in John Nevill, who dyed without issue
male, and left a fair estate to four Daughters,
whereof the eldest married Henry Earl of North-
umberland, the second Thomas, second Earl, who
was afterward Earl of Exeter; the third, William
Comyns; and the fourth, Sir John Dau-
ers.

In Ireland the O-Mores and O-Courys, and others,
whose Ancefors the Earl of Saffexy in
Queen Mary’s days, had for their rebellion de-
prived of their Patrimony in Lefcy and Ophalke,
did now fbreak forth into a new Rebellion, under
the Conduct of Keris Oge, that is, Roderick the
younger; fett on fire the Village of Nanaf, affault
Lachlin; from whence being driven back by the
value of George Carew the Governour, he was
afterward flain.

Out of England at this time there went out into
the Low-Countries John North the Lord Norths
eldest Son, John Norris second Son to the Lord
Norris, Henry Comyns, and Thomas Morgan
Colonels, with many Volunteers, to learn Mili-
tary Experience. Thither also came Camesire
the Earl of Darlington Son, with an Army of Ger-
mans Horse and Foot, at the Queen’s Charge: 
upon these: John Johns, affilld by the Prince of
Parma, Mondragon, and other the left Command-
ers of Spain, confident of Victory, fhyth
furiously, before they expected him, yet after a long fight, was forced to retreat; but then
returning again, and thinking to break through the Hed-
ges and Bukes where the Engiſh and Scotifh
Volunteers had placed themſelves, was again re-
pulſed; for the Engiſh and Scoſſiſh were so hot
upon the matter that casting away their garments,
by reafon of the hot weather, they fought in their
shirts, which they made fast about them. In this
Battle Norris fought most valiantly, and had
three Hores flain under him, as also Sneyard the
Scott Bingham, and William Markham.

Now for comfort to the afflicted Provinces,
there came at that time into the Netherlands, the
Count Suenzenberg from the Emperor; Mont-
feur Bellivier from the French King; and from
the Queen of England, the Lord Cobham and
Walsingham, with Commination to procure condi-
tions of Peace, but returned without doing any
thing, for that Don John refused to admit the Pro-
tentant Religion, and the Prince of Orange refu-
l ed to return into Holland.

About this time Egremond Ratcliffe, Son to
Henry Earl of Saffexy, by his second Wife, who
had been a prime man in the Rebellion of the
North, and served now under Don John, was ac-
curred by the Engiſh fugitives, that he was fenf
under-hand to fall Don John, which (whether true or falfhe) he was therupon taken and put
to death. The Spaniards have affirmed, That Rat-
cliffé at his left end, confefled voluntarily, That
he was freed out of the Tower of London, and
moved by Walsingham large promises to do this
Fact; but the Engiſh that were present at his
death, deny that he confessed any fuch thing,
though the Engiſh Rebels did all they could to
wet this confeffion from him.

At this very time, Don John, in the flower of
his age, died of the Putridity, or (as some fa"

grief, as being neglected by the King of Spain
his Brother; a man of an intaftible Ambition,
who aimed first at the Kingdom of Twys, and af-
ter, of England; and who, without the privity
of the French King, or King of Spain, had made
a large ts with the Guifes, for the defence of both
Crown.

Aylfon although very busie about the Belgium
Affairs, yet now began again to purifie the Mar-
rage with Queen Elizabeth; by remittance of the
which suit first was Bacheville fent to the Queen,
and foone after Robanville, from the French King;
and within a month after that, Smiers a neat
Curtior, and exquifitey learned in the Art of
Love, accompanied with a great number of the
French Nobility; whom the Queen at Rich mond
entertained in fuch loving manner, that Leclefier
began to rage, as if his hopes were now quite
blaited. Certainy a little before, when Abhley,
Lady of the Queens Bed-Chamber, mentioned
the Earl of Leclefier to her for a Husband, the
with an angry countenance replied, Doth thou
think me fo unlike my self, and fo forgetful of
Majesty; as to prefer my Servant, whom I my
self have advanced, before the great Princes of
the Christian World?

But it is now time to return to the Scotch Aff-
airs. The Earl of Morcen, Regent of Scotland
though a man of great wisdom and valour, yet
was now to overcome; with confidence, that he grew
universally hated; and therefore, with the joy
confent of the Nobility, the Administration of the
Common-wealth, was transferred to the King,
though he was yet but twelve years old, and
D’da twelve
twelve of the chief Lords were appointed to attend him in Council, three of them by course for three months, amongst whom, the Earl of Morson for one, but they might not seem to call him quite off. The King having taken upon him the Administration, sent presently the Earl of Darnferin to Queen Elizabeth, acknowledging her great defenses towards him, and requesting to have the Treaty of Edinburgh, agreed on in the year 1579, to be confirmed, for the more happy retaining the Robbers about the borders; and withall, That his ancient Patrimony in England; namely, the Lands granted to his Grand-father Matthew, Earl of Lenox; and the Countess his Grand-mother, might be delivered into his hands who was the next Heir. The Queen readily promised the former demands, but fluck a little at the last concerning the Patrimony; For she would not grant, That Arbeila, the Daughter of Charles the King of Scots Unkle, born in England, was the next Heir to the Lands in England; neither would she grant the Ambassadors proof out of History, That the Kings of Scots, born in Scotland, did anciently (without question) hold the Earlom of Huntingdon by Right of Inheritance. Yet she commanded a Sequestration to be made of the Revenues of the Lands, and the Barony Matter of the Wards; and willed the King, That out of the goods of the Earl of Lenox in Scotland, satisfaction might be made to his Grand-mothers Creditors here. For she took it in all part, that the King had recalled the Enfeoffment of the Earlom of Lenox (made to his Unkle Charles and his Heirs) after the death of Charles, to the prejudice (as was suggested to her) of Arbeila; although indeed it be a Privilege of the Kings of Scotland, That they may recall Donations made in their minority.

The Earl of Morson in the mean while, not enduring the diligence to be out of his Regency, regarded not the Precontract Form of Government lately set down, but drew the Administration of all matters to himself, and kept the King in his own power at the Castle of Stirling, admitting none to his presence, but whom he pleased. At this preambulation, the Lords growing angry, made the Earl of Abell their Captain, and in the Kings Name levied a great Army, and were ready to encounter Morson; but by the Intercession of Robert Bowes, the English Ambassador, they were stayed from fighting; and Morson presently betook himself home, and the Earl of Abell soon after dyed, not without suspicion of being poisoned.

At this time the King of Spain, and Pope Gregory the Thirteenth held secret Confloration, to invade at once both England and Ireland, and to work the absolute ruine of Queen Elizabeth; The Pope to gain the Kingdom of Ireland for his Son James Buon of Campania, whom he had made Marques of Vinola: The King of Spain secretly to relieve the Irish Rebels, as Queen Elizabeth did the Dutch, while Friendship in words was upheld on both sides: and being known, That the greatest strength of England confin'd in the Navy Royal, and Merchants Ships, it was advis'd, That the Italian and Dutch Merchants should hire there Ships for long Voyages; to the end, that while they were absent, the Queens Navy might be surpriz'd with a greater Fret; and at that time Thomas Stukeley, an English Engineer, should join himself to the Irish Rebels with new Forces. For he made great business, and promising the Kingdom of Ireland to the Popes Bifhad Son, had to inuffocated himself into grace with the ambitious old man, that he adored him with the Titles of Marquefs of Lemsfer, Earl of Westford, and Countiy, Viscount Mulbough, and Baron of Reffes, (the principal Dignities of Ireland) and made him Commander over Eight Hundred Irish Souldiers, to be employed in the Irish War. With which Forces Stukeley setting Sail from Civita Vecchia, arrived at length in Portugal, where he and his Forces were by the Divine Providence diverted another way. For Sebastian King of Portugal (to whom the Chief Command in this Expedition against England was alligned) being first to dispatch a War in Africa, in aid of Mahomet Abdali, Son to the King of Feffe, perfwaded Stukeley to go along with him into Mauritania, together with his Italian Souldiers, and then afterward they would go together against Ireland. To this motion Stukeley soon agreed, and therein agreed with his desity; for in that memorable Battle where three Kings were slain, both he and Sebastian lost their Lives.

At this time the Earl of Morton (who had been Deputy of Ireland at several times eleven years) delivered up his Deputy-ship to Sir William Drury, President of Maufer: Such a Deputy, for good Government, that if any have equall’d him, none have exceeded him.

It was now the year 1579, and the two and twentieth year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when John Caumer, Son of Frederick the Third, Count Palatine of the Rhine, came into England, where, after he had been entertainted with Tiltings and Jaits, made Knight of the Garter (the Queen tyning the Garter about his leg) and rewarded with a yearly Penfion, he returned. And now was Alexander Farmer, Prince of Parma, made Governor of the Netherlands by the King of Spain, and Queen Elizabeth supplied the States with a great sum of money, for which William Davyfon brought into England the ancient precious Habitations, the Family of Burgundy, and their Coftry Vellies, laid to pawn by Matthew of Ambracia and the States.

Simler in the mean time here in England coast not by all aomorous devices to petivade the Queen to marry Alagon; wherein he drew her so far, that the Earl of Leiscler gave out, he crept into the Queens affectio by Love-Potions and unlawfull Arts: and Simler on the other side endeavoured by all means to cast down Leiscler, discovering his marriage with the Earl of Elyff Wido: whereas the Queen grew so angry, that she confined him to the Castle at Greenwich, and meant to have him committed to the Tower, but that the Earl of Suffolk (though his greatest Advertery) dissuaded her: telling her, That none ought to be molest'd for contractinge lawful Matrimony, But Leiscler notwithstanding was so provoked for his Confining, that he was bent to revenge it: and if it be true, as some said, he had borrowed one Founder a Yeoman of the Guard to marther Simler. Sure it is, the Queen by Proclamation commanded, That no person shouled offer injury to the Ambassadors or any of thei Servants. At which time it fell out, that as the Queen,
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Queen, together with Siriam, the Earl of Lincoln, and Hencus Vice-Chamberlain, were rowed in a Barge to Greenwich, a young man shooting off a Harquebus out of a Boat, shot one of the rowers in the Queens Barge through the Arm with a Bullet, who was presently taken and led to the Gallows; but upon solemn Protestation, that he did it unwillingly, and out of no malicious intent, he was let go and pardoned. Some would have persuaded the Queen, that he was purposely fuborned to shoot either her or the French Ambaffador; but she was so far from suspecting her Subjects, that she would often say, She would not believe any thing against them, which a Mo- ther would not believe against her Children.

After a few days Alans for himself came privately into England with a number of attendants, and came to the Queen at Greenwich, at a time when the thought of it, they had secret Conference together, all parties being sent away: after which, being seen of very few, he returned home, but within a monath or two after the Queen enjoyned the Lord Burleigh Trefa- iur, the Earl of Suffolk, Leicester, Hert- fon and Wafhingham, seriously to weigh both the dangers, and the Commodities likely to arise from the marriage with him, and to consult with Simier concerning the marriage Covenants.

As in England there was some fear of this French-man; so in Scotland at this time of another French-man, called Eme Steward, Lord of Aubigny, who came now into Scotland to visit the King his Coulen. He was the Son of John Steward Brother to Matthew Steward Earl of Lenox, the Kings Grand-father, and had denomination from Aubigny in France, which Title Charles the Se- venth King of France had, and was created upon John Steward of the Family of Lenox, who being Contable of the Scotch Army in France, vanquished the English in one Battel, and was slain by them in another: and from that time the Title belonged to the younger descent of that House. This Eme Steward, the King embraced with ex- ceeding great love, made him Lord Chamberlain of Scotland, and Captain of the Castle of Don- brioton, and created him first Earl and then Duke of Lenox. The fear from this man was, because he was devoted to the Grifes and the Popifh Re- ligion; and that which increased the fear from this man, because he applied himself to Mortons Adverfaries: and meditated to have Thomas Care Lord of Ferniholl called home, who of all men was most addicted to the Queen of Scots.

About this time Queen Elizabeth, at the re- quest of William Harbone an English-man, proc- ured a Grant from the Turkifh Emperor, for the English Merchants to exercise free Trade in all places of his Dominions, as well as Venetians, Polanders, and other neighbouring Nations; whereupon they set up the Company of Turkifh Merchants, managing a most gainful Trade at Constantinople, Alle- xandria, Egypt, Aleppo, Cyprus, and other parts of Asia, bringing home Spices, Perfumes, unwrought Silks, Taffality, Indico, Curtains and the like.

This year dyed Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Ke- per of the Great Seal; but who by virtue of an Act of Parliament, always exercised the Juridi- cation of Lord Chancellor; a very fair man, but singularly wife, and a chief prop of the Queens Privy Council: in whose place succeeded Sir Thomas Bromley the Queens Solicitor, with the Title of Lord Chancellor of England.

In Ireland at this time, in the Province of Munster, James Fitz-Morris kindled a new fire of Rebellion; for after his former submission up- on his knees, rowing all Obedience to the Queen, he fled away into France, and promis- ed the French King, if he would lend him assistance, to make him King of Ireland. But being by him flighted, he went into Spain, and made the like offer to the King there. The King of Spain lent him to the Pope, from whom (by means of Nicho- las Sanders, an English Priest, and Mott an Irish man, both Deaf to婶erit), he obtained a little money, a Legats Authority for Sanders, a conecrated Banner, and Letters of Commenda- tion to the Catholick King. And returning from Spain with these Divines, three Ships, and a few men, he landed at Smervick Kerry, a demy Island in the Wift part of Ireland, about the first day of July; where (the place being fuft of all confe- crated by the Priests) he built a Fort, and brought the Ships close under it; but these were presently fet upon and carried away, by Thomas Courney, and thereby the Spaniards deprived of their op- portunity of coming thither by Sea. But now John and James, Brothers to the Earl of Desmond, gathered together a small number of Irish, joyn themselves preffently with their Kinman Fitz- Morris. Yet the Spaniards seeing that but a very few Irish, and those unarmed, came unto them, began to diftruft the effate they were in, and to cry out, That they were undone: whom Fizz-Morris hearted the bell he could, telling them that Supplies were presently to come. And going himself to get more Company, he pref- ted through the Land of his Coulen William a Burgh, who though he had been a Rebel before, yet was now grown Loyal, so as there fell out a Skirmifh between them; in which Fizz-Morris being flruken through with a Pike, and flot into the head with a Leaden bullet, died in the place, and moft of his Company with him; but withall, two of William Burgh's Sons were in that skirmifh slain also: when the Queen, to comfort him for the los of his Sons, adorn'd him with the Dignity of Baron of Care Conell, and rewarded him with a yearly Penfion besides; which Fa- vours so overwheflned him with joy, that he lived but a short while after. And now Sir William Dray the Deputy growing very fick, appointed Sir Nicholas Malby, then Governour of Con- naught to be Prefident of Munfter, and General of the Army; at which time, the Earl of Des- mond, who had all this while made a fhew of Loyalty, breaks openly out into Rebellion: where- how Dray the Deputy dying at Waterford, by his death Malby, Authority ceasing, Sir William Pelham is by the Council chosen Justice of Ire- land, with the Authority of Vice-Roy, until such time as a Deputy were appointed, and the Earl of Ormond is made President of Munfter, Pelham goeth into Munfter, and fendlth for the Earl of Desmond, who refusing to come, is there- upon proclaimed Traytor, and an enemy to the State: and this being published, the Justice con- cluded the following the War to the Earl of Or- mond, who flying moft of the Spaniards and ad-
The Lord
Gray is
made De-
putv of Ire-
land.

The Lord Justice Pelham now certified, That
Armed Lord Gray was landed with authority to
be Deputy of Ireland, at Manifel delivereth the
Army to George Bourbier the Son of John, second
Earle of Banke of that name, and himself returneth
to Dubln, to deliver up the Province to his Suc-
ceflor. The Lord Gray at his landing, before he
received the Sword, hearing where the Rebels
had their Rendezvous, marched towards them, who
presently betake themselves to Grandinville,
a graily Valley, and beft thick with Trees, where
they who dwell near, scarce know the winding
out; yet the Deputy (taking one Cobbe an old
man, well acquainted with the place, to be his lea-
der) entered into it, where he left divers of his men,
namely, Peter Caren the youngest, George Moore,
Andley, and Cobbe himself that was his Lea-
der.

A short time after, there landed at Smyrnich
in Kerry, under the the command of San Poych
an Italian, about four hundred Italian Soldiers,
who fortifie the place, and name it Fort del Orz;
Whereupon the Deputy sent a Trumpeter to the
Fort to demand who they were, what they had to
do in Ireland, and who sent them; with all com-
manding them to depart immediately. But they
replied, That some of them were sent from his
Holiness, others from the Catholick King, upon
whom the Pope had bestowed the Kingdom of
Ireland, for that Queen Elizabeth (by reason of
herself) hath forfeited the Right due unto her;
and therefore what they had gotten, they would
maintain. Upon this the Deputy prepares for
battery, makes his Ordinance four days toge-
ther, in which time the Spaniards once or twice
make Sallies out, to their own lfofe much, but
not an English man flain, but only John Cheek, a
courageous young Gentleman, Son to Sir John
Cheek, a learned Knight. And now San Poych,
who commanded the Fort, was afraid that they would
die, finding, with the continuall Battery, and
having no hope of relief, either from the King
of Spain or Desmond (contrary to the will of all
his Soldiers) set up a white Flag, and desired
Parlee; but Parlee was d - nearly, because he had
combined with Rebels, with whom it is not law-
ful to hold Parlee. Then he demanded that his
Company might passe with their Bagge, but
neeither would this be granted. Then he requi-
ted that some of the chiefer fort might have
leave to depart; but neither could this be ob-
ained. At last, when they could prevail in no-
thing, they hanged out the White Flag again,
and submitted themselves absolutely, without
any condition, to the Deputy's mercy, who
presently confented how to deal with them; and
this was the Cafe; Their number was well near
as great as the English; there was present fear of
danger from the Rebels; and the English were
to deflute of meat and drink, that they were
ready to mutiny; unless they might have the
food granted them; and besides, there were no
ships to fend them away if they were spared:
For the Reson this was concluded, (the Deputy
gaining, and letting tears fall) That only the
Leaders should be sved, the reft flain, and all
the Irish hanged up; which was presently put in
execution, to the great disliking of the Queen,
who detested the slaughter of such as yield them-
sefl, and would not accept of any execuse or
allegations.

And yet more cruelty then this was at that time
committed in the Netherlads; for John Nor-
ris, and Oliver Temple, English Commanders,
together with some Companies of Dutch, setting
out early one morning, took Mecklen a wealthy
Town of Braban, at an assault with Ladders;
where they promiscuously murdered both Citi-
zens and Religious perious, offering violence
even upon the dead, taking away Grave-stones,
which were sent into England to be sold.

About this time certain Engiish Priests, who
were fled into the Netherlands; in the year 1568,
by the procurement of William Allen an Oxford
Scholar, joyned themselves to study at Douay,
where they entered into a Collegiate Form of Go-
vernment; to whom the Pope allowed a yearly
Penitent. But Tumults arising in the Low-Coun-
tries, and the English Priests being command-
ed by the King of Spain, Desmond, inter-
ference, other the like Colleges, for the training
up of the English Youth, were erected, one at
Recam in the Guiu, and another at Rome by
Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, which always al-
furred new supplies of Priests for England, when
the old failed, who should spread abroad the seeds
of the Romish Religion here amongst us; from
whence those Colleges had the name of Sema-
raries, and they called Seminary Priests who were
trained up in them. In these Seminaries, amongst
other Disputation, it was concluded, That the
Pope had such fulnes of Power, by Divine
Right, over the whole Christian-World, both in
Ecclesiastical and Secular matters; that by ve-
tere thereof it is lawful for him to excommunicate
Kings, abrogate their Subjects from their Oath
of Allegiance, and deprive them of their King-
doms. From these Seminaries at this time, there
came two at England, Robert Parsons, and
Edmund Campian, both of them Englishmen, and
Jefuits. Parsons was born in Somerset-
shire, a free and rough condition fellow; Cam-
pian was a Londoner, of a milder disposition.
They had been both brought up in Oxford; Cam-
pian a Fellow of St. Johns Colledge, and had been
Proctor in the year 1569; and when he was made
Deacon, counterfeited himself to be a Professor,
till such time as he slpped out of England. Par-
sons was of Bayliff College, where he made open
profession of the Protestant Religion, till for dis-
honest carriage, he was expelled the House, and
then fled to the Popish party. Both these came
privily into England, in the disguise one while of
Soldiers, another while of Noble-men; some-
times like English Ministers, and sometime in the
habit of Apparators. Parsons who was made the
Superior, brake forth in such open words amongst
the Papists, about defending the Queen, that
came two of them, had a purpose to complai-
min of them to the Magistrates. Campian, even
through something more moderate, yet in a Wri-
ting provoked the English Ministers to a dispute;
and published in Latin an elegant Book of his
Ten Reasons, in maintenance of the Doctrine of
the Romish Church; as Parsons in like manner,
set forth another violent Pamphlet against Clark,
who had written medallly against Campian's Pro-
vocation.
vocation. But Dr. Whitaker loudly conti-
ceded Captain, who being after a year apprehended, and put upon the Rack, was afterward brought out to a disputation; where he severely made good the great fame that went of him.

In this year was the return of Captain Drake from his incredible Voyage round about the World (which Magellan had before attempted, but dyed in the Voyage) whereof to relate all particular accidents, would require a large Vo-
lume: It may suffice in this place, to deliver some special passages. He was born of mean Parent-
tage in Devonshire, yet had a great man (Francis Rosell's, after Earl of Bedford) to be his God-
father. His Father, in King Henry the Eighth's time, being persecuted for a Protestant, changed his Surn., and lived exile in Kent. King Henry being dead, he place among the Mariners of the Queen's Navy, to read Prayers, and after-
ward bound his Son Francis to a Ship-Master, who in a Ship which went to and fro upon the Coast with Commercies, one while to Zealand, another while to France, training him up to pans and skill at Sea; took such a liking to him, that afterwards dying, he bequeathed the Barque to him by his Will: This Barque Drake sold, and in the then year 1567, went with Sir John Hawkins into America; in which Voyage he unfortunately lost all he had. Five years after having gotten again a good sum of money by Trading and Piracy, (which the Preacher of his Ship told him was law-
ful) he bought a Ship of War, and two small Vessels, with which he set sail again for America, where his first Prize was great store of Gold and Silver, carried over the Mountains upon Mules; whereof the Gold he brought to his Ships, but left the Silver, finding it under ground; after this, he found a great place of Treasure called the Crab, at the River Chinga, when roaming to and fro upon the Mountains, he espied the South Sea; where falling upon his knees, he craved assistance of Almighty God, to find out that passage, which he receiveth for another Voyage; and for the present, having gotten much riches, he returned home. Afterwards in the year 1577, the thir-
teenth day of November, with five Ships, and teem-
en to the number of 163, he set sail from Plymouth, for the Southern Sea, and within five and twenty days, came to Canygna, a Cape in Bar-
bary, and then sailed along the Isle of Ego which sends forth flames of Sulphur; and being now under the Line, he let every one in his Ship blood. The sixteenth of April, entering into the mouth of the Plate, they espied a world of Sea-
Cavels, in which place John Drayton, the next to Drake in Authority, was called in question for raising Sedition in the Navy, who being found guilty, was beheaded; the report was, Drake had charge given him from the Earl of Leicester, to make way Drayton upon some pretence or other, for that he had said, That the Earl of Eliz. was craftily made away by Leicester: The twen-
tieth of May, two of his Ships he turneth off, and with other three came to the Sea, which they call, The Straight of Magellan. The sixtith of Sep-
tember, entering into the wide Southern Ocean, which they call, The Pacific Sea, he found it out of measure troubled, so that his Ships were here by Tempeasts dispered; in one of which, John

Winter was Master, who returned back into England; Drake himself, with only one Ship, coasted along the shore, till he came to the Isle Muncy, from whence loofing, he lighted upon a fellow fishing in a little Boat, who showed him where a Spanish Ship laden with Treasure lay; Drake making towards it, the Spaniards thought him to be their own Country man, and thereupon in vited him to come on; but he getting aboard, presently fait the Spaniards (being not above eight persons) under hatches, and took the Ship, in which was four hundred pound weight of Gold, At Tarmaqua, going again to shore, he found a Spanish sleeping by the Sea-side, who had lying by him twenty bars of maffive Silver to the value of four thousand Ducats, which he bid his followers take among them, the Spaniards still sleep-
ing. After this, going into the part of Africa, he found there three Vessels without any Mariners in them; wherein, besides other wares, were seven and fifty silver bricks, each of which weighed twenty pound: From hence, yding it to Lime, he found twelve Ships in one Road, and in them great store of Silks, and a Chet full of money coined, but not so much as a Ship-boy abroad; (such security there was in that Coast:) Then putting to Sea with those Ships, he followed the rich Ship called the Cacofage, and by the way met with a small Ship, without Ordnance or other Arms, out of which he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, a golden Crucifix, and some Emeralds of a fingers length. The first day of March, he overtook the Cacofage, fet upon her, and took her; and in her besides Jewels, fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chefs of Silver ready coined, and as much Silver as would ballast a Ship And now thinking he had gained wealth enough, he re-
tolved to return home; and so on the third of Mar-
ch, 1580, he landed at Plymouth, having sail-
ed round about the World, in the space of three years; to the great admiration of all that know what Compass the World is of.

The Queen welcomed him home, but made a sequestration of the Goods, that they might be ready if the King of Spain required them; and commanded the Ship to be drawn on Shore near Devonport for a Monument (where the Car-
cais of it is yet to be seen) and her self feated in it; at which time the Knighted Captain Drake. But Bernardina Mendosa, the King of Spain's Ambassador in England, began to rage; and earnestly demanded Restitution of the Goods, and complained, that the English failed upon the Indian Sea. To whom it was anwiser, That the Goods were sequestred, and ready to make the King of Spain satisfaction, al-
though the Queen had expended against the Re-
bels, whom the Spanish King in England and Ireland, more money than that which Drake brought home. And as for sailing on the In-
ian Sea, That it was as lawful for the Queens Subjects as his, seeing the Sea and the Air are common for all to use. Notwithstanding; to Pedro Serrana, the King of Spain's Agent in this busines, a great sum of money was repaid, which was not restored to them to whom it be-
longed, but employed to the Spaniards Wars in the Low Countries, as was known after, when it was too late.
But at this time, when Jackson and the two skilful Pilots were sent forth with two Ships by the Lords, to find out a shorter cut to the East-Indies, by the North-West passage; they had not the like success; for a few Leagues beyond the Isles of Perygus, they met with such uncertain Tydes, so many Shallows, and such Mountains of Ice, that they could go no further, and had much ado to return home.

About this time, Henry Fitz-Alan, Earl of Arundel died, in whom the Sorrows of this most Noble Family ended, which had flourished in this Honour for above three hundred years, from Richard Fitz-Alan, who being descended from the Albani (ancient Earls of Arundel and Suffet, in the Reign of King Edward the first) obtained the Title of Earl, by reason of the pretension of Arundel Castle, without Creation. He had three Daughters by his Wife Katherine, Daughter to Thomas Gray, Marquess of Dorset, all whom he cut-off: Henry a young man of great hope, who dyed at Bruges, Joan, Wife to the Lord Lenox; and Mary, who being married to Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, brought forth Philip, in her right, Earl of Arundel.

In Ireland, Arthur Lord Gray the Deputy going against the O'Connors, who raised hills in Opheba, put to death Hugh O'Malley, quieted all that Quarter, even the Families of the Magh-bignes, O'Charles, and in the very beginning suppressed a conspiracy which was bruised forth, by putting to death the Lord Nogent; who being confident in his own innocency, when the Deputy promised to save his life, if he would but confine himself guilty, chose rather to die, and be held guilty, than to live in infamy, by betraying his own innocency. With whole death the Queen was extremely displeased, as by which she was made a patron of cruelty, to her great dishonour. But the Deputy knew with what kind of people he dealt, and by this example of severity, brought Turfagh Leynighe to accept conditions of Peace; and the O'Brians and Contewights (Rebellious Families in Lenox) humbly to crave leave also, and to offer hostages.

In Scotland, at this time great jealousies was had of Lennox, Lord of Arran, left, being in so great favour with the King, he should allure him to marry into France, and bring into Scotland the Popish Religion. Whereupon (although he purged himself by Letters to Queen Elizabeth, and professed himself to be a Protestant) yet many Cortes were taken to sequester him from the King; but so far from taking effect, that on the contrary, the Earl of Morton (who among all other was most addicted to the English) was soon after assailed by the Earl of Arran, and cast into prison; and not long after (notwithstanding all the means the Queen could use to save him) he was beheaded, as convicted to be accessory to the manner of the Kings Father. Whereupon the Earl of Arran, and others who laboured for Morton, fled straightways into England.

In the Low-Countries about this time, the Count Rheiniburg proceeded victoriously for the King of Spain; and besiegued Stenwick in Friesland; against whom the States sent Norris General of the Field, who put the Rheiniburg Company to the word, and raised the Siege; but afterward joining Battel with Verding the Span-
King, for him and his Heirs, and a Reversion was also added apart, with the Hands and Seals of every one of the Delegates, That Queen Elizabeth is not bound to finish the Marriage, until the and the Duke have given each other satisfaction in some particular, and have certified the French King of the same within five weeks. Before those five weeks were expired, Simier, Secretary to the Council, is sent into France, to require the King of France his Confirmation; The King will not hear him, but prelently to have the Marriage accomplished, as it was contracted, and that nothing else was to be done. Simier on the other side, after the Articles, That a League offensive and defensive must first be concluded, This the French King disclaimeth; Whereupon Walsingham is presently sent to compose this difference, who joyneth with Henry Cobham, the Ambassador in ordinary, and Simier, allègdeth to the French King these Particulars, That Queen Elizabeth for no other reason was willing to marry, but for the satisfaction of her people; and seeing many Impediments were come in the way of the said Treaty, namely the Civil War in France, and the Duke's engagement in a War with Spain, which makes the will of her Subjects now to be against the Match; This hath made her to defer the Accomplishment of it, although her affection be still toward the Duke. For this cause the Queen would have no further Treaty to be held, till the French Duke be freed from the Spanish war, and a League of mutual offence and defence be agreed on. The French King willingly accepted of the League defensive; but of the offensive he would hear no speech, till the marriage were finished.

Not long after, the French Duke himself came into England, having with good success raised the Siege of Cambrai; he was here received with as great humanity as he could wish, and nothing omitted, whereby he might judge himself to be truly welcome: Infomuch that in November, when the Anniversary of the Queens Inauguration came to be solemnized, the Queen (while they were in Love-conference) drew a Ring off from her finger, and put it upon his, upon some private conditions. The Standers by imagined, that by this Ceremony the marriage was confirmed between them; and therefore Government of Auvergne being there, presently dispatched messengers into the Low-Countries, to give notice of it; and thereupon Bonfines were made, and all hearts of rejoicing. But the Earl of Leicester (who privily plotted to close the Match) Harrew the Vice-Chamberlain, and Secretary Walsingham, fret and are enraged, as if the Kingdom, the Queen and Religion, were now utterly overthrown. The Maid of Honour, and Ladies that were familiar with the Queen, made grievous lamentation, and so terrified and dummed her, that she could take no rest that night. The next day, the callent the French Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him explain on the in consequence of Women. 

But taking of France disclaimeth the Articles.

The Duke of Auvergne cometh into England.

And in a private conference with the Queen, the King, a Ring from off her Finger and put it upon his. The French Duke and Ladies imaginating the marriage to be confirmed, frenc exceeding.

The next day the callent the French Duke to her, and after a long discourse, made him explain on the in consequence of Women.

But taking of France disclaimeth the Articles.

The Duke of Auvergne cometh into England. A Book lately put forth, with this Title The Galph wherein England will be finifbnd, by the French Marriage; whereas, conceiving that some Puritan was the Author; it made her highly displeas'd with the Parliament of England, within a few days, John Stables of Lincoln-Inne, a zealou Professor, and the Author of this Book, (whoho Sifer, Thomas Cartwright the Father of the Puritans had married) William Page that dispersed the Copies, and Singleton the Printer were apprehended, against whom Sentence was pronounced, That their Right hand should be cut off, by virtue of a Law made in the Reign of Philip and Mary, against the Authors and dispersers of Seditious Writings, (though the chief Lawyers and Judges of the Kingdom could not agree concerning the force of that Statute.) Hereupon Stables and Page were brought to the Scaffold, made of purpose, in the Market-place at Trafalgar, and their right hands with a Butchers knife & a mallet cut off by the wiff, the Printer was pardoned. At that time Stables when his right hand was cut off, uncovered his head with the felt, and cried out, God save the Queen, to the great amazement of all the Beholders.

At this time the Queen, upon impotant fair of her Council, gave way, that Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Bryant Priests, if so be called to the Bar, who being accused by vertue of a Law made in the fift and twentieth year of King Edward the third, to have plotted the name of the Queen and Kingdom; to be adhering to the Pope, the Queen Enemy, and coming into England, to raise Forces against the State, were then condemn'd of High Treason, and accordingly executed. Campion after he was convicted, being demanded; first, whether Queen Elizabeth was a lawful Queen? would make no answer; after ward, Whether he would stand for the Queen, or the Pope, if he should send an Army against the Queen; he plainly protesteth, That he would be of the Popes side, and witnessed so much under his hand. After this some other Papists upon the like occasion were also put to death, which the Queen rather necessitated, than willingly assent to; as being unwilling to force the conscience of any. These, and the like excommunications of Papists, were cause, that new and strict Laws were enacted against them the Parliament following, which begin the next January.

The French Duke after three months abode in England, took his Journey in February into the Low-Countries, whom the Queen her self brought on his way so far as Canterbury; and then commanded the Earl of Leicester, the Lords Charles Howard, Huskisson, Willoughby, and for Sheffield, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Ralegh, Sir George Bowleisher, and some other prime Knights to accompany him to Auvergne, where he is made Duke of Brackenham, Limbourgh and Lorain; for the Dutch had long before removed the King of Spain Government, and quitted the people from their Oath of Allegiance, that it might be in their own power to choose any other Prince. Here the Duke of Augus gave free leave to exercise the Roman Religion, to as many as would swear Fealty to him, and abjure the King of Spain Authority: but after all, having spent a great maffe of money, with which he was supplied from England.
and observing that only vain and empty titles were conferred upon him, while the States held all the Dominion in their own hands, he rashly overprized an assault upon Antwerp, and some other Towns, and thereby deserted without any great matter performed.

At this time Queen Elizabeth, as well to get her some friends, as she had procured her self many enemies; received into the Order of the Garter, Frederick, the second King of Denmark; to whom the employed Sir Peregrine Bertie (whom the had lately made Lord Willoughby of Eresby) to invert him.

But now to prevent the Duke of Guise design in Scotland, which was to make use of the Duke of Lenox favour with the King, to withdraw his affection from the England: William Ruben, whom the King had lately made Earl of Guise, endeavoured with others, by all means to remove Lenox and the Earl of Arran from the King; and, while Lenox was gone from Paris, (where the King at that time was) to Edinburgh, and Arran was also absent on a journey; the Earls Guise, Marmies Landes, and others, taking the opportunity, invited the King to the Caffle of Ruben, and there detained him, not permitting him to walk abroad: All his trusty servants they removed from about him; Arran they cast in Prison, enforced the King to call home the Earl of Angus, and to send away Lenox into France, who being a man of a soft and gentle disposition, for the Kings safety readily confented; and not content with all this, they compelled the King by his Letters to Queen Elizabeth, to approve and allow of this his thrall. The Queen of Scots in the mean while, bewailing her own hard fortune, and the distresses of the King her Son, layeth open the same in a large Letter, written to the Queen in French: With which Letter Queen Elizabeth being somewhat affected, sent unto her Robert Beal Clerk of the Council, to expostulate with her concerning the quarrelous writing, and joyntly with the Earl of Shrewsbury, to treat of the setting her at liberty. And indeed furious consultations were held at the Council about this, and the most were of opinion, that upon certain conditions she should have her liberty; but the Scotsish of the English faction opposing it, nothing was effected.

Soon after this, the King sent Colonell William Stewart and John Cottill to Queen Elizabeth, professing all manner of respect and observance, and requesting her advice for quieting the tumults in Scotland, and also for his contracting of marriage. At which time, news was brought, that the Duke of Lenox was dead in France, who depriving this life at Paris, & even at the very point of death, as often times before, made open professors of the Protestant Religion; thereby confining those who had maliciously traduced him for a Papist. After whose death, when the surprizers of the King were lift up in their own conceits, as thinking they had him safe enough; He on a sudden (though scarce eighteen years of age) with some few others, conveyed himself to the Caffle of St. Andrews, to whom the Nobility presently repaired, bringing five or six armed Bands with them: As fearing some danger might befall him. Afterwards, in fair words he advised some of his surprizers to go from the Court, for avoiding of trouble, and promising them pardon, if they would crave it. But Guise, only asked pardon, and furnished himself, using this distinction, That he had not offended in matter, but in form only; and then the King sent for the Earl of Arran to the Court, and respected him as his intimate friend, employing him to compose the Differences amongst the Nobility, and to purge the Kingdom and his own Court from civil divisions.

Whereas he is sedulous in these cares, comes Sir Francis Walsingham from Queen Elizabeth, to advise him not to be led away by evil Counsellors, to the deftruction of both Kingdoms. He findeth the King accompanied with the flower of the Nobility, and beholdeth another manner of Majesty than he looked for in Scotland: Having Audience given him, he put the King in mind of what the Queen out of Scotland, in private Letters had formerly admonished him: That a Prince must be such a lover of Truth, that more credit may be given to his bare words, than to another's tale; and in many words advised him, to beware now in his Youth of evil Counsellors, and always to be like himself. The King answered, that he was an absolute Prince, and would not that others should point them Counsellors at him, but not; but that he had long since devoted the first fruits of his amity to the Queen of England his dear Sifer, and doth now willingly make profit of the same. Walsingham now dealt with him further; not to lay to the Queen's charge what broyles had lately fallen out in Scotland; fithew, how beneficial to him, and to both Kingdoms Amity had been hitherto, and would be in time to come also; so it were not neglected; and that the fame might the better be confirmed, if the variance between the Nobility were laid asleep, by a Law of Oblivion enacted in Parliament, and the Peers which now were removed from the Court called back again, religion looked into, and a firm League concluded between both Kingdoms. The King made answer, that he gladly embraced Amity with England, and that he would constantly defend the Religion already established: Afterward he lovingly diffmifed Walsingham, though he had his hand on his heart, and his Mother; and carefully looking to matters with understanding, even above his years, proposed and professed reconciliation to those that had surprized him, if within a limited time they asked pardon; which they were so far from doing, that they entered into new consultations to surprize him again, wherenon they are commanded within a fit time to leave the Kingdom, of which number, Marmies, Elantons, Pasfield, and some other, betook themselves into Ireland; Bozy, Zefler, Wetme, Lockemann, into the Low-Countrys; Domerlin into France; the Earl of Angus is confined to his Earldom, Gury only to his own este, layeth behind the limited time, hatching new devies.

About this time happened a difference, and thereupon a War between the Emperor of Moezevia and the King of Sweden, when John King of Sweden, doubting himself to be fit Match for the Emperor, sent a Royal Ambassadour to Queen Elizabeth, requesting her to intercede for him to the Emperor, which he did without delay, and by her Ambassadour drew the Moezeian to a Peace upon reasonable Conditions. But
the Muscovian shortly after dying, and Theodo-
rus his Successor granting free Traffic to Mer-
chants of all Nations that would come thither; the
Queen importuned him to admit of none but
English Merchants, requiring him to confirm the
Privileges which his Father had granted them:
Whereeto, by way of Answer, he commanded Free
Trading for all the English, saying, it was not
fit that a small Company should exercise a Mono-
opoly, but that the whole Commerce should have
entrance to the Prince; he promised to take into his
Company than of any other, because they first
opened the way thither.

The next Summer, Albertus Aisfeo, a Palat-
ian of Poland, of a comedy personaage, and great
Learning, came into England to see the Queen,
who was nobly entertained, both by her and the
 Nobility, as also by the Scholars of Oxford, with
learned Orations, and other recreations: but
having tarried here four months, and run into
much debt, he secretly withdrew himself and de-
parted. This man I saw my self afterward in
Crakow, very bare, though it was reported of him,
That he had in a Dowry with a Wife, fifty Ca-
tles of great value: but what Mine can bear the
charges of prodigality?

This year proved fatal to divers great men;
for there died, first Thomas Rauceis, the third
Earl of Saffex of this Family; a man of a great spirit, and great familiarity to his Coun-
termates. There died also Henry Veryebel the
Earl of Southampton, one exceedingly devoted to the
Roman Religion, and a great Favourer of the
Queen of Scots, which cost him Queen Eliza-
beths displeasure, and imprisonment besides.
There died also Sir Humphry Gibers, who was cast
away at Sea, in his return from the North part of
America, whither he lately jolyed with five Ships,
having told his Patrimony, in hope to plant a Co-
lonie there. There died also Edmund Grindall
Archbishop of Canterbury, being blind through
age, a grave and pious Prelate, who lived highly
in the Queens favour for a long time, his life
being at last, by favouring (as was said) the Puritans
Conventicles; but the true cause indeed was,
for the disallowing the Marriage of King of an
Italian Priest with another mans Wife, against
the Earl of Leicester pleasure. Grindall dying,
John Whitgift succeeded in the See of Canterbu-
ry, being transtlated thither from the See of War-
ter.

At this time, certain Popish Books written
against the Queen, and Princes Excommunciate,
with drew divers from their Allegiance, and par-
ticularly, so intoxicated one Somervile, an En-
glishe Gentleman, that he went privately to the
Court, and breathing out nothing but blood and
death against all Protestants, set upon one or two
by the way with his drawn Sword. Being ap-
prehended, he fluck not to say, That he would
murder the Queen with his own hands. Hereupon
he, and upon his intimation, Edward Arden his
father-in-law (a man of an ancient House in
Warwick-shire) Ardens wife, their Daughter, So-
mervile's wife, and Hall a Priest, were brought to
the Bar, and all condemned; Somervile was prin-
cipal, the rest as accessorys. Three days after,
Somervile was found strangled in the Prison, Ar-
den was executed and quartered; the women and
Priest were spared. Many pined the old Gen-
tleman Arden, as milled by the Priests; and (as it
was generally believed) brought to his end
through the envy of Leicester, who used to call
Whore-mater, Up-fart, and many such oppro-
brious names.

In the Netherlands, the English Garrison at
Lign in Flanders being neglected, the Governor
Pipes, and the other Captains, for want of pay,
upon Composition, yielded up the Town to the
Spanish, the Queen ordering them, to their homes,
joyed themselves to the Prince of Persia; at
whose hands finding them lighted, by degrees
they fled all away, and came all to unlicked
ends.

In Ireland the famous Rebell Gyrald Fitz-
Gyrald, the eleventh Earl of Desmond of this
Family, having a long time in lurking places es-
capecl the English, was now by a common Souli-
dier found out in a poor Cottage and Iain. His
head was sent into England, and lay upon London
Bridge. This end had this great Lord, deter-
ded from Mauces, the Son of Gyrald of Wind-
fore, an English man, famous amongst those who
first set upon Ireland, in the year 1706. He pos-
sessed whole Countries, together with the Coun-
ty Palatine of Kerry, and had of his own Name
and Race, at least five hundred Gentlemen at his
Command. All whom, and his own life also, he
left within the space of three years, very few of
the House being left. But this great disaster he fell
into, by provoking Traayerous to his Prince, at
the instigation of a certain Popish Priest. Of whom,
the chief was one Nicholas Sanders an English
man, who at the same time dyed miserably of
Fatime, being starved to death, when as being
forfaken, and running mad upon his ill fuccease,
he roamed up and down the Mountains and
Groves, finding nothing to sustain him. In his
Script were found certain Orations and Letters,
written to heare the Rebels, and promising
large Rewards from the Pope and King of Spain,
upon the Rebels ill successes; James Fitz-Ephraim,
Vicount Baltinglas fled into Spain, where he
pined away with grief. He out of zeal to the
Roman Religion, a little before he had taken up
Arms with the Rebels, and offorthing the Earl of
Ormond his Neighbour to do the like, (who drew
his Lineage from St. Thomas of Canterbury) he used
their words to perswade him, That if Saint Tho-
mas of Canterbury had not died for the Church
of Rome, thou hadst never been Earl of Ormond:
for King Henry the Second, to expiate the mur-
ther of Thomas Becket, gave Larg Lends in Or-
mond to his Predecessor.

The beginning of the next Spring, certain
Scots, together with Gunny, plotted again to
purprise the King, pretending only a care of
Religion, and to remove several Councillors from
him: but the King having intelligence of their
practic, used means by Colonel Snistow, to
have Gunny taken and cast into prison; where-
upon Murt, Glazier, Augus, and other of the
Confederates fled into England, and beseech the
Queen to committer their exilte, who had in-
curred the Kings displeasure, to do her and the
Kingdom of England service. The King on the
other side, accultur them to the Queen of hai-
nous Crimes, and requires to have them delive-
red up into his hands. But Secretary Waring,
who bore great good will to these men, so

At this time Mendoza, the Spanish Ambassador, was thrust out of England, for joining with Throgmorton in his Treason against the Queen; whereupon Sir William Wade was sent to the King of Spain, to satisfy him how ill Mendoza had discharged the Office of an Ambassador here in England; who, when the King admitted him not to his Presence, but in a threatening manner, putting him off to his Counsellors; Wade taking it in great disdain, boldly said, That it was a declared Custom amongst Princes (though in war of Heat) to give Ambassadors audience, and thereupon (though he did not declare his Ambassage) and so returned into England unhurt. The greatest matters laid to Mendoza's charge, were gotten out of Throgmorton's Confection; for when he was in danger to be apprehended, he sent to Mendoza a box of Writings; and when his Chefs were searched, there were found two Scoowils, one with the names of the Ports of England, and in the other, the names of the Nobility and Gentry in England, that favoured the Romish Religion. These, when Throgmorton was far from the Place, were committed, and found to it upon the very Rack, and being brought to the Rack the second time, he then confessed all; That Morgan, by Letters out of France had given him information, that the Catholick Princes had decreed to invade England, and with the help of the Duke of Guise, to free the Queen of Scots; and that nothing was now wanting but money and aid in England: and that for procuring of this, Charles Paget, under the counterfeit name of Mops, was sent into Suffolk, where the Duke of Guise intended to land; and that he had imparted all this matter to Mendoza, and intimated the names of the Ports, and of the Noble men that should assist. But being arraigned at the Guild-hall, he denied all this again, saying, He had spoken so, because he would not be Racked again. Yet being condemned, he飞 the flying to the Queen mercy, confessing all manner of things he had before related; and there and at Galway was executed again. So false to it self is the mind of man, when it is divided between hope and fears, and lies under the burthen of a guilty conscience.

Sir William Wade being returned from Spain, was employed to the Queen of Scots, about the Treaty begin two years before: To whom the difcontented Queen sincerely professed, that she devoted her service and herself to the Queen of England; and made solemn promise, That if the former Treaty might go on, he would mediate with the King her Son, to receive into favour the Earl of Angus, and the other Scotch Lords, and would charge the Bishops of Ross and Glasgow, her Agents in France, to have no further to do with the English Fugitives. These things Queen Elizabeth heard gladly, and thereupon sent Real to the Queen of Scots, who joyfully with the Earl of Strensham should signify unto her, That if the continued fill in the same mind as she had delivered to Wade; Sir Walter Mildmay should come out of hand to her, and treat concerning her liberty; but withall, the commanded Mildmay and Real to dive into her as well as they could, to know what profit the Duke of Guise had on Foot. To that which she had spoken to Sir William Wade, the Queen of Scots made a wary
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Whereupon nor and namely, for the Parliament which but That isit is liberty.

It isit'sit is liberty.

by English Scots, and having entered into divers other devices, they would have provided for the safety of the Queen, a number of her Subjects (the Earl of Leicester being the foremost) men of all ranks and conditions, bound themselves mutually to each other by their Oaths and Subscriptions, to perforce all those to the very death, that should attempt any thing against the Queen; which League of theirs they called the Association.

The Queen of Scots, who presently apprehended, that this Association was entered into for her destruction; making this proposition by means her Secretary, to the Queen and the Council; That if she might have her liberty granted, and be assured of the Queen's love, she would enter a strict League and Amity with her, and putting all matters of opinion, esteem and honor above all the Princes of the Christian world 2 years, and (saving the ancient Leagues, under Francis and Scotland) would the same liberty to be comprehended in the Association, and a League defensive, against all that should go about to injure the Queen. Herewith Queen Elizabeth was wonderfully pleased, and at that time certainly had an inclination to grant her freedom.

But see what malice can do; for many in England, but especially the Scots of the adverse party, endeavoured by all means to hinder it; explaining, That the Queen should be no longer in safety, if the Queen of Scots were set at liberty; That both Kingdoms were utterly undone, if the were admitted into the joynt Government of the Kingdom of Scotland, and that the reformed Religion lay a bleeding, if Papists were admitted within the Court walls; nor was this all; but the Scottish Ministers in their Pelts, loaded the Queen of Scots with all manner of contumacies, branding the King himself, and his Council in the most bitter manner; and being cited to appear before him, refused, saying; That the Papists were exempted from all Regal Authority and that Ecclesiastical persons were not to be confin'd by the Prince, but by their own Convent (directly against the Laws made the year before in Parliament) whereby the Kings Authority over all persons, whether Ecclesiastical or Secular, was confirm'd; and namely, That the King and his Council were Supreme Judges in all Causes; and that whatever refused to be try'd by them, should be held guilty of High Treasons, all Presbyters and Lay-conventicles forbidden, Parity of the Clergy taken away, and the Authority of Bishops restored, while Calling the Presbyters had condemned as wicked and Antichristian; And lastly, all scurrilous Libels against the King and his Mother prohibited; namely, the Scotsish History of George Buchanan, and his Dialogus de Jure Regii et Sedis.

At this time, upon her Advertisements suggestion, the Queen of Scots is taken from the Earl of Shrewsbury, and committed to the custody of Sir Ainslie潘特 and Sir Drury Drury, and that on for purpose (as some were pervert'd) to drive her into abrupt and desperate attempts; and indeed upon this, she grew more important with the Pope and King of Spain, to hasten their tendance, whatever became of her, as ill indeed was like to become of her, if it be true (as some said) that Leicester sent out squabines to meet her, that Bemerton detected the villainy, and would grant them no access.

And now to alienate Queen Elizabeth utterly from her, it is suggested to her, That Allen for the Catholics of the Clergy, Ingledish for the Late, and the Bishop of Rothe for the Queen of Scots, with content of the Pope and King of Spain, had joynly combined to depose her, and to bar the King of Scotland from his hereditary Right to the Crown of England; and to marry the Queen of Scots to an English Nobleman of the Romish Religion, and him the English Catholics should choose King of England, and the Pope confirm the Election; and all this upon the credit of Hart the Priest; but who this English Nobleman should be that should marry the Queen of Scots, could not be found, though Waddington were but to search it out; the fame went upon Henry Howard the Duke of Norfolk, Brother, who was a single man, a great Papist, and of high estimation among the Catholics.

This year died in Exile and misty Charles Nevill, who was in the Rebellion in the North, the Earl of Westmorland of this Family; a house from whence descended many Noble Personages, six Earls of Westmorland, two Earls of Salisbury and Warrick, an Earl of Kent, a Margrave of Montfort a Duke of Bedford, Baron Ferrers of Osney, the Lord Latimer, the Lord of Abingdon, one Queen, & five Dutchesses (to let pass Conroy and Baroneffes) an Archbishop of York, and a numerous company of other Lords. In England died none of reckoning this year, but only Plundes the famous Lawyer, but in France, the Duke of Anjou died of grief; and in Holland, William Prince of Orange, shot into the body with three Bullets, by one Beysheur Gerard, a Burgundian.

It was now the year 1584, and the 28th. of Queen Elizabeth Reign, when to the French King more nearly to her, whom the year before she had receiv'd into the number of the Knights of the Garter, the next the Earl of Derby into France, to invest him with the Robes and Ornaments, according to the due solemnity; which he kindly accepted, and at Evening Prayer was invested with them.

At this time a Parliament was assembled at Westminster, wherein William PARRY a Welshman, a
but as he was taking Shipping by his own servants to carry he was discovered, apprehended, and laid in the Tower.

At the same time lay in the Tower Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland; a man of a lofty spirit, being suspected by reason of secret confutations with Turogma, the Lord Pope and in the Tower, or found dead in his bed.

After the landing of the Queen, her Padre, and all that attended her, the Jew, the Popish Priest, and all that should receive or relieve them, These Laws were carried by Sir Thomas Bodley, and in the two hundred and twenty, he thereupon wrote a Letter to the Queen, That for the service of God, and his Souls health, he purposed to leave his Country, but not his loyal affection towards her;
joined with them about eight thousand men. The Earl of
Arran hearing hereof, makes haft to
the King, and accuses Patrick Gray as Author of this
comotion; but whilst Arran was making provision for defence of the Town, the ene-
emies were ready to scale the Walls: whereupon
Arran being advised, that onely his life was
sought, gets secretly away with onely one Ser-
vant, the rest betook themselves to the King in
the Caffle. The Rebels get into the Market-
place, and display their Banners against the Ca-
flle: The King lends Gray to know the reason
of their coming; they answer, to submis-
selves, and in humble manner to kifs the Kings
hands: The King offereth restitution of all their
Goods, if they would depart; They desire to be
admitted to his Presence, which upon these con-
ditions the King granted. That they should not
attempt any thing against his life, or those he
should nominate, nor make any innovation
in the Government. They protest, They are re-
ady to sacrifice their Lives for his safety and
innovation, they had not formed a thought, They only request to have their ad-
versaries, and the Fortifications of Scotland
delivered up into their hands. Hereupon after a
dayes Consiliation, they are admitted into the
Kings Presence, and forthwith the Earls of
Mount-Rooff, Crawford and RobJay; Colonel
Steward, Donn, Arran's Brothers, and others,
were delivered to them; The Earl of Arran,
who was fled into the Western Islands, is
home: The Assaulters were pardoned, and
pronounced good Subjects. Hamilton is set over
Dumfrinet Caffle; Goldingkillole over Eden-
burgh; the Earl of Angus over Tantallon; the
Earl of Moray over Steriha; and Glames is made
Captain of the Guard. Upon this, all Pro\ncipulations and Out-lawries against all Persons, since
the Kings Inauguration (having some few procribed
for the murder of the Kings Father) are called in,
and many Impositions, done by the Earl of
Pert, the Treaty of a League with the Queen of England
is agreed upon, and Delegates nominated to that
purpose.

In Ireland likewise was a Conbussion this
year, first the Barkes (defecanded of the ancient
Family of the Burroughs in England) provoked by
the vvere Government of Richard Bingham
Governor of Connaght, raise Rebellion; but
this was soon suppressed, for Thomas Bark dyed
fighting; Meyler and Theobold Bark were
taken and hanged. After this the Clan Gibbons,
Clan Donells and Joyce, combined together in
great numbers, and say plainly, They will have
a Mac-William of their own, one of the Barkes
to rule over them, or some other Lord out of Spain;
they will admit of no Sheriff into their Country,
nor appear before the English Courts of Justice;
and thereupon harned all the Country with Fire
and Sword, and neither by the perturbations of the
Arms nor by the intreaties of the Earl of Clanricard (the chief of the House
of the Barkes) would be quieted, till John Bine-
han the Presidents Brother, following them into
the Woods, drive away five thousand head of their Cattell, so as after forty days, half
starved, they came forth and submitted them-
selves. But this was not yet an end; for now
the President underwood, That two thousand
Scottish Islanders were landed, and ready to
break into Connaght; whereupon he orders his
men to give them battle, but they flying to
Bogs and Woods, he retires back, as though in
fear, thereby to draw them from the Bogs to firm
ground, and then with his whole forces set up
on them, flew three thousand of them (indeed all
but fourscore) amongst whom were Donell Garvey
and Alexander Garvey, the Sons of James Mac-
Conel, who had long disquituated this part, and those
Barkes who were the first Authors of this Rebellion.
This was a famous Victory, for the good of the
present and future times; for hereby the name of
the Mac-Williams in Connaght was utterly ex-
tinct, and the insolent attempts of the Scottish
Islanders absolutely crushed.

In the Low-Countries at this time the States
were very hard beft, as so they held a Confutation,
whither to file for Proteftion, either to the
French King, or to the Queen of England. Mon-
fieur Franck the French Ambadchodzą between
the parties to induce them to the reasons why
they should fie rather to the French King, or to
Engliſh on the other fide, allged many Rea-
sons why they should fie rather to the Queen of
England; but in conclusion, they have firft
recourse to the King of France, and afterward
being by him neglected, to the Queen of
England. But then in England it was confulted,
Whether it were meet to protect them; wherein
the Counsel was divided; Some were of Opini-
on, That it were good to receive and aid them,
left the Spaniard first conquer them, might
have the better way to annoy England; others
again thought, They were to be held no better
than Rebels to their lawful Sovereign, and there-
fore unworthy of alliftance. After long debating
the matter, the Queen refufed to take them into
Protection, much lefs to exercise Sorvraignty over
them. Nevertheless to rife the Siege of Am-
nwerp, which was then beleaged by the Prince
of Orange, &c. it was convenient to supply them with
four thousand Soldiers, fo as the Town of Slau-
and the Ordinance belonging to it, were given
up into their hands: but while this matter was
discussing, the Town of Anmwerp was fain to yield
it felf.

But the Queen better bethinking her felf,part-
ly as fearing the growth of the King of Spain's
Power, and partly, as commiffirating the affliction
of her own Religion, at left resolves to under-
take their protection, upon condition of her part,
to supply them with five thousand Foot, and a
thousand Horfes, under a fufficient General, pay-
ning them during the War; and afterward the
expences to be payed back, upon condition on
their part, by way of Pledge, to deliver Fifeing
and the Forts of Armneck, the Town of Briel, with
the two neighboring Forts; and for the justifi-
ing of this har action, the fet forth a large De-
claration. And knowing that herein the incen-
sed the King of Spain, the thought bet that
his anger further from home, and therupon sent
out Sir Francis Drake and Christopher Cardyle,
with a Navy of one and twenty Ships (wherein
were two thousand Volunteers and Marines)
towards the West-Indies; who first surprized the
Town of St. Jaffe, afterward St. Dominick (where
five and twenty thousand Crowns were given
them, to spare the Town from burning) afterward

Carragen.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Cartagena, which they held seven weeks, till the Spaniards redeemed it for a hundred and ten thousand Crowns. After this, the Calentures waxing hot, and diminishing their Forces, they returned homewards, falling by Virginia, a Colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had there planted; from whence Drake brings home with him Ralph Lane, who was the first that brought Tobacco into England, which the Indians take against estates of the Stomach. At this Expedition were left about seven hundred men, who for the most part died of Calentures: their Boat amounted to the value of three thousand pounds Sterling, besides two hundred and forty Bears and Iron Pieces. These things were done under the Torrid Zone in America; when in the mean while, Captain John Davis, with two Ships (at the charges of William Sanders, and other Citizens of London) found out a way to the East Indies, by the highest part of America, under the Frigid Zone.

At the end of this year, the Earl of Leicester is sent General of the Queens Forces into Holland, accompanied with the Earl of Essex, the Lords Audley, and North, Sir William Rust, Sir Francis Sherley, Sir Arthur Bart, and Gentlemen, who, being by Sir Philip Sidney, Clifton and divers other Knights, besides five hundred Gentlemen, Landing at Flushing, he was first by Sir Philip Sidney the Governor his nephew, after by the Towns of Zealand and Holands, entertained in most magnificent manner, and coming to the Hague in January, the States by Patent committed to him the command and absolute authority over the united Provinces, with the Titles of Governor and Captain General of Holland, Zealand, and the Confederated Provinces: So as being now saluted with the Title of his Excellency, he began to assume unto him Princely Spirts: But the Queen took him soon off from further aspiring, writing unto him in most peremptory manner; That the wonder how a man who had rased out of theduit, could so contemptuously violate her commands, and therefore charged him upon his Allegiance, to put in execution the Instructions given him by His Highness Vice-Chamberlain Withall, in Letters apart, the expostulation with the States, that to her great disparage ment, they had cast upon the Earl of Leicester her Subject, the absolute command over the united Provinces, without her privity, which she herself had utterly refuted; and therefore willeth them to desist from that absolute authority, to whom she had set bounds, which he should not pass. The States return Answer, That they are heartily sorry they should incur her displeasure by conferring upon the Earl that absolute Authority, not having first made her acquainted, but therefore befeech her to consider the necessity of it; seeing, that for avoiding of confusion, that Authority must needs be cast upon some one other; Neither was there any great matter in the word Absolute, seeing the Rule and Dominion reigned still in the people. By these Letters and Leicester's own submitive writing, the Queen was soon satisfied; Leicester all this while receiveith Contributions and Rewards from all Provinces maketh martial Laws, and endeavouring likewise to raise new Cuffians upon Merchandises, incurred great dislike among the common people. His first Service was to relieve Grave a Town in Brabant, which the Prince of Parma, by Count Mannfeld had besieged: Either he sent the Count Holben a German, and Norris General of the English Foot, but notwithstanding all the great Service they did there, the Town in the end was taken, but Henri, the Governor, for his cowardly yielding it up, lost his head. From hence the Prince of Parma march ed into Gelderland, and pitched his Tents before Venloo, where Skenich Frieslander, and Roger Williams Vodfjoman performed great service, yet that Town in a short time was taken also; But in the mean while the Lord Willoughby Governor of Bergen op Zoom, cut off the enemies Convoys, and took away their Vittuals; and Sir Philip Sidney and Maurice the Prince of Orange, Son upon a sudden onset, took Aazle, a Town in Flanders. From Venloo the Prince of Parma goes to Berke, where there were twelve thousand English, under the command of Colonell Morgan: he notwithstanding his Siege to the Town, which the Earl of Leicester came to raise, but finding his Forces too weak to take it, he seeks to divert it, by beleagueri ng Deniburg, which before the Prince of Parma could come to relieve, he took. And now the Prince of Parma, fearing lest Zypern should again come into the hands of the English, he carried thither, which the Spaniards, carrying along in a siege, the English by chance lighted on them, vanquished a Troop of their Horse, flew Hannibal Untergasic and divers others, but then on the English side was one slain, more worth than all the English and Spaniards put together, Sir Philip Sidney, who having his Horse slain under him, and getting upon another, was shot into the thigh, and 25 days after, in the flower of his age, dyed: A Man of so many excellent parts of Art and Nature, of Valour and Learning, of Wit and Magnanimity, that as he had equalled all those of former Ages, in future Ages will hardly be able to equal him. His Funerals were in sumptuous manner solemnized at St. Paul's Church in London. James King of Scotland made his Epitaph, and both Universities celebrated his death with Funeral Vows.

After this Leicester assaulted Zypern, where fe tting upon a Fort, he takes it in this manner: Edward Stanley (of the Stanley of Eiford) catching hold of a Spaniard Luuan, which was bandashed at him, held it so fast, that by it he was drawn into the very Fort, whereupon the Spaniards being affrighted (as thinking all the enemies were coming up) forsooke the place; Leicester, Knighted Stanley for this Act, gave him forty Pounds in present money, and a yearly Pension of an hundred Marks during his life. And now though in this forwardness to win the Town, yet Winter being already come on, he thought it un advantageous to besiege it any longer (especially so many English Garrisons lying round about it, which were in the nature of a Siege) but returned to the Hague, where the States entertain'd him with complaints, that their money was not carefully husbanded, that the number of the English fapphires were not full, that foreign Soldiers were counted under the command of the Vittuals to be used, and new devices for contribution invented; for all which evils, they intreated him to provide some present remedy. To which complaints (having a purpose to go for England) he gave a friendly answer;
lury of a good Family in Devonshire, Charles Tiley one of the Queen Pensioners, Chyldock Tichburn of Hampshire, Edward Ainslie, whose Father was Confessor to the Queen; Robert Gage of Surrey, John Travurs, and John Chanruck of Lancashire, John Jones, Savage formerly spoken of, Barnabé of a noble Family in Ireland, and Henry Donne a Clerk in the Office of Fruits and Tenths; one Poole also confined himself into their company, a fellow thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the Queen of Scots, who was thought to have revealed all their Conclusions to Walsingham day by day. To these Gentlemen, Babington communicateth his affairs, but not every particular to every one, but to Ballard, Tichborn, and Dannes, he shewed the Letters which passed between him and the Queen of Scots; with Tiley and the rest, he dealteth as being their agents, of whom, some at first loath, at last consented, and in a foolish vain-gloriousmanner, as Picture of the Affiliates was made to the life, and Babington in the midst, with these words, "Quam est habeas proprioam?" This Picture (which the Earl of Essex) was gotten and privately shewed to the Queen, who knew none of them by face but only Barnwell, (who had oftentimes came to her in the caufes of the Earl of Kildare, whose servant he was,) Certain it is, that the Queen one day walking abroad, spied this Barnwell, and turning to Haigton, said, Am not I well Guarded, that have not so much as one man in the company with a word by his side? Thus much Barnwell himself told the rest of his Confederacy, and how easie a matter it had been to have dispatched her at that time, if the rest had been present. The chief discoverer of the Plot, was the aforesaid Gifford: This man was a Gentleman of a good House at Chelbington in Staffordshire, not far from Charity, where the Queen of Scots was kept prisoner, and was now sent by the English Fugitives in France, under the counterfeit name of Lafo, to put Savage in mind of the Vow he had made, and to convey Letters between them and the Queen of Scots. But he, whether pricked in Conscience, or known none in minds, came to Walsingham privately, revealing who he was, and for what end, and by whom sent into England; Walsingham courteously entertained him, and sent him down into Staffordshire, to do the work he had undertaken. Here Gifford bribing the Brewer of the house, where the Queen of Scots lay, contrived the matter in such sort with him, that by a hole in the Wall, in which a loose stone was put, he should give in, and receive forth Letters, the which by meffengers purposely laid by the way, came evermore to Walsingham hands, who broke them open, copied them out, and by the rare cunning of one Thomas Philips, found out the meaning of the private Characters, and by the singular Art of Arthur Gregory, sealed them again curiously, that no man would imagine they have been opened, and ever sent them to the parties, to whom the supercription directed them. In like manner were the former Letters from the Queen of Scots to Babington intercepted; as also other Letters written at the same time to Mendez, the Spanish Ambassador, Charles to the Lord Paget, the Archbishops of Gales, and Francis Englishfield. The Queen as soon as the under-
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen of Scots hath her Clothes broken open, and her Boxe barricaded.

The Queen of Scots, with any Papers in them, they set them on fire, and sent them to the Court: In which, being but open before the Queen, were found a number of Letters from Foreign parts, the Copies like wise of Letters sent to several Persons, and therefore Alphabets at leaf of private Characters; as also, Letters to her from some of the English Nobility, containing great prizes of Love and Service, which the Queen notwithstanding took no notice of, but passed over in Silence, according to her Motto, Vide & Tacis, I see, and say nothing. Gifford now, who had all this while served their turn, is sent into France; but ere he went hence, left an Indenture with the French Ambassador here in England, with Instructions that he should deliver no Letters to the Queen of Scots, or the Fugitives in France; but to him that exhibited an Indenture matching with that, the which he sent under-hand to Sir Francis Walsingham.

The twelfth of September, seven of the Fourteen of the Court Privy Council were Arraigned and hanged. But is discovered and taken.

The twenty second of September, seven of the Fourteen of the Court Privy Council were Arraigned, and hanged.
Councils were not all of one mind; some conceived, that it were not good to take any rigorous course against her, but only to hold her in full custody; both for that this was, not Author of the Treason, but only conscious to it, and because she was craze, and not likely to live long. Others, out of a care of Religion, were of opinion, to have her forthwith Arraigned and put to death according to Law; Leisler thought it better to have her poiyoned and sent a Divine to Wol Jung bead to prove it lawfully, but Wol Jung beard protected against that course. A difference then arose amongst them, by what Law to proceed against her; Whether by the Law of the 25. of Edward the Third, (In which they are pronounced guilty of Treason, who plot the destruction of the King or Queen, raffe War in his Dominions or adhere to his Adversaries) Or else by the 27 of the Queen Enacted a year since; Their opinion at last prevailed, who thought best to proceed against her by this later Law, as being indeed in this case provid ed. Whereupon, divers of the Lords of the privy Council, and others of the Nobility, are Authorized by the Queens Letters, to enquire by virtue of that Law, and passe sentence against all such as raised Rebellion, invaded the Kingdom, or attempted any Violence against the Queen. The Commissioners therefore in the eleventh day of October repaired to Fotheringay Castle in North hamptonshire, where the Queen of Scots was then held prisoner; and the next day, sent unto her Walter Midlam, Pawlt and Edward Barker, publick Notary; who delivered her the Queen’s Letters; which having with a fet led countenance read, she said, It seems to me strange, that the Queen should lay her Command upon me, to hold up my hand at the Bar, as though I were a Subject, seeing I am an abso quire Government, no lefe than her self; but how ever, I will never do any thing prejudicial to Princes of my degree, nor to my Son the King of Scotland. After many meetings, the banding all upon her innoc ency, and upon her exemption from answering, as being an absolute Prince, and specially for yealding to be tried by the English Laws of which, One (he said) had lately been made of purpose for her de stead. Her Advice was, that the Lord Chancellor and Treasurers, That if the refused to answer to such crimes as should be objected, they would then proceed against her, though she were absent. Being brought at least with much ado to content, the Commissioners came together in the Presence Chamber; a Chair of Este tate was set for the Queen of England, in the upper end of the Chamber under a Canopy; beneath over against which, was placed a Chair for the Q. of Scots; on both sides of the Cloth of Este tate foids were set, upon which, on the one side sat the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurers, the Earls of Oxford, Kent, Derby, Worcelft. Rutland, Cumberland, Warwick, Pembroke, Lincoln, and Vichount Mountains; On the other side sat the Lords Arran, Montrose, Zouch, Moray, St. John of Sleifs, Comyn, and Cherse; Next to these sat the Knights that were Privy Commissioners, Sir James Crofts, Sir Christopher Haunts, Sir Francis Mount, Sir Robert Keddie, Sir Philip Midlam, and Sir Amias Pauley; Forward he fore the Earls, sat the two Chief Justices, and the Lord Chief Baron; on the other side, the two Barrons, and the other Justices; Dole and Ford, Doctors of the Civil Law, at a Table in the mids, Pagham the Queen’s Attorney General, Egerton her Solicitor, Gondie her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of Scots was come, and had placed her self, silence being made, Bramly Lord Chancel lor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Gondie laid to her charge, a furing her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had pro voked her innocent. Upon this she rising up, said, That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the De legates, yet to manifest her innocence, she was now content to appear. Then Gondie opened every specialty of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) writing by Ba bington, Scheme of Letters, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of Bellard and Savage, by the Confessions of her Secretaries, and Curie, that she was pray to their Treasons, and confented to the Invasion of England, and def truction of the Queen. To which she an fwered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confefs that which was not true; In this the flood peremptorily, That she never confented to any attempt against the Queen Perfon; though for her own delivery, she confessed the did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; At last, she requifted, that he might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this requifition prevailed not, for on the Twenty fith day of Octo ber following, at the Star Chamber in Westminster, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of June, in the teven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, divers matters were composed and imagined in this Kingdom, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of many Quire of Scots, pretending Title to the Crown of England, according to the hurt, death, and detraction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

Barons, and the other Justices; Dole and Ford, Doctors of the Civil Law, at a Table in the middle, Pagham the Queen’s Attorney General, Egerton her Solicitor, Gondie her Serjeant at Law, the Clerk of the Crown, and two Notaries. When the Queen of Scots was come, and had placed her self, silence being made, Bramly Lord Chancellor turning towards her, said, That the Queen had appointed these Commissioners, to hear what she could answer to Gondie laid to her charge, assuring her, That nothing would be cause of more joy to the Queen, than to hear that she had provoked her self innocent. Upon this she rising up, said, That although, being an absolute Prince, she could not be compelled to appear before the Delegates, yet to manifest her innocence, she was now content to appear. Then Gondie opened every specialty of the Law lately made (against which she had taken Exception) writing by Babington, Scheme of Letters, by Letters passed between them, by the confessions of Bellard and Savage, by the Confessions of her Secretaries, and Curie, that she was pray to their Treasons, and consented to the Invasion of England, and destruction of the Queen. To which she answered, That Letters might be counterfeited, her Secretaries might be corrupted, the rest, in hope of life, might be drawn to confess that which was not true; In this the flood peremptorily, That she never consented to any attempt against the Queen Perfon; though for her own delivery, she confessed she did. After many other charges by the Commissioners, and replies by the Queen of Scots; At last, she requifited, that he might be heard in a full Parliament, or before the Queen her self, and her Council. But this requifition prevailed not, for on the Twenty fifth day of October following, at the Star Chamber in Westminster, the Commissioners met again, and there pronounced sentence against her; Ratifying by their Seals and Subscriptions, that after the first day of June, in the seven and twentieth year of our Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, divers matters were composed and imagined in this Kingdom, by Anthony Babington and others, with the privity of many Queen of Scots, pretending Title to the Crown of England, according to the hurt, death, and destruction of the Royal Person of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen.

After a few days, a Parliament was holden at Westminster, which was begun by Authority from the Queen, derived to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Derby; and the same, nor without some Prejudices. At this Parliament, the Prorogation of the Lord Page, Charles Page, Francis Ingfield, Francis Throgmorton, Anthony Babington, Thomas Salkbury, Edward Jones, Chyduck Fischborn, Charles Tilney, and other the Complexes, was confirmed, and their goods and possessions adjudged confiscate. Also the Peers of the Kingdom, with an unanimous consent, exhibit a Petition to the Queen by the Lord Chancellor, That for the preservation of the true Religion, and safety of the Queen, of themselves, and their Posterity, the Sentence pass’d against Mary Queen of Scots, might according to Law be presently promulged: They put the Queen in mind of the fearful Examples of Gods Judgments extant in Scripture, upon King Sals, for sparing of Agag.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

A while after, the Queen treated the Lords to think of some ways, by which the Queen of Scots life might be saved, and her own not endangered.

The Lords return Answer: That no way can be no way of her safety, but the Queen of Scots death.

and upon Abbe, for not putting Benhaddad to death. But the Queen answered them to this effect: First, acknowledging Gods miraculous preservation of her, and then their constant affection towards her, for whose sake only the duties to live: Otherwise, when the calls to mind things past, beholds the present, and expects what may happen in time to come, that the accounts them most happy, who go soonest forth. That the Law lately made, by which the Queen of Scots is condemned, was not made (as some maliciously have imagined) to enfrain her, but contrariwise, to forewarn and deter her from attempting any thing against it, which though it had not been made, yet were there other ancient Laws enough to condemn her. Nothing could have been more grievous to me, than that a Prince, and one so near allied unto me, should deserve the sentence pronounced against her; and seeing the matter is of rare example, and of a very weighty consequence, I hope you will not expect, that I should at this present determine any thing; yet that there may be no danger in delay, I will in due time frame my mind unto you; and in the mean time, would have you expect from me, whatsoever good Subjects look for from a Gracious Prince.

A few days after, having deeply weighed the matter in her mind, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the Peers, and Puckering to the Lower-House, entreating them to advise more diligently concerning so weighty a matter, and to be themselves of some wholesome remedy, by which the life of the Queen of Scots might be spared, and their security also provided for. They, when they had a long time in a most serious manner deliberated hereof, return at last this Verdict, That the Queen's life could not be in safety, while the Queen of Scots lived, unless the either repented and acknowledged her Crimes, or were kept in straight custody, or bound by her Oath and Obligations, or gave hostages; or lastly, departed the Kingdom. And seeing none of these were likely to be remedies, it remained, that only her death would be a remedy. Repentance in her they could little hope for, who would not to so much as acknowledge her self faulty: Close Imprisonment, Obligations, Oath, and Hostages, they accounted as nothing, which all vanished, if the Queen's life were once taken away; and if she departed the Kingdom, they feared she would straightway go to invade it again. These things the Lord Chancellor, and Puckering the Speaker of the Lower House, declared to the Queen at large, and urged her in their names, to have the Sentence put in execution. Hereupon the Queen after a short pause, spoke at left to this effect: I protest, my chief desire hath been, that for your security, and my own safety, some other way might be devised, than that which is now proposed; but seeing it now evident and certain, that my safety without her dejection, is in a more deplorable estate, I am most grievously affected with inward sorrow; that I, who have pardoned to many Rebels, have neglected to many Treasons (either by connivance, or silence), should now at last execute cruelty upon a Prince so nearly allied to me. As for your Petition, I beseech you to rest in an Answer, without an Answer: If I say I will not grant your Petition, I shall hereby say what I meant not; If I should say, I will grant it, then call I my self into destruction by my own, whose safety you so earnestly desire. And that I know, you in your Wisdom would not I should do.

After this, the Parliament was prorogued; and then were the Lord Buckhurst and Bent sent to the Queen of Scots to let her understand that the Sentence was pronounced against her, and confirmed by Parliament, and that the execution of it was earnestly desired by the Nobility and the Commons; and therefore perverted her, that before her death, she would make acknowledge- ment of her offences, against God and the Queen. Intimating, that if she lived, the Religion received in England, could not subsist. Hereupon, she was taken with an unwaited alacrity, and seemed to triumph for joy, giving God thanks, and gratulating her own felicity. That she should be accounted an Infrument, for establishing Religion in this Island; and therewith requested, she might have some Catholic Priest to administer the Sacrament to her; but was denied, which some deemed, not inhuman only, but tyrannical and heathenish. The Bishop and the Dean, whom for this cause they commended to her, the latter rejected, and jeered at the English Nation; whereas the English were ever and always wont to maintain their own Kings, and therefore no marvel, they should now trust after her de- formation. In December following the Sentence against her was proclaimed in London first, and after over all the Kingdom, wherein Queen Elizabeth seriously protested, that this Promulgation of the Sentence was extorted from her, to her great grief, by the importunity of the whole body of the Kingdom. The Queen of Scots being told hereof, seemed not a whit deceived with it; but writing to the Queen, never made intercession for her self, nor expostulated her death, but only makes three small requites; one, That she might be buried in France by her Mother; another, That she might be put to death privately, but his serv- ants to be present; the third, That her servants might freely depart, and enjoy such Legacies as she had given them. Of which Requites, the fairest the Queen to voice them an answer; but whether this Letter ever came to Queen Elizabeth, is uncertain.

This condemnation of the Queen of Scots, as a thing strange, and scarce credible, was soon spread far and near; so as intercensions came thick in her behalf to Queen Elizabeth, but specially from the King of Scots, and the King of France, who sent their several Ambassadors, using all the reasons that natural affection in the one, and likelihood of condition in the other, could urge, for sparing of her life; but when the necessity of the State, seemed to obstruct all ways of clemency, the French Ambassador L'Aubeuip, falled from reasons toection, and thinketh no way so effe- ctual for saving of the Queen of Scots life, as to take away Queen Elizabeths life; and thereupon, first, he dealt covertly with William Stafford, a young Gentleman, and prone to embrace hopes (whose Mother was of the Bed-chamber to Queen Elizabeth, and his Brother at that time, Ambas- sador Liger in France) and afterward, more openly by Trapp his Secretary, to murder the Queen. Staffords, though not daring to act such a villany himself
himself, yet commended one Moody to him, a resolute fellow, and one that for money would be sure to do it. Upon this, Stafford brings Trappe to Moody, being then in the common Goal, who upon Trappe's offer, undertakes it: But then the consiluation was, by what way it should be done? Moody propounded poxion, or else to lay a bag of Gunpowder under the Queen's Bed, and suddenly fire it. But Trappe liked of neither of these ways, but would rather have it done, as was done to the Prince of Orange. But while they are thus confiluating about the way of doing it, Stafford discovers all to the Lords of the Council. Whereupon Trappe who was now bound for France, was apprehended, and being examined, confessed the whole matter: Upon this, the Ambassador himself was sent for to Cecil's house, the twelfth of January, where met him by the Queen's appointment, Cecil, Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Leicestier, Sir Christopher Hatton Vice-Chamberlain, and Davison one of her Secretaries; who declare to the Ambassador every particular which Stafford, Moody, and Trappe his Secretary had confessed. Alison as Stafford was brought forth, and began to speak, the Ambassador interrupted him, and reviling him, made accusation, that Stafford first propounded it; when Stafford falling on his knees, made full and most improper excuses, that the Ambassador first propounded it himself. But whatsoever propounded it (faith Burleigh) it appears, that you were, made acquainted with the matter. To which he presently replied; That if he had known of any such thing yet, being he was an Ambassador, he could not give notice of it, but to his own King. After much reasoning in this manner, the Lord Burleigh admonished him to beware how he offended herself in this kind, and let him know, That he is not quitted from the offence though for this time the Queen be pleased to forbear him.

But upon this Treaty, the Queen of Scots Adversaries put many terrors into Queen Elizabeth's mind, giving out, That the Spanish Navy was come to Mistiff Haven, That the Scots were broken into England; That the Duke of Guise with a great Army was landed in Saffex; That the Queen of Scots was cleared of Prisone, and had gotten a Company up in Arms, and many other fresh reign'd suggestions; Through which, at length they drew the Queen to this: That the sealed Letters, for executing the Sentence against the Queen of Scots, and one of her greatest per- fiders to it (as the Scots reported it) was one whom the King of Scots had sent to diftribute her from it, namely Patrick Grey, who founded often in her cause, Mortua non mordere; when she is dead, she cannot bite; The Queen notwithstanding, began to weigh with her self, whether it were better to rid her out of the way, or else to spare her; and many great reasons offered themselves on both sides, but where only speculative reasons presented themselves for sparing her; many prudential reasons, and those prefled both by Courtiers and Preachers, were prefled to her; so as long holden in fuf- pence, she would oftentimes fit speciously, and her countenance cast down. At last, her fear prevaling, the delivered to Secretary Davison, Letters under her hand and Seal, to get the Com- mission made under the Great Seal of England, for the Execution of the Queen of Scots, which might be in a readiness upon any fear of danger; charg- ing him not to divulge the matter to any whom ever. But the next day her mind was altered and sent Sir William Killewrite to Davison, to contamand the making of the Commission. Whereupon Davison goes to her, and lefths her know, That the Commission was already made and the Seal put to it; Whereat, the Queen extremely angry, rebuketh him sharply for his haffinefs; yet Davison imparte the matter to Proxy Commissioners, and persuades them. That the Queen commanded, the Commission should be put in execution. Hereupon, Beatle Clerk of the Council, is sent down with Letters, wherein authority is deputed to the Earls of Shrewsbury, Kent, Derby, Cushernald, and others, that she should be put to death according to the Law, with which proceeding, the Queen was not once made acquainted; and more than this, although she had intimato Davison, That she would take some other order concerning the Queen of Scots, yet did not he lay Beatle from going.

And now comes in the last Act of the Queen of Scots Tragedy; for as soon as the Earls were come to Petheringham; they, together with Sir Amias Pauley, and Sir Dryn Droiti, with whom she was then in custody; go unto her, and reading the Commission, signifie the cause of their coming; and in a few words, admonish her to prepare which she doth, rather for death, for that the might die the next day. Whereof, without any change of countenance, or token of pain or dejection, made her answer; That she did not think that my Sister the Queen would have contended to my death, who am not subject to your Laws; but since it is her pleasure, death shall be to me most welcome. Then the Queen told her, that she might confer with her Confessor, and Melby, her Steward, which would not be granted; The Bishop or Dean of Peterborough they offered her, but them she refused. The Earls being departed, she gave order that Supper should be hainted, where she eat (as she used to do) loberly, and sparingly; and perceiving her men and women servants to lament and weep, the comforteth them, and bid them rejoice together, that she was now to depart out of a world of misery. After Supper, the looketh over her Will, read the In- ventory of her Goods and Jewells, and writ their names severally by them, to whom she gave any of them; after her wonted hour she went to bed, and after a few hours sleep, awakening, spent the rest of the Night in her devotion. And now the fatal day being come, which was the Eighth of February, the gretteth up, and makes her ready in her best Apparel, and then betook her self in her Cloke; to Almighty God, imploring his affi- nance with deep sighs and groans; untill Tho- mas Andrews, Sheriff of the County gave notice, that it was time to come forth, and then with a Princeely Majesty, and Chiarful Countenance the came out, her heart covered with a linnen Vail, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her hand. In the Gallery the Earls met her, and the other Gentlemen, where Melby her Servant upon his bended knees, deplored his own fortune; that he should be the messenger to carry this sad news into Scotland; whom the comforted, say- ing, Do not lament Melby. Than shalt by and by see Mary Stewart freed from all cares. Then turning
turning her self to the Earls, she requested that her Servants might stand by her at her death, which the Earl of Kent was very loth to grant, for fear of superflition; to whom she said, Fear nothing, these poor wretches desire only to give me my last farewell. I know the Queen my Sitter would not deny me so small a request. After this, the two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County leading the way, she came to the State-Hall, which was set up at the upper end of the Hall, where was a Chair, a Curtain, and a Black, all covered with Mourning. Then the Dean of Peterborough going to Prayers, she falling upon her knees, and holding up the Crucifix in both her hands, prayed with her Servants in Latin, out of the Office of the blessed Virgin. Prayers being ended, she kissed the Crucifix, and signing her self with the Sign of the Cross, said, As thy Arms, O Christ, were spread forth upon the Cross, so embrace me with the open arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins. Then the Executioner asking her pardon, she forgave him. And now her women helping off her outer Garments, and breaking forth into thrieks and cries, she kissed them, signed with them the Cross, and willed them to leave lamenting, for now an end of her forrowes was at hand; and then shadowing her face with a linnen cloth, and lying down on the Black, she repeated the Psalm, In te Domine speravi, ut confiderer in aeternum, which words the flitching forth her Body, her head at two blows was taken off. Her Body was afterward Royally buried in the Cathedral Church at Peterborough; but first that her Noble Son James, King of Great Britain, ered a Royal Monument for her, in King Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminister. That end had Mary Queen of Scots, in the six and fortieth year of her age, and of her Imprisonment in England the eighteenth; a Lady to compleat in all excellent parts of body and mind, that it must needs have made her a happy Woman, if she had not been a Queen; and perhaps a happy Queen too, if she had not been Heir to the Crown of England: For why did all her Endeavours wantuccels, but only from the fear of that Succession? and no innocence of hers could be a Defence, where the fury of Jealousie made the Affait.

As soon as it came to the Queen's knowledge, that the Queen of Scots was put to death, her Countenance grew dejected, and her speech failed her; insomuch that all in mourning weeds, she gave her self over to pressing, commending her Person to her Preference, and caused Davison to be cited to the Star-Chamber. And as soon as grief would suffer her, she wrote a Letter with her own hand to the King of Scots, and sent it by Sir Robert Cary, to this Effect; That her mind was infinitely disquieted, in regard of this lamentable event, against her meaning and intent; entreating him to believe, That if she had commended it, she would have never denied it, and withall protesting her true affection towards him, and her affidious watchfulness for the prospering of his affairs.

While Cary was on his journey, Davison is cited to the Star-Chamber before the Delegates, Sir Christopher Wray, Chief Justice of the Kings-Bench, for that time made Lord Privy Seal, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Earl of Worcesterv, Cumberland, and Lincoln, the Lords Gray, and Lumley, Sir James Crofts, Comptroller of the Quean Houle, Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edmund Anderson, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Roger Manwood, Lord Chief Baron (where note, that Bromley Lord Chancellor, first Lord Treasurers, Lechsetter, and Hauen, were indeed more guilty of the fault than Davison; were none of the number,) Before these Delegates, P. Thuan the Queen's Attorney brought to Davison's charge Contempts of the Queens Majesty, violating of his truft, and neglect of his duty, laying open all particulars of his fault, which after Egerston the Queens Solicitor, Goudy, and Puckering, Serviants at Law, urged also against him with great aggravation: To which Davison and his and any mildly answered, That he would not conteft with the Queen; only Protested, That if he had done any thing otherwise than he ought, it was out of ignorance and mistaking, and not out of any purpose, to disobey her Majesty. It seems the Queen had carried her self, as one that would have it done, and yet was loath to do it, scarce knowing her own mind, and yet would have another know it; meaning to make it the work of mistaking, rather than of Purpose, that to at least she might leave some place of satisfaction to her self, that it was not absolutely of her doing.

The pleadings ended, the Commissiouns went to confer, Manwood began, and gave his Opinion, That Davison for the unconsideracion of his fault, and should be fined ten thousand pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queens pleasure, the ret went on in that Sentence, only the Lord Grey excused Davison to far, That he thought him worthy of reward rather than punishment. The conclusion was, the first Sentence for his Fine and Imprisonment, was by Royer Keeper of the Priwy Seal confirmed; and Davison never after recovered the Queens favour, though the relieved him sometimes in his necessity. A man ingenious indeed, but not thoroughly acquainted with the ways of the Court; and thought have been raised to this place, of purpose to act this part, and for nothing else.

By this time Sir Robert Cary, Son to the Lord Hunsdon, who was sent to excuse the Queen, was come to the Boudens; but being come thither; was not suffered to set foot in Scotland; The King would have hear him by another, and with much ado received his Letters. He called home his Ambassadors out of England, and thought of nothing but the Queen's death.

But the Queen still laying the fault upon Davison, and the undisavowed credulity of her Counsellors, by little and little affayeth his passion; and expecting till time had somewhat assuaged his grief, that it would indure to be rushed, at length by her Agents in Scotland, and soon after the Lord Hunsdon Governor of Berwick, the admonished him, How dangerous it would be for him, to break out into War against England, and what little help he could justly expect from either Spain or France; but if he persisted in anity with England, he might be sure the Queen of England would most lovingly account him for her Son. And to the end that he should assure himself, that the Queen his Mother was put to death without her privity, he sent him the sentence against Davison;
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

... under the Seals of all the Delegates, and attainted under the Great Seal of England, and another Infrument like that was engrossed with the hands of the Judges of England; in which they aver, That the Sentence against the Queen of Scots could in no wise be prejudice to his right in the Succession.

Having now by these and the like coures somewhat aliasaged the King of Scots indignation; to prevent the War which they foresaw was imminent from the King of Spain, they send forth Drake with four of the Queens Ships and others, into the Coaft of Spain, to fet upon their Ships in the Havens, and to intercept their Munition, Drake entering into the Port of Cadiz, funk, took, and fired about an hundred Ships, wherein was great force of Munition and Victuals: Then returning to the Cape of St. Vincent, he fet upon three Floets, and compelled them to yield, Thence putting fail to the Western Ilands, called Azores, under the great Meridan; by great good fortune he happened upon a huge and wealthy Carack, called St. Philip, retuming from the English Indies, and easily vanquished it; Whereupon the Mariners on both sides, from the name of Philip, portended no good like to Philip King of Spain.

And the like also did Thomas Cavendish of Suffolk, in the other part of the World, who two years before had sent fail from England with three Ships, passing through the Straights of Magellan, in the Coaft of Chilis, Peru, and Nova Hispania, fired a great number of Spanish Towns, took and pillaged Nineteen great Ships, and amongst them a wealthy Ship of the Kings migh to Caliborning, in North America; and to the Philippine Isles, the Molucces, the Cape de Ben Eperance, and the Island of St. Heleia, returned home the next year, being the third after Magellan, that failed about the World.

As Drake and Cavendish at this time gained great fame and renown; to two other men in the Netherlands (Stanley and York) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This York was a Lowmaner, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing hurt into England, that effect of turning his point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the English till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of Leicester, red away, and for a time, served under the Spaniards in the Netherlands (Stanley and York) purchased as great infamy and disgrace: This York was a Lowmaner, a bold fellow, and of loose behaviour; famous for bringing hurt into England, that effect of turning his point upon the Adversary in single Combats, whereas the English till this time, were wont to be armed with Bucklers and Swords, and to strike with edge, and it was held no manhood to turn the point, or strike below the girdle. He suffered some affront from the Earl of Leicester, red away, and for a time, served under the Spaniards in the Netherlands, till at length being reconciled to Leicester, he was sent over the Port near Zutphen; but being bribed, he not only yielded up the place to the Enemy, but drew to the like villany one Stanley, who with great valour had served in an Irish Expedition, to yield up Dublin to the Spaniards, a Wealthy and well fortified Town. But what got they by their treachery? The Spaniards set York and Stanley at variance, they poison York, and seize upon his goods, his Circuit was three years after digged up by the States Commandment, and hanged upon a Gibbet till it rotted away; Stanley went into Spain, where there was no credit given to him, for the Spaniards have a saying, It is lawful to give honour to a Traitor sometimes, but never to trust him.

These late Trescheries wrought the Earl of Leicester some Envoy with the Confederated Netherlands, because the Traysors were very intimate with him, whereupon the States in large letters to the Queen, accuse Leicester for all manner of the Weal publick, in the matter of money, Merchandize, and Military affairs; and to his credulity, they impute the harm which accused by York and Stanley. The Queen, for the narrow shifting of the matter, and composing it; sent thither Thomas Buckhurft, Lord Buckhurst (latey taken into her Privy Council in Leicesters absence) Norris, and Bartolomew Clerk: But when the officious diligence of Buckhurst was seen to trench upon Leicesters Reputation; his grace with the Queen proved to forbel, that Buckhurst at his return, was for certain months confined to his house.

Afterward since being beleaguered by the Prince of Parma, Leicesters was by the States sent out for of England, to encour the Town was furiously affaulted with Seventeen thousand great floor, and a mighty breach was made into it; which nevertheless Roger Williams, Francis Vinc, Nicholas Basgwill, the Garrison of the English Wallons, vanquished bravely for a while, but at last was forced to make good their retreat to the point that came to relieve it, finding himself too weak for the Besiegers, being gone away. And indeed, the States would not commit any great Army to his Command; who (they knew) had a determination to seize Leyden, and some other Towns in to his own hands, and had a purpose to surprize the absolute Government. Whereupon the States used means, that Leicesters was called home; give up the Government to the States, and in his room succeede Maurice of Nassau Son to the Prince of Orange, being now but twenty years of age. Peregrine Lord Willoughby, was by the Queen made General of the English Forces in the Low-Countries, to whom the give command to reduce the English Jactions into the States obedience; the which, with the help of Prince Maurice, was easily effected.

Leicester being now come home, and perceiving that an Accusatian was proouched against him by Buckingham, and others, for having managed of Affairs in Holland; privately with teas he cast himself down at the Queens feet, entreatiing her, that she should not receive him with disgrace at his return, whom she had lent forth in honour; and so far prevailed with her, that the next day being called to examination before the Lords, he took his place amongst them, not kneeing down at the end of the Table, as the manner of Delinquents is; and when the Secretary began to read the heads of his accusation, he interrupted him, saying, That the publick Infractions which he had received, were limited with private restraint; and making his appeal to the Queen, eluded the whole crimination, with the secret indigation of his Adveraries.

This Year was famous for the Death of many great Perfonages: In the moneth of February, dyed Henry Nevil Lord of Abington, a Grandchild to Edward Nevil, who in the Reign of King Henry the Sixth got his Title in the right of his Wife, only Daughter and Heir to Richard Beauchamp Earl of Pembroke, and Lord of Abing-

Upon the complaint of the States, against the Earl of Leicester, the Lord Buckhurst is sent to examine his doings.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth:

In which right, when as the only Daughter of this Henry, Wife to Sir Thomas Eustace, challenges the Title of Baronets of Albemarle, a memorable Contention arose concerning the Title between her, and the next Heir Male, to whom by Will (and the same confirmed by Authority of Parliament) the Castle of Albemarle was bequeathed. This question being a long time debated; at last in a Parliament held in the Second year of King James, the matter was tried by Voyces, and the Heir male carried the Lordship of Albemarle; and the Barony Le Difpen-
cery, was ratified to the Female. This year also in the month of April, dyed Sir Ralph Sadler, the last Chancellor of England.

Sir Christopher Hatton was made Lord Chancellor, who though he was a Courier, yet the Queen knowing him to be an honest man, thought him not unfit for the Place, where Confidence hath, or should have more place than Law: Although some were of Opinion, that it was not so much the Queens own choice, as that she was prevailed to it by some that wiffht him not well; both thereby to be a cause of abating him from the Court, and thinking that such a sedentary place, to a corpor-

Aurenberg, and others of benefi-
ticks, dyers, of great age.

England.

In the time of a Treaty of Peace between England and Spain the King sends his great Armado against England.

1588.

The English found it no hard matter to van- quish, by reason of their unskilfulness in Arms, eight hundred, and five hundred Horse, was held an invincible Army; but after Percy command, they were exercised in Feats of Arms, and taught to discharge Muskets at a Mark, and in the Low- Countries learnt the Art of Fortification, they held the English better to it, and were not so easily overcome.

And now we are come to the one and twen-
tieth year of Queen Elizabeth Reign, being the year 1588, long before spoken of by Astrologers, to be a wonderfull year, and even the Climatie-

cal year of the World. And yet the greatest Wonder that happened this year, was but the wonderful Fleet that Spain provided for invading of England, if the defeat of that wonderfull Fleet were not a greater Wonder.

It is true, there was at this time a Treaty of Peace between England and Spain; and the Earl of Derby, the Lord Cobham, Sir James Crofts, Dale and Roger Doctors of Law, Commissioners for the Queen, for the Prince of Parma, the Count Aurenberg, Champigny, Richardes, Mait, and Garveyr, Doctors, had many meetings about it, next to Officers; but it seemed on the part of Spain, rather to make the English secure, that they should not make provision for War, than that they had any purpose of real proceeding facing they accepted not of any reasonable Conditions that were offered, but trilled out the time, till the Spanish Navy was come upon the Coaft, and the Ordinance heard from Sea, and then dismissed the English Delegates.

The Spanish Navy consisted of one hundred and thirty Ships; whereas Galleys and Gal-

ons feventy two, goods Ships, like to floating Towers, in which were Southerns 15620, Ma-

riners, 8530; Gallys, 2080; Great Ord-
nance, 2630; For the greater holiness of their Action, twelve of their Ships were called the twelve Apostles. Chief Commander of the Fleet was Don Alphonfo, Duke of Medina; and next to him, John Martine Records, a great Sea-man.

The twentieth of May they weighed Anchor from the River Tags, but were by Tempet to miserably dispers'd, that it was long ere they met again; but then they went before to the Prince of Farnia. That he with his Forces, consisting of fifty thousand old Southerns, should be ready to join with them, and with his Shipping conduct them into England, and to land his Army at the Thames Mouth.

The Queens Preparation in the mean time was this; The Lord Charles Howard, Lord Admiral, with all her Navy, and Sir Francis Drake Vice Admiral, were to be ready at Plymouth; and the Lord Henry Seymour, (Second Son to the Duke of Somerset) with forty English and Dutch Ships, to keep the Coafts of the Netherlands, to hinder the Prince of Parma's coming forth. Then for Land Service, there were laid along the Southern Coaft, twenty thousand Souldiers, and two Ar-

mies besides of Trained men were levied; over one of which, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty thousand Foot, the Earl of Lee-

corder commanded, and pitched his Tents at Til-


tury, near the Thames mouth: Over the other, appointed to guard the Queens Person, and con-

sembling of four and twenty thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, was Gener-

ally. Arthur Lord Grey, Sir Fransc. Knollys, Sir John Norris, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Roger Williams, and other Military men, were chosen to make a counsel of War, and consult how the Land Service should be ordered. These declared amongst other things, That the places which lay fittest for the Enemies landing, as Milford-haven, Fa-

mouth, Plymouth, Portland, the Isle of Wight, Ports mouth, the Downs, the Thames mouth, Har-

wich, Yarmouth, Hull, and such other, should be fortified with Works and Garrisons; the Trained Souldiers of those Shires, which lye near the Sea Coaft, should defend those places, and be ready at the Alarm to hinder the Enemy from Landing; but if he did land, then to spoil the Country round about, that he might find no Food; and by con-


tinual crying, Arm, Arm, give the Enemy no rest, but yet should not give Battel, till good Store of Commanders were come together.

At this time many fearing the Papists at home, no lefe than the Spaniards abroad, persuaded the Queen to take off the heads of some of the great-

toff them; but the detesting such cruelty, order only, That some of them should be commit-

ted to custody to Whiby Cally.

And
And now all things on both sides prepared, the Spanish Navy set forth out of the Gross in May, but was dispersed and driven back by weather. The English fleet, set forth somewhat later, out of Poimout and bearing towards the Coast of Spain, but partly by occasion of contrary winds, partly by advertisement that the Spaniards were gone back, and upon some doubt also that they might put by towards the Coast of England, whilst they were seeking them afar off, they returned to Poimout. At which time, a confident (though false) advertisement came to the Admiral, that the Spaniards could not possibly come forward that year. Whereupon the English Navy was upon the point of disbarding, and many of the men were gone on shore, when suddenly the Spanish Navy was upon the point of dispersing, the whole of the incivility Armada (for so it was called in a Spanish estimation) was discovered upon the Western Coast, whereof the Lord-Admiral being informed, had much ado to get the Queen's Navy out of the Haven (the wind being contrary) yet at length he hasted it forth. The next day, the English beat the Spanish Ships, in height like to Cattles, sayling lowly along, when they could not possibly pass by, that they might have the benefit of the wind to follow after. The one and twentieth day of July, the Admiral of England sent a Pinnace before, called The Defiance, which by a great shot, challenged the Spaniards to fight, and by and by, for they fell to it. Then Drake, Hawkins, and Forester, fly light against the outmost Squadron, which Raleigh commanded, making him glad to fly to their main Navy for succour. The night following, a mighty Bysea of Owend's (in which the King of Spain's Treasure was) was by chance fired with Gun-powder, but was timely quenched by other Ships sent to her succour, one of which Ships, was the Galeone of Don Pedro, whom Sir Francis Drake, took Prisoner, and sent him to Dartmouth. The Bysea fell by the (the Treasure being taken out by the Spaniards) they left behind them, which the English brought into the Haven of Plymouth. The three and twentieth day of this month they had a second fight, in which most of the Spanish shot flew over the English Ships, and never hurt them; Only Cock an English man, being with his little Vessel in the middle of the Enemies, died valiantly. The four and twentieth day they refought on both sides; in which time the Lord Admiral ranked his whole Fleet into four Squadrons: The first he ruled himself, Drake the second, Hawkins the third; and Forester the fourth. The five and twentieth day (which was Saint James's day) they fell to it the third time; in which fight, the English had again the better, so as after this time, the Spaniards would no more turn upon the English, but holding on their course, dispatched a Meffengers to the Prince of Parma; requiring him forthwith to join himself to the King's Fleet, and withall to send them Bullets. The day following, the Lord Admiral Knighted Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Roger Townsends, John Hawkins, and Martin Forester; and holding a Council of War, they decreed not to rest again upon the Enemy, till they came to the Strait of Cadiz, where the Lord Henry Seymour and Sir William Winter waited for their coming. And now to the English being terrified with this invincible Navy, that many of the Nobility and other of special note, hired Ships at their own charges, and came to the Admiral; as the Earls of Oxford, Northumberland, Cumberland, Thomas and Robert Cecil, Henry Brooke, Sir Charles Blount; Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hasting, Sir Robert Carys, Sir Ambrose Willoughty, Sir Thomas Gerard, Sir Arthur Gorge, and others. The seven and twentieth of July, towards the Evening, the Spaniards cast Anchor near unto Cadiz, and not far from them rode the English Admiral, within shot of a great Ordinance, to whom Seymour and Winter joined themselves: for by this time there were in the English Navy a hundred and forty Ships, nimble and serviceable for fighting or saying, yet only Fifteen of them bore the Viscount of the Battell. And now again the Spaniards sent Post after Post to the Prince of Parma to send them forty Fly-boats, without which they were not able to skirmish with the English, by reason of the greatness and weight of their Ships; and of the Spaniards, he prepared his Fleet presently to set to Sea with his Army; but he was unprepared, and his Flat-bottomed Boats were full of chinks, and leked; and besides, the Holofiders hovered before the Ports of Dunkirk and Newports, in such fort that he durst not look forth. The eight and twentieth day, the Lord Admiral made ready eight of his own Ships, on the out-side dawed with Wilde-fires, Rozin and Bumflame, within full of combustible matter, and under the Conduit of Young and Promes, sent them down with the wind in the silent time of the night, towards the Spanish Fleet; the which when the Spanish did approach them, and the Sea as it were all on a light fire; imagining with all, that these Fire-ships might carry in them some muttering Engine; they made a hideous noise, took up Anchors, cut Cables, spread Sails, and betook themselves to the Oars, but more to the Light. Only one of the Spanish Galeons fled at it, at Her Rudder, and floating up and down, was held in fight by Amias Prestyn, Thomas Gerard, and Harvye, who slew Captain Hugh Mondach, the Souldiers over board, and carried away a great deal of Gold, but the Vessel and Ordinance was wrecked to the Governor of Cadiz. Drake and Fenner in the mean while perceiveing the Spanish Fleet to gather together again before Graveling, set upon them with great violence, to whom straightways Fenner, Southwell, Belfion, Crayton, and Riman join themselves, and soon after the Admiral himself, Sir Thomas Howard, and the Lord Sheffield; the Galeone called Saint Matthew, was sorely battered by Seymour and Winter, driven toward O fend, and set upon again by the Zeelander, and at last was taken by the Flagoniers. And now the Spanish Navy having want of many necessaries, and no hope of the Prince of Parma's coming, they resolved to return Northward for Spain, in which passage they left both many Ships and men, the English Navy still following them close, till they were fain to give them over for want of Powdery. Whilest these things paffed at Sea, the Queen in Person came to Tilbury, to view the Army and Camp there, where the Spanish Navy returns home, The Queen in person comes to Tilbury to view the Army.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

where the heaved such undaunted Courage and Resolution, that it wonderfully animated the spirits of all. And thus this Navy, which was three whole Years in preparing, in the space of a Moneth was often beaten, and at length put to flight, many of their men being slain, more than half of their Ships taken and sunk (of the English not above a hundred at the most missing, nor so much as a Ship, but Cocks little Vessels) and saying about all Britain by Scotland, the Orkneys and Ireland, they returned into Spain with as much dishonour as they came out with boating, for indeed Attendees in France by a Book in Print, triumphed before the Victory.

For the happy successse of this Action, Queen Elizabeth appointed Prayers and Thanksgiving over all the Churches in England, and the (as it was in Triumph) came in Perion, attended with a great Troop of Nobility into the City, and went into the Cathedral Church of St. Paul (where the Banners taken from the Enemy were placed in view) and there in most humble manner gave thanks to Almighty God: And that which increased the publick joy, was the News which Sir Robert Sidney brought out of Scotland, That the King had no overt all injuries, was largely as-\ndrew toward the English and designed to impose sincere and perfect amity with the Queen. For as for the King of Spain, he wittily told the Embassador, thit he expected no other carthesie from him, but such as Polyspermous promiseduffle, that he should be the last whom he would de-\navour.

And now dyed the great Earl of Leicester the fourth day of September, at his Mannor of Kil-\n


is retaun to the Queen.

The Earl of Leicester died.

Norr and Drake undertake an expedition into Spain, and in his Kingdom of Portu-\ngal, but prevailed not, and why.

 Philips earl of Arundel is set to be tryed by his Peer-\n


he be condemned, but the Queen spares his life.

peculiar Prayers for his own private use. Being

demanded whether he were guilty of these things; turning himself to the Judges, he asked them these questions: First, whether it was lawful to hlep up to so many Crimes together in one Bill of Indictment? They answered, that it was: Then whether Arguments taken from presumptions were of force? They answered, that it was law-\nful for him to interpose exceptions, if he saw cause. Then again, if he might be Accused for those things which were Capabl by the Law made the thirteenth year of the Queen, after that the time expressed in the Act was expired? They promisst, they would proceed against him by no Law, but the old Statute of Tretation, made in the Reign of King Edward the third. But now again asked if he were guilty or not? he pleaded, Not Guilty; whereupon Puckering the Queens Sergeant at Law, Popham Attorney-General, Shuslie worh Sergeant at Law, and Egerion the Queens Solicitor, in their turns, urged and proved the Crimes objected: some whereof he denied, some he extenuated; but in conclusion, was by his Peers found guilty, and condemned; yet the Queen spared his life, and was content with thus much done in terror to the People.

It was now in the year 1596, and the two and thirtith of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when to be in some for had revenge of the Spaniardis for their Invasion, the gave leave to Sir Solar Nor-\n


is set to be tryed by his Peers, but he be condemned, but the Queen spares his life.
threecore Hulls of the Hanse Towns of Germa-
ny, laden with Corn and all manner of Munition, which they took as good prize toward their Charges, in regard the Queen had forbidden them to carry Vixhals or Munition to the Span-
siard. From hence they fell at Dieppe, a for-
torn Town by the Sea-side, and pillaging all
along that Quarter, returned for England, hav-
ing loft in the Voyage of Souldeirs and Mariners
about six thousand; yet not so much to the Ene-
my, as by eating of strange Fruits, and dittener
of the Climate.

It concerns the state of England, to look at
this time into the state of France, for while those
things were in doing between Spain and England, the
Popish Princes of France, under pretence of the Catholick Religion, entered into a Com-
modation, which they called, The holy League: The purpose whereof was, to root out the Pro-
testants, and to divert the Right of Succession to
the Crown of France; For they bound them-
selves to each other by Oath, to suffer no per
son but a Catholick to be King of France; which
was directly to exclude the King of Navarre, and
the Prince of Condé, if the present King without
foime male should fall. The head of this League
was the Duke of Guise, who having given some
over in to the Forces of England, the King of
France in aid of the Protestants, was immen-turly
extolled by the Clergy and others; and
grew to such a height of reputation, that entering
into Paris, he made the King glad to leave the
City, and in an Assembly at Biéges, to make him
great Master of the French Cavallery, and to con-
Jent by Edux, to the cutting off the Protestants.
So as the King standing now in fear of him, used
meanest left, even in the very Court, to have
him murdered; and soon after, the Cardinal his
Brother to be strangled. Hereupon so great a
confusion followed, that the people every where
distroyed the Magistrates, and ipoyled the Kings
Great Palace at Paris. Some Cities affected a
Democracy, others an Anarchy, but few liked of
a Monarchy. The Confederates in the mean
while made a new Seal, and supped the Royal
Authority, and seized into their hands the best fortified
places, intercept the Kings Revenues, call in
Spanish of the Souldiers; and in all places denounced
the King, and the Cardinal his Brother as being forced to
fly to the Protestants for succour, they then most wickedly, by one James
Clement a Monk, made him away. The King being ready to die, Declared the King of
Navarre to be his lawful Successor.

The King is murdered by a Monk.

Being ready to die, he declared the King of
Navarre to be his lawful Successor.

The Cardinal of Renuer is proclaimed
King of France, and as the fame
some also, the King of Navarre.

The King of Navarre being thus raised in
Dignity, but weak in means, implored Aid of the
Queen of England, offering to make a League
Offensive and Defensive; the Queen out of a
pious respect to a King of her own Religion, gave
him presently two and twenty thousand pounds
sterling in Gold (such a sum of Gold, as he pro-
fessed he had never seen at one time before) and
withall supplied him with four thousand Souldi-
ers, under the Command of Peregrine Lord Mild-
oughly; for Colonels, the appointed Sir Thomas
Hinford, who was made Marital of the Field,
John Borough, Sir William Drury, and Sir Tho-
mas Bakersly, and gave them a moneths pay in
hand. Hereupon the Confederates (whom the
King had vanquished a little before at Argus
beyond all expectation) began to quits, and the
day before the arrival of the English, they van-
ished away: with this addition of Forces, the
King marcheth to Paris, and being ready to en-
ter the City, caused a retreat to be founded, as
leath to have spoile made of a City, which he hoped
shortly should be his own. Afterwards by the
affiance of the English he won many Towns, and
then having marched at least five hundred miles
on foot, he met the Aldermen of a long winter
service, to return into England. In which Voy-
age of men of note, died Captain Hunning, but
of a natural death, also Stubbs (he whose right
hand was cut off for writing the Book against
the Queens marriage) and Sir William Drury slain
by Mafter Borough in a fingle Combat, where the
quarrel was, that he being but a Knight, would
take place of Borough that was the younger Son
of a Baron, contrary to the Laws of the English
Gentry.

About this time, James King of Scots (with
Queen Elizabeths good liking) espoused Anne
Daughter of the second King of Den-
mark, by his Deputy; but the afterward saying
for Scotland, was by tempest cast upon Nor-
way, and there, through continual storms forced to
play, so as the King in the Winter-fason set tayl that
the marriage according to his vow might be
accomplished within the year; some were of
opinion, that these storms were caused by with-
craft, and was confirmed indeed by some Witches
taken in Scotland; who confessed they had raised
these storms to keep the Queen from landing in
Scotland, and that the Earl Buckingham had asked
Counsell of them concerning the Kings end; who
was thereupon cast into prison, but in a short time
breaking loose, occasioned new flirns in Sco-

The year many Noble personages dyed; Fran-
ces; Countres of Suffolk, Sitter to Sir Henry Sidney,
Sir Walter Mildmay, Chancellor and Vice-Treas-
urer of the Exchequer, William Somerset Earl of
Worceser, so numerous in his off-spring, that
he could reckon more children of both Sexes than
all the Earls of England. Alfo John Lord Stan-
ton, Henry Lord Compton, and at Bruxelles the
Lord Paget.

At this time, the Queen who was always
frugal, strained one point of Flegality more than
ever he had done before; for upon the information
of one Carman, (though Littler, Bur-
leigh, and Walsingham were offended, that credit
should
should be given to such a one, and themselves neglected the raised Thomas Smith the Cus- tomer from thirteen thousand pounds yearly, to two and forty thousand pounds, & at last to fifty thousand.

It was now the year 1590, and the three and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, in which the Earl of Cumberland made a Voyage to the Indies, where he laid level to the ground the Port of the Isle of Fife, and brought away eight and fifty Pieces of Great Ordnance.

This year was fatal to many Noble personages; first dyed Ambrose Dudley Earl of Warwick, (Son to John Duke of Northumberland without issue. After him Sir Francis Walsingham Secretary, a man more skilful in the Politicks, than in the Oceonics; more cunning in managing matters of the publick State; than of his own private estate, which he left to mean, and dyed to much indebted, that he was fain to be buried by night, without any Funeral pomp, in the Cathedra Church of Saint Paul; leaving behind him one only Daughter, famous for her three Husband, all of them the goodliest men of their time; the first, Sir Philip Sidney; the second, Robert Earl Eves: the third, Richard Burgh Earl of Claricard, by King Charles made Earl of Saint Al- bany. Within two Months after Walsingham, di- ed Sir Thomas Cavendish, who had been fourteen times sent in Embassy to several Princes, yet was never rewarded with any greater dignities, than the Chamberlainship of the Exchequer, and the Palmamaterhip of England. Soon after him dyed Sir John Crofts, who had done good service in Scotland, in Edward the Sixths time, in Queen Mary's time was commended of High Treason, in Queen Elizabeth time fet at liberty, and made Comptroller of her house. After him died George Talbot, the seventh Earl of Shrewsbury of this House; He was made Earl-Marshal of England, and left behind him a memorial of Wisdom and Integrity. Lastly died Thomas Lord Went- worth, the last of the Earls that had been Gov- ernor of Calice.

In Ireland at this time Hugh Geaves (so called, because he had been long kept in Petters) the natural Son of Clan O Neale, accused Hugh Earl of Tyrone, for holding private consulta- tions with certain Spaniards, who in 88 were by Ship-wreck cast upon the coast of Ireland: Tyr- one to prevent the Accumulation, took the said Hugh, and when others related to do it, took a cord, and with his own hands strangel'd him. Here- upon the Earl was sent for into England, and by pardon obtained, jealously undertook in pre- sence of the Queen at Greenwich, to maintain the peace with Turagh Lyney; Not to suft up the Title of O Neale, nor any authority over the Gentry about him; to reduce the Territory of Tyrone to the form of a County, and civil behai- viour; and many such matters; giving Hoiages for his true performance; and indeed for a time he observed all things very duly. This trouble allayed, another arose; for soon after this, Hugh Roe Mac-Mahon, a Patriciate in the Territory of Monangan, compelled those under his jurid- cition to pay him Tribute; whereupon the De- puty cauht him to be taken, and tried by a Jury of common-Soldiers, and then to be hanged up, dividing his lands amongst certain English, and some of the Mac-Mahons, retaining a certain yearl Rent to the Crown of England, by this means thinking to extinguish the Power and Ti- tle of Mac-Mahon. But hereupon, O Rock fearing that he should be fared in like manner, took up Arms against the Queen, whom Stignams President of Connaught soon disfitted, and drove into Scotland, and at the Queen's request was by the King delivered up into his hands.

It was now the year 1591, and the four and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, when the careful left Britany should come into the Spaniards hands, sent Edmund York into France, to adverce the King to take care thereof; and promising to lend him Forces to that end, if he would name some Towns, where they might be in safety. Hereupon he named Clerkew; Gran- vite or Brest, as the fittest; and it was agreed, that three thousand English should be sent into Britany and Picard: but in the mean time, Henry Palmer was sent to Sea with certain Ships, who feized upon thirteen Spaniards Ships, as they were returning from Nova Francia. And now Roger Williams, with a Company of fix hundred Soldiers, paffeth over to Dyss in Normandy, and Sir John Norris, with the ret of the Forces, hated into Britany soon after. Roger Williams with his own fix hundred, and the help of Char- ter Governour of Dyss, put to rout the Confe- ders, that had block'd up the paffages; whole value, the Frank King in his Letters to the Queen, highly extolled. Whereupon growing more and more, and not finding his Charge, which was to lay at Dyss, he accompanied the King to the very Suburbs of Paris, where, in ho- nor of his Nation, he sent a Challenge to the Spaniards, to encounter two hundred Pikemen of the Englis, and a hundred Musque-teers, with as many Spaniards, in open Field.

After this, the King of France acquainted the Queen, that he had a purpoe to fet upon Roan or Neu- beu, before the Prince of Parm should come into France, and thereupon request- ed her, to fend four thousand English into Nor- mandy, which upon certain conditions the wil- lingly did, and sent them under the Command of Robert Earl of Essex, accompanied with Sir Thomas Leighton and Sir William Killegrew as his Counsellors. When the Earl came into France, he found the King was at Lyon, and in Nor- mandy no preparation for the War at all, which seemed strange, and much troubled him; but by and by Sir Roger Williams comes to him from the King, requiring him to come to Lyon, that they might confer concerning a course of War. Thither the Earl made a tedious journey, and being come thither, the King told him, he was now of necessity to go himself into Champagne; but promiseth to fend Marjall Biron, and the Duke of Montfanger forthwith to him, to lay Siege to Roan. Hereupon the Earl returned to his Tents, expeciting their coming, but neither of them came, which troubled the Earl more than before; for as being weary now of doing nothing, he made himself one approach to Roan, where his Brother Walter Dearent was unfortunately flain. Indeed the affairs of the King of France were at this time upon so uncertain terms, that before he could act what he had resolved, something full intervened, that diverted him; for which, by his Letters he excused himself to the Queen.
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Queen of England, and by the mediation of the Earl, and Marquis Lord du Prieff, whom to that end he sent into England, obtained new supplies, and then befugued oan.

At this time was memorable the prodigious carriages of one Hacket, born at Oundle in Northamptonshire, a mean fellow of no learning, whose first prank was this; That when, in shew of Reconciliation to one with whom he had been at variance, he imbraced him, he bit off his nose, and the man defiritg to have his nose again, that it might be bowed on, while the wound was green, he most villanously cut it up, and swallowed it down before his face. After this, all on a sudden, he took upon him a shew of wonderful holines, did nothing but hear Sermons, and getting Scriptures by heart, and counterfeiting Revelations from God, and an extraordinary calling, grew to be magnified by certain zealous Miniters, and especially of one Edward Copping, (a Gentleman of a good House) and one Arthington, a great admirer of the General Discipline; that they accounted him as sent from Heaven, and a greater Prophet than Moses or John Baptist; and finally, that he was Christ himself, come with a fan in his hand, to judge the World. And this they proclaimed in Chesterfield, giving out that Hacket participated of Christ's glorified body, by his especial Spirit, and was now come to propagate the Gospel over Europe, and to settle a true Discipline in the Church of England; and that they themselves were two Prophets, the one of Mercy, and the other of Judgment; with many other such incredible Blasphemies, whereupon Hacket was apprehended and arraigned; and at last, hanged, drawn and quartered, continuing all the time, and at his death, his blasphemous Assertions, Copping a while after flared himself to death in Prion, Arthington repented, and made his Recantation in a public writing.

Besides these, others also at this time opposed the established Government of the Church of England, crying down the calling of Bishops, with whom sied some Common Lawyers also, affirming, that the Queen could not depurate, nor these men exercise any such Ecclesiastical Judisdiction, and that the Oath of Office was unchristian. But the Queen conceiving, that through the sides of the Prelates, the her self was shot at, captivated them what the count, and maintained the Government formerly established.

About this time, the Lord Thomas Howard, six of the Queens ships having waited at the Azores fix whole Moneths, for the coming of the Spanish Fleet from America, was at last set upon by Alphonfo Basfano, with three and fifty ships, sent out for the Convoy of the American Fleet, where Richard Greenevo Vice-Admiral, being in the Revenge, and seperated from his company, was to hemmed in by the Spanish ships; and so battered with great shot, that most of his men being slain, his Main-wheel cut off, himself fore wounded in the head, he commanded to sink the Ship, that it might not come into the Spaniards hands; but this being counterfeited by moat voyns, it was agreed, to yield it to the Spaniards, upon condition that the men should be let ashore. Greenwoolehimself was carried into the Spanish Admiral, where within two days he dyed, nor without paine of his very enemies; Thus the great Ship called the Revenge, was yelded, but had so many leaks in the Keel, that soon after it was cast away in a storm; and the loffe of this one Ship soon made good upon the Spaniards, by taking many of theirs.

About this time also, Cavendish, who in the year 1578. had sailed round about the World, now with five Ships bene his course towards the Magellan Straits; but by reason of foul weather, was not able to passe them, and being driven to the coast of Brazil, was there cast away.

And now, emly increasing during daily between Spain and England, two Proclamations were set forth; one, prohibiting upon pain of High Treason, to carry Villains or Munition into any of the King of Spain Dominions: Another, forbidding all persons to entertain any in their Houses, till enquiry made, what they were, left they might entertain Papift Priests, who at this time came swarming into England, by reason the King of Spain had lately founded a Seminary at Wakefield for the English.

At this time died Sir Christopher Hatton Lord Chancellor, whom of a mean Gentlemans boute, the Queens favour raised to this height of Dignity; a goodly personage of body, of Nobility, but the most absurd spirit, the only of all the Queens special Favourites, that died a Batchelor; and therefore left William Newgatt his Sifers son his Heir, who erced for him in Saint Pauls Church, a sumptuous Monument. After his death, the keeping of the great Seal was for certain Monethes committed to the Lord Burleigh Treasurer, Husfon, Cobham and Buckhurst; Afterward, Packeringe the Queens Serjeant at Law was elected, not Chancellour, but Keeper of the great Seal.

At this time also, Brian O-Rork, the Irish Poet, was arraigned at Westminster; his Indictments were, for raising Rebellion against the Queen, for dragging her Picture at a Horse-tail, for giving the Spaniards entertainment; which things being told him by an Interpreter, (for he understood no English) he said, He would not be tryed, unless the Queen her self in person fate to judge him. Yet being told, that it was the Law, he only said, If it must be so, let it be so; and so condemned, was executed at Tyburn as a Traytor, whereof he seemed to make as little recconing, as if it had been but in jest. And now this year, the Queen made the Colledge of Dub- lin in Ireland, an University, which was formerly the Monastery of All-Saints, endowing it with power to confer Scholastical Dignities.

At this time, Sir John Perrot, who had been Deputy of Ireland, and done good service there, was yet by the malice of his Adversaries, of whom John Hatton was one, called in question, before the Baron Husfon, the Lord Buckhurst, Sir Robert Cecil (Irly he made a Councellor) Sir John Forre- sease, Sir John Holley, and some of the Judges: His Accusations were; First, that he had spoke opprobrious words against the Queen, saying, She was illegitimate and cowardly; Secondly, that he had favored notorious Traytors, and Papift Priests; Thirdly, that he held correspondence with the Prince of Parma, and the Queens enemies. To the first of which he confesed, that in his passion he had spoken of the Queen unadvisedly, for which he was infinitely grieved; the rest he denied: And all men knew,
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

Laws, but follow them, nor dispute whether better Laws might be made, but observe those which were already in force.

This year dyed Anthony Browne Viscount Montacute, whom Queen Mary honoured with this Title, because his Grandmother was Daughter, and one of the Heirs of John Nevill Marquis Montacute; who, though he were a great Roman Catholic, yet the Queen finding him faithful always, loved him, and in his Sickness went to visit him. There dyed at this time also, Henry Lord Scroop of Bolton, Knight of the Garter, and long time Governor of the Western Borders toward Scotland.

At this time Henry Barrow, and his Secrario, condemning the Church of England to be no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in matters Ecclesiastical; he the said Barrow, the King leader of the rest, was put to death, in terror to all such disturbers of the peace of the Church.

About this time, by reason of the Queens correspondence with the Turks, to the end her Subjects might have free Trading in the Territories; it was maliciously given out by some, that the Queen had excited the Turk to a War against the Christians, which caused the Queen to write to the Emperor, shewing him the falseness of this report, wherein the gave him full satisfaction.

And now a confuent report came into England, That the King of France had already embraced the Romish Religion: which is so much troubled the Queen, that she presently sent Thomas Wilkes into France; with Reasons (if it were not too late) to divert him from it. But before Wilkes came, the King indeed had openly professed the Romish Religion at the Church of Saint Denis in Paris, of which his Conversion, he declared the causes to Wilkes at large, shewing the necessity of it, unless he would suffer himself to be utterly thwart out of the Kingdom. And the French Ambassadors finding as much to the Queen, in great perplexity, the writ to him to this effect:

Alas, what grief? what anxiety of minds both befal me, since I heard this news? was it possible

The Queen sent to the

The Earl of

The Prince

Sir Walter

Sir Walter

The Queen

The Queen

This year, the Queen going in Progress, passed through Oxford, where she was entertained by the Scholars with Oatations, Stage-Plays and Disputations; and, by the Lord Buckhurst Chancellor of the University, with a sumptuous Feast. At her departure she made a Laiute Oatation, wherein she vowed a Vow, and gave them counsel; Her Vow was, That as the defined nothing to such, as the prosperity and flourishing estate of her Kingdom, to live as much as possible to see the Universities and Schools of learning to flourish likewise. Her Counsel was, That they would serve God above all, not following the curiosity of some Wits, but the Laws of God, and the Kingdom; That they would prevent the
fellows threatening proved not altogether vain, for the Earl within four Moneths dyed a most horrible death. This year, Death had his tribute paid from the Nobility; for there dyed Henry Rateiff Earl of Suffolk, and three renowned Barons, Arthur Grey of Wilton, Henry Lord Crom- wel, and Henry Lord Wentworth; besides Sir Christopher Carell, whose Warlike Prowesse at Sea and Land, doth deserve to be remembered.

In Ireland, But the Irish were not yet, as it were, in Canons bevelled, and Tyrone assuming to himself the Title of O-Neale, (which in Ireland is more esteemed, than to be called Emperour,) but upon a sudden, dissembling his discontent, he submitted himself to the Deputy, and promised all obedience.

It was now the year 1594. and the seven and thirtieth of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when the good correspondence between the King of Spain and Queen Elizabeth gave the Papists small hope that ever he would prove an Instrument to reform the Catholick Religion. Whereupon, they began to think themselves of some English Papists, which might succeed the Queen; but finding none of their own Sect a fit person, they fixed their thoughts upon the Earl of Essex, who always seemed a very moderate man; and him they de- cided to have some right to the Crown, by De- scent from Thomas of Woodruffe, King Edward the Thirds Son. So the English Pugitives were for the Infants of Spain; and defiring to fet the King of Spain, and the Earl of Essex at odds, they forth put a Book, which they Dedicated to Essex, under the name of Dolman, but was written indeed by Parson (Dolman bitter Adversary) Cardinal Allen, and Francis Englefield. The scope of which Book was, to exclude from Succession all persons whatsoever, and how near HEROERSTHALL. were the Roman Cathol- ics; Contending further, for the right of Is- abella, Infants of Spain, as being descended from Constance, Daughter of William the Conqueror; from Eleanor eldest Daughter to Henry the Se- cond; married to Alphonzo the ninth King of Ca- stile; from Beatrice, Daughter to King Henry the third: Title obsolete, and which exceed the bounds of Hereditary to discourse. This year, the sixteenth of February, was Henry Prince of Scotland born, to whom the Queen was God- mother, and lent Robert Earl of Suffolk for her Deputy.

But now greater matters were in hand, Plots were laid against the Queen life; some Spaniards thinking to make her away by Payson, and not daring to trust any Englishman in such a busi- ness, they treat to that purpose, with Roderick Lope, esq, and Physitian to the Queen, with Stephen Berrie, Emanuell Lossy, and other Portu- guese: for divers of that Nation came into England at this time, in relation to Don Antonio; who being discovered by Letters of theirs that were intercepted, were Arraigned at Guild-hall, and by their own confessions convinced, to have conspired against the life of the Queen: they were all condemned, and Executed at Tyburn; Lope professing that he loved the Queen as well as Jesus Christ; which was the cause of laughter to them that knew him to be a Jew. The next day after them, was condemned Patrick Colwyn and John Fencer, sent hither by the English Pugitives, to kill the Queen, who was straighway executed. He is ex- ecuted as 7yr. old.

About this time, Sir John Norris having been in a hot conflict at Sea against the Spaniards, where Sir Martin Fawbyfer received his deaths wound, was now called home, with a purpose to send him into Ireland. In which while, Richard Hawkins, Son of Sir John Hawkins the famous Sea Captain, had been at sea for a year and a half, with three of the Queens ships, and two hundred men in them, whereof one of them at the Isle of St. Anne was by chance fired, another of them (patticularly by tempest, returned into England; himself in the third, parted the Straights of Magdalen, being the sixth man in the Spanish account, that had ever done it; and being now come into the wide Southern Sea, he took five ships laden with Merch- andize; one whereof he took away, the rest he suffered to redeem themselves for two thousand Dutchers; But at last being fet upon by Bernardus de Castro, who was sent out by the Vice-Roy of those parts, with eight ships against him, after three days battle, he yielded, and though upon composition, yet was Nevertheless sent into Spain, and there for four years kept prisoner.

But James Lancaster in another part of Ameri- ca, had better successe; for being set forth by some London Merchants (whose goods the Spani- shes had seized) with three Ships and a long Boat, they took nine and thirty Spanish Ships, and at Fernandins in Breifs, where the Rich Merch- andize was, East-Indian Caraque was lately unloading; he desperately venturing upon the flord, loaded fifteen ships with the wealth of the Indian Caraque; Sugar, Reed, Red-wood called Brazil, and other Merchandize, and then safely and victoriously ret- urned home.

At Rome, about this time died Cardinal Allen, Cardinal, born in Lancashire, of an honest Family, brought up in Oxford, in Oriel College. In Queen Marias seventeenth of her Reigne, some days he was Professor of the University, and after Canon of the Cathedral Church at York. Upon the change of Religion in England; he left the Kingdom, and was Divinity Professor at Douay in Flanders, and made Canon of the Church at Canterbury. He procured a Seminary to be set up in Douay for the English, mother to Reims, and a third at Rome; and through zeal of the Roman Religion, forgot whose Subject he was born.

At home, at this time, Sir John Peers Arch- bishop of York, in whose place succeeded Mat- thew Husen, translated from the Archbishop of York. The vacant death of Ferdinand Stanley Earl of Der- by, being in the flower of his age, miserably tor- mented, and vomiting fluffe of a dark ruffly colour, being thought to have been poyneted or be- witched. There was found in his Chamber a little Image of wax, with hairs of the colour of his hairs, thrust into the belly; which some thought was done of purpose, that men should not suspect him to be poisoned; his vomit so stained the silver Andirons, that it could never be gotten out, and his body though put in seareclothes, and wrapped in lead, did stink and putrefy, that for a long time none could endure to come near where he was buried. The Matter of the Horfe was much suspeeted, who the same day the Earl, he took his bed, took one of his best Horfes, and fled away. About this time also died Gregory Finer, Lord
Lord Darcy, a man somewhat crazed, the Son of John Lord Darcy, hanged in the Reign of King Henry the Eighth.

And now Sir William Fitz-Williams Lord Deputy of Ireland was called home, and William Raffles, youngest Son of Francis Earl of Bedford, was sent in his room; to whom presently came the Earl of Tyrone, and in humble manner crept pardon of his fault, that he had not prevented himself at the call of the late Lord Deputy. Bagnall Marshal of the Irish Forces, exhibited many Articles against him, but he so pleased for himself with promise of loyalty hereafter, that he was dismissed. But see the suberboufehness of this man, for he would never after be gotten to come again, though the Deputy sent for him with many kind meffages.

It was now the year 1595, and the eight and thirtieth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; when Edmund York and Richard Williams, who were formerly apprehended, came to their trial, and were executed at Tyburn, for being bribed to kill the Queen.

At this time a constant rumour was blown abroad from all parts of Europe, that the Spaniards were coming again against England, with a far greater Fleet than that in Eighty eight, and that it was already under Way, whereupon, Soldiers were levied, and placed on the Sea-coast. Two Navies were made ready, one to expect them in the Channel, the other to go for America, under Hawkins and Drake; but when all came to it, it was but certain Spaniards who looked from the Sea-coast of France, with four Gallies, which betimes in the morning landing in Cornwall, fired a Church standing alone in the fields, and three Villages of Fishermen, Newton, Monmouth and Penfants; and then presently retired, not taking or killing any one person; and there were the first and last Spaniards that in hoffle manner ever set foot upon English ground.

And now mischief growing daily in France, a great number perused the King, to conclude a Peace with Spain, and the Queen her self began to mistrust him, especially, having lately received Intelligence out of the Pope's Conclave; that he was received into the boosome of the Church of Rome, with the Popes Benefition, and upon conditions prejudicial to the Protestants.

And therefore at this time, were divers undertakings of the English against Spain, Sir Walter Raleigh Captain of the Guard, having decoyed a Maid of Honour (whom afterward he married) had loft the Queens favour, and was held in prision for certain months; but afterward being set at liberty, though banished the Court, he undertook a Voyage to Guyana; setting fayl from Plymouth in February, he arrived at Trinidad, where he took St. Johns Town, but found not one jot of Money with Bovis, and a hundred Soldiers, he entered the vall River Orinigue, ranging up in Guyana four hundred miles, but getting little but his labour for his travel. In like manner, Anthony Preston and Sommers, pillaged sundry Towns of the King of Spain in the Western parts, and three ships of the Earl of Cumberland let upon a huge Caraque, which by casualty was fired when they were in fight, and there were the enterprizes of private persons; but the Queen being informed, that great force of men were for the King of Spain, was convoyed to Port-Rico, in St. John's Island, fitted thither Hawkins, Drake and Bakerswite, with land Forces, furnishing them with fix Penny's out of her own Navy, and twenty other men of War. They set sail from Plymouth the 12th of August, and seven and twenty days after came upon the Coast of the great Canary, which being strongly fortified, they forbore to affult. A month after, they came to the isle of St. Dominick, where five English ships being sent forth to watch the English, lightened upon one of the small English ships which was trayed from the Company, and putting the Master and Mariners upon the Rock, understood by them, that the English Navy was bent to Port-Rico; whereupon they made all possible speed to give notice thereof, that being forewarned, they might accordingly be armed. And theseupon as soon as the English had cast Anchors in the Road of Port-Rico, the Spaniards thunders against them from the three Sir Nicholas Clifford and Brooke Brown were wounded; they were at supper, and two days after dyed. Hawkins also and Drake partly of disease, and partly of guest for their ill success died soon after. At the end of eight months, the Fleet came home; having done the Enemy little hurt, fired only some few Towns and Ships, but received infinite damage themselves; loft two such Sea-men, as the Kingdom, I may say, all Europe had not tho' like left. For the Spaniards having of late years received great harms by French and English, had now provided for themselves with Fortifications which were not easily to be won.

At this time the Queen made known to the States in the Low-Countries, the great charges she had been at in relieving them ten years together; for which the requireth some considerable recompence. The States against the great charges they had thereupon been, regarding the Spaniards in their cause; yet (not to fall out about the matter) they were content to allow some reasonable retribution; but yet for the present, nothing was concluded. Likewise at this time, the Hante Towns in Germany make a complaint to the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, That the Immunities from Customs anciently granted them by the Kings of England, began to be antiquated, and that a Monopoly of English Merchants was set up in Germany; To which the Queen by Sir Christopher Perkins, first shewing the cause of the first Grant, and then the reason of Queen Mary's prohibiting it afterward, makes them so satisfactory an answer, that tho' very Hante-Towns which complained, brought into England at this time such a fair of Corn, that it prevented a mutiny, which through dearth of Corn, was like to have happened in London.

This year was famous for the death of many great Personages, Philip Earl of Arundel, condemned in the year 1589. The Queen had all this while spare, but now death would spare him no longer, having since that time been wholly given to contemplation, and maccrated himself in a strict course of Religion, leaving one only
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth. 405

Son; Thomas by his Wife Anne Daughters of Gilly
fland. He had two Brothers, Thomas Lord
Howard, whom Queen Elizabeth made Baron
of Suffolk; and William Lord Howard of the
North, who yet lived; and one Sister, the La
dy Margery, married to Robert Sackville.

Ireland.

Tir-Oen

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Sir John
Norris

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England, requiring to have some experienced
Souldiers sent to him with Forces, who though he
defined pancary as the man, yet Sir John Norris
was sent to him with thirteen hundred Old
Souldiers, besides a farther supply, whom Tir-Oen
having to be coming, set presently upon the Fort
of Blackwater, and in the absence of Edward
Commander the Governor, took it. But now being
doubtfull of his cafe, in a lubdolous manner (as
he was a double dealing man) he both offred his
help to the Earl of Kildare, against the Deputies;
and at the same time, maketh promise to the Earl
of Ormond, and Sir Henry Wally, of
loyalty and obedience; but notwithstanding he
was forthwith proclaimed Traitor, under the
name of Hugh O-Neat, bafaid Son to Con-O-
Neat. There was at this time with the Rebels
in Effet a thousand Horse, and 6:50 Foot: and
in Connaght, two thousand three hundred, all at
Tir-Oen command; and the Forces of the
Engliesh under Norris, not much fewer, with
whom the Deputy himself joynd, and matched
together to Armach; which did terrify the Rebels, that Tir-Oen Breakin the Fort of Black
water, began to hide himself. Whereupon the
Deputy returned, leaving Norris to follow the
War, with the Title of General of the Army.
But this satisfied not Norris, nor the Deputy;
and therefore only of emulation betwixt himself and
the Deputy, he performed nothing worth the speaking of, and
seemed to favour Tir-Oen, as much as the Deputy
hated him; insofch, as he had private Con
ference with him (a thing not lawful with pro
clayed Traitors) and upon his submission, and
Hoitages given, a Truce was granted both to
him and Odovell, till the first of January. When
the Truce was expired, Tir-Oen exhibited certain
petitions, protesting, if they were granted, he
would then perform all duties of a loyal subject.
In consulting about which Petitions, another
Truce was concluded, till the first of April: dur
ing which Truce, Tir-Oen dealt secretly with
the King of Spain for Aid to be sent him, making
nevertheless a fair shew of willingnes to obe
dience, so far that by the procurement of Norris
and Penoin, a pardon was granted him; the which
he pretended to receive more joyfully, than the
Intrusion which referred the Earlome upon
him; yet all this was but disimulation, to win time
for his own ends.

In the midst of these Irish Affairs, Alberton
Church, Duke of Austrina and Cardinal, whom the King
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But a few days after, a far greater, and more
select Army is raised in England, wherein many
of Noble Houses served as Volunteers; For the
Queen, to divert the King of Spain from inva
ding her Borders, thought it the best way to in
vade his: Whereupon a Navy of a hundred
and fifty Ships was made ready; where were Souldi
ers under pay, Six thousand three hundred
and three, and there besides Volontaries; Volun
taries of the Nobility and Gen
try, One thousand, Members, Six thousand fev
en hundred seventy and two, besides the Com
mission of Officers, who brought two and twenty Ships. Robert
Earl of Effet, and Charles Howard Lord Admi
ral of England, were made Generals with equal
Authority; but the Admiral to hold Persuasive
at Sea, Effet at Land. To thee, for a Con
cell of War, were joyned the Lord Thomas Ho
ward, Walter Rawleigh, Francis Vere, George Carew,
and Coysers Clifford. The whole Fleet
was divided into four Squadrons; The Admiral
commanded the first; Effet the second; the
Lord Thomas Howard the third, and Rawleigh
the fourth. The Officers of the Army were
Francis Vere Serjeant Major General, or Mar
shall; John Winkfield Quater-Master General,
George Carew Master of the Ordnance; Coysers
Clifford Serjeant Major. Colonels were Robert
Earl of Suffet, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Tho
mas Gerrard, Sir Richard Winkfield; Wlliam
Winkfield was Commander of the Volunteers,
and Anthony Adery Secretary to the Council of
War, was to Register their Ads and Confirma
tions. The Commission being drawn, the Queen
gave them private Instructions, and withall, a
Prayer of her own making, to be daily used in
every Ship.

This Fleet set forth from Plymouth at the be
ginning of June. Night unto Coh S. Vincent
they lighted upon an Irish Barque, which told
them, That at Calde they were secure, and then
in the Haven there were at Anchor Gallies, Ships
of War, and a great many Merchant Vessels. The
twentieth of June, they cast Anchor on the West
side of the Island: within two days they were
H h

agreed
agreed to set upon the Spanish Ships, whereas the Earl of Essex call up his Cap for joy. This business was allotted to the lefter Ships, because the Road was too shallow for the galleys. The galleys quickly fled, and creeping along the shore, flid away, but the Spanish Ships that lay at Anchor at Punall, turned their broad sides, so as the English fight with them from break of day till noon; at which time the Spaniards having their Galleons miserably torn, and many of their men slain, resolved to fire the ships, or run them on shore. The Spanish Admiral being Fifteen hundred Tun of Burthen, was fired by a Moor, and two other Ships which lay next her took the fire, and were loft alike. When this Sea-Fight was ended, Essex landed Eight hundred Souldiers at Punall, a league from the Town of Caies, when half a mile from the Town, the Spanish Horfe and Foot fllew themselves, and presently gave back again; but straightway came forth a greater number: Then Essex commanded his Forces to make a fair retreat, and having enticed forth their Enemies, they turned upon them with such violence, that they forced them back into the Town. Then the Earl got up to a Bulwark newly raised, near the Gate, where he fpyed a paffage into the Town, but to high from ground, that they might land on a Speare length. Yet Essex, the Earl of Suffolk his Lieutenant, Arthur Savage, and others leaped down; and the mean while Sir Francis Vere broke the Gate, and rushed in, and the reft with him. In the Market-place John Winkfield was shot in the Head, and with fones from the tops of Houtes divers were wounded; amongst whom, Samuel Bagnow received eight Wounds, and Arthur Savage was bloody all over; which two were Knighted in the place. The next day the Cattle was yielded, upon condifion, That the Inhabitants might depart with the Clothes on their backs, the reft to be left for fpyry. For five hundred and fourclore thoufand Duckets the Cattle was to be redeemed; and for the payment, forty of the chief Citizens to be fent Hoftages into England. Now Raleigh was commanded to ferve the Merchans Ships lying at Pery-Real, when they promifed two Million two Duckets to redeem them; but this the Admiral would not hear of, saying, He was fent to destroy Ships, not to diminith them upon Compoftion. A world of Munition was found in the City, and great fcore of Money privately carried away, every one ftifling for himself. It was thought by the wifer part, That the Spaniard could not be damned les by this Expedition, than Twenty Millions of Duckets. None of Note was flain among the English, but only Winkfield, who also flew a Spanish Captain; and now at elft, threecore Military men were honoured with Knight- hood. After this, having fpyed the whole Island, and demolished the Fort, they returned into England, much againft the will of Essex, who would fain have been attempting some other enterprize.

The Queen receiving them home with much affability, giving many thanks to-thofe of principal Note, but entolling the Earl of Essex and the Admiral, above the reft. And now bethinking her felf of a fit man to be Gouver- nor of the Bryes, which was given by the States as a Caution Town for money due, she made choice of Sir Francis Vere, although Essex com- manded other to her for the place: But ano- ther thing he took with great indignation: That in his abfence he had made Sir Robert Cecil Secretary, whereas he had formerly with great inftence, commanded Sir Thomas Badley to her.

And now the King of Spain to recover his Honour loft at Caies, fet forth a Navy for England and Ireland, with a great number of Irift Fugitives; but being at Sea, moft of his Ships were either run upon Rocks, or cast away in storms; So this Expedition came to nothing.

But the Queen, at this time, for her better fe- curity, entd a League of Defence and Offence vvhth the French King, againft the Spaniards, upon certain Conftitions; which League the conf- firmed by Oath, in the Chappell at Greenwich, the Nine and twentieth of Auguft, laying her hand upon the hand of Henry de la Tour, Duke of Bulliog, and Marfhal of France; the Bishop of Cliqcofter holding forth the Evangelifts, and a great lawly of the Nobility (anding round in a large heats) in the Name of France.

In fepember following, the Earl of Shrewby, was sent on Ambaffege into France, to take the French Kings Oath, and to prefent Sir Anthony Mildmay for the Queens Ambaffege in Ordinary in the room of the King of France.

It was now the year 1596, and the Nine and thirtieh year of Queen Elizabeths Reign, when Thomas Arundel of Warder returned into Eng- land, from the War in Hungery againft the Turk, whom, for his good service done there, the Emperour by his Letters Patents, had crea- ted Earl of the Sacred Empire, and all his Heirs and their Polftity, dukes or Fe- dars, to be rended from him, to be Earl of Arundel and Counties of the holy Empire for ever. Those who are graced with this Title, have a Place and Voice in the Imperial Diets, may pur- chafe lands in the Emperours Dominions, may take up voluntary Souldiers, and are not bound to answer any matter before any Judge, but only in the Chamber of the Empire. At his return, a great Quaffion came in agitation, Whether Titles of Honour given to the Queens Subjects without her privity, ought to be ac- cepted by them, or admitted by her. For this new Earl fluck in the Stomachs of the English Bsons, who inwardly guaged to give him place. The matter was long disputed on both fides, but what issue it had, or whether he were permitted this honour here at home, I find not: Certain it is, That Sir Nicholas Clifford and Sir Anthony Sherley, whom the French King two years before received into the Order of St. Michael, were had in Prison at their coming home, and charged to renounce their Orders of the
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

This year many great Persons dyed; John Puckering Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, whom Thomas Egerton succeeded; Richard Fletcher Bishop of London, who for marrying the Lady Baker (as goodly a Lady as he was a Prelate,) incurred the Queen displeasure; and to cure his Care, fell immoderately to drinking of Tobacco, and so expired. Henry Cary Baron of Hanford, Lord Chamberlain of her Majesties House, and her Cousin gentleman. Sir Francis Knollys, who married Hanford; Sifter, in Queene Mary's days an Exile in Germany for the Gospel, by Queen Elizabeth made Sir, Vice-Chamberlain, then Captain of the Guard, afterwards Treasurer of the Household, and Knight of the Garter, Henry Haffings Earl of Huntingdon, and President of the Council in the North, who spent his Estate upon Puritan Minifters: Francis Lord Haffings Nephew to him by his Brother George, who succeeded him in the Earlom, and Margaret Clifforf Countess of Derby, (who defecanted of the Blood Royal, from Charles Brandon,) confulted with Sorcerers and cunning men, and thereupon a little before her end, was in a manner excludéd from the Queene's Favour.

The Queen at this time was told, That the King of Spain was preparing a new Fleet against Ireland; whereupon to encounter him, they also prepared a new Fleet of twenty Ships, few than of the Queens, three and forty lefser Ships of War, the rest for the carriage of provifion. They were parted into three Squadrons: Essex commanded the first, who was also Chief Commander in the Expedition; the Lord Thomas Howard the second, and Richmht the third. In this Fleet were Sir Robart, the Nobility and Gentry, Charles Blunt Lord Mounjéy, Vere, Carew, Sir Christopher Blunt, the Earl of Rutland and Sambonfton, the Lords Grey, Cromwell, Rich, and many others. The ninth of July they weighed Anchor from Plymouth, and were to direct their voyage to Ferall and the Groyns, to seize upon the Spanish Fleet in the Harbour, and towards the Isles called Accores, to intercept the Indian Fleet at their return into Spain; but this Expedition was crost and overthrown by Tempests, for they had not tailed forty Leagues from Plymouth, when they were shaken with such a terrible Tempest, that for four days weather, that the Mariners themselves were at their wits end, and the Fleet had much ado to recover Plymouth: The Navy being amended, they hoisted up Sayl the second time, but the Wind fell prettily again to croft, that for a whole monthes time they could not get out of the Haven; returning to Plymouth, the seventeenth of August they got out of the Haven; and now the third time, with a fire wind hoist up sayl, but before they came in view of Spain, they were dispersed by another horrible Tempest, wherein of the two great Ships which were taken at Colies, one was dafhed in pieces, the other wandered no man knew whither. At the Island Flores the Fleet met again, where Ramleigh being dispersed for Water went on shore without leave; and ere he had watered, had charge to follow Essex to Fadal: but not finding him there, he observed the Port, and calling a Council, the Commanders with him to set upon the place, and not let slip to fair a Booy. Upon this Ramleigh with some of the prime Vo-

luntes, got to shore, and won the Town, but found no booty in it. The next day Essex came thither, whom Merrick informed what Ramleigh had done, affirming spirituallly, That he had done it more to the honour of the Lordship in the honour of the Exploit: whereupon some persuaded the Earl to call a Council of War and then displâce him: others again, to take off his head for going to Land without the Chief Commanders leave, saying, he was never like for to have such another opportunity to be rid of his Adversary; upon this Sidney, Brett, Berry, and others of Rawleigh Company were displaced, and laid by the heels. Ramleigh himself was sent for, and entertained with a grim look by Essex: and all his Party, Essex rebuked him angrily, for landing his Forces, which none upon pain of death might do, without the Generals command: Rawleigh made answer, That the Captains indeed, Shipmasters, and the rest were within the compass of that Law; but not the three prime Commanders, of whom himselfe was one: That he had a long time waited his coming, and longer would have waited, but that the Hander provoked him to fight. And now the Lord Thomas Howard mediated, that no severity might be used against Ramleigh, and persuaded him to acknowledge his fault; which being done, all were friends, and the displaced Commanders were restored to their place. The Earl was of a placable disposition; easily apt to take offence, and as easily to remit it.

From hence they fail to Grattaro, where the Inhabitants crave mercy and obtained it; and here Essex would have tarried, in expectation of the Indian Fleet; but that Graves the Pilot disfavored, because the Harbour was not good: and now see the unluckinesse of ill counsel; for the English were not gone above an hour, or two, from this place, when loe, the American Fleet (wherein were forty Ships, and seven of them laden with Treasure) cometh thither; which, hearing that the English were thereabouts, directed their course to Tercera, where they gained the Haven, all but three Ships, indifferent wealthy; which the English took: and then were minded to set upon the fleet, in the Port, but finding the attempt not feasible, they passed from hence to St Michaelis; where Sambonfton, Rutland, Evere, Brandon and Duncks were Knichted. And then Essex landed within fix miles of the Town, nigh unto Villa Francis, a fair Town; and well furnished with Merchandise, Wine, Wood, and Corn; where they tarried six days; and the common Souldiers found good booty. And now a Caraque was espyed, coming out of the East Indies, which by a warning piece shot off in a Dutch Ship, perceiving that the Englishe were there; ran her well shore, unloaded her Merchandise, and then fired her self. Thus the English had ill luck everywhere in this expedition: And the ninth of October they hoisted sail for England: but within two days, a terrible Tempest from the Northward dispersed them; and the Spanish Fleet also at the same time; so as they never came in view of one another: one Spanish Ship was call upon Deremund, the Mariner and Souldiers hafled home in her, who intimated, that the Spanish Fleet intended to feize upon some Haven in Cornwall, which being night the mouth of the Channel, might be convenient to receive Forces from.
Spain: but the Divine Providence frustrated the designs both of the Spaniard and the English.

But now at his return, the Earl of Essex found that done in England, in his absence, which infinitely disconcerted him; Sir Robert Cecil made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: and which was more, Charles Lord Howard, created Earl of Nottingham, with relation in his Patent to the Victory in Eighty eight, and his good service at Cadiz: This glory he envied him, and besides dismached it, that he must now take place of him: It being enacted in the Reign of Henry the Eighth, That the chief Officers of the Kingdome should have Precedence of all men of that degree, Whereupon the Queen, to give him content, was fain to create him Earl Marshal of England; by which he recovered his place again.

About this time, an Ambassadors came into England, from the King of Poland; who, when the Queen expected he should give her thanks for having secured a Peace between the King his Master, and the Turk: he clean contrary expostulated unkindness, for breach of Privileges, in trading with Spain, requiring a present remedy, or else the King would otherwise right himself: The Queen not a little offended, suddenly replied, How was I deceived? I expected an Ambassador, and behold a Herald: such a speech I never heard in all my life-time. And after some further checking of him for his boldness, he referred him to her Council; and then retired into her Closet. The Ambassador afterward, in private Conference with some of the Council, execure himself, saying, That his Speech was penned by others, and then given him in Writing. To his Message, the Council gave the like answer, as they had given before to the Hanse-Towns, upon the like occasion: though now again, the Hanse-Towns obtain the Emperour, to prohibit the English from trading in Germany, which made the Queen to prohibit the Hanse-Towns from trading in England; and put them out of the Steel-yard till this difference was accorded.

This year the Chancellor of Denmark came into England to restore the Garter, which had been bestowed upon the Kings Father, and withall offering the Kings help, to make a Peace for the Queen with the Spaniard. The Queen thanked him; but meant not to use his help for that which she did not desire, and especially not now, when he had newly molested the King of France her Ally; and had taken Anzen the strongest Town of Picardy: Though why should the Queen be fonder of the French King, when now to get an Aid of Four thousand Souldiers from her, he fell to devices; intimating unto her, That he was now offered by the Popes Nuncio a very commodious Peace, If she would but forsake her. But while these things were in Treaty, Anzen was recovered again by the value of Baturials; (whoddied at the Siege) and of Sir Arthur Sanez, as the King in his Letters to the Queen thankfully acknowledged.

About this time a Parliament was held at Westminster, where Subsidies were willingly granted; and to this Parliament was called the Lord LeWarre, and restored to his blood, which by Act of Parliament in the Reign of King Edward the Sixth was tainted. Alto to this Parliament was called Thomas Lord Howard, by the Title of Baron Howard of Walden.

In Ireland at this time, a great part of Zippers, and almost all Connought was in Rebellion, Whereupon Kasf the Deputy was called home, and Thomas Lord Burroughs sent in his place, a man very just and courageous, but no Soundier! This infinitely disconcerted Norris; who thought himself safe of the place, and now to see his Rival preferred before him, and himself to be under him, President of Munster, drove him into such a melancholy, that in a very short time (and as he thought to himself with much disgrace) he ended his life.

And now the Earl of Tir-Ora craveth, and obtaineth a moneths Truce of the new Deputy, at the months end the Deputy marcheth against the Rebels, and gaineth the Fort at Black-water, the Fort whereof the Rebels shewed themselves upon a Hill hard by, against whom the Earl of Kildare, the marcheth and maineth them to flight, and with some loss of his own side, as Francis Vinyage, the Deputies Brother in Law, Turner a Sargent Major, and two Eijers, Brothers of the Earl of Kildare, whose death he took so heavily, that within a few days he dyed himself.

As soon as the Deputy had fortified the Castle at Black-water, and withdrawn his Army, the Rebels began to besiege it again; (for this was the main place of their strength) which causeth the Deputy with all possible speed to make thither, bat unhappily dyed by the way. Whereupon the Rebels set upon the Fort more fiercely than before; but being full repulsed, they comforted themselves with this, that there was not many days provision left in the Fort; yet the admiral fortitude of Thomas Williams, the Captain and the Garrison Souldiers saved the place, who, when then Horte-flash was all spent, fed upon weeds growing within the Trenches, and endured all. And of miser comes they to flight, but was with some loss of his own side, as Francis Vinyage, the Deputy being dead, the Army by direction from England, was committed to the Earl of Ormond, and the Government to two Lords Justices, Adam Lofthouse the Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, and Robert Gardiner: To this new Lieutenant, Tir-Ora exhibited a Bill of his oppressions and grievances with request of pardon, and at the same time fhirset up Mac-Hugh to a new Rebellion in Leinster.

In France at this time, the French King being importuned by the Pope, and by his own subjects begin to incline to a Peace with Spain; which the Queen understanding, sent into France Sir Robert Cecil, Harrows and Milnes (who dyed at his landing in France.) The States likewise sent thither Jaffine of Nassau, and BArneres, and others likewise into England to dilivate the Peace; but notwithstanding all they could say or do, the French King shortly after concludeth a Peace, to the great discontentment of the Queen and the States, but to the great good, and establishment of the French Commonwealth.

And now the Queen provisng for her own and her Peoples safety, sent Sir Francis Vere to the States, to know if they were willing to join in a Treaty of Peace with the Spaniards: if not, what
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what they would afford toward a War; and to deal advantage with them about repayment of money due to her from them. At home in the mean time, was holden a great Convention, Whether a Peace with Spain were convenient for England, or not: and many Reasons were on both sides alleged. Burleigh Lord Treasurer was for Peace, & Essex for War, and so vehement in it, that the Treasurer, after a long debate, in a strange manner of Pretence, reached forth the Book of the Psalms to him, pointing to him that Verst. The bloody minded man still was live out half his days. Which made Essex afterward to set forth an Apology, with Reasons for justification of his Opinion.

But now another Convention was holden, about a fit man to be Deputy of Ireland; The Queen intended to send Sir William Knollys, Essex his Uncle; but Essex was violent for Sir George Careen, whom he had a mind to remove from the Court; and when he could not by any means persuade the Queen to it, he then, forgetting himself and his duty, uncivilly and contemptuously turned his back upon the Queen, muttering certain words. Whereupon the growing impatient, gave him a box on the ear, and bid him be gone with a vengeance; Essex laid his hand upon his Sword hilt, and swore a great oath, That he could not, nor would not put up such an indignity; and that he would not have taken it at King Henry the Eighth his hands; and so in a rage flung away from the Court. But afterward, admonished by the Lord Keeper, he became more milde, and in a short time returned to the Queen's favour.

About this time, William Cecil Lord Burleigh and high Treasurer of England finding himself to drop with age, (for he was now thrithree and Seventeen years old) sent Letters to the Queen, intreating her to release him of his publick charge; whereupon the went to visit and consider him. About an hundred days had passed, in his life, after he had been the principal flay of the English Common-wealth for many years togethre. One great good he did to his Country: a little before his death, that he brought the States of the Low-Countries to a Composition, for the payment of Eight hundred thousand pounds, by Thirty thousand pounds yearly; likewise a new League to be concluded with them.

The King of Denmark Subjects having lately foized upon some goods of the English as Prise, to the value of a hundred thousand Dollars, the Queen sent the Lord Zouch and Christopher Perkins, Doctor of Law, in Embassador to the Dane, both to congratulate his late marriage with the Elektra Daughter of Brandenburg; and also to crave restitution of the English Goods; who obtained, that in lieu thereof, Thereforce thousand Dollars were repaid. And now George Clifford Earl of Cumberland, having with a Navy of eleven ships, waited for Portugal Cariques, and the American Fleets till all of the year was past (they not daring to fight for) he at last sailed upon Porto-Rico and took it; but seven hundred of his men falling sick of Calentures, and dying within forty days, he was fain to return home with some honour, but little profit.

About this time, one Edward Squire was arraigned of High Treason, and had been at first an ordinary Serviceman, afterwards a Groom in the Queen's Stable, and going as a Soldier in Drakes last expedition, was taken prisoner and carried into Spain, there he came acquainted with one Wallpope an English Jesuite, who caused him to be put into the Inquisition. For an Heretic, and the fellow taking of mercy, was easily drawn to become a Papist, and afterward to attempt any thing for the Catholick cause. His faithfully perjured it was meritorious to make away the Queen and the Earl of Essex, and sent him into England with a certain payson, whereunto to annoment the pommel of the Queens Sackle, and the chair in which the Earl should sit, which he accordingly performed, but neither of them took effect, whereupon Wallpope inspicing Squires fidelity was bent to revenge it, and sent one into England, who in general terms should lay this Apoilition upon him; whereupon Squire is called in question, and never thinking that his Confeftor would detect him, directly denied all at first; but after seeing himself betrayed, confessed all the matter and was executed.

This whole year, the rebellion was hot in Ireland. For Tir-Oen first of all obtaining his pardon lately obtained, all on a sudden besieged the Fort at Blackwater, to the raising of which, the Lieutenant Generall (for there was as yet no Deputy) sent thirteen Companies under the command of the Manuf, Tir-Oen sworn adversary, him Tir-Oen flew, and put his whole Army to rout, and achieved such a Victory, with so great loss to the English, as they had never felt the like since they first set footing in Ireland; for thirteen valiant Commanders, and fifteen hundred common Soldiers, were slain at this Skirmish, and soon after the Fort of Blackwater was yielded up. And now Tir-Oen fame began to resind as the Agent of the liberty of the Nation, and upon a sudden all Munster brake forth into Rebellion. For therefreshing whereof the King of England and Scotland was resoluioin for an hundred Dollars, the originally an English man, was grown a deadly enemy to the English Nation) with four hundred Knaees Against these, Thomas Norris President of the Province, marched to Killgowlack with a good force, but finding that the Irish Souldiers of his Company were ready to revolt, he was fain to disperce his Army and retire to Corks. Hereupon the Rebels grew insolent, spoiled the Country, and in cruel manner put all the English to the sword. Furthermore they declare Fitz Thomas to be Earl of Desmond; but upon condition he should hold of O-Nees, that is, of Tir-Oen, who now dispatched Letters to the Spanish, relating his Victories to the full, and vowing to accept no terms of peace with the English, and yet at the same instant (after his wonted treacherous manner) professed some kinde of submission to the Lieutenant, but withall made unreasonable demands.

The State of Ireland being thus in confusion, a furious confessional is holden whom to send to quench it: the Queen and most of the Counsell thought Sir Charles Bene Lord Mountjoy the fit- ted man; but Essex covertly intimated, that he had no military experience, and besides was too slow to prove a good Commander; he seem'd to aim at the place for himself, though he made a droll modelly to refuse it, and yet still ready with...
with his exceptions if any other were nominated: many thought it dangerous to have an Army put into his hands, for his followers talked of great matters, that the Earl of Effex was degraded of the blood Royal of Scotland and England, and had better Right to the Crown, than any other of the Competitors. In conclusion, he is appointed Vice-Roy, with ample Authority, to make War or conclude Peace, and pardon all offenders, even Tit-Osen himself. An Army is allotted him as great as he desired: Indeed greater than ever Ire-land had seen before, Twenty Thousand Foot, and Thirteen Hundred Horse, with these, and a great Retinue besides of the Nobility, he pitched into Ireland; where as soon as he had taken the Sword, contrary to his Commission (which was to go immediately against the Arch-rebel) he marched towards Munster, against the petty Rebels, taketh the Castle of Cahirc, and driveth the Rebels into the Woods and Groves adjoining. His Forces being now impaired, he tarrieth to make them up, but in the mean time fenden directions to Sir Center: Clifford, President of Connacht, to let upon the Rebels in one place, (thereby to sever their Forces) while he assaulted them in another; Clifford marched toward Boteke, with 1500 Soldiers, where the Rebels are upon them at un-awares, under the conduct of O-Rocks, Chris Son that was hanged here in England.) The English repel them at eight with ease, and march along; but the Rebels finding they wanted Powder, set upon them again, and put them to flight; in which skirmish, Clifford and many of the old Soldiers were slain.

Effex having by this received new supplies out of England, and a check for neglecting the Queens Command, set forth at length towards the Borders of Effex, with Thirty thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, being come thither, Tit-Osen by a Messengers requested parole, Effex reluteth faying, he might speak with him the next morning, between the two Armies; the next day word is brought to Effex, that Tit-Osen crave the Queens mercy, and that he might only be heard speak; appointing the shalow of Hole Cloche for a most convenient place; thither came Effex alone, with whom Tit-Osen (riding his Horse up to the gates) had private conference a full hour, while after, Cen Troy-Osen, late Son came to Effex, requesting in his Fathers name a second parole; and that some of the chief on both sides be present: Effex consented, so there came not more than fix. At the day appointed, many words had not past, but it was agreed, that their Dele- gates should Treat the next day concerning a Peace: between them it was concluded, that a Truce should be held from six weeks to six weeks, till May day.

By this time, the Queen understanding that no more was done, after so much time and mon- ey spent, in a great anger tacheth the Earls pro- ceedings, and I know not how, it fell from her to some others that hold by, that he had other thoughts in his minde, than the good of his Prince and Country: And thereupon dispatched very sharp Letters to him, blaming his delay, and letting dip every fair opportunity; with which Letters Effex was encounted, and chiefly troubled, that the Queen had now made Cecil Maffier of the Wards, which he expected himself; that he began to cast strange projects within his minides, and held Private confluations of returning into Eng- land with part of his Forces, to surprise his Ad- versaries, But from this course, the Earl of Dench- hampton, and Sir Christopher Blount, did divaded him, as being dangerous and wicked. Yet within a month over he went, and came to the Court at Nonshich, to inform the Queen of the State of Ireland. By the way the Lord Gray of Bifton crost him, but saluted him not, whom one of his followers offered to kill for his contemples; but Effex would not suffer him: And made such haste, that early in the Morning he was upon his Knees before the Queen in the Privy Chamber. She entertained him courteously, but not with the countenance she was wont; and after a little talk bid him keep in his Chamber; And so after, Committed him to Cutfody; in the Lord privy Seals Houfe; where entering into Consideration of his case, he giveth himself wholly to Divine Con- temptation, and writeth wonderfull Letters to his friends, of the vanity of the things of this life.

It was now the year one thousand six hundred, and the two and fourth of Queen Elizabeth's Reign; when after the departure of the Earl of Effex, in Osen began to carry himself as Mon- arch of Ireland, and fenden letters to make spoil in the poofleſſ day inhabited in the North of Ireland, and nearly the South, and that of Effex Tahun-Oen be- gan to carry himself as Monarch of Ireland, under the name of Mount Norris; Carrying early along upon Sir Warham Saint- Leger, thrut him through with a spear, and was himself thrust through withal. Whereupon the Queen sent Sir Charles Blunt Lord Montagu, to take upon him the Deputies place, who lothed no time, but first of all marcheth towards Effex, build- eth a forth within eight miles of Armagh, which, in honour of Sir John Norris, under whom he had his first military schooling, he calleth by the name of Mount Norris; there he placed Edward Blunte, who kept the Rebels in awe in those parts, from thence back he goeth into Leinfeir, where in the Gynnes he reduceth into order, Doni-Spanish, Phelim Mac-Phoes, and the rebellings Nation of the O-Tullies, taking hostages of them; them back into Effex again, being victor wherever he cometh, and at Trulegh, receiveth into protection Mac-Henry, Mac-Cony, and other Rebels, who left at this their feet for mercy. All this and more he rid in his first year, and no lesse successful was Carys preident of Munster, who drave out of the County the Titular Earl of Desmand, and having found Munster a turbulent Province in April, he overcomed and made it so quiet by De- cember following that the Rebels maintained no one Fort in it against the Queen.

And now a new Conflitution was holden in England, touching a peace with the King of Spain, the which he fought both by the French King, and by Alberti the Arch-Duke, who was now return- ed into the Netherlonds out of Spain, where he was married to the Infaunts, The Queen con- tents to a Treaty, left it to the French King to nominate both the time and place for the meeting of the Delegates, who set down the moneth of May, and Builvan in France; But now foresee- ing that a question would arise about Preci- dency, sent more appointed to look after the Records concerning that point. These men found in the Book of the Ceremonies of the
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The English Commissioners have a charge not to give Precedence to State; and why.

Count of Rome, which (according to the Canons) gives that Rule to the rest, as the Lady and Mistress; that among Kings, the first place is due to the King of France, the second to the Kings of England, and the third to the King of Caffile. That the English quietly held this privilege in the General Councils of Bajf, Confiance, and others: besides the Kingdom of Caffile, which is the Spaniards first Title, (and which is but an upstart in regard of England) had Earls, but no Kings till the year 1507. In like manner, Pope Julius the third, gave sentence for Henry the seventh of England, against Ferdinand, who was then King of Caffile.

At the day appointed, the Delegates met at Bulloign, Sir Henry Niel, Leign Ambadisour, Sir John Herbert, Sir Robert Breul, & Thomas Edmonds for the English, and others for the King of Spain and the Archbishop. The English had instructions, first concerning Precedency, in no cafe to give way to the King of Spain: yet if they contended, to put the matter to the decision of Lords, rather than the Treaty should be dissolved: and for the rest, to propose and mention the renewing of the ancient Burgundian League, freedom of commerce, &c.

At the meeting, when they had severally show'd their Commissions, the English challenge the Precedency, the Spaniards do the like, and in fo peremptory a manner that without it they would dissolve the Treaty, Hereupon the English made a proposition, to let paife the question of Precedency; and to transact the business by writing, and Messengers between them: Or that the Treaty might be intermitted only for three score days, not quite broken off; but all was to no purpose; and at three months end they parted.

The States the mean while were far from regarding a Peace, that at this time they thought upon reducing the Sea Coast of Flanders into their Command; and thereupon they landed an Army there, of fourteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse, under the conduct of Maurice of Nassau and fifteen hundred of the English under the command of Sir Francis Vere, and his Brother Horatio, At which time happened the famous Battle of New port, against the Archduke, where nine thousand of the Spaniards were slain; and the Victory, by the valour of the English, fell to the Dutch for so forward were the English in this Battail, that of their fifteen hundred, eight hundred were slain and sore wounded; Eight Captains killed, and of the rest every man hurt.

All this year, and the year past, landy quarrels and complaints arose between the English and French, touching refinalls of goods taken from each other by Pirates of each Nation: Also touching Quitts and Impositions, contrary to the Treaty of Truce, and decreed in English Clothes, to the great injury of the Nation: In Denmark likewise arose controversies touching commerce, and the Fishing of the English upon the Coast of Island and Norway. The Queen also at this time, for the encrease of Navigation and Commerce, Founded the Company of East Indies Merchants, allowing them large Privilages; but whether this hath proved beneficial to the Common-Wealth, (there having been by this means such a maffe of money and great store of other commodities carried out of the Kingdom, and to many Mariner's lost every year) wise men make a question.

About this time also, Pope Clement the eighth, perceiving the Queen to be in her declining age, sent two Breves into England, the one to the Pope, the other to the Lady, to suffer no person whatsoever, to take the Kingdom upon him after the Queens death, but one that should promise by Oath, to promote with all his might, the Roman Catholic Religion, how near or ever his wife, he were allied to the Blood Royal of the King of England.

This year by reason of intertemporous weather, happened a great scarcity of Corn in England, and thereby many grievous complaints were occasioned. The common people call out reproachful andls against the Lord Treasurer Backhord, as the grantor of Licences for transportation of Corn; but he appealing to the Queen, the fortwith defended his Innocency, and made it known by open Proclamation, imputed the fault upon the Burgiers of Corn, and Forefellers of Markets, and ordered that the fudder should be reprehended and punished.

The Earl of Effex, who had now been Prisoner six months in the House of the Lord Privy Seal, he then began to repent in good earnest, resolving to put away his perverfence Councillors Gilly Merrick, and Henry Cuffis, and then he shewed so much patience and great submission, that the Queen then lent him to his own house, and to be there confined, always protesting, that he would doe nothing that should be for his ruine, but only that, which should be for his amendment. Nevertheless, when as the common people extolled his Innocency, he could not for the removal of suspicion of injustice, free her self and her Councillors, but bring him to trial, not in the Star-Chamber, but the Court should fall too heavy on him, but in the house of the Lord Privy Seal, where the cause should have a plain hearing before the Lords of the Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges of the Realm. The objections were, That contrary to his Commission he had made the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse, had drawn his Forces into Munster, neglecting the Arch-rebell Tir-Oen, entertained a Parlee with him against the Dignity of the Queens Majesty, and the person of a Viceroy, which he represented: and that the said Parlee was fupicious, in regard it was private. Some aggravations the Lawers added from abrupt sentences in his Letter to the Lord Privy Seal, written two years since, as these: No former is more fierce than the indignation of an Impeante Prince. What? cannot Princes see? May they not injure their Subjects? and such like.

He falling upon his knee at the end of the Board, the Earl protested he would not conten with the Queen, nor excute the faults of his young years either in the whole or in part, Protesting that he always meant well, however it fell out otherwise, and that now he would bid the World farewell, within shedding many tears, so as the fadders by wept also, Yet could he not contain himself, but began to plead excuses, till the Lord Privy Seal interrupted him, advising him to proceed as he began, to fly
to the Queen's Mercy, who would not have him questioned for disloyalty, but only for a contempt, and that he did not well to pretend obedience in words, which in deeds he had not performed. At length, in the name of the rest, he pronounced this sentence against him; that he should be deposed from the Office of a Privy Councillor, suspended from the functions of the Earl Marthall, and Master of the Ordnance, and be imprisoned during the Queen's pleasure. She had given express charge, not to suspend him from the Office of Master of the Horse (minding shortly to take him into favour) and that his Censure into his caufe should be recorded. After this he made them of wonderfull humility and mortification, which it affected the Queen, that shortly the removed Barkley his Keeper, and gave him leave to go at large; only admonishing him, to make his own Discretion his Keeper, and not to come to the Court, or in her Presence.

After this sentence, Coffe, who always persuaded the Earl to stand faithfully in his own defence, began so plainly to tax him of cowardice and pusillanimity, that the Earl in anger, commanded his Names, his number, and the names of his Servants; yet Merrick the Steward did it not, as being of Coffe mind himself. The Earl being now ready to go into the Country, remembered himself to the Queen, by the Lord Henry Howard, in these words: That he killed the Rod, and the Queens bands, which had once corrected, not overthrown him; yet he should never enjoy solid comfort, till he might see those blessed Eyes, which had been his old-starts, whereby he had happily served his course, while he held on his way as lawful distance; but now he resolved to eat grapes with Nebuchadnezzar, till it please the Queen to restore his Sonet. She being greatly joyed with these his Speeches; would to God (said she) his deeds be answerable to his words; He hath long cried my Patience, I must now make revel of his humility.

And now the Earl grew to confident of the Queen's Favour, that he became a suitor to her for the Farm of sweet Wines, but she to try his temper, and with what mind he would bear a repulse, made him Answer, That the must first know what it was worth, and not give away things hand over hand; and had oftentimes in her mouth, the Aphorism of Phyllainans, That foul Bodies, the more you nourish them, the more you corrupt them. And indeed, this was the right way to finde, whether the Ulcer of his Mind were thoughly cured or no; for being not thoroughly cured, it would endure no touching; and no more did his, but as though every day of a courte'sse, were an injury that required revenge; his Melancholy was presently turned into Choler, now he began to hart.ken to Coffe again; telling him, That it was now plain, the Queen determined to make him as poor as Job, that he should live of the Basket, and gather crumbs under the Table. Hereupon he returned to London, Southampton is sent for out of the Low-Countries, his doors are still open for all comers, Merrick his Steward received to his own Table deserted Soldiers, discontented and audacious persons; Sermons are made there every day by Puritan Ministers, to which the Citizens flock, and all signs of Popularity appeared; which matters coming to the Queen's Ears, alienated her affection from him daily more and more; but especially she was exasperated, that her Person was depil'd by him, for (not to say the worst) he had murdered; That the Queen was now old and decrepit, and withered as well in minds as body.

And now again, he runneth upon dissipate counsels, for the removal of his adversaries on the Court, feeketh to move himself into the King of Spain's favour, to whom he traduceth his adversaries, by name Rawleigh, Cobham, Carew, Cecil, and the Admiral as inclined to the Spanish Faction, and at on and the same time, feeketh to win him both Puritans and Papists. Many were of his party, but few of his counsellors; and there were the Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Dovers, Sir Ferdinando Gorge Captain of the Galion of Plimouth, Sir Christopher Rount, and some other. With these he met privately in Derry House to avoid suspicion, where he first giveth them a Catalogue of the Nobility and Gentry that favoured him, to the number of a hundred and twenty. Then they consult, Whether it were better to reform the House of Lords, or the Queen's Palace, this latter they resolve upon, which should be done in this manner; Rount should keep the great Gate with a select number of men; and Dovers feith upon the Presence Chamber: Then Eex with his Company should come from the House, and present himself before the Queen. But now suspicions arising from divers circumstances, Secretary Herbert was sent to call him before the Council, at the Treasurers House; but he doubting the matter, excuseth himself that he was not very well. And now the Plot of feizing upon the Court, which had been four months in contriving, was by this means quite disdaffed, for they had ready at the present, neither Souldiers, nor Munition, do as some had desired must now be thought on: at which time very opportunely commeth one to them (let on no doubt by Eex his Adversaries) as if he had heard of a plot against the King, which made Eex to applaud his own great good fortune.

And now were four of the Lords, namely the Lord Keeper, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir William Knollys, and the Lord Chief Justice of England, sent by the Queen to Eex House, who could hardly be suffer'd to come in, all their Attendants were kept out, save he that carried the Seal before the Keeper. In the Court they found a confudted number of people, and the Earls of Eex, Roldland, and Southampton in the midst of them. The Keeper turning himself to Eex, told him, The Queen had sent him and the rest to understand the caufe of this concourse, promising Justice, if any person had done them wrong. Eex with a loud voice cryeth out, They lie in wait for my life, we are met to defend our selves. The Keeper urging Eex again to unfold some part of his grievance; the unruly multitude cryeth out, Away, let us be gone, they come to betray you. KILL them, call away that Great Seal! Eex seeth into the House, the Lords follow him, he chargeth them to make the doors fast, and turning him to the Lords, Have patience for a while (said he) I must go into the City, to dispatch a little business with the Mayor and Sheriffs, I will return presently.

The Lord Keeper and three others of the Privy Council, sent to Eex house, to know the caufe of this concourse, and his Amy fover.
There the Lords are kept prisoners; Essex maketh halt into the City, with a troop of two hundred men at his heels; the Earl of Bedford, the Lord Cromwell, and other Lords meeting him by the way, join themselves: coming into London, he cryeth out aloud, For the Queen, for the Queen, they lay wait for my life. The Citizens came running to gaze, but not so much as one person took heart to take his part. Paffing along the City, he came all in a sweat to the Sheriff Smith's house, who shifthimself forth at a back-door, and goeth to the Lord Mayor. By this time, certain of the Nobility entered the City with a Herald, declaring Essex and his adherents Traitors. Hereupon, hearing also that the Lord Admiral made towards him with an Army, he began to be disheartened; George taketh care for himself, requiteth he might be sent to release the Collectors, and with them to crave the Queens mercy, whiles the issue was yet doubtful. The Earl content that Popham only should be freed; but he refused, unless the Keeper also might be dismissed. Then George freeth them all, and goeth along with them to the Court by water.

Now when Essex thought to return, he found a chain fastened cross the street, at the West end of Pauls, and men in Arms on the other side; then he began to draw his Sword, and having once given the word, Down letteth fly at them, flew one of them incontinent, himself being sore wounded, and fell off his horse. On the other part had his Hat shot through; whereupon retiring, he took Boat at Queen-House, and went to Essex House, where, finding the Collectors all dismissed, he grew extreme angry and dismayed, and cast certain papers into the fire, saying, They should tell no tales. By and by the Admiral beseecheth the House, commanding them to yield. Southampton offereth, if the Admiral would give hostages to secure them, they would present themselves to the Queen. The Admiral answereth by Sidney, That Rebels are not to proffer Conditions. Within an hour, Essex finding the case desperate, releaseth to ruff forth; and the Lord Sandys (the most aged in the company) greatly urged it, saying, It were better to die valiantly than by the hands of a Hang-man. But Essex his mind upon a little deliberation altering, fell upon their knees, and deliver their weapons to the Admiral, when it was ten o'clock at night. Owen Souldier, and one or two more were slain with Marker shot, and as many of the Befiegers. The next day, Thomas Lee, Commander of a Company of Souldiers in Ireland, who to one Crofts a Sea-Captain (that detected him) intimateth, how noble an exploit it were, for six stout Fellowes to go to the Queen, and compel her forcibly to releaseth Essex and Southampton, was presently apprehended, examined, found guilty, and executed. Essex and Southampton were carrieth forth to Lambeth, to the Archbishops house, because it was a dark night; but anon they were sent to the Tower, by the Queen's direction; and with them, Rutland, Sands, Cromwell, Mountague, Daveners and Bromley, the rest were put in common prisons.

On the nineteenth of February, Essex and Southampton were called to their Arraignment, before their Peers in Westminster-Hall, where Backward Lord Treasurer, was appointed Lord High-Steward of England for that time. The Peers being severally called by their names, Essex demanded, If it were not lawful for them to except against some of the Peers, as private persons might do against the Jurors. The Judges made answer, That the credit and fidelity of the Peers of England was presumed to be such, that in Tryals they were not bound to take an Oath, nor were they liable to any exception. There were they jointly indited of High-Treason; namely, that they plotted to deprive the Queen of her life and Kingdom, To surprize her in her very Palace; and that they brake forth into open Rebellion, by imprisoning the Councillers of the Kingdom; by exciting the Lords to Rebellion with vain Fictions; by insubrating the Queens loyal Subjects in the City; and by defending of Essex House against the Queen's Forces. Hereunto they pleaded, Not guilty; Essex withall averring, That they had done nothing but of necessity, and the Law of Nature, Tawton aggravate the specialties; and Edward Coke Attorney argueth, That the Earl could not excite himself from the Law of Nature, seeing Majesty is not to be affronted for private revenge. The Earl of Essex with great confidence made answer, That to his Prince and Country, he always had and would bear a loyal affection. Then Francis Bacon (one that was little expected to speak against Essex, by whom he was raised) in defence of Cobham, Cecil and Ralwilge, aggravateth his crying out, That the Crown of England was told to the Spanish; whereunto Essex replied, That he heard indeed, That Cecil the Secretary should lay to one of the Lords of the Council. That the right of the Infanta of Spain to the Kingdom of England, was as good as any of the Competitors. Upon this Cecil (who stood by as an Auditor) steppeth in, and falling upon his knees, beseecheth the Steward, that with his good leave, he might quit himself from this foul aspersion which leave being granted him, he provoked Essex, if he durst, to name the Councillor; but he would not; therefore (faith Cecil) it is a Fiction: still Essex averreth it. Then Cecil turning himself to Southampton, brought him by all manner of Objections to name the man. He referreth it to the Honourable Assembly, and to Cecil himself, if in Honour and good Reason he ought to do it: they affirmeth, He might, Southampton nameth Sir John-Knightst Essex his Uncle. He being sent for, at Cecil's interracy, said, That Cecil two years since told him, that one Dolman in a Book, had asserted the Right of the Infanta; and had spoken no otherwise than so:

Now after the Judges had delivered their opinion what was Law in the matters alleged, the Earls, by the Stewards direction, were taken aside. Then the Peers rote, and went apart, and having consulted about an hour, returned to their seats, and in their order, pronounced the Earls guilty of High Treason. Then the high Steward advising Essex to implore the Queens mercy, giveth Sentence, and that done, brake his Staff, and departed.

The next day, Sir Robert Verno, Sir William Connable, Sir Edward Baynham, Littleton, Cloff, Captain White, Job and Christopher Wright, and Orell an old Souldier, were called to their Tryal: but the Queen (informed by Sir Fulke Greville, they pled, Not guilty.
Grevill, That most of them were drawn unnoting
ingly into the danger, commanded that only
Littleton, Baynham, and Orrell should have their
Tryal, the rest to be sent back to prison. The-
ese were all condemned, but their lives spared;
which favour (Rantleigh for a good sum of money
received of Baynham procured.

Eflex in the mean while, requested he might
speak with some of the Counsellors, to whom he
reconciled himself; and to Cecil especially; and
then intimating that the Queen could not be in
safety while he lived; he requested he might be
executed privately in the Tower: He grievously
inveighed against some of the Conspiracy, and
withheath to speak with some of them, but specia-
ly with Blunt and Coffe; whom as soon as he saw,
he brake forth into these words: O Coffe, ask
pardon of God and the Queen, for thou hast chiefly
provoked me to this disloyalty. Also he intimated
Sir Henry Neville ordinary Ambassador in
France, to have been acquainted with the Con-
spiracy; and that other in Scotland, France, the
Netherlands, and the Lord Mounfajy Deputy of
Ireland, knew of his purpose, and other in En-
gland: who being many in number, and the Lord
Mounfajy, ordering the Affairs of Ireland in good
fashion, the Queen wisely would take no notice of
it.

The five and twentieth day of February,
which was to be the fatal day, there were sent to
the Earl divers Ministers, to give him ghastly
comfort. The Queen now wavering in her self,
one while remembering the ancient kindneffe she
had shewed him, she commanded he should not
be executed; then again, thinking of his hub-
bornness, that he would not once ask her mercy,
and had faid openly, That he could not live, but
the must perifh; countermanding her former word,
the gave order that he should be executed.

Then was he brought forth into the Yard,
where a Scaffold was erected, and fundry of the
Nobility present, among whom Rantleigh also: but
being told, it was an inhuman thing to fland by
and behold the death of his Adversary, he drew
hithelf into the Yard, which would not have
beheld the Tragedy. Eflex being ascendeth the
Scaffold, uncovered his head, caft up his eyes to-
wards Heaven, and crying God mercy for the ma-
 vengeance of his youth, but this late specially,
which he faid was a bloody, crying, and contagious
sin; craved pardon of the Queen and her Coun-
ellors, commended his Spirit into the hands of
God, and had his head taken off at the third blow,
though the first benef hit both of his fore and
motion.

The fifth of March, Sir Charles Davers, Sir
Charles Dovers, Sir John Davis, Sir Gylle Mer-
rick and Coffe, were brought to their Tryal inter-
minister-division, before the Queen delegates. The
Heads of their Indictments, were the fame which
were objected to Eflex and Southampton. The
others said little in their defence, only Coffe stood
upon these two Answers; Where (Sixth he) I am challenged of Treason, because I was in Eflex
houte the day of the Rebellion; by the fame Ar-
gument the Lyon in the Cellar might be indicted,
all that day I lamented the Earl's fortune, and deal-
with him to fly to the Queens mercy. And as for
the Conflitution in Drury House, it is no more to
be called High Treason, than an Embryon may be
accustomed a perfect man. The Lawyers on the
other side demonstrated, That no necessity lay up-
on him to tarry in the Houfe; and that the Con-
flution in Drury House, was it self a Treason,
thought it had never broke forth into act. Merrick
said only this, The Earl of Eflex railed me, and he
hath overme turned.

The thirteenth of March, Merrick and Coffe
are drawn to Tyburns, where Coffe entering into a
long Speech, was by the Sheriff interrupted; and
then, after prayers to God, and offering God and
the Queen to pardon him, he was caft from the
Ladder: a man of great Wit and Learning, but
of a boyterous and turbulent disposition. In the
fame manner dyed Merrick.

The fifteenth of March, Sir Charles Dovers
and Sir Christopher Blunt were beheaded on the
Tower-Hill; although Dovers offered ten thousand
pounds to redeem his life, though with perpetual
imprisonment. The Earl of Southampton and the
Sheriff Smith, were kept prisoners, though Smiths,
after some time, was upon certainties suffered to go
at large. The eighth of May, Sir Henry Neville
was cited before the Lords of the Council, where
it was laid to his Charge, that he was privy to the
Conflitution in Drury House, yet had not reve-
Avered their finiftr purpojis; and had imparted to
Eflex the secrets of his French Embassies. He
confeffed, That at the Earls intercefs, he intewed
him the Commentaries of the French proce-
dings, was present at one of their Conflutation
only, but conceived his counfels yet durft
not be an Informer against to great Perfonages.
Hereupon he had a grievous check given him, and
was committed to prison.

One act of the By, is not here to be omitted.
Eflex at his Arraigned had complained, That
his hand-writing was counterfeited. It hap-
pened the Counteffe of Eflex being fearful in
her Husband's behalf, gave a Letter which the
had received from him, to the custody of one
Robins, a Dutch woman that waited on her;
this Dutch woman husband named Daniel,
ought by chance upon the Letter, and perciev-
ing some paffages in it, which might be the
Earl of Eflex into danger, gat a cunning Fellow
to draw a counterfeit Copy of the said Letter;
with this he comett to the fearful Lady, who
was newly brought to bed, threatening to give
the fame to her husbands Adverfaries, unless she
would prefently give him three thousand pounds.
She to him the danger, paid him eleven hun-
dred and seventy pounds at the very infant;
yet did he deliver her the counterfeit Copy
only, meaning to make use of the true one,
to get another sum of the Earls Adverfaries.

This impudence being found out, he was cenfrued
to perpetual imprisonments, condemned in three
thousand pounds (two of which were to go to the
Counteffe) and his Earls nailed to the Pillo-
ry, with this Writing over his head; A notorious
Cheater.

Soon after a Parliament was assembled, where
in grievous complaints being rended to the lower
Houfe touching Monopolies; the Queen, by way
of prevention, fent forth Proclamations, de-
claring the said Licences and Patents to be
void in part, leaving some part to the difcut-
sion of the Laws: which thing was fo accep-
table to the lower Houfe, that they prefentl sent
eighty select persons, together with the Speaker, to give the Queen thanks; and the on the other side gave them thanks, for being such faithful Monitors to her, to recall her from an error, whereinto, through ignorance, not wilfulness, she was fallen.

In Ireland, the Deputy at the entry of the Spring, draweth his Forces together, and driveth Tir-Oen from where he had fortified himself; Carew President of Munster, taketh the title of Sir, and endeavoureth to use all diligence, that the Spaniards invited by Tir-Oen, had a purpose to land in Munster, yet could not persuade the Deputy they had any design for Ireland; but in the midst of September, certain News was brought, the Spaniards were in fight, who willing wind to carry their Fleet to Cork, put into Kinlady the three and twentieth of September, and land their Souldiers without resistance. Richard Percy having but few Souldiers to defend the Town, is commanded to come away and leave Kinlady to the Spaniards, into which they enter with Ensignes displayed, and by the Magnates and Inhabituants, were bidden welcome.

D'Aguila, who commanded the Spaniards, publisheth a Declaration, wherein he pretendeth, that Queen Elizabeth was depoited from her Kingdom by sentence of the Pope, her Subjects abjured from their Allegiance; and that the Spaniards went to Cape, to deliver Sir John Godolphine, the Jews of the Devil. Tir-Oen joymeth his Forces with them, so as they were now fix thousand Foot, and five hundred Horse, and promised themselves assured Victory, the English being not near so many. The four and twentieth of December a Battell is joyned; where, after long fight, the Victory inclineth to the English. Tir-Oen, O'Donell, and the rest call away their weapons, and save themselves by flight. Alphonso O'Campo chief Ruler of the Spaniards, together with three other Captains, was taken prisoner, and six Ensign-bearers, twelve hundred were slain, nine Colours taken, whereof four belonged to the Spaniards: of the English not many were slain, but a great number wounded.

After six days, D'Aguila tendeth Letters to the Deputy by a Drummer, requiring that some person or person of account might be sent to him, with whom to confer; Sir William Godolphine is sent to whom he complained of the cowardice, and he feared treachery of the Irish; and therefore, although he wanted nothing to bold out the Seige, and did daily expect great Forces from Spain; yet was willing to make a Composition: whereupon, at last it was agreed, The Spaniards should yield up Kinlady to the Deputy, as also the Castles and Forts at Baltimore, Bere-Haven, and Claffis-Haven, and should depart with life and goods, and Colours displayed. The English at a reasonable price should furnish them with ships and provision into Spain; and that they should not carry Arms against the Queen of England, till they were arrived in Spain.

And now the Spaniards being driven out of Ireland, the Queen, to prevent their coming again, tendereth out Sir Richard Lewison and Sir William Mompesson, with eight ships of her own, and some smaller ships, or two, to attempt something upon the Coast of Spain. On the nineteenth of March, Lewison brought Sail, and Mompesson afterward, having in vain tarryed behind for some Dutch ships to join with them. Lewison in the mean time lighted upon the Spanish Navy of eight and thirty ships, which brought the Treasure from America, and set upon them, but to no purpose. When Mompesson was come with the fleet, they had certain notice, that a mighty force of Caracque of five or six hundred Tuns, and richly laden, was upon the Coast of Spain. There indeed they found it, but it lay close under a Fort, attended with eleven Gallies, and the Caraque itself appeared as big as a Castle; yet they resolved to fire it, if they could not take it. The next day they thundred so violently against the Gallies, that within seven hours the Marquefle of St. Craf, together with the Perugial Gallies which he commanded, withdrew themselves; two of them were taken and fired; and in them was great store of powder, which was going for the Low-Countries. And now Lewison signifieth to the Captain of the Caraque, That the Gallies which they trusted to, were driven away, and therefore, if they now refused mercy, they must expect none hereafter. After much speech and pro, it was at last agreed, That the Caraque, with the Ordnance and Merchandize should be yielded up. Thus the English having a fair wind returned home with a Boast, to the value of a million of Duckets, by the Portuguese account, and not past five of their Men lost in the Voyage.

At this time there arose a Contention amongst the Popish Clergy here in England; for the Jesuites and Secular Priests made bitter Invectives in their writings, one against the other. The original of the Priests quarrel was, That Blackwell, one wholly at the back of the Jesuites, was set over them, as Arch-Prebysiter, who first of all defpoyled them of their Faculties; and when they appealed to the Pope, caueth them to be declared Schismaticks and Heretics. They in sundry Books exalted the Queen very highly, as one that dealeth mildly always with the Catholicks, till such time as they set all in a contubil-lation in England; and by their Tresasons, caused most sever Laws to be enacted against the Catholicks. Parry they traduced as a Bellandarii, Equivocator, and Tyrant. Whether they contended this in good earnest, or not, it is not hard to say; but the Bishop of London politicks considering the contention, and all he gained, was thus, That the Queen and her Counsel, finding them dangerous to the Commonwealth, both the one and the other, upon penalty of the Laws, were by Proclamation commanded to depart out of the Kingdom presently.

In France, the Marshal Bouron, for entering into dangerous attempts against the publick Peace, was arraign'd, and loth his head. His contention brought some other into danger, and amongst them, the Duke of Bullying, of the Protestant Religion, that when he was cited, he darst not appear, but fled into Germany. Hereupon the King of France tendeth to Queen Elizabeth, complaining that the Duke held his marriage unlawful, and the Popes dispensation nothing worth pronouncing his Sons illegitimate; had decli- ned the Prince of Condé to the Succession of the Crown, and contrary the Declaration of the prime of the Nobility. The Queen, by her Legis
Legier Ambaffadours, adviſe the King not too credulously to entertain those reports, as doubting these suggestions might proceed from some of the Spanifh Faction. Hereupon the King grew very angry, saying, The Queen held a better opinion of the Duke than he deferved, and that he was one of the chief Architechts of Efex his Trea- fon; and being questioned by the King about it, was not able to deny it. About this time also, the Duke of Savoy, by cunning fleights, and open force, praifeed against the State of Geneva; and the Queen relieved them with a great sum of money, gathered amongst the Clergy and Laity all over England.

And now the Earl Tir-Oen, preceiving him- self in a desperate estate, resolved to face for mercy, and promised at left to submit his life and fortunes to the Queen's pleasure, absolutely without condition. Hereupon, being admitted to the presence of the Deputy, at the very entry of the room, he fell on his knees; and then paining on a few fleets, prostrated himself again, saying, I confente and crave pardon for my great fault a- gainst God, and a most bountiful Prince my dread Sovereign; I fly to the Queen's mercy, as a fa- cted Anchor, permitting her to dispofe of my life and fortunes at her pleasure. Upon this his submission, the Deputy commanded him to go aside, and the next day took him along to Dublin with him, meaning to bring him into England; that the Queen might deal with him according to her Royal pleasure. But before he could come into England, the Queen dyed.

**Her Taxes.**

I na Parliament holden in her first year, a Act was made, That every perfon should go, to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy-days, or else pay twelve pence to the poor. Also it was enacted, That Bishops should not let the Lands of the Church, longer than for one and twenty years, or three Lives, except to the Queen or her Succiffors. In her third year, a Procla- mation was made, That the Tefton coyred for twelve pence, and in the Reign of King Edward ema- bled to fix pence, shou'd not be current but for four pence; the Great, but for two pence; and the piece of two pence, but for a penny: And not long after, all the fald bafe moneys were called in, and fix or twelve pence was allowed for them after the Rate. For Ireland also, it was proclam- ned Sterling money; where nine pence in En- gland went for twelve pence there. The Queen was the firft that brought certain Countries to deliver Proclamation at a certain rate, that to they might be freed from the Purveyors: Also the firft that granted allowance to Judges for their Circuits. In her fifth year, a Parliament then holden, it was made Trefon to refuse taking the Oath of Supremacy; yet with this limitation, That by it the blood should not be defhonoured, nor goods confiscate; nor the Oath to be required of any Baron of the Kingdom. Also this year, by a Common-council in London, it was enacted, That all rich Citizens as from thenceforth should be constrained to fel their Household-fluff, Laza- ries of Houses, or such like, should firft caufe the fame to be eynyed through the City, by a man with a Bell, and then to be sold by the common Oat- cerry, appointed for that purpose, and he to receive one farthing upon the yishing for his pains. In her thref and twentieth year, the repetitious by Proclamation excefs in Apparel, Gold Chains, and Cloaks which men were done to their heads. The length of Swords was limited to three Fort, and Daggers to twelve Inches, besides the hilt. Buildings likewise in the Suburbs were restrai- ned, In-mates forbidden, and expres charge for forth; That no dwelling house should be new built within three miles of any City Gates, un- der pain of imprisonment, and los of the materi- als. In her time was fet on foot by Sir Thomas Smith, the Law made for the serving of Col- leads with provision, to the great benefit of thofe Schol'atical Societies. In her two and fortieth year, the fetteth forth Proclamations against the Tranportation of Gold or Silver, wrought or unwrought, according to the former Acts of Parliament in that matter provided. This year also the founded the Company of the East India Merchants, and allowed them ample Pri- vileges. In her three and fortieth year, all Monopolies are called in by Proclamation. In her four and twentieth year, severe Laws are made against Papifts, some infiling death, some fine and imprisonment. In her eighth and twentieth year, a Proclamation was fet forth, prohibiting to

**Of her Laws and Ordinances.**
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

ON Sunday the first of January next after the Queens coming to the Crown, by virtue of her Proclamation, the English Lutany was read according as was used in her Grace Chappel, in all Churches through the City of London, and likewise the Epitaph and Gospel of the day, begun to be read at Maffe-time in the English Tongue. Also in a Parliament holden in her first year, the first Fruits and Tenth were refereed to the Crown, and the Supreme Government over the state Ecclesiastical, and the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in the English Tongue was refoured, and by degrees the Protestant Bishops that refuted the Oath of Supremacy, were all removed, and Protestant Bishops placed in their room. It was enacted also, That all persons fhould go to Divine Service upon Sundays and Holy days, and a Fine of twelve pence imposed upon every one that should be absent, and the fame to be given to the poor. In her fourth year, the Queen was solicited by Pope Pius, to fend her Oratours to the Council of Trent, which the reforted, as not acknowledging it a lawful Council. In a Parliament holden in her eighth year, it was enacted and by a general content declared, That the Election of the Archbishop and Bishops in England, together with their Confeftation, Confirmation, and Inheritance (which fome persons flanderous called in question) was lawful and Canonical, and that they were rightly, and according to the Acts and Statutes of the King, elected and confirmed. In her eleventh year, there flore in England two contrary faclions in Religion: on the one fide, Thomas Haring, Nicholas Saunders, and other Divines that had fled out of England, began to fecure the Episcopal Juriftion upon the Queens Subjects which they had derived from the See of Rome; On the other fide, Coleman, Barrow, Holling- ham, Benfou, and other, making profeflion of the pure Religion, would allow of nothing but what was directly taken out of the Scriptures, openly condemning the received Discipline of the Church of England, together with the Church Liturgy, and the very calling of Bishops, as favouring too much of the Roman Religion, Protefling in the Pulpits, That it was an impious thing to hold any thing common with the Church of Rome, and used all diligence to have the Church of England, reformed in every point, according to the Rule of the Church of Geneva. Then, although the Queen commanded to be committed to Pulfon, yet it was incredible how upon a sudden their followers encrated, known by the envious name of Puritans. This Sco was mightily encrated, that in her eighteenth year, the Queen and Kingdom was extremely troubled with some of the Clergy, who breathing out no-thing but Evangelical parity, cryed down the Ecclefiastical Form of Government (as a thing polluted with Roman drugs) and setting forth Books likewise, Intituled, The Admission to the Parliament, and the Defence of the Admission: they refuced to return to the Divine Service publicly in life, and framed to themselves other Rites. Whereupon, the Queen to suppress them, whom by no means she liked, commanded every where the fervency of the Law touching the Uniformity of Common-Prayer, to be put in execution, and thofe Books, upon pain of Imprifonment, to be delivered into the hands of the Bishops, or fome of the Queens Council. And this year were taken at Maffe in their several houses, the Lord Mor ley's Lady and her Children, the Lady Guildford, and the Lady Brown, who being thereof indited and convicted, suffer the penalty of the Law in that cafe provided. Unlil the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, the Papists in England were mercifully concerning at, while they tolemnized their own Rites within their private houses (though that folely were against the Laws) but when as that Thundebolt of excommunicating the Queen came forth, the Queen found that was the time to make it more ftrenghtly againft them who brought into the Kingdom any Apost Dei, or baffled Beads, or reconciled any of the Queens Subjects to the See of Rome: yet for fix whole years together after this Law was made, it was not executed upon any Papift, till Culbert Mayn a Priest, and an obfinate maintainer of the Popes authority againft the Queen, was executed at Leofe in Cornwall, and the Gentlemens goods that harboured him confiscate, and himself adjudged to perpetual Imprifonment. In her three and twentiyear, divers Priests and Jesuits came into England; amongst whom, Robert Parsons and Edmund Campion, Englishmen and Jesuits, being now bound for England to promote the Catholick Caufe, at which time the Proclamation was fet forth. That whoever had any Children beyond the Sea, should by a certain day call them home; and that no person thereof should receive any Child into their family, or holy Priet or Jesuit. At this time also, there were appointed a certain Holland and a certain Scott, naming themselves, The Family of Love, who perswaded their followers that thofe only who were adopted into that Family, were elected, and no other could be saved, but were all Reprobrates, and damned, and that it was lawful for them to deny upon Oath what ever they pleased, before any Magiftrate, or whomsoever that were not of that Family. Many of their Books were printed, under these titles, The Family of Love: The Gospel of the Kingdom, The Lords Sentences, The Profeffion of the Spirit of Love, The publication of Peace upon earth, by the Author H. N., but who this Author was they would by no means reveal: at laft he was found to be Henry Nicholas of London, who blasphemously preached, That he was partaker of the Divinity of God, and God of his humane Nature: all which Books were by Proclamation commanded to be burnt. In a Parliament holden the eight and twenty years after her Reign, and out of a desire of Reformation, began to pick quarrels at the Clergy defiring to pass Laws for the restraint of Bishops in their granting of Faculties, conferring of holy Orders, Ecclefiastical Canonize, and the Oath Ex Oificio. They complained likewise of the non-refidency of severe laws against Puritans, when and why en- tered.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Queen, who always hated Innovation (which for the most part changed for the worse) would give no or unto them; conceiving besides, That these proceedings in Parliament and Ecclesiastical Affairs, derogated from her Prerogative. In her fifteenth year, the Queen gave a special charge to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to settle an Uniformity in the Ecclesiastical Discipline, according to the Laws, which through the conjunction of Bishops, and perverseness of the Parliaments, caused to be atonement given: Whereupon, he provided three Articles, by which every Minister should subscribe.

The fifty, That the Queen had Supreme Authority over all persons born within her Dominions; of what condition soever they were; and that no other Prince, or Prelate, or Potentate, hath, or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Civil or Ecclesiastical, within her Reign and Dominions.

The second, That the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordination of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the Word of God, but may lawfully be used, and that they will use it and other.

The third, That the Articles agreed on in the Synod held at London in the year 1562, and published by the Queen's Authority, they did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to the Word of God.

It is incredible what Reproaches the Archbishop incurred by setting forth these Articles, both from factional Ministers, and from some also of the Nobility; yet by his patience and constancy, he brought at last peace to the Church, making this his motto, "Vincit qui patientur." Neither did these at home only disturb the Peace of the Church, but others also abroad, as Robert Brown, a young Student of Divinity in Cambridge, from whom came the Sectaries called Brownists; and Richard Harrison, a young Student of Divinity in Cambridge, who preached matters of Religion by their own private print, by Books set forth in Zealand, and dispers'd at this time over England, condemned the Church of England for no Church, and enmified many in the News of their new Schism. Neither could they be restrained, though their Books were prohibited by the Queens Authority, and confoundly fet forth by undisciplin'd men; and one or two of the Ring-leaders executed at St. Edmondsberry. In her one and thirtieth year, these Parliaments frames brake forth again, Books are written by the names of Martin Mar-Prelate, and A Demonstration of the Discipline, by Percy and Redal against the Government of Bishops; and nothing would please them, but the Discipline of Genove: Many Abetors they had, Knights and Bishops, Knights, besides Cartwright (the father of them) Snape, Rix, Pardew, Pan, and others; who were called in question, fined and imprisoned, could never be reclaimed. In her six and thirtieth year, the Queen caused the severity of the Laws to be executed upon Henry Baron and his Sectaries, for disturbing the Church, and the publick Peace, by fatterering of their majesties Opinions, condemning the Church of England as no Christian Church, and derogating from the Queens Authority in Canfeles Ecclesiastical.

Works of Pitty in Her time.

His Queen converted Wexfaminster Abbey into a College, and there ordained a Dean, twelve Prebendaries, a Mater, Luter, and forty Scholars, Vicias, Singing-men, and twelve Almif-men. In her third year, the Merchant-Taylors founded a notable Grammar-Shool in the Parish of St. Lawrence Pounshy in London. Also this year, William Harper Mayor of London founded a Free-School in the Town of Bedford, where he was born. In her seventeenth year, on the seventeenth of June, Sir Thomas Grefftaw laid the first stone of the Royal Exchange in Cornhill, which in November the year after, at his own charges was finished, being the year 1567. In her tenth year, the Citizens of London built a new Conduit at Holborn corner, near to Dow-gate, the water whereof is conveyed out of the Thames. Also this year, Sir Thomas Roe Mayor of London, caused to be enclosed within a wall of Brick one acre of ground near unto the Thames, without Bishops-Gate, to be a place of Burial for the dead of such Parishes in London as lacked convenient ground within their Parishes: He also built a convenient Room in Paul's Churchyard, on the South-side of the Croffe, to receive a certain number of Heirs at Sermon time. Sir William Peter having himself been born at Exeter in Devonshire, he gave to Exeter College in Oxford, a hundred pounds Lands a year: He also builded at Ingerstone in Essex, Alm-houses for twenty poor people, and giving them some competent maintenance, Sir Thomas Grefftaw had his dwelling-house in Broad-street, London, which he dedicated to the propagation of the Publick Sciences, erecting there Lectures of Divinity, Civil Law, Phriffick, Geometry, Astronomy, Music and Rhetoric, allotting to the Professors very competent allowances. In her seventeenth year, the King's Grant to the City of London, for the Professors of the Royal Exchange, to have a College, which was granted to the City, by the Charter of King Henry the Seventh, for the furtherance of the Publick Sciences, and the Propagation of the True Religion, and for the redemption of Souls, and the advancement of Learning. The Royal Exchange, when and by whom built.
In the first year of her Reign, dyed Sir Thomas Chetwynd, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, of whom it is reported for a certain, That his pulse did beat more than three quarters of an hour after he was dead, as strongly as if he had been still alive. In her third year, there was found near Keswick in Cumberland, a most rich Vein of pure and native Bals, which had lain neglected a long time: Also the stone called Lapis Calaminaris, which is of great use in Bals-Works, was first brought into England at this time, and in most plentiful manner. Likewise this Queen was the first that caused Gun-powder to be made in England, which before was had from foreign parts; and at dear rates. In her third year, the Monastery and Church of Paulus, being five hundred and twenty foot from the ground, and two hundred and sixty from the square Steeple where it was placed, and was made of wooden materials, but covered with Lead, was with lighting burnt down, together with the Roofs of that large Church, and that within the space of five hours; the Roofs were after re-edified, but the Spire is yet wanting. The Queen gave towards it a thousand Marks in Money, and a thousand load of Timber; and the City granted a Benevolence, and three Fifteenths; and the Clergy also contributed to it. Also this year there was many monitory Births: A Male brought forth a Foal with two heads, and a long tail growing out between the two Heads. A sow larried a Pig with two Bodies, eight Feet, and but one Head. A man-child was born at Chichester in Sussex, having Arms and Legs like to an Anatomy, the Bief and Belly monitory but, about the Neck a great collar of Bife and skin, growing like the ruff of a fift. In her sixth year, upon the returning of the Army from Newzealund, the Pestifence was brought into England, but especially into London; where, in one year there died one and twenty thousand and five hundred. This year also, in the Moneth of December, was driven on the Shore at Grimsby, a monstrous Fish, in length nineteen yards, his tail fifteen foot broad, and six yards between the eyes. Twelve men stood upright in his mouth to get the Eye. In her seventh year, on the one and twentieth of December, began a Frift, so extreme, that on New-year, even people pass'd over the Thames on foot; some played at Foot-ball, some foot at tick's, as if it had been firm ground. Yet this great Frift, the third of January at night began to thaw, and by the fifth day, there was no Ice at all to be seen; which sudden thaw caused great inundations. In her eighth year, within the space of ten Moneths, there dyed in London seven Aldermen, namely, Edward Banks, Richard Chamberlain, Sir Martin Bowes, Sir Richard Mallerly, Sir William Hewer, Sir Thomas White, and Richard Lornble, one of the Sheriffs for that year. The same year also, in the Town of Offlery in Wales, two hundred houses, in the space of two hours, were consumed with fire. In her tenth year, were taken in Suffolk, at Dunton Bridge next to Ipswich, seventeen monstrous Fishes; Some of them more than seventeen feet long. In the same year, many Dutch flying into England, to avoid the persecution of the Duke D'Alva, were the first that brought into England the Art of making Bayses, Sayes, and Sayes, and such woven stuffs both Woollen and Linen. In her time a rich Vein of Copper was found in the Earl of Northumbers And Grounds, which the King by his Prerogative seized upon. In her thirteenth year, a prodigious Earthquake happened in the East parts of Yorkshire, a little Town called Kinnafyon. On the seventeenth of February, at six of the clock in the evening, the earth began to open, and a Hill with a Rock under it (making at first a great bellowing noife, which was heard a great way off) lifted it self up a great height, and began to travel, bearing along with it the Trees that grew upon it, the Sheep-folds, and Flocks of Sheep abiding there at the same time. In the place from whence it was first mov'd, there left a gaping fissure forty foot broad, and fourteen foot long; the whole Field was about twenty Acres. Pulling all along, it overthrew a Chappel standing in the way, removed an Ever-Tree planted in the Church-yard, from the Well into the East; with the like force it thrust before it High-waves, Sheep-folds, Hedges and Trees, made tilled-gound Pature, and again turned Pature into Tillage. Having walked in this fort from Saturday in the evening, till Monday noon, it then floved still. In her fifteenth year, in the moneth of November, a new Star, or rather a Meteor (but that was found to be above the Moon) was seen in Cathedra Cuffina, exceeding Jupiter in brightness, and in that place was caus'd with the Diurnal motion of the Heavens sixteenth moneths together, though after eight moneths it was perceived to grow less and less. In her sixteenth year, was a great Deaht, so as Wheat was fold at five and six shilling the Bushel, and other things in proportion. In her seventeenth year, a vast mighty Whale was cast upon the Isle of Thanet in Kent, twenty Ellis long, and thirteen foot broad from the belly to the back-bone, and eleven foot between the eyes. One of his eyes being taken out of his head, was more than a Cart with six Horses could draw;
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

The Heavens being out of order, was Parma-
cities. This year also, the River Thames ebbed and flowed twice within an hour: and in the month of November, the Heaven seemed to be all on fire. Also on the four and twentieth of February, being a great Frost, after a Flood which was great, there came down the River of Se-

verne such a swarm of Flies and Beetles, that they were judged to be above a hundred Quar-
ters; the Mills thereabout were dammed up with

them for the space of four days, and then were
cleaned by digging them out with Shovels. In

her two and twentieth year, a strange apparition

happened in Somersetshire, threecore perigonemes

all clothed in black, a surging in distance from

t hose that beheld them; and after then appearing,

and a little while tarrying, they vanished away,

but immediately another strange company, in like

manner, colour and number appeared in the same

place; and they encountered one another, and fo

vanished away. And the third time appeared

that number again, all in bright armour, and en-
countered one another, and so vanished away.

This was examined before Sir George Norton, and

sworn by four honest men that saw it to be true.

In her third and twentieth year, in the beginning

of April, about fix a clock after noon, happened

an Earthquake not far from York, in which some

places were taryed, that is, they shewed, and

made the Bells in Churches to jangle. The night

following, the earth trembled once or twice in

Kent, and again the first day of May. In this

year also, in the Town of Walsam in Suffolk, a

childe of eleven years old, named William Wi-

ters, lay in a trance for the space of ten days

without any suffence; and at the last coming to

himself, he uttered to the bystanders, by many

strange speeches, inveighing against Pride, Co-

vetoyness, coldness of Charity, and other enor-
mous sins. In her fixth and twentieth year, being

the year 1588, the like Prodigy happened in

Dorsetshire; as in the year 1571 it had happened

in Herefordshire: A Field of three Acres in

Blackmore, with the Trees and Fences, moved

from its place, and passed over another Field, trave-

lling in the High-way that goeth to Here, and

there layed. In her eight and twentieth year,

Tobacco was first brought into Eng-
lond, and by whom.

Another pre dig ious

Earthquake.

like price; a fat Lamb for twelve pence, three

pound of Beef for a penny.

Of Her Personage and Conditions.

She was of stature indifferent tall, slender and

straight, fair of Complexion, her hair in-

clining to pale yellow, her face-head large and fair,

her eyes lively and sweet, but short sighted;

her Nose somewhat rising in the midst; the whole

complex of her countenance somewhat long, yet

of admirable beauty, but the beauty of her mind

was far more admirable: She had been a subject,

which taught her to Rule; she had been in mi-

fery, which taught her to be merciful; and

indeed, never Prince ruled with more justice, and

with her justice mingled more mercy: She had

more Valour in her than was fit for a woman, but

that she was Ruler over men; and more Humili-

ty in her than was fit for a Prince, but that she

meant to be a President to women. She delighted

in nothing too much, as in the love of her people,

which she procured by ordaining good Magi-

fates, and forbearing Impositions. Her way

not to need them, was frugality; and her way

to have them when she needed them, was libe-

rality. She made honour in her time the more

honourable, by not making it common; and in-

deed, knowing it to be an influence from herself,

she kept it, as her self, a Virgin, and would not

prostitute it to unworthy persons. She declined

being a Mother of Children, to the end she

might be a Mother of her Country; and indeed, no

other love ever loved her children more, than she

did her people; and therefore never children lo-

ved a mother more, than her people did her. She

covered not so much to be an owner of riches, as

of rich Subjects; for the thought money did as

well in their Coffers, as in her own; and indeed,

she never wanted it, when they had it; and they

always had it, when she needed it. Never Prince

had a wiser Councellor than she, yet never Prince

needed it less; for she was her self a Counsellor to

her Councell. In fain, whatsoever may in flatter-

y be said of a wife, just, merciful, religious, and

learned Prince, may truly be said of her: in all which, if ever she had an equal, yet the never certainly had a superiour. In play-

ing her game of Fortune, she loved not an after-

game, for she liked Preventions better than Re-

medies. She was admirable in expressing her

mind, both by speech and writing: and if collec-

tion could be made of her Apotheogms, and ex-

temporal Orations, it would certainly excit any

thing extant in that kind: And for her writing,

Sir Henry Savile affirms; That he had seen some

Translations of hers, which far exceeded the Origi-

nals. Never Prince kept greater State with

lefs stateliness: Her Pensioners and Guard

were always the fairest and goodliest Gentlemen

and Yeomen of the Kingdom; her Maids of Ho-

nor and other Women about her, the fairest and

most beautiful Ladies of the Realm; and yet her

self a Diana amongst her Nymphs; infomuch that

a great Lord of France being entertained at

Court, and the Queen asking him how he liked

her Ladies, made answer, It was hard to judge of

Stars, in the preance of the Sun.
Of her Death and Burial.

T was now the Year 1602, when the feeling some Infirmities of Old Age and Sickness, retired her fell at the end of January, to Richmond; at which time, in a sad Omen, the command the Ring to be fixed off her finger, where with the was solemnly at the first inaugurated into the Kingdom, and since that time had never taken it off; it being grown into the flesh in such manner, that it could not be drawn off without filting. At the beginning of her Sickness, the Almonds of her Jawes began to swell, and her appetite by little and little failed her; withall she gave herself wholly to fasting and heaviness, which some imputed to her care for the loss of the Earl of Essex; Others, because she heard, That divers of the Nobility fought the favour of the King of Scots, adoring him as the Sun rising, and neglecting her: But however, in March a kind of benumbedness seized upon her, with a deep melancholy, To she would fit silently, refrain her meat, and not admit of any Conference, but with the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom she prayed fervently, till such time as her speech failed her, which failed her a day before the dyed. She being in this case, it was thought fit the Admiral and Secretary should go to her, to know her mind concerning a Successor; to whom she gave this Answer; My Throne hath been the Throne of Kings, I would not a mean Person succeed me. The Secretary requesting her to speak more plainly, I will (said she) have a King succeed me; and what King, but the King of Scots, my nearest Kinman? After this, the Archbishop exhorted her to think of God; That do I (said she) or do my thoughts ever wander from him. And when her tongue no longer served her, it was evident by the lifting up of her hands and eyes, that her thoughts were fix'd upon him. And to on the fourth and twentieth day of March, being the last day of the year 1602, she yielded up her Soul to God, when she had lived Three-score and nine years, fix months, and seven days; Reigned Four and forty years, four moneths, and seven days. Her Body was embalmed, wrapped in Lead, and brought to White-Hall; from whence on the eight and twentieth of April following, in great solemnity, it was carried into the Collegiate Church of Saint Peter at Westminster, and there interred in the Vault of her Grandfather, King Henry the Seventh, in his Magnificent Chapelle, where our Renowned Soveraign King James hath built her a Princely Monument, inscribed with Epitaphs to her eternal glory. At her Funerall were Gid to be Mourners in black, to the number of One thousand and fix hundred persons.

Men of Note in her Time.

The Ocean is not more boundless, than the number of Men of Note in her time; but though all of them cannot be reckoned, yet some of them must not be omitted. And to begin with State-men: An exquisite State-man for his own ends, was Robert Earl of Leicester, and for his Countries good, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; as also Sir Francis Walsingham, that great underminer of Conspirators. Famous Sea-men, were the Earl of Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, afterward Earl of Suffolk; and of meaner Rank, Sir John Hankins, Sir Martin Forbysher, Sir Walter Raleigh, Cavendish, Pitenon, Ryan; and, to name the worthiest last, Sir Francis Drake, who though he were but a short figure bodied man, yet his great Acts have made the Spaniards believe he was some goodly Petronas. Great Commanders by Land, were Robert Earl of Essex, the Lord Wilmengby, the Lord Gray of Winton, Sir Francis Percie, Sir Roger Williams, Bakerwile, Savage, and the Honour of his Family, and our English Nation, Sir John Norris. Learned Gentlemen and Writers, were Sir Thomas Chaloner, employed by Queen Elizabeth as her Leiger in Spain, who wrote five Books of the reforming of the English Common-wealth, in elegant Verses, while (as he said) he lived in a love in Winter, and in a Barn in Summer: Roger Aikens, born in the norbiably skilful in the Greek and Latin Tongues, who had sometime been School-master to Queen Elizabeth, and her Secretary for the Latin Tongue; but taking too great delight in Gaming and Cock-fighting, he both lived and dyed in mean estate, yet left behind him sundry Monuments of Wit and Indultry. Sir Thomas Smith born at Saffron Widen in Essex, sometime Secretary to King Edward the Sixth, who wrote an imperfect Work of the English Commonwealth, a singular Book of the Orthography of the English Tongue, and another of the Pronunciation of the Greek; the first man that set on foot the Law for serv'ing the Colleges with Provision. Sir Henry Savage, Provost of Eaton, and Reader to Queen Elizabeth, who set forth all Sir Christopher Wike's Works in Greek, and by translating of Cornelius Tacitus, deferred as much of the English Tongue, as he of the Latin. But above all, the admirable Sir Philip Sidney, born by Writings, notably skilful in a light Argument, shew'd how excellent ly, and beyond all comparison he could have done in a grave. Learned Divines were John Fell said born in Devonshire, a Student in Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, in Queen Mary's time an Exile, by Queen Elizabeth made Bishop of Salibury, who wrote an Apology for the Protestant Doctrine, and dy'd at scarce Fifty years of age, in the Fourteenth year of Queen Elizabeth. John Whidnker, Master of St. John's Colledge in Cambridge, who learnedly answered all the Books of Belarissine, Bishop Bishop of Winchester, sometimes Fellow of New Colledge in Oxford, who, amongst his other learned Works, hath written notably of Christ's descent into Hell. Richard Hooker, Preacher at the Temple, who with too much meekness did threaten his great

R k k Learning,
Mayors and Sheriffs of London in her Reign.

In her first year,
Sir William Henry was Mayor,
Thomas Lodge, Roger Martin, Sheriffs.

In her second year,
Sir William Chester was Mayor,
Christopher Draper, Thomas Rowe, Sheriffs.

In her third year,
Sir William Herko was Mayor,
Alexander Avenon, Humphrey Baskerville, Sheriffs.

In her fourth year,
Sir Thomas Lodge was Mayor,
William Allen, Richard Chamberlain, Sheriffs.

In her fifth year,
Sir John White was Mayor,
Edward Bayley, Rowland Heyward, Sheriffs.

In her sixth year,
Sir Richard Mullery was Mayor,
Edward Jackman, Lionel Ducker, Sheriffs.

In her seventh year,
Sir Richard Champion was Mayor,
John Rivers, James Hanes, Sheriffs.

In her eighth year,
Sir Christopher Draper was Mayor,

In her ninth year,
Sir Roger Martin was Mayor,
Thomas Ramsay, John Bond, Sheriffs.

In her tenth year,
Sir Thomas Rose was Mayor,
John Gilpin, Rob. Harding, James Bacon, Sheriffs.

In her eleventh year,
Sir Alexander Avenon was Mayor,
Henry Beecker, William Dane, Sheriffs.

In her twelfth year,
Sir Rowland Heyward was Mayor,
Francis Barneham, William Rowe, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,
Sir William Allen was Mayor,
Henry Miller, John Brack, Sheriffs.
The Reign of Queen Elizabeth.

In her Seven and twentieth year,
Sir Wofflante Dixie was Mayor.
Anthony Raleiff, Henry Prantil, Sheriffs.

In her Eight and twentieth year,
Sir George Borre was Mayor.
Robert House, William Solijn, Sheriff.

In her Nine and twentieth year,
Sir George Bond was Mayor.
Thomas Skinner, John Cutcher, Sheriffs.

In her thirteenth year,
Sir Martin Calthrop served one part,
Sir Richard Martin the other.
Hugh Offley, Richard Saltonfall, Sheriffs.

In her one and thirtieth year,
Sir John Hart was Mayor.
Richard Gurney, Stephen Some, Sheriffs.

In her two and thirtieth year,
Sir John Allot served one part,
Sir Rowland Heyward the other.
Nicholas Mosley, Robert Bros, Sheriffs.

In her three and thirtieth year,
Sir William Webbe was Mayor,
Will. Rider, Benet ot Benedict Barnham, Sheriffs.

In her four and thirtieth year,
Sir William Rome was Mayor,
John Garret of Gerard, Robert Taylor, Sheriffs.

In her five and thirtieth year,
Sir Cuthbert Buckle served one part,
Sir Richard Martin the other.
Paul Banning, Peter Houghton, Sheriffs.

In her fix and thirtieth year,
Sir John Spencer was Mayor,
Roberts Let, Thomas Benne, Sheriffs.

In her seven and thirtieth year,
Sir Stephen Stacey was Mayor.
Thomas Lotes, Leonard Hallyday, Sheriffs.

In her eight and thirtieth year,
Sir Thomas Skinner served one part,
Sir Henry Bingley the other.
John Wat, Richard Godard, Sheriffs.

In her nine and thirtieth year,
Sir Richard Saltonfall was Mayor.
Henry Rob, John More Sheriffs.

In her fortyth year,
Sir Stephen Some was Mayor.
Edward Hameden, Robert Hampson, Sheriffs.

In her one and fortyth year,
Sir Nicholas Mosley was Mayor.
Humphreys Walde, Roger Clarke, Sheriffs.

In her two and fortyth year,
Sir William Rider was Mayor.

In her three and fortyth year,
Sir John Garret or Gerard was Mayor.
Henry Anderson, William Glover, Sheriffs.

In her four and fortyth year,
Sir Robert Lee was Mayor.
James Robertson, John Swinnerton, Sheriffs.
THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

James the Fourth of Scotland, married Margaret eldest Daughter of Henry the Seventh King of England, by whom he had James the Fifth, who had one only Child Mary Queen of Scots, who had one only Son James the Sixth, who from James the Fourth had undoubted Right to the Kingdom of Scotland; and from Margaret, King Henry the Seventh's eldest Daughter, (the Male Line being clean extinct) unquestionable Title to the Crown of England: whereupon Queen Elizabeth being dead about Ten a clock in the morning the 24th of March, King James the Sixth, King of Scotland was the very fame day (Mr. Secretary Cecil himself reading his Title, and Queen Elizabeth's Will) proclaimed King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, by sound of Trumpet, first at White-Hall, and then in Cheapside, in presence of all the Lords of the Council, and other of the Nobility, with a general Acclamation of all sorts of people, that we may truly say, Sorrow was never more deceased than at this time; for where upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, it was expected there would be nothing for a long time but sorrowing and lamenting; now that very sorrow was swallowed up of joy, her death bringing with it no other alteration but only of Sex, in all other points in a manner the fame, the like Wisdom, the like Learning, the like Justice, the like Religiousnes in them both: only bettered in this, that we changed a Queen of 70 years old, whom we could not look to keep long, for a King of 36, whom we might well hope to enjoy many years.

Queen Elizabeth was no sooner dead, but Sir Robert Cary a younger Son of the late Lord Hunsdon, poted away untent, to King James in Scotland, informing him of the accident: for bringing which news, the King afterwards rewarded him with making him Baron of the Realm, and Lord of Leppington. But though it were sufficient for the Kings information, that he heard the news by Sir Roberts Cary, yet it was not sufficient for the Lords of the Council in discharge of their duty, if he heard it not from them, and therefore within a very few days, as soon as they could provide fit men, they sent first Sir Charles Pailey, and Mr. Thomas Sovereser, and after them Sir Thomas Lake Clerk of the Signet, a man well acquainted with the State of the Kingdom, both to acquaint him with the general appalate of all the Realm, to receive him for their Sovereign, and also inform him in what terms the state of the Kingdom stand, to he might not come altogether a stranger when he came into it.

Queen Elizabeth indeed had left him not only a Kingdom, but a Kingdom without incumbrance; no Wars abroad, no Sedition at home; and not only so, but a Kingdom furnished with all the fruits of Peace, plenty of all things necessary, and of all necessary things; the chiefest a Wise Council, for the left Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor, Thomas Lord Buckhurst Lord Treasurer, Charles Earl of Nottingham Lord Admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil Principal Secretary: Four such men that the meanest of them were sufficient to sit at the Helm of any Kingdom. Yet to these and divers others besides (all whom the king now by his Letters authorized to exercise their several places, as formerly they had done) he added certain new ones of his own choosing, as namely the Earls of Northumberland and Cumberland, the Lord Thomas Howard, and then after the Lord Henry Howard, the one the brother, the other the son of the late Duke of Norfolk, who had suffered so much, that at first he suffered for the Queen his mother. But although the calling of these two last to such place was done (no doubt) out of favour to that house; yet one of them being known, the other doubted to be a Papist, it was presently apprehended, as a favour to that side; and the Catholics were not a little confident of
his good inclination to them all in general. And it was indeed but necessary they should at this time have such a counsel, for he the late Queen's sickly, a little before her death, Pope Clement the eighth, had written two Briefs to the Catholic bishops in England, to admit of none to succeed in the kingdom, when that miserable woman should happen to die (so he pleaded to style the most glorious Queen that ever lived) but such a one, of whose good inclination to the See of Rome, they should at least be well persuaded. And now King James having filled the Government of Scotland, made it necessary for preparation for his journey; on the fifth of April 1603, he set forward and rode that day from Edinburgh to Dunfermline, and from thence the next day to Berwick, where having stayed two days the eighth of April he rode to Wollertoun, where the second of May he came to the house of Sir Robert Caris, from whence the tenth to Newcastle where he stayed Sunday and heard the Bishop of Durham preach, and to joyful were the Townsmen of his being there, that all the time of his stay they bore the charge of his household. The thirteenth of April he set forward to Durham and from thence the fourteenth to Wathorpe, the fifteenth towards York, where his train encamped to such a multitude, that he was fain to publish an inhibition of the peoples refrains, and flocking to him. At York it was a question to whom it belonged to bear the sword before the King at York, where whom is a modesty; but the sword before the King at York was presented with 70 Volunteers, and why.

For before we further, it will not be amiss, to shew the great men attended King James out of Scotland; as namely the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Moray, the Lord Hume, and many other great Lords, and many others whom he afterward made great Lords, as being in his especial favour; first Sir George Hume, made afterward Earl of Dunbar; then Sir Thomas Erskine, made Earl of Kellie; then Sir John Ramsey, made Earl of Holderness; (which two last had the fortune to come fair in this rescue against the Treason) then Sir Robert Hesley, made afterward Earl of Carlisle, and then Sir Richard Popham, made Earl of Kildare in Ireland, but whose whole fortune by marrying the Heir of that Earldom was afterward the occasion of his great misfortune; for coming out of Ireland, he was unfortunately cast away and drowned.

But though King James was now safely come himself to London; yet he accounted him himself but half come, until his Queen and children were come to him, and therefore there are now appointed to go conduct them; of the Lords, the Earl of Suffolk, the Earl of Lincoln, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, and Sir George Carew Knight Lord President of Munster; of Ladies, the Countess of Wrottesley, the Countess of Kildare, the Lady Anne Herbert; Daughters to Henry Earl of Pembroke;
The Reign of King James.

The greater and other parts, the Lady Hastings, the Lady Cecill, the Lady Hawton, the Lady Harrington, and divers others; and with this Princely attendance, the Queen with two of her children, namely Prince Henry of the age of nine years, and the Lady Elizabeth on the twelfth and twentieth of June came to York; where resting themselves some few days, on the seven and twentieth of June they came to Easfon in Northamptonshire, a house of Sir George Ferrers, where the King met them at dinner; and afterward they rode together to a house of Sir John Fortescue, and so to London. The King's younger son, Charles Duke of Albany came not at this time, as being not three years old, and therefore not thought able to endure such a journey, but the year following falling sick of a Fever, Doctor Akin, one of the Kings Physicians was sent to conduct him, who in six weeks cured him of his fever; and the first week of October brought him safe to Windsor, where the King then lay; for which service he was so well rewarded, that together with the gain of his unfaill practice, he grew to a greater wealth than was usual for Physicians.

King James had distributed the meaner Order of Knighthood, very plentifully; now he thinks it fit to raise his distributions to a higher degree, and therewithon the twelfth of May, he made Sir Robert Cecill Baron of Elizan; Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Pavnburn; Sir William Knolles Baron of Grezet; and Sir Edward Wiston Baron of Morley; and not long after he made the Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton; and Thomas Sackville Lord Buckeburgh, he made Earl of Dorset.

The King had by this time found the love and affection of his own people; but the affliction of neighbouring Princes towards him flood yet in suspense, when now to take away that doubt came first in the beginning of June, an Ambassador from the Palgrave of Albion; presently after another the Kings of France, another from the Archduke of Austria; another from the King of Spain; from the Saignory of Venice another; another from the Duke of Florence; and lastly on the eight of June Mounfent de Bury from the King of France: all congratulating his happy coming to the Crown of England; for entertainment of which Ambassadors, and all other that should come after, the King had erected an Office by the name of Master of the Ceremonies, allowing him two hundred pounds a year Fec, and the first that had the place was Sir Lewis Lenkgor; a Gentleman, who besides other good parts, was very skilfull in the neighbouring languages.

Upon the seventeenth of May this year, were made fourteen Sergeant at Law: whereof eleven had received Wits the last year of Queen Elizabeth: namely, Thomas Courtnier, Robert Haughton, Laurence Tanfield, John Cook, Thomas Fuller, Edward Philips, Thomas Harris, James Allman, Henry Hubbard, Andrew Nicholls, and Robert Parker; to whom the King added three new, John Sterly, George Suggor, and Richard Hutton, who all kept their Feast together in the middle Temple Hall.

One would think that at this time all Offences against Queen Elizabeth had been forgotten, but King James more tender of wrongs done to him than to himself, would not suffer Valentine Thomas to escape, who after he had lain many years prisoner in the Tower, was on the twentieth of June arraigned at the King's Bench Bar and for conspiracy against the late Queen and some of her Council, was on the seventeenth of June after six a clock at night, drawn to St. Thomas Warnings, and there hanged and quartered.

About this time the Honourable Charles Lord Montjoys returned out of Ireland: bringing along with him Hugh O'Neal, Earl of Tir-Oen at whose coming to the King, the Lord Montjoys was sworn of the Kings Privy Council; and the Earl of Tir-Oen, who had been the cause of so much English blood shed, was yet pardoned, and proclamation made, that all men he should be used with respect and honour.

All this while the King had moved within his own Spheres, and had done nothing out of the Realm; his first Employment abroad was now in June, to his brother the King of Denmark, whom he sent Ambassadors, the Earl of Rosland upon two occasions: the one to be Councillor to his Son, who was named Christopher, the other to present him with the Order of the Garter; upon the like employment, soon after, he sent the Lord Spencer to Frederick Duke of Wurtemberg, which Lords faw the said Princes inveted with the Garter, and after honourable entertainment returned home.

It was now a time that every man might sit a Treatise under his Vine, and enjoy the happiness of a peaceable Government; when suddenly like a Storm in a fair Summers day, brake forth a Treatise of a strange Composition: for where in all Treatises commonly they are all of some one Faction, in this, there were people of all sorts; Priests and Laymen, Papists and Protesants, Noblemen, Knights and Gentlemen that one would think it should be a well managed Treatise, and yet was in nothing but the flatness that was to be so shallow, that it could scarce be observed, either by the Authors of it, or what it was they would have done. Indeed the great favour which King James at his first coming to the Crown, showed to the Earl of Southampton, was like to breed no good blood in those that were his oppositer; and it was said (how true I know not) that as the King had sent to enlange the Earl of Southampton, and appointed him to meet him upon the way; when he heard of an intention that the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh had to meet him; he sent them word they should spare their labour. But whether it were so or no, it seems they found some cause of discontentment, and discontentment will never want Complexes; and by this means was the composition of this Treatise made up, and thereupon we apprehended Henry Lord Cobham, and George Brook, his brother, Thomas Lord Grey of Hinton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Griffith Markhaw, and Sir Edward Parham, Knights, Bartholomew Breakeby, and Anthony Copley Gentlemen, William Walfyn and William Clerk Priests; But though they were apprehended in July, yet they came not to their arraignment till
November following, for by reason of the fickleness, which was then hot in London, the Term was put off till Graffino et Mariini, and, then, to be kept at Winchelsea in Hampshire, only the Courts of the Exchequer, Ward's & Livery, and the Dutchy of Lancaster were kept in the King's Manor at Richmond in the County of Surrey, and to in the fourth of November following, all the stored Delinquents were removed from the Tower of London and other Prisons, by strong Guards to Winchelsea, and there arraigned, whose Indictment was for Conspiring.

1. To kill the King.
2. To raise Rebellion.
3. To alter Religion.
4. To subvert the State.
5. To procure Invasion by Strangers.

Concerning the first Point, it was proved, that the Lord Grey intended to obtain the levying of 2000 men, for defence of the Low-Countries, and with them to seize upon the King and Prince, and take the Lords of the Council in their Chambers. For the other Points, It was proved, That the Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh met at St. Martin's in the Fields, and there consulted about making Sedition, moving Rebellion, altering Religion, subverting the State, and to set up the Lady Arabella. And particularly for the Point of subverting the State, it was proved, that Raleigh was designed to be Lord Chancellor, George Brooke Lord Treasurer, Sir Grissifh Markham Secretary, and the Lord Grey to be Master of the Horse, and Earl Marshal of England. And for effecting of these Treasons, It was proved, that Watson the Priest had devised Oaths in writing, by which all parties were bound to keep them secret. And for the last Point, It was proved, that Sir Walter Raleigh was appointed to treat with Count Arenberg for fix hundred thousand Crowns, and the Lord Cobham to go to the Archduke and to the King of Spain, to persuade them to affit the Lady Arabella. Those things being proved against them; on the days in which they were severally Indicted, the molt which was replied in mitigation of their fault, was first by Watson, who affirmed it could not be Treason, because the King was not yet Crowned; and then by the Lord Grey, that it was but a verbal matter, and never took effect, and therefore could be no Treason; but those aflerений being both refuted, they were all (except Sir Edward Parkham, who only was acquitted) on their several days of Indictment, found guilty of Treason; and had Judgment accordingly. The Prebends Watson and Clerk were executed at Winchelsea, the nine and twentieth of November: George Brook was beheaded the fifth of December: but then the hand of Justice flayed, and this was the course which the King held in the weung mercy. After the death of the three before named, he signed three other Warrants for the execution of the late Lord Cobham, the Lord Grey, and Sir Grissifh Markham, on a certain day then following, but before that day came, he privately framed another Warrant written with his own hand to the Sheriff, (who was then Sir Benjamin Ficeborn) by which he countermanded the former Warrants, and that there might be no notice taken of it, he sent it by Mr. John Glyde, a Scotch-man, and one utterly unknown of all the Company, appointing him to deliver it to, that it might not take effect, till after their several confessions, and at the very point of their Execution; which was accordingly performed. At this time it was a wonderful thing to see how the Delinquents falling upon their knees, lamented their misdoings, and most of all how they extolled the Kings unbreakable mercy. But though thus pardoned, yet were they carried back to the Tower, where the Lord Grey not long after dyed, and in him was extolled that Barony, which had formerly brought forth many valorous and worthy men. Sir Grissifh Markham after some time was set at liberty, and passed beyond Sea, where he lived long after in mean account. The Lord Cobham likewise was afterward discharged of Imprisonment, but deprived of his Ettate, lived divers years in great penury and in him ended that Noble Family, which in flourished in great honour many Ages. Sir Walter Raleigh was kept in the Tower, where to his great honour he spent his time in writing, and had been a happy man if he had never been releas'd. But such is our fate, that no man for time is understood, whether it be good or bad, until it be discovered by the Event.

And now was preparation made for the King's Coronation; and for a preparato unto it, he first restored the Earl of Southampton, and then raised in honour these following: Sir Thomas Egerton Lord Chancellor, he made Baron of Esher; Sir William Ruffet, Baron of Tornburg; Sir Henry Grey, Baron of Grady; Sir John Peter, Baron of Writtle; Sir John Harrington Baron of Exton; Sir Henry Dovers Baron of Denfey; Sir Thomas Gerrard, Baron of Gerard Bromley in the County of Stafford; and Sir Roberts Spenser, Baron of Hertnigesion. After this he conferred inferior Orders; and made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other; and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other; and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other; and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Judges and Serjeants at Law, all Civilians and Clerks of the Signet, all his Gentlemen Ushers and divers other, and lately made Knights all the Jud...
At this time the King forgot not a deliverance he had formerly had, which though it were had in Scotland, yet he would have notice of it taken in England, which was his deliverance from the conspiracy of the Covenanters on the fifth day of August three years before: and therefore Friday being the fifth of August was by commandment appointed to be holy day, with Morning Prayer, Sermons, and Evening Prayer that day, and Bonfires at night; which was then and after, during his life solemnly observed.

King James had in him as it were two persons; one as he was the King of Scotland; and in this he was in perfect amity with the King of Spain; another as he was King of England, and in this he had some difference with Spain but he, as Rex pacis, took the belt from both, and was altogether for the Olive branch, and therefore when at his coming into England, he found letters of Mart granted against the Spaniards, he first called them all to be called in, and then conferred to a Treaty of perfect reconciliation: In which Treaty handled at London, the 18th of August, 1604, the Commissioners for the King of England were the Earl of Dorset, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Charles Earl of Devonshire, Henry Earl of Nottingham, and Robert Viscount Cranbourne: For the King of Spain, John de Valaisco Contable of Caflias, John de Tuffe Earl of Villa Medician, and Alexander Robidins Provisor of the Law in the College of Millan; For the Archdukes, Charles Count of Arenberg, John Richardus President of the Privy Council, and Lodowich Verreiken principal Secretary: by whom a Peace being concluded and contained in many Articles; The Summer following, the King of Spain sent Dom John de Valaisco Contable of Castile and Duke of Fyra, also Pedro de las Serez, his great Chamberlain accompanied with divers Marquess's, Earls and Barons, who coming into England, were by the Earl of Devonshire on the nineteenth of August Brought to the Count, where the King in his Chappell in the presence of the Commissioners and other English Lords, the Duke of Fyra holding the Kings hands between his face and the Sun; where he made a solemn Swear, truly to observe and keep all the Articles of the Peace and League agreed upon; and in March following, being now the third year of King James, Charles Earl of Nottingham, Lord high Admiral of England was sent into Spain to take in like manner the King of Spain's Oath; who accompanied with three Barons, and many Knights, Gentlemen & other, to the number of six hundred and fifty, the fifteenth of April arrived at Granes, from whence he was conducted to Valdeaud, three hundred miles off, where the King of Spain then kept his Court, entertained in all places as he pleased, as the King of Spain's charge, with so great provisions and such demonstration of love and gladness, that it plainly showed the Spaniards were as glad of our friendship as we of theirs. The Lord Ambassador being come to the Court, he caused Thomas Knoll Esquire, to deliver the presents sent from the King of England, which were fix goodly HorSES, with saddles and bridles, the very richly embroidered, where for the King, and three for the Queen two Croffe-bows with thefe of arrows; four fowling pieces inlaid with plates of gold; and a couple of Lyme-bounds of singular qualities: which the King and Queen in very kind manner accepted, and then on the thirtieth of May, the Lord Ambassador being sent for, the King came forth into a large room: where having a little Table set before him, and a Bible very reverently laid upon it, together with a Crucifix: the Archbishop of Toledo read the Oath, at the reading whereof, the Lord Ambassador held the Kings hands between his, and the King kneeling down, laid his hands upon the Box, and after his Oath, subscribed to the Articles formerly concluded. Whilest the Earl of Nottingham was thus employed in Spain, the right honourable Edward Earl of Hertford, was likewise sent Ambassador to Albertus and Isabella, Archdukes of Austria, to take their Oaths, for confirmation of the said Articles of Peace, which were taken at Brussels the first of May with great state and solemnity: After which, as the Earl bestowed on the Archdukes favors, to the full sum of three thousand pounds; So the Archduke at his departure, bestowed upon the Earl, a Jewel worth nine hundred pounds, and a suit of Arms worth three hundred, and bore his charges all the time of his stay at Brzuzel. And now was King James truly in peace pacis, in peace and amity with all Princes of Christendom, which few of his Ancestors ever were.

A little before this, in the Moneth of August, in the year 1604, the strong Town of Fosseid in Flanders, after above three years siege, and the slaughter of above a hundred and twenty thousand men of both fides, and in defence whereof, Sir Francis Vere General, and his brother Sir Horatio Vere had shewed great Valor, was by the Marques Spinola taken; for which service, the King of Spain made him Duke of Santa Severina, and the Lord General of all the Forces in the Low Countries.

It was now the third year of King James his Reign, when he kept Saint George Feast at Greenwich, and their made two new Knights of the Garter; namely the High and Mighty Prince Duke Vreik, heir of Norway, and brother to our gracious Queen Anne; and the right Noble Lord Henry Howard Earl of Northampton. And upon this he also made Sir Robert Cecil Viscount Cranbourne, who being richly hanged with Arms, he created him Earl, one Viscount and four Barons; namely Sir Robert Cecil Viscount Cranbourne, he created Earl of Salisbury; Thomas Cecil Lord Burley his eldest brother, he created Earl of Exeter, and Sir Philip Herbert, younger brother to the Earl of Pembroke, he created Earl of Montgomery; then Robert Sidney Baron of Pembroke Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, he created Viscount Lisle Sir John Stanhope, Vicechamberlain to the King, he made Lord Stanhope of Hertington; Sir George Care Viscountchamberlain to the Queen, he made Lord Care of Clopton; Sir Thomas Arundell of Devonshire, he made Lord Arundell of Warder; and Mr. William Cavendish he made Lord Cavendish, of Hardwick.

About this time a strange fancy possessed the brains of a profFed Physician, one Richard Head, master of new College in Oxford, who pretended to preach at night in his steep, in such fort, that though they were called down or flourished, and Julia by the hands of feet, yet would make no show of either hearing or feeling. And this he did often, in the presence of many honourable persons, that came
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came to hear him; so as within a short time, his fame was spread through the land, by the name of the sleeping Preacher. At length the King commanded him to be brought to the Court, where his Majesty sat up the most part of a night to attend the event: when at last Haidock making a show to be asleep, began to pray; then taking a Text, made his Division; applying it to his purpose, for in his Preaching his use was to inveigh against the Pope, against the Crofs in Baptism, and against the last Canons of the Church of England, and having ended his Sermon, seemed to continue sleeping. His Majesty having well observed the manner of his carriage; after a few days, called the said Haidock before him, and in Conference with him (as he had indeed an admirable facility in discovering of Fictions) made him confess, that all he did was but impotence; and thereupon, to fall upon his knees, and ask forgiveness: which the King granted, upon condition, that in all places he should openly acknowledge his offense, because many were brought into belief, that his nightly Preaching was either by inspiration, or by vision.

We may not here think it unworthy the relating, seeing King James thought it not unworthy the feeling, thereby to obserue the nature of the Lyon, and make a solemn matter of it; for on Monday the third of June (taking with him the Duke of Lenox, and divers Earls and Lords) he went to the Lyon Tower, and caused two Lyons, a male and female, to be put forth, and then a live Cock to be cast before them; which they (as being their natural enemy) presently killed and sucked his blood. Then a live Lamb to be put down to them, which the generous Lyons (as having respect to its Innocency) never offered to touch, though the Lamb was so bold as to go close unto them. Then the King caus’d those Lyons to be taken away, and another Lyon to be put forth, and two Matthers to be put in to him, who presently flew upon the Lyon, and turned him up on his back: and though the Lyons were superior to them in strength, yet it seems they were his matches in courage, and so much superior as they were the first slain, with whom otherwise, the Lyon would not have offered to meddle.

On Friday the 4th of January in the Kings second year, Charles Duke of Albany, the Kings second Son, being then but four years old, was created Duke of York; which because it was done with extraordinary solemnity, is not unworthy to have the manner of it here related. Fifteen were appointed Knights of the Bathe, the Duke of Albany himself, the Lord Willoughby, the Lord Chandos, the Lord Compton, the Lord Norris, William Cecil, Son and heir to the Viscount Cranwell, Alan Percy Brother to the Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Soverell second Son to the Earl of Worcester, Francis Mansons Brother to the Earl of Rutland, Thomas Howard, second Son to the Earl of Suffolk, John Harington Son and heir to the Lord Harington, the Earl of Oxford and Essex were Esquires to the Duke of Albany; all the Knights took their lodging that night in the first Gate-house going to Kings-fret; where they lapped; and had Basons provided for them. The next morning being Saturday, they went out into the Park in their Hermit's weeds, the Minirtha playing, and the Haralds going before them into the Court, and so into the Chappel, where every Knight with his Esquires went to the Altar, and there offered, (the Dean of the Chappel, in a rich cope, holding the Banner,) After this they went up into their lodgings, and there new attired themselves in Robes of Crimson Taffety, with Hats and white feathers, and went back to the great Chamber; where, by the King, they were gided with the Sword; and had guilt spurs put upon them. This done, they were solemnly served at Dinner, and after went again to the Chappel, and there offered their Swords. The next day being Sunday, and Twelfth day, in Robes of purple Sattin, with Doctors hoods on their shoulders, and Hats with white feathers, they issued out of the Revelry with the Duke of Albany (being then to be made Duke of York) into the Hall, where the King sat under the Cloth of Estate, and then the Heralds going before, the Knights of the Bathe followed, and then the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain, and the Duke of Northampton, and Charles, Duke Earl of Devonshire, carrying the Robes of Estate for the Duke of York; after whom Wrisley Earl of Southampoton carried the Coronet, George Clifford Earl of Cumberland the Golden Rod, the Earl of Worester the Cap of Estate, and the Earl of Nottingham bore the Duke of Albany in his Arms, supported by the Earls of Dorset and Northumberland, who all coming in this order before the King; the Duke of Albany was after the Patent read, created Duke of York, with the Robes and Coronet put on him; and the Golden Rod delivered into his hand: all which performed, they went to Dinner, and the Solemnity ended.

About this time, on the fifteenth of June, Thomas Doughty a Scrawman, was committed to the Tower, and had Irons put upon him, being sent there but the three days before from the Court on a matter of high importance; he was the first that had counterfeited the Kings Privy-Seat to divers Princes of Germany; One to the Archbishop of Cotten, another to the Archbishop of Tryer, another to the Duke of Clew, another to the Archbishop of Magotinia, and a fifth to the Count Palatine of the Rhine; whereas being examined and convicted, he was drawn on a hurdle into Smithfield, and there hanged and quartered.

And now was a second Parliament appointed to be held at Westminister, on the nineteenth of March following, when four days before the day of sitting, the King, the Queen and Prince rode solemnly in great state through the City of London, where in divers places were erected Pageants, Preffents given, Oatations made, and all demonstrations of love and obedience; and then the Parliament beginning, the King made a long and loving Speech to the House, wherein he signified that the times of his calling in, began time that should have proceeded, there was suddenly discovered a Plot to Treason (so damnable and foul, that politicall will hardly think it true, when they shall hear of it;) the Plot was to blow up with Gun-powder both Houses of Parliament at a time, when the King, Prince, and all the Nobility should be sitting in the Upper-House, and all the Knights and Burgesses in the lower. L 11

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The Gun-powder Treason.
The principal contriver of this Plot was Robert Catesby, a Gentleman of great account in Northamptonshire, descended from that Catesby who had been a special Councillor of King Richard the third, to whose family the Divine Providence had now ordained to give a delicious period. This Catesby not able to perform the work himself alone, drew in many to assist him, as namely, Thomas Percy, Thomas Wither, John Grant, Ambrose Rockwood, John Wright, Francis Trelaw, Guido Fawks, and at last Sir Everard Digby, all earnest Papists, and all bound by Oath, and by receiving the Sacrament to be secret. For effecting of this plot, they hired a house close adjoining to the Upper House of Parliament, where they were to dig through a Wall, for the fit placing of their Powder. About Candlemas they had wrought the Wall half through; when suddenly they heard a noise in the next Room, which made them fear they had been discovered: but sending Guy Fawks (who went now under the name of John Johnson, or Master Percie man) to see what the matter was, he brought word, that it was a Cellar where Sea-coals had been laid, and were now a talking, and the Room offered to be let for a yearly Rent. This Room therefore as most fit for their purpose, being right under the Parliament House, Master Percy presently went and hired, laying into it twenty Barrels of Powder, which they covered with Billets and Faggots, for being discovered. Thus the first part of the plot was put in good readiness. It now remained to consider what was to be done, when the blow should be given: for though the King and Prince might be slain, yet the Duke of York and the Lady Elizabeth should still be safe, and so they should be no nearer their end than now they were. This work therefore for surpicing the Duke of York, Percy undertook, and for surpising the Lady Elizabeth, they agreed upon a match of hunting near to Dunbarach, under colour whereof they would draw company together, and surprize her at the Lord Harrington's house in Warwickshire, where the then lay, and then proclaim her Queen, and so be free to have all things done as they would themselves. Thus far their plot went, they were not fairly on, and had perhaps gone on so still, if they had continued only bloodily; but now a tenderness of heart took some of them, lest their Friends should perish together with the rest, and this tenderness overthrows them; for to prevent such promiscuous slaughter of Letters was framed, and sent to the Lord Montague, Son and heir to the Lord Morley, brought him by one of his Foot-men, which he received from an unknown man in the street; The Letter was this: My Lord, you of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care for your preservation; therefore I would wish you, as you tender your life, to forbear your attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time; And think not lightly of this Advertisement: for though there be no appearance of any flaw in 1543, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet shall we see who burns them. This counsel is not to be contemned; because it may do you good, and can do no harm; for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter; and I hope you will make good use of it.

My Lord having read the Letter, though much perplexed, yet went presently to the Court at Whitehall, (the King being then a hunting at Rayson) and delivered it to the Earl of Salisbury, principal Secretary of State, and the Earl having read it, acquainted first the Lord Chamberlain with it, and then the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Worcester and Northampton, who as soon as the King was returned from Hunting, acquainted him with it; the Earl of Salisbury telling him, that he thought it must be written either by a fool, or a mad man, because of those words, (for the danger is past, as soon as you have burnt this Letter) for if the danger were so soon past, what needed any warning? But the King considering it more deeply, apprehended presently some violent motion; and that it must be some sudden danger by blowing up with powder; and thereupon commanded, that diligent search should be made in the Parliament House, and all other Rooms and Lodgings near adjoining: which search was made by the Lord Chamberlain, accompanied with the Lord Montague, who entering the Cellar under the Upper House, found there great store of Faggots and Billets; which was answered to be for Mr. Percie's own provocation; but then (as being considered why such store should be had for Mr. Percie, who used to make but little (as in Town) and thereupon more diligent search being made, there was found under the Billets one of the Barrels of Powder; and after that all the rest, being six and thirty; together with other Instruments fit for their purpose, and then sprying the said Fawks to stand plicuously, they apprehended him, and found in his pocket a piece of Touchwood, a Tynder-box to light the Touch-wood, and a Watch, which Mr. Percie had bought the day before, to try the short and long burning of the Touch-wood, which he had prepared to give fire to the train of powder. The Plot being thus discovered, yet the most of the confederates met at Dunbarach, as they had agreed; where they divulged many detestable untruths against the King and State: signifying withal, that they were there met for advancement of the Catholick cause, hoping thereby to have many to join with them in their Rebellion, but this availed them nothing: for first Sir Richard High Sheriff of Warwickshire chafed them from thence, and Sir Richard Wills Sheriff of Worescheshire, knowing them to be entred into Mafter Lieutenants house at Heathbuck, to bethe them round, where Catesby and Percie influing forth, were both slain with one shot of a Musquet; and after them both the Wrights, John and Christopher, were likewise slain outright; Thomas Winter was taken alive: all which time, Francis Trelaw remained still full about the Court, offering his service for their supposition: but being surprised, was examined, and sent to the Tower, where he confest all, and within a few days after dyed of the Strangury. On the feven and twentieth of January following, a Commission was directed to divers Lords and Judges of both Benches, for trial of the rest of the Confederates: namely, Thomas Winter, Guyo Fawks, Robert Keyes, Thomas Bliss, Robert Winter, late of Holings, in Warwickshire, John Drum, late of Yorthbrook, in the County of Warwickshire; Thomas and Percie, Ambrose Rockwood, late of Stanfield.
The Reign of King James.

in Suffolk Esquire, Sir Everard Digby, late of Oatlands in Buckinghamshire, Knight, who were all condemned, and had Judgment to dye, and on the Thursday following Sir Everard Digby, Robert Winter, Grants and Bates, were accordingly drawn, hanged and quartered at the West end of Paul's Church in London, and the Friday the other four, namely, Thomas Winter, Kyes, Roofwood, and Fanny were executed in the Parliament yard at Westminster. Of all whom, none was so much lamented as Sir Everard Digby, and indeed worthy; for he was a goodly personage, and of excellent parts, and had it seemed cunningly drawn in, and bound to secrecy by Oath, when he little thought of any such Treason.

The seventh of November the Earl of Northumberland, upon招股 of being acquainted with the plots, was first commanded to his House, and after a while committed to the Tower. And thus was this great Plot discovered, and the Plotters punished; to the great rejoicing of all people: infomuch, that even the King of Spain's and Arch-dukes Embassadors made Bonfires, and threw money among the people in token of joy.

And at this time, on the fourth of January, the Spanish Embassador delivered a Present to the King from his Matter: namely, six Jennets of Andalusia, with a silver very richly imbrodered, &c. and also of cloth of Tyfus; one of which Jennets was snow-white, and had a main which reached to the ground. But this was a Present sent before any knowledge had of the Powder-Treason: but as soon as that was known, there was presently another Present sent from the Queen of Spain to the Queen of England, of purpose to congratulate the Kings happy deliverance from the intended Powder-Treason; and the Present was brought by Don John of Men- dieco, which was a Roal of Marme Sattine, imbrodered all over with Amber leather; and upon the leather, in every seam and skirt twice imbrodered about with Gold; the fore-part whereof were fet with eight and forty tagges three inches long of beaten Gold, hollow within, and filled with Amber-greece, also two large Chains of Amber-greece; Two Cagons of Amber-greece, a Velvet Cap, and Buttones, curiously enamelled, and a gudle futable to the Buttones, all which were presented together in a large Vessel of Gold, in form of a Ballo; so as it seems there was none rejoiced more for the overthrow of this Plot for the Catholick cause, than the Catholick King himself. And now King James, not to be unmindful to the Lord Montague for being the means of discovering this Treason, he gave unto him in Fee Farm of Crownland 300 l. to him and his heirs, and 500 l. a year besides during his life: and not to be unthankful to God for the deliverance, he caused the fifth of November, being the day of the discovery, to be kept holy, with Prayer and Thanksgiving to God, which was then solemnly performed, and hath been since, and is likely for ever to be continued.

But in the midst of this great joy, there was suddenly spread a rumour of great sorrow; for on Saturday the two and twentieth of March, news was brought to the Court for certain, that the King was slain at Qued, twenty miles from London, stabbed with an unvenomed knife, whereupon the Court gates were presently shut, and double guard set in all places about London, and all men minds were infinitely distracted, but within two hours all the clouds were flung and dispersed, and the Sun began to shine upon us again: and it was certainly known, that the King was safe, and in perfect health: for which a Proclamation was presently sent forth to signify it to the people; and that afternoon the King came himself to Whitehall, where thousands of people ravished with joy came flocking to see him; and so general was the rejoicing, that the Spanish Embassador gave Sir Lewis Leake, Master of the Ceremonies, a chain of Gold of very good value, for bringing him the news.

Though afterward it was thought by some, that this rumour was but politically devised to make the Parliament and people more tender of the Kings safety, and by making them more sensible what a treasure they had of his life, to make them more willing to part with their treasure for his living, as indeed this Parliament they did, giving more Subsidies than are usual.

The eighth and twentieth of March following, Henry Garnet Provincial of the English Jesuites, was arraigned in Goulid-hall, for concealing the foresaid treason, where he had Judgment to be hang'd, draw'd, and quarter'd, and accordingly on the third of April he was brought to the Tower to the West end of Paul's Church, & there executed. At his death, he confessed his fault, asked forgiveness, and called out all Catholics never to attempt any treason against the King or State, as a curse with which God would never prosper.

On Tuesday the twentieth of May were enrolled at windsor Knights of the Garter, Robert Cecil Earl of Salisbury, and Thomas Howard Viscount Bydon; both of them honourably attended, but the Earl of Salisbury beyond ordinary proportion.

There was, yet a Fag end of the late Powder-Treason behind to be examined: wherein upon two Barons of the Realm; namely, Henry Lord Mor- dent, and Edward Lord Stuarts, were brought from the Tower to the Star-Chamber, and there, not charged indeed with any point of the treason, but only reflexively, because they neglected to appear at the Parliament, according to their summons, for which neglected only, without any further charge, they were fined to pay to the King, the Lord Morant ten thousand Marks, and the Lord Storart six thousand, and to be prisoners during the Kings pleasure. But on the 27th of June, Henry Earl of Northumberland was likewise brought from the Tower to the Star-Chamber, and more directly charged with circumstances concerning the Treason, specially in regard of Thomas Percy, whom he had admitted to be one of the Kings Gentlemen Pensioners, without ministration unto him the Oath of Supremacy, knowing him to be a Recusant; for which, and some misprisions, he was fined to pay to the King thirty thousand pounds, to forfeit all his Offices, and to be kept prisoner during the Kings pleasure, as indeed he continued many years, and at last relented, was yet confined.

It was now the fourth year of King James his Reign, and was a time of Prudent Preparation; for this Summer, the 17th of July, Christiana, the King of Denmark's daughter, to the Queen, having been long expected, with eight flats came into the River Thames near LII.
On Thursday the 16th of July, the King and Prince with many Lords dined at Merchant Taylors Hall, where the Master and Wardens of that Society presented the King with a purse of Gold, giving him humble thanks for granting their Fraternity with his Royal Presence; and thereupon fewed him a Roll, wherein were registered the names of 7 Kings, 1 Queen, 17 Princes and Dukes, 2 Dutchesses, one Archibishop, one and thirty Earls, threecords and six Barons, seven Ab- bards, seven Princes, with a great number of Knights and Esquires, who had been free of that Company; which his Majesty graciously accepted, but told them, that he himself was already Free of another Company; but the Prince his Son should be free of theirs, and that he would see the Garland put on his head: whereupon the Master presented the Prince also with a purse of Gold, which he graciously accepted, and said, that not only himself would be free of the Merchant-Taylors, but the Lords also that were with him should do the like, all which was performed with great solemnity.

The fourth of July this year, Sir Thomas Ken- net was called by Writ to the Parliament by the name of Baron of Effrick, the next day Sir Ju- lian Caesar, Chancellor of the Exchequer was sworn a Privy Councillor; and the sixteenth of November following Sir Francis Clifford Knight, was called to the Parliament by Writ, by the name and title of Baron of Leyton Branc/old, whose only Daughter and Heir, was soon after, married to Esme Stewart, Baron of Aubigny in France; John Brother of the Duke of Lenox; whom he at- ter arrived in that Dignity.

About this time, Hugh Earl of Tyr-Oren, most ungrateful and utterly forgetful of the King's great elecency to him, together with Terence, Hugh Baron of Denbann, and divers other Irish Lords fell into the parts beyond Sea, with per- pote to sollicite forain Princes against the King, and to offer the Kingdom of Ireland to the Pope, which was presently signified to the Realm by Proclamation.

On the eleventh of April this year, George Jer- vise a Seminary Priest, and the three and thre- teenth of June following, Thomas Garnet a Jesuite, were both executed at Tyburn; Thomas Garnet having the favour offered him to be pardoned, if he would but take the Oath of Allegiance, which he refused.

The 19th of April at Whitehall, dyed Thomas Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer (whose death be- cause he dyed suddenly as he sat at the Council Table) was by some unwarrantedly interpreted; but being dead, and his head opened, there were found in it certain little bags of water, which, the King having the framing of his study the night before, in which little bags of water, the King, being aware it was not for others, caus'd his wife by their own maturitv, suddeily breaking and falling upon his brain, cau'd his sudden death. So certain it is, that death comes not always by determinate fleps, but sometimes by fal- tions, and we all carry about us the cau's of sudden death, though unfoleible of them till we be unfoleible. This Lord was of excellent parts, and in his place exceeding judicious, and I have heard many Cheepers man say, there never was a better Treasurer both for the Kings profit, and the good of the Subject.
The Reign of King James. 433.

The twentieth of May at Windsor, were made two Knights of the Garter, George Earl of Danbar, and Philip Earl of Montgomery; but the Earl of Danbar, within a year or two after left both his honour and his life; but not his life without honour, having been a faithful Servant and a wise Counsellor to the King; and was honourably interred in the Church at Westminster.

About this time were many famous English Pirates that stuck not some of them to turn Turks, and lived in great state at Tunis; of whom the chief were Ward Bishop, Sir Francis Verey, and Gauville, whom after many depredations and outrageous acts at Sea, partly the King of Spain suppressed, and partly the King of England, and of their associates being taken, were hanged at Wapping.

Also at this time, in the Strand on the North side of Durham-house, where stood an old long fable: Robert Earl of Salisbury now Lord Treasurer of England, caused to be erected a flately building; which upon Tuesday the tenth of April, was begun, and he himself fully furnished with Wares; and the next day, the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many great Lords and Ladies came to see it; and then the King gave it the name of Britain's Barre.

On the eighth of May this year, the King by Proclamation prohibited all foreign Nations, that after Annoy they should not fish upon any of the Coasts of England, Scotland, or Ireland; nor the Isles adjacent, without the special licence from the Commissioners in that behalf ordained.

At this time the making of Almain, which tolerably with great charges had been fetched from forran parts, was by divers that laboured in it, and now lastly by Sir John Bourchier brought to perfection in England, and thereupon the King prohibited upon pain of confiscation, any Almain to be brought from beyond the Seas, and took the whole traffic thereof to himself.

And the King according to an ancient custom, had aid of his Subjects through England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight, which yet was levied with great moderation; and the Prince to himself worthy of the performed his first Feasts of Arms at Barsieres, with wonderful skill and courage: being not yet full sixteen years of age.

It was now the eighth year of King James his Reign, being the year 1610, when Prince Henry being come to the age of seventeen years, it was thought fit he should be initiated into Royalty; and thereupon the thirtieth of May this year, he was Created Prince of Wales in most solemn manner, which was thus, Garter King at Arms, bore the Letters Patents, the Earl of Saffron the Robes of Purple Velvet, the Earl of Huntington the Train, the Earl of Cumberland the Sword, the Earl of Aylmer the Ring, the Earl of Darby the Rod, the Earl of Shrewsbury the Cap and Coro-

The King keeps Court by himself; and who were his great Officers.

ed to conduct the King attended on by the Knights of the Bath, five and twenty in number, all great men; and great men's sons, the Earl of Salisbury principal Secretary, read the Letters Patents; the Prince kneeling all the while before the King; and at the words accustomed, the King put on him the Robe, the Sword, the Cap and the Coronet, the Rod and the Ring, and then kissed him on the cheek, and so the solemnity ended.

After this, it was thought fit, he should keep his Court by himself; and then appear Sir Thomas Cholmondeley, a learned Gentleman, who had before been his Governor, was now made his Lord Chamberlain, Sir Edward Philip his Chancellor, and all other Officers assigned him, belonging to a Princes Court; wherein he evidenced himself so early ripe for Majesty, that he seemed to be a King, while he was yet but Prince: and all men ever began to fix upon him.

King James had long since shut up the Gates of famine, and was in peace with all Princes abroad; his only care now was to keep peace at home; and to this end, the three first days of June, in his own Person he heard the differences between the Ecclesiastical and the Temporal Judges argued, touching the Protestsions out of the Kings Bench and Common Pleas; to this end, the eighth, ninth, and tenth of June, he heard many manifold complaints of the abuses of the Vacuum, and other Officers of his Navy Royal; to this end, the fourth of June, 1610, he once again by Proclamation, commanded all Roman Priests, Seminaries and Jefuites, as being the chief enemies of the True Religion, and to avoid the Realm, and why.

The English, or rather the English and the Englishmen of Ireland, made a Coupie against the Earl of Northampton and Northamptonshire; and it was called the Northamptonshire Insurgent, which was called the Earl of Northampton.

The Earl of India Company made a Corporation, with great Privileges.

They build a ship of twelve hundred Tun, called the Prince, and gives into the Princes.

Thereupon the King builds a ship of four hundred Tun, called The Prince, and gives into the Princes.
Before this time one Sir Robert Carre, a Gentleman of Scotland, or of the Borders, at a time of Tiltting before the King, charged with a fall on his Horse to break his Leg; upon which mischance, he was forced for some days to keep his bed, in which time the King was sometime pleased to come and visit him; and then it was first perceived, that the King had begun to cast an eye of favour upon him; and indeed from that time forward (as he was a very fine Gentleman, and very wise) many great favours were heaped upon him: So as on Easter Monday, in the year 1614, he was created Viscount Rochefort. On the two and twentieth of April, 1612, was sworn a privy-Councillor. On the fourth of November, 1613, was created Earl of Somerset, and the tenth of July following made Lord Chamberlain. But this Sun-shine of Fortune lasted not long; yet not by any inconstancy in the King, but by the Earls own unqualified, which thus fell out: The Right Honourable Robert Earl of Essex had before this time married the beautiful Lady Frances Howard, Daughter of Thomas Earl of Suffolk, who upon causing judicially heard, were afterward Divorced, and left free to marry any other. After which Divorce, this great Favourite (the Earl of Somerset) takes her for wife; the King gracing their Marriage with all demonstrations of Love and Favours; and the Lords gracing it with a flaty Masque that night; and a few days after, the Bride and Bridgroom, accompanied with all the Nobility of the Kingdom, were Fested at Merchant-Taylors Hall by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, but see how soon this fair weather was overcast: For it happened, that one Sir Thomas Overbury, a very ingenious Gentleman, and the Earl's especial Friend, who had written a witty Treatise of a Wife; and it seems not thinking the Lady in all points answerable to his description, had been an earnest diffidater of the Match, and to strengthen his disaffation, laid perhaps some unjust imputation upon the Ladies Fame, which so incensed them both again him, that a lefe Revenge could not give them satisfaction, than to take away his life: So true is that saying:

Improve Error, quid non moralia pellora cogis?

Upon this, they find Pretences to have the said Sir Thomas committed to the Tower, and there by their Instruments effect their Revenge, some by a poysoned Tansey sent him to eat, Some by a poysoned Glyster murthered him, but howsoever effectual it was, for which Past Sir Ferdinando Tivoly then Lieutenant of the Tower, and three or four other of inferior condition were put to death, the Lady and Earl themselves were arraigned and condemned; but through the great clemency had their lives spared, but in such a sort, as was to them no less grievous than death it fell, being never after suffer’d to see the Kings face, nor to come near his Court. This Favourite being thus out of Favour, there was place made for entertaining another; for this same King James was so fond of love and loving a nature, that he could not be long without an Alter ideem; a bosome Friend with whom to communicate his Interns Senus, and upon whose shoulders he might oftentimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself: and this new Friend was Mr. George Villiers, a Gentleman of a good Hone, but a younger Brother, but of so delicate a composition of body, and withall of so excellent parts of mind, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a Kings Favourite. And indeed never any man was partaker of the Royal influence like to him, made first a Knight and Gentleman of the Kings Bed-chamber, soon after made a Viscount and Master of the Horfe; a while after created Earl of Buckingham, then Marquess of Buckingham, and made Lord Admiral; Lastly, made Duke of Buckingham, the greatest Title of Honour that a Subject is capable of; and yet this Title not greater than his Power; for all matters of Grace passed from the King by him, and to grace him the more, his Mother (who after his Fathers death, had married a younger Son of the Lord Compton) was created Countess of Buckingham, his Sister who had married a Gentleman of no extraordinary Family, had her Husband made Earl of Denbigh; his two Brothers were made, one of them Viscount Purbeck; the other Earl of Anglesey; besides many other of his friends and Kindred highly advanced; For this Lord affected not an advancement that should be one only perusal, but rather be in common to all his Family; and was not of the disposition of some, who like to great Oaks, love to keep all that are near them underwood; though it be in truth both against Nature and Policy to stand alone, when they would be lefte subject to the violence of Winds, if more flood together. And though never any man had juncte cause to be envoyed by he, yet never any man was left envoyed; because though his Honours made him great, yet they made him not swell, but he retained the like temper of affable carriage after his advancement, as he had done before. And before all these Favours were heaped up upon him, many other great pasages had intervened for first, after the death of Thomas Earl of Dorset, Robert Earl of Salisbury had been Lord Treasurier, and after him Thomas Earl of Suffolk. But this Lord, though of a most noble disposition, yet as having had his training up in another way, seemd leefe ready in discharging the place, and whether for this, or for his Ladies taking too much upon her by his indulgence; the state was soon after taken from him; after whom there came in such a succession of Treasurers as no Age before had ever seen; all wise and able men in- deed; but yet in whom the Office seem’d an im- plement, rather to enoble the Officer than to enrich the King. For first Sir Henry Montague was taken from the Kings Bench; and on the fourth of December, 1620, made Lord Treasurier, and presently upon it Earl of Manchester, and before the year went about put off. After whom Sir LythamCraigifield, from Master of the Wards was made Lord Treasurier, and shortly after Earl of Middlesex; and then not only put off, but fined to pay the King fifty thousand pounds: After him, Sir James Lee from chief Justice of the Kings Bench was made Lord Treasurier, and soon after Earl of Marlborough; and then, having made a good return of his Place, put off himself. After him Sir Richard Weston, from Chancellor of the Exchequer was made Lord Treasurer, and
It was now the year 1612, and the tenth of King James's reign, when the illustrious Prince Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, came into England.

Alfo the fifth and twentieth of June, 1612, the Lord Sanger, a Nobleman of Scotland, having in a private revenge, enframed Robert Carile to murther John Turner a Matter of Fence, thought by his greatness to have born it out; but the King respecting nothing so much as Justice, would not suffer Nobility to be a shelter for villainy, but according to the Law, on the nine and twentieth of June, the said Lord Sanger having been arraigned and condemned by the name of Robert Creighton Esquire; was, before Westminister Hall first executed, where he dyed very penitent.

About this time, the King in special favour for the present Plantation of English Colonies in Virginia, made it to be held at the West End of Paris; whereas one Thomas Shortly a Taylor of London had the chief Prize, which was four thousand Crowns in fair Plate.

At this time also the Corps of Mary late Queen of Scotland, the Kings Mother, was translated from Peterborough, to St. Peters Church in Westminster, and from thence was carried to the Chappel-Royal there; where it was interred in a Royal Tomb, which the King had erected for her.

About this time also Sir Robert Shirley, third Son of Sir Thomas Shirley of Saffron Knight, who fifteen years past had betaken himself to travel, and had served divers Christian Princes for the space of five years; but chiefly Redelphin the Roman Emperor; and for his Service, made him an Earl of the Empire: he afterwards went into Persia, and served the Persian ten years, who made him General of the Artillery; and held him in so great account, that when the Prince of Persia died, and the Mother of the said Prince, Queen Shiter, was one of the Queens of Persia, after which the Persians employed him to found Princes of Europe, and sent him in the Secret Embassage into England to King James, to whom he delivered his Letters, and shewed his Commission; all which signify the Persians great love and affection to his Majesty; with frank offer of free Commerce to all his Highness Subjects through all the Persians Dominions: After a years stay here, in which time his Lady lay in of a Son, to whom the Queen was God-mother, and Prince Henry God-father; he left the child here in England, and then with his Lady departed into Persia.

It was the year 1612, and the tenth of King James's reign, when the illustrious Prince Frederick, Count Palatine of the Rhine, with whom a Treaty of marriage had been before, with the Lady Elizabeth; on the sixteenth of October arrived at Camelot; to whom the Duke of Lenox and divers other Lords were sent by the King, who conducted him to White-hall, and from thence into the great Banqueting house, where the King, the Queen, Prince Henry, and the Lady Elizabeth entertained him in all kind manner,
Gentlemen of the Middle-Temple, and Lincoln's-Inn: The third night with a magnificent Masque of the Gentlemen of the Inner-Temple, and Gray's-Inn, provided indeed then, but was not performed till Saturday night following, by reason the concurrice of people was so great, it would have hindered the Show. After this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen gave the Bride a Chain of Oriental Pearl, valued at two thousand pounds: now when all things had been done for honouring their Marriage, which either love and observance could devise, or art and magnificence could perform; On the tenth of April the Bridgework with his Bride took leave of the King and the Queen at Rochester, (who had by Barge conducted them thither) and there taking Ship on the nine and twentieth of April they arrived at Flushing; from whence the Duke of Lenox, the Earl of Arundel, the Vicount Liffet, and the Lord Harington waited upon them to their chief City of Herfordergh, in all places as they passed, being received with all state and magnificence: but then on the fourteenth of June, the English Lords returning home; the Lord Harington dyed by the way at Wormes, which the two Captains bought out by birth in England. And here it will not be amiss to shew of what extent and largeness the Palatine's Country is, because of the iniquity of some that seek to disgrace it. It is in length about two hundred English miles, taking the lower and upper Country. In the lower he hath fix and twenty walled Towns, besides an infinite number of fair Villages, and two and twenty houses of residence. In the upper, not so many walled Towns, and Houtes, but those that are generally fairer than in the lower, especially Amberg and Neumarkt.

But it is now time to look home; in the year 1609, the King having care for the quietness of Ireland, had granted to the City of London the present possession and Plantation in the Province of Ulster; whereupon, after the year 1612, they sent thither about three hundred persons, of all sorts of hand-y-crafts men, chiefly to keep the two Counties of Londonderry and Cahiragh, where they ordained Alderman Cocklin to be the first Governor. And for their advancing of this, or the like Plantation in Ireland, King James about this time began a new Order of Knights, which are called Baronets, because they take place next to Barons younger Sons; and he appointed certain Laws, to make them capable that should be admitted. First, that they should maintain the number of thirty four Souldiers in Ireland, for three years, after the rate of eight pence a day, and to pay the wages of one whole year, upon the paying of their Patent; Then that they should be Gentlemen of Blood of three Decents; and lastly, should have land of Inheritance, in possession or immediate Revission, to the value of a thousand pounds per annum: And to keep the Order from swelling, he limited it within the number of onely 500, and the issue should fill the Orders to cease. But he that will look how near the end of the Institution, and the Laws of it have been observed, shall perhaps find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. Michael in France, into which at first there were none admitted, but Princes and eminent Persons; but afterward, all sorts of men, without any difference, were admitted, that it came almost to be doubted, whether the Dignity of the Order did more grace the persons, or the meaner sorts of the persons disgrace the Order: and indeed, when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a kind of nullity in the collation.

About this time, on Sunday the 24th of October, an exemplar penance was imposed upon Sir Packall Breckys Knight, which was to Hand at Paris Cross in a white sheet, holding a flick in his hand, having been formerly convicted before the high Commissioners, for many notorious Adulterities with divers Women.

This year 1614, in the month of July, Christianus King of Denmark (out of his love to his Sister and King James) came the second time into England; but as being now secure of himself, privately, and with a small company, so as he came to the Queen at Somerset House unsuspected, and before any knowledge was laid of his coming: But King James being then in progress in Beresfordshire, and hearing of it, came presently back, and after he had entertained him there at Bourne-ham, running at Ring's, best-bairing, Play, Fire-Works, and Fencing, on the first of August Prince Charles brought him a board his Ship, who then took his leave, and returned home.

In October, this year was a call of Sergiants at Law, being 1 in number, namely. George Wilde, William Tores, Richard Baxry, Henry Finch, Thomas Chamberland, Francis Moore, Thomas Astou, John Moore, Francis Harvey, Charles Chibburn, and Thomas Richardson; and in Trinity Term before there had two other been called, namely, Sir Randall Cren of Lincolns Inn, and Sir Robert Hitchen of Grayes Inn, Knights.

About this time an Embassador came from the young Emperor of Russia to King James, defining his continual love and amity, and to be a means of making atonement between him and the King of Scottland, and withall presented him with a large Platter of Fish, which was no small honour to the King of Great Britain to have so great a Potentate as the Emperor of Russia solicite him to be his mediator.

Though King James out of a natural goodness was addicted to peace, yet out of providence he neglected not to be prepared for War, and therefore in the year 1620, had granted privileges to a Society called of the Military Garden; and this year 1614, caufed a Mustet of men to be presented before him, which was performed to his great liking, and to the great commendation of the City.

About this time a memorable Act was performed by Mr. Hugh Middleton, Citizen and Gold-smith of London, and born in Denmark, who having an Act of Parliament for his Warrants with infinite cost and indefatigable labour, brought water to the City of London, from the two great Springs of Chudlaw and Annwil in Hertfordshire, having cut a Channel from thence to a place next Flinstone, whither he conveyed it to a large Pond, and from thence in Pipes of young Elms to all places of the City, as for the Pect faith:
Another memorable act was about this time done on the North side of London, called Moorfields, which being before environed with deep ditching ditches and noynty common shoars, was now, not only made: fair and sweet, but so levelled into walks and set with trees, that it is the pleasantest place of all the City.

The next year being 1615, another memorable act for the benefit and beauty of the City of London, was performed; for Smithfield, which was before a rude dirty place, was now paved all over, and strong rails forming the middle part of it, were set up to make it a fair walking place, and fit for Market or any other use.

The Lady Arbella a near Kinwoman of the Kings, had sometime before, without the Kings privity, secretly married Master William Symons, younger Son of the Earl of Hertford, now Earl of Temple, for which they were both committed to the Tower; and now this year on the even and twentieth day of September the ended her life there, and was buried in the Chippel Royal at Westminster.

This year also in July were enthalt Knights of the Garter, Francis Earl of Rutland, Sir George Villiers Master of the Horse, and Sir Robert Sidney, Viscount Lifly; and in another kind of Honour the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Carres and Doctor Andrews Bishop of Ely, were sworn Pray Counsellours.

Wales by the death of Prince Henry, had been a good while without a Prince, and now to supply that place, Prince Charles is created Prince of Wales; in joy whereof, the Town of London in Shropshire, and the City of London, performed great Triumphs; and the more to honour his Creation, there were made five and twenty Knights of the Bath; all of them Lords of Honour, for which they were forty select Gentlemen of the Courts, that performed solemn Jails at Barretts, with great magnificence.

This year was a Cenure of divers great Delinquents, for first Sir Edward Coke, was upon displeasure discharged from being Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench, and two days after his discharge, Sir Henry Montague the Kings Serjeant at Law, was placed in his room; next to him the Lord Egerton, whether disabled by sickness or age, to exercise the place, or upon displeasure alfo, had the Seal taken from him, which was delivered to Sir Francis Bacon the Kings Attorney; he made first Lord Keeper; and the Lord Egerton dying soon after, Lord Chancellor. Not long after him Sir Henry Telferton the Knights Attorney, for adding new privileges to the Lanchester Charter, without the Kings privy, was in displeasure put from his place; and in his room was placed Sir Thomas Coventry, the Solicitor. But a while after, Sir Henry Telferton, was made a payless Judge of the Common Peace, having indeed the reputation of an excellent Lawyer.

And yet this work of Centrifying stayed not here, for much about this time Thomas Earl of Suffolk Lord Treasurer of England, had the stiffe of his Office taken from him, which was soon after delivered to Sir Henry Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the Kings Bench. If Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Perrogative Court, had made a little more haste, he might have made one in this number of Delinquents: but he came short three or four years, and then being charged by his own servant with bribery, he was put from his place, and confined in the Star-Chamber to pay twenty thousand pounds; and in his room was placed William Byrde a man of more integrity.

Though King James upon the death of Queen Elizabeth, came to reside in England, yet he forsooth, got not that Scotland was his native Country; and therefore after he had spent some years in England, to acquaint himself with the State of the Kingdom, in March this year one thousand fix hundred and sixteenth, he made a Journey into Scotland for though he had left very able men to fit at the Helm there in his absence, yet he knew that it is the Masters Eye that makes the Horse fast for the Prince's preference sometimes that keeps out many disappointments in a State, that would otherwise creep in; and now, when in his foraying six Months there, he had seen all things well settled both in the Ecclesiastical State, and in the Temporal, and made it appear that he refided not in England out of any neglect of Scotland; but to the end he might be in the place of most conveniency to both Kingdoms; on the fifteenth of September he returned to London, not more to the grief of the Scots to leave him, than to the joy of the English to receive him; so much was King James as a just and wise Prince, beloved of both the Nations.

The 15th of February 1671, in the Fiftenth year of this King, Francis Allenby of the Middle Temple London Esquire, where he had been Reader the year before, was by a Writ called to be Serjeant at Law, John Servis ad legem elec tus, and the fifth of July following was Knighted, and abouted him to be the Steward of the Marthley of the Kings house, and by King Charles, the fifth of May, in the first year of his Reign was by letters Patents made one of the Kings Serjeants at Law, and so continued unto his death, which happened by the will of God the 3th of November, 1675. as Serjeant Inne in Chancery; and was Recorder of Dorchester in Dorsetshire, where together with his Lady in the great Church he lies Involved; leaving Dorothy his only Daughter and heir(by the Lady Anne his wife, the eldest Daugh ter and Colheir of Bernard Samways of Dorsetshire Esquire) married unto the Honourable Den well Holles Esquire, whose only issue is Francis Holles of Winterborne St. Martin in the County of Dorset Esquire.

Now comes to be related a matter of speciall observation; Sir Walter Raleigh had lived a com demned man many years in the Tower, and now his Definity brought him to his end by liberty, which it could not do by imprisonment; for out of a longing for liberty he propos'd a project to the King, upon which(as he was a well spoken man, and of a great capacity) he set such colours of probability, especially giving it over with the Gold he would fetch from a Mine in Guian; and that without any wrong at all to the King of Spain.
Spain (if he might be allowed to go the Journ-

y) that the King, if he gave no credit, that he could perform it, at least gave way that he should un-
derstand it; and thereupon with divers Ships, ac-

panied with many Knights and Gentlemen of

Quality, he set forward on the Voyage; but when after long search or search of no such

place of Treasure, or no such Treasure could be

found, whether it were, that he thought it a

frame, to return home with doing nothing: or

that his matut Genus thraff him upon the De-

sign, he fell upon Saint Thoms, a Town belonging to

the King of Spain; sacked it, pillaged it, and

burnt it; and here was the first part of his Tra-

gical Voyage acted, in the death of his eldest Son;

the last part was acted in his own death at his

return: For Guindamore the Spanish Lieger, did to

aggravate this fact of his to the King, against him, that it seemed nothing would give satisfaction but

Ranevigh's head, without which he doubted there

would follow a breach of the League between the
two Nations. Ranevigh excused it; by saying

that he was urged to it by the Spaniards; first af-

taulting of him; and besides, that he could not

come at the Myne, without winning this Town;

but Guindamore was too strong an Adversary for

him, and the King preferring the publique Peace,

before the life of man, already condemned, gave

way to have the Sentence of his former Con-
demnation executed upon him; and thereupon,
brought to the Kings-Reach Bar, he was not new-
lly Arraigned or Indicted, as being already Mor-

tuns in Leges, but only hath the former Sentence

averted against him, and to carried to the Gate-
house, and from thence the next morning to the

Parliament Yard; a Scaffold was there erec-
ted, upon which after fourteen years reprieve, his head was cut off; at which time, such abundance of

blood issued from his veins, that flowed he had

stock of Nature enough left to have continued him

many years in life, though now above three
centuries old, if it had not been taken away by the

hand of Violence.

And this was the end of the great Sir Walter

Ranevigh's great sometimes in the favour of Queen

Elizabeth, and next to Drake the great seaco

and hate of the Spaniards, who had many things

harmed him in his life, but more, than his con-

fidence at his death, which he took with so undaunted a resolution, that one might perceive he had a certain expectation of a better

life after it; so far he was from holding those

Atheistical opinions; an asperion whereof some

traducing persons had cast upon him.

About this time King James made a progresfe to the University of Cambridges, where delighted with the Disputations and other Scholastical

exercises, he stayed three whole days, and could have been content to have stayed as many years;

for next being a King, he was made to be a Schol-
The Reign of King James.

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The King

The King of Spain was at war in England, what could be taken to procure the refom- ing it: who made him answer, There could be no better course than to make a marriage between his Son the Prince of Wales: & the Infant of Spain, which he said would easily be effect'd, if the Prince might have leave to make a Journey into Spain. King James thought he considered the inestimable gudges between Spain and England, and how dangerous it might be to put the heir of the Kingdom into the Spaniards hands, yet grounding himself upon saying, Fideles me furvivunt, facilest and drawn on by the infuriating Speeches of Count Guimard, no perhaps without some inclination in the Marquee of Buckingham, was contented at last the Prince should go.

And to Prince Charles sending his ships about, and taking along with him only the Marquess of Buckingham (who in the time of his being in Spain was created Duke of Buckingham) Edward Porter, and Mr. Francis Cottinson: (two that were well acquainted with the language and affairs of Spain) he took his journey by the way of France, went to Paris, and secretly in disguise to the Court there, where he had the fight of that Lady, that might well have flayed him from going forth, but yet on he went.

In the mean time Guimard a cunning man, and one that besides his Master's had ends of his own, and could play his game no less for his own profit than his Master's Honour, as he had per- fumed the King of the facility of the Match with Spain, to he per- fumed a certainty of it, especially amongst Catholic Laides, by which means he brought no small force of Graf to his own Mill, receiving from one Lady three hundred pounds to be made Groom of the Stool, when the Spanishs Princess should come, of another a good round sum to be Mother of the Maids, and of divers other the like for other places.

But the Prince being arrived in Spain, was re- ceived indeed with all the demonstrations of love and kindness that could be devised, so as the charge of his entertainment was said to includ the King of Spain in nine and forty thousand Ducats; but yet his acquaintance with the Lady was much refrained, for in all the time of his staying in Spain, (which was no lefle than eight months, being from February to October) he saw her but very seldom, and that at good distances, neither spoke with her but twice, and that before com- pany, besides that his speeches were limited, how much and what he should say, far from any means of tying the Knot between them which was Pretended. What the charge should be, was much in obscurity, some thought that a difference between the Duke of Buckingham, and the present Olivers, the King of Spain's great Fa- vorite, was a great hindrance of the proceeding, but other, and more likely, that the Spanish indeed never really intended the Match at all, but had drawn the Prince into Spain for other ends, but what those ends were, was no lefle un- certain; one thought it was done to hold the prince in a Treaty of marriage with a Daughter of Spain, till the Daughters of France should be befowled, thereby to keep him from that ally- ance; but others and more likely, that the King of Spain entertain this Treaty with the King of great Brittan, meaning to spin it out till he had composed some designs in the Low- Countries, and the Palatinate, at least to make King James less vigilant for those parts.

But when much time had been spent in pro- ceeding, upon pretence of difficulties in obtaining the Popes dispensation, King James partly wearied with delay, but chiefly angry with deli- beration, sent to the Prince, with all speed to return into England; which the Prince pretend signifi- ced to the King of Spain, and had his leave to depart; but upon promise to continue the Treaty of the marriage full. Though it was said, the Prince was gone but a few days on his journey, when a Post went out to have flayed him, but it had been overtaxed. But whether it was so or no, it was Gods Providence that he came safely to his ships, and in them safely into England; arriving at Porismouth, where he was behold of the people, with no lefle gladness, than the Sun after a long Eclipse, and now his safe returning did both justify King James his judgement in suffering him to go, and the King of Spain's justice, in suffering him to comeback: and was caufe, that the people began to have a better opinion of the Spanishe faith, than they had before. But now it preently breaks out, that this match with Spain could never take effect: for King James having received Declarations of the Articles touching the marriage, found many very strict and large for exercise of the Catholicke Religion: but none at all for restitution of the Palatinate; which made him to much discontented, that he presently brake off all Treaty of the marriage, and signified as much, not only to the King of Spain, but to divers other Princes of Christendom: upon which break two great Points were presently made in consultation: One for preparing Forces for recovering the Palatinate by way of Arms, which could not be done by a way of friendship; and for this purpose, a Council of war was called, and a proposition resolved on both of men and money, for undertaking the enterprise: as also a great contribution by way of benevolence was collected; towards which, the compiler of this work, gave himself fifty pounds: as many other far greater sums, though the collection went not through the whole Land; by reason there was hope given of a peaceable reconcilement: fo as many that were not over-hasty in their payment escaped without contributing at all. The other point was for providing a fit Wife for the Prince, in some other place, It was said the States of Holland offered a very great portion in marriage to the Prince, if he would match with some Lady of that Country, but matches are made in Heaven, and there was a young Lady of France defirous to his bed: and for this purpose, the Earl of Car- lisle, and the Earl of Holland were sent into France, to treat of a marriage with the younger Daughters of the fourth, King of Franse deceased, and Siffer to the present King Louis, which marriage afterward took effect, but was not accomplished in King James his days; who dyed soon after the agreement.

It was now the year 1632, in which in Mi- chermaur Term, there was a Call of fifteen Ser- geants at Law, who kept their feast in the Middle Temple Hall.

A Treaty of Marriage with a Daughter of the King of Frane, which afterwards took effect.

A Call of fifteen Ser- geants in Law.

1632.
Two things in this King's days grew to lose their Luster. One the Exercise of Titling, which in Queen Elizabeth's time, was so much used, that no year pasted without a special solemnity in that kind. The other, the Band of Gentle
men Pensioners and Yeomen of the Guard; which in her time consisted of the choicest persons both for stature and other good parts throughout the Realm; and was so great a grace to her Court, that no Prince of Christendom could shew the like
but King James was so intentive to Realities, that he little regarded them; and thereby both these in his time were not so neglected:
No solemnity for Arms, but very rare, no regard had what persons were admitted into the other places.

We may here observe, how the Surname of the Kings of England, hath at sundry times been changed. From William the Conqueror, to King Henry the second, what surname they had or whether they had any or no, is most uncertain: but then King Henry the second brought in the French surname of Plantagenet: which continued in all the succeeding Kings, till King Henry the fourth; and he brought in the Welsh surname of Tudor, which continued the surname of all the succeeding Princes, till King James the first of Scotland and he brought in the Scotch surname of Stewart: in which it is likely to continue, and God grant it may do so to the worlds end.

Some passages of small moment I confess are omitted by me in this reign of King James, as wherefor, for want of knowing the particulars, I dare not venture upon making the Relation: which if some men would have done, the Truth of our Chronicles should not have been mingled with so many fables.

Of his Taxation.

In his second year, in the month of September, he lent Privy Seals to the wealthy Citizens of London for money to be borrowed of them and in October he lent the Custom of Merchant Taylors, both outward and inward, were raised, and then were letten out to Farm. In a Parliament holden at Westminster, the third year of his Reign, there were given him three entire Subsidies, and six fifteens by the Temporality, and by the Clergy four entire Subsidies. This year also Henry Lord Mordant, convicted in the Star-chamber, for divers misprisions, was fined to pay ten thousand Marks, and Edward Lord Storton for the like offence to pay thirty thousand Pounds, and some years after Sir John Bennet, Judge of the Prerogative Court was fined to pay twenty thousand Pounds. In his fourth year he repayed threefourth thousand pounds to the Citizens of London, which the Londoners lent to Queen Elizabeth, three years before her death; an act by which he got more love, than he paid money. In his seventh year he had aid throughout England, for making his eldest Son Prince Henry Knight: which though they leyved with great moderation, brought him in great sums of money. In his eighteenth year, in a Parliament holden at Westminster, the Temporality gave him two Subsidies, and the Clergy three: and in another
The Reign of King James.

Out of these Heads, he drew and moved divers Points: One, that Confirmation might not be by Bishops only, but that every Pastor in his Parish might Confirm: But this was thought to trench too much upon the Jurisdictions of Bishops, and to be a step to bring in a Presbyterian Government, which the King much disliked; and the Bishop of Winchester challenged Dr. Reynolds with all his Learning to shew, where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all used in ancient times, by any other than by Bishops. Another motion of Dr. Reynolds was, That there might be a new Translation of the Bible, because the present Translations were corrupt, and not answerable to the truth of the Original; whereof he alleged divers Examples; particularly that in the 105. Psal. 28. v. where it is said, They were not Obedient, when in the Original it is, They were not Disobedient: To this it was agreed, That a new Translation should be made: and accordingly a few Years after, was performed by the most learned Divines of the Kingdom, and is that which is now used. After many other Points more, Dr. Reynolds, he came at last to Subscription: Intreating it might not be exacted, as heretofore; which many good men refrained for these reasons: First, because the Apocryphal Books are by the Common Prayer Book appointed to be read; albeit in some of them there are manifest errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures. To this, the King himself answered, That as he would not with all Canonical Books to be read in the Church, unless there were one to interpret; so he would with no Apocryphal to be read, wherein was any error: but for the other which were clear and correspondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read; seeing there was good use of them, to make up the story of the Persecution of the Jews; but withal he would have the people be taught, they should not be taught a man, either to sacrifice to the dead, or to kill himself. The next furious instance of subscription was, That in the Common Prayer Book it is twice for ever, Jesus said to his Disciples, when by the Original Text it is plain, He shall take to the Pharisees. To which it was answered, That for any thing could be gathered by the place, he might speak as well to thine as to the other: But the King for more plainnesses sake, willed, That the word Disciples should be omitted, and only the words Jesus said, to be pointed in a different letter, that it might appear to be no part of the Text.

Another tempest was, concerning the Cross in Baptism, which Doctor Reynolds contended to have ever been used since the Apostles time, at going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their prayers and Benedictions; but doubted of the ancient use of it in Baptism: to which the Bishop of Winchester answered, that in Constantine's time it was used in Baptism, and the Dean of Westminster shewed out of Tertullian, Cyprian, Origines, and others, that in their time it was used in Immersion Baptism, which could be nothing but Baptism, and that the King, judged to be antiquity enough to warrant the continuance of it still. At last Master Kenafsley moved how far an Ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeachment of their Christian liberty: At which the King seem'd much moved, and told him,
the reign of king James.

Concerning the wearing of the Surplice.

It was now observed, that in all their Object
there was not a word spoken against Bishops,
or against the King in Marriage; for Dr. Reynolds,
himself confessed that the King was a very mea-
ceremony; and the King affirmed he should not
himself actively married, if he had not been
in the presence of the Bishop: And as for Bishops, he
declared himself to be very perjured, they were
Divine Ordinations, and most necessary to
Monarchy; and would often say, No Bishop, no
King. Many other points were handled, as about
Predestination, Atonement, and Remission of sins,
Baptizing by women; about the words in Marriage,
With my body I thee forspew, the Oath Ex officio,
the high Commission and some others in all which
the King gave so good satisfaction, that they all
joyfully promised to be quiet and obedient, now
they knew it to be his mind to have it so; and the
King was so admired for his excellent Resolutions
and Answers, that the Archbishop of Canterbury
said, undoubtedly his Majesty spake by the
special assistance of God's Spirit. After this
Conference, the King in his second year set forth
a Proclamation, to confirm the Ecclesiastical
Government, and the Book of Common Prayer, in
the Form and Style as Queen Elizabeth left them.

After this he sent divers Learned Divines into
Scotland, to have a Conference with the Divines
there; and if it might be, to reduce the two King-
doms to an uniformity of Religion, as he brought
them to an Union of Poise: And now entering
into consideration of this Title, of being Defender
of the Faith: he conceived it might extend not
only to his own Dominions, but in some sort to
Neighbouring Countries; if not in Authority, at
least in Care: and hereupon hearing that the
States of the Low Countries were determined to
entertain one Professor of Divinity in Leyden,
and knowing, him, though otherwise a learned man,
yet tainted with many erroneous opinions, concerning the "Effence
and Substantiation of God, making him to be Quaestio
abstrusa, changing Eternity into Divinitamentum,
attaining Eternity to consist of a number of Ages,
and denying God to be Portus altis; but to rise
in some sort aligned Divisores et Multiplicitates
in eipsos; etiam Principium expulsam nutrimentorum.
He earnestly solicited the States, both by his
own Letters, and by his Letters, Sir Ralph
Winwood, by no means to admit the said Professor
into that place; lest his doctrine having once
infected their Country, might soon after spread it
self into his Dominions. Which request of his,
after much soliciting, the States at length granted,
and expelled Professor from amongst them.

At this time a Synod was assembled at Dort in
Holland, consisting of Learned Divines, sent from
the Count Palatine of the Rhine, from Hulsber
go armed from Switzerland, from the Church of Geneva,
from Bern, Embden, Holland, Zealand, Drecht,
Friesland and other Provinces: Some also from
England, as namely, George Bishop of
London, John Dowes Professor of Divinity in
the University of Cambridge, Samuel Ward
of Malling, and Mather Farrant in Cambridge,
Thomas God Doctor of Divinity, and Walter Belchem
of a Scotchman Batchelor of Divinity: Which Synod
was Assembled to examine and determine
the Doctrine of Arminius; first concerning Gods
Predestination, Election, and Reprobation; then
concerning Christ's death and Man's redemption
by it; then concerning man's corruption and
conversion to God: then concerning the perfections of God: In all which points the doctrine
of Arminius was rejected, as also of Professor,
and the true Doctrine by a general consent, together
with the approbation of the Lord's the States;
which yet the Papists made little reackoning of;
that one of them in persons, made Echo to cen
ture it in this Diuht:


But who knows not, that ill will will never speak
well, and that nothing is so obvious in the mouth
of an adversary, as scandals and incredibles.
In the year 1616, Mr. Annesio de Domini
Archbishop of Spalato, in the Territory of Dalmatia,
came into England, leaving his Country (as he
affirmed) for Religion: whereas he set forth in
writing many reasons, and being thereupon en-
tertained by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was
afterward made Dean of Windsor, and Mitter of the
Stowe; in which time he preached publicly
divers times before divers Lords of the Council,
printed in London the first four of his Ten Books,
intituled, Of the Commonwealth of the Church:
wherein with great exactness he maintained the
Doctrine and Discipline of the Protestants: But
after all this, whether all he had done was but
dissembling from the beginning, or whether out
remorse of conscience he repented him of what
he had done; after five years paying his
retrieved all he had paid or warranted before; which
incensed King James, that he commanded him
(within three days at his peril) to depart to
the Realm:
Works of Piety done by this King, or by other in his time.

Structures of Piety King James made none at all, nor many of magnificence, only the great Banqueting House at White-hall; a wall of Brick about his Park at Greenwich, another at Theobalds, and some little buildings at Royston, and such like. His greatest charity was expressed by largesses and Pensions; as first, where the Gentlemen of his Chappell, being 33 in number, had each of them 30 pounds a year fee, he made it up 40. Then he enlarged the Pensions of his Alms Knights of Windsor, being 13 in number, from twelve pence a day to two shillings. Then he increased the Pension of the Yeomen of the Guard, from sixpence to two hundred, so he increased their Pensions, from two shillings a day, for three months in the Summer, to seven groats a day for six months in the Summer. Then, where at his coming, he found but only four Judges in the Courts of Law at Westminster, he added a fifth, with the like allowance as the former had; besides many other Pensions of like nature. But the works of Piety done by others in his time, were very many, whereby we may justly set in the first place, the repairing of Paul's Church, begun in his time, though not finished till many years after; a work of as great cost and labour, as the first founding of it: towards the furtherance whereof though many well devoted persons contributed liberally, yet none was more industrious, than the Learned Doctor Land, first Bishop of London, and after Archbishop of Canterbury; who also was a bountiful Benefactor to the College of Saint John's in Oxford, where he had his Education. Next to him his Predecessor next before him, the worthy George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, founded a fair Almes-houe at Guilford in Surrey, where he was born, as likewise Robert the second Earl of Dorset, founded another in Sussex; to the maintenance whereof, he gave Lands to the value of three hundred pounds a year. But of all the Almes-houses that were ever founded in Chriftendom, there is none I think can parallel that of Thomas Sutton Esquire. This man born at Snayth in Lincolnshire, having always lived a Batchelor, and by frugality, and economy, being grown to great wealth, bought of the right Honourable Thomas Earl of Suffolk, his Mansion house, called the Charter-house, near to Smithfield in London, and cut of a pious mind, converted it into an Almshoue, by the name of Sutton's Hospital, endowing the same with above three thousand pounds of yearly rent: wherein are maintained fourscore poor men, with convenient Lodging, diet, and allowance of money for apparel: also forty poor children with the like provision, and a Grammar School, with a Master and Usher to teach them; over all whom, he ordained a Learned man to be Master of the house, and to be chosen by the Governors, who he appointed for the present, by the Authority of the Kings Letters Patent, to be George Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Lord Esquire, Lord Chancellor, Robert Earl of Salisbury, Lord Treasurer, John Byrde, Lord Treasurer, his first Bishop of Ely, Sir Edward Coke, Chief Justice of the Common-Plaees, Sir Thomas Foster, a Judge of the Common-Plaees, Sir Henry Hubbard, the Kings Attorney-General, Doctor Overall, Dean of Pauls, Doctor Mountain, Dean of Westminster, Henry Thynby, Esquire, Master of the Chancery, Richard Sutton Esquire, Auditor of the Impreffe, Jeffery Nightingall Esq; John Law, Gentleman, Thomas Brown Gentleman, and Master of the Houehold for the time being, to be always one; and as many of the other sixteen Governors should die, the Survivors to make present addition of others. Next to this was a fair Colledge in Oxford founded by Nicholas White Esquire, and called after his name. About this time also Edward Allen of Dunwich in Surrey founded a fair Hospital at Dunwich for six poor men, and six poor women; and for twelve poor Children, from the age of four to six years, and for eight Children, from the age of fourteen to sixteen, and to have a School-master with dyet, and a convenient stipend. This man may be an example, who having gotten his Wealth by Stage-playing, converted it to this Pious use, not without a kind of reputation to the Society of Players. In this Kings time also William Camden, King at Arms, founded an History Professor in Oxford, to which he gave the Manor of Bowley in Kent, which some
The Reign of King James.

In his first year, on the seven and twentieth of April, thirteen persons were slain by muskets at the Gun-powder Mill in Retiaries, and much other hurt done in divers places. This year also, the Plague in London was so fatal, that its time and twentieth of December 1612, to the two and twentieth of December following, three died in London, and the Liberties, eight and thirty thousand, two hundred and four and forty, whereof the Plague thirty thousand, five hundred three-score and eighteen, of them in one week three thousand four hundred and ten, where the next year after, though the City were encreased with great number of strangers, yet there died that year of all diseases, within London and the Liberties, but only four thousand two hundred three-score and three persons. In the second year of his Reign, a strange accident happened, to the terror of all bloody Murthiers, which was this; one Anne Waters enticed by a Lover of hers, contented to have her husband strangled, and then buried him secretly under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; whereupon the man being miffing by his Neighbours, and the Wife making chee of a wondering what was become of him; it pleased God, that one of the Inhabitants of the Town dreamed one night, that his prisoners in mind of then approaching death, with a Christian remembrance and exaltation; the next morning to toll the great Bell, from six o'clock to ten, and then to ring it out when the Execution should be past. He also established a free forgiving School in Christ's Hospital, for the better education of the poor children there; besides many other good deeds of Alms. About the same time Robert Peake of London Goldsmith, gave to Sepulchers Church a Communion Table of two yards long, and three quarters and a half broad, richly gilded over, and at every corner inborn with plates of silver. In this King's first year, William Jones of London Merchant, gave about eighteen thousand pounds to found a Free-School in Wex, where he was born, with Almes-houses and Penitentaries in London; and a hundred pounds a year forever to a learned Preacher in London, ordaining all things to be ordered by the Company of Haberdashers, wherein of himself was free. This year also the old notorious Gate called Aldersgate was taken quite down, and new built from the foundations toward the building whereof, William Parker, Merchant-Taylor of London, gave a thousand pounds. In this King's time also, was erected a Building next to Chefsy, with a purpose to be a College for Divines to study the Controversies of Religion, but upon second thoughts, the Cage indeed framed finished, but no Birds have ever yet been brought to sing in it, and perhaps never will. If any other Deeds of Alms, or publick benefit were done in this King's time, as perhaps there were many, the Reader may be pleased both here and in other Kings Reigns, to add them, as he meets with them; for partly to this end, I have digested this Chronicle into such several Heads and Chapters.

Of Casualties happening in his time.

On the fifteenth of June, 1614, dyed Henry Earl of Northampton, who built from the ground a house where Charing Cross, and dying was buried in the ancient Chappel of Dover Caffe, who in his life-time founded three fair Hospitals, and endowed them with large maintenance for ever, one at Rivington in Norfok for twelve poor women and a Governor, a second at Cram in Shropshire, for twelve poor men and a Governor: The third at Greenwich in Kent, for a Governor and twenty poor Alm-en. In this King's time also, Mafter Robert Dow of London Merchant-Taylor, gave a competent maintenance for ever into Sepulchers Parish, for the tolling of the great Bell, and for finding some Divine to come to the Prison of Newgate, the midnight before Execution, and then to ring a hard Bell, and to put the
his neighbour Waters was strangled, and buried under the dung-hill in a Cow-house; and upon declaring his dream, several were made by the Constable, the dead body was found as he had dreamed: and thereupon the wife was apprehended, and upon examination, confessing the fact was burned. And now what hope can murthers have of being concealed, when they are subjeet to be discovered by any mans dream? The 19th of January in his third year, a great Petrurus was taken at Westbarn, in a small Creek, a mile and a half within the Land, and within few days of London, whose body was seen divers times above water, and judged to exceed the length of the large ship in the River: But when the tides of the fresh water, and scented the Land, they returned into the Sea. In his fourth year, being the year 1607, a mighty wind was brought in the Sea into the River of Severn, with such violence, that in some places of Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, the Waters in dives Towns and Villages, grew higher than the tops of their houses (so not withstanding all courtes that could be taken) there were drowned in Somersetshire 80 persons, and damages done to the value of twenty thousand pounds. At Coventry also, the seventh of April, a sudden flood came into the Suburbs and City, that in one hour it rose in some places above three yards in height to the great Damage and hurt of many; and which is as much strange, as it suddenly came; so it suddenly abated: so in four hours and a half, it both came and went away. In his 4th year being 1609, a frost began in December, which continued till April following, with such violence, that not only the Thames was frozen, that Carts loaded were driven over it as on dry land, but many Fowls and Birds perished; as also much hag in gardens, especially Artichokes and Rosemary were destroyed. This year also the 11th of April a Malt-house in the Town of St. Edmondsbury, being by chance set on fire, continued burning till it had consumed 160 houses: but by the Kings bounty, (giving 5,000 loads of timber) and the City of London aid, the Town was forthwith new built, in a fanner manner than it was before. In the year 1613, on the fourteenth of April in the Parish of Stendish in Lancashire a maiden child was born, having four legs, four arms, two bellies joined to one back: one head with two faces, the one before, the other behind, like the picture of Janus. This year also the 26th of June, in the Parish of Christ Church in Hampshire, one John Hichoel, a Carpenter, lying in bed with his wife and a young child by them, was himselfe and the child both burnt to death with a sudden lightning, no fire appearing outward upon him, and yet lay burning for the space of almost three days, till he was quite consumed to ashes. This year also on the seventh of April, the Town of Drochet was quite consumed with fire, begun in the house of Tallow Chandler, destroying all the houses except a few near the Church, and all their wares and goods, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, yet not any man or woman perished. About the same time also the Play-house called the Globe upon the Bank-side near London, was quite consumed with fire by 624 diaching a piece of Ordinance and yet no man hurt: and about four years after, a new built Play-house, near Golding-lane called the Fortune, was hoosed by negligence of a candle, clean burnt down to the ground. In the year 1614, the Town of Stratford upon Avon, was burned. And left the water should be behind in doing of mischfe, so great inundations were at this time in North and Lincolnshire, that the Sea entered twelve miles into the Land. In the year 1614, on the 18 of November a blazing Star began to be seen in the South-east about five a clock in the morning, the flame or stream whereof, enclined towards the west. This comet, in the opinion of Dr. Breridges, the great Mathematician of Oxford, was as far above the Moon, as the Moon is above the Earth: what it portended is only known to God; but the sequel of it was, that infinite wretches and devotions followed it, both in Germany and other Countries. In the year 1623, on Friday the 24 of October, a Roman Catholic Priest preached in the afternoon, at Han- don house in the Black-Fryers in London, in an upper chamber, where there were assembled above 300 men and women, when about the middle of the Sermon, a great part of the Floor brake, and fell down with much violence, that it brake down the next floor under it in the fall whereof, were slain the Preacher, and almost one of his Auditors, besides as many more hurt. In this Kings time confidence, paper commonly called white brown paper was first made in England, especially in Surrey, and about Windsor.

Of his Wife and Children.

H E married Anne, the Daughter of Fredericke the second, King of Denmark, whole marriage was there solemnized in the year 1589. By whom he had born in Scotland, two Sons, Henry who dyed before him, and Charles who succeed him in the Crown; and one Daughter named Elizabeth, married to Fredericke the third King of Denmark, of the same family, Count Palatine of the Rhine, by whom she had many children, both Sons and Daughters. King James had also by his Wife Queen Anne two other Daughters born in England, the Lady Mary, and the Lady Sophia, who both dyed young, the Lady Mary at about three years old, the Lady Sophia the next day after she was born; and were both of them buried with great solemnity, in the Chappell Royal at Westminster.

Of his Personage and Characters.

H E was of stature some what higher than ordinary, a well compacted body, of an auburn hair, of a full and pleasing Visage; in his later days inclining to be lean and bony; of bodily exercises, he took much delight in hunting; which yet (some thought) he used rather as a reasing himself from the importunity of State affairs, than for any great pleasure he took in it. It is said, that he had such a passion in riding, that it could not so properly be said he rid, as that this Horfe carried him; for he made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, a Horfe never flame, but when he was reined. He was of an admirable
The Reign of King James.

Before: but King James being dead, and his body opened, there was found no sign at all of poisons, or inward parts being all found, but that his Spleen was a little doubtful, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague: the ordinary high way, especially in old bodies, to a natural death: of this Ague after a Moneths languishing, notwithstanding all the remedies that could be applied, he departed this life at 7 o'clock, on the 27th of March; in the year 1625, in the 59th of his age; when he had Reigned two and twenty years complete; His body for the greater State, was conveyed by Torch light; from Theobalds to Denmark house, where having rested from the 23d of April, to the 7th of May, it was carried to Westminster, and there interred in the Chappel Royal, with great solemnity, but with greater lamentation; there being scarce any of the infinite multitude that was present, of whom it might not be said.

Multa grannis, larga quo humcella femina vultum.

Of Men of note in his time.

Military Men of Note, in a time of Peace, as the whole Reign of King James was, we have no reason to expect; yet if we look among the Voluntaries that went to the School of War in the Low Countries; we shall find a pair of brothers, that may stand in comparison with the greatest Souldiers in the most Martial times, St. Francis Vere, who as another Hannibal, with his one eye, could see more in the Martial Discipline, than common men can do with two; and St. Horatio Vere, who as another Philopamens, contained in a very little body, a very great both skill and courage. But for men of Note in learning, as being in the time of a most learned Prince, there was never greater flower; of whom there are for example. In Curiosity of Preaching, there was Doctor Andrew Bishop of Winchester, who hath left to posterity, a Colour of such golden Sermons, that these, as well as the name of Chrysostom, that he had it. In multiplicity of reading, there was Doctor Reynolds of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford; who seemd, as it were, a Living Library; and one would have thought his Memory to be a perfect Index of all the Books ever been written. In knowledge of Law, there was Sir Edward Coke, Chief new Lawyers, Sir Francis Bacon, Chief new Lawyers, Sir Edward Coke, and seems as another Barbois or Baldois amongst us.

In elegancy of Writing, there was Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, who besides his profound Books of Novum Organum, hath written the Reign of King Henry the Seventh, in twelve fable, that like Manas, it pleeth the taste of all palates. In the skill of Antiquities, there was William Camden, King at Arms; who hath set forth with the Description of Rome, and the life of Queen Elizabeth in so lively colours, that it seems to have brought Britain out of darknes into light, and to keep Queen Elizabeth alive after death. And to speak it in a word, the Trojan Horse was not fuller of Hercules Grievous, than King James his Reign was full of men, excellent in all kindes of Learning. And here I desire the Readers leave to remember two of my own old acquaintance, the
Of the English Plantations in the Indies, that were in King James's time.

And now we are come to a time, wherein we may very near lay as much of King James as was laid of Augustinus Caesar; Super & Germanias & Indies profuse Impression; and in better, than where Augustus did it by the violent way of Arms, King James did it by the civil way of Plantations: for in his days began the great Plantation of the English in the Indies; and must be acknowledged the proper effect of his peaceable Government. The first Plantation of the English in the Indies; was that which is now called Virginia, in memory of the Virgin Queen Elizabeth; but called before Wingandacoa. It was first discovered by Sir Walter Raleigh, in the year 1584, to whom the first Letters Patents were granted for making a Plantation there: but yet no Colony was sent thither, till the year 1607. It is a Country in America, between the degrees of 34 and 45 of the North Latitude: but that part of it which is planted by the English, is under the Degrees of 37, 38, and 39. It is 1000 miles, as many have imagined, but a part of the Continent adjoining to Florida. The first and chief Town made here by the English, is called Jamestown, in honour of the King most excellent Majesty. It is a Country abounding with all sorts of Fruits and Fowl; so fruitful, that it yields thirty, and sometimes forty Bathels of Corn upon an Acre: and that (which is to us more strange) hath three harvests in a year, the Combeing sowed, ripe, and reaped, in little more than two months. Many Plantations had been attempted here before, but came to nothing: the first to any purpose was in the year 1607, under the Conquest of Captain Gains, John Smith, and Mr. Edward Maria Winfield, who carried a Colony thither of a hundred persons, but of these, many dying of sickness, or slain by the Savages, a new supply came in the year 1608. of a hundred and twenty persons, under the conduct of Captain Nisfan. After which, it was sent another supply of three score and ten persons; and in the year 1609, a third supply came of five hundred persons, under a Patent granted to Sir Thomas Woff, Lord de la Ware, but conducted thither by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Summer, and others. In the year 1611, was a fourth supply of three hundred men under the conduct of Sir Thomas Gates. In the year 1612, two other supplies were sent of forty men each, and now was the Lottery spoken of before granted by the King, for further Supplies of this Plantation. After this Matter Samuel Argell being appointed Governor in the year 1618, the Lord de la Ware came thither with a supply of two hundred people; but in his stay there dyed: After this in the year 1620, were sent thither eleven Ships, with twelve hundred and fourteen persons, and now they founded themselves into Corporations: In the year 1621, Sir Francis Wits was sent thither Governor, with thirteen hundred men, women, and children, and now they founded Schools, and Courts of Justice; and the Plantation was extended a hundred and forty miles up, on the River of both sides. But now when the English were leisure, and thought of nothing but peace, the Savages came suddenly upon them, and slew of them three hundred and seven and forty men, women, and children. For repairing of which lofe, the City of London sent presently over a supply of a hundred men. This mischief happened, by reason they had built their Plantations remote from one another, in above thirty several Places, which made them, when upon occasion, to reduce them all to five or six places, by which time they may better afift each other; since which time they have always lived in good security. And thus much for Virginia.

Next was the Plantation of the Island called Bermudas, so called of a Spanish Ship, called Berwald, which was there cast away, carrying Hogs to the West-Indies, that Iwan a flour, and there increased. The first English man that enter'd this Isle, was one Henry May in the year 1591, but in the year 1610, Sir George Somers was sent thither, who dying there, in memory of his name, the Isles have ever since been called Somers Iles. In the year 1612, one Mr. Moor landed there with 60 persons, and then builded the chief Town there called S. Georges, together with 8 or 9 Forts. The same year a supply of 30 more persons was sent thither, and the year after 60 more, under one Mr. Barlet; with a ship to convey the land, but with a purpose indeed to get from thence a great lump of Ambergris, and no less than 80 pound weight that had been found and taken up in the Island some few years before, and was still retained. A while after this, came a Ship called the Blessings, with 100 passengers, and two days after came the Star, with 80 more; and within 14 days after that again came thither the Margarita and two Frigates, with 150 passengers: So as now they begin to divide the Country into Tribes, and the Tribes into houses. In the year 1616, Captain Daniel Tucker was sent from Virginia to be Governor there, and now it began indeed to be a Plantation; for now they begin to build them houses; and now was sent from thence into England, a Ship fraughted with 30000 weight of Tobacco, valued there but at £5 6d, the pound, though sold here oftentimes for sixpence at great rates. In the year 1619, Captain Nathaniel Nunn,
The %etyi

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of

Kjng James.

Bnt/er was fent Governour with new Supplies, in
whole time they build them a Church ; held
Ailizes for Criminal caufes,twice a year, and be-

Of

the Earls

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Gentlemen

of good fafhion, with their

and Families

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and Barons made 6y King

JAMES.

gan to have Parliaments as in England . and now
the Ship called the Magnum, came divers

Kings Reigns, the making of Earls
INandformer
Buons vvas but rare, and therefore they

are fitly let down at the leveral times of their
hundred people , difperfed
twenty miles in length. In the year 1622, making
but in King James his Reign , there
came Governour Mr. John #fr«,W,bringing with were lb many made, that it may not be unfit to
him a fupply of 140 pecfons ; but he and his wife let them down in a dialogue together.
dying prefently upon their coming, Mr. John
Harrifon in the year itfig, vvas chofen Gover- In his firft year were made four Earls and nine
Barons : namely , Henry Hoivard younger
nour.
Thefe Itles of Bermudas are in 32 deBrother of the laft Duke of Norfolk, W 1S made
grees of Northern latitude: foas they are diEarl ot Northampton : Thomas Sackvile Lord
itant from Virginia at leaft 500 Leagues, and
from England above three thouland three hunBuckhurfi , was made Earl of I)>r[et ; and
dred.
and fhortly after Charles Blunt Lord Mount'
This Country is of a moft healthful Air,
abounding with all forts of Fowls,Birds and Fiili;
joy, was made Earl of Devon/hire, and Thoand where great pieces' of Amber-gretce are ofmas Howard Baron of walden, was made Earl
of Suffolk^ : Henry Grey was made Lord Grey
tentimes found, which is valued there at no leffe
than three pounds an ounce.
And thus much
ofGroby, (afterward by King Charles made Earl
of Stanford) Henry Danvers was made Baron
concerning the ftate of Bermudas, till th« year
oiDanby, (afterwards by King Charles made
1624;
Earl of Danby) Sir John Peter of Ejfex, was
Next comes the Plantation of New-England;
•phe Plan- concerning which, we muft firft know , that
•nade Baron of 'Wnttle
Sir William Rujfel
made
1606.
granted
was
Baron
two
Letin
the
year
of
King
Thornaugh
Sir Thomas
James
w"^e,?Gerard was made Baron oiGerards Bromley in
su»d and ters Patents for Plantations in Virginia, one to
Stafford/hire } Sir Robert Spencer was made
r^dTtuT of the City of London; another to the Cities of
the cownBaron of fformelayton in the County of WarBriflow, Exceter and' Plimouth ; with power to
try
plant Colonies any where between the Degrees
wick : Sir Thomas Egerton was made Baron of
of 3 8 and 44, provided there fhould be at leaft
Eifemere : Sir Robert Cecill was created Ba100 miles diftancc between the two Colonies.
ron of Henden in Rutland/lire ; and Sir John
Harington was made Baron of Exton.
So as the firft Colony was from the City of
London, and is that which is called Virginia ; In his fecond year on the 20th, of May were
made four Barons and one Vifcount : Sir RoThe fecond Colony was from Brifiow & the other
bert Sidney was made Baron of Psrthttrfl : Sir
Towns, and is that which is now called NewWilliam Knowlet, Baron of Grayes : Sir EdEngland and is.fituate between the degrees of
ward Wstton Baron of MaHcy
and Mildmay
41 and 45 : the very mean betwixt the North
And now to fpeak a little of
Fane Lord de Spencer ; and in Augufb the
Pole and the Line.
fame year, Sir Robert Cecill Baron of EJfentheConntr), there areon theSeacoft, 25 exden, was created Vifcount Cranburn.
cellent good Harbours, in feme whereof there is
Anchorage for 500 fail of Ships of any burthen. In his third year, .on the 4th. of May, were created three Earls, and one Vifcount, and four
The Earth as fruitful, and the Air as healthful
Barons . namely, Sir Robert Civil Vifcount
abounding with all
as any part of the World
Cr auburn, was created Earl of Salisbury i Sir
Many o( fuch
forts of Gtain, Fowls and Fifh
Thomas Cecill his elder Brother Lord Bumhley,
kinds as are to us unknown, yet excellent meat
was created Earl of Exceter • and Sir Philip
had
been made for theperfecl
Many Voyages
younger Brother to the Earl of PemHerbert
the
Many
Country
for
of
attempts
:
difcovery
broke, was created Earl of Montgomery : Rofetling a Plantation there : Many Mifcarriages
bert Sidney Baron of Penhurft, was created
and Difafters in making the attempts : but all
Vifcount of Lifit; Sir John Stanhope was made
atlaft came to this,that in the year 1624. (which
Baron of Harington
Sir George Carew Baron
is the limit of our Narration) there was a PlantaoiClepton; Mr. Thomas ArwdellotDevontion fetlcd, though but a jqpall one : but a few

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years after (by the fending forth of new Supplies,} encreafed to fo many thoufands, that if

God continue to profper it, as he hath begun, the
New- England in a few Ages may prove as populous as the Old
ly to

have

as

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and the King of England like-

many and

dies, than he had in his

and Ireland.

greater

Crowns in

Realms

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of Great Britain

But feeing of thefe and

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other

Englifh Plantations in the Indies, whereof there
.are many ; large difcoarfes are written by divers

Authors ,' it fhould be mor« than fuperfluous to
fpeak more of them in this place : It is fufficicnt
to have fhew'ed that King James had the honour
to have them fetled in his time, and under the
influence of his peaceable Government.

flnrt, Baron of

Warder ; and Mr, William
Cavendi/h Baron of HardwickIn his fourth year, on the fourth of July, Sir Thomas Knevet was called by Writ to the Parliament, by the name of Baron of Efiricl^ and
was thereby Baron of that Title ; and on the
feventhof September, Sir Jervis Clifton WAS
likewife called by. Writ to the Parliament) by
the name of Baron ©f Layton Bromfenfi>ld,*nd
was thereby Baron of that Title.
In his ninth year, upon Eafter Munday, Sir Robert Carre was created Vifcount Rochefier
;

and
In his tenth year, on the fourth of Ntvcinkr,
vvas created Earl of Smtrfet.


In his eleventh year, Lewis Stewart Duke of Lenox was made Earl of Richmond, and after Duke of Richmond.

In his thirteenth year, on the 29th of June, Sir James Hay of Scotland was created Baron of Semy, and about three years after, was made Viscount Doncaster, and Sir Robert Dormer was created Baron of Byng, (afterward by King Charles was made Earl of Carnarvon.)

In his fourteenth year, on the 9th of July, Sir John Holyo Knight was created Baron Hanbury of Hanbury in the County of Nottingham, and Sir John Perer of Kent, was made Baron of Trent; and on the 17th of August, Sir George Villiers was created Baron of Whaddon, and Viscount Villiers; and on the 7th of November, Thomas Egerton Lord Ellesmere was created Viscount Buckingham, and he dying soon after, his Son John was created Earl of Bridgewater; William Lord Kinmore was created Viscount Wellingford; and Sir Philip Stanhope was created Baron of Shiforld: On the 5th of January, the Viscount Villiers was created Earl of Buckingham, and on the third of March, Sir Edward Noel of Rutland, was made Baron of Riddington.

In his fifteenth year, on New-year's day, Sir George Villiers Earl of Buckingham, was created Marquise of Buckingham; and on the 12th of July, Sir Francis Bacon Lord Chancellor of England, was created Baron of Verulam, and Viscount Devonshire; and after Viscount Saint Albans. Also in the Summer of this year, the King created four Earls and one Countesse; namely, the Viscount Liske was made Earl of Leicesters, the Lord Compton was made Earl of Northampton, the Lord Rich was made Earl of Warwick, the Lord Cavendish was made Earl of Devonshire, and the Lady Compton was made Viscountess to Sir Thomas Compton, and mother of the Marquise of Buckingham was created Countesse of Buckingham.

In his sixteenth year, on the 25th of November, Sir John Digby Vice chamberlaine to the King, was created Baron of Sherborne, by Patent to him and his heirs males.

In his seventeenth year, in the moneth of June, Esme Stewart Lord d'Asbigno, younger Brother to the Duke of Lenox, was created Earl of March, and Marquise Hamilton was created Earl of Cambridge, and Sir John Villiers, Brother to the Marquise of Buckingham was created Baron of Stack and Viscount Purbol.

In his eighteenth year, William Cavendish was created Viscount Mansfield: (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Newcastle) and on Monday the fourth of December, Sir Henry Mounagae, being first made Lord Treasurer, was created Baron of Kimbolton, and Viscount Mandeville, and not long after Earl of Manchester, and Sir John Rawley Viscount Had-dington of Scotland was created Earl of Holderness, and William Fielding was created Baron of Newark, and Viscount Fielding.

In his nineteenth year, Henry Cary was made Lord Cary of Lepington, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Monmouth) Sir Edward Montague Elder Brother to the Viscount Mandeville was made Baron of Boulton, the Lord Dares of Evesham was created Viscount Colchester (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Kent), the Lord Hunsdon was created Viscount Rochford, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Devon) Sir Lynley Cranfield, Master of the Rolls, was created Baron Cranfield in Richmond; and Sir Thomas Howard second son to James Earl of Suffolk, was created Baron of Charleton, and Viscount Andover, (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Buckingham.)

In his twentieth year, in the moneth of September, the Viscount Doncaster was created Earl of Carliile, the Viscount Fielding was created Earl of Denbigh, the Lord Digby was made Earl of Bridgewater, the Lord Cranfield was created Earl of Middlesex, and Sir Henry Rich was made Baron of Kennington.

In his one and twentieth year, the Marquise of Buckingham being then in Spain with Prince Charles, had his Patent sent him to be Duke of Buckingham; William Grey was created Baron of Wark, Elizabeth the widow of Sir Myles Finch of Kent, was created Viscountesses Maidstone, (afterward by King Charles made Countess of Winchesters.)

In the two and twentieth year, the Earl of Clancys, of Ireland, was created Viscount Furnebridge in Kent (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Saint Albans.) Sir John Holyo Knight, Baron Haughton of Haughton was created Earl of Clute, Sir Henry Rich Baron of Kennington was created Earl of Holland, the Lord Fines, Baron of Say and Seale, was made Viscount Say and Seale; Sir Francis Fans was created Earl of Wiltshere, Oliver Lord St. John of Bletho was made Earl of Buckenbrooke, Sir Christopher Villiers, Brother to the Duke of Buckingham, was made Earl of Anglesey, and Sir James Ley was made Lord Ley (afterward by King Charles made Earl of Marlborough.) Also this year, Sir Francis Leicester, was made Baron of Desmonton, and Sir Richard Roberts was made Lord Roberts of Tremor in Cornwall.

And this was the number of all the Earls and Barons made by King James; but in his time also began another form of Nobility to be made in England, which had none of the privileges of English Barons, but had only Title to be called Lords of some place either in England or Ireland, although they possessed not a foot of Land in either. Of which sort, the number being great; I forbear to rehearse them, lest I should be tedious, or otherwise be thought to encroach too much upon the Herald's Office. It is sufficient to have shewed, that King James advanced so many in honour, that in a kind it might be said of him, as was said of Augustus Caesar, That he left Rome of Marble, which he found but of Brick.

Mayors
The Reign of King James.

Mayors and Sheriffs of London in his Reign.

In his first year,
Sir Thomas Bence was Mayor.

In his second year,
Sir Thomas Low was Mayor.
Sir Thomas Hayes, Sir Roger Jones, Sheriffs.

In his third year,
Sir Leonard Hallyday was Mayor.
Sir Clement Scudamor, Sir John Jolles Sheriffs.

In his fourth year,
Sir John Watts was Mayor.

In his fifth year,
Sir Henry Rom was Mayor.
Geoffrey Elttes, Nicholas Style, Sheriffs.

In his sixth year,
Sir Humphry Weld was Mayor.
George Bolles, Richard Farrington, Sheriffs.

In his seventh year,
Sir Thomas Cambell was Mayor.
Sebastian Harvey, William Cockaine, Sheriffs.

In his eighth year,
Sir William Craven was Mayor.
Richard Pyatt, Francis Jones, Sheriffs.

In his ninth year,
Sir James Pemberton was Mayor.
Edward Barkham, John Smiths, Sheriffs.

In his tenth year,
Sir John Swinerton was Mayor.
Edward Rotheram, Alexander Prescot, Sheriffs.

In his eleventh year,
Sir Thomas Middleton was Mayor.
Thomas Bennet, Henry Jove, Sheriffs.

In his twelfth year,
Sir Thomas Hayes was Mayor.
Peter Proby, Martin Luneley, Sheriffs.

In his thirteenth year,
Sir John Jolles was Mayor.
William Goare, John Goare, Sheriffs.

In his fourteenth year,
Sir John Leman was Mayor.
Allen Cutten, Nathaniel Hacket, Sheriffs.

In his fifteenth year,
Sir George Bolles was Mayor.
William Hallyday, Robert Johnes, Sheriffs.

In his sixteenth year,
Sir Sebastian Harvey was Mayor.
Richard Hearne, Hugh Hamerfley, Sheriffs.

In his seventeenth year,
Sir William Cockaine was Mayor.
Richard Deane, James Cambell, Sheriffs.

In his eighteenth year,
Sir Francis Jones was Mayor.
Edward Allen, Robert Doci, Sheriffs.

In his nineteenth year,
Sir Edward Barkham was Mayor.
George Whitmore, Nicholas Rainton, Sheriffs.

In his twentieth year,
Sir Peter Proby was Mayor.
John Hedges, Sir Humphry Hantsford, Sheriffs.

In his one and twentieth year,
Sir Martin Luneley was Mayor.
Ralph Freeman, Thomas Mounson, Sheriffs.

In his two and twentieth year,
Sir John Goare was Mayor.
Rowland Helius, Robert Parkhurst, Sheriffs.
THE REIGN OF King Charles the First.

King James being deceased on the 27th of March in the forenoon, the same days in the afternoon, Charles Prince of Wales, his only Son, then living, and Ireland, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable endowments both of Mind and Body. He was now about the age of 35 years, whereof the most part of one he had spent in Spain; where, although he was frustrated of the end for which he went, yet it gave him a tincture of Travel and Experience, more worth, perhaps, than that he went for.

The Funerals of the deceased King were celebrated on the seventh of May, his body being brought from Somerset-House to Westminster, where St. Peter's Church, he was with great magnificence interr'd; the King himself being principal Mourner; which, though it was contrary to the custom of his Predecessors, yet he chose rather to express his Piety, in attending the Body of his Father at his Funeral, than to perform upon any old niceties and points of State.

The first thing he did after the celebration of the Funeral, was to hasten the coming over of the Queen, to whom on Sunday the first of May, he was by his Proxy, the Duke of Cheverton, espoused at St. Peter's Church in Paris; where the Espousals were performed by the Cardinal of Richleau.

A while after the Queen began her journey towards England, accompanied to Amiens, with the Queen her Mother, the Duke of Orleans her Brother, and the Duke and Duchesses of Cheverton, with others of the Nobility of France, and she was attended by the Duke of Buckingham, and the Earls of Carlisle, Holland, and Montgomery, and many of the English Gentry, who were sent over for that purpose.

The Queen flaid a fortnight at Amiens, and there she parted with her Mother; from thence she went to Béthune, where a Fleet of one and twenty of the King's Ships attended her, with the Counts of Buckingham and a Noble Train of Ladies.

On Trinity Sunday, late at night, she arrived at Dover, which being signified to the King (then at Canterbury) he went to her early the next morning, and received her with the greatest demonstrations of affection; and the same day they came to Canterbury, where their Nuptials were with all possible magnificence completed, and the Duke of Cheverton surrendered his Royal Charge to the King. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they went by Coach to Gravesend, and the next day they came thence to Somerset-House in their Royal Barges, attended with a very numerous Train of Lords and Ladies, and welcomed as they passed, by the great Ordinance from several Ships in the River, and the Tower of London, and accompanied or met by most of the Barges and Boats which could be found on the River of Thames.

The third day after their arrival, their marriage was declared at Whiter-hall, with great aclamations of joy, the King and Queen presenting themselves in that Ceremony, on Royal Thrones before the Nobility: but the Pachelmence began to rage in London at this time, which abated much of the Pomp of the Solemnity; though neither that, nor any thing else did divert the King from the consideration of the other concerns of the Kingdom; for, having summoned a Parliament to meet on the eighteenth of June, at the first assembly thereof he spake to them in these words:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

"You are not ignorant that at your earnest intreaty, March 25, 1623, my Father, "of happy memory, first took up Arms for the "recovery of the Palatinate; for which purpose,"
by your assistance, he began to form a considerable Army, and to prepare a goodly Armado and Navio Royal. But Death intervening between him and the Achievement, the War with the Crown is devolved upon me; to the prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature and Honour, so I question not, but in the same necessity continuing, you will cheer the Action with the like affection, and further it with a ready contribution. True it is, you furnished My Father with effectual Supplies, but they held no Symmetry or Proportion with the Charge of so great an Enterprise. For those your Donatives are all burdensome to a penny, and I am enforced to summon you bither, to tell you, That neither can the Army advance, nor the Fleet set forth, without further aid. Consider, I pray you, that the eyes of all Europe are first upon me, to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as though I were unable to outgo Master and Oilstati on, if you now desert me. Consider it is my first attempt, wherein if I fail I a sole, it will blight all my future Honour. If Mine cannot, let your reputation move you, deliver and expedite me fairly out of this War, where I have you encombed. (Let it never be said with regard to you that I have deceived me.) I desire therefore your speedy supply. The Sun, if you know, is entering into his declining point, so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it will be rather too soon to return. Again, I must mind you of the Mortality reigning in this City, which should it (as it may, and to no breach of Privilege neither) arrive any one Member of either Houfe, it would soon put a period, both to the Conflagration and Session, so that your own Periclitation necessitates an early revolution. In summe, Three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour, Opportunity, and Safety, are all of a Plot, and plead, you see, for Expedition. Perhaps it may be expected I should say something in way of account of My Religion, as also of the tender and tenure of my future Government. But, as I hope, I have not been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least question in either, so I defire you would repose in this assurance, that I will in neither vary from those Principles, wherein I have been infituted at the feet of that eminent Gunwate My late Father.

This Speech was very well receiv'd, and though it did not produce so great a Supply, as the exigence of Affairs required, yet the Commons gave two Subsidies without any Condition, and the Clergy three; and in the Grant of the Layety, the Papists were to pay double.

The King very gratiously accepted the gift, as an earnest of the good affections of his people, in reference to greater summs which he expected to follow; but the Plague encroaching in London, the Parliament, on the eleventh of July, was adjourned to Oxford, to be held there on the first of August. The Commons had that up a Bill for Tonnage and Poundage to the Lords before the Adjournment; but because it was limited to a year, they thought it unfit to pass; for that most of the former Grants to the Kings Predecessors were for term of life. The cause of this August was, because the Customs had been raised by King James, by advice of his Council, in the eighteenth year of his Reign, and the Commons had a purpose to reduce them to the rate fixed in Queen Mary's time.

August the first, the Parliament assembled at The King's Oxford, and in the fourth of the fame Moneth, Speech to both Houses, by the Kings appointment, attended him at Christ-Church-hall, where he briefly acquainted them with his wants for getting out the Fleet, adding, that the eyes of the Confederates were fixt upon it.

The Commons upon their return from the King to their House, had several long Debates upon the subsidence of his Speech, and the present Condition of the Kingdom, all tending to an Arrangement of the Government. Some urged that our Necessities arose from the want of Parliament; That the Kings designs were guided by evil Counsels, and, that though a former Parliament engaged the King in a War; yet if things were managed by contrary designs, and the Treasury misemployed, this Parliament was not bound to be carried blindfold in designs not guided by sound Counsell; and that it was unwise to grant Subsidies upon Subsidies, before Grievances were redress'd, and before they would agree to any answer to what the King proposed, (upon some jealousies that the Papist Religion was too much counteracted) they framed a Petition against Popish Recusants, which was presented to him by their Speaker, attended by all the House of Commons, which was read and displeased at this day, and the Parliament received from him a very gratious and satisfactory answer to their Petition; nevertheless this kindnees did not produce answerable effects: For, when the matters of supply came to be again debated by the Commons, great division arose, some would give, and others would not, and the majority were prevailed on by many passionate intonations of mis-government, to infringe on redress of Grievances before Supply, and to have a Remonstrance thereof drawn up, and presented to the King, inveighing in their Speeches against the Duke of Buckingham, as the chief occasion of all miscarriages in Government. Nothing more than this could shew the mutability of humane Affairs, and how little dependance is to be laid on the affections of the people; for in the last Part of the king James, this Duke of Buckingham, against whom they now exclaimed, was enrolled for the great Ornament and Honour of the English Nation, and the chief preserver of the Kingdom from the Spanish plotters; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to require his Merits. The King, from those of his Council in the House of Commons, had advice from time to time of the matter of this Remonstrance, in the debates of it, which tended chiefly to discredit the Duke, and remove him from his Counsels and Affection; but the expressions were so sharp, and the style so usual from Subject to their Prince, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament, than admit of it; and thereupon he came to the Lords House, to put an end to it. The House of Commons were Resolved into a Grand Committee, when the Ulster of the Black Rod came
The Reign of King CHARLES the First.

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to call them up to the Lords House, in order to a Dissolution, but before they would admit the Speaker to resume the Chair, to sit as a House, one Glanvill stood up and declared the tenor of the House in these words:

First, to give His Majesty thanks for His Gracious Answer to our Petition for Religion.

Next, for His care of our Health, in giving us leave to depart this dangerous time.

Lastly, a declarative declaration of our Affection and Loyalty, and purpose to supply His Majesty in a Parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time.

This being done, the Usher was called in, and declared his Message, and the dissolution of the Parliament immediately ensued.

Soon after this, a Proclamation was set out, to put the Laws in execution against POPISH Recusants, commanding the return, by a prefixed time, of children of Nobilemen and others, sent to be educated in POPISH Schools, or Seminaries abroad; and all of the Kings Subjects under the pay of the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the Arch-Duchies who then governed the Spanish Netherlands, were speedily enjoined to return to their native Countries, to be employed in the Kings Service.

The Term, because of the Plague in LONDON, was kept at Reading, and special Instructions were given to the Judges, to put the Laws in execution against Recusants. And now the War with Spain, for the recovery of the Palatinate, which was resolved on in the last year of his Fathers Reign, was vigorously prosecuted; and the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were sent Embassadors to the United Provinces, where they met at the Hague the Embassadors of France and Denmark, and concluded a League with them and the States, for reforming the Liberties of Germany. The King of Denmark, in conformity with the League, took up Arms, but was unfortunate therein, which he imputed to the Kings not performance of what was promised on his part, and that was occasioned by the Parliaments failure of supplies of money. And for the same reason the Fleet, which should have been set out in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the coast of Spain, were not out till October following. In which Expedition the VICEADMIRAL WILMELTON was General of the Land Forces and the Earl of Essex Vice-Admiral of the Navy.

The Fleet, with the addition of some Dutch Vessels, consisted of Eighty good Ships; at their first setting forth, they were encountered with so violent a Storm, that the greatest part of them were dispersed and scattered for seven days together, and a gallant Ship, called the Long Robert of Ipswich, with an hundred and forty persons in it, were lost. After this Tempest, the Fleet met at the Southern Cape, where they entered into Confinement, what they should attempt; the Earl of Essex, out of a great deference to equal the glory of his Father gotten at Cadiz, proposed the sailing of the Spanish Fleet, which then lay in that Harbour, but there were so many difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long time spent in the debate of it, that the whole Coast of Spain was thereby alarm'd, and the Spaniards had opportunity to prepare for their defence: so that when it was concluded, that they should fall to Cadiz, they landed their men there with great danger and opposition. The first place they attempted was Panetor Castle, under the shelter whereof the Spanish Ships rode; for the taking of which, twenty English and five Dutch Ships were ordered; but they, after the expend ing of two thousand great Shot against it to little purpose, came off again. This not succeeding, WILMELTON sent Sir John BURROUGHS, with a select Regiment of Foot, to attack the Fort on the land side, but at the first appearance, were encountered by some Spanish Forces, which were drawn together for the defence of the Country, and after a sharp Engagement, they worsted the Spaniards in sight of the Castle; whereupon the Commander within it, hung out a white Flag; and after a short Parley, surrendered the place, with fifteen Breeches of Powder, and eight pieces of Ordnance; whilst this was doing, the Spaniard halted most of their best Ships, under the Port-Royal, so that Sir Samuel ARGYLE, who was sent to fire the Ships was disappointed of his purpose. But that which might have been very fatal herein, was the misgovernment of the Sou diers, who by the avarice, or negligence of their Commanders, were permitted to fill themselves so much with the Wine they found in the Cellars, and other places where they plundered, that they were more like beasts than men, and if the Spaniards had had good Intelligence, they might have been all cut off; for by this means they were so ungovernable, that the General fearing the consequence thereof, speedily caust them to be embarked and left behind him the hopes only of renown and Victory. From thence they failed to the Southern Cape; where they stayed twenty days, in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the inclemency of the Air, and the insufficiency of the Sou diers and Mariners, to great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they wanted men to manage the Ships; and where some Ships had a greater number of infected persons then others, to remedy this, a most pernicious course was taken; for every Ship was ordered by lot, to take in two sick in exchange for so many found men, which propagated the Pesteiline, and forced the General to an untimely return, four days before the Plate Fleet came.

The unpromising success of this Fleet displeased the King very much, and WILMELTON was some time prohibited his presence, but he excused himself, laying a great part of the miscarriage on the stubbornness of the Earl of Essex. Yet, though all were blamed, none were punished for the ill management and conduct of the Expedition.

The War became now very chargeable, and since the King could not be supplied in a Parliamentary way, he was advised by his Council, to use other means, and it was resolved to borrow what money could be got by Letters of Privy Seals, sent to several of the ablest persons in all parts of the Kingdom; in each of which Letters, the King promised in the name of himself, and his Successors, to repay the money within eighteen months after the payment thereof. To be repaid in 18 months.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

The Collector, and the Collectors of this loan were ordered to pay the sums received into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as went about to delay, or excuse the payment of the money required of them.

This manner of proceeding was thought very improper, unless it had been resolved not to call a Parliament to meet; for if the King in that conjuncture had clapt up a peace with Spain (which the Spaniard had as much reason to accept, as he to offer) he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments; (till by the goodnes of his Government he had no necessity for a Parliament to work upon) and likewise prevented a following unliecky rupture betwixt him and France. The King, however, was resolved to try his fortune in another Parliament, which was summoned to meet at Westminster on the sixth of February; but first the Solemnities of the Coronation were to be performed, which was celebrated on the second of February (commonly called Candlemas day.) In the external pomp whereof, the King omitted his triumphal riding through the City, from the Tower to Whitehall, partly to save the Charges there, and partly to prevent the danger of popular concourse; for the Plague was not quite decreased, but some dregs remained of it. In the Sacred part there was a clause added, which had been pretermitted in the time of King Henry the Sixth, which is this that followeth, &c. "Let him obtain favour of the people, like Aaron in the Tabernacle, Elias in the Waters, Zacharias, &c. in the Temple; Give him Peter, Key of Discipline, and Paul's Doctrine. Which clause had been omitted in time of Popery, as intimating more Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction to be given to our Kings than the Popes allowed of."

The Coronation Oath, though the contrary was suggested, was the same which had been taken by his Predecessors, as appears by the Records of the Exchequer.

The Solemnity being over, he began his second Parliament on the sixth of February, in which he had no better success than in his first. Sir Hugh Finch was chosen Speaker by the Commons, and approved by the King, a person of great prudence and moderation. The House of Commons began where they left at Oxford, with matters of Religion and publick Grievances; they made strict enquiry into what abuses had been of the Kings Grace since that time, and who were the Authors and Abettors thereof; for they had been informed of many Pardons and Reprieves to Felons and Priests, and their grievances were stated under four Heads.

1. The State of the King in the confiscation of the Crown.
2. The condition of the Subject in his Freedom.
3. The cause of the Nations good success in former times.
4. The present condition of the Kingdom.

Under the first head was considered the great dispositions of Lands and Penions made most, and other exorbitant expenses; in the second, the bringing in of new Impositions, the multiplying of Monopolies, and the levying of Tonnage and Poundage without an Act of Parliament. Under the third, they ascribed the great 627 renown and reputation of our Nation in former times, to the wisdom and gravity of the Consultants, when nothing was ordered but by publick debate; and whence arose a readiness in the Subject to stilt their Sovereign in purfe and person. In the fourth was represented the loss of the Nations wanted Reputation in the Expedition of Cadiz, and others; which was imputed to the want of such Counsellors as were heretofore used, forasmuch as men though difference in success were backward to adventure either their persons or their purses.

Whilesthefore debates were agitated by the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Arundel was by the King committed to the Tower, because of a Marriage confirmed betwixt the Lord Maurice and his Eldest Son, and the Eldest Sister of the Duke of Lenox, one near allied in blood to the King; for the King had design'd to marry her to the Lord of Lenox, the Eldest Son to the Earl of Argyll, a man of great power in Scotland, meditating thereby to reconcile those two Families, who had been antiently in Feuds. The Earl thought the King pardon, and protested his innocence, as no way privy to the business, being contrived by the Dutchers Dowager, and his Counsellor, without his knowledge; but the King would not hear him.

This commitment of the Earl was resented by the House of Peers, who petitioned the King, That it is their undoubted Right, that no Peer sitting in Parliament is to be imprisoned, without Order from the House of Peers, unless it be for Treason, Felony, or refusing to give Secrecy for the Peace. And they insisted the more on this Privilege at this time, because the Earl had fix Proxies deputed to him which would be of no validity during his imprisonment.

Upon this Petition many debates passed in the House of Lords upon several Messages of the King about this Privilege, which lasted from the fourteenth of March, to the eighth of June, and was he was satisfied with the Reasons of the Peers; and then the Earl was released from his imprisonment.

Whilesthefore matters were agitated at home, to make the difference greater between the Dutch and the Spaniard, and for further promoting that War, the King of France did conclude a Little Treaty in the Hague, by the Baron of Contep, concerning the equiping of a Fleet of twenty Ships under the Admiral Hautain, upon a design to strengthen Genoa by Water, whilesthe Contable des Dequiers should be able to do the fame by Land; and the English Embassador then Resident at London, had obtained of the King the Vantguards of one of the Navy-Ships, and fix Merchant Ships to be employed in the same Expedition; but shortly after these English Ships were received into the pay of France, Moniteur de Souliez, taking advantage of the French Armies advance towards Italy, instigated five of Rochet to fix against the King, and he with some Ships he had got together, fixed on the Isle of Rho, and some of the King's Ships in the Harbour. At this the King was so incensed, that he turn'd his design for Italy upon Rochet; and thatoccasioned another Treaty at the Hague, with the Hebrorders.
The Reign of King CHARLES the First.

1. Whether the King hath not left the Regali
y of the Narrow Seas, since the Duke became Admiral?
2. Whether bis not going as Admiral in this 
last Fleet, was not the cause of the ill success?
3. Whether the King's Revenue hath not been 
impair'd through his immense Literality?
4. Whether he hath not engrossed all Offices, 
and preferred his kindred to unfit places?
5. Whether he hath not made false of places of 
Judicature?
6. Whether Reprisals have not dependence up
on bis Mother and Father-in-law?

Neither was this the only thing which displeas
ed the King, at this Time in the proceedings of 
the Commons. They had sent Committees to the 
Sweat-Office, to search for Originals of his 
Letters for reprieving some Priests condemned 
at York, and when Sir Richard Weten Chancel
lour of the Exchequer, brought a Message to 
them from bis, for supply, acquainting them, that 
the Fleet was returned, Victuall spent, and the 
gentlemen in great necessity, and ready to mutiny for 
want of pay, and that a Fleet of 40 Ships which 
were ready to go out, could not move without 
money, and that the Army on the Sea Coasts,
was in want both of Victuall and Cloaths. They 
were not prevailed on, but one Mr. Clement 
Cook amongst other Invesitives, said, It was bet
ter to die by a foreign Enemy, then to be destroyed 
at home.

This high temper of the Commons Houfe, 
was a Subject of much discourse at this time; it 
was said, The Parliament is a very excellent 
constitution, but it is without its inconveniences, 
as all others are; and amongst these, the great 
licens of Speech in the Houfe of Commons is not 
the least; for though it be even necessary, that 
they should not be debaunted of Liberty, yet, 
that in the intention seems not to be boundless; 
for at all times the SEAL for Reformation of abu
ses in that House, being very great, those a
mongst them that have a facility of eloquent 
Speaking, may do great hurt, if they be not well 
inclined to the Government. But, those that 
thought the Courts, so long plain and safe, some
what too envious, believed this freedom of 
Speech very necessary.

And at this time whether it were out of a ge
neral envy against the Duke, because of his fud
dan extraition to Greatness, or a particular dif
gust of some that thought they merited (as well 
as he) a greater share then they had in the Kings 
favor; the Tide against him in both the Houfe 
(but especially in the House of Commons) ran 
so high, that nothing would be granted to the 
King at a lower rate than his rage. In the mean 
time the King manifested a great displeasure at 
those proceedings, and sent Sir Richard Weten 
to demand satisfaction; in which they not an
swering his expectation by so sudden an inquisi
tion as he required, he called the Lords and 
them together, and by the Lord Keeper Covent
ry (who lately had sealed the given to him, up
on the disgrace of williams Bishop of Linocn 
who was displaced) he acquainted them with his 
mind.

MY Lords, and you the Knights, Citi
zens and Burgales of the Houfe of Com
mons, His Majesties Command hath comma
ned you hither, and the fame Command 
has put upon the service of signifying his 
will to you. His will was, that both Houfe 
should be called together; You, my Lords, as 
Witneffes of the Justice of his resolutions, 
and 
of his address to the House of Commons. His 
Majesty would have you know, there never was 
King, who better loved his people, or was 
more sincerely affected towards the right ufe 
of Parliaments, or more ready to redrefs what 
shall be represented to him, in the quality of 
Grievances (provided it be in a regular and 
decent way,) then Himself; but he would 
also have you know, That, as He loves His 
People, fo he regards His Honour; and if He 
be fensible of His Subjects grievances, of His 
self, more, especilly when they 
flow from offences of threfh nature, as not only 
blaff His Reputation, but impede the progress 
of His Weighty Affairs.

"To come to Particulars, His Majestys faith, 
That whereas Doctor Turner, and Mr. Cook 
spoke very SEDITIOUS WORDS in 
your Houfe, they were so far from being 
QUESTIONS.

Sir Richard Weten message for money.
This speech caused great emotion in the **6 2 6**

House of Commons, and produced a **Remonstrance**, to this effect. (viz.)

That with extreme joy & comfort they acknowledg the favour of his Majestie, and great pleasure extrication of affection to his People, & true intent of a Remonstrance. That concerning Mr. Cooke, true it is, he jet fall some few words, that might admit an ill construction, and that the House was displeased therewith, as they declared by a general Check at the very time he spoke them, and though Mr. Cooke explained of his mind more clearly, did somewhat abate the offence of the House, yet were they resolved to take it further consideration, and so have done, the effect whereof had appeare this, had they not been interrupted by this his Majesties message, and the like interruption befall them also in the busines of Doctor Turner.

As concerning the examination of the Letters of his Secretary of State, as also of his Majesties own, and searching the Signet Office, and other records; they had done nothing therein, not warranted by the precedents of former Parliaments upon the like occasions.

That concerning the Duke, they did humbly beseech his Majestie to be informed, that it has been the constant and unblown usage of Parliament to insist, and complain of any person of what degree soever, and what they should do in relation to him, they little doubted but it should redound to the honour of the Crown, and safety of the Kingdom,

Lastly, as to the matter of Supply; That if addition may be made of other things, importing his Service then in consideration amongst them, they were resolved so to supply him, as might evidence the truth of their intentions, might make him safe at home, and forbad abroad.

To this the King answered briefly; That he would have them in the first place construe about the Kings matters of the greatest importance, and that they should have time enough for other matters afterward. But this was not their progress against the Duke, to which the Earl of Bristol also contributed in the Lords House.

This Earl had decladed from the presence of both King James and King Charles, ever since his return from his Embassy in Spain, and taking advantage of the time, he petitioned the Peers. That whereas being a Peer of the Realm, he had not received a writ of Summons to the Parliament, he prayed, he might enjoy the Liberty of a Subject, and the Benefit of Peerage, after two years restraint, without being brought to Tryall, and if any charge where brought in against him, he might be tried in Parliament. Upon the reading this Petition the Lords referred it to their Committees of Privilege; from whence, after due considerations thereof, a Report was made to the House by the Earl of Hertford.

That it was the opinion of the Committee, that his Majestie should be moved to grant a new writ of Summons to the Earl, which was agreed to by the House. And upon Request, made to the King, a writ was issued accordingly, but acc\-\ncompanied
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1626. Complained with a Letter from the Lord Keeper to him, that though his Majesty had given way to the awarding of the writ, yet notwithstanding his pleasure was, that his Lordship should continue still under the same restraint, as he did before, and that his personal attendance was to be forborne.

The Earl sends this letter to the House of Lords, and a second Petition with it, offering to them, how much this might trench upon the Liberty and Safety of the Peers, to be in this fort discharged by a Letter mislaid of any Subject, without the King's hand, befeeching them the might be heard, both as to his wrongfull restraint, and what he hath to say against the Duke.

This alarm'd the Duke to begin his writ, and by his persuasion the King commands the Attorney General to summon the Earl to the Lords Barr as a Delinquent,

Brerford appearing May the first, the Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of high Treason, and exhibited eleven Articles against him. But before they were read, the Earl said: My Lords, I am a free-man, and a Peer of the Realm unattainted, I have some-what to say of high consequence for his Majesty's Service, and I befeech your Lordships give me leave to speake.

The Lords upon this, bid him go on. Then said he, I accuse that man the Duke of Bucking-ham of high Treason, and immediately he presented 12 Articles against him.

The House after having read these Articles, committed the Duke of Brerford to the Custody of the Usher of the Blackrod, and ordered that the Kings charge against the Earl, should be first proceeded on, before that of the Earl against the Duke; which the King took very well.

The Articles on both sides concurred in one designe, which was to render each other suspe-
ceted in matters of Loyalty and Religion; though by so doing they made good sport to their ene-
emies, and the world besides, but in neither of them was any fact that amounted to treason, and because no proceeding was made on them, it is not very requisite to describe them at large. But there being an endeavour to take the Earls caufe out of the House of Lords, & to proceed by way of indiction thereon in the Kings Bench, the Lords referred this, and gave five reasons why they could not give way to that manner of proceeding; which were these following,

[1] He could have no Counsel.
[2] He could use no Witness against the King.
[3] He could not know what the evidence against him would be in a convenient time, to prepare for his defence.
[5] This Earl being indignt, it would not be in their Power to keep him from arraign't, & so he might be dissuaded to make good charge against the Duke, and therefore it was judged the most proper, and most legal way of proceeding; First to have the charge delivered into the House of Peers in Writing, and the Earl to set down his answer to it in Writing, and that the Witnesse might be examined, and evidences on both sides heard; and if upon full hearing, the House should find it to be treason, then to proceed by way of Indictment; if doubtful in point of Law, to have the opinion of the Judges to clear it: if deniæful in matter of fact, then to refer it to Regall Iat.

The Commons to load heavier upon the Duke did also, about this time, send up some of their Members, (viz.) St. Dudley, Diggs, St. John Ejots, Mr. Stedman, Mr. Gillingham, Mr. Pyms, Mr. Worsley, Mr. Herber, and Mr. Sherlank with 13 Articles of high Treason, and misdemeanours against him, containing several encroachments on the Royalll favour, and some miscarriages, which at another time, and in another man might have been connived at. Nevertheless he put in his answer to them, which was inwlied by so much modesty and humility, that many who expected a more disdainfull defence, were converted to a good opinion of him, and in regard there was nothing considerable in them, but what was acted and happened in the time of King James, and not legally cognozable at this time, he claimed the benefit of Pardon in the 21st of King James, and the present Kings Con-
ronation Pardon. But this being contrary to the expectation of the Commons, upon the 14th of the same month they had drawn up a Declaration of the manner of their impeachment, which was clearization of not without difficulty preferred before a Bill of their impeachments, Subsidie, then ready to be read; at which the King was so dissatisfied, that the next day, by a Commission under the Great Seal, directed to the certain Lords, He dissolved the Parliament.

No sooner was he freed from this, but the neces-
sity of his affairs involved him in another im-
broilment. The French Priests and Domestique of that Nation, which came into England, with the Queen, were grown so insolent, and put so many surronts upon the King, that he was forced to send them home; in which he did no more than what the French King had done before him, in sending back all the Spanish Courtiers, which his Queen brought with her. But that King not looking on his own Example, and knowing on what ill terms the King stood, both at home and abroad, first, sealed on all the merchants ships, which lay on the River of Bord-
town, and then the Peace lately patched up, was turned into an open Warr, to the that the King was firm to make use of those forces against the French, which were designed to have been used against the Spaniard, and to comply with the de-

ts of the Richelieu, who humbly fixed to him at this time, for his protection and defence. But the fleet, which he designed for that alli-

cence, not going out till after Miche
ermas, was found greater opposition at the Sea, then they feared from the land, being en-
countered with strong tempests, and thereby necessitated to return, without doing any thing, but only fleeing the Kings good will, and readiness to help them.

Whilesthis dispute between the two Kings continued, very sad news came hither from Ger-

amny, That the King of Denmark, who had armed (as was before mentioned) on behalf of the Elector Palatine, and the Protestant Princes of Germany
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Germany, notwithstanding the late Ad sent from England, of six thousand men, under the Conduct of Sir Charles Morgan, had on the seventeenth of August received a total overthrow by Sir William Howe, and was reduced to such distresses, that if present succours came not, he was ruined for ever; That the Sound was like to be lost, the English Garrison at Stead, strictly besieged, and out East-end Trade and Staple at Hampton-almost given up for good.

The King was much perplexed at this, and the more because of his inability in the condition he was to lend further succours to him.

That which chiefly was wanting, was Treasure, and the present use of it could not admit of so much delay, as to call a Parliament, which is the ordinary means of supply. The King was therefore in this straight advised by his Council, that forasmuch as the Commons in Parliament, at their late Sitting, had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act, he might require these Subsidies of the Subject, which the House of Commons, in their names had assented to, and yet not by the name of Subsidies, but in the way of Loan, till the next Parliament should enable him to make payment of it, or to convert the levying thereof, by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this advice, Commons were influenc'd to support the Great Seal to divers Commissioners in all parts, for the levying these monies, who had the Instructions following, to direct them in the execution thereof.

1. That for a good example to others, they should themselves lend His Majesty the several sums required.

2. That to go according to the Rates at which people were assessed in the Book of the late Sir John Scott.

3. To fix up every man a cheerful leading, by declaring the unavoidable necessity of taking this course, and using other the most prevalent arguments they could devise; as the honour of the Nation, the defence of true Religion, the safety of Prince and People.

4. That they appoint the days of Payment to be within fourteen days.

5. That they treat with every one apart, and not in the hearing of others.

6. That they in all such things are like to them left examples.

7. That they endeavour to discover, whether any by underhand persuasions, or otherwise, go about to hinder the good intentions of others, and may such be found to certificate their names, qualities, and habitations to the Council.

8. That they sign the His Majesties pleasure to remit, upon the 8th day of those sums, whatever has been defined upon the late Restorations, or Private Seals.

9. That they admit of no suit to be made, or reasons to be given, for the delay of any sums.

10. That upon their Faith, and Allegiance to his Majesty they keep these Instructions secret to themselves, and do not discover them to any others.

And besides these private Instructions, they were to represent to the people the deplorable estate of Rochell, then closely besieged by the Duke of Guise, which, if not speedily relieved, would fall into the hands of the Enemies of the Protestant Religion. But though these commissioners brought in good sums of money, yet so many, and some of good quality refused, and were therefore committed to several prisons.

This year died two of the most eminent men for Learning, that ever the Nation had, Doctor Andrew Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Francis Bacon, Viccount St. Albans.

It was now the third year of His Majesties Reign, when Rye Action was agreed on; and though money came not so plentifully as was at Buckingham hopes, yet the Duke of Buckingham High Admiral of England, determined to wipe away the imputation of Negligence, in relation to his Admiration, had, with much ado, completed his Naval Forces, consisting of six thousand Horse and Foot in ten Ships-Royal, and ninety Merchant-men; with which he set Sail from Portsmouth the 27th of June, and published his Manifesto the twenty first of July following, declaring at large the Kings Affection to the Reformed Churches in France, and his displeasure at the imposition of his Ships against the Rochells.

The first design of this Fleet was intended against the Port Louis, wherein being prevented by the Duke of Augustaine, they resolved upon the Isle of Rye. Twelve Ships therefore were sent to guard the entry of Port Bourbon, the rest failed on to a Port of the Isle of Rye, called De la Price, making their approaches with their Canon to near, that Monsieur Turon, Governor of the Citadel of St. Martin, perceiving their intention, sent out his Forces, to the number of one thousand, in seven partitions, Horse and Foot, to impede their coming on shore: These were encountered by twelve hundred English, whom Sir John Barrow, Sir Alexander Brett, Sir Edward Conway, and Sir Charles Rich, had landed by the advantage of their great Ordinance. The fight was sharp and quick, whereas in many brave Gentlemen lost their lives on both sides; of the French Monseur Reffranger, Brother to Turon, Chausofiis, Capet, Naval, Tarbuff, Mounces, Hoby, Belzofor, and Candamofor. Of the English Sir Thomas Ford, Sir William Hageden, Sir Thomas Thornhay, Sir George Blundell, Captains, Glin, Withly, Powell, is brave, Goring, Sc, and a Kinman of Sir George Blundell, with Monsieur de Blancart Agent for the Duke of Ruan, and the Protestants. And of the wounded were, Rich Conway, Haul, Green, Abraham Rainford, Welmore, Thorpe, Maurice, and Boulter; The Victory uncertain. The English General removed his Camp, and in trenching, dispatched Sunbeke, and Sir William Beecher to Rochell, who returned with five hundred Foot, and found the Duke before St. Martin Carre (the chief strong of the Illand) notwithstanding the diffusion of his Council, who advised him first to attempt the other Carre, called the Mede, which they might in all likelihood have carried, and would have proved an handsome, and safe place of retreat in their future necessity. Buckingham falls to circumvallation, ordering the Ship to encompass the Island without, to hinder all provision and supply from Turon; by which means the besieged were for the space of two months greatly distress'd, in which time there hapned a hot conflict between both Parties, and that with equal success; and by a Letter of
In the mean time scarce affairs afflict the English Camp, and Sir John Burroughs viewing the Works, was shot through, whereof he shortly died. The French King came from Court to the Camp, and thrice in ten days attempted to send over some Aids to the Castle, but the English Ships repelled them, and three days after another Brother of Toiras was slain, and his Squadron put to flight. And now the Souldiers of the Castle were reduced to greater hardship than before, not being furnished with Bread for above four days; whereof having no other way left, Toiras resolved to win time by treating with the Duke of Buckingham about surrender, hoping in the interim to have some better news from his Associates, which accordingly fell out; for Moniteur Manpalte, who with other Pilots, heretofore had founded the Shelves, and designed the Station for some Ships, for the relief of the Island, contrived a way to bring them, in despite of the English; it was now the Winter, and the nights long and dark, which altogether disabled them from effecting it; but they made an attempt and opportunity to pass by them with a Fleet of 35 Sail, 750 Mariner, 300 Souldiers, 160 of the chief Nobility, and many Noble Commanders, with great force of all sorts of Provision, having before sent some diffembling Renegadoes, to tell the English that he passed a contrary way: so that when the Duke of Buckingham expected a surrender, they boldly threw him their Runners of Wine, and Turksies and Capons upon the points of their Pikes and Spears.

The Duke hereat dismayed, spends the night in Council, and determines with all speed to raise the siege, and be gone; but the Rounders intreats, and Dolliers arrival from England, with assistance of Auxiliaries, unhappily prevailed with him for a longer stay, during which, the same of fresh Supplies to the besiegers published over all France, to be coming, under the Command of the Earl of Holland, baffled the French to send forth another Fleet, consisting of fifteen good Ships, and other Smaller Boats, part to St. Martins, and the rest to the Meadow Castle, besides seven others which got to the Meadow Fort, under Moniteur command. And now the French King resolved to dislodge the English, and discharged over for the Service, an Army of four thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse, besides Volunteers, under the Command of the Marth of Schomberg with Maryland his Lieutenent General, to whom came all the besieged, and greatest part of the Islanders, being in all above eleven thousand men; after which, another party under Command of Bussampoline and Hauwers, consisting of eight hundred of their Kings Life-guard, an hundred and fifty of the Country thereabout, 30 of the Kings Horse, and 3 great Bats Pieces, landed at the Meadow Castle. A gainst these last, the Duke of Buckingham marched with 500 Foot and 40 Horse, and forced them to retreat to the Castle, but returning to his Camp, he finds the Trenches possisied by another party of the French Army; Stanley is ordered to beat them out again, which he doth by main force, though not without loss; and the Lord Monjoy seized a small Troop of French; him they endeavoured to surprize with six Horse in them, whom he chased so far, that he had almost come in danger of their Ambuscado.

One dark night a party of the English fell upon a party of the French, and not we discovering one another, so mingled, that by mistake, the English falling into the French Camp, became a prey to them.

Nor did the War only afflict the English, but also Sickness and Want, whereby their Souldiers and Seamen were generally enfeebled, which put the Duke upon his final resolution of taking his Jarrowell of the Island, with one more Assault to Saint Martins Castle. Toiras had intelligence of it, and therefore he managed his business accordingly, and gave them so hot a welcome, as being oppreced and fell'd to the ground with shot, they dropped in heaps: so that at first great losses received, the Duke commanded a retreat to be founded, and soon after dismantled his Works, filled his Ditches, and levelled his Trenches, in order to his departure. Schomberg and Maryland pursued, hallowing to them in a Bravado, and brandishing their Swords. The English thinking the French Enmy would then have charged the Wall with all possible force, prepared for a Battle, but they knew what advantage the way would shortly give them, made a halt, whereupon the Duke marched on in Military Order, until he came to the Village Carda, where they made another stand, and by an Ambuscado of Musketeers placed behind the old Walls, Walks, Hedges, and Ditches, compelled the French to retreat; but the whole Army coming up, followed them slowly for 3 miles, till they came to Aversine Cauway, which was so narrow, that they could only march six abreast, with Ditches on either side, mostly ending in Salt pits: and now Schomberg elying his expected opportunity, poured forth a great volley of shot against them, and then the English began to march as fast as possibly; but the Lord Monjoy's Troops unable to endure the charge of the French Horse, turned tail, and riding in amongst the other Ranks, put them into such a disorder, as enabled the French easily to break in upon them and rout them, with no small slaughter, overthrowing some into the Ditches and Salt pits, and piercing others as they lay in the dirt. Nor was flight any whit more auspicious to them for those who confudently ran away, and casting away their Arms, leaped into the Water, were also cut off. Cunninghams Horse sought it out nobly unto the last man. The Lord Monjoy was taken Prisoner, and civilly used.
Reformation, by even, and turning paths, made their way to the farther bridge, with much danger, where joying with Cowley, Croissy, Fryer, and Hackwith, and their forces, they made good that Pais by the repulse of the enemy, and leaving a guard of Monmouthers there all day, set the Bridge on fire, and lodged that night fragrantly up and down. The next day the Duke demanded, and obtained the dead bodies, and went on board. Great was this day's loss, viz. about fifty Officers, among whom where Sr. William Cunningham, St. Charles Rich, and Sir Alexander Brett, and next two thousand common Soldiers were slain, thirty prisoners of note, and forty four Colours were taken; of the French not above four was left. The Duke hoised Sails, and met the Earl of Holland, with his unexceptionable Recruits, near the Western Coast of England; and at his return finding a favorable reception at the Kings hands, he layed the loss of the designe upon the Earl of Holland not timely recording the Expedition. But at Sea, things were not so much better, as Captain Forget, in his return from Hamborough, feared by command a great French ship at the Texel in Holland, named the Saint Esprit, with twenty brafs Culverines, two brafs Semi-culverins, two other brafs Guns, sixteen large Iron Guns, & two leffer, & in the hold for ballast twelve great Guns, and Arms for eleven hundred Soldiers, and eighteen Barrels of Powder. And John Pennington, Vice-Admirall took thirty four of their rich merchant men, homewards bound, all which were safely brought into England, to Sweeven, though not countervail the losse receiv'd at Rochell. The ill Success of this Enterprise did much incende the People against the Duke of Buckingham, but the King did not discover any discontent towards him; only he tolde him, that Sr. Suckville Crown had written to him of a far greater loss, then he acknowledged. During this expedition, Albem Mar, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, by letters Patents the 9th of Oct. vber, was suspende'd from all his Metropolitan Jurisdiction, and confined to his House at Faversham, and the exercise thereof was committed to the Bishops of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and Bath and Wells, or to any four, three, or two, of them. The occasion of this Commissioin was not discover'd otherwise then by what was express'd in the Commissioin it'self, (viz.) That the said Arch-Bishop could not at that present, in his own person attend those Services, which were otherwise Proper for his Cognizance and Jurisdiction, and which as Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, he might and ought in his own person have performed, and executed. But the true reason was that for the King was perwaded, the non-conformists to the Discipline of the Church, too much increas'd by the reminisces of his Government.

This Michaelmas Term there was a great debate in the Kings-bench, concerning some of those impositions, viz. refusing the Loan, which mov'd for an Habeas Corpus, and had it. The Attorney General, St. Robert Heath, upon their appearance alleged, they were not liable, and their Counsell the contrary, and the Court agreed with the Attorney, so that they were committed in Prison, till an order Palf'd in Council, for a general release, which was shortly after.

The French King, encouraged by the Success he had against our forces, resolved upon a more formidable siege against Rochell, and having made a Line about it on the Lands-side, with three forts, by the advice of Cardinal Richlen, and the loan of many Merchants ships, belonging to the Subjects of the United Netherlands, he attempted a Barrage, fourteen hundred yards in length, cross the Channel, to hinder all relief by Sea; whereby the Richlen's expeditied nothing but ruin, unless they could prevent it, so that they with very great hate sent Mon蕨er Sublicx and their Deputies to England, to solicit the King for Supplies, before the work should be compleated, who was so affected with their miseries, that he promised them all the assistance he could; and to enable him therunto, he borrowed an hundred and twenty thousand Pounds of the City of London, for which and other Debts, they had lands, to the value of one and twenty thousand Pounds a year affur'd to them. He also borrowed of the East-India Company thirty thousand pounds, and what money else he could get by privy Seals. Moreover it was resolve'd to levy money by Excise, and a Comissioin, under the great Seal, was pass'd on the 3rd of February to authorize it; but the execution thereof was suspiz'd by the King, who never was guilty of any irregular action, by the impulse of his own nature, nor periuv'd by others but by extreme necessity, & at this time, in compliance with his own good inclinations, he chose rather to call a Parliament, which was summons'd to meet on the 17th of March, then proceed in extraordinary ways, for he was much troubled at the general discontent of the People, and he hoped by their counsels to beget a good understanding betwixt himself and them.

On the 17th of March, the Parliament assembled at Westminster, and the King having sent for the Commons to the Lords-house expressed him-self in these words to both Houses:

My Lords and Gentlemen.

The fair times are for alms, for alms, I say, not for words; I must say, I would have but a few and (as Kings are said to be exemplary to their Subjects, so) I wish you would instruct me in this, and use me a few, setting upon speedy consultation. No man is, I conceive, such a stranger to the common necessity, as to explicate the cause of this meeting, and not to think supply to be the end of it; and as this necessity is the prodige and consequence of your advice, for the true Religion, the Laws and Liberties of this State, and just defence of your Friends and Allies, being so considerably concerned, will be, I hope arguments enough to persuade Supply, for it is in (as most true it is) both my duty, and yours, to preserve this Church and Commonwealth, this exegent of time certainly requires it.

In this time of common danger, I have taken the most ancient, speedy, and least way, for supply, but calling you together, if (as which God forbid) you do not your dutie, in contributing what may answer the quality of my occasions, it shall suffice, I have done mine. In the Conference where-["
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whereof I shall rest content; and take some other courses, for which God hath empowered me, to face that, which the folly of particular men might hazard to lose.

I take not this as a menace (for I fear to threaten my inferiors) but as an admonition from him who is eyed, both by nature and duty, to provide for your preferments; and I hope, though I thus speak, your demeanour will be such, as shall oblige me in thankfulness to meet you often, then which nothing shall be more pleasing to me. Remembering the distractions of our last meeting, you may suppose I have no confidence of good success at this time, but be assured I shall freely forget and forgive what is past; hoping you will follow that sacred advice, lately incited, To maintain the holy of the Spirit in the bond of Peace.

The Parliament feemed very much affected with what the King said, and the Commons freely voted, to grant him five Subsidies, whereof, when Secretary Cabot informed the King, he asked him, by how many voices it was carried, who replied by one, at which perceiving the Kings countenance to change, S. said he, your Majesty hath the greater cause to rejoice, for the House was so unanimous therein, as they made but one voice. At which the King was exceedingly pleased, and bid the Secretary tell them, he would deny them nothing of their Liberties, which any of his predecessors had granted. But whilst a Bill was in preparation for these Subsidies, they considered of the public grievances of the Kingdom.

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The Kings extraordinary wants put him, as you have heard, upon some unfruitful courses for levying of Money, not very warrantable by our ancient Laws, and some that were unwilling to co inentance such courses. Or otherwise subjected to the Government, upon refusal were imprisoned; and because no legal cause could be assigned for such retartation, the Warrants, whereby they were imprisoned, had no cause specified in them, which was excluded against, as not legal, and a great Grievance. There is scarce any thing less then death, more grievous then imprisonment, and though by our Laws no man can be imprisoned without a legal cause expressed; yet those that are in the exercise of power, in tumultuous times, upon extraordinary emergencies, are constraint to pass over those bounds; for no such provision hath yet, or can be made, to exclude all manner of arbitrary exercise of Government; but whoever they be, that exceed in this tender point, it will become their prudence to do it with extraordinary caution.

Upon the return of the Fleet after the late actions at Sea, the Squid, etc., for want of pay, were billeted in private houses, which was alleged to be against the Law; and to aggravate this, the badness of their persons, and their country (being Scotch and Irish) did much contribute. Nevertheless, though their actions were bad, and their persons worse, the Commons liked not that they should be punished by Law Martill. For there being a Commission inflicted to the offences of the Soldiers by Martill Law, they exclaimed at it, and it was urged as a grievance, yet till that time the Kings Prerogative, in making and establishing Martill Laws, was never questioned, though since the petition of Right, there is doubt of it. Magna Charta and fix other Statutes explanatory of it, were expressed against illegal levies of Money, and imprisonments, and though those Statutes were in force, whether the Parliament thought them antiquated, and therefore left regarding, or for what other reason it is not said, To provide against the Grievances complained of, etc., They drew up that memorable Law, called the Petition of Right, and presented it to the King, to which he gave the Royal Assent in full Parliament, to the very great liking of the people. And it was now thought there was to be an Harmony between the King and the Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation of as much happiness, as it could be capable of; but this concession instead of the real of many of the House of Commons, to protest a little further, and they immediately framed a Remonstrance of several late miscarriages in Government, in the conclusion whereof, they said, The excessive power of the Duke of Buckingham, and the abuse of that power is the principal cause of all the evils and dangers, thereby measured; and therefore they humbly submit it to his Majesties Wisdom, whether it can be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that so great power, both by Sea and Land, be rest in him, should be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.

On the 17th of June, this Remonstrance was presented to the King, with the Bill of Subsidies, in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall, when he had heard it read, told them he little expected such a Remonstrance, after he had so gravously passed the petition of Right, and for the Grievances, specified therein, he would consider them, as if they should deliver.

The King, and leved the duties of Tonnage and Poundage; even since the first of his Reign, which the House of Commons alleged he ought not to have done; or at least that they could not now be taken, since the passing of the late Petition of Right; and they prepared a Remonstrance against it; but the King unwilling to hear of any more Remonstrances of such a tenor, resolved to frustrate it, by proroguing the Parliament, from the 25th of June, to the 20th of October, and calling both Houses together to that end, he delivered his mind as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I fom a sort of a speech, that I come to fudder, sain to end this Session, therefore be it as you shall give your consent to the Bills, I will tell you the cause; (though I must own, I owe it in an account of my actions to none, but God alone.) It is known to every one, that a while ago, the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, in which they, as accept, every man may judge, and for the merit of it, I will not call it, that is in question, for I am sure, no wise man can justify it. Now since I am certainly informed, that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my profit of Tonnage and Poundage (one of the chief maintenances of the Crown) by alleging, that I have
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The Duke of Buckingham was sent to the Tower, and his body was brought to York-house, from whence it was entombed at Westminster in St. Edwards Chappell, and a stately Monument was erected over it by his Executors. And Felton being arraigned, and found guilty at the King's bench-bar at Westminster, was hanged at Tyburn, and afterwards his body was sent to Portsmouth, where without the Town it was hanged in chains, till it was consumed.

The report of this accident was that the Duke's death made little or no stir in the proceedings of the Fleet, which at the last set forward under the Earl of Lyndsay, but before he could get to Rochester, the haven was so bar'd, that it was impossible for his ships to force their way (though it was gallantly often attempted) so that the Royalists seeing this hope to fail, sent out some of the principal of the Town, to make their submission to the King, and let open the gates, to receive him.

The time now drawing near for the meeting of the Parliament, the King for many weighty reasons, put off their Assembling to the 20th of January, and in the mean time Arch-bishop
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The Reign of King Charles the First.

"dins. Yet to avoirdistinct kings, let me tell you, that it is far from me, to judge all that houle
guilty, that I know there are as dutifulfull Sub-
jects, as any in the World; it being but some
few vipers amongst them, that did cast this
mift of undutfulness before their eyes; yet to
say truth, there was a good number there, that
would not be infected by this Contagion, in
so much that some did express their duties in
speaking, which was the generall fault of the
House the last day. To conclude, as these Vi-
pers must look for their reward of Punishment,
so you, My Lords, must justly expect from me
that favour and protection, that a good King
oweth to his loving and dutifull subjects.
The King was highly provoked, as is evident
by this speech, at the disorder and tumultuous
carriage of many of the Members of the Com-
mons-House of Parliament, who fiircind all
things beyond their natural length, a little mo-
deration and obfqueuiousness might have obtined
of him, whatever was defined, and if he had
not had better intentions towards his Subjects,
then some of those discontented Spirits would
have made the world believe he had, the dislo-
cution of this might have been the end of all Par-
liaments, and we might have been deprived of
that Spring, from whence the blessings of Peace,
and happiness, have formerly been derived on
this Church and State. And this there wanted
not like to infite into him, by the example of
the King of France then reigning. For whereas
in an assembly of the three Estates (which is in
the nature of our Parliament) some years before
this time, the Commons (being their third
Estate)entrenched too fully upon the Liber-
ties of the Clergy, and some Priviledges, which
the Nobility enjoyed, by the favour of the for-
tner Kings, it gave the King so great offence, that
he dissolved them, and their conftitution toge-
ther, and ordained another kind of Assembly in
place thereof, which he called L'Assemblie des
Notables. That is to say, The Assembly of prin-
cipal Persons, who are composed of seeld person-
s out of all orders of Estates of the Kings no-
mination, to which is added a Coundelior out of
every Court of Parliament in France, and the
Acts of this Assembly are no lefs obliging to the
People, than the others were. The King
would receive no imprefions of this nature, but
yet he was very carned to vindicate his Author-
ity, and Commandment, which in his procla-
mation, before mentioned, He allowed to have
been so contemned, as his Kindly Office could
not bear, nor any former age parallell. He had on
the fourth of March, fix days before his coming
to the Lords (by the advice of his private Coun-
del, and by their warrant) sent for severall Mem-
bers of the Commons-House to appear the next
day at the Council-table, (sic) Demail Holli:
Esquire: St. John Elliot, St. Peter Hayman,
St. Mils Hubbard, John Steden, William Cor-
ton, Benjamin Valentine, William Stred, and
Walter Long, Esquires, who were the principal
authors of the late Diforders, at which time Hol-
li, Elliot, Coriton, and Valentine appearing,
and refusing to answer out of Parliament, what
was said and done in Parliament, they were com-
mited to the Tower; The refi not then appea-
ing, were afterward apprehended, and com-
mited to severall other prifons.

But leaff, tho' these distempered Spirits, that had by
imprudence caused so much disquiet at Westmin-
fter, should to excufe themselves, diffpers abroad
in their Countries, some of their malignities, to
aperfe the Government, and alienate the hearts
of the good Subjects from the King, he publi-
fed a Declaration, letting forth his Reasons and
Motives for dissolving the Parliament, with bre-
viates of all transactions, in this and the for-
mer Seccion, the heads whereof, we think it not
improper to insert in this place;

He professed therein, To maintain the true
Religion, & doctrine, established in the Church
of England, without admitting or countenancing
any back-fliying, either to Popery or Schifmis,
having been ever deffrons, to be found worthy
of that title, which he accounted the most glo-
rious in his Crown, DEFENDER OF
THE FAITH, nor would he ever give
way to the authorizing of any thing, whereby
any Innovation might creep into the Church,
but to preserve that unity of Doctrine & Difci-
pline, established in the time of Queen Elis-
tabeth, wherein the Church had flourished,
and
flourished ever since. He shewed also how
carefull he had been to command the execu-
tion of the Laws against Popish Priests, and
Popish recusants, and if his Commands were
not duly executed, the fault ought to be laid on
the remines of the Officers and Minifters, to
whome it belonged, for it was his part to direc-
and order well, but the part of others to per-
forme the ministerial Offices.

Next to Religion, his care of setting the
Rights and Liberties of the People, was ma-
niitured in his answer to the Petition of Right,
which since that time had not been infringed.

Nor was he less careful in the provident
ordering of the Supplies, given to him the lift
Session, wherein no part had been put to any
other ufe then to what it was granted.

But he could not but take notice of some
of glances in the Houfe, and rumors abroad, as if
his answer to the petition of Right, had not
only given away his imposition upon goods
exported and imported, but the Tonnage and
Poundage alfo, whereas in the debate thereof
there was no mention in either Houfe, concer-
ing those Duties, but concerning Taxes, and
other charges within the land; for though in
the matter of Tonnage and Poundage, his ne-
cessities pleas'd strongly for him, he was re-
solved, to guide himself, by the prudifce
of his Nobillet Predecessors, and therefore he
called records to be search'd, where it was
found, that in the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poun-
dage was not granted to King Edward the 4th,
still the third year of his Reign, yet he received
it the first day of his acception to the Crown,
until it was granted by Parliament, and in the
succeeding times of Richard the third, King
Henry the Seventh, King Henry the Eight,
King Edward the Sixth, Queen Mary and
Queen Elisabeth, the Subsidy of Tonng e
and Poundage was not onely enjoyed by every
one of those Kings and Queens, from the death
of each of them deceasing, until it was granted by
The Reign of King Charles the First.

On the Seventh of May, the Attorney General presented an Information in the Star-chamber, against Sir John Eliot, and the rest of the imported Members, and they urged a process against them, to answer his allegations in that Court; To which they demurred and acknowledged the King had several Communications with the Judges about it, but they moved for a Writ of Habeas Corpus, and had them granted but had no returns to them as was desired.

The Judges in the Matter, which he did the 7th of September, at Hampton-court; where he called them aside (after he had proposed several matters to them, by way of advice, and had heard the answer, which was: That their offences were not capital, and that the Law ought to be baied, giving security for their good behaviour,) he told them, he proposed, to proceed against them, by the Common Law in the King's Bench, and to decline his proceeding in the Star-chamber, and was contented they should be bailed, notwithstanding their obduracy, that they had not given him a Petition to express their sorrow for offending him, adding, that he was pleased with them for dealing plainly with him, or words to that effect.

In pursuance of this advice, as soon as Michaelmas term began, the Court of Kings-bench was moved, to bail the prisoners, to which the Judges with one voice say, they were contented they should be bailed, but that they ought to find Sureties for their good Behaviour, to which Salea answered (and all the rest agreed to it) that they had Sureties ready for the Bay, but not for the good Behaviour, for that was a point of discretion merely, and they could not assent to it, without great offence to the Parliament, where the matters numbed were settled. To this the Judges replied to this effect: That the return did not mention anything done in Parliament, and the surety of good Behaviour is a precaton of Damages to the Common-wealth, and an Act of Government and Jurisdiction, and not of Law, and would be inconvenient to the prisoners, for the same Bay would suffice, and all should be written in one piece of Parchment. But they refused, and were remanded, and the same term an Information was exhibited by the Attorney General in the King's bench, against Eliot, Halliwell, and Falton, for words spoken against them in the foregoing Parliament, laid to be false, malicious, and seditious, as well versus Regnum, Magnates, Praetores, Processos et Jusifikationes suis, quam Magnates, Processos & Jusifikationes, & religios Regis Subditos, & iurisdictiones Hereditarias eversae, & adversi Regiones, & Gubernationes Regni Anglie, et in Domino Rege, quam in Consiliariis, & Ministris suis, confunngique generis, & indicare tumultum et confusionem, in all Effuses et partes, et ad intentionem, that all the Kings subjects should withdraw their affections from the King. Then the words were expressed at large, and at the end of the information it was urged, that Sir John Finch the Speaker endeavoring to go out of the chair according to the Kings Command
The Reign of King Charles the First.

mand, to adjourn the House, they sat down and
evill-interred him
and being out of the Court they sat down and
him in the House, and interred him
and drew him to the Chair, and thruf him into it.

To this Information, the Gentlemen put in a
Plea; Forasmuch as those Offences are suppos-
ed to have been done in Parliament, they ought
not to be punished in this Court or any other
in-fell in Parliament. Upon this the Court gave a
day to joyn in demurrer that Term, and on the
first day of the next Term the Record to be read,
and within a day after argued at the Bar.

Against Mr. Long particularly, an infor-
mation was preferred at the Star-Chamber, which
was agreed the first day of Hilary Term; it was
not for any thing said in Parliament, but to this
effect following, (size.) 
For that he being high
Sheriff of the County of Wiltz, had the
charge and Custody thereof committed to him, and
had taken his Oath according to the Law to
abide within his Bilywick all that time of his
Sheriff, and his trust and implemen-
ting requiring his personal attendance therein, did
contrary thereto suffer himself to be chosen
a Citizen for the City of Bath to serve in the
neat Parliament, and did attend at Westminster
in Parliament without his Majesties Licence;
that he being Sheriff at the time, which was done
in contempt of his Majesties pleasure signified
to him under his great Seal, when he granted
the Office of Sheriffwick: And after hear-
ing his Counsell upon his demurrer, and plea-
ging other arguments and reasons used in that be-
half by his Counsell, the whole Court agreed in a
sentence against him in these or like words:
For the aforesaid offences in breach of his
oath, neglect of his trust, and contempt of his
Majesty, it is decreed and adjudged, that he
shall be committed to the Tower during his Maj-
esties pleasure, and pay a fine of two thousand
Marks to his Majesty, and make a submission and
acknowledgement of his offence in the Court of
Star-Chamber, and to his Majesty before his en-
largement.

The same Term, the Counsell of Sir John Eli-
a, and the other Gentlemen (inform'd against in the
Kings-bench) argued also against the inform-
ation, and the jurisdiction of the Court, but the
Judges hearing both parties for and against it,
unanimously agreed, That the Court as the
Cafe is, shall have jurisdiction, although there
offences were committed in Parliament, and
and that the imprisoned members ought to ar-
obain, and that they were by the Court rule'd
to plead further, but they not putting in any
plea, the last day of the Term judgment was
granted against them upon a Nilbo diitai, and
they were sentenced by the Court,

1. To be imprison'd during the Kings plea-
sure.
2. None of them to be delivered out of prison
until security given in Court for the good be-
aviour, and submission, and acknowledgment made
of the Office.
3. Sir John Eli insin'd to pay to the King, two
thousand pounds, being the greatest offender;

Mr. Hollis a thousand Marks, and Mr.
Valentine five hundred pounds, and in like
manner the rest were proceeded against, and
several Fines were accordingly imposed upon
them, most of which were paid, and the gent-
lamen afterwards released from their imprison-
ments. If any of them did relate to pay such
Fines, as were for upon them, they were men
either of decayd or of small estate, and to not
able to make payment of the fines imposed.

Many weighty and learned arguments were
made in the Case of these gentlemen, before the
judgement given, both by the Kings learned
Counsell and their Counsel also, who objected all
that could be thought of in the matter, some of
which we shall mention for the better understand-
ing of the matter in Question.

That this was a priviledge of Parliament, Obj. 1,
whereof the Court were not competent Judges.
To which was answered, in § Eliz. it was the
opinion of Dyre, Collin, Wells, Brown and
Slovetes, Justices, that Offences committed in
Parliament are punishable out of Parliament,
and Plunder, in the time of Queen Mary, was
fined for words spoken in Parliament against
the dignity of the Queen, and in § H. E. a judgement
given in a Writ of Annuity in Ireland, the said
judgement was reversed in Parliament there.
Upon which Writ of Errour was brought in this
Court and the judgement reversed.

This is an inferiour Court to Parliament, and
Obj. 2, cannot meddle with matter done in it.

To which was answered, the Court Quetions,
not the judgement of Parliament, for what is
done in Parliament by consent of all the House
shall not be questioned elsewhere, but the partic-
ular offences criminally committed there, are
punishable here, for if particular members of a
superior Court offended, they are punishable in an
inferiour. As it a Judge shall commit a Capital
offence in this Court, he may be arraigned there-
for at New-gate.

The Parliament Law differs from the Law,
by which this Court judgeth in fandy Cafes, as for
instance, by the Statute none ought to be chosen
Burgesse for a Town in which he doth not inhi-
bib, but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary.

The reply to this was, That they are the judges
of Acts of Parliament, and if information be
brought upon the said Statute against such a Bur-
gesse, the Statute is a good Warrant for the Court
to give judgement against him.

In the spring of the yeare the Queen being at
the Queen was frighted, aboard of a Son, which added
thing to the Kings troubles at home; though a
broad matter succeede well, for the Entry of
France being in a Tranquilplate expedition at Su-
face, for the relief of Carda, was to intent on that
War, that he was very inclinable to peace with the state
of us, and by the intervention of the States of Vr.
Peace made were the peace with France.

1. That the two Kings shall accord to renew
the former Alliance between the two Crownes,
and to preserve it inviolable with free Com-
merce, and in reference to the said commerce,
liberty is given, that such things be proposed as
either part shall judge convenient either to add
or diminish,

2. That
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1629

2. That considering it is very difficult to make restitution of what hath been taken as prize, as well on one side, as the other, during the late Wars: It is agreed between the two Crownes, that for what is passed no satisfaction shall be demanded on either side.

3. As to the Articles and contract of marriage of the Queen of Great Britain, they shall be confirmed, and for what concerneth her domicile it shall be lawful to propose what shall be thought expedient to be either added or diminished.

4. All former Alliances shall stand good between the two Crownes, living wherein they shall be changed by this present Treaty.

5. The two Kings being by this present Treaty removed to the defecion they formerly had, shall respectively employ this correspondence toward the assistance of their Allies (so far as the restitution of Affairs, and the general good will permit) for the procuring repose of the troubles of Christendom.

6. The premises being established on both sides, persons of eminency shall be reciprocally dispatched as Embassadors on either part for ratification of the accord, and for nomination of Agents ordinarily resident at each Court, for the better preserving this Union.

7. And because many Ships are now at Sea, with letters of Marque, who cannot suddenly take cognizance of this peace; it is agreed that what shall occur in the nature of Hostility for the space of two moneths on either side, shall not prejudice or derogate from this agreement. Provided notwithstanding that what shall be made prize of within the space of two months, after signature shall be adjudged on either side.

8. Lastly, the two Kings shall respectively sign the present Articles the 14. of this present month of April, and at the same time they shall be configned into the hands of the Lords Embassadors of France, to deliver reciprocally to the two Kings at a day prefixed. And from the day of signing, all Acts of Hostility shall cease, to which end proclamation shall be issued out in both Kingdomes the 30. day of May.

And for a confirmation of this League in September following the Marques of Caufenna, was sent in Embiffy from France, and Sir Thomas Edmonds was sent thither from hence.

About the month of July, there hapned a great fray in Fleet-street, upon the rescue of one Captain Bellingham (an officer in the late expedition to the Isle of Rhé) which was attempted by some Students in the Temple, whereof some were hurt, and carried to prison. But this disordered arm of the Government to rescue the prisoner, who made a Bizzacade against St. Dunstan's Church, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers, and releasted their friends, of which the Lord Mayor being inform'd, he and the Sheriffs with a band of trained Souldiers came down to keep the Peace, and dispers'd them; who were now encrced to the number of five hundred, and armed with swords and pistols: The Lord Mayor made Proclamation that on pain of rebellion they should dissolve themselves, but preval'd not, he then tryd other means, and the souldiers fired their Muskets on them charg'd with powder only; but the gentlemen provok'd at this, shot ballots, and very fiercely attacked the Train-bands, kill'd five out right, and wounded near a hundred; yet the City souldiers were so reinforced, that in the end the gentlemen, were fabbuc'd, and one Abhurft and Stafard two Captains, with some others were taken and committed. The King was much offended at the, and immediately sent for the Lord Chief Justice, by whose advice a special commision of Oyer and Terminer was issu'd out, and about a fortnight after the malefactors were arraigned in the Guild-Hall of London, and Abhurft and Stafard being found guilty of murder, were condemned and executed at Tyburn. Stafard was a relation and servant to the late Duke of Buckingham, and much intercession was made for him: but the King would not pardon him, but said he had murder'd a watch-man before and was pardon'd, and hath now kill'd another, and he would take order he should not kill a third.

In the month of January, Don Carlos de Coloma, sent Embassadors from Spain arrived at London, and had audience six days after; his business was to treat of a Peace, betwixt the two Crownes, which was a while after concluded, all things being left on both sides in the same condition in which they were before the War, and the Spaniard did engage that he would make use of all his interest with the Emperor for restoring the Prince Elector Palatine to his lost estate.

This Peace, and that with France brought a great encroache of Trade to us, the Spaniard sent hither yearly in English bottoms, no leafe than 600000 Crowns in Bullion, for the use of the army in the Netherlands, redounding very much to the Kings benefit in the Coarne, and no les to the profit of the Merchants also, most of the money being return'd into Flanders in Leather, Cloth, Lead, Tin, and other the Commodities of this Kingdom. The Dutch and Flemings being great Traders, lookt upon London as the safest bank not only to lodge, but increase their trade; so that in a short time, the greatest part of the Trade of Christendom was driven upon the Thames.

On the tenth of April, this year William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of the Kings Household died suddenly of an Apoplexy, he was the Son of Henry Earl of Pembroke, Son of William Herbert created Earl of Pembroke, and Lord Herbert of Careis in the fifth year of King Edward the fifth, whose great Grandfather was William Earl of Pembroke taken prisoner in the Battle of Stadwul in the year 1467, in the quire of the House of Lancaster, redounding much in the ninth year of King Edward the fourth.

He was a comely Person, of a very generous mind, and one that in all his actions, appeared to be of the true ancient stock of English Nobility; He was competently learned, and a great lover of his Prince and County without flattery or fashion, which made him be ever esteemed by the first, and loved and respected by the later: He married Mary, the eldest Daughter, and Coheiue of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, by whom he had not issue. The King was some what touched at the death of so good a Converser, But to qualifie that loss, God blest him with
with a Son, the Heire of his Dominions, on the
twenty ninth of May, who on the twenty le-
venth of June following was with great solemnity
baptized, and named CHARLES, the
Godfather was the King of France, and the
Prince Elector, represented by the Duke of Lenox,
and the Marquef of Hamilton; the Godmother
was the Queen of France, whose Substitute was
the Duchefs of Richmond. After this joyful
Ceremony was performed, the King was in-
tent on the Business of the Prince Elector, and
hence the Intelligence of a Dyet to be kept this
Summer at Richmond, he sent Sir Robert Agliffor
Ambassador to the Emperor, taking that
opportunity, when the Estates of the Empire
were assembled, to treat of his brothers refur-
tation to the Palatinate. Sir Robert went in very
noble Equipsage, and was very well receiv'd,
when he came thither, and at his first audience
he deliver'd his Message to this effect.

That nothing did affect his Mafter, the
King of Great Britaine, more, than the day-
ly Calamities, undergone by his Brother the
Prince Elector, his Wife and Children; that
he deemed no place more convenient, where
to treat of their Reconcilliation, and reestab-
lishment, than in this Dyet, therefore he made
it moli ardent Request to his most Imperial
Majefly, that having Regard to the many In
tereffions of his late Father, and other Kings
and Princes, he would remit the difpleafure
conceived against his Brother, and recall the
procription iffued againft him, true it is,
that his Brother had offended, and was inexcufa-
bly guilty (unleff the Riffineffe and precipi-
tation of youth may fomewhat pleade for him).
But others had been as culpable as he, whom
yet his Imperial Majefly receiv'd into Grace
and favour, and would be pleafed to ex-
tend to him the fame eftem, it would ob-
lige his Mafter to demonstrations of greateft
gratitude, and raise a glorious imitation in
others to imitate to Majelfique a Pattern. That
the Palfgrave would entertain this favour
with an heart to firmly devoted to his fet-
vice, as all the intention of his Spirit should
be dipofed to compenfation and reparation of
his by-paff murciaries. That his Mafter held
nothing to deare, as the affencion of his Impe-
rial Majefly, and eftabliment of a durable
deepe between them, and as upon all occafions
he had been forward to reframe hisiftself
injuftice of it, fo at this time he is ready to
give more ample testimony, If his Imperial Ma-
jefty be pleafed to incline to a treaty.

The Emperor and Estates did not answer the
Kings expectation, for besides the Complements
which the Ambaffadour receiv'd, the all the
answer to this Bufinefs was, That the prefent affairs
of Germany, which call'd them thither, were
of that important concernment, as would not ad-
mit of any forein debate. But while leaffure fer-
ved, his Mafter should have fuch Satisfaction, as
they hoped would give content. The Emperor
was the colder in this matter, because he had
some intimations of the Kings Correspondence
with the King of Sweden, who at this time
to enter into Germany with an Army. And
he was not much deceiv'd in his intelligence, for
ever since the King of Denmark was by Count
Tyfli driven out of Germany, The eyes of all this part of the World were upon
anvs Adefibus, King of Sweden; as the
fifth perfon, to check the greatnefs of the
House of Auffria. Him therefore, two years
ago, the King elected into the Noble Order of
the Garter, wherewith he was felo inned in
the midl of his Army, at the Siege of Dar-
las, a Town of Powerfull belonged to the
Crowne of Poland, and then the greatnefs were
laid, which (being feconded by the French, the
States of the United Princes, and the difper-
sed Princes of the Empire) brought that King in
to Germany. For which Expedition on the thir-
teneth of June, he embarqu'd himself, and all
his Army, in feaveny mane of War, and two
hundred Jeffer Barks. He had made great pre-
parations the year before for this deigne, and
had entertain'd many Sciffith and English Com-
manders and Souldiers, lately in the Service of
the King of Denmark, after the Peace at
Angie in Hulfine, made the year before with
that Crown, and had dipeath'd fome of them to
raile Recruits, to compleat their Regiments in
Scotland and England, and likewife he entertain-
d Germany, who had return'd from the Ce-
foree Army, and from that Army that was fent
to affift the King of Poland, under the conduct of
Haron, and from thofe who had been disbru-
lged by Welfheim, the Emperours Generall;
The receiver'd little intelligence of the State of the
Emperour, and gave them Command to difperfe
forces with all speed, So that with none of the
& the remainder of the Army, which was brought
from the warts of Lutonia, he had gott together
above Twelve thoufand horse and fotive of old
Souldiers; But time was very favourable to the
Enterprize, for the Princes of Germany had
been much oppreffed by the late Military Go-
vernment, which Welfheim had introduc'd
amongst them. Who had under his command
a hundred thoufand houfe, and 30000 houfe of
diverse Nations, difperfed over all Germany,
whereby the Princes of Germany were not treated
as free Princes, but Subjefts. Whereupon for
that the exceffive Authority of private men,
and over-greatnefs of Neighbouring Potentates is
never lik'd by great ones, The Eleétores, which
pretend to keep the Imperiall condition within its
limits, could not fuffer either the barbarous
they lay under upon this former occasion, nor
that fo many Souldiers should be main'tain'd in
Germany, in the time of Peace, to the peoples
for great Grievances, nor that the Throne of Ca-
far should be rais'd to hight. They therefore
privately fought out all opportunite means, how
they might unarm him, and take from the Em-
pire such a support; To which the Spanifh Mi-
nifers of Vienna willingly concur'd, to moderate
the greatnefs of Waffenheim, and prevailed with
the Emperour to the disbanding of the supernu-
merary Forces, to pleafe the Eleétores, and to
oblige them thereby, to adhere toavour the King
of Hungary, at Election of the King of the
Romans, Waffenheim was hereupon immediately
laid aside which made him exclam that the
Emperour was betrayer, and certainly there were
come grounds for it. But if he had been more
complacent
complacent in his behaviour, his authority had not been so easily taken away, nor so many of the forces disbanded, which whilst they were kept together made the Emperor so powerful, that the King of Sweden could never have made that impression he did into his Dominions. 

\[1636\]

\[1636\] 

The news of this success of the King of Sweden, made our King very willing to lend aids to him, and the Marquess of Hamilton had Communications to levy four thousand men for that service. After the general form, which was most of them to be of the Scottish Nation; For the encouragement of the Marquess in this expedition, the King gave him the import of wines in Scotland, which amounted to twenty thousand pounds Sterling a year; but for the raising of those men, and an intended supply of money to the King of Sweden greater sums were required, and therefore the King by advice of his Attorney General and other his Council, learned in the Law, was forced to use all ways by the Law allowable to furnish himself.

By the Common Law every man of full age that could dispense a Knight's fee, was compellable by the Kings writ to take the Order of Knighthood, or else to make fine for the discharge or reipin of the same, but because of the uncertainty of the quantity of lands that made a Knight fee; King Edward the second in the first year of his reign grante a writ in the time of Parliament and directed to the garrison, wherein it was written, (which is therefore filled by some a statute) wherein no man was thereafter to be distrained for Knighthood, that had not twenty pounds a year in Fee Simple or Free taylor, or for term of life, which Sir Edward Coke explains to be tenant by curtesy; and almost in every Kings Reign till the time of Edward the 4th, men were summoned by proclamation to take the order of Knighthood, but the vale of land was seldom I vowed to was twenty pounds a year, for in the 18th of King Henry the 6th, which perhaps is the last time before this wherein proclamations of this kinds were filled, the same was exprest to be 40. a year. The King having this warrantable way to supply his necessities, did cause several writs to be issued out of the Chancery for Proclamations to be made in every County, to summon all persons of full age, and not Knights, being tenant of lands or rents of the yearly value of 40 l. or more, to appear in the Kings presence at a certain day there limited, to take upon them the Order of Knighthood, upon return of which writs and transmitting the same with their returns into the Exchequer, and upon other writs for enquiring of the names of such as did not appear, processes by 

\[Difpensing\] was made against

\[them, and they were fined for the same, which brought a hundred thousand pounds or more, into the Exchequer.

But this money would not answer the Kings occasions, wherefore Mr. Walter Montague was sent over to Negotiate the payment of the moiety of the Queens portion (being four hundred Thousand Crowns) besides, and to require satisfaction for two rich Ships, taken from us by the French, since the last peace concluded; and with him Philip Bartram a Merchant, was sent to receive the money, and make it over by Exchange or otherwise. The French King received the message with kindness enough, but complained that one Captain Kirk had two years before, taken the fort of Kelich in Canada, which was in possession of the French, and put an English garrision into it, this after a little consideration was found so equitable that the King gave order to have the Fort delivered, and thereupon his full and just demands were satisfied.

During the Reign of the late Parliament, one 

\[Leighton\]

was a 

\[scrivener\]

for writing a 

\[fuduction\]

book called 

\[Zions Solace\], which he presented to them, it was of a very fiery nature, exciting the Parliament and many people to kill all the Bishops, and to confine them under the fifth Rib, bitterly envying against the Queen, calling her a Daughter of 

\[Herby\]

a 

\[Cananite\]

and 

\[Idoletress\]; for which he was this year sentenced in the Star-Chamber, to be whipt and digmatized, to have his ears crop, and nose slit, but betwixt the pronouncing and inflicting of this sentence, he made his escape into Bedfordshire, but by the diligence of the Warden of the Fleet, he was quickly recover'd, and the punishment to which he was sentenced inflicted upon him. The Roman Refusants were about this time very active in England, and their Religion began to increase by the inducement of their Priests, who needed not now to fetch their Ordination from abroad, by reason that the Pope had sent before Dodder Smith of the Titular Bishop of Calcedon to ordain Priests, who took also upon him to approve of such regular Priests, as were to be standing Confessors, which the General of the Jesuits thought an usurpation upon his Jurisdiction, and that order by their information being more powerful in England; prevail'd with many of the most eminent of their Religion, to remonstrate against his authority asserting all sufficient power in the Regulars to what ever was pretended by the Bishop, and the necessity of having a Bishop in England; The Spanish Ambassadour favoured the Jesuits in this contest, to which the Kings Proclamation for the Bishops banishment concerning, he was trauget into France, nor were the last of men insolent in England only, but in Ireland also, for at Dublin whist the Lords Justices were hearing divine service in Christ Church, they had at publick retort to mark as is sometimes in London, to the houses of Ambassadors of that Religion which the Lords Justices taking notice of, they sent the Arch-bishop, the Mayor, Sheriff, and Recorder of the City to apprehend them, which they did, taking away their Crucifixes, chalices, and copes, and delivering the Fryers and Priests into the hands of the Puritans, whom the people threw stones at, and had reduced them, but that a guard was sent to defend
The Marquefs of Hamilton was at this time under some umbrage at Court, though his power with the King quickly broke through it. The occasion thereof was this; He had left a creature of his own, David Ramsey into Germany, on pretence to notify his coming thither to the King of Sweden, and to inform himself of the condition of the Scots then in that Service, but by what appear’d after, it was suspected he had another intention than the King of Sweden’s assent. There were at this time eight and twenty Colonels in the Scotch nation in the Swedish service, amongst which, there were four of the name of Hamilton, with whom Ramsey had made a near acquaintance, for he lived at a great expense; he had also indeed himself to Colonel Alexander Ramsey, Governor of Crummer, a person of good esteem and intertitle both with the Scotch and those of his own nation; Amongst these Officers, there was the Lord of Rhes Mackay, who commanded a Brigade of Scots, a person of great honour and reputation, who having discovered by some expression of Ramsey, that the Marquefs had a deeper design then the present expedition to Germany, he intimating to him to find out the bottom of it, and was told by him in much secrecy, that the Marquefs would consult those Forces which he was by the King’s authority to raise in Scotland for foreign Service against England. That their Friends had provided arms and ammunition, and more were expected from Sweden and other parts, and he and Colonel Alexander Hamilton solicited him to be of their party; to this the Lord of Rhes made a cold answer, but thought himself bound in duty to come into England and make it known to the King, which he did the rather because Ramsey was then return’d also; but he upon this accussation denied the whole matter, and the Lord having no proof thereof (as in such secret matters it could hardly be) more than a confident assertion and the engagement of his honour, the King thought good to referre the controversy to the trial of the Contable and Marshal with the assistance of other Lords in Commission with them according to the antient law of the Land. The Earl of Lindsey being made Contable to that end and purpose; many days were spent accordingly in parliance of it. But when most men expected that the matter would be tried by Combat, as had been usual in such cases, the business was holden up at Court, The Lord Rhes dismis’d to his employment in the war, and the Marquefs did not only continue in the King’s great favour, but Ramsey was permitted to hold the place of a Gentleman of the privy chamber which he used to be holden in by the former. Defend them, nevertheless the justicess were so careful to prevent the like disorders that most of their houses of Religion were immediately seiz’d into the King’s hands, and such Inquisition after the reft, that two Priests hang’d themselves at the apprehension of this (as they then call’d it) persecution.

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On the 25 of April this year, Merrivin Touchet, Lord Andrey was indicted and attain’d of Rape and Sodomy before his Peers in Westminster-Hall, Thomas Lord Coventry Lord-keeper of the great Seal, was for that day constituted Lord High Steward of England, and the Peers joyned with him were; The Earl of Portland Lord Treasurer, The Earl of Manchester Lord Privy Seal, The Earl of Arundel Lord Marquess, and the Earl of Pembroke Kent, Northumberland, Bedford, Essex, Dorset, Suffolk, Leicester, Warwick, Carlisle, Holland’s Berks, and Denby, The Viscounts Wilmot, Conway, Dorchester, Wensworth, The Barons Percy, Strange, Clifford, Peters, North, Goring, where divers unnatural and beastial actions being prov’d against him, he had sentence to be hang’d: but by the clemency of the King to him that sentence was chang’d to a beheading, which was executed on him at Tower-Hill on the 14 of May. In the same Month, the Marquefs of Hamilton, and of Scurry, married his own Niece the Daughter one Mr. Dalton, for which he was question’d in the high Commission Court, but he declined the jurisdiction, and moved the Court of Common Pleas therein from whence he obtain’d two rules; one requiring the Commissioners to shew cause why a prohibition should not be granted: The other, that if they proceede further before cause shown, a prohibition should be awarded: This gave great offence to the Bishop of London, who complained to the King thereof, and he by my Lord Keeper figur’d his displeasure to the Judges for their proceeding herein, whereas they desist’d, and the Court consisting of eight Bishops, and four other Commissioners gave the sentence following, against him to be Fined to the the King twelve thousand pound; to stand oblig’d in the penalty of twenty thousand pound, never to inhabit or come near his Neice any more; and to be committed to Prison, or put in sufficient bail, till he he and his Neice shall have done penance at Paul’s-Cross, and at great Sainte Matre at Cambridge in a day appointed by the Court. Never was delinquent condur’d there by, a more solemn and venerable Condictory: many spake excellent well, but Sir Henry Martyn, whose cutomse it was before to out-go others, did then farrise himself.

About the midst of July the Marquefs of Hamilton arriv’d in the Oder with six thousand foot, well arraigned and furnish’d with Artillery for the Service of the King of Sweden and with three hundred thousand Dollers in money, he himself came to the King at his Leiger at Wurben on the Elbe. The King receiv’d him very respectfull, and shew’d him all the fortifications, and the preparations he had made against the Count de Tilly, who was March’d as far as Monument towards him; so that he had no leisure to entertaine him as he would, but after he had form’d his instructions he was dismis’d, and his forces were employ’d to Joyne with General Banier; he told him he was very sorry his Army arriv’d in such parts of the Country that were ruin’d, in that both the Armies had liv’d there above a year before, but within a while, he said, they should have better quarters, but the men were almost all lost whilst they were there finding not only same to confume them, but the Plague also, which did so rage that two hundred a week of them dy’d, and they were much weakened, but those that surv’d did good service, and their coming at this time was great furtherance of the King of Sweden’s cause, for thereby a good part of the Enemies forces were for feare of them diverted.
in all the Cities and Townes thereof except Heidelberg and Franckenthal, where we shall leave him victorious and returne to Domestique affairs.

About five years since certaine Feoffees were intrusted to purchase in impropriations with their own and the money of other well disposed persons, and with the profit thereof to set up and maintain preaching Ministers in places of gratefull need, where preaching was much wanting, whereupon in a short while many great fumes were advanced. There are in England Nine thousand two hundred and eighty four Parish Churches endowed with Glebe and Tyth, but of these when these trustees entred on their work three thousand eight hundred forty and five, were either appropriated to Bishops, Cathedrals, and Colledges or impropriated as lay feyes to private persons, as formerly belonging to Abbies, to purchase which least they had made such profferts that it was believed itiny fifty years rather purchasers than money would have been wanting to them. The King was prevailed on that this project would prove dangerous to the Church, and My the Attorney General at the latter end of the year exhibited a Bill in the Exchequer Chamber against the Feoffees.

It was charged against them that they diverted the charity wherewith they were intrusted, for being by their Feoffment directed to settle preaching Ministers in distant obscure places where preaching was most wanting; they first setled a morning Lecture at St. Ambulines in London. To this they answered, that London being the chiefest place from whence their charity derived, it was fit they should have some benefit of their own hounty, and that they were not so confined to the uses in their Feoffment, but that in their choice they might reflect as well on the eminen-

The proceeds of the Feoffee's for impropriations were con-
dominated as dangerous to the Church and State.

The proceeds of the Feoffees for impropriations were condemned as dangerous to the Church and State.

Henry our first ambassador to the King of Sweden.
were near drawn to a good Conclusion, when a
The King of Sweden, which hapned at that memorable
cappe of Leuten on the sixth of November old
Senat the Paligrave was in hopes of recovery, when
news came to him of the death of the King of
Sweden, which retarded him in his resolution, till after
the 29 of the same Moneth, not
the rendition of Frankendall then ready to
to be surrendred to the English Officers then before
it any what moderate his griev; the Earl of Leicester
was first sent Ambassador to the King of
Denmark to concile the death of that kings Grand-
Mother Sophia Queen Dowgner of Denmark, and
to demand the demand of the last part of what
the left as due to him and the Queen of Bohemia
in right of Queen Anne their Mother, which
first part amounted to a hundred and fifty thou-
sand pound Sterling; The King of Denmark told
the Ambassador when the accapt was stated of
what was due in him in the name of thirty thousand
pound a month from the Crown of England
upon the contract made in the year 1625. towards
the support of his Army, he would make up the
re, so that the Earl was faine to return re
infell. The King having had great experience of the ability and faithfulness of the Lord Viscount Wentworth (whom he had lately raised to that
honour and made him Lord President of the North) made him Deputy and chief Governor of the Realm of Ireland, where affairs were in
much disorder by the influence of the Romish
Catholiques who did not use moderately the
Kings clemency to them in relaxation of the
Rigor of some penall Statutes; they are indeed a people that cannot bear any indulgence towards
them with temerity but are too apt to be al-
inated in the apprehension of favour to their own
detriment and the scandal of the Kings pro-
testant Subjects. On the second of December
this year the King fell sick of the small Pox, but
there was so little malignity in the distemper that he
soon recoverd; The same moneth the Earl of
Arundell was sent to the Hague in Holland to
the Queen of Bohemia, to concile the death of
her husband and follicite her and her Childrens
Journey into England, which at this time the
relafed because of the griefe the lay under, and
an indisposition of health that made her unfit in
the Winter fenton to take such a Journey.
The King had this yeare a great check to the
prosperity of his Government, which first ap-
peared in Scotland, where some factous and le-
ditions male-contents began to cause some feeds of
discontent, which afterwards encreased to that
degree, as well neare destroyed the prosperity and
happiness of these flourishing Kingdomes,
on this occasion:
In the minority of King James, the Lands of
Cathedral Catches, and religious Houses, which
had been settled on the Crowne, by Act of Par-
liament, were shared among the Lords and great
men of that Kingdom ( by the Convnience of
the Earle of Murray, and some other of the
Gents ) in the minority of King James, to make
them fuse unto their side. And they being thus
possst of the said Lands, with the realties and
tyers belonging to these Ecclesiasfical Corpora-
tions, lend it with pride & infolence enough
in their severall territries, holding, the Clergy
to small stipends, and the poor peant under a
miferable Vaffalage and subjexion to them.

King CHARLES, ingaged in War at his first
coming to the Crowne, and having little aid from
thence for the maintenance of it, by the advice
of his Counsell of that Kingdom, was put upon
a course of reforming those lands, Tythes, ad
Regalities into his owne hands, to which the
present possessors could pretend no other Tytle,
then the unjust usurpation of their Ancestors.
This he endeavoured first by an Act of Renova-
tion, but that course not being like to proceed he
followed in the way of a legal process, which
drew on a Commission for surrendring of Su-
periories and Tythes, to be retaken from the
King in such conditions, as might bring some
profit to the Crowne, some augmentation to the
Clergy, and the more ease and benefit to the
Common people. But these occupates chose
rather to exploe their Country to the danger of
a publick ruine, than to part with any of that
power, which they had exercised on their vaffals
(as they commonly called their tenants;) and
thereupon conspird together, to oppose the
King in any thing, that should be effect'd in
the following Parliament, which had Relation to
the Church or church-affaires.

But because Religion and the care thereof is
commonly the belt bait, to catch the vulgar they
must finde out some other meanes, to divert the
King from the prosecuting of that Commision,
then the confideration of their owne peronall and
private Interest, and they found meanes to do
it on another occasion, which was brieftly this.

King F.AMES S., from his first coming to
the Crowne, had a designe, to bring the Kirk
of Scotland to an Uniformity with the Church of
England, both in Government and form of
worship. And he proceeded so far as to sette
Episcopacy amongst them, naming thirteene
new Bishops for so many Episcopall Sees, as had
been ancieantly in that Church; three of which
received consecration from the Bishops of Eng-
land, and conferred it on the rest of their Pre-
bythen at their coming home: which Bishops
he arm'd also with a power of high Commision,
the better to keep downe the intolent and domi-
nating Spirit of the Presbyterians. In order to
the other he procured an Act, to be pulled in the
Assembly at Aberdeen, Anno 1616. for com-
posing a Liturgy, and extracting a new Book of
Canons out of the scattered Acts of their old
Assemblys, and at an Assembly, held at Perth,
Anno 1618. he obtained an order for receiving
the Communion kneeling, for admiring Baptism,
and the Lords Supper in private houses in
cases of extreme necessity, for Episcopall con-
firmation, and finally, for the celebrating the
Anniversary of our Saviour Birth, his Passione,
Refurrection, & Ascension, and the coming down
of the Holy Ghost. All which he got to be
confirmed in Parliament.

So far that wise King had advanced the work
of Uniformity before his engaging in the cause of
the Palatinate: his breach with Spain, and
the war, which did issue upon it, had took of
his thoughts from prosecuting that designe, which
his Son being more intangled in wars abroad,
and difficulties at home, had no time to finishe till he
had
The Reign of King Charles the First.

had tested his affairs, and attained to some measure both of power and glory, but being it was a barreness, which was to be asced leaflessly, and by degrees he deferred the execution of his purpose, till he fell into Scotland, towards which he went this year about the middle of May, and arrived at Edinburghe the tenth of June, and on the eighteenth following, his Coronation was celebrated with great solemnity; he had before summoned a Parliament, to meet at Edinburghe, which assembled a while after the Coronation, and he called an Act of Ratification of all that had been done by his Father, and proceeded to them, determining, as soon as that was passed, to go in hand with introducing a public Liturgie, in the effecting whereof he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament, then he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a far major part of that assembly.

This gave him the first taste of their disaffection to his Person and Government, but he went forward notwithstanding, in pursuit of those purposes, which he brought thither with him, for not long after his return into England, he gave order to the Duke of his Chappell Royal in Edinburghe, for Prayers to be said therein, according to the English Liturgie, that a Commission should be had every Month, and all Communicants to receive the Sacrament on their knees, that he who officiated, if he were a Bishop, should perform it in his Rocchet, and other Episcopall Robes, and in his Surplice a common Prebbyter; And that not only the Lords of his Council, but the Lords of the Seifion, and as many of the principal Magistrates of that City as could conveniently, should not fail of their attending the divine Service there, on Sundays and Holidays, for by this means he gave himself, self-nombre possible hopes, that the English Liturgie taking a probationer ship in the Chappell Royal, might finde a plausible entertainment in the Churches of Edinburghe, and be received by degrees in all the rest of the Kingdom.

But the Presbyterian Senec, not ignorant of the Kings intentions, intimated into the minds of the confciouc of the compoin, that this was a design subjett to Kirk to the Rights and Ceremonies of the Church of England, which they said was superflitious, and therefore that it did behove them to stand together, as one man, to oppose their entrance.

The Lords and Gentry of that Realme, who feared nothing so much as the Commission of Sirenders, before mentioned, laid hold of this occasion also, and they being seconded by male contented Spirits, who had not found the King to be as prodigall of his favour to them, as his Father hath been before, endeavoured to poeifie them with fear and jealousies, that Scotland was to be reduced to the form of a Province, and governed by a Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, as Ireland was, the like was done also by some Lords of Secret Council, who before had governed, as they liked, and thought their power now diminished, and their persons under some neglect, by the placing of a Lord President over them, and the direct in chief.

So that the People generally being fool'd into this opinion, that both their Christian and Civill Liberties were in no small danger, became capable of any impression, which the Presbyte-rian faction could imprint upon them, which visibly appeared by a violent and seditious Libell, published in the yeare 1634, wherein the King not onely was charg'd with altering the Government of that Kingdom, but traduced for very strong inclinations to the Religion of the Church of Rome, the chiefe abetter whereof (for the Author was not to be found) was the Lord Palmerton, for which he was legally committed and condemned of Treason, but pardoned by the Kings great Goodness, though by his following actions he deferred not that favour. The Fire thus breaking out in Scotland, it was no Marvel, if it had held laid on England also, the discontented of both Nations working themselves about this time into a body, and from henceforth communicating their councils, and designs unto one another. As will hereafter appeare.

This yeare ended with some fires in Somersettshire, where some of the Justices were much offended, at the keeping of wakes, Church-ales, and Bride-ales on the Lords day, which occasioned many disorders and misdemeanors to be committed; and therefore they moved the Lord Chief-Justice Richardson, and Baron Denham, according to the former, then in their Circuit in the Lent Vacation to make some Order therein; these in compliance with their desire, make an order on the 19th of May, (founded on former preadins signed by the Chief Justice Papham, in the later end of Queen Elizabeths Reigne) there in suppressing such Revels, in regard of the infinite number of inconveniences, daily arising by means thereof, injuring the Confiables to deliver a Copy thereof to the Minifter of every Parish, who on the first Sunday in February, and likewise the two first Sundays before Easter, was to publish the same every yeere; This was look'd on by the Bishops, as an usurpation of Ecclefeiatical Jurisdiction, and they therefore procured a Commission, directed to the Bishop of Bath, and other Divines, to enquire into the manner of publishing this order, and the carriage of the Judges in the Bishops; notwithstanding which the Chief-Justice, at the next Assizes, gave them charge against these Revels, and required a true account of the publication and execution of the former order, punishing some perrons for the breach thereof, after whose returne the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury sent for him, and told him it was the Kings pleasure, he should revolve his order, as he would answer it at his peril, which he did at the next Assizes, (but with this Limitation, as much as in him lay,) but this ended not here, for the Justices of that County hearing of this dealing with the Chief-Justice, made an humble Supplication to the King, for suppressing the aforesaid Assemblies, which induced the King to renew his Fathers Declaration, about lawful Sports, on the Lords-day published in the 16th yeare of his Reign; hoping thereby, by the restraint therein directed, to hinder the abuse of those Recreations, and to free the Confciouc of his Subjectes from those frivolous yokes, which some Divines about that time endeavoured to introduce, maintaining the indemissible morality of the fourth Commandment, and consequently the necessary obligation of the Jewish Sabbath, for it was in the declaration prescribed,
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1. That these proffes should be no impediment, or less to the publique any of the day.
2. That no refusals should be capable of the benefit of them.
3. That none should use them, that were not distinctly present at all divine effects which the day required. And
4. That the benefit should redound to none, but such as kept themselves in their own Parishes.

The publication of this, however piously intended, gave great offence and the rather, because, though there was nothing express in the declaration that the Minister of the Parish should be prefixed to the publishing, yet some Ministers, for refusing the reading thereof, were some suspended as Office & Benefices, some deposed, and more maligned in the high-commision; the truth is the ill reception it had among the people, in the former publication of it, in the time of the Kings Father, might have deterred the like at that time, for that the first observation of the Lords day was much increased since that time, though it was not known in England till the year 1595, when Dr. Bond first published it in his Book of Sabbath Delights; nor in Ireland, till just twenty years after, when it was inserted in the Articles of Religion, there established, nor in Scotland till above twenty years after that, and at this day in Germany shooting in longbowes, tennis, bowling, and other parts of that kind are used, and the like in all foreign places, where the Protestant Religion is professed, but it was generally disliked, here many complaints being heard by divers books occasion to be worse, under the protection of these parts, permitted to them: for though liberty on the Lords-day may be so limited in the Notions of learned men, so to make it lawful, it is very difficult so to confine it to the actions of the people, but that they will degenerate into licentiousness, so that the declaration after a while dried off itself, and was withised by many prudent men of that time, that it had never lived.

The Merchants of London, and other parts made great complaints at the end of the last year, of the obstructions of Trade, for want of good Convoyes, to secure them against the Turks and other Pyrates, that infetled our Coaft, which made the King very earnest in making preparations, to make himself strong at Sea, to which he was the more inclined for the vindication of his just Authority of the Sovereignty of the British seas, which was not only annually usurped by the French, but the right it self disputed by a tradit, written by Dr. Grotius, a learned, but the illusion of that time, called Mare liberum, but whilst the King by his power omitted not to maintain his right, our learned Selden, by his pen encountered Grotius, in a learned book called Mare clausum, wherein he did not only effert the Sovereignty or Dominion of the British seas to the Crown of England, but clearely proved by constant and continual præfite, that the Kings of England used to levy money from the Subjects, for the providing of Ships and other necessaries, to maintain that Sovereignty which did of right belong unto them, before the writing of this trit, the King had well advised how to enable himself with Treasure, to support his authority, and defend the Kingdomes by the industry of Nay, his Attorney-General, a most indefatigable Inquisitor ship money expended by the late Authority of the King, very properly.

The safety and preservation of the Kingdom did require it of him, and that such aid had been heretofore levyed in the same year in which the Kings that took it, had received subsidies in the way of Parliament, for which he gave this reason; whereas a King of England wants money to support his own expenses, for the conducting his Dominions in foreign Countries, or otherwise to advance his honour in the eye of the world, he ought to be beholding to his Subjects for it by and in Parliament; but when the Kingdom is in danger, and the safety of the Subject concern'd therein, he may by our lands raise such sums of money as he thinks expedient for the preventing of the danger, and providing for the publique safety of himself and his; And therupon by this advice, writs were iss'd and directed to all the Port Townes and maritime Counties of the Kingdom to set out a certain number of Ships furnished with mariners, ammunition, victuals and all other necessaries for defence of the Realme, whereby the King had quickly equipped a very good fleet, though not great enough for the end intended, which occasioned the like writs to be iss'd out to all the counties in the Kingdom, in the year 1636. of which more hereafter.

This year was unfortunate to the Swedes in Germany, for, General Arnhelm was constrained to retire, and Barneveld, General of Friesland, was restored by the Imperiality General Albrigerin plain at Lauen, and the whole Army totally routed by the King of Hungary, and the Cardinal Jansen at the battle of Nottingham, after which ensued the surrender of that Town, and the conquest of the Dukeedom of Wittenburg, whose Duke fled to Strasburg, but though this gave a great step to the Swedish gentry, yet it brought a little repose to Germany, for shortly after this success, a peace was concluded though it lasted not long.

In Ireland the Lord Deputy Wentworth, was very busy in setting the quiet of that Nation and because popery was chiefly encreas'd for want of able Ministers, and that occasion'd by the poor maintenance they had in most places, he procured of the King by the mediation of Archbishop Langet, that all the impositions then in the Crown should be referrest to the Church, to a great diminution of the Royal Revenue, and that the King was never capable of any loss by himself, if thereby he gain might redound to God in his Ministers.

On Candlemas night, the Gentlemen of the four Inns of Court, presented a Mafque to the King and Queen at kitchell, riding in Stately Chariots from the Temple thither, it was indeed a Pompous and Magnificent shew, but made more glorious, by a long train of Christian Captives, who having been many years inflav'd in the chains of bondage, were sent for a present to the King, by the Heireffe or Emperor of Morocco in testimony of the assistence received from our King, whose fleets assistst in the taking of Saliz then in Rebellion against him, and in enmity to all the world, it being a nest of Pyrates, by whose deftuction
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Destruction commerce was very free in those parts.

This year died Sir Richard Baff, Earl of Portland, Lord high Treasurer of England, a great statesman, but despised to be too much a favorer of the Religion of Rome, in which he was reputed to have dyed, and some of his Children were educated therein, his place for the present was intrusted to Commissioners, till a fit person could be found to whom to be left.

It was now the year 1635. when a gallant fleet was set out by the side of ship money, under the Earl of Lindsey, Admiral of the Fleet, and Sir Evelyn Dover, Vice Admiral; whereby our trade was not only made secure by fostering the Seas of prey, but the King became very formidable to all his Neighbours, and by his interception this summer Flanders was preserved, which had else probably been swallowed up by the French and Hollanders, for the King of Spain could not bring 8000 men into the field and leave his Garrisons provided, the French King and they were in confederacy for that purpose, by which it was agreed that he should invet Dunkirk with an Army, whilst the Hollanders did block it up with their Navy, that so all passages into the Country being fecured, they might the more easily (about the inward parts) which design had taken effect, if the English fleet had not dislodged the Hollanders from before the Town and releaved it, and the French by their Infolencies at Diet and Telement inflamed and encouraged the peoples heats against them, for before they had been so practis'd on by the Holland faction that few or none would arm to repulse their enemies.

September the 29th, the Earl of Arundel brought up to London out of Shropshire, one Tho. Pott, as the wonder of the time for the prodigy of his age, he had almost reach'd to the hundred and sixties year, and in all likelihood had outlived that time some years, had not to tedious a Journey and the over violent agitation of his body together with the change of his womed course of dye, accelerated his end.

Charles Prince Elector of Palatine came into England at this time to visit his Uncle, & to consider with them for his restitution to the Palatinate, and a while after his arrival, his brother Prince Rupert came also.

The Kings reputation was very high, and the Hollanders a wise and indefatigable people took all occasions to endeavour themselves to him, at this time they sent an Ambassadoer over to congratulate with the King and Queen, for the birth of their second Daughter the Princes Eliz. being and to ingratiate themselves the more, they sent by him a very rich present, a maffive piece of Ambersgold, two huge basons of China, a noble Clock, the workmanship of Raphine the Emperor, and some exquisite pieces of painting, of Titian and Vinciers, which were well accepted.

The King finding some inconvenience in the managing of his Treasury by Commissioners gave the office to the Bishop of London, which was a very good chance, for whereas most of the men before these latter times, had rather revered themselves in their Office; the King raising themselves to great Estates and dignities themselves, by, he thought fit to choose this Church man, who having not Family to raise, nor wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the incomes of the Treasury to his advantage, then they had been formerly, and so for proved, for by his care of the revenue, the King began to be rich and he was so well temper'd a disposition, that he gave exceeding great content to all the people.

The Kings Naval preparations were very great this year; The Fleet consisting of sixty good Ships, under the Command of the Earle of Northumberland now made Lord high Admiral of England, who laying Northward and finding a great number of Dutch Buffes fishing on our Coast, he feiz'd on many of them and dispersed the rest. This made a great conformation amongst the people of the United Provinces, many of whole subsistence depended on this fishing, wherefore upon a supplication from the States to the King, they had permission granted by him, for he was more displeased at their presumption in doing it as in their right and in conempt of his authority in the Dominions of these Seas, then at the thing done; As the Navy was greater this year then before, So the charge of it was much augmented, wherefore whereas in the last year the Ship wages had been but small only to the maritime Counties, they were now offered to all the Counties in England, and the people generally paid what rates and assessments were set upon them in pursuice thereof, but some few refused, and many of the Clergy complained that they were unreasonably rated by their neighbours, some of them at a sixth, and others at a fourth part of the tax of the parish; for satisfaction of the refusers, The King wrote to the Judges for their opinion, who are by their oaths their proper Counsellors in all difficulties concerning the law, and to ease the Clergy; he wrote to all the Sheriffs of England, requiring that the Clergy paid of Parsonages, should not be added above a tenth part of the land rate of their several parishes and that consideration should be had for vicars accordingly.

The Letter to the Judges was.

To our trusty and well beloved, St. John Bramham Knight, Chief Justice of our Bench; St. John Finch Knight, Chief Justice of our Court of Common Pleas; St. Humphrey Davenport Knight, Chief Baron of our Court of Exchequer: And to the rest of the Judges of our Court of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, and the Barons of our Court of Exchequer.

Charles Rex.

Toll and well beloved we greet you well; Taking into our Privy consideration that the honour and safety of this our Realm of England, the preservation whereof is only entrusted to our care, was and is more directly concerned then in late or former times as well by divers Counts and attempts to take from us the dominion of the seas, of which we are sole Lords, and right owners, or Proprietors, and the Gulf whereof would be of great danger and peril to this Kingdom, and other our Dominions, and many other matters...
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To which, the Judges delivered their opinions as followeth.

May it please your most excellent Majesty
Wee have according to your Majesty's command severally and every man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious con
Aeration, the case and questions signed by your Majesty, and included in your letter. And we are of opinion, that when the good and safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may by writ, under your great seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom at their charge to provide and furnish such number of Ships with men, victuals, and munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the Kingdom from such peril and danger. And by that Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal or refractoriness. And we are also of opinion that in such case your Majesty is the sole Judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided.

John Bramston.
John Finch.
Humphry Davers.
John Denham.
Richard Histon.
William Jones.

These opinions being subscribed by all the Judges, were enrolled in all the Courts of Westminster Hall, and the King thought he had now warrant sufficient to proceed against the defaulters, the chiefest whereof was one Mr. Hambden a Gentleman of Buckinghamshire, who being summoned by process appeared and required Oyer of the Ship-writs, which being read, he demurred in law thereunto, and demanded the opinion of all the Judges upon the legal sufficiency thereof. This great case came to be argued in the Exchequer chamber, and the major part of the Judges delivered their opinions in favour of the writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgement against Mr. Hambden: yet did not the question altogether to repose, but Master Hambden obverting that two of the Judges were. Crooke and Histon, were of a contrary sense, held up the contest still though all in vain, all his iniquity not gaining him the least acquittal, until a higher power interposed.

There was an Imperial dyet held this year, for the election of a King of the Romans, and the King sent thither the Earl of Arundel his Ambassador to Ferdinand the third about the restitution of the Prince Palatine. But that Embasy could effect no thing, for the Duke of Bavaria, who had in his possession the upper Palatinate, and the electoral dignity would by no means hear of any propositions to part with either, But the lower Palatinate he might have had upon some terms which the Emperor proposed: but our Ambassador was not instructed to accept of any thing in dismission.
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Diminution of the Electors Right: so that the Palegrave had no fruit of this Embassy, yet were his hopes a little rais'd by an overture of marriage made at this time betwixt the King of Poland, and one of his Sithers, which was almost effected by the legation of Prince Radziwili here in England. But the Emperor privately obstructed it, and by the information of the Jesuites, so instigated the Clergy of Poland against it, because of Fanatic Religion, that the Treaty was broken off, and the King afterwards married the Lady Cecilia, second Sister to the Emperor.

On the 12th of January Mr. William Prynne an Utter barrister of Lincoln's Inn., Doctor John Sibbick, Dr. of Physicke, and Henry Burton a Munition, were confined in the Star-chamber.

The offence of Prun was for writing & dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of England: That of Sibbick for inveighing against the proceeding of the High Commission against him, before which he had been accused for writing a Bookke, called Flagellum Pompificis & Episcoporum, Latitiudinam, and committed to the Gatehouse, in which time besides his arraigning the high Commission Court, he published a Latin Apologia (called by the Court a Libell) ad Presbytari Anglicanos, and a Letany very virulent against them. That of Mr. Burton was, for publishing a Sermon, which he preached on the fifth of November, before wherein the Prelates were urged for introducing several innovations into Divine worship, which was deemed a Libell: For these offenses, the judgement of the Court was, That they should lose their Eares in the Palace yard at treflminster, and each of them fine five thousand pounds to the King, and imprisoned during life in three remote places. Finch, the chief Justice, moved the Court, that it might be added to Mr Prun's confiure, to be branded in each Cheek with S. L. for sconderous Libeller, which was consented to, for they were the more severe against him, because he had been an Enemy before in the like kind, having been three years before confined to loose his Eares on the Pillory, for writing a Bookke, called Hiftory-mafs, or the History of Stage-Players, wherein some indelicat reflections were taken to be on the Queen herself, as too much delighted in Masques.

The Prince Elector, and his brother Prince Rupers went to Holland about this time in order to a defigne, which was put in practice the next year, to attempt something with an Army in the Palatinat; The Affiance and credit of the Kings Parle, did so prevail under hand with the Prince of Orange and the States of the United Provinces, that a small beginning of an Army was raiyed, with which they advanced into Westphalia, and besieged Lemmingen: But Hatzfeld one of the Emperor Generals came so looone upon them, that they effected nothing, but were forced to fight to great disadvantage, having had 2000 men slaine, and most of the rest dispersed; and many Prisoners taken, amongst which were Prince Rupers and the Lord Crown, the Prince Elector himself eloped by flight, and retired to the Hague.

William, Bishop of Lincoln, was on the 11th of July confined in the Star-chamber, for tampering to suborn witnesses, to be fined 10000; to the King, and imprisoned during the Kings pleasure, being referred to the high Commission for a further confiure: The occasion whereof we shall briefly relate:

This Bishop, after the great Scale some ten years since had been taken from him, retired to Reghin in Hungary, there, where he lived very hospitably, and had great concourse, Amongst others St. John Lambe, Doctor Sibbick, with Allen and Burdon, two Professors, came to visit him, and being with Dinner with him, there was much discourse about Non-Conformity, and the Bishop knowing the to be busy men in the prosecution of such, advised them to take off their heavy hand from them, informing them, that the King intended to use them hereafter with more mildness, as a considerable party, having great influence on the Parliament, without whose concurrence he could not supply his necessities, adding that he had communicated this unto him by his owne mouth.

A few yeares after, Lambe, upon some difference with the Bishop, informed him against him for reviling the Kings Secrets, whereupon an Information was put in against him in the Star-chamber; To which he put in an especial answer, declaring how all was contriv'd by a conspiracy and combination of Lambe, Sibbicks, Allen and Burdon, out of an intent to advance themselves and their friends, for not permitting them to Poll and Pill the Kings Subjects in Army, for their parte in their Ecclesiasticall courts, by haling them into their Nest; Ex officia mea, without any previous Complaint under an imaginary color of Publickisme. To this answer the Kings Attorney rejoyned in Iffue, admitting the Bishop to prove his special matters, who proceeded to the examination of his witnesses therein: but after a while the Attorney being somewhat resists in the prosecution: one Richard Kivers was entertained to be the Bishops Procutor, who had found out, that one John Prigion a Rector of Lincoln and Leicesters, was a most material witness in the Bishops defence: And the credit of this Testimony he designed to invalidate, by charging him with getting a Ballad, on one Eliz. Hodson: The Bishop thought it behoved him to support the Reputation of Prigion, and engaged himself more zealously therein, than was conceived consistent with the gravity of so great a Prelate, to such who knew not that he and some Doctor Morris, were the only persons of note present at his table, where the discourse above mentioned paffed between him and Sr. John Lambe. This Ballad was the Seffion at Lincolne ordered to be kept by Prigion, as the reputed father thereof, but at a Seffions following, that order was reversed, and the child fathered upon one Borne, and Prigion acquitt'd; in the doing whereof, it is said Penel and Owen, two Agents of the Bishop, did maneace and tampete with the witnesses: But at a third Seffion, Prigion was again charg'd and Borne freed: yet this last order, being upon a Certiorari brought to the Kings-Bench, was there quaff'd as insufficient, and Prigion was after cleared from the child: Kivert nevertheless in the traverse of this affaire, let fall the first information in the Star-chamber, and proceeded upon that, whereon the Sentence before named was grounded, etc.

R r r
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To this proportion the King agreed, and the book 1637
fent by King James formerly into Scotland, was
remitted to England, and after many tedious con-
sultations and some alterations, made by advice of
diverse of the Bishops, and Clergy of Scotland,
then here it was prefixed, printed and published
and sent into Scotland: The Bishops and Noble-
men of the Kings Council, then present at
Edinburgh, resolved, That the book should be
first read in the great Church, on the before men-
tioned 3d of July, and on the Sunday before
notice thereof was publicly given in the Church:
There were present both the Arch Bishops, ma-
ny of the Privy Council, and others of the best
Quality in Edinburgh, besides a great concourse
of ordinary people: Amongst this multitude,
there appeared no signe of trouble, but no fonder
was the book opened by the Deane of Edinburgh,
but a Number of the meaner fort with clapping
their hands, and outcryes, made a great uproare
and one of them, called Jane or Jane Goddis, (yet
living at the writing of this relation) flung a
little f-stone, flied, wherein the fite, at the
Deane head, saying, You know false thief, dif-
then say the Malls at my Lipt, which was followed
with a great noisy and confusion, that not any
one could either hear or be heard, whereupon
the Bishop of Edinburgh flung into the Pulpit, and
hoping to appease them by putting them in mind,
that the place, in which they were, was holy
ground, and by interesting them to desist from
the profanation of it, they were the more enraged,
throwing at him curgills, flooes, and what else
was in the way, even to the endangering of his
life: Upon this the Arch Bishop of St. Andrews
Lord Chancellor, called downe the Provost and
Bailiffs of the city from their Sates to their affil-
iance, who (not without some difficulty) put
the unruly people out of the Church, and made
falt the doores: This done, the Deane proce-
ded in reading the booke, the multitude in the
meane while rapping and pecling the windowes
with ftones, to disturb the exercise, but not
withstanding all their clamor, the Service was
ended, but not the people rage, who wanting
the loop of his Lodging, whereupon he fell upon
him, as he had beene refused by a strong
hand) he had probably perished by their vi-
olence.

The same morning the Service Book was read
in the next Church to St. Gyles, though not with-
out noyle and tumult, yet not so great as in the
other: In the Gray-Friers Church Mr. Rainfey
refused to read it, and was attacled and supppled
for the fane, but the Elefet Bishop of Argyll,
his Colleague began to read it, but was inter-
rupted, curfild and exalted against, that he
was forced to give over;
In the Cowfie Church
Rollack one of the Preachers, who the Sunday
before at the intimation of the reading had much
commodated the Booke, and undertaken this day
to read it, upon notice, how it was received in
the Church of St. Gyles, broke the promise
he made to read it, thinking it the safer
course, to leave himselfe to the Cencup of all
men for his levity, then offend the multitude,
whose favour he sought; but he was supppled
also.

The morning thus paft, the Council assem-
bled at the Lord Chancellors Lodging, and sent
for
for the Provost and Bailiffs, to advise with them how to prevent the like tumults in the afternoon, which they promised to endeavor, and it was so effected, That the book was read in the Church of St Giles, and some other Churches that afternoon, without any such disturbance as it had in the morning: onely the Bishop of Edinburg in his return to his lodging was rudely treated by the people, both by execrations and other ways.

All this time the Magistrates and Council of the City feared so to dislike those tumultuous proceedings, that when their Ministers craved a dispensation from reading the Book, until security were given for the Safeguard of their persons, They drew up an obligatory Act, both for indemnity of their persons, and also for their settled maintenance; and whilt this was doing, to express their zeale herein, they sent two particular letters to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, into England, in which they defined him "To recommend to the King their fidelity to his "Service, and to undertake for them, their zeale "and forwardness for setting the peaceable prac- "tice of the Service-book; This undertaking of the Magistrates of Edinburg, made the King re- muc much of his intended Rigor against the offenders in the first uproar, hoping by that his Cle- mency to oblige them the more in their duty to- wards him: And now the Council were in con- sultation about appointing a new day, for renew- ing the exercise of the Service-Book, to which the Bishops, Ministers, and Magistrates agreed: But before the time came, The Magistrates and people were so praticed on by the silenced Ministers Rollie and Ramfey, and one Hender- son, a silenced Reader, that they began to relent of their former promises, and presented to the Council a Petition, requesting that the Service- book might not be imposed upon them, until the Kings Pleasure should be further known; which petition they alladged, they were neces- sitated to present by the Example and encoura- gement of all ranks from all parts of this King- drome; And the ministers also petitioned, that the orders, whereby they were enjoyned to re- ceive the Book might be suspended: There was nothing else of publike note done from Lam- mas (which is the day on which the Long Vacat- ion there begins,) till the first of October, for the time of Harvett drew all sorts of people (save the Citizens) into the Country. But so soon as Harvett was done, the Designers of the fol- lowing disorders had so corresponded, That the conflux of Nobility, Gentry, Ministers and Bishops, for so all parties came, to be very demonstra- tions at Edinburg, in expostulation of some great matters of Religion to be treated on in Council, at their first appointed day of sitting, and they were so tumultuous in their behaviour, that a pre- sent insurrection was feared, which forced the Council, on the 17th of October, the first ap- pointed day of assembling, to make three Procla- mations for appeasing the tumults in Edinbur- gh.

The second for removing the Steven, which is it 
with us called the Term, from Edinburg to Lith- 
gon, and the third for calling in, and burning a sedition book, enjoined A Dispute against the English Papis Ceremonies, obtruded upon the 
Kirk of Scotland.

These Proclamations rather fomented then extinguished the flame then began, for the next day the Bishop of Gallows being to fit with the Chief Justice upon some speciall Business in the Council Houfe, he was pursuad with vehement 
rayings all along the street to the Council-door, where he was no sooner got, but they surround- ed the house, and demanded the delivery of him to them: The Lord Treasurer advertised of the Bishops danger, came to his releif, but being got in, he was in no better plight then the Bishop, for the fury of the people thall increased, here- upon the Provost and Council and the City were called, to suppress the tumult, but their condi- tion was the same as the others, for they were in- compassed by the people, and threaten with fear of their lives to sign a paper, First, That they should adhere to them in opposition of the Service- book; Secondly, to restore to their places Rollie, Ramfey and Henderson; Upon notice of this, the 
Treasurer and the Earl of Triegon went in per- son to the towne Council-house, where they 
find the heate some-what abated, because the Magistrates had signd the Paper, and they were going back in hopes, that the disorders would be so far quieted upon this Condeccentia, that they might let the Bishop free: But no sooner had they appeared in the street, but they were 
affaulted, and the Treasurer had his white staff, and Cloak taken from him, and hardly got into the Council-house: In this great hazard, the Lords sent to some of the Popular Nobile- men, and Gentry in the Town, disaffected to the Service-Book, to come to their ayd, who 
readily came, as was desired, and they peace- ably guided the Lords to Hallywood-hous, and the Bishop to his Lodgings.

The Lords of the Council, after the tumults were dissolved, that very afternoon commanded another Proclamation to be made at the Croffe at Eden- burg, for the repreffing fish disorders for the time to come, but to this little obedience was 
yielded, for whereas the first tumults had been acted by theicum and brain of the people, and was decayed by all the better fort: This second 
was the fact of the most substantial Citizens (ex- cept the Magistrates,) who were now growing so in- fluent, that they sent Commissioners to the 
Council-table, to require, that their silenced Ministers and Reader might be restored, and have audience for what was promised to them by the Magistrates at the last interebration; and a while after, there were pre- 
tended to the Lord Chancellor and Council two 
Petitions; The first in the name of the Men, 
Women, children and Servants of Edinburg, 
against the Service-book; but the Second in the 
celloar and 
council in 
Edinburg, 
Name of divers Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers and Burgesses, against the Service-book, and against the 
Book of Canons, as imposed contrary to Law 
(because not allowed by a general Assembly) 
by the procurement of the Prelates, and there-fore they decline their authority, and crave they may not any of them fit in council, being parties 

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1638 till their complainers be tried: This last petition was by the Council (sent to the King, who was so much displeased with it, that he refused to give any answer to it, but gave order to the Council, to signify to all his good Subjects his averments from Popery, and detestation of Superstition, the contrary whereof the heads of the motions had abused them with. The Council also finding Edinburg at this time a Seat of sedition, and disobedience to the King's authority, caused the Seifton to be adjourned from Libgoge (which was somewhat too near) to Sterling, about 24 miles distant, that so the disorderly multitude, there met together, might be dispersed by the necessary attendance of such as had any law business, where by the King's Command, The Lords of the Council published a Proclamation, for dispersing the great and dangerous multitude, yet together, and affiling the people of the Kings sincerity towards the Religion established in that Kingdom, upon the publication whereof, both at Sterling, Libgoge, and Edinburg, it was received, whilst it was reaching, with jeering, and after it was ended with a pronouncement against it by many Exiles, Lords, Ministers, and Burghers, and a conflux of all other sorts of people. And in pursuance of this Violation of the Kings authority, They began to invest themselves with the Maskes and Majesty of Sovereignty, erecting in Edinburg four principal Tables or Councils, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Burghers, and a fourth of the Ministry, out of which there was a general Table of all Commissioners, chosen from the other four, who consulted of what was proposed to them by the other Tables, and what they did, was put in practice with strict obedience over all the Kingdom.

The first Act of this General Table, was the Renewing of a Confection of faith Subscribed by King James and his household, in the year 1550, taken after by all persons 1581. By Ordinance of the Lords of the Privy Council and Act of the General Assembly, and subscribed bygone 1590, by a new ordinance of council, and the definition of the general Affembly, with a general Band for maintenance of the true Religion, and the Kings person. This confection was called the negative confection, wherein the authority of the Pope, Transubstantiation, images, relics, open opera-
tions, mass, particular confection, prayer for the dead, and all the corruptions of the Church of Rome, as well as Doctrine, as outward rites are enumerated at large, and particularly abjured and a clause it inferred by which the Subscribers did call God to witness, that in their minds and hearts they did fully agree to the said confederation, and did not feign or diffame in any Sort.

The occasion of the first taking thereof, we shall make a little digression to relate, for the better understanding these proceedings.

The Earl of Lennox being nearer of blood to King James, always bred in France, in the year 1580, came from thence to visit him, and by his courteous and modest behaviour, grew so much into his favour, that he would not let him return thither, but gave him many preferences in Scotland. This gave a great disgust to some about the Court, and because he was of the Roman consec-
fession, the ministers exclaimed much against him, as sent from France to pervert the King in his Religion. The King to stay their declamations called the ministers to Edinburg together and acquainted them that he had taken great pains to convert his confederate, and had obtained his consent to take a minister into his house, which would serve to debarre Jesuaires and Roman Priests from him and win him by conference to a great liking of the Truth: Mr. David Lindsay a Minister of Leith, was held the fittest for this service, as well for his Skill in the French tongue, as for his moderation otherwise; by whose labours, the Earl was quickly brought to joyn hishelfe to the Church, and openly at St. Giles to renounce the Errors wherein he had been educated, yet did not this remove the jealousies of the people, which were incensed by the intercepting of certain discourses (sent from Rome, whereby the Romane Catholiques, were permitted to promise, Swear, subcribe and do what else should be required of them, so as in minde they continued to be firm, and did use their diligence to advance the Roman faith.

These dispensions being communicated to the King, he called in Chaplyaine Mr. John Craig, to form the confederation of Faith afo mentioned, which he himselfe for example to others, did publickly swear to and subscribe, and the like was done by the Earl and the whole Council and Court at that time, and it was afterward renewed at the times before expressed.

This confederation was not the National confederation of the Church of Scotland, for that was penned twenty years before, and containing the positive grounds of Divinity was ratified by Act of Parliament, in the year 1567, and registered in the body thereof, and confirmed by a number of succeeding Parliaments: but this Negative confederation, hath little more then the mandate of King James in his Minority (being but 15 years of age) on the occasion before recited, to which he himself afterwards manifested his dislike at the conference at Hampton Court saying, Mr. Craig the compellor thereof, with his Rennance, and Mr. De-
serf, did disturb so many particulars, that Simple people were not able to conceive them, and so being amazed did either fall back to Popery, or remain still in their ignorance. If I (said he) should hold my self to that formes, the confederation of my Faith might be in my table-book and not in my head: but that which was an aggravation in the renewing of this confederation, by these confederates was not only the doing it without the authority of the King or his Council, but adding a Band or Covenant to it, farre different from the Band in the year 1590, wherein they make an interpretation of the confederation, contrary to the sense and true meaning of it, for the better carrying on of their intended reformation. The first Band was for maintenance of the Kings person and authority with their lives and fortunes in defence of the Gospel of Christ, and liberties of the Kingdom, but in this Covenant they Sweare to the mutual defence and offinance of another, with their beft council, bodies, means, and whole power against all persons whatsoever, wherein the King was not excepted.

This
This Confession and Covenant was first taken
by the Tables, and afterwards imposed on all
forts of people, wherein great violence and me-
naces were used in many places with beating,
tearing of clothes, drawing blood, and exposing
to thousands of injuries and reproaches, at Eden-
burgh, St. Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Lan-
rick, and many places more; all these Profes-
sors in Colleges, and Ministers, who, out of
conscience towards God, and loyalty to the King,
did either disavow others, or could not by their
intreaties or threatenings be prevailed to it them-
selves; The Laws were positive against this
manner of Leaguing; it being expressly declared
in two Acts of Parliament, to wit: Act 13. and
Parliament. anno Reg. Mari. All. 75. That
all Leagues of subjects amongst themselves
without the privity and approbation of the King,
to be Sedition, and the Authors & abettors of them
to be punished as movers of Sedition: yet so
great was the transportation of Zeal in the people
inflamed by the inflations of the chiefs of the
confederates, that the Law could take no place.
All professors in colleges, and Ministers that re-
sisted to subscribe their Covenant were removed,
for many good men that disliked the tumultuary
way of offering it, were also clandestinely, at
the interpretation by the Tables put upon it, for they
declared, That this Confession was to be inter-
preted and ought to be understood of all the
pretended Novations, no less then if every one
of them had been exprest in the said Confes-
sion: by which, the five articles of Perth before
published in the year 1618, concerning kneeling
at the sacrament, private communion to the Sick,
private baptism, confirmation of children
and Observation of Festivals, as also the
Service book, the book of Canons, the High-
Commission, things which Mr. Craig never heard
of (nor perhaps imagined to be wrong,) so that
they made the living swear what was the
minde of the dead, for in that conference, their
Romish corruptions were only abjured which in
that time had infected the Church: These 2-acts
nevertheless when some eminent Ministers (who
at their admissiouns had sworn obedience to and
practise of these points (when they disputed this
interpretation, and offered some qualification to
it,) they suffered them they might sweare, with a
rerefervation of not abjuring Episcopacy, the Arti-
cles of Perth, or any thing by Parliament or ge-
neral Assembly established; urging that it would
breed great division. if any alteration of the words
wherein the Covenant was conceived, should be
admitted.
The King being much displeased with these
inlogies upon his Royal Authority, and their
refusal of that satisfaction which he offered to
redresst his complaints, intended to do that by
power which perswasion could not effect: but the
Marquefs of Hamilton then very prevalent
with him, diverted that course, offering his ser-
vice to compose the differences: The King being
in his nature alwaies prone to lenity, was quick-
ly induced to confedder to this motion, and sent
him down in the quality of High Commissi
rioner, authorizing him with large power to settle
the peace of that kingdom. The Marquefs at his first
arrival finding the City of Edinburgh filled with
extraordinary numbers of persons from several
parts of the Kingdom, because of the sitting of
the Tables, went to a place called Dalkeith, a
boat four miles from thence where he assembled
the Council to consider of the best ways and
means of serving the King in the prosecution of
the truth committed to him: but whilst he was
in these consultations, the Mairquefs of Eden-
burgh preferred an humble supplication to him to
repair to the Kings Palace at Edinburgh, where
(as they pretended) they might more conveni-
ently give demonstration of their affection to the
Kings service; The Marquefs considering what
great influence the City had over all the rest of
the Cities and Burghs of Scotland, and ready to
gratifie them in their requests, and told them
that if they would undertake that their Citizens
should behave themselves as dutifull Subjects, and
take order that the multitudes now present there,
(who call themselves Covenanters) and the
Guardes which the Tables had lately fet about
the Cattle of Edinburgh should be dismissed; he
would repair to the City, or otherwise not.
The Marquefs undertook to perform all that the
Marquefs proposed, adding that they feared some
aliterations might be laid upon them of disloyalty
to the King, from which they doubted not to
clear themselves, when he should please to hear
and examine their proceedings: The Marquefs
upon their undertaking, went the next day
to Edinburgh to the King's Palace at Holy-rood
House, where after he was a while settled, he fell
prently upon the main busines with the Con-
federates, to whom he made two Propofiti-
ons.
First, what they expected from him for satis-
faction to their complaints; and next, what might
be expected from them for returning to their for-
mor obedience, especially in renouncing and deli-
ering up their late Covenant: To which after
some time, they made answer, That they reque-
ted a General Assembly of the Church, and then a
Parliament, in which two Indications they would
represent and difcuss their Grievances: To the
Second, They said, they could not acknowledge that
they had ever parted from their obedience, and
for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their
Baptisms than abate one word or syllable thereof;
And presently after they had given their answers,
they distressed the people with many disreport,
and the Sermons of the Preachers of Edinburgh
were filled with admonition, that they should
take heed of crafty compositions, or yielding in
the least point of their intended reformation.
The Marquefs seem'd much troubled at these
actions, and thought the best expedient he could
use to reclaim the People was to publish a Pro-
clamation, which he had brought with him from
the King of Grace and Favour towards them,
for relieving their Grievances, and satisfying them
with his forwardness for the maintenance of the
true Religion, and his aveniences from Popery;
but before he did this, by advice of the Privy
Council he wrote a Letter to the King, to define
him to (weeten it with a favor of returning to the
City of Edinburgh the Sitting of the Session, and
the all Courts of Justice as a thing very acceptable
to the Judges, Advocates, and all Dependen-
t upon the Law, and to all others which had busines
of the Session depending in the Courts, but chiefly
to the City Assizes, and all Courts
of Edinburgh, which complained much of being
impo-
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A Proclamation, made for the first time, in 1638, pronounced the Court of Justice should be open to the people; and what is further fitting to be done, shall be agitated in a General Assembly and Parliament, which should be in continuation, and it is thought that he would not have them misled by any affected persons, who under pretext of Religion would draw them to disobedience to his grief and their ruin. This Proclamation was no sooner read, but the Confederates seized it in a Proclamation, which they caused to be publicly read, importing, that they never doubted the sincerity of the King in defence of the Protestant Religion, That what he granted them, was not a sufficient remedy for their grievances, in that he did not publish the Service-Book, nor the High Commission, which was imposed upon them contrary to the Laws of the Land. That no Proclamation could secure them from the re-entry of the Innovations, which this seemed to disfigure, and that an Assembly and Parliament are the only remedies of their evils, and means to prevent the like, and that their proceeding ought not to be interpreted a drawing to disobedience under pretext of Religion, and running headlong into ruin.

The Marquefs found by this manner of proceeding, he was not likely to reduce them to obedience, and were the people wanted to be brought to it, was an Expiration of their Covenant, whereby they pretended to expect great demonstrations or affection to the King, but when it was presented and read, little more was in it than a Jutification of the Covenant and their Covenant, professing they never had any intention to withdraw themselves from their dutiful subjection and obedience to the King Government, but whereas it was expected that to these words of their Covenant, whereby they bind themselves to mutual maintenance against all persons whatsoever, should have been added, except the King and his Successors, that was refuted.

The Marquefs was not satisfied herewith, but he told them he had spent all his Instructions, and could meet no further with them, till he had been with the King to acquaint him with his proceedings, and receive his further Orders, but he promised to come and meet them with the Kings final answer to their demands, which he would show to him, exhoriting them in the mean time to break up their meeting, and contain themselves in quietness and peace: This they promised to do, but added, if he did not return by the 5 th of August with such an answer as they expected, that then they would hold themselves free, and proceed in the courses they had resolved on.

The Marquefs went immediately to the King, whom he found at Greenwich, and to him he related the particular of all transactions; The King was offended at the incontinency of the Confederates, but was persuaded to try a little further; he could reduce them by gentle means; when he dispatched the Marquefs with new Instructions, and gave him order to call a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament, but as he should be first satisfied, by all informations he could conveniently receive of the constitution of a General Assembly, none having been kept for divers years.

As soon as he came into Scotland, he deputed some of the Lords of the Council to confer with
63 some of the chiefs of the confederates of all Or-

ders concerning some necessary propositions first

to be resolved on before the calling of the Assem-

bly, both concerning the members of which it

was to be constituted, and concerning the mat-

ters to be treated of; (two consultations usually

previous to that meeting; for the omission where-

of, in an Assembly of later times, they had so

grievously complained, that in a Petition exhibited

by the Ministers of their side it was alledged for

a Nulity of that Assembly) but this was rejec-

ted as a limitation of the Assembly: The Mar-

quesses then told them he could not call the Assem-

bly till he had once again attended the King:

Upon this they caused rumors to be spread, that

the Marquesses neither had power from the King,

nor any intention from himself to give them sa-

tisfaction; Wherefore the Marquesses to disabuse

the people in this matter, reduced what he at first

proposed to two heads, which he tendered to

them in these words;

1. If the Lords and the rest will undertake

for themselves and the rest, that no Laws shall

have voice published in this Assembly, nor from

the several Presbyteries to the General As-

sembly, nor none else but the Ministers of the

same Presbytery.

2. If they will undertake that at the Assem-

bly, they shall not go about to determine of

things established by Act of Parliament, other-
wise than by Remonstrance or Petition to the

Parliament, leaving the determining of things

Ecclesiastical to the General Assembly, & things


Then I will presently Indict a General As-

sembly, and promise upon My Honour, immediately

after the Assembly to Indict a Parliament which

shall Cognosce of all their Complaints.

This would not be condemed unto, but

they told the Marquesses, if he did not return from

the King by the 16 of September, to Indict a

General Assembly by the Kings authority; they

would themselves call one: for they had about

this time published a Book, wherein to one of

other things it was alledged, that the power of

Convoking an Assembly, in case the Prince was an

Enemy of the Truth, or negligent in advancing

the good of the Church, was in the Church it self.

The Marquesses hastened with all diligence to

the King, and informed him of all occurrences

that paffed, which occasioned many debates of

the way to be used to bring that Kingdom to peace

and quietness.

The Scots about the King advised that he

should not have any recourse to Arms, but in an

unnecessary extremity, the Lords of the Privy

Council in Scotland were many of them in pri-

vate League with the Confederates, so that no

ting could be relied on from them; And there-

fore that which was thought the best expedient,

was to take an exact view of all the Petitions,

Remonstrances and Protests of the Confed-

erates which they had since the beginning of the

trouble exhibited either to the King, or the Mar-

quesses, or Privy Council, and to Grant them all:

And besides all these, because the heads of the

Confederates had made it a principal motive to

alienate the minds of the people from the King,

that he was inclined to Popery, and had an aver-

sion to the Reformed Religion, It was adjudged

and concentred to by the King, to command and

urge the renewing of that Confession and Cove-

nant by his authority, which they had without

it, by which Legislation, to save the people

who were to fear it from incurring the danger of

those Laws, which made it very criminal to en-

ter into any Covenant without his Authority:

And indeed of that unjust band of confederacy,

which they added to the confession to bind them-

selves to mutual maintenance and defence against

all persons whatsoever: The King caused the

General Band for maintenance of the true Relig-

ion, and the Kings person to be added in the same

words as it was expressed, and taken in the year

1590. by an Ordinance of the Privy Council at

the desire of the General Assembly.

With these concessions all drawn up in a Pro-

clamation, the Marquesses returned into Scotland

within eight days after his first coming to Out-

lands to the King, and arrived there before the

time limited for his return: The Confederates

had made many resolutions in his absence, and

though they promised no election of Commissi-

oners for the Assembly should be made before the

21 of September, the day agreed upon for his

return, they gave order that the Election should

be made the two and twentieth being the next
day after, according to which order, Commissi-

oners for the Assembly were elected in many

Presbyteries before the Kings answer could be

known, or before the Assembly was indited, which

was not till some days after these elections,

and although they would admit of no con-

ference with the Marquesses, for debating of what

members the Assembly was to be constituted, and

the manner thereof, which they said, would be a

pre-limitation of it, they went out to every Pre-

byterier several Articles, wherein many Qualifi-

cations were made limiting both the matter and

manner thereof, with a form of Commision to be

given to the Commissioners from every Presby-

tery, requiring that the persons elected should

repair to Edinburgh after their Election, to con-

sult before hand of what was to be said or done at

the Assembly.

Notwithstanding all these disorders, the Mar-

quesses assembled the Council at Holy-Rod hous,

and communicated to them the particulars of the

Kings grace and favour for the appeasing of the

troubles of the Kingdom, which they received

with exceede joy, believing that nothing but

right would not be able to restrain that party

of the people from being fully satisfied: The news of this made

the heads of the Confederates beffir themselves,

fearing their reign was towards an end, and some

of them came to the Marquesses sitting in Coun-

cel, and moved him to delay the Publishin

of the Proclamation till the Monday following,

for the next day being Sunday, they intended that

Ministers should in their Pulpits call such aspersi-

ons on it as might not easily be removed, but the

Marquesses would not be premised with, and the

Proclamation was that day published at the Mar-

tet-CrofF, which was to this effect: That the

King did annul and refine all Acts and Procla-

mations, that had been made concerning the Se-

vice-Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission

and the Pulpits of them: be also dispens'd with.

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...the practice of the five Articles of Perth, and it was declared, that all persons Ecclesiasticall or Civil, of what quality, title or degree soever should be liable to the Tryall and Confusion of Parliament, general
Assembly, or any other Judiciaries competent, and that no other Oath should be adminis-
tered to any Minister, at their Entry into the Ministry, but that which is contained in the Act of Parliament: Likewise in manifestation of the Kings integrity to Religion, all persons should be enjoyed by his authority, to subscribe the Confession of faith, with the Band annexed, and that no doubt may be left in the minds of the people of the King intentions, it is declared, that the
Marquess the King's Commissioner, has Warrant to summon a Free General Assembly, to be holden at Glascow, the 21st of November, and a Par-
liament at Edinburgh, the 15th of May.

All the Lords of the Council did seem very well to approve of this Proclamation, highly extolling the Goodness and piety of the King, in having offered so just means in the con-
version of the purity of Religion, and the peace of the Kingdom: and in a letter, which they sent to him upon this Subject, they offered to defend his person and Royall Authority, in the profec-
tion of this confession, now by him authorized, which they all solemnly subscribed after the
Marstefe, who represented the Kings person, and appointed Comissioners for all Countries, and places, to have it sworn to, and subscribed by all the people, throughout the Realme; many of the more moderate, both Magistrates, Min-
isters, and others in severall Townes and places, that had taken the Covenant injonied by the
Confederates, were very well satisfied, with the expressions of the Kings confedentions, men-
tioned in the Proclamation, and did swear and subscribe to the confession and Band, by the King directed, which began now to be called the Kings Covenant: But the Lords, Ministers, and others of the Tables, and their Confederates did not acquiese therein, alleging that this
Proclamation did in many parts of it tacitly confedn the precedent actions, and straine the Liberty of the Intended General Assembly, and to shew their dislike, they framed a long Protestation against it, a copy whereof they tened to the Kings Herald, at the time the Proclamation was proclaimed, which was to
to that effect.

That what the King granted in this Procla-
mation, did not free them from their just fears and apprehensions, and was not sufficient to cure the wounds of the Church and State: That the
King scourd the laft Troubler to their fears of the innovation of Religion and Law, and not to the Innovations themselves, as if the cause were rather in apprehension, then in reality and sub-
stance. That the King having exoicted the present Government of the Church, according to the late innovated forms of service therein, they could not be secured with a bare subscription of their flag, if they were not formally taken away: That the General Assembly must be deprived of its just li-
berty, both in the Election of its Members, and the matters to be therein discussed, because the
King appointed Bishops in the Induction of the As-
sembly, to be there present, though they ought
not to be unlesse deputed by the Prefbyteries.

That the King declared, his intentions not to
innovate any thing in Religion, whereas it depends on the general Assembly, to abolish all such Ec-


...
should be chosen thereunto, should be of the most rigid and most affectionate to their Covenant, and to exclude the Bishops from having any place there, they published, that any persons, censured as criminals before the Assembly, could have no voice there, and in pursuance thereof they drew up a Levell against the Archbishops and Bishops, which they exhibited on the 24th of October, to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who proceeded thereon, as all the Bishops had been subject to their authority, and after some short consideration of the Levell, which was full of scandal and reproaches of the Bishops, they ordered, that it should be referred to the next Assembly, and that the Levell and their Order of Reference should be read in all Churches with a publice warning and citation to the Bishops, to be present at the Assembly, to answer to the complaints against them.

Many judged this proceeding so contrary to all the legal forms of justice, was done on no other deluge, but to render the Bishops odious to the people. For the Assembly, when they came to consider of this matter, enter'd not into the examination of the personal vice, with which the Levell or Bill of Complaint was filled, but upon the abolishing of Episcopacy it itself, though it is evident, that if they had had proofes, they would not have spared the Bishops, whom the confederates had represented so criminous to the people.

The day of the Assembly being come, the Marques his Commission was read, and nothing else done considerable that day. The next day a Declinatar of the Commissary was presently to the Assembly in the name of the Arch-bishops and Bishops against the Assembly, and conteying a nullity of it, but this was not read without great difficulty, nor was it this Declinatar of the Bishops the only objection against this Assembly, for the Presbytery of Glasgow, and many other places protested against the legality thereof, because of the admittance of Lay Elders, a thing scarce before heard of in that Church. But they made very much Scrutiny in the debate of their own constitution, for by one means or other they excluded every Commissary, that was not clearly agreeable to the minde of the Confederates. The Declinatar of the Bishops they would by no means allow of, but put it to the question, whether the Assembly, notwithstanding the Bishops reasons against it, were not lawful, and a competent Judge of the Complaints against them, and it was agreed in the affirmative. The Marques admired at this carriage, since the chiefe of the confederates, who so lately protected against the fitting of the Bishops in Council, as parties to their Complaints, and made a Declinatar of the Counsellors authority, and invalidated all their acts, made while they were fitting, could now oppose the like, though with more restion offered in this cause; for most or all of the members of the Assembly having bound themselves by Oaths, Covenants, Combinations and associations against the Bishops, and Episcopacy, which being antagocstic to judicial Acts had barred all the judgments from the Judges, either of the persons or calling of these Bishops: But the Marques had yet a deeper resentment of their behaviour, for an other cause, for the King having nominated six Lords of the privy Council to be affisseurs to him his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to enter into it, and on their refusal the Marques retailed and de- declared their Sides.

A Declinatar of the Bishops agaist the Assembly.

The Bishops Declinatar rejected.

The Marques concluding from these actions, that no good was like to be done by continuing the Assembly longer, November the 28th consulted with the Council, about its dissolution, and it being agreed in the Affirmative, he went to the Assembly, and said to them. 

You are now about to settle the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow; I am glad I have seen this Assembly meet, a thing which was supposed his Majesty never intended; and for the further clearing the integrity of his Intentions, I read, a paper, which I deliveir to the Clerks, to be read, before nine.

The paper then read by the Clerke, was a Declaration the same in every substantiall point with the Proclamation, discharging the Service-book, Book of Canons &c. This Declaration being read, the reading was signed by the Commissioner, &c required to be entred into the Books of the Assembly: Provided that this act of Regarding this declaration, should be no approbation of the Lawfulness of this Assembly, to the dissolution whereof he was next to proceed, and therefore protested, that whatsoever should be done or said in it, should not be obligatory, or be reputed an Act of a general Assembly: The very night of the intended dissolution of this Assembly, the Marques assembled the Council to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving it, which being refused upon what was subscribed by all, but the Earle of Argyle, who began now to shew himselfe for the Confederates.

The Proclamation being formed, and published November 29th, was encountered with a Protestation of the Confederates, that it is of a total dissolution of the Confederates, and the Assembly is abolished by the Assembly.

The Marques seeing all things tending to a present rupture, sent to desire leave of the King to return into England, which he obtained, but before he went, he saw an end of the Assembly, which made many Acts, not necessary here to be related, and by their own Authority ordained annuall assemblies, the first whereof was assign'd to meet at Edinburgh, the first of July, 1639.

As soon as the Marques was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, addressed to all good Christians of England, to justify their intentions and actions, which had so many full reflections in it, from the Government, that it was suppressed by the Kings Authority, and he published a declaration, to satisfy all his faithful subjects.

Six Lords of the Privy Council nominat- ed by the King, as Affisseurs to the Marques, refused and declared their Sides.

As long as the Marques was gone, the Confederates drew up a Declaration, addressed to all good Christians of England, to justify their intentions and actions, which had so many full reflections in it, from the Government, that it was suppressed by the King's Authority, and he published a declaration, to satisfy all his faithful subjects.

A Proclamation for the dissolution of the Assembly.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

Subjects of the seditions practices of those in Scotland, who had, under Pretext of Religion, designed the subversion of his Royall Authority, which was commanded to be read in all Churches.

On the last of October this year, Marie de Medicis, the Widow of Harry the 4th, King of France, and Mother to the Queen, came into England, and was very honourably enter-
tained: whist the flaid here, she was lodged at the Kings Palace at St James, but the finding the Kinglyke to be involved in troubles, to re-
duce his Subjects of Scotland to obedience, after some moneths they returned into Holland.

The Scots having made all things desperate to accommodation, made vigorous preparations for warre, and sent for succeft to such of the neigh-
bor Princes and States, from whom they could expect any assistance: They also invited home
many eminent Commanders of their Nation, from Sweden, to take employment
in their Armies, many of which were at the begin-
ing of the yeare to come. They feiz-
ed on the Castles of Edinburgh and Dunbar-
town, and all other places of stength in the Kingdom,
and tooke out of Dalbysth all the Kings Armes, and
Ammunition, lidd there the year before by the Marquefs of Hamilton, next they chose Al-
exander Leffy, an old experienced Officer, to be Cayptaine Generall of their Armes, to whom all the chieffes of the confederates (who tooke armes) solemnely swore obedience in all orders of Warre, and he swore in like manner, faithfully
to exercize his charge.

The Marquefs of Argyle was fet to take care of those places frontier of Ireland, and the Earl of Monroff had the charge of Aberdeem, and the more Northern parts, and Collonell Mon-
roe was sent towards the borders of England,
to keep all things quiet till the levies were perfec-
t.

The King in that meane time was not idle,
but made very great levies in all places, and
having got his Army together, he gave the com-
mend thereof in chief to the Earl of Arundell, as Generall, under whom the Earl of Effex was Liutenant Generall, and the Earl of Hol-
land Generall of the Horfe, the rest of the Offi-
cers were many of them persones of the beft qua-
lity, And the Army in Generall consisted of the
Flower of the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of the Nation: With this Army the King lets out on the 27th of March, and comes by easy mar-
ches, within two miles of Berwick, on the 28th of May, where he incamped, and Generall Leffy
about the fame time, marched with the Scotch Army to the borders towards England, and in-
camped at Dunce, within 4 miles of Berwick.

The King when he begun his March, had sent the Marquefs of Hamilton, with a Fleet of ships well furnished with Smithers, to Leith to attempt
that place, and make what impression he could in those parts to hinder any new levies, and re-
duce Edinburgh, Leith, and what other forts and strengthes he could to obedience: He arrived in the moneth of May with his Fleet in the road before the towne called the Frith, where after some
stay, he landed some of his men in a little Island, to give them breath and some refreshments, and

there he received a visit from his Mother, a moft
rigid Covenant, which made many of the Kings
Friends suspeft his integrity; and the Scots upon the
shore that saw this, were heard to say, They
knew the Son of such a Mother would not do such
burt.

The Army under Leffy, was but ill armed, for
they had not three thousand Muskets amongst
them, to that though they put a good face on
the Business, they were better prepared for a
treaty then a battell, nevertheless those of that
Nation about the King were not wanting on their part, to make the preparations of their Coun-
trymen very terrible, and the Earles of Tregaw
and Anderby, and other Noblemen of Scotia
land, who had permission to repaire to York to
the King, as he was in his March, for medita-
ting an attenation, did so pracke upon the Eng.
lish Lords by their insinuations, that they mi-
gated much the displeasure of some, and quite
of others, that the King having been a while in his Leagues neere Ber-
wick, he was easily disposed to receive Overtures
from them, to be received into his grace and fa-
vor, which they made with great protestations of
that Resolution upon his gracious Assurance of the
preservation of their Religion and Lawes, to
give example to others of all civil and temporal
obedience, which could be required or ex-
pected from his loving subjests: This produ-
ced a Treaty, for which on the Kings part were
appointed, The Earles of Pembroke, Salisbury
Berkelfire, St. Henry Wake, and Secretary Cook;
and for the Scots the Earls of Ruthouf and Dum-
mering, the Lord Lordem, the Lord Douglas
Alexander Henderson and Archibald Johnston:
These having had several debates, at length,
June the 17th concluded upon a Pacification,
which on the Kings part was expreft by a De-
claration of that date: So much whereof as is per-
tinent for the better understanding of these trans-
sactions is here inferret.

We are pleased to conform and make good what
soever the Marquess of Hamilton our Commissi-
oner hath granted; And that all matters Eccle-
siastical shall be determined by the Affemblies of
the Kirk, and matters Civil by the Parliament,
and other inferior Judicatures established by Law,
which Assembly shall be kept once a year, or as
shall be agreed upon by the General Assembly, and
our Commissioner for the time being.

That a free and General Assembly be kept at
Edinburgh the sixth of August next, where we in-

tend (God willing) to be personally present, and
thereafter a Parliament the 20th of August, and
there an Act of Oblivion to be passt, And that
upon their disarming and disbating of their for-
ces, disposing and disbarging all their pretended
Tables and Cowboys, and referring to the King
the Marquess of Hamilton, and to every one of his Good Sub-
jects, their Liberties, Lands, Goods, and
Money whereof taken and deteniet since the late
pretended General Assembly, The King will pre-
sent thereafter recall his Fleet, and retire his
Forces, and cause restitution of their Ships and
Goods taken since the afo before time.

The
The Articles of Pacification were these, the 17th of June, 1659.

1. The Forces of Scotland to be disbanded and disbursed within 24 hours after the agreement of the Kings Declaration.
2. The Kings Captains, Ports and Ammunition to be delivered after the said Publication, so soon as be should tend to receive them.
3. His Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Captives, and in the meantime no interdiction of Trade.
4. All Persons, Goods and Ships detained by the King since the first of November to be restored.
5. No Meetings, Treatises, Consultations or Convocations of any of the Scots, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.
6. All Fortifications to be destroyed and to be remitted to the Kings pleasure.
7. To restore to every one their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods and whatsoever taken and detained from them by whatsoever means since the first of November last.

The King signed the Declaration on the 18th of June, and the same day the Commissioners on each party signed the Articles, and the Scots Commissioners subscribed a short Declaration subjoined in their words.

In Obedience to His Majesty's Royal Commands, He shall upon Thursday next the 20th of June dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesties Captives &c. And shall ever in all things carry our spirits like humble and Loyal Subjects.

The Pacification being thus agreed, the King sent for some of the Scotch Lords, and informed them that he had given Orders to the Marquis of Hamilton to draw off the Fleet, and did intend to have been at Edinburgh at the opening of the Assembly, but that he had received letters from the Queen, which intimated a necessity of his presence at London about some military affairs, but he would depute the Earl of Traquary with full power and authority as his High Commissioner to hold the Assembly and Parliament.

Most men thought these graces of the King to his Scotch Subjects, would have obliged them to an intire submission to his authority, but the Confederates had some further designs of trouble: For no sooner was the Kings Declaration published, but at that instant they encountered it with a Protestation of several heads, first of adhering to the late General Assembly at Glasgow as a Free and General Assembly of the Church, and to all proceedings there, especially to the Sentences of Deprivation and Excommunication of the Bishops: Secondly of adhering to their Solemn Covenant and declaration of the Assembly, whereby the Office of Bishops is expired. Thirdly, in regard many of the Gentry and the Ministers, who had long attended at Edinburgh during the dissonance of the Pacification and the preparations to its peace to repair to their own homes, whereby such of them as had Suits depending at Law, could not stay at Edinburgh to attend them; they Declared, that if any members of the College of Ministers should attend the Session or Tourn, all their Acts and Sentences of Judgement should be void and in effect.

The King could not but relent this ingratitude, but was forced to temporize, in hopes that at the meeting of the Parliament, some moderate Councilors might temper the minds of the people: he had been so just to those conditions of peace which he granted them, that he immediately discharged his Army, which if he had kept together, or any considerable part of them, until he had seen their Souldiers disbanded, their Officers captured, their Forts and Castles delivered up to him, and some good issue of the Assembly and Parliament to be held at Edinburgh, he had preferred his Honour among Foreign Princes, and croft'd those practices at home which afterwards undermined his peace, and destroyed his glory.

The Scots did not punctually perform any one Article, the Castle of Edinburgh was indeed put under the command of Sir Patrick Ruben by the Kings Orders, but they did not flight their Fortifications at Loch, they still kept their Officers in pay, and continued their meetings and consultations, disquieting, molesting and frightening all of breach of different inclinations, and the more to stir up the people, they dispersed a Scandalous Libell Entituled, Some Conditions of His Majesty's Treaty with the Subjects of Scotland before the English Nobility are set down here for a Remembrance.

This Paper consisted of eight heads which were pretended to be drawn out of Notes taken upon the several Discourses with the King about the matter of his Declaration: This was put into the hands of the Earl of Pembroke at his coming from Berwick, who pretended not to have read it, but seald it up till he presented it to the King; The matter of it was very scandalous, and derogatory to the Kings honour; for all the substance of the Declaration was so qualified thereby, that the whole force and intention of it was perverted: The King therefore summoned all the English Lords that were privy to these transmissions, to meet in Council, who disapproved any such content of his Majesty as in that Paper was expressed, and therefore both they and all the rest of the Council became Petitioners to the King that it might be burnt by the common Hangman, as a false and scandalous paper, which was done accordingly.

Upon the 6th of August (old style) The General Assembly convened at Edinburgh according to the Kings Indiction, and late till the 14th, the chief matters passed were, the Confirmation of the Act of the Assembly at Glasgow, the abolishing Episcopacy, the five Articles of Persuasion, the High Commission, the Liturgy, and the Book of Canons, and ended with rending thanks to the King for his Indulgence towards them, in the absence of his Commissioner to their Acts, and assigned another to meet at Abercorn the next year in the month of July.

The Assembly now ended, the Parliament which was prorogued till the 15th of August, did the Parliament again come together, the first four days pro-
duced a high debate about setting their constitution to determine what estate should supply that of the Bishops now sobh'd, which being at last agreed, they fell upon other matters concerning Reforciary Acts of Former Parliaments, and several consultations tending rather totally to eclipse the Kings Regal power, and to new model his Government, than to reform abuses: so that he sent an express to the Earl of Tyrone to provoke the Parliament again till the second of June following.

To this Proclamation they very unwillingly submitted, declaring that the King had no power to prologue them without their consent, and they appointed some of every of the three estates to continue in Edinburgh till they had made a re- monstrance thereof to the King, before the separation they perfected, and the Earl of Don- fermein and the Lord Loudon were sent to present it to him: Thee coming to the Court without warrant from the Kings Commissioner, were sent back again without audience, and after a while the Commissioner himself comes up to inform the King of the present condition of Scot- land, which being reported to the Council, it was resolved, That the Disobedience of that Nation was not reducible but by force. And thus matters flood between the King and them about the beginning of December, which for the better con- nection of the Relations of that affair we have drawn thus far in time, but we must now look a little back to the affairs of England.

The Prince Elector in July this year arrived at the Court of England in prosecution of a design he had to get the command of the Army of Duke Bernard, Seven Years later lately dead, which consisted of a gallant number of Swedes, Germans, and other Nations: The King did like very well of the business, and proposed it to the French Embassador, offering that the Prince should join in a perpetual League with France, and that he would contribute what he could to his assistance. The Embassador feemed to be very well pleased with the offer, and told the King that he doubted not but his Master would approve of it, and that Cardinal Richelieu the chief Minister of that State would be willing to serve the King and the Prince therein, and thereupon he dispatched a messenger to Paris, to acquaint the French King with the matter, but in the mean while, it was sug- gested to the King, that Richelieu under-hand fomented the troubles of Scotland, whereby the confed- erate Covenanters had been encouraged to write a letter to that King for alliance, so that the reality of Richelieu was so much suspected, that the Prince was advised to go privately through France to Duke Bernard's Army, of which it was believed he might by his appearance easily get the Command. The Prince therefore in November paffed over to Paris, and from thence endeavoured to run by difguise through France, but at Ly- on he was discovered, and taken Prisoner: And the King of France interpreted this action of the Prince of no fair intentions towards him, because it was done in a time of trysty, so that he was kept under a strict guard.

The great business of this Summer was a Sea Fight between the Spanish and the Dutch, which we shall here infert in the words of Sir John Pennington, the King's Vice-admiral, who made this following Narration thereof.

The Spanish Fleet consisting of near seventy Ships bound and designed for Dunkirk in Flanders, with a recruit both of men and money, met with the Vice-Admiral of the Holland Fleet, having in his company seventeen tall Ships, September the 7th, and entered into a very fierce dispute with them, until the Hollander perceiving himself too weak, got to the windward, faying along towards Dunkirk, and continually firing their Ordinance to give warning to their Admiral, who lay before that Town with the refidue of the Fleet in the first Encouter the Hollander had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by two of the clock the Admiral came up, and joining with the Vice- Admiral between Dover and Calais, they fet upon the Spaniard, and continued a very sharp fight till past Noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two Gallions, sunk another, and much battered the rest, though they were but 25 Sail to the Spaniards 60 and upwards, and at length forced them upon the English Coast near Dover, where they left them, and bare off for the coast of France, not willing to attempt any thing against them within the King of England's liberties.

The Spaniards being now got as they thought under the Lee of England's protection, began to plot how to get rid of their bad Neighbours; and the Spanish Resident importuned the King, that he would keep the Hollander in subjection two Tydes, that in the interim they might have the opportunity for shipping away for Spain; but the King being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neutrals, and whereas the Spaniards had hired some English Ships to transport their Soul- diers to Dunkirk, the King upon complaint of the Dutch Embassador, strictly commanded, that none should take in any Spaniards, nor put bey- ond Gravesend without Licence, but the Span- iards and the Hollanders plotting a great while counter the one to the other, the Spaniard at length somewhat outwitted his Enemy, and by a stratagem in the night conveyed away 14 Dunk-irk Ships, and in them four thousand men.

In the beginning of October the King sent the Earl of Arundel to the Admiral of Spain, Don Antonio D'Oruando, defining him to retire upon the first fair wind, because he would not they should engage within his Seas, but the wind continued Eastwardly so long (a thing not usual in that Season) as the Hollander got daily fresh supply from Scotland, so that at length their Fleet was completed to an hundred Ships, wherewith they encompassed their Enemies within Pirotoll- flate for four days: But that which was so long an intermission of these two Fleets, at last turned to an engagement.

On the eleventh of the same month, upon Trump the Dutch Admiral charged the Spaniards with Cannon and Fire-ships so furiously, as made them all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 ran on shore, and stranded in the Downs, whereas of three were burnt, two sunk, and two per- ished on the shore. One of these was a great Gallion, the Vice-Admiral of Galleia commanded by Don Antonio de Calave, which had 72
braies pieces of Ordnance: the remainder of the 23 franded and deffered by the Spaniards, were man'd by the English, to save them from the Dutch: The other 30 Spanishe Ships under the command of the Admirals Don Antonio D'Oopendo, and Lope Admiral of Portugal, went to Sea, and kept in close Order until a great fog fell upon them, when the Dutch taking the advantage thereof, interpreted within the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the Admiral of Portugal began to flame, being fired with two Holland Fire-ships, which D'Oopendo perceiving, he presently took his course towards Dunkirk, with the Admiral of that place, and some few Ships more, far most of the rest were taken. Of these thirty, eleven were sent into Holland, three perished on the coast of France, one near Dover, five sunk in the Fight, and only ten escaped.

These two potent Enemies being both friends to England, the Britishe Seas ought by rule of State to have been a harbour of retreat to secure the weaker from the stronger, not the scene of their hostile engagement, and had this preump- tuous attempt of the Hollander been made in times of another temper it would not, it's like, have been so totally convin'd at, and their victo- ry might have cost them the loss of England's corresponding: But self-denial is a Christian, not a Martial virtue, and who is able to suppress the feu of an advantage, whereby he may def- troy his foe upon the necty of exceeding his just limits? Besides, The King, the Dutch well knew, was of a Genious as not quarrelous, if provoked very placable, and the disposition of his affairs as well as of his mind disdisted him at this conjunction from expoliating the matter with them.

About the 15th of November, being the Anniversary night of the Kings Birth day, a great part of the walls of the Castle of Edinburg fell down, and the King having given order for the repair there- of, the Condeferate Covenanters would not permit any materials to be carried in for that use, which added much to those resentments, which the King had perceived against him, so that prepare-ations of war went on against them, but the Kings treasure being exhausted by the late fum- mers expedition, he consulted with the Lords of the Confeil of his meares of Supply, who con- fidering the present exigent of Affairs, advised the calling of a Parliament, as the best expedient to aifift and strengthen him, both with money, and counfell, to this the King readily agreed, being ever ( till diverted by the prudifhe of intem- perate men) a great lover of Parliament, and in compliance with this advice, a Parliament was intimated to be assembled on the 13 of April. This resolution was taken the 5th of December, and the notice given for long before, for two rea- sons, first that the Lord Wentworth, Deputy of Ireland (being lately sent for hither on the oc- casion of these troubles) might in the mean time hold a Parliament in that Kingdom, which he did and managed so much to the Kings advantage, that an Army of 8000 horse and foot, were speedily raised, and money granted by the Parlia- ment there, to keep them in pay and furnish them with Ammunition and Armes, and all other ne-

The walls of the Castle of Edin- burgh not suffer'd to be repaired by the Con- federates.

The King calls a Parlia- ment in Scotland.

The Earl of Treverys, touching these matters, where things were handled with so much amity, that no good understanding could be arrived at, And at this very time their addresses to the King Supplication, the Confederates in Scotland acted very different from peaceable men, for they se- cured many of the Nobility, and Gentry of that Nation, who ffood firm to the King, and now again as they had done the last yeare, invited and procured to their service many Commanders from Holland, and other places, but that which ma- nifested most their bad intentions to the King, was a Letter written by the Lord Loudon, sub- mitted by himself, and severall others of the chief Confederates, to the French King, to favor their proceedings, and grant them his affiance, of which the Original came to the King's hands, and being known, to be Loudon's Chriften- character, he was therefore committed to the Tower.

Cardinal Richleau was no small incendiary in this difference betwixt the King and Scots, for the King making it always a great Masterpiece, to keep the balance even betwixt France and Spain, that neither of them being too strong for the other, the affairs of Chriftendom might be the evener poyted, he knew the French design of driving the Spaniards out of Flanders, and the rest of the Netherlands, could not be effect'd, un- less the King were iambroyled at home, So the A Loan for the Kings Admiration against the Scots sub- mitted to by many Lords of the Council and Bishops, etc.
he sent his Chaplin and Almoner, Mr. Thomas Chamberlayn, a Scotchman, to affit the Confederate rates in advancing the business, and to attempt all ways of exasperation, and not to depart from them, till he might return with good News, in this Project; Can also the Popes Agent to the Queen, a Scotch by Nation, and one Reed of the same Country, were very active, and many Scotch Jefuites, at this time in England, were not idle, and Hamilton Chaplyn had often secret communication with Can; all which practices were discovered in a great part by one Andrew Har- downfield, a Nobleman of Berwick, then become Paymaster to the Kings Sifter, the Palgrave Re- list, who made it also apparent that many of the Nobility of England, and the chief favourites at Court (among whom the Earl and Counsellor of Arundel, Secretary Weldebank, and Endymion Porter) were named to be acquainted, and confenting with their transactions. To this the King, out of the bounty of his nature, gave not to much credit as he ought, for in case of general disturbance nothing is more familiar, than for fe- veral factions, and of several and sometimes contrary inclinations, to drive on one and the same defige.

About the latter end of his yeare, John Spar- wood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, Primate and Chancellor of Scotland, dyed at London, he was one that by his just device arrived to those high dignities; in whom there always appeared great prudence in conduct, clearness of Spirit, and solidity of judgment; he left this world very aged, and was his happiest, to do it without seeing that defeqons which after happened to his Country, and to be inter'd, neere his beloved Master King James, in the Abbey church of Westminster, then which none perhaps conveyes more magnificent Trophies of death; Neere the same time also dyed, that Grave and learned Judge, St. Thomas Coventry, Privy Councilor to the King, and Lord Keeper of the great Seal of England fifteen yeares, one that was a truly loyal Subject, and a good Patriot, and in the administration of Justice so incorrupt, that make it fell stands mute in the blemish of his name: St. John Finch, the chief Justice of the Common-pleas, succeeded him in the Office of Keeper of the great Seal.

The Heere of Somerset, Ambassador from the States of the United Provinces, in the Month of January, had audience of the King, he had with him Count William of Nassau, and the Rhein-Graves, and a very splendid traine, his business was to give him satisfaction concerning the late attempts, made upon the Spaniards by the Dutch Fleet in the Downs, and the Embassy was sweated by some overture of a marriage betwixt the yong Prince of Orange, and the King's eldest Daughter, of which more hereafter.

On the 15 of April the Parliament sat, and the Deputy of Ireland, being not long before created Earl of Strafford and made Lord Lieutenant of that Realme, was led into the upper house by two Noblemen, where he gave an account of his service in Ireland, where he had obtained the grant of four Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army, as before was hinted; Mr. John Gielnest was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the choice of members to that house was so good, that great probabilities were given of a happy Union between the King and this Parliament, but in the midst of this ex- pection some ill instruments at Court by their fataous contrivances undermine all; and amongst the, the chiefest imposition was laid on Sir Hen- ry Vane, then principal Secretary of State, who bore a grudge to the Earl of Strafford, for that he had causd himself to be made Barou of Ra- ley, for which he aspired, it being a manner granted to him together with Barry Castle from the Crown; and because he saw the Earl very earnest to incline the King to endeavors by all fair means to gain the affections of the Commons, out of a desire to see a good issue of this Parlia- ment, to the calling whereof it was generally believed none had more contributed than he had done; He resolved to endeavour that the Parliament should rather be abruptly dissolved, than any good success be produced by the Earls coun- cils, to effect which, on one side informations were made to some, of the dangers to be feared by the Army raised in Ireland in order to Reli- gion, and to others of the juncefes of the pretences of the Scots, and the good that might be obtained by favouring them in this conjunction; and on the other side every thing was represented to the King in the worst sense, and that so finely, as no in- direct intentions could be perceived; The matter of supply gave a fit occasion to heighten dis- contents: For the King being intent to vindicate his Honour, which he thought to be trampled on by the infidulces of the Scots, was very earnest in preparing for the War with them, and to enable him therein, he pressed hard for supplies, and offered to the Commons in recompence of their assistance to him, to quit for ever his claim of Ship-money, which at that time being warranted by a Judgement of all the Judges in the Exche- quer Chamber, had as good an establishment as our Laws could give it: The Commons were somewhat deliberate in this affair of money, and first they defined security from the King for re- dres of grievances in three particulars.

First, for clearing the Subjects property, Secondly, for establishment of Religion, Thirdly, for the Privileges of Parliament, The Lords seemed somewhat more sensible of the King's Proposition for supply, and after many conferences with the Commons, did at last dispose them to a compliance, but the Question, being in that house asked how much would serve to answer the present expectations, Secretary Vane demanded twelve Subsidies, which drew to which much higher discourses, that all became desperate, so that on the 9th of May by a unanimous consent of the King's Council, he was advised to their dissolution, and the Parliament was the next day dissolved.

It is said this fatal action was precipitated upon some intelligence, that the house of Commons meant to vote against the War with Scotland, which was suggested, for that the day before in the debates for money, some glances had been made at an inquisition into the cauifes of the War, which were improved to draw on that fatal coun- cel, and it was likewise reported, that the Mar- quees of Hamilton was a great Stickler in this matter,
The Reign of King Charles the First.

The City was full to feed the King money.

The Earl of Northumberland appointed General of the King's Army, but falling sick, the King goes himself in person;

The Convocation of the Clergy grants the King a benediction of four shillings in the pound, for all their ecclesiastical promotions, to be paid six years together.

The Convocation of this Parliament was continued to the 29th of May, and they granted the King a benevolence of four shillings in the pound, for all their ecclesiastical promotions, to be paid six years together.

The City was full to feed the King money.

matter and that he had privately prevailed with the King to dissolve the Parliament before it was proposed in Council, thereby to improve his Majesties affairs the more, that he might confirm the Scorns and distract the English, to work his own advantages on both.

The King, in the mean time, was on their march Northward, and my Lord Convey marched with the Van some days before the rest could come up, and as he was marching, news was brought that the Scotch Army was march'd to Dunbar, which was their old Quarter the last year not far from Berwick: upon this advice he was ordered to halt forwards towards Newcastile; but he got thither, fresh intelligence came, That the Scotch Army was march'd into England on the 20th of August; The King met this advice in his way to York, and dispatched orders to Convey to do what he could to impede their advance, till the Army could come up, upon this advice Convey calling his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the peace at Newborne upon fine to hinder their pillaging of Newcastile, where Sir Jacob Astley had newly entered with his Regiment, but had not time to make any fortifications: The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached Northallerton, about two days march on this side of Newcastile; The Lord Convey sent to him an account of a defect of the Forces under his command, which they had not receiv'd at Newborne; The subsistence of which provision was as follows:

August the 27th, the Lord Convey upon information of the march of the Scotch Army, and that they design upon Newcastile, drew up three thousand Foot, and about twelve hundred Horse to secure the peace at Newborne: The Foot he lodged behind a Brit't work newly ceas'd up for that purpose and placed the Horse in convenient posts to be ready to receive the Enemy if they came on. General Left marched the greatest part of his Army that night to the Rivers' side, and before morning planted there nine pieces of Ordnance, which he covered with bulrushes, that they might not be seen by the English; the next morning he sent a Trumpet with a Letter to the Lord Convey, desiring leave therein to pass towards the King with their Petition, to which he returned a letter, he would let a few pass, but not an Army; Left then commanded three hundred horse to advance into the River, whom the Marketers from the Works so gallantly received by some of the English Troops commanded by Commissary General Wilmot, Sir John Digby, Captain Neill, and Captain Daniel O Neale, but they were so over-armed with numbers, that they were forced to retreat; Left then discharged his Cannon upon the English foot, which so terrified them, that they quickly left their postion, and threw down their arms, and fled: The Scotch horse encouraged with this success, plunged into the River, and paffed over, and were gallantly received by some of the English Troops commanded by Commissary General Wilmot, Sir John Digby, Captain Neill, and Captain Daniel O Neale, but they were so over-armed with numbers, that they were forced to retreat in disorder, three hundred of the English being killed and taken in the encounter; Convey then defeated the rest, and left the Scotch Army without any further interdiction poffess Newcastile, which was a little before quitted by Sir Jacob Astley, as not at that time tenible, but he first sunk his Cannon in the River, Convey retreated with his Troops towards York, to which place the King and the Earl of Strafford with the rest of the Army were march'd before, and there by the Lieutenant General he was assured of not doing his duty

who was born at Oatlands on the 20th of July, but in the mean time the Army was on their march Northward, and my Lord Convey marched with the Van some days before the rest could come up, and as he was marching, news was brought that the Scotch Army was march'd to Dunbar, which was their old Quarter the last year not far from Berwick: upon this advice he was ordered to halt forwards towards Newcastile; but he got thither, fresh intelligence came, that the Scotch Army was march'd into England on the 20th of August; The King met this advice in his way to York, and dispatched orders to Convey to do what he could to impede their advance, till the Army could come up, upon this advice Convey calling his Officers together, the result was, that they should keep the peace at Newborne upon fine to hinder their pillaging of Newcastile, where Sir Jacob Astley had newly entered with his Regiment, but had not time to make any fortifications: The King made all the haste he could, but by that time he reached Northallerton, about two days march on this side of Newcastile; The Lord Convey sent to him an account of a defect of the Forces under his command, which they had not receiv'd at Newborne; The subsistence of which provision was as follows:

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duty at Newburne, which he as well as he could executed, but acquitted not himself thereby (in the opinion of many men either) of Cowards or Treachery, though matters proceeded not so far as to a publick Sentence Judicially upon him.

Whilesthe Scotch Army were on their march towards Newcastle, a party from Berwick marched to Donner, and drew of some Ordnance which General Leis had left there, but the Earl of Haddington, who had some Troops near to Guard the Borders, came in to oppose them, that they were forced to leave them, and return hastily to Berwick: The Earl a while after with two of his Brothers was smothered in the Ruines of the Castle of Dunlaw.

The Scots at their being in England had so formed a way of intelligence with some of the English Nobility and Gentry, that nothing succeeded well in the Counsels or actions of the King against them, and by this means they took courage to invade the Kingdom, which otherwise they might not have done, and this treachery was afterwards in the Uproar of Cromwell boasted to the writer of his Papers by Archbishop John- fon then Lord of sparrton, who valued himself to have been the chief contriver in it, as that which thereby gave the occasion of raising to the Royal Family of the STUARTS. Mr. Erastus Cambridge, afterwards Clerk of the Council of State in the year 1648, after the murder of this King was often imported to Scotland in that correspondence, and he carried his letters in a hollow staff to prevent discovery, and many others that were in those intrigues, who are yet alive, and we have charity to believe, never intended to see such sad effects of their Counsels as afterwards induced to the subversion of our Government, and the deloration of one of the most flourishing Kingdoms of Europe.

The Scots confederates in prudence of what their friends in England had agreed, declared in a Pamphlet, published at the head of their Army, (which was dispersed in London, and many other places) not to lay down Arms till the reformed Religion were setled in both Nations upon fire grounds, and the causers and Abetters of their present troubles brought to publick Justice in Parliament, and their Abettors they declared to be the Prelates and their adherents, but more particularly the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, and the Earl of Strafford: They pretended upon their march into England to take nothing from any of the English, but for ready money or bonds, but they were no sooner settled in New-Castle, but they seized on four ships laden with corn, and imposed a tax of 350 l. per diem on the Bishoprick of Durham, and 300 l. per diem upon Northumber- land, which was more than their whole King- donme could provide for some years after, when an English Army had the power of Scotland, though their trade was free and greater than it had been many years before, and when much money was monethly brought in by the English in Specie yet could not more than 6000 l. a moneth be rais'd in the whole Kingdom, and that not without extreemt rigour.

The King having lost the occasion of getting a reputation in arms by being perused to the lift years treaty at Berwick, and being now in great perplexity by the unfaitfulness of many of those about him, could think of no expedient to good as to call together the great council of his Peers to advise with them, and therefore Wills were inferred to them to assemble at York on the 24. of September, but this was not very well liked by those who favoured the Scots, whose chief design sim'd at the meeting of a Parliament, which they feared the meeting of the Peers might prevent wherefore the Earls of Bradford, Hesford, Exeter, Warwick, Mowbray, Bellington, and Brifford, and the Lords Say, Broke, P. G., Meneville, and the Lord Edward Howard presented a Peti- tion to the King, representing many great disperia- pers and dangers, threatening the Church and State, and his Royal Person, under seven heads. 1. The Danger and hazard to which he is ex- posed in the War, the waste of his Revenue there- by, and the discontents occasioned by the disorders of the Soldiers.

2. Sundry Innovations in matters of Relig- ion.

3. Increafe of Popery by implanting those of Religion in places of trust, in commanding men and arms in the Field, they being not permitted by Law to have any arms in their Hous's.

4. The great mischiefs that may ensue, if the Forces raised in Ireland should be brought into England.

5. The urging of Ship-money.

6. The heavy charge upon Merchandize, to the discomagement of Trade, and the multitude of Monopolies whereby the Makers of the King- don are burdened.

7. The grief of the Subjects by long intermission of Parliament, and the dissolution of such as have been called without effect.

"For Remedy whereof, They pray that a Parlia- ment may be summoned, whereby the causes of the Grievances that the people lye under may be taken away, and the Authors and Coun- selors be brought to tryal and punish- ment, as their occasions shall require. And that the War may be composed without blood, to the honour and safety of the King's person, the comfort of the people, and the uniting both Realms against the Common Enemy of the reformed Religion."

Many of the Citizens of London who were in combination with some of these Lords and the Scots, did influence the Common Council, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of London, also to the same purpose as this of the Lords.

The King saw by these applications, what endeavours were used to weaken him in the opinio- ns of his people, and was forced to comply to the necessity of the time; wherefore he acquainted the Lords, that before the receipt of their Petition, foreseeing the danger that threatened himself and the Crown, he had summoned the Peers to consult with them what was best to be done for his own honour and safety of the Kingdom, where they with the rest might offer any thing conduces- sible to those ends. The
The Scots proceeded hand in hand with their friends in England: in the substance of a Petition to the King about this time presented, requesting that a Parliament might be called in England for settling a Peace between the two Nations, they sent the Petition to the Lord Lieutenant Secretary of State for Scotland, who delivered it to the King, but an answer thereunto was refused to the meeting of the Peers.

Of the 24th of September, the Peers assembled at York, and the King at the opening of the Assembly spake to them, to this effect, That an Army of Rebels being within the Kingdom, he thought it advisable according to the Privilege of his Predecessors in like cause to call them together, that into their advice and assistance, he and they might proceed jointly to the settlement of their injuries, and secure him and his good Subjects from their malice: He said, He had of himself resolved to call a Parliament to meet on the third of November next, and in the mean time to declare war. First, also, assign to give the Petition of the Rebels (for so he now on all occasions termed the Scots) and in what manner to treat with them: Secondly, how the English Army should be maintained till supplies from the Parliament might be had.

The Lords entered into Confutations of these matters, and for their better information, the King could a true relation to be given to them of the state of the whole business, and upon what reasons and advices, the unanimous consent of the Privy Council for this War was guided: After many debates, To the first point, they advised the King to a treaty with the Scots; and to the second, they used their mediation with the City of London for a Loan to the King for the present support of his Army: A message was hereupon sent to the Scots to intimate his Mjieties content that a treaty should be had at York between him and them, The Scots replied, They had no place left for security; The King's Ministers, considering that the Lieutenant of Ireland, who had his residence there, commanded his Mjeties Army, and who proclaimed them Traitors in Ireland before the King had done it in England, and against whom as a chief Incendiary they intended to complain; hereupon it was concluded that the treaty should be at Rippon, and the King appointed six Earls, and as many Bishops to be Commissioners on his part, and the Scots nominated as many Noblemen on theirs, and for the better understanding of the state of the Affair, the Earl of Trevaryq, the King's late Commissioner in Scotland, was ordered to be present, to give account as occasion offered of what had passed in Scotland from the beginning of the troubles; the Earl of Bristol managed the Treaty for the English, and the Lord London for the Scots, the great part of the demands of each side were acceded to without great difficulty, That which seemed hardest to the English, was to confer to the paying of monies in England for the Scots, having an Army of their own at the same time being: For the Scots notwithstanding their pretences of coming into England without a choice to the Nation, had by this time increased their levies to the sum of eight hundred and fifty pounds a day: Nevertheless, the English Lords willing on any condition to make peace, agreed with the Scots in the ensuing Articles; Which on the 26th of October were signed by the Commissioners, and afterwards by the King, but there were many other demands of the Scots referred to a further treaty, which the King consented to be afterwards holden at London. The Articles agreed at Rippon, were these following.

1. That there be a cessation of Arms both by Sea and Land from this present.
2. That all acts of Hostility do henceforth cease.
3. That both parties shall peaceably retire during the treaty whatever they poffes at the time of the cessation.
4. That all such persons who lived in any of his Majesties Forces beyond the River of Tees, shall not exempt their lands which lie within the Counties of Northumberland and the Bithoprick of Durham from such contributions as shall be laid upon them for the payment of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem.
5. That none of the Kings Forces upon the other side of the Tees shall by any impediments put such contributions as are already allowed for the maintenance of the Scottish Army, and shall fetch no Victuals nor forage out of their bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and owners thereof shall bring voluntarily unto them, and that any restraints or detention of Victuals, Cattle or forage which shall be made by the Scots within those bounds for their maintenance, shall be no brake.
6. That no recruits shall be brought into either Armies from the time of the Cessation, and during the Treaty.
7. That the contribution of eight hundred and fifty pounds per diem, shall be only raised out of the Counties of Northumberland, Bithoprick, Town of Newcastle, Cumberland and Weiterneland: and that the not payment thereof shall be no brake of the Treaty, but the Countries and Towns shall be left to the Scots power to raise the same, but not to exceed the sums agreed upon, unless for other causes of driving to be set by a Prizer of the Forrage.
8. That the River of Tees shall be the bounds of both Armies (excepting alwys the Town and Caffie of Stockton, and the Village of Esgillif) and the Countries of Northumberland and Bithoprick, be the limits within which the Scottish Army is to reside, having liberty for them to send such Convoy as shall be necessary for the gathering up only of the contributions, which shall be unpaid by the Counties of Northumb and Cumberland.
9. That if any person commit any private infora, infece it shall be no breach of the Treaty, if upon complaint made by either parties, reparations and punishment be granted.
10. If no Victuals be delivered upon the prices which shall be agreed upon, and ready money offered for the same reatisfied, shall be no breach of the Cessation to take such Victuals paying such prices.
11. No new fortification to be made during the Treaty against either partie.
12. That the Subjects of both Kingdoms may in their trade of Commerce freely pass to and from without any say at all, but it is particularly provided that no member of either Army, pass without a formal pass, under the hands of the Generals, or of him that commands in chief.

The Earl of Mountros having long adhered to the
The Earl of Menteith being desirous of bringing this matter to an end, sent a letter to the King to assure him of his fidelity.

The Parliament assembled, the King's Speech.

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at his first coming to the House of Peers, for he
was not yet come from York, and this they re-
 solved on to prevent, and be before hand with him
in an Impeachment he had ready against Mr.
Pym, and some of the Leading Members of both
Houses for holding intelligence with the Scots,
which he intended to have offered in the House
of Peers as soon as he had taken his place amongst
them: Wherefore tho' in the Commons house
that were concerned, were very industrious in
their designs, and the house had not fate many
dates before he was therein declared to be guilty
of High-Treason, and a secret Committee of five
were nominated to collect matter for an im-
peachment against him: This was to take up
more time than the Prosecutors could with
convenience to themselves allow of, so that the house
were prevailed with upon affections of particular
persons to vote that a General Impeachment of
High-Treason should be made against him to the
Lords, to endeavour thereby to have him impe-
cated from that House. And on the 11th of No-
vember Mr. Pym was sent from the Commons
to the Lords with a Message, which he de-
\livered in these words.

My Lords,

"The Knights, Citizens and Burgesses now
assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have
received information of divers traitorous de-
signs and practices of a great Peer of this house;
And by virtue of a Command from them, I
am to here in the name of the Commons now
assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all
the Commons England, to Mr. Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland
of High-Treason; and they have commanded me
to further to deprecate your Lordships, that it may
be receiv'd from Parliament, and forthcoming
committed to Prison; They have further com-
manded me to let you know, that they will
within a very few days refer to your Lord-
ships with the Particular Articles and Grounds
of this accusation.

The Earl being required to withdraw, it was
much debated by the Peers, whether he should
be imprisoned on a General accusation without
any particular Act of Treason charged against
him, but upon the Question it was carried in the
affirmative; and he being called in, kneel'd at
the Bar, And after standing up, The Lord Keeper
spake to him as followeth.

My Lord of Strafford,

"The House of Commons in their own name,
and in the name of the whole Commons of
England, have this day acquitted your Lordship
of the Lords of the higher House of Parlia-
ment, of High-Treason, The Articles they
will in a very few days produce, in the mean
time they have defined of my Lords, and my
Lord's have accordingly Resolved, That your
Lordship shall be committed to safe custody to
the Gentleman usher, and be receiv'd from
the House till you Lordship shall clear your
self of the accusations that shall be laid against
you: And hereupon he was immediately taken
\into Custody.

The next day the Commons considering the
great Prejudices of the Northern Counties by the
two Armies that lay upon them, resolved that a
hundred thousand pound should be forthwith lay-
ed for their maintenance, and till it could be reg-
ularly levied, a hundred thousand pound was
borrowed in the City upon the Credit of some of
the Members of the House of Commons. Many
Petitions from all parts were brought to them for
treds of Grievances, and to be relieved against
Orders and Decrees of the Council Table, Stare-
Chamber, and High Commiission Court, which
were referred to several Committees, and de-
vised where they were ordered out of Prison from
them, especially Prynne, Burton and Baffuck, who seemed more eminent than the
rest of the Sufferers, and a while after by the
intervention of the Lords with the King, The Bis-
hop of Lincoln also was freed from his imprison-
ment in the Tower.

The King willing to be rid of the Scotch Ar-
my, bought the Commons to the Lords who
were employed in the Treaty at Rippon, or any
ten of them to treat with the Scotch Commis-
ioners, or any seven of them, being the Earl of
Rishays and Damferjin, John Lord Lowden,
Six Patrick Hepburn, Six William Douglas, Wil-
liam Drummond, John Smyth Bayliff of Edin-
burgh, Alexander Wedderburn, Hugh Kennedy,
Alexander Hemerson and Archibald Johnson to
take into consideration their demands, and com-
pose all differences arising thereupon, which
commission was put under the Great Seal of eight de-
mands.

England on the 23rd of November, and in a
while after the Scots presented their demands,
which were eight in number, and afterwards put
in seventeen heads, wherein One, (and that
not the least considerable) was That some Scot-
ish men of respect might be in places of trust a-
about the King, Queen, and Prince: This was
that which all their Pretences aimed at notwithstanding their Zeal to reformation of Religion,
and though all they desired else was granted, they
never attained their ends in this, for the troubles
which they ray'd, did not only bring after
them a misery to this Nation, but theirs also, and
the ring-leaders of them wanted not their part
thereof.

Sir Francis W Chandebank Secretary of State was
aimed at as one of the great Delinquents in the
opinion of the Parliament, Being one suspected
in his Religion, a great favourite of Priests of the
Romish Church; for whom he had obtained ma-
ny Reprizes, and was thought to be guilty of
misdemeanors of a higher nature: But he think-
ing himselfe not sufficient power to ride out
the approaching storm, made his escape into
France, where he dyed a Roman Catholic.

In the consideration of grievances, the charge
imposed upon the Subject for providing and fur-
ishing of Ships, and the Affetments for laying
money for that purpose, commonly called Ship-
money, are voted by both House's to be against
the Laws of the Realm, and all proceedings in
the case both at the Council Table, Stare-Cham-
ber, and Courts of Justice declared null and
void. This was thought a strange way of proceed-
ing; Pitt, because all the Judges had subscribed unanimously to the Unlawfulness of it in time of
danger, of which danger the King was declared

The Scots
Commissioner
agree with
their peers
of the house
of Com-
mon to im-
peach the
Earl of
Strafford of
High-Trea-
sion.
The reign of King Charles the First.

The Council on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber, they passed a definitive sentence for it on the behalf of the King: Thirldly, because the votes of the House of Commons were passed without hearing the King's Council, or calling the Judges to know the reasons of their opinions; and fourthly, because the arguments of Justice Coke and Justice Has ton for the illegality thereof were ordered to be put in print, and those of the other Judges for the legality of it suppressed; but those Votes were not by the makers of them deemed a sufficient security against imposing the like charge for the future, but they took in the King's aid to an Act of Parliament for the confirmation of them. And they now began to consider of a charge of High Treason against the Lord Keeper, Finch, and the Judges: In the first whereof they made some expedition, but more deliberate in that of the Judges being willing to keep a rod over them that nothing should be declared for Law against their intentions: This Debate of the Ship-money led them to consider of the first occasion of the raising of it, which was because the Parliament immediately preceding the last was dissolved without that supply the King expected from them; and from hence they were led into an Enquiry of several violations of the Privileges of Parliament by the permission of diverse members, and a Judgement against them in the King's Bench: And then all the Inconveniences were summed up that hapned by the Long intermission of Parliament, to provide against which, they resolved of a Bill for a Tryennial Parliament. These debates took up many days: but in the mean time, whilst their consultations were had for a reformation of the civil state, the Scotch Commissioners and their friends were not idle in their endeavours to reform or alter the Ecclesiastical State: In Order whereunto many Petitions from all places were delivered to the House of Commons against Ecclesiastical discipline, The Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, anoght which one was presented by Alderman Pennington, subscribed by fifteen hundred Citizens of London.

This Petition was very surprising to many sober men in the house of Commons, who were not unwilling to have the statutes in the Government of the Church reformed, but could not approve of the alteration of the Government itself, so that after some debate, the Petition was transmitted to another time, but those that favoured the business, though they were not successful in it, tell a while after upon another argument more plausible, which was an inspection into the legality of the late convocation, which produced this resolution of the Commons.

That the Clergy in a Synod or Convocation, had no power to make Canons, Constitutions or Laws Ecclesiastical to bind either Laity or Clergy without a Parliament: And that the Canons are against the Fundamental Laws of this Realm, against the King's Prerogative, Property of the Subjects, the Right of Parliaments, and do tend to Faction and Sedition.

The Clergy of this Convocation thought themselves hardly used in these Votes, who thought to have been called by themselves or their Council to have justified their proceedings, alleging that it was never known before, that the Convocation had dependence upon the Parliament, either in the calling or dissolving of it, nor in the confirmation and authorising of the Acts thereof, but only on the King himself, as appears by the Statute made in the 26th of Henry the Eighth, and the confent prattice ever since, and it is certain that before the Canons were subscribed, they were imparted to the King, and by him communicated to the Lords of the Privy Council, the Judges and the King's Council learned in the Laws of this Realm, being then attending. In the hearing of all which they were read, and by all approved, which had been strange if any thing tending to Faction and Sedition, or to the diminution of the Subjects' property and the King's Prerogative, or otherwise against the known Laws of the Land had been found in them; but the Reputation of the Commons was at this time so great, it was not safe for any to dispute their actions: The very same day that the Canons were thus voted down, the Scots Commissioners had presented a Paper to the Parliament, where in they named the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury an Incedary, and promised to bring in a complaint against him the morrow after, this produced an Order in the House of Commons for a Committee to draw up a charge against him, but the Scots laying to bring in their Complaint, the next day, Mr. Holli the day after was sent up to the Lords from the Commons with a General Impeachment of High Treason against him, praying that he might be impeached and impeached, and in a few days they would resort to them, with the particular ground of their accusation; immediately upon this the Scots Commissioners sent in their charge, upon the reading whereof he was committed to the custody of the Usher of the Black Rod, where he continued ten weeks before any particular charge was brought against him: The Lord Keeper Finch was the next great Delinquent against whom the Commons designed to proceed, whereas he having gained intelligence, he moved by his friends in that House, that he might be permitted to clear himself before them of several imputations that lay upon him, which the Commons agreed to, and on the 21st of December he made an Elegant and Queynt Oration, tending to the Vindication of himself in every particular, but notwithstanding all that he could say, they voted him that very day a Traitor, upon their considerations.

1. For refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Welton, 4 Carlii when the Parliament desired it.
2. For calumniating, pernading, and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinion for the levying of Ship-money.
3. For several illegal actions in Forrest matters.
4. For ill offices done in moving the King to displace the last Parliament, and causing his Majesties Declaration thereupon to be put forth.

The next day he was accused before the Lords, but he wisely withdrew himself into Holland, and thereby escaped the danger that threatened him, and
and a while after Sir Edward Littleton was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England in his place.

The King having been sometime in treaty with the Dutch Embassador for a match betwixt the young Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary his daughter, before he would make any conclusion therein, thought fit to communicate the same to the Lords in Parliament, which he did on the tenth of February; the consideration that induced to this treaty, he said were three; First, the matter of Religion, wherein there needed no dispensation, nor fear that his daughters consciences should be any way perverted.

Secondly, he esteemed a firm alliance and confederacy with the States, as useful to the Kingdom as that of any of his neighbours, especially considering their affinity, neighbourhood, and way of strength; And lastly, the use he might make of this alliance towards the establishing of his Sitter and Nephews; he told them, the articles of Marriage were in a manner concluded, but not to be ratified till that alliance should be ended and approved, which he said he thought not fit to enter upon without their assent, he then delivered to them, the propositions offered by him to the States Embassador, which he left to their consideration and free debate, desiring them to make as much expedition in their Councils as to great a business should require: The Lords communicated this favourable Proposition of the King to the Commons who receiv'd it very well, and indeed nothing from the King since the first sitting of this Parliament was so acceptable to both Houses, which was a wonder, considering the jealousies of the times.

About this time, a few days before the particular charge against the Earl of Strafford was brought up to the Lords by Mr. Pym under 3 Articles; They had a little while before exhibited some General Articles, to which he could not be forced to answer, but upon this further impeachment, the Lords required him to answer to the whole, and though the charge was very long, yet were the Commons so pressing for his answer, that by the 24th of February he delivered it to the Lords, and it was read in the House, the King being present.

Upon the carrying up of this Impeachment, he was taken out of the city of London, by the order of the Black Rod, and committed to the Tower, he moved the Lords to have Council allowed him, which was much opposed by the Commons, but his accusation having much in it of matter of Law, he had permission to have Council; The Articles as they consisted of first of Commons, and as they were after distributed into particulars, we shall never when we come to the relation of his Trial.

The King gives his Assent to the Bill for a Triennial Parliament.

The Bill for Triennial Parliaments having pass'd both Houses, was on the 16th of February offered to the King, it was entitul'd An Act for the preventing inconveniences happening by the Long intermission of Parliaments: and at the same time the Commons presented an Act for the relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom, which was a Grant of four intire Subsidies; to both which the King gave his Royal assent, and the Bill for Triennial Parliaments was an Act of as great Favour to the Subject as ever pass'd in Parliament, for if the King should refuse to summon a Parliament at the time therein limited, the Chancellor or Keeper might issue out Writs to summon the Peers, and for election of the Commons; and if the Chancellor or Keeper should not do it, any twelve of the Peers might summon the Parliament, and if the Peers should omit the issuing out of summons, the Sheriffs in Counties, and other Magistrates respectively might cause Elections to be made, and if the Sheriffs should refuse, the Freeholders in Counties, and all other persons that have right of choosing, might make Election of Members; And the Members so chosen, were under great penalties obliged to attend; with many other clauses to accomplish the end designed by the Act, which also had in it several expressions too reflecting on the Prerogative: but the King really believing most of the mischief's then complained of, proceeded from the too long intermission of Parliament, and being resolved for the future to communicate freely and frequently that way with his Subjects, he contented to it: And this Act of his Grace and Favour was so pleasing to the Parliament, that upon a conference with both Houses it was unanimously agreed to wait upon the King at White-Hall, and return him their humble thanks, and that night Bone-fires and other tokens of joy were made in the City by Order of Parliament.

On the same day the charge against the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury was carried from the Commons to the Lords by Sir Henry Vane the younger, whereupon he was ordered to the Tower, but upon his humble Suit to the Lords, his commitment was resolv'd till the first of March.

The Scots Commissioners laboured very much under-hand to introduce their Presbyterian discipline into the Church of England, and by their confederates had made an active party in the House of Commons, who took frequent occasion of airing the Bishops, and in these debates they spared not Episcopacy; also the debate of the forementioned City Petition was now refus'd, and many members spake for the eradication of the Episcopal Hierarchy, amongst which Nathaniel Pym the younger Son of the Lord Say was most vehement, but the Lord Falkland, the Lord Digby, and many others of great Learning and Integrity, did by the weight of reason so far prevail, that the Order of Episcopacy was yet preserved, though their power was much lessen'd by a vote pass'd in the House of Commons preparatory to a Bill, viz. that no Bishop shall have any vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial power in the Star-Chamber, nor in any High Court in temporal affairs, and that no Clergie-man shall be in Commission of the Peace: The next thing of note was the Tryal of the Earl of Strafford, which began on the 22d of March, and was so remarkable in the circumstances of it, that we shall be very particular in the relation thereof.

He came from the Tower about seven of the clock in the morning, accompanied with six Barges, wherein were 100 Soldiers of the Tower, all with Partisans for his Guard, and 50 pair of Oars: at his landing at Westminster he was attended with 200 of the Trained Bands, and was Tttt 3 Guarded.
Guarded by them into the Hall: The King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a clock, but kept themselves private within their closets, so that the King saw and heard all that passed, but was seen of none: When the Earl entered the Hall, the Porter asked the Usher of the Black Rod, whether the Axe should be carried before him or no, who answered that the King had expressly forbidden it, nor was it the custom of England to use that Ceremony, but only when the party accused was to be put upon his Jury. Those of the Upper house sat with their heads covered, those of the Lower house that were present (for they sat not there as a house) were all uncovered. The Bishops upon the Saturday before did voluntarily declare the giving of their Suffrages in matters criminal, and of that nature, according to the provision of the Cannon Law and practice of the Kingdom to this day, and therefore would not be present, yet whilst they gave in a Protestation that their absence should not prejudice them of that or any other Priviledge competent to them, as the Lords spiritual in Parliament, which was accepted.

The Earl of Arundel sate as Lord high Steward of England, and at the Earls appearing commanded the Provocutors to proceed, Mr. Pym being Speaker of the Committee of the Commons that were appointed to prosecute, gave in the Articles of Impeachment, which we shall here insert as they were read in Court.

1. That he the said Thomas Earl of Strafford hath traitorously endeavoured to subvert the fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of England and Ireland, and infeft thereof to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannyal Government by Law, which he hath declared by tyrannous words, Counsels and Actions, and by giving his Majesty advice by force of Arms to compel his loyal Subjects to submit thereto.

2. That he hath traitorously affumed to himself Regal power over the lives, liberties, persons, lands and goods of his Majesties subjects in England and Ireland, and hath exercised the same tyrannically to the subversion of many both of Peers and others of his Majesties Leige people.

3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his traitorous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesties Revenue, without giving legal account, and hath taken great sums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own use, when his Majesty was necessitated for his own urgent occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid.

4. That he hath traitorously abused the power and authority of his Government, to the increasings, consternating, and encouraging of Papists, that to him might settle a mutual dependence and confidence between himself and that party, and by their help procure and accomplish his malitious and tyrannical designs.

5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up enmity and hostility between his Majesties Subjects of England, and those of Scotland.

6. That he hath traitorously broken the great trust reposed in him by his Majesty of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majesties Subjects to death, his Army to a dishonourable retreat by the Scots at Newburn, and the Town of Newcastle into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of blood, by dishonour, and so great a loss of Newcastle, his Majesties Realm of England might be engaged in a National and irreconcilable Quarrel with the Scots.

7. That to preserve himself from being questioned for these and other his traitorous courtes, he laboured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and the antient course of Parliamentary proceedings, &c. by false and malicious Slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliament. By which words, counsels and actions, he hath traitorously, and contrary to his allegiance laboured to alienate the hearts of the Kings liege people from his Majesty, to fet a division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesties Kingdoms, for which they impeach him of High Treason against our Sovereign Lord the King his Crown and dignity.

3. And he the said Earl of Strafford was Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lieutenant General of the Army there, (viz.) of his most Excellent Majesties for his Kingdoms both of England and Ireland, and Lord President of the North, during the time that all and every of the crimes and offences after bet for were done and committed: And he the said Earl was Lieutenant General of all his Majesties Army in the North parts of England during the time that the crimes and offences in the 5 and 6 Articles of bet for were done and committed.

The further Impeachment which was more particular, was thus express'd.

1. That he the said Earl of Strafford the 23th day of March in the eighth year of his now Majesties Reign, was President of the Kings Council in the Northern parts of England.

That he the said Earl being President of the said Council, on the 23rd day of March, a Commission under the Great Seal of England with schedules of instruction thereto annexed was directed to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, whereby amongst other things, power and authority is limited to the said Earl and others the Commissioners therein named, to hear and determine all offences and misdemeanors, suits, debates, controversies and demands, causes, things and matters whatsoever therein contained, and within certain precincts in the said Northern parts therein specified, and in such manner as by the said schedule is limited and appointed.

That amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed that the said President and others therein appointed shall hear and determine according to the course of proceedings in the Court of Star-Chamber, diverse offences, delicts and falsities therein mentioned, whether the same be provided for by the Acts of Parliament or no, so that the fines imposed be not less than by Act or Acts of Parliament provided for by those offences is appointed.

That also amongst other things in the said Instructions, it is directed that the said President and others therein appointed, have power to ex-
mine, hear, and determine, according to the course of proceedings in the Court of Chancery all manner of complaints for any matter within the said Precedents, as well concerning Lands, Tenements and Hereditaments, either Freehold, Customary or Copy-hold, as Leases and other things therein mentioned, and to try proceedings in the Court of Common Law by injunction or otherwise by all wases and means as is used in the Court of Chancery.

And although the former Presidents of the said Council had never put in practice such instructions, nor had they any such instructions, yet the said Earl in the month of May in the said 8th year, and divers years following, did put in practice, exercise and use, and caused to be used and put in practice the said Commission and instructions, and did direct and exercise an exorbitant and unlawful power and jurisdiction on the persons and estates of his Majesties Subjects in those parts, and did disinherit divers of his Majesties Subjects in those parts of their inheritances, bestowed their postruption, and did fine, ran- some, punish and imprison them, and caused them to be fined, ranfomed, punished and imprisoned, to their ruine and deftruction, and namely Sir Conyers Darby, Sir John Bourcher, and divers others against the Laws, and in subversion of the same. And the said Commission and instructions were procured and inflicted by advice of the said Earl.

And he the said Earl to the intent that such illegal and unjust power might be exercised with the greater licence and will, did advise, counsel and procure further directions, in and by the said instructions to be given, that no Prohibition be granted at all, but in cases where the said Council shall exceed the limits of the said Instructions: And that if any writ of Habeas Corpus be granted, the party be not discharged till the party perform the Decree and Order of the said Council.

And the said Earl in the 13th year of his now Majesties Reign, did procure a new Commission to himself and others therein appointed with the said instructions and other unlawful ad- ditions.

That the said Commission and Instructions were procured by the solicitation and advice of the said Earl of Strafford.

2. That shortly after the obtaining of the said Commission dated the 21st of March in the 8th year of his now Majesties Reign, (to wit,) the last day of August then next following, he the said Earl, (to bring his Majesties Liege people into a dislike of his Majestty and of his Government, and to terrify the Justices of the Peace from executing the Laws; he the said Earl being then President as aforesaid, and a Justice of the Peace,) did publicly at the Assizes held for the County of York in the City of York in and upon the said last day of August, declare and pub- lish before the people there attending for the ad- ministration of Justice according to the Law, and in the presence of the Justices sitting, that some of the Justices were all for Law, but they should finde that the Kings little finger should be heavier than the Loynes of the Law.

3. That the Realm of Ireland having been
The warrant That Decree a Lordship of Ireland, did cause the said Earl of Strafford, without any warrant or authority of Law or offence discovering any such punishment: And he the said Earl did also at Dublin within the saidRealm of Ireland in the month of March in the 12th. year of his Majesties Reign without any legal or due proceedings or Tryal give or cause to be given against the Lord Mount-Norris, (then and yet a Peer of Ireland, and then Vice-Treasurer and Receiver General of the Realm of Ireland, and one of the Principal Secretaries of State, and Keeper of the Privy Signet of the said Kingdom) a sentence of death by a Council of War called together by the said Earl of Strafford, without any warrant or authority of Law or offence discovering any such punishment: And he the said Earl did also at Dublin within the said Realm of Ireland in the month of March in the 12th. year of his Majesties Reign without any legal or due proceedings or Tryal give or cause to be given against the aforesaid Earl Mount-Norris to be dispossessed and put out of his Freehold and Inheritance of his Manor of Templemore in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdom of Ireland, the said Lord Mount-Norris having been two years before inquiet possession thereof.

6. That the said Earl of Strafford without any legal proceedings, and upon a paper Petition of Richard Raaffone, did cause the said Lord Mount-Norris to be dispossessed and put out of his Freehold and Inheritance of his Manor of Templemore in the County of Armagh, in the Kingdom of Ireland, the said Lord Mount-Norris having been two years before inquiet possession thereof.

7. That the said Earl of Strafford in the Holy Trinity in the 13th. year of his now Majesties Reign, did cause a cafe of Tenures upon defeitive Titles to be made or drawn up, without any Jury or Tryal, or other legal Processe, and without the consent of Parties, and did then procure the Judges of the said Realm of England to deliver their opinions and resolutions to that cause, and by colour of such opinions and resolutions, did without any legal proceeding cause Thomas Lord Dilton a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, to be put out of possession of divers Lands and tenements, being his freehold in the County of Mayo and Roscommon, in the said Kingdom, and divers other of his Majesties Subjects to be also put out of possession, and dispossessed of their freehold by colour of the same resolutions, without legal proceedings, whereby many hundreds of his Majesties Subjects were undone, and their Families utterly ruined.

8. That the said Earl of Strafford upon a Petition of Sir John Gifford Knight, the first day of February in the said 13th. year of his Majesties Reign, without any legal processe made a Decree or order against Adam Viscount Left of Ely a Peer of the said Realm of Ireland, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and did cause the said Viscount to be imprisoned, and kept close Prisoner on pretence of disobedience to the said Decree or Order.

And the said Earl without any authority, and contrary to his Commission required and commanded the said Lord Viscount to yield unto him the Great Seal of the Realm of Ireland, which was then in his Custody, by his Majesties command, and imprisoned the said Chancellor for not obeying such command. And without any legal proceedings did in the same 13th. year imprison George Earl of Kildare a Peer of Ireland against Law, thereby to enforce him to submit his title to the Manor and Lordship of Castle-Lagh in the Queen County (being of great yearly value) to the said Earl of Strafford will and pleasure, and kept him one year prisoner for the said cause, two months whereof he kept him close Prisoner, and reduced to enslave him, notwithstanding his Majesties letters for his enlargement to the said Earl of Strafford directed.

And upon a Petition exhibited in October 1635. by Thomas Hillis against Dame Mary Hilles Widow, to him the said Earl of Strafford, the said Earl of Strafford recommended the said Petition to the Council Table of Ireland, where the moft part of the Council gave their vote and opinion for the said Lady, but the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an Order to be made against the said Lady, and threatened her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would imprison her and fine her 500L, that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, & double her fine every moneth by moneth: Wherethere the said Earl of Strafford, the said Earl finding fault herewith, caused an Order to be made against the said Lady, and threatened her, that if she refused to submit thereunto, he would imprison her and fine her 500L, that if she continued obstinate, he would continue her imprisonment, & double her fine every moneth by moneth: Wherethere the said Earl of Strafford, and the said Earl in like manner did imprison divers other of his Majesties Subjects upon pretence of disobedience to his Orders and Decrees, and other illegal commands by him made for pretended debts, titles of lands, and other causes in an arbitrary and extrajudicial course, upon paper Petitions to him preferred, and to other causes legally depending.

9. That the said Earl of Strafford the 16th. day of February in the 12th. year of his now Majesties Reign, affining to himself a power aboven and against Law, took upon him by a General warrant under his hand to give power to the Lord Bishop of Downe and Connor, his Chancellor or Chancellors, and their several Officers thereto to be appointed to attach and arrest the bodies of all such of the meaner and poorer sort, as should not only refuse to appear before them, or appearing, should omit or deny to perform or undergo all lawful decrees, sentences and processes issued against them, and them to commit and keep in the next Gaol until they should either perform such sentences, or put in sufficient Bail to show some reason before the Council Table, of such their contempt and neglect; and the said Earl the day and year last mentioned signed and issued a warrant to that effect, and made the like warrant to all other Bishops and their Chancellors in the said Realm of Ireland to the same effect.

10. That the said Earl of Strafford being Lord Lieutenant, or Lord Deputy of Ireland, procured the sequestration of the Merchandize exported out and imported into that Realm to be farmed to his own use.

And in the ninth year of his now Majesties Reign, he having then interest in the said sequestrations (to advance his own gain and lust) did cause and procure the raise commodities of Ireland to be rated in the book of Rates for the Customs (according to which the sequestrations were usually gathered) at far greater values and prices than in truth they were worth. That is to say, Every Hicce at 20., in which it truth it was worth but five shillings, Every fene of Wooll at thirteen shillings
flillings four pence, though the same ordinarily were worth but five flillings at the utmost, by which means the customers which was before but a twentieth part of the true value of the commodities, was enhanced sometimes to 4 l. a part, and sometimes to 4½ l. a part of the true value, to the great appeasement of the Subjects, and decay of Merchandize.

11. That the said Earl in the 9th year of his now Majesty's Reign, did by his own will and pleasure, and for his own brave restrain the exportation of the commodities of that Kingdom without his license, as namely Pipe-flakes and other commodities, and then raised great sums of money for licensing of exportation of those Commodities, and dilpensation of the said restraint imposed on them, by which means the Pipe-flakes were raised from 4 l. 10 s. or 5 l. per thousand to 11 l. per thousand, and other Commodities were enhanced in like proportion, and by the same means by him the thirty-first day of January.

12. That the said Earl being Lord Deputy of Ireland on the 9th of January in the 13th year of his Majesty's Reign, did then under colour to regulate the importation of Tobacco into the said Realm of Ireland, give a Proclamation in his Majesty's name, prohibiting the importation of Tobacco without license of him and the Council there, from and after the first day of May 1638, after which restraint the said Earl notwithstanding the said restraint, caused divers great quantities of Tobacco to be imported to his own use, and freighted divers Ships with Tobacco, which he imported to his own use; and that if any Ship brought Tobacco into any Port there, the said Earl and his Agents used to buy the same to his own use at their own prices; and if that the owner refused to let him have the same at under-values, then they were not permitted to vent the same, by which means, the said Earl having got the whole trade of Tobacco into his own hands, he sold it at great and excurrent prices (such as he left to impose) for his own profit.

And the more to abuse the said Monopoly of Tobacco, he the said Earl on the twenty-third day of February in the 13th year aforesaid, did issue another Proclamation commanding that none should put to sale any Tobacco by whole-sale from and after the last day of May then next following; but what should be made up into Rolls, and the same sealed with two Seals by himself appointed, one at each end of the Roll: And such as was not so sealed to be seized, appointing 6 d. the pound for a reward to such persons as should seize the same; And the persons in whose custody the unsealed Tobacco should be found, to be committed to goal, which last Proclamation was covered by a pretence of the restraining the sale of unwalloped Tobacco, but it was truly to advance the said Monopoly.

Which proclamation the said Earl did rigorously put in Execution by seizing the goods, fining, imprisoning, whipping, and putting the offenders against the same Proclamation on the Pillory, as namely Barnaby Hubbard, Edward Coveweh, and John Tumen; and divers others; and made the Officers of State and Justices of Peace and other Officers, to serve him in committing and executing these unjust and undue cooyties, by which Cruelties and unjust Monopolies, the said Earl raised an hundred thousand pounds per annum, to himself: And yet the said Earl though he enhanced the customs where it concerned the Merchants in General, yet drew down the impost formerly taken on Tobacco from 5 d. the pound to 3 d. the pound, being for his own profit to do. And the said Earl by the same and other rigorous and undue means, raised several other Monopolies and unlawful exactions for his own gain, viz. on Starch, Iron-pots, Claret, Tobacco-pipes, and several other commodities.

13. That Flax being one of the principal and Native Commodities of that Kingdom of Ireland, the said Earl having got great quantities thereof into his hands, and growing on his own lands did issue out several Proclamations, viz. One dated the 21st day of May in the 11th year of his Majesty's Reign, and the other dated the one and thirty-first of January in the same year, thereby prescribing and enjoining the working of Flax into yarn and thread, and the ordering of the same in such wages, wherein the Natives of that Kingdom were unpractised and unskilful; which Proclamations so issued were by his commands & Warrants to his Majesties Justices of Peace and other Officers, and by other rigorous means put in execution, and the FLAX wrought or ordered in other manner then as the Proclamation preferred, was feared and employed to the use of him and his Agents, and thereby the said Earl endeavoured to gain, and did gain in effect the sole sale of that native Commodity.

14. That the said Earl of Strafford by Proclamation dated the 16th day of October in the 14th year of his Majesties Reign, did impost upon the Owners, Malters, Pasters and Bostwains of every Ship, a new and unlawful Oath, viz. that they (two or more of them) immediately after the arrival of any Ship with any Port or Creek in the said Kingdom of Ireland, should give in a true invoice of the outward bulk of wares and merchandizes, and number of goods, and the qualities and conditions of the said Goods as far as to them should be known, and the names of the several Merchants proprietors of the said Goods, and the places from whence they were freighted and whether they were bound to discharge, which Proclamation was accordingly put in Execution, and sundry persons enforced to take the said unlawful Oath.

15. That the said Earl of Strafford traitorously and wickedly devised and contrived by force of arms in a war-like manner to subdue the subjects of the said Realm of Ireland, to bring them under his tyrannical power and will, and in pursuance of his wicked and traitorous purposes aforesaid, the said Earl of Strafford in the 8th year of his Majesties Reign, did by his own authority without any warrant of Law, tax and impose great sums of money upon the Towns of Balmoral, Bandoorbridge, Towang, and divers other Towns and places in the said Realm of Ireland, and did cause the same to be levied upon the Inhabitants of those Towns by Troops of Souldiers with force and arms in a war-like manner; And on the 9th day of March in the 12th year of
year of his now Majesties Reign, traytorely did give authority unto Robert Savile a Sergeant at Arms, and to the Captains of Companies of Souldiers in severall parts of the Realm, to send such numbers of Souldiers to lie on the lands and houses of such as would not conform to his orders, until they should render obedience to his said orders and warrants, and after such submision (and not before) the said Souldiers to return to their Garrisons: And did also give his like warrants unto divers others, which warrants were in warlike manner with force and arms put in execution accordingly, and by such warlike means he did force divers of his Majesties Subjects of that Realm to submit themselves to his unlawful commands.

And in the said 12th year of his Majesties Reign, the said Earl of Strafford did traytorely cause certain Troops of Horse and Foot armed in warlike manner, and in warlike array with force and arms to expel Richard Butler from the possession of Castle Crowther in the territory of Idough in the said Realm of Ireland, and did likewise, and in the like warlike manner expel divers of his Majesties Subjects from their Hones, Families and Possessions, as namely Edward Bromley, Owen Oberman and Sir Cooper Horseylade, and divers others, to the number of about a hundred Families, and took and imprisoned them and their wives, and carried them prisoners to Dublin, and there detained them till they did yield up, surrender or release their respective estates and rights.

And the said Earl in like warlike manner had during his Government of the said Kingdom of Ireland, subdued divers others of his Majesties Subjects to his will, and thereby, and by the means aforesaid, hath levied war within the said Realm against his Majestie and his liege people of that Kingdom.

16. That the said Earl of Strafford the 12th of Feb. in the 7th year of his now Majesties Reign, intending to oppress the said Subjects of Ireland, did make a proposition, and obtained from his Majestie an allowance, that no complaint of injustice or oppression done in Ireland, should be received in England against any, or adjudged it first appeared that the party made first his address to him in Ireland: And he restored divers Fryeries and Maft-houses (which had been formerly suppressed by the precedent Deputies of that Kingdom, two of which houses were in the City of Dublin, and had been affilgued to the use of the University there) to the pretended owners thereof, who have since employed the same to the exercise of the Popish Religion.

17. And in the month of May and June last, the said Earl did raise an Army in the said Realm of Ireland consisting of eight thousand Foot, all of which except one thousand and thereabouts, were Papists, and the said 1000 were drawn out of the old Army there consisting of 2000 Foot, and in their places there were 1000 Papists put into the Army by the said Earl. And the more to ingage and rye the new Army of Papists to himself, and to encourage them, and to discourage and wear out the old Army, the said Earl did so provide, that the said New Army of Papists were duly paid, and had all necessaries provided for them, and permitted the exercise of their Religion, but the said old Army were for the space of one whole year and upwards unpaid.

18. And the said Earl being appointed Commissioner within eleven several Counties of the Northern parts of England, for compelling with Recusants for their forfeitures due to his Majestie, which commission beareth date the 8th day of July in the 5th year of his Majesties Reign that now is, and being also Receiver of the composition money thereby arising, and other debts, duties and penalties for his Majesties use, by Letters Patents dated the ninth day of the said July: he to engage the said Recusants to, did compound with them at low and under-rates, and provided that they should be discharged of all proceedings against them in all his Majesties Courts both Temporal and Ecclesiastical, in manifest breach of, and contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm in that behalf establisht.

19. That the said Earl having taxed and levied the said impostions, and raised the said Monopolies, and committed the said oppressions in his Majesties name, and as by his Majesties Royal Command, he the said Earl in May in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, did by his authority continue and frame a new and unusual Oath, by the purport whereof among many other things, the party taking the said Oath, was to swear that he should not protest against any of his Majesties Royal commands, but submit themselves in all obedience thereunto, which Oath he to contrivd to enforce the same on the Subjects of the Scottish Nation inhabiting in Ireland, and out of a hatred to the said Nation, and to put them to a discontent of his Majestie and his Government there, and compelled divers of his Majesties said Subjects there to take the said Oath, some whereof he grievously fined and imprisoned, and others he destroyed and exiled, and namely the tenth of October An. Dom. 1639, he fined Henry Stewart and his Wife who refused to take the said Oath, five thousand pounds a-piece, and their two daughters and James Gray 3000l.p.a-piece, and also detained them for not paying the said fines. The said Henry Stewart and his wife and daughters, and James Gray, being the King's good people of the Scottish Nation, and divers others he used in the like manner, And the said Earl upon that occasion did declare, that the said Oath did not only oblige them in point of allegiance to his Majestie, and acknowledgement of his supremacy only, but to the Ceremonies and Government of the Church establisht or not establisht by his Majesties Royal Authority, and said that the refusals to obey he would prosecute to the blood.

20. That the said Earl in the 15 and 16 years of his Majesties Reign, and divers years past, laboured and endeavoured to beget in his Majestie an ill opinion of his Subjects, namely those of the Scottish Nation, and divers and sundry times, and especially since the Pacification made by his Majestie with his said Subjects of Scotland in Summer in the 15th year of his Majesties Reign, he the said Earl did enquire to perform, incite, and provoke his Majestie to an offensive war against his said Subjects of the Scottish Nation: and
and the said Earl by his Counsell, actions and
endeavours, hath been, and is a principal and chief
incendiary of the war and discord between his
Majesty and his Subjects of England, and the
said Subjects of Scotland, and hath declared and
advised his Majesty that the demands made by
the Scots in their Parliament, were a sufficient
cause of war against them; The said Earl having
formerly expressed the height and rancor of his
mind, towards his Subjects of the Scottish Na-
tion, viz, the 15th day of October in the 15th
year of his Majesties Reign, he said that the Na-
tion of the Scots were Rebels and Traitors, and
he being then about to come to England, did
further say, that if it pleased his Matter (meaning
his Majesty) to send him back again, he would
root out of the said Kingdom, (meaning the King-
dom of Ireland) the Scottish Nation both root
and branch. (Some Lords and others who had
taken the said Oath in the precedent article only
exempt.) And the said Earl hath caused di-
vers of the Ships and Goods of the Scots to be
stayed, seized and molested, to the intent to let
on the said War.

21. That the said Earl of Strafford shortly
after his Speeches mentioned in the last prece-
dent Article, to wit, in the 15th year of his Ma-
jesties Reign came into this Realm of England,
and was made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and
continued his Government of that Kingdom by
a Deputy; At his arrival here, finding that his
Majesty had with much widome and goodness
compold the troubles in the North, and had
made a pacification with his Subjects of Scot-
lanl; he laboured by all means to procure his
Majesty to break that Pacification, incensing his
Majesty against his Subjects of that Kingdom,
and the proceedings of the Parliament there; And
having incensed his Majesty to an offensive War
against his said Subjects of Scotland by Sea and
by Land, and by pretext thereof to raise money
and forces for the maintenance of that War, he
counsell'd his Majesty to call a Parliament in
England, yet the said Earl intended, if the said
Proceedings of that Parliament should not be
such as should stand with the said Earl of Straf-
ford's malicious designs, he would then procure
his Majesty to break off the same, and by wares
of force and power to raise moneys upon the said
Subjects of this Kingdom.

And for the encouragement of his Majesty to
hearken to his advice, he did before his Majesty
and his Privy-Council then sitting in Council,
made a large Declaration, that he would serve
his Majesty in any other way, in case the Par-
liament should not supply him.

22. That in the month of March before the
beginning of the last Parliament, the said Earl of
Strafford went into Ireland, and procured the
Parliament of that Kingdom to declare their as-
fittance in a War against the Scots; and gave
directions for the raising of an Army consisting of
5000 Foot, and 1000 Horse, being for the
most part Papists as aforesaid, and confederating
with one Sir George Ratcliffe: did together with
him the said Sir George, treacherously conspir'd
to employ the said Army for the mine and destruc-
tion of the Kingdom of England, and of his Ma-
jesties Subjects, and of altering and subverting
the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom. And
shortly after the said Earl of Strafford returned
into England, and to fundry persons declared his
opinion to be, that his Majesty should first try this
Parliament here, and if that did not supply him
according to his occasions, he might then use his
Prerogative as he pleased, to levy what he need-
ed, and that he should be acquitted both of God
and man, and if he took some other courses to sup-
ply himself, though it was against the will of his
Subjects.

23. That upon the 13th day of April last,
the Parliament of England met, and the Com-
mons House (then being the supreme representa-
tive body of all the Commons in the Kingdom, did
according to the trust reposed in them, enter into de-
bate and consideration of the grievances of
this Kingdom, both in respect of Religion, and
the publick liberty of this Kingdom, and his Ma-
jesty referring chiefly to the said Earl of Straf-
ford and the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury the or-
dering and disposing of all matters concerning
the Parliament: He the said Earl of Strafford with
the assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did pro-
cure his Majesty by sundry Speeches and me-
ssages, to urge the said Commons House to enter
into some resolution for his Majesties supply for
maintenance of his War against his Subjects of
Scotland, before any course were taken for relief
of the great and professing grievances, wherewith
the Kingdom was then afflicted; whereupon a
demand was then made from his Majesty of 10
Subsidies for the release of Ship-money only;
and while the said Commons then assembled
(with expriessions of great affection to his Ma-
jesties Service,) were in debate and consideration
of some supply before resolution by them
made; He the said Earl of Strafford, with the
help and assistance of the said Arch-Bishop, did
procure his Majesty to dissolve the last Parlia-
ment upon the 5th day of May last. And upon
the same day, the said Earl of Strafford did tre-
cherously, falsely and maliciously endeavour to
incence his Majesty against his having and faith-
ful Subjects, who had been members of the said
House of Commons, by telling him, that they had
 sued to supply him; and afterwards in the fame
moneth, did treacherously and wickedly counsell and advise his Majesty to this effect viz, That having tried the affection of his people, he was loote and abdoluted from all rules of gow-
ment, and was to do every thing that power would
admit, and that his Majesty had tried all waies,
and was refused, and should be acquitted both of
God and man; And that he had an Army in Ire-
land (meaning the Army above-menconcded con-
fining of Papists his Dependents as aforesaid,) which he might employ to reduce this Kingdom to
obedience.

24. That in the same moneth of May, he the
said Earl of Strafford, falsely, treacherously
and maliciously published and declared before others
of his Majesties Privy Council, That the Par-
liament of England had forsaken the King, and
that in denying to supply the King, they had giv-
en him the advantage to supply himself by other
waies, and divers times did malitiously, falsely
and wickedly publish and Declare, That seeing
the Parliament had refused to supply his Majesty
V V V
in the ordinary and usual way, the King might provide for the Kingdom in such ways as he should think fit, and that he was not to suffer himself, nor the Commons, to be muzzled by the frivolities of the People.

And having so maliciouslyandered the said Earl of Strafford, he did with the help and advice of the said Arch-Bishop of Canterbury and the Lord Finch late Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, cause to be printed and published in his Majesties name a false and scandalous Book, entituled, His Majesties Declaration of the Causes that moved him to dissolve the last Parliament, full of bitter and malicious invective, and false and scandalous aspersions against the said House of Commons.

25. That not long after the dissolution of the said last Parliament, viz. in the month of May and June, the said Earl of Strafford did advise the King to go on rigorously in levying of the Ship-money, and did procure the Sheriffs of several Counties to be sent for, for not levying thereof, divers of which were threatened by him to be tried in the Star-Chamber, and afterwards by his advice were tried in the Star-Chamber for not levying the same, and drivers of his Majesties Levying Subjects were sent for, and imprisoned by his advice about that and other illegal payments.

And a great Loan of 10,000,000, was demanded of the City of London, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and the Sheriffs of the said City were often sent for to the Council-Table to give an account of their proceedings in raising of Ship-money, and furthering of that Loan, and were required to certify the names of such Inhabitants of the said City as were fit to lend, which they with much humility refused to do, he the said Earl of Strafford did use these or the like speeches, viz. That they deserved to be put to fine and banishment, and that no good would be done with them, till an example were made of them, they were laid by the heels, and some of the Aldermen hanged up.

26. That the said Earl of Strafford by wicked Counsel having brought his Majestie into excessive charges without any just cause, he did in the month of July last (for the support of the said great charges) counsel and approve two dangerous projects.

1. To seize upon the Ballion, and the money in the Mint.

2. And to embase his Majesties coin with the mixtures of brass.

And accordingly he procured one hundred and thirty thousand pounds, which was then in the Mint, and belonging to divers Merchant-strangers and others to be seized on and stayed to his Majesties use: And when divers Merchants of London owners of the said Ballion came to his house to let him understand what great mischief that course would produce here and in other parts, and what prejudice it would be to the Kingdom by discrediting the Mint, and hindering the importation of Ballion; He the said Earl told them that the City of London dealt undutifully and unthankfully with his Majestie, and that if any hurt came to them, they might thank themselves; and that it was the course of other Princes to make use of such moneys to serve their occasions.

And when in the same month of July, the Officers of his Majesties Mint came to him, and gave him divers reasons against the embasing of the said money, he told them, that the French King did use to lend Commissions of Horse with Commissions to search into men's estates, and to peruse their accounts, that so they might know what to levy of them by force, which they did accordingly levy: and turning to the Lord Conway said, That this was a point worthy his Lordships consideration.

27. That in or about the month of August last, he was made Lieutenant General of all his Majesties forces in the Northern parts against the Scots, and being at York, did in the month of September by his own authority, and without any lawful warrant, impose a Tax on his Majesties Subjects in the County of York of 8d. per diem for maintenance of every Soldier of the Trained Bands of that County, which sums of money he caused to be levied by force: And to the end to compel his Majesties Subjects out of fear and terror to yield to the payment of the same, he did declare that he would commit them that refused the payment thereof, and the Soldiers should be fabled out of their Estates, and they that refused it, were in very little better condition than guilty of High Treason.

28. That in the month of September and October last, he the said Earl of Strafford being certified of the Scots Armies coming into the Kingdom, being then Lieutenant General of his Majesties Army, did not provide for the Town of Newcastle as he ought to have done, but suffered the same to be lost, that to he might the more incense the English against the Scots: And for the same wicked purpose, and out of a malicious desire to engage the Kingdoms of England and Scotland in a National and bloody War, he did write to the Lord Conway the General of the Horse, and under the said Earls command, that he should fight with the Scotch Army at the passage over the Tyne, whatsoever should follow, notwithstanding that the said Lord Conway had formerly by letters informed him the said Earl, that his Majesties Army then under his command, was not of force sufficient to encounter the Scots, by which advice of his, he did contrary to the duty of his place betray his Majesties Army then under his command, to apparent danger and loss.

After these Articles were read, the Earls answer thereto which he had delivered in writing into the Lords house was also read, and this took up the time till two in the afternoon: at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the Tower, with orders to be there again the next day at eight in the morning.

On Tuesday He came accompanied as before, and cited in the Exchequer-Chamber till nine in the morning, at which time the Court being late, and the King, Queen and Prince within their Closets, the Earl was brought in.

Mr. Pym one of the Protectors first added aggravating the charge which was the day before read with many superlative expressions.

The main points whereof were, viz. That it was a Treason...
"Treaty far beyond the reach of words, that a
Native Subject and a Peer of England, the
prime Governor of Ireland, the Commander
of his Majesties Forces, and a Protestant in
Religion, should have in such an impious and
grotesque manner recomposed his Majesties fa-
vors, abused his goodness, and drawn all his
 Dominions into hazard and peril of their Reli-
gion, Lives, Goods and Privileges: That one
of these faults alone had been enough and too
much for the fulfilling of the exorbitance and
wickedness of any one man, and what punish-
ment could be thought upon sufficient to expi-
are crimes of such a transcendent nature.
The Earl with great moderation spake in his
own defence to this purpose: He modestly re-
counted his services done to the King and
"Crown of England, and his endeavors for ad-
 vance as well of the nation as commodity
both of England and Ireland; and as to Ire-
land he said, There had been more Pari-
saments there since his Government than in
fifty years before, that he had opposed divers
projects and Monopolies, and improved the
King's revenue from 5000 lb. per Annum., to
12000 lb. per Annum. That he had restor-
ed the Churches, and suppressed the
Oathsworn, established obedience to Royal Au-
thority, and restrained the tyranny and usurpa-
tion of Great ones over the Commons, yet for
the effect of all these actions, he repented
himself the most weak and meanest instru-
ment.
Mr. Pym after the clofe of his Speech, told
the Lords, there were three new Articles that
the Commons had adjourned to his Charge by an
after-search, and moved that he might pretend
reply to the same: Whereunto the Earl an-
swered, It was very strange that after the clofe of
the Procels, and where matters were come to
be tried and examined by proofs, that any new
Charge should be given in, yet left he should
seem to decline the maintenance of his own
innocence, and the just defense of his honor, he
gave him that he was willing to hear them, and live
them as altered, provided that a convenient time
might be allowed to make his replies to them.
But Mr. Pym excepted against this, and told them,
That the House of Commons did conceive it
to be dangerous to grant any further time on this
occasion: Upon this importance, the Lords
did retire themselves, and after a little time of day
returned, and declared, that they had found the
Earl fute to be equitable in defiring further time
for answering, yet seeing the Articles themselves
neither for number nor weight seemed to be of
that importance, but that he might furnish out a
present answer, they thought it fitting to grant no
delay. The Earl then interest them to pardon the
weakness of his extemporary answers, de-
ried to hear the Articles read, which were there.
1. That he had within these two years with-
drawn 50000 lb. relating from the Exchequer in
Ireland, and imposed it to his own private uses.
2. That in the beginning of his Government,
the Garrisons in Ireland had been maintained by
the English Treasury.
3. That he had advanced Popish and in-
famous persons, as the Bishop of Waterford and o-
thers to the prime Dignities of the Church of
Ireland.

The Earl begins to make his an-
defence.

To which the Earl an-
swers.

Pym offers
three new
Articles a-
gainst him.

Pym excepts
against the
Earl's an-
swer.

The Lords
retire a
while and
return,
and grant
him no fur-
ner time.

The Arti-
cles are
then read.
were either in expression or action. The ex-
pressions were:

1. "That in the presence of the Justices some-
ting at 7 o'clock, some were all for Law, but
they should find, That the Kings little finger
should be heavier than the loyals of the Law.

To this, being the substance of the second Ar-
ticle, the Earl replied, "That having spoken suf-
ficiently before to his justification in general,
he would, by their Lordships favour add these
few words, That it did strike him to the heart,
tobe accused of such a wicked crime, and that
fuch honourable persons were the Compa-
nions of his youth, and with whom he had spent
the bett of his days, should now rise up in judg-
ment against him; yet he thanked God for it,
It was not guilt but grief, that so much troubled
him; he added, That it was a wonder how he
had gotten strength sufficient in such infortu-
ity of body and anguish of mind, to collect his
thoughts and say anything at all for himself:
"But the Almighty God who knows him to be
innocent, had furnished him with some abilities
of giving testimony to the truth and a good Con-
sience: He therefore intreated, that if either
in judgment or memory, he should at any time
fail, it might be imputed to his great weakness:
And although the Gentlemen his Accusers
should seem more ready in their Accusatins,
than himself in his defence, that it might not
prejudice his cause, who in very unequal terms,
had to do with learned and eloquent Lawyers,
bred up a long time and inured to such judi-
ciary pleadings, &c. whose Rhetoric he doubted
not might prevent many things to their view in
a multiplying Glass; he told them farther, that
for these many years he had been weary of Pub-
lic like service, and that now it was his resolution
after he had vindicated his honor to retire him-
telf, and to enjoy his much longed-for priva-
ty: And yet he could not but say, it had been
his hearty wish and desire to have rather vo-
'lluntarily resigned his places of honor like a ripe
fruit fallen from the tree, than to be violently
pulled from thence as a fruitful and unprofit-
able withered branch.

"To the charge of Treason, he said, That un-
der favour he conceived, although all the Ar-
ticles contained in his impeachment were ven-
rished against him, yet they could not all amount
to Treason, neither simple nor accumulative,
for, said he, I do not understand by what in-
terpretation of Law, the diversion of Justice
can be called a subversion of the same, or the
exceeding of a Commission, the Upraration of
a new Power: To the particular allledged, he
replied, that his words were inverted, for that
his expression was, That the little finger of the
Law, (if not supported by the Regal Power
in granting Pardons for the Penalties of the
same) was heavier than the Kings loyals. That
this was his expression, he verified.

1. First by the occasion, for he spake the words
a long time since to some who had been impre-
tioned at Cork, and were then by the Kings fa-
vorite at liberty, whom he incited to thank-
fulness towards his Majesty by this expres-
sion.
2. "Secondly, by Sir William Pennymason,
Member of the House of Commons who was
there present and heard the words: which Sir
William declared to be true.

In the examination of the witnesses against
him to this Article, he convinced one of them of
untuth by interrogating, where he was when the
speech was heard, and how far distant from him,
which the man replied, He was twelve yards
from him: the Earl then said, It was impossi-
ble for him to hear a man three yards off, by
reason of a deafness he had, which held him
fourteen years, which being found true, the
witness was rejected.

Another witness Sir David Fawly was brought
against him, against whom he excepted as his
known and protest enemy, but that was not al-
lowed of, because in matters of Treason, a mans
enemy may witness against him pro Dottino Rege;
this was all that was done for that time.

On Thursday he appeared again, and the se-
cond expression in the third Article of the
Charge, was charged against him, viz.

That he had declared that Ireland was a Con-
quered Nation, and that the King may do with
them what he pleased: and speaking of the Char-
ters the former Kings of England made to the Ci-
y of Dublin, he said, They were nothing worth
of, but did bind the King no farther than he plead-

ed. This was aggravated as a prime note of his ty-
nannical will and disposition, that would permit
no Law to bind the Subject, but what himself
and such as he should appoint might draw by fi-
nitious informations from a gracious and well-
meaning Prince, and if this were admitted, the
whole power and liberty of the Republicke would
utterly be lost.

To this he replied, "That the first part of it
is not true; and to the second, That he had
said only, That the King was the Law-giver, but
which he hoped none could deny without in-
curring the crime of Treason; and that the
Kings sentence was a Law in matters not de-
termined by Acts of Parliament, which all but
dilatory Subjects would grant: prescribing with-
out that, it had been ever his endeavour to have
the liberty of the Subject, and the Royal Pre-
rogative follow both in one channel, knowing
that, if either of them crossed other, we could
expect nothing but a subversion of the Com-
mon-wealth, either by tyranny or rebellion:

"That the Prelativat was like the first; the li-
iberty of the Subject like the second Table,
either both or neither can be preferred: That
in his duty, he flood obliged, first to the King
as Gods Anointed, then in the second place to
his Country, if it did not cross the Regal
power: And therefore hoped that what he
had said was so far from being Treason, that he
thought a thousand such expressions would not
make up one Felony. This was all the pro-
ceedings of this day.

On Friday, two other expressions were urged
against him out of the 4th Article:

1. That he would not have Law or Law
Two ex-
preffions out
hers dispute or question any of his Orders.

2. In speaking of the Earl of Cork, he said,
he would make him and all Ireland know, to love
good against
him, as he had the Government, That any Act of State
there
The Reign of King Charles the First.

4. That he had a particular Warrant in his Commission for this power.
5. That in the Lord Mount-Norris his Case, he was commanded to execute the same by the Kings particular letter, both which he could not refuse.

To the second he said, he was not a Judge in the Tryal, but a party which appeared, in that he fact bare in the Court all the same of the Tryal, and gave him no assurance in it, and for further evidence of his being a party, he caused his Brother Sir George Wentworth in regard of interest of blood to decline all acting in the proues.

To the third he said, That he being not a Judge in this matter, the Court of War was to be answerable for their own proceedings, and that after a long reasoning he had heard them say, No delay could safely be granted in Marital Courts.

To the fourth he answered, That he was not in this answer to the third head.

2. That he was both party and Judge in Mount-Norris his caufe.
3. That he proceeded summarily in the matter.
4. That he had not heard the exceptions made by Mount-Norris against his Witnesses.

To the first he answered;
1. That all Armies have been, and must be governed by martial Law.
2. That there is a standing Army in Ireland, and therefore the case is all one in issue of Peace or War; And that the Army might be used if they should not be of Military Law, but were to expect remedy for the losing of a Martyr, or a Want of Obedience from the Common Law.
3. That it had ever been the practice of the Deputies, particularly of Wilmot, Faulkland, Chichester, Sir Coke himself, and therefore was no new thing brought in by him: This he proved both by the production of the military Ordinances, and by divers Witnesses who knew sentenches given in that kind by them.

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The Reign of King CHARLES the First.

To this he replied, without the least semblance of Palliation, Than at any time he had done An Act inferior to the House of Commons, he thought his whole life well spent, nor could they ever go great study to remand him, as to give Commission to that Gent. emans to express so much before that honourable Assembly, but wish'd, he said, if ever any such thing was done by him, he intended it might now be remonstrated, and sent to over-balance some slight and mean over-guard committed by him, which he hoped should never make him guilty of treason, unless it were treason for a man to have any wit and prudence than God and Nature had bestowed upon him. And so much for Saturday.

0. Monday the Court sat again, and the Earl appeared and was charged with the sixth Article, concerning the disposition of the Lord Mount-Norris of the Manor of 7 times, which the Protectors intirely with many arguments, saying this was an Act of the 7th of Henr. 6, which provides all matters to be determined by the ordinary Judges.

Against the late Proclamation of the King.

2. Against the praise of all Deputies before that time, wishing they added, that it was a tyrannical thing that could not be express'd, to exercise this power over the persons of the Peers of the Land and their Goods.

To this he replied, that for his part in matter of justice (under favour he spake it) he thought there was no distinction to be made between a Peer of the Land, and one of the Commons, except they did think that either for or against should do something, which had no place in him. He said, 1. that the Act of Henr. 6, answer'd its self sufficiently, both because it exceeded the Court of Requests (that and his proceedings were made else in Ireland, and as it makes an express reforma-
tion of the King's Provisions, which he saith was his Struggle, because he desired his Commission from the King, and that the Act was the most express warrant in the word for him. 2. That the King's Proclamation mentioned come not out in five years, wherefore he thought this hard to have a displeasure objected to him for a thing that was not in being, adding that he mistrust'd from his heart they would respect the Kings command and Commissions, with that tenderness of affection and obedience as he did his Proclamations: He then proved that the like course by summary proceedings before the Deputies of Ireland, was the constant practice of all Deputies that went before him, but nevertheless, he said, he was tender to exercise that power till the King (induced by the humble Remonstrance of the meaner sorts of people) had soj peremptory and upon just reasons commanded him, causing the King's letter in that behalf to be read.

3. That neither he nor they had ever given sentence or determined any thing concerning matters of inheritance, but only concerning violent interruptions, which was this cause in question, and which fell directly within a suit of Equity: And in deciding this controversy he had, he said, the Lord Chancellor, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to assist him, nor did he think the business till the Complainant by Petition had complained of delay of Justice in the Chancery, where the suit had long depended, & upon the proof exhibited in that Court, he made the Decree. He said moreover, the Nor-
tives would unwillingly be deliver'd of relief in this summary way of proceeding, because they had that dispatch in a day or two which the Common Law would not yield in so many years, that as to this matter charged on him, seeing he had done nothing therein but what was ordinary necesary and equi-
table, and the sentence just, be expedite rather thanks from the state than a charge for ill depart-
ment ; he likewise foresaw with that extremity and violence the Lord Mount-Norris had taken seizure of that piece of Land, and made the action to appear on his part very fast, and as last he concluded saying, That he had done no more in Ireland, than the Court of Requests in England equally doth, and that the Chancery Court in Ireland doth the same, and Lord Chief Justice never charged for such proceedings, though his power and authority was less than his. But the difference of the perfen and his authority (it seems) doth difference the matter. And this was the business on Monday.

On Tuesday March the 31st, he was charg'd by the 7th Article, to which he answered, that the Lord Dillon with others producing his Petition, according to a Proclamation on the behalf of his Maj's, the said Petition was quizz'd, upon which a cause was drawn and argued by Connel, and the judges delivered their opinions thereupon. But the Lord Dillon or any other was not bound thereby, nor put out of their posessions, but might have trysted the office, or otherwise been legally proceed, notwithstanding the said opinion. They then proceeded to the 8th Article concerning a Petition exhibited by Thomas Hibbert against the King by the 8th of Mar. last, which he had sign'd, and he was answer'd, that true it is he had once signed against the Lady Hibberts, and thought he had reason so to do, for the said Lady being discovered by fraud and con-

tamination to have bargained for lands of a great value for a small sum. And he denied that the said Lands were after sold to his wife, or that the Deputy of the Council board voted for the La-
dy, the contrary appearing by the sentence under the hand of the Clerk of the Council: which being true, he said, he might well threaten her with commit-
ments in cases he disbelieved the said Order; Neither had he any understandings with Sir Robert Meredith, for the Lady had her own land back from him, he also declar'd with what fraud and deceit the Lady had come to her Lands. After this Article they fell the same day upon the ninth, about the giving of Warrants to the Bishop of Durham and Cowes, for apprehending all such persons (and presenting them before the Council Table) as concerned the Ecclesiastical Order

This was aggravat'd as a new and Tyramical form of proceeding against the liberty of the Subject,
To this he replied:

First, He produced the Primate of Ireland, Arch-Bishop Utber’s testimony under his hand, (the being himself sick;) that the same cause had been urged in Ireland before, and that Bishop Montgomery, the Primate Predecessor in the Bishoprick of Meath had had the same Warrant.

Secondly, He proved the equity that such affiduities should be given to Churchmen, who otherwise because of Papers and Schismatics either to God or the King, would have no respect or obedience given them in that Kingdom.

Thirdly, He proved by two writings, that such Warrants were in use before time.

Fourthly, He said, He had never granted any but that one, and had presently within some few moons he could say the same in again; What (said he) was the Bishop of Down’s carriage in it, he had no reason to answer for; but he presumed the Bishop could give a satisfactory answer for himself when he Should be called in question, and to be concluded, That a matter so soft, so necessary, so confederary and practical before, he hoped should not be charged upon him as an introduction of a new and Tyrannical form of Government. And therefore submitted himself to the mercy of God, and the equity of his Peers in his Tryal thereon. And this was the work on Tuesday.

On Wednesday they charged him with the 12th Article, which was pressed hard upon him by Mr. Glyn, who said, That the Earl of Strafford having established an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government over the Lives, Linds and Liberties of the King’sSubjects, his next design was to make intimation upon the Crown it fell. That by applying to his own use, the publick Revenues he might be the more enabled to accomplish his disloyal and traitoroustraditions to which end having by a new Book of Rates enhanced the Customs he had gotten by advantage of a Lease from the Dutchers of Buckingham (which he procured for her far different from a former Lease to the Duke her Husband,) above twenty six thousand pounds yearly, which was a crime of a higher nature than those contained in the preceding Articles, because in those there was some color or pretext of Justice; here none; those in particulars, this in general; those against the Subject only, this against the King himself.

For the proof of the Charge, they produced the Lease of the Duke of Buckingham, which was read and compared with that Lease to the Dutchers of Buckingham (which the Earl hath now by alinement) and some differences were shewn arizing to the sum of 20000 l., in the Dukes Lease, the moiety only of concealed and forfeited goods were due to him: but the whole goods to the Dutchers in the Lease. After the King’s Excise of taxes did not pay customs in the Dukes Lease, in the Dutchers they did: Again, the Impost of the Wines (then belonging to the Earl of Carlisle) was not in the Dakes Lease, in the Dutchers it was: Lastly, Whereas the Earl of Strafford paid but 40000 l. per annum for the Customs, it was worth to him, they said, as was apparent by the Books of the Exchequer 400000 l. Witnesses were examined.

First, Sir James Hay, who deposed that the Earl of Carlisle had an advantage of 16000 l. per annum by his Lease of Wines.

Secondly, The Lord Ranleigh, who deposed that by the inspection of the Books of Accounts, he had found the Customs to be Anno 1636, thirty six thousand pounds. Anno 1637, 39000 ib. Anno 1638, 54000 ib. Anno 1639, 59000 ib.

With the Proofs they concluded the Charge; That notwithstanding the Lord Strafford pretend-ed a great measure of zeal and honesty in his Majesties service, yet it is evident, he had abused the trust put upon him, and by withdrawing to great sums of money from the Crown, had weakened the King, prejudiced the Subject of the protection they were to expect from him, and had been the cause that the extraordinary ways of Impost and Monopolies had been taken, for supplying of the Royal necessity: And that this Act therefore was not sought to be enough to make the Charge and Impeachment of High Treason laid against him.

The Earl replied, That he conceived he had given full satisfaction to all his critics brought against him, both his pretended arbitrary Government, nor would be spend time in vain repetition, and for the present Article, though in all parts it were granted to be true, yet he could not perceive by what interpretation of Law it could imply the least tit of Treason, and when it should be directly charged upon him as a point of Misdemeanour, Oppre-ffion, or Felony he made no doubt, but he should be very able to clear himself abundantly in that point also, yet left any prejudice might stick to his Honor by those bold assertions; He was content to step so far out of the way as to give answers.

First, That it concerned him nothing, what particulars in the Lease had pass betwixt the King and the Dutchers of Buckingham; or whether the had obtained more ease conditions than the Duke her Husband, especially seeing the fame was granted some years before his coming to that Government; yet thus much he could say, that the Dutchers had paid thirty thousand pounds fine, and therefore no marvel that her yearly Rent was no less.

Secondly, For the Book of Rates (wherein in the chief matter of oppreffion and grievances seemed to rest,) the same was there establisht by the Deputy Falkland; Anno 1638, three years before his going into Ireland, and therefore it was exceeding strange in his apprehension, how that could rise up in judgment against him.

Thirdly, That he had his interest in the Customs by affiliation of a Lease from the Dutchers of Buckingham, which was granted before his Government, and he never heard it before he alleged as a crime of Treason, for a man to make a good bargain for himself.

Fourthly, That not of his own accord, but at the Kings special command, he had undergone that Charge, on hopes that upon the enquiry into the worth thereof, the Customs might be improved for the benefit of the Crown, and the true value thereof discovered; this he proved by the Lord Cuttington and Six Arabus Ingram.

Fifthly, That when a new Book of Rates
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was recommended to him by the Council-board of England, in the time of his Leafe, which might have been of great advantage to him, he did prefer rather a fear he had, that the trade of Ireland might thereby be discouraged, before his own commodity, as he presumed in all humility to refate the said Leafe, and tendered his reasons thereof to the Kingdom and Council-board of England.

Sixthly, That he never understood that the Customs might arise to those great sums allleged, but though they should yet his advantage was but small; for from the fourteen thousand pounds he paid to the King into eight parts, five parts thereof was yearly given in upon Oath (and that procured first by himself) at the Exchequer-board, the other three parts was divided amongst four of them, which were equal sharers in the Leafe, granted before his time: And therefore he was confident, he said, the Lords would rather take his acculation in this Article as an exercise of Rhetorick in the Gentlemen his Adversaries, than as a thing spoken in good earnest by them.

The same day the 11th. and 12th. Articles were charged against him. In the 11th. concerning Licences for exportation of Pipe-taxes, he answered, That Pipe-taxes were prohibited in King James's time, and not exported but by licence, paying 5l. 8d. a thousand, and that he had not raised to much thereby to himself as his Predecessors had done for such Licences. The 12th. Article was more inquitled on, and in the opening of it, Mr. Glyn said, That for the further advancement of his tyrannical and avaricious designs, he had of himself establisht a Monopoly for the restraint of Tobacco in that Kingdom; where they offered five particulars to the proof:

1. That he had restrained the importation of Tobacco.
2. That in the mean time he had brought in a great quantity himself, and sold the same at exorbitant prices.
3. That of Tobacco already imported, he had forbidden any to be sold, but what was first sealed by his Officers.
4. That upon a pretended disobedience, he had punished a great number of people by seizure, imprisonments, fining, whipping, pillory and such like cruel and inhuman usages.
5. That by these means he had gained 10,000l. yearly.

For proof thereof they produced:
1. The Proclamation for restraining Tobacco, which was read.
2. The Proclamation about Sealing the same.
3. Some witnesses who declared that ships had been restrained from landing Tobacco.
4. Others who had known some Tobacco seized on as forfeited.
5. A Remonstrance of the House of Commons in Ireland, declaring that the Earl had sold 500 Tuns of Tobacco, which sold at 2s. 6d. per pound, amounts to an hundred thousand pounds. This was concluded the Charge. That he had shed the Blood of the Kings Ligue people, and had by this one point of opposition raised greater

er sums to himself than all the Kings Revenues in that Kingdom extended unto, and therefore was liable to the crime of Treason, for troubling the peace, and bereaving the people of their goods, who were intuited into his care, and Government.

The Earls Reply to this was:
1. That long before his coming to Ireland, the same restraint had been of Tobacco, and the same Impost of eighteen pence per pound, enjoyed by King James.
2. That at that time the Treasurers for this Commodity paid but 20l. a year to the Crown for the Impost, but now 400l.
3. That the Parliament in Ireland 1628, had Petitioned to have the Impost fixed by an Act of State for ever afterwards as a part of the Revenue of the Crown.
4. That he had express command from the King for refusing those Proclamations, and therefore could not imagine more danger in them, than in others for Monopolies in England in the worst sense.
5. That the Proclamations were sent forth not by himself alone, but by the whole Council-board of Ireland.

For the Proclamations, he told them, 'As his own opinion (and if he failed in it) he humbly craved pardon, and hoped that it should not be Treason to have no more judgement than God had bestowed on him,) that the King was induced by God with a power to make temporary Laws, and caufe the same to be promulgated for the good of his people, upon sudden emergent occasions, to which Laws, Obedience is due, till they be abrogated by ensuing Parliaments: that he restrained no man from importing Tobacco, who was willing to pay the appointed Impost; that for his part, he had never traffiquted in all his time therein, nor had any part with the Contractors: And if any Tobacco was seized on, it was in contempt of the Proclamations; and if any person were confedered to the Purloins or whippings, it was for known piracy, the ordinary and usual punishment in such a case: Concerning the Tobacco imported, he said, No consideration was taken of the prices given for the Tobacco beyond Seas of the King's Revenue of 4,000l. of the Merchants pay, and danger in bringing the same home; for his part, if any advantage were made, surely it was not his, nor could be annual every Contract or Leafe made by the King: And therefore seeing his interest was none, he had done nothing but at the Kings direction, and at the advice of the Council-board; since the same Impost was in King James's time, and Petitioned for by themselves in Ireland; he hoped his carriage in the business should be so far from a crime of Treason, that it should rather be thought no crime at all.

So much for Wednesday.

On Thursday he was charged with the 13th Article, to which he made this ensign answer:

That he did endeavour to advance the Manufacture of Linnen rather than of Woolen, to the 13th Article, and because the last would be the greater detriment to England; That the Priests of Ireland, the Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor Leflie, and the Lord Monte-Norris all of the Council,
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4. and subscribers of the Proclamation were liable to the charge as himself: That the reducing of that Nation by Orders of the Council to the English customs from their more savage usage, as drawing Horsey by their tails, etc., had been of former practice: that the project was of soil avail to him, as he was the worst for the Manufacture, thirty thousand pounds at least by the Looms he had set up at his own charge: As for the Warrants that were issued out to seize upon goods, he affirmed the same to be necessary, because there ought to be no contempt of Proclamations: but that any part did accrue to him, he fully denied: And if any rigor was used in the execution, he said, Not he, but the Officers were to answer for it, for this might happen in the most just and necessary commands, nor was there ever any complaint presented to him of any such matter.

The same day they proceeded upon the later part of the 15th Article, waving the 14th and the former part of this, Mr. Jeffry Palmer urged upon him in these or like words: That the Earl having by a Tyrannical power inverted the ordinary course of Justice, and given Sentence upon the Lands and Goods of the King's Subjects under pretence of disobedience to his Orders, in prosecution whereof, he had laid Soldiers upon the same to their utter ruine: This Article, he said, of itself did contain an individual Treason, that is to say, if there were more than this, it were more than sufficient to convince him of his impeachment: two things were offered in proof:

1. The Testimony of one Savil a Sergeant at Arms, who was called forth, and produced the Copy of a Warrant, upon which he had seffed Soldiers.

2. He began to name some Statutes, by which such seffing was Treason. But before he went on to that, the Earl desired to be heard against Savil testimony, and said, he hoped their Lordships would not upon an Article of such importance admit of the Copy of an Order: he said, No Transcript but an Original can make fafe before the Kings Bench in a matter of Debt, and therefore he thought in matter of life and death before the Supreme Judicatory, less would not be allowed off: Moreover, if Copies be at any time received, they are such as are given in upon Oath to have been compared with the Originals, but this was not so.

His answer to the latter part of the fifteenth Article.

Dr. hereupon replied, that this Order ought to be admitted, since it was produced by the Officer himself, who had known it, having executed the same.

The Earl answered, 'That was the best argument he could use why it should not be admitted: for (said he) Mr. Savil may be charged with Treason, for seffing men of war upon the Kings Subjects, he hath nothing for his defence but a pretended warrant from me: Now what he swears to my prejudice is to his own advantage, nor can a man by any equity in the world be admitted to testify against another.' In such justification this answer seemed so weighty to the Lords, that they rofe and went up to their House; and after an hour's stay, they returned, and declared that after much deliberation, they had resolved, that this Copy should not be admitted, and willed them to proceed to other proofs: which after a little pause they did.

1. The Lord Ranalagh affirmed that he heard of such a Warrant, and knew sometimes three, sometimes five Soldiers billeted by it.

2. Mather Clarke declares the very same.

3. Another Deposed, that he had seen such a Warrant under the Deputies hand and seal; and so much for the proof.

For the Statutes alleged one of Ed. 3. 6. that whosoever should carry about with them English Enemies, Irish Rebels, or Hooded men, and carry them upon the Subject, should be punished as a Traitor. Another of Hears. 6. 7. That whosoever should cause Men of War, in his Majesties Dominions, should be thought to make War against the King, and punished as a Traitor.

The Earl's Reply was,

'That in all the course of his life, he had intended nothing more than the preservation of the Earl, the lives, goods and welfare of the King's Subjects, jefts, and that he dared protest, that under no proofs.

Deputy, more than under himself, had there been a more free and uninterrupted course of Justice.

To the charge he answered,

1. 'That the Councel of Ireland differ'd his answer exceedingly from the Councels of England, as Charge.

2. That even in England he had known Soldiers preffed upon men, by the Presidents of York and Wales, in case of known and open contempt, and that both in point of Ouatlawy and Rebellion, and also even for fame of debt, between party and party, there is nothing more ordinary than these ceilings to this day in Scotland, whereby the chief house of the Owner is seiz'd upon.

3. That to this day hath been nothing more usual in Ireland than for the Governors to appoint Soldiers to put all manner of Sentences in Execution, which he proved plainly to have been done frequently, and familiarly exercised in Grandisons, Fauls, Landes, Chiufes, Coares, and all preceding Deputies times.

And had even been done for Outlaws for the Kings debts in the Exchequer, of collections of Contribution money, and (which comes home to the point) for small sums of money between party and party; so that he merervied gain from or with what boldness it could be called an Arbitrary Government lately brought in by him.

To this the Lord Dillow, Sir Adam Lefter, and Sir Arthur Teringham depo'd: the last of whom told, that in Faulskland's time he knew twenty Soldiers seffed upon a man for refusing to pay fifteen shillings flatting.

4. That in his instructions for executing his Commission, he had express warrant for the same, as were in the instructions to the Lord Faulskland before him, both of which were produced and read.

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5. That
5. That although all these Presidents were not, yet it were not possible to govern the Kingdom of Ireland otherwise, which had been from all times accustomed to such summary proceedings.

6. That no Testimony brought against him, can prove that ever he gave warrant to that effect; And for the deeds of the Sergeant at Arms, he did conceive himself to be answerable for it.

As for the Acts of Parliament, he had referred it to the dispute of his Lawyers, but was content to say thus much for the present.

1. That it is a ground in the Civil Law, that that where the King is not mentioned, there he cannot be included. But (with all distance to his faced person be it spoken) he conceived himself to be in his Master the Kings place (for to his Comission did run) in that Kingdom of Ireland.

2. The words in the Statute are not applicable to him, for God knows, he never went about in Perfon to lay Souldiers upon any of the Kings Subjects.

3. That the Kings own Souldiers, requiring in a Customary way, obedience to his Orders, could in no construction be called, Irish Rebels, English Enemies, or Hooded men.

4. That the use and custome of the Law, was the best interpreter thereof, and for that he had already spoken enough.

5. That it favoured more of prejudice then conscience to start out such an Old Statute against him and none others, (though culpable of the same fact,) to the overthrow and ruin of him and his Potesty.

6. That (under favour he conceived it) for any Irish Custome or upon any Irish Statute, he was to be judged by the Peers of Ireland.

7. That Statute of what force forever was repealed.

1. By the 10th of Henr. 7, where it is expressly declared nothing shall be reputed Treason hereafter, but what is so declared by the present Statute, now not a word is there of any such Treason.

2. By the 11th of Queen Elizabeth, where expressly power is given to the Deputy of Ireland to ceffe and lay Souldiers, although the same be reputed Treason in any others.

To the Statute of Henr. 6, he replied,

That a tender answer might serve, he hoped that no man would think him so inconsiderate to war against the King of Britain and Ireland, by the setting of five Souldiers: That he had been charged by many for taking Arms for the King, but to that time never for taking Arms against him; And that he heartily wished that no man in all his Majefties Dominions had more prattices with Rebels and Rebellious designs than himself. So much for Thursday.

At the close he defined the intermission of a day, that he might recollect his spirits & strength against the next time of charge, and with much difficulty obtained rest till Saturday.

On Saturday they proceeded to the 16th Article, which Mr. Palmer charged thus: That the Lord of Strafford having establi {ed a Tyrantical and Independent authority, by giving summary Decrees and Sentences, had deprived the subject of all just remedy; for in that Kingdom there was no supreme to himself to whom they might appeal: And left their just grievances might be made known to his Majesty, he had obtained a restraint, that no complaint should be made of injustice or oppression done there, till the first address had been made to himself, and that no person should come out of that Kingdom but upon license obtained from himself.

To which the Earl replied to this effect.

That the Deputy Fawkland had brought the same Proclamation, That the same restraint was contained in the Statute of 25 Henr. 6, upon which the Proclamation was founded: That he had the Kings express warrant for the Proclamation. That he had also power to do it by the Comission granted to him; and that the Lords of the Council and the Justices not only yielded, but pressed him unto it. That it was done upon just cause, for had the Ports been open, divers would have taken liberty to go to Spain, to Downey, Rhemes or St. Overt, which might have proved of dangerous and mischievous consequence to the State. That the Earl of Desmond stood at the time of this restraint charged with Tresfon before the Council of Ireland for prafticing against the life of one Sir Valentine Coke. That the Lord Roch was then a Prisoner for debt in the Castle of Dublin, and therefore incapable of a licence; That he was not fined for coming over without licence, but for several contempt s against the Council-board in Ireland, and that in his sentence he had but only a casting voice, as the Lord Keeper in the Star-Chamber: He concluded, that he hoped the least suspicion of Tresfon could not accrue to him from these actions: and for oppression or misdemeanor when it should be laid to his charge, he made no doubt but he was able to answer it.

The 17 and 18 Articles were waved, and on the close of the day Mr. Whitside charged him with the 19th Article, laying, That he did not only Tyrannize over the bodies, but also over the conveniences of men, and to that purpose did contrive and frame a new and unusual Oath enjoyned to the Scots in Ireland, and because some of tendernesse of conscience did refuse to take the same, he had fined them in great sums of money, banished a great number from that Kingdom, called all that Nation Traitors and Rebels, and laid if ever he returned home from England, he would root them out flock and branch.

For proof of this,

1. Sir James Montgomery was produced, who declared at large how that Oath was contrived.

2. Sir Robert Maxwell of Ochyarden who spoke to the same purpose.

3. Sir John Clowworthy, who declared that a great number had fled the Kingdom for fear of that Oath.

4. One Mr. Samuel, who deposed that upon the 10th of October 1638, he heard the Deputy say these Words, That if he returned, he would root them out flock and branch.

They
They concluded, That this was one of the chiefest crimes he had done against the Priviledge and Liberty of the Subject.

The Earl replied: "That every new Article acquainted him with a new Trea

or; that if he had done any thing in all his life acceptable to the King, and Country, he conceived it to be this: And to these particulars he an
tered in this purpose.

1. "He defined the Lords would call to mind the condition of those times, no man (pointing to my Lord Steward) knows better than your Lordship, who had in the expedition against the Scots, the chiefest place in his Majesties Service: I would be very sorry (said he) to rub old fores, especially seeing I hope things are in a fair way to a firm peace, and I wish that I may not be deceived, that is, that it may be so; only thus much I may say, we had then greater fears and apprehensions in Ireland, lest the Scots in that Kingdom (who were above 100000) might have joined with their Country-men for the diminution of our peace: and we detected a Treason of betraying the Castle of Knockfergy, to a great man in that Kingdom (whose name I now spare) by one Freeman, who upon the discovery was executed.

2. "By the Council-board in Ireland resolved to prescribe the Scots an Oath whereby they might declare their discontent to their Country-men proceedings, and oblige themselves to the Kings Service; But while we were about this, they of their own accord came to Dublin to Petition for it, and took it with a wondering derelv alacrity and free heartedness, so that it is a marvellous thing for any man to say it was invented or violently enjoyed by me.

3. "About the same time the same Oath, Verbum Verbo was, by the Council of England pre

scribed to the Scots at London and Elsewhere, which was no small encouragement to us in Ireland.

4. "I had (said he) which I never fhewed, because I had no need before this time, a special Warrant from the King, all written with his own hand to that effect: And when the King commands a matter not contrary to Law, truly, I (said he) do conceive it both contra-

to Law and Conscience, not to yield him all due obedience.

For the proof brought against him, there was nothing infifted on, to be of any moment but the words.

For the first words, "That he had called all the Nation Rebels and Traitors, He said,there was no proof at all, nor indeed could there be any, for I had said it (said he) I had been perfectly out of my wits, and he thanked God, such irrational speeches sild not to escape him: For I am assured that the King very much, because it was the Native Soil of our dread Sovereign, his Gracious Master, and because he knew a great part, yes (he hoped) the greatest part of them had been and ever will be at loyal and dutifal to the King as any other of his Subjects; and of those who had faberblished that unhappy Combination, he knew a great many had done it against their hearts and wills, and "would ever be ready upon occasion to remon-

strate the same, by adhering to the King's ser-
vie; so that this accusation was nothing but a wresting and perverting his words and meaning of purpose to make him odious, and irritate a whole Nation against him.

For other words they were proved only by one-witnefs, which could make no sufficient faith, and that witness too he could evince, if not of perjury, yet of a notable mistake; for he had sworn positively that he had spoken those words the 10th of October, whereas he came out of Ireland into England the 12th of Sep-
tember before, and was at London the 21st.

For those that had fled the Kingdom because of that Oath, he knew none such, and if they did, they fled into Scotland, which might suffi-
ciently argue their intention and resolutions:

for his part, if they were not willing to give that testimony of their Loyalty to their Prince, although he had known of their departure, he would have been very loth to have kept them against their wills, but should have been gladly rid of them, and have made them a "Bridge to be gone rather than to stay.

Upon Monday, Mr. Whistlock proceeded to the 20th Article, but said, because the matter was commitis naturae, they would join the fifth the next Articles together, because all of them tended to one period, to shew what bad design he had to have subdued the Kingdoms both of England and Scotland by force of Arms, to reduce them to that arbitrary Government he had lately intro-
duced into Ireland.

The Earl intrested they would proceed Article by Article as they did hitherto done, he said, five Articles were many, the matter weighty, his Memory treacherous, and his Judgment weak.

It was sharply replied by Mr. Glyn, that it doth not become the Prisoner at the Bar to prehend them in what way they should give in their evidence.

The Earl modestly answered, "That if he "stood in his place, he would crave the like fa-
vour, unless his abilities did furnish him with "more strength than he could find in himself, for "his part he was contented they should proceed "any way, always provided they would grant him "a competent time for replying.

Then Whistlock went on, and told the Lords, that somethings in those Articles concerned the Scotisb, something the English Nation, that which concerned the Scotisb he reduced to five heads.

1. "That the Deputy had said at the Council-

board, that the Scots demands contained suffi-
cient matter to perimade to an offensive War.

2. "That the same demands did strike at the Root and Life of Monarchical Government, and were only to be answered by the Sword.

3. "That he had caused some Scotisb Goods and Ships to be seizd on in Ireland.

4. "That he had engaged the Irfeh Parliament by their Declaration in that War against the Scots.

5. "That by all possible means he put bad thoughts and suspicions into his Majesty against his Scotisb Subjects, and laboured to make a Na-

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The quarrel between them and England: which, if the Kings Priety, and the Prudence of better States-men had not prevented, could not have been fooured up again without much blood.

Concerning England his speeches were either before, or after the Parliament.

1. Before his Creature and bosom friend Sir George Ratcliff, he had laid to Sir Robert King, when he was doubting how the King might have moneys to pay the Armies, that the King had 400000l. in his parti 30000 men in the field, and his (wold by his side, and if he wanted money afterwards, who would put him.

2. That his Brother Sir George Bowneworth had laid to Sir Robert Barrington, upon the dissolution of the last Parliament, that seeing the English would not grant supply to the King, it seems they were weary of their peace, and design to be conferred a second time.

3. That he himself upon a discourse with the Primate of Ireland, had said, That he was much of the mind of those English Divine, who maintained it lawful for a King, having tried the affection and benevolence of his people, and then denied their help, upon an inevitable necessity, and to prevent danger of the Kingdom, that he might use his Prerogative for his own supply, and the defence of his Subjects.

4. To the Lord Conway in a discourse he had laid, that if the Parliament (meaning the last Parliament) should not grant a competent supply, then the King was acquitted before God and man, and might use the Authority put into his hands.

5. He did say at the Councel-board, that if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and subsistence.

His expressions after the Parliament were two.

1. That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him, and that the King should not suffer himself to be overmastered by the stubbornnes, obstinacie, and stubborness of his people.

2. That if his Majestie pleased to employ Forces, he had none in Ireland, that might serve to reduce this Kingdom.

The Proofs of the Scots particulars were these:

1. The Earl of Traquair, who told them that when he gave in the demands of the Scots, he heard himself, That it was time for the King to put himself into a posture of War, but that first all the Council of England said the same as well as he. 2. That it was a double supposition, First, that the demands were truly given in; Secondly, that there was no other remedy left but Arms to reduce them.

2. The Earl of Morton testimony, being sick himself, was produced, and it was one and the same with the Article.

3. Sir Henry Vane was examined, who declared that he had heard the Earl advise the King to an offensive War, when his own Judgment was for a defensive.

4. The testimony of the Earl of Northumberland was produced, which was the very same with that of Sir Henry Vane.

5. The Lord Treasurer deposed the same with Traquair.

6. One Beane from Ireland deposed, that he had known ships seized on there, but by whose procurement or warrant he knew not.

To the Articles about England.

1. Sir Robert King, and the Lord Ranelagh, deposed the same, that they had heard Sir George Ratcliff speak those words in the Article.


3. The Lord Primate of Ireland Testimony, who was sick, was the same with the Article.

4. The Lord Conway deposed the same with the Article.

5. Sir Henry Vane deposed, he did hear those words laid at the Council-board, if the Parliament should deny to help the King, he would take any other way he could for his Majesties service and subsistence.

For the two expressions after the Parliament.

Sir Thomas Fermoy, the Lord Newburgh, the Earl of Bristol, and the Earl of Holland were examined to the first: but the testity they gave did not reach to prove the words.

And to the second, Sir Henry Vane was examined, who declared that he said either those words, or the like.

At this some of the Lords spake,

1. The Lord Savile, who desired of Sir Henry Vane to know whether he laid, their, or this, or that Kingdom, and withal said it was very hard to condemn a man for such pris circumstanccs.

2. The Earl of Southampton desired to know whether Sir Henry Vane would swear these words positively or no. Sir Henry said, positively either them, or the like. The Earl replied, that under favour thole, or the like could not be positive.

3. The Earl of Clare desired to know, what could be meant by this Kingdom; for his part, he said, he thought it meant of the Kingdom of Scotland, to which the word (this) might very well be relative, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the preceding discourse: And that he was the more ready to be of that opinion, because he could not see, by what Grammatical construction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce England, which neither then was, nor is now (God be thanked) out of the way of obedience, nor upon rebellious courses.

The Proctors at last concluded the Charge, that the words were no monstrous that to aggrieve them was to ally them, and therefore they would ignobly leave them to the Judgment of the Lords.

The Earls reply was:

"That though the heaping up of those Articles had put him to a great confusion, yet he would, endeavour to bring his Answer to the first and best method he could, and first he would reply to the Proof, then add something in general for himself, in what a hard taking and lamentable condition he was to have his private Divil courtesies, his intimate and bosom friends touch and fitted to the least circumstance, that he might seem guilty of that, which by God's sal-
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"To the Lord Treasurer: Depositions, he thought their proofs did not much stick upon him; for upon the supplications, Birth, that the demands were true: Secondly, that they were not justifiable: Thirdly, that no other course could prevail: He could not see what other advice he could possibly give the King, than to put himself into a posture of War, especially seeing that there was frequent reports of the Scots Invading or entering into England, neither was he of any other mind, than all the rest of the Council-board.

For that of Morison, he doth not positively remember the words, but if the demands were read, perhaps they would imply nothing less, and if so, how otherwise to be answered but by the Sword? All other means being first essayed which is ever to be tuped.

For Sir Henry Vane, and Northumberland, testimony about pervading of an offensive of War, He said, he remembered it very well, and thought it as fit for him to give his opinion for an offensive, as they for a defensive war: Opinion ons (said he) if they were attended with obtinacular or pertinacity, may make a Hereticck, but that they make a Traytor, I never heard till now, nor under favour shall I be unwilling to acknowledging to extinguish my weakness, and correct my Errors, whereas no man hath more, nor is more tenable of them, than my self; yet if that opinion of mine had been followed, it might perhaps have spared us some money, and some reputation too, of which we have been prodigal enough.

For the laft about the ships, it proves nothing, but what he would willingly confefs, viz. that some ships were there detained, and that by himself, and his own direction, as Vice-Admiral of Comynas, but it was at the Command of the Lord Admiral the Earl of Northumberland, and produced his Letter to that purpose.

To the English proofs, he marvelled much (he said) how Sir George Raceffer words could be put upon him; Sir George (though attainted to be his bosome friend) yet had thought of his own: No man (said he) can commit Treason by an Attorney, and should I by my friend Sir George as by a Proxy, it would be something strange.

For his Brother, he never knew him before so rafely, but that was nothing to him, except they could prove a nearer identity than nature had instituted, and that his Brothers words and his were all one; yet, whilst he was convinced, that his Brothers words might be very well understood of the Scots conquering England, but not at all of the Irish; and so he submitted with all his heart he had no mpkin something which is like the Prophet.

To the Primate's testimony (with all reverence to his integrity he is in favour he is by no means) and in Law can prove nothing: add to this (said he) that it was a private discourse between him and me, and perhaps spoken by me tendering gratia, and bow for this should be laid to a man charge, Let your Lordship judge.

This, in some degree, is against humanity itself, and will make the Society of men so dangerous and loathsome to us, that our dwelling houses will be turned to Cells, and our Towns to Deserts: That which God and Nature have bestowed upon us, are Tongues (for the greater comfort of unveiling our own conceptions, or creating the advice of wise and learned men) shall become to be scarers and burdens to us, by a curious and needleless fear: Yet if my words be taken (said he) with all that went before and followed after, I see no danger in them.

To the Lord Conway, I may reply the same, with this addition, that it is a very natural motion for a man to preserve himself, every Creature hath this privilege, and shall we deny it to man, provided this be done in a lawful, though in an extraordinary way; this grain of fault will be added to all my disservice.

To that of Sir Henry Vane, of offering me service to the King, I thank him for the intimation, and think he hath done me much honour thereby, but if he or any body else dost profess that his Majesty will employ me in any unprofitable enterprises, it shall think a better mode more liable to the Charge of Treason than my self.

And then he went on saying; To the first of the subsequent Testimonies, concerning that expression, That the Parliament had forsaken the King, and denied to supply him, &c. (pretended in the Charge against me, to be the same day of the dissolution of the Parliament, and urged as a consequence of malice in me, for having first advised the dissolution, and then endeavored to incense his Majesty against his people) though no testimony has yet proved the words, nor is it I hope, believed that I was the principal cause of the dissolution of the Parliament, yet I shall crave leave to relate the matters that occurred previous thereto.

Before I came to the Council-Table, it was proposed by the Lords to demand twelve Subsidies, and Sir Henry Vane was ordered to demand of me, but coming in the interim, I persuaded the Lords not to Vex it again, and refuse the debate; whereupon it was agreed, that if the Parliament would not grant twelve Subsidies, Sir Henry should descend to eight, and rather than fail or fix, but he not observing his infallibilities, demanded twenty only without abatement or going lower, so that the height of this demand, urged the Parliament to deny, and their denial moved his Majesty to dissolve the Parliament, whereof Sir Henry Vane, as I humbly conceive, was the chief occasion.

To that part of the testimony proved by Sir Henry Vane, That is, if his Majesty pleased to employ Forces, he had some in Ireland which would serve to reduce the Kingdom: He said to this purpose:

"This lies fore upon me, but to that which the Earl of Clarendon hath said already, give me leave to add this, That the testimony of one man is not a sufficient Witness, nor can a man be accused, much less condemned of Treason upon this: and for that read the Statutes of H. 7. 12. and of Ed. 6. 5. But to give you farther satisfaction, I shall declare all the Lords of the Council which were then present, may be examined, whether they heard those words or not, there were but eight present, with the Arch-Bishop, and Sir Francis Windebank: Sir Henry
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"Henry VIII. gives the Testimony, I deny it, for only remain. Upon this the testimony of the Lords was taken.

1. The Earl of Northumberland testimony was read, wherein was declared expressly, that he had never heard those words, nor any like them, but that he spake with great honour and regard of England to the King. But, would had never been preferable to this, for the Prerogative of the Crown and the Priviledge of the Subject went in one pace together, and that Parliaments were the happiest means to keep a correspondence between the King and people.

The very same was delivered by the Lord Treasurer, and the Lord Chancellor. 'Now, my Lords, (said he,) you may marvel how these words rested only on the ears of Sir Henry Vane, but my Lords, (said he) that I may remove all scruples from you, I will make it evident, that there was not the least intention that the 13th Army should set a foot in England; and then I hope you will conceive that I had no meaning to reduce this Kingdom.

This he made clear by the testimony of the Earl of Northumberland, the Oaths of Marquees Hamilton, Lord Cottington, Lord Treasurer, Sir Thomas Lucas, who only were private to that matter.

"For other of my words, my Lords, (said he) I define you would not take them by halves, if so, who should be free from Treason? Certainly if such a President take footing, misfortune shall be more troubled with Treason than with Common Law: Look therefore to the and the Law and contrary of my speeches, and you shall find the State of the Question clearly altered: The Antecedents were upon an absolute or inevitable necessity upon a present invasion, when the remedy of Parliament cannot be expected; the consequences to the Kingdom with accomplish afterwards to the Parliament: The Qualification too in a lawful, convenient and ordinary way, so far as the present necessity can permit. Add but these, and which of you are not of my mind? Is the King endowed with no power from the Law? Is he not Publicus insellor regni? stands it not in his hand to do something on present necessity?

And that these were his words, he then proved again, by the Marquees, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Cottington, Sir To. Bole, Termine.

My Lords, What I have kept to the last (said he) is this, and I would intreat you seriously to think of it. If there be a man, his bed, his house, his brother, his friends, (and that too after they have given an Oath of Secrecy) are to be rack'd to find out Treason against him? Let my misfortune, my Lords, be your advertisement, your wife Ancestors were glad to put the bands and limits to this Lion Treason, if you give it large scope of words to range into, he will at last pull you or yours all to pieces.

But my Lords, I never did think till now, that matter of opinion should be objected as matter of Treason.

"For first, Opinions are free, and men may argue both Pro and Con in all faculties without any stain of reputation, otherwise all consultations were vain.

2. I may be of another judgement, then I declare my self to be of opinion perhaps to gain better arguments for the maintenance of my own Grounds.

3. "Many and my self oftentimes have pronounced an opinion yet upon hearing better Judgements, have presently changed it.

4. We use to train our opinions too high, sometimes that we may meet in a just moderation with those whom we conceive in the other extremity to be too low.

5. "It is expressly commanded by the Stat. Httr. 6. 9. that though a man should say the King is not lawful Heir to the Crown, and may be deposed, yet he is not to be charged with Treason, but only with Felony, and I hope my Lords, those words are of a more transcendent and superlative nature than any alledged by me to be spoken; But, my Lords, said he, Lay it to your hearts: it must come to you, you and yours, your Politery are they whom God and Nature, Birth and Education, have fitted to beautifie the Royal Throne, and to sustain the weighty affairs of the Kingdom, If to give your Opinions in Political agitation shall be accounted Treason, who will be willing to serve the King, or what a Dilemma are you in, if being from Connellors you speak not your minds freely, you are convicted of Perjury, if you do, perhaps of Treason; what detriment, what injustice shall fall to the King and Kingdom?

If this be permitted: Which of you hereafter will adventure, yea dare adventure so much as to help by your advice, unless you be weary of your lives, your Estates, your Politery, your very honour; Let me never live longer than to see this confusion, ay I may say it, this inhumanity in England, for my part, my Lords, I here confess my self, I ever have, and ever shall speak my opinion freely in any thing that may concern the Honour and Safety of my Glorious King, or my Dear Country, though the Sword be two-edged, fearing him rather who killeth the Soul, than he whose power reacheth only to the body.

"Nor do I see how I am culpable of Treason, unless be for Treason for not being infallible, yet if be so, my Lords, you have this rag of mortality before you loaden with many infirmities, though you pull this into threads, yet there is no great loss, there may be perhaps a great gain; if I have seemed to have dared too far to give testimony to the World of an innocent counsel concerning words God, and resolute loyalty towards my Prince (which have ever been my only Pole-flax in the whole course of my life) and if by spilling of mine there he not a way found to trace out the blood of the Nobility, (which I hope ye Lords ships will look to) there will be no disadvantage at all suffered by the los of Me.

Tuesday was a day of Rest.

Upon Wednesday Mr. [whitlock] charged thus: That
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That the precedent Articles were of so high a consequence, and of so transcendent a nature, that nothing wanted to make up the perfect measure of the molt horrid Treason and monstrous attempt that ever by a Natvre was intended against his King and Country; But putting these designed projects into Execution, which had undoubtedly hapned to the subversion both of Church and State, had not the clemency and goodness of the Prince and the pity and carefulness of the well affected Peers timely foreseen and prevented the same, that full the Principles of Tyranny and Oppression had lodged within his bosom, and therefore had built forth into these expreftions and advices contained in the following Articles, where first they charged him in the 25th. with these

1. That he had advised the King to rigorous and unlawful execution of Ship-money.

2. That he had given Council, that if the Sheriffs should deny their best inducements and afliffance to that Effect, they should be sent for and fired by the Star-chamber and Imprisonment.

3. That when the Alderman of London had in all humility presented the caufes why the Ship-money could not be collected amongst them, and had given in their reasons why they refused to give a lift of their names within their City, who were able to afford the Loan-money, He in a contemptuous and tyrannical manner in the face of the Council-board had said to the King: Sir, these men became of their own obstinacy and forwardness delir'd very well to be fined, renounced and laid by the heels: And it will never go well go well with your Service until some of being hang'd for example on others.

The proofs were these,

1. The Bishop of London, Lord Treasurers, who declared that he remembered the words very well, that the Earl had advised the King to cause the Ship-money to be gathered in, but he remembered withal that both himself and all the Council had done the like, and that it was upon a present necfSity and defcit of money for entertaining the Army, which (the condition of the Army considered) they all conceived was by any means to be kept on foot.

2. Alderman Whitchurch declared, that upon an humble Remonstrance made to the Council-board, that the City would take it ill, if a Tax roll should be delivered of their Estates who were thought able for the Loan-money; the Lord Stafford faid, they desire'd to be fined, renounced, and laid by the heels. But for the words of hanging them up, he heard not at all. The Earl of Bridgewater declared, that the Lord Stafford had faid, that upon the refult of each a Service enjoyn'd by the Kings peremptory command, it was his opinion they might be fined.

3. Alderman Garrow attested the preceding words, and withal added that the Earl to his belt remembrance, had faid, it was well for the Kings Service if some of them were hanged up.

They closed up the charge, saying, That by such undutiful Expreffions he had invaded the propriety of the Subjeft, and had put such discontent upon the City, that they were the lefs willing un-

on occasion to concur for advantage of the Kings Service.

The Earl replied, "That though all the charge were, in the most strict and rigid way verified against him, yet he could not conceive by what Interpretation of Law it could be reach'd home to High Treason, and to that common objection (that the Treason was not individual, but acumulative) he replied, that, under favour, he thought that were as much as to fly, No Treason at all,Because,

1. "That neither in Statute Law, Common Law nor pratique, there was ever till this time heard of such a matter as acumulative Treason, or a Treason by way of consequence, but that it is a word newly coined to attend, a charge newly invented, such as one as never was before.

2. "That Treason was a thing of a simple and (speculative nature, and therefore could not be) by accumulation, but either must be so in some or either of the Articles, or else could not be so at all.

3. "That a heap or Accumulation should be, and not be of Ho~na-genus things, and therefore that which in its first being is not treasonable, can never confer to make up an acumulative Treason, Cumulius, an heap of grain, so called, because every or at least one of the individuals are grain, if otherwise, an heap it may be, but not an heap of grain: Just so perhaps, these Articles may make up an heap of felonies, Oppressions, Errors, Misdemeanors, and such like (and to the things themselves, I shall give an answer, when under that name they shall be charg'd against me) but they can no wails confer to the making up of Treason, unless some, at the least be Treason in the individual.

2. "That the Testimonies brought against him, were all of them fingle, not two one way, and therefore could not make faith in matter of debt, much lefs in matter of life and death: That it was against the Statute expressly to impeach a man of High Treason under the Evidence of two famous Witnesses, much lefs to adjudge and convince him upon attention of one.

3. "To the Lord Treasurers testimony, he did with all his heart contedee unto it: but upon these grounds only, that there was a present necessity of money that all the Council-board had so voyced with him, yea before himself, and he always thought it preparation in a man not to follow the wiser and more Judicious.

And that then there was a fenetence of the Star-Chamber for the right of paying thing-money; for his part he would never be more prudent than his teachers, nor give judgement against the judges: And therefore he thought it not fair or wise to advise the King for collecting of that which by Law was his own, in such a present and urgent necessity, and although his opinion (and it was no more) had been amifs, he hoped, that though in case of Religion being attended with stubbornneffe and pertinacy, it might come home to Herefie, yet could it not reach so far as Treason; unless it be Treason..."
for a man to speak his judgement freely, when
he is upon his Oath to do the same.

4. For the words about firing, he had al-
ready acknowledged them in his General an-
swer to be true, but with these qualifications,
that it was his opinion only, that it was upon
the refusal (as he conceived) of a just remedy, that
he had spoken them by no means to prejudice
the Citizens, but to make them the more quick
and active in the Kings Service: That no ill
consequence at all happened upon them: that
they were words might have been spared in-
deed, but innocently, though suddenly spoken,
which he hoped might proceed from a man of
such a high and incorruptible honor as himself
(made both by nature and his much infinity
of body) without any mind at all to Treason;
And that if all Choleric Expirations of that
nature should be accounted Tresonable, there
would be more faults of that kind fly up & down
Heilmaister-Hall than Common Law.

5. To these words attested by Alderman
Gurney, he positively denied them, and hoped
they should never rise up against him in Judge-
ment, because the testimony was single and not
positive, but only to his bel's remembrance, and
that it was exceeding strange, that not any one
man neither of the Council or the other Al-
dermen were so quick to observe them, but on-
ly Alderman Gurney, which he thought suffi-
cient to difprove that single testimony, except he
could demonstrate himself to have more
familiar knowledge of the close, he
defined the Lords from his misfortunes to pro-
vide for their own Safety, and seriously to con-
 sider what a way was chalked out to ruin them,
both in their lives and their estates, if for every
opinion given in Council, or words suddenly
or hastily spoken, they (who are born to deal
in the great affairs of the Kingdom) should be ar-
taigned and sentenced as Traytors.

Then they went to the 26th Article, and
charged thus,

That the Lord Strafford having by his wicked
advices exhausted the Kings Treasury, did also
concern him,

1. To embaze the coyne by alay of copper
money.

2. To seize upon all the Bullion in the Mint.

3. That in discourse with some of the Alder-
men, about the business he had said, the City
was more ready to counteract and relieve the
Rebells than the King: And that the King of France
did manage such business not by Treasons or Re-
quests, but by sending forth his Commissions to
take account of mens Estates, accompanied with
Troops of Horfe.

The proofs were,

First, Sir Thomas Edmunds, who declared that
in his discourse with the Lord Strafford, having
remonstrated unto him that Merchants goods were
feized on beyond Seas because of the money
taken out of the Mint, he told him that if the Lon-
doners suffered it, it was deservedly, because they
had refused the King a small Loan of Money up-
on Security, and that he thought them more ready
to help the Rebels than the King.

Secondly, Mr. Palmer declared, that he spake
something about the King of France, but whether
with relation to England or not, he did not re-
member.

Thirdly, Sir William Parkifhe attested in the
same words and withal, that the Lord Cotting-
don was then present; and could declare the whole
business.

Fourthly, Sir Ralph Freeman declared, that
in a discourse with the Lord Strafford, he had said
that the Servants in the Mint-bouche would refuse
to work in Copper-money: And he replied, that
then it was well to fend those Servants to the
House of Correction.

They closed the Charge, That by such indis-
putable Council and words he had given more than
sufficient proof of his design and purpose to fab-
due this Kingdom and subvert the Fundamental
Laws and Privileges of the fame.

The Earl replied:

That he expected some proof to evidence the
The Earl
next to
two first particulars, but heard of none:
for the 27th,
following words were confessed, probably they might speake,
which were procured from the door of his lips: nor did he
think it much weigh, considering the present pur-
pose to call that faction Rebels: As for the last
words objected against him in that Article, he
said, that being in conference with some of the
Londoners, there came to his hands at that instant
a Letter from the Earl of Leicester, then at Pa-
ris, wherein were the Guizot enclosed, relating
to what the Cardinal had given order to levy Money
by Sounds. This he only told the Lord Cot-
tington standing by, but made not the least appli-
cation thereof to the English affairs: he said
moreover, there was no great liking had that he had
committed real acts of Treason, when his adverse
party was content to rise up for a much time about
words, neither was there any Treason in them,
though they had been fully verified; and therefore
in that (as in all other Articles) he referred a
power for his Council to dispose in matter of
Law.

They then went to the 27th Article, and
charged thus, That immediately after his appoint-
ment to be Lieutenant General to the Army here
in England, he shewed what principles of Arbi-
trary Government linked within his bosom, for
by his own immediate authority, without and a
gainst Law, he had laid Impoits upon many of the
Kings Subjects; whereof they mentioned three
particulars:

1. That he imposed 8d. per diem for a Soul-
dier upon the County of York, for entertaining
the trained bands there one whole moneth.

2. That he sent out Warrants for collecting
the fame, and threatened to imprison such as refu-
red to pay.

3. That he said it was a crime nigh to the
crime of High Treason not to pay the fame.

4. They added in his general replies, he had
brought two things for his defence: 1. That the
money was freely and voluntarily offered by those in
Yorkshire. 2. That the great Council of the
Peers had notice of the fame: but to both they
had the following answers to make, viz.

To the first, That a Petition was indeed pre-
ferred by the Yorkshire-men to the King, and a
moneths pay offered. But that the Lord Strafford
had refused to present the same: upon this excep-
tion only, because in the name they had petition-
ed for a Parliament, whereby he evidently decla-
red.
red what little inclination he had to that way.

To the second, they appealed to all the Lords whether any such order did pass before the Council of the Peers at York.

The Earl's answer was:

1. A Warrant signed by Colonel Pennymans, for this money, and another by Sir Edward Osborne, for $200,000.

2. Mr. John Barrow, who declared that he was Clerk to the Great Council, but did remember of no order, and wished added that it might have passed at that time when he was at Rippon.

3. Mr. Danfan, who declared, that he had known that money to be levied by some masketiers.

4. By Sir William Ingram, who declared that he heard the Earl say, that to refuse the same came nigh to the crime of High-Treason.

They concluded the Charge, that by these particulars, it was more than evident what unhappy purposes and traitorous designs he had to subdue this Kingdom; and subvert the fundamental Laws and Privileges.

The Earl replied:

To the Petition, That it was true, a Petition was drawn up by the York-thire Gentleman, and as true that he had refused to present the same, because that Clafs gave the Parliament, but the matter was else. At his Majesties coming to York, it was thought necessary for the defence of that Country to keep the Trained Bands on foot, because the Enemy was upon the Borders; and therefore the King directed him to write to all the Freeholders in York-thire to set what they would do for their own defence. The time and place were designed by the King, but the night before the meeting a small number convened and a private and tumultuous may did draw up that Petition, and at the morrow as their appointed Diet, in presence of the whole number, the Petition was presented to him, where he did adjourn them to leaze out that Clafs, and that because he knew the King out of his own gracious disposition had intended to call a Parliament, which he did desire, should rather to freely do them upon the consultation and importance of Petions. Moreover, it would seem a mercenary thing in them at one and the same time to offer a benevolence, and wish to Petition for his favour: Upon this Remonstrance they were all willing to recall the Petition, and directed him by word of mouth to offer unto the King the numbers pay in their names, which he did accordingly, in the presence of them to their no small advantage.

This he proved by Sir William Pennymans, Sir Paul Neal, Sir George Worthy, Sir William Swifit, Sir Thomas Danby, who all of them declared as much in ample terms, and wish added, That nothing was done upon better grounds of necessity and obedience, than the offer of that money, and that they never had heard any man grudge a grant to this time.

For the second about the Council of Peers, he alleged, That he never made mention of any Order of theirs, but he remembered very well it was twice propounded before them, and the King had approved it at that time as a just and necessary act, and none of the Council contradicted it, which he conceived as a tacit approval and an Order in equivalence.

Bt though that had not been, there was no thing done in the business, but at the special desire of the Gentlemen themselves, and for their necessary defence and protection.

And though he had done it by himself alone, yet he conceived he had so much power by his Commission, causing the Commission to that effect to be read. That he did not forget to mention that military proceeding are not always warranted by the Common Law, yet, it should not be imputed as an Act of Treason to him. And to this effect a read a Statute of 7 Hen. 2.

To the proof:

1. Colonel Pennymans Warrant, or Sir Robert Osborne's nothing concerned him, but he doubted not that those worthy Men could justify their own acts, and that he had enough to do and answer for his own misdemeanours.

2. For Sir John Barrows, he was at Rippon, where that Proposition was made.

3. That at the Warrant, so neither the Exception troubled him at all.

4. For Sir William Ingram, he was but a single testimony, and that such an act as he could produce an evidence to testify, he had mischance himself in his testimony upon oath, if it were not to disadvantage the Gentleman.

He concluded that he had done nothing in that business, but upon the Petition of that Country, the Kings special command, the connivance at least of the Great Council, and upon a present necessity for the defence and safety of the Country.

And to much for Wednesday.

Upon Thursday, the Committee for the Charge declared, That they had done with all the Articles, and were content to wave the last for reasons well known to themselves; only Sir Winter Earl added, that he had some objections to bring forth upon the 22nd. Article which he conceived might do much to prove the Lord Stafford's design for landing the Irish forces in England. And they were:

1. That in his Commission he had power to land them in Wales, or in any part of England or Scotland, which were altogether superfluous, unless there had been some purpose for the same.

2. That within two days before the date of the Commission, Letters were sent to the Lords Bridgewater, and Penbrook from Sir Francis Windowbank to affit the Earl of Worcester, in laying Forces for the Kings service, and these might be supposed to have intended a joining with the Irish.

3. That the Lord Ranelagh at the raising of the Irish Army did fear such a design as this.

4. That the Town of Ayr in Scotland, where the Lord Stafford pretended he would land those Forces, was fortified with a Balwark, a Garrison, and Blockhouse, which would prohibite landing there, but that the Earl of Argyll's bounds were divided thence by the Sea, and that the Bar or entry into the Town was very dangerous and shallow.

The proofs were only the reading of the Commission granted to the Lord Stafford.
The Earl's reply,

1. "That his Commission was the same *Verification* with *Northumberland for England*, and that it was drawn up by the Council-board here, and (sent over unto him) to no more des-ign in him then in the Gentlemen of the En- glish Army, nor larger than that was put up-on him.

2. "That this was the first time that he heard of any such Letters, neither did they concern him more than any of the house.

3. "That he was not bound to purge the Lord Ranaleagh from all his tears; and that he had his own fears too, which God forbid should be evidence of Treason against any man what- ever.

4. "That it seemed the Gentlemen had bet- ter information from that Kingdom than him-self, yet he would be confident to say, at *Ajay*, there was never such a thing as Blackhouse or *Garrillon*: But to remove all scruples (for in-deed the Road or Landing-place is not there safe,) he declared that it was his intention to have landed some miles above *Ajay,* and made only his Magazine at that Town.

"To the Earl of *Argyll* bounds, he hoped the Gentleman knew they came not on foot out of Ireland, but had ships to wait and trans- port themselves, and on one of his prime Houses ( *Rosse*) was within some few miles of the same.

The Lord Digby finding Sir Walter Earle a little prizell’d, endeavoured to bring him off, and told the Lords in such a business as the plot- ting of Treason they must be content sometime with dark probabilities.

The Earl having thus answered the Charge agaist him, it was moved by one of the Proce- durers, that if he have any thing to say further in his defence he should do it presently; but he desired time till the next morning, which was (not without difficulty) granted.

The next morning the Lords met, but the Lieu- tenant of the Tower appeared without his Pri- soner, certifying that the Earl was taken with a great fit of the stone that night, and continued so ill as he could not go abroad without danger of his life. The Commons thought this an excuse to gain time, but the Lords believed the relation, Mr. Glyn moved that if he did not appear upon Saturday morning, he should lose the Privilege to speak in his own defence afterwards, and they permitted to proceed: But the Lord Stew- ard said, That the Lords had appointed some of their number to go to the Tower, and learn the just cause of his stay, and if by any means he were able, he should be obliged to come, but if not, humanity and common equity would excuse him. These Lords that went to the Tower found the Earl much exiled of his pain by the applica- tion of some remedies, which the Physicians had administered unto him; so that the next day he appeared before them, and one of the Proce- durers professed new proofs concerning the two and twentieth Article, upon which the Earl craved the freedom for himself concerning some testi- monies not yet exhibited on his behalf, whence ensued a hot contest between the two Houses, which took up two days debate, but at last the

reasons of the Lords prevailed, who declared that in the common dispensation of equity, the accused should have equal allowance to superin- dict new proofs as well as the Accusers, and it was agreed that all further testimony should be waved on both sides.

Upon *Tuesday* the Earl appeared, and the Lord Steward told him, that the Lords had orde- red, that both their testimonies should be waved, and if he had any thing to say further in his own defence, he should proceed, so that that day might put an end to what concerned the matter of fact. The Earl replied, That in all humility and obedience he would submit himself to that or any other their Decrees whatsoever, though it should reach as far home unto him as his own life: but without humbly begged, That if here- after he should be troubled (for they were to speak left) with new matter, or with supplicat- ement proof, he might have leave to speak some- thing in his own defence.

The Lord Steward answered, *It is all the rea- son in the world:*

Whereupon the Earl made a summary repeti- tion of the several particulars of the former de- fence, which ended, he continued his Speech thus:

*My Lords,*

*There remains another kind of Treason, The Earl of...*"
what else than the lives and honours of Peers, it will be wretched for your Selves, for your Power, for your Fertility, and for the whole Kingdom to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious Volumes of constructive & arbitrary Treason, as the Primitive Christians did their books of curious Arts and amuse your selves to the place of the Law and Statute, that telleth what is and what is not Treason, without being more amitious to be more learned in the Art of killing than our Fore-fathers: It is now full 450 years since any man was touched for this alleged Crime to the height before my self; Let us not awaken those sleeping Lions to our destractions, by taking up a few mutiny Resolutions that have lain by the walls so many ages, forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes; for my fins be-flame me, not for Treason; let not a President be defined from me, so disdained as this will be in the consequence to the whole Kingdom. Do not through me wound the interest of the Common-wealth; And howsoever these Gentlemen say, they speak for the Common-wealth, yet in this particular I indeed speak for it, and shew the inconveniences and mistakes which will fall upon it; for as it is laid in the Statute of the King of Henry 4. No man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties. Do not my Lords, put such difficulties upon Ministers of State, that men of Witty, of Honour, of Fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the publick; if you weigh and measure them by grains and earpulses, the publick-affairs of the Kingdom will lye waffe: no man will meddle with them who has any thing to looke. My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not an interest of those dear pledges a Saint in Heaven hath left me. [At this he stopp'd a while, offering up some tears to her affe.] What I forfeit my self is nothing, but that my indirecction should extend to my Povertie, it woundeth me to the very soul: you will pardon my infirmity, something I should have added, but am not able; therefore let it pass: And now, my Lords, for my self, I have been by the bleeding of Almighy God taught, that the afflictions of this present life, are not to be compared to the Eternal Weight of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquility of mind, I freely submit my self to your Judgement: and whether that Judgement be of life or death,

—TE DEUM LAUDAMUS.

As soon as the Earl had ended, Mr. Glyn and Mr. Pym spent some time in repetition of the charge, wherein they proceeded Article by Article, endeavouring by Rhetorical declamations to render his offences as odious as they could.

Matters of fact being thus transacted, the Earl moved that he might be allowed to plead by his Council as to matter of Law; to which the Lords agreed, but the Commons would not till after three days Conference about thereunto; and on Wednesday when they met in their house, they considered and debated much in what manner to proceed further against the Earl of Strofford.

By the modell of his behaviour he had much inflam'd into the good opinion of the Lords & many of the Commons, and by the clearness of his answers to the several parts of his charge, his Crimes appeared not to be specifically comprehended under the letter of any Statute Declara-
tory of Treason, but the Prosecutors perceiving hereby that the Judgement of the Lords upon the whole matter might not answer their Expectation, urged, that though he were not guilty of Treason, or any of those offences enumerated in the Statute of 25 Ed. 3, yet to great were his Crimes, that according to a branch of that Statute, they ought to be declared Treason. For it is therein mentioned, that if any other case suppos'd to be Treason, which is not in that Statute specified, shou'd happen, no judgements should be given till the cause he solv'd, and declared before the King and his Parliament, whether it ought to be judged Treason, or other Felony. This branch (they said) gave the Parliament power to declare Treason, & in the enumeration of his offences, they argued, That his intentions to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, was Treason at Common Law before the making of the fore-named Statute: and such Treasons were not thereby taken away, but by the words before recited, might be declared as often as occasion should require, but because many doubts arose concerning many Treasons, the wideness of those times thought it not fit to submit the Judgement thereof to any lets authority than the Parliament: Thefe Debates produced a resolution in the house to declare him guilty of Treason: but because they had no precedent since the first of Henr. the 4th. of any fact declared Treason in Parliament, that was not express'd in the letter of some Statute, they doubted a little of the way of Declaring Treason, but at last concluded to do it by Bill of Attainder.

This was most oppos'd by Selden, Bridgeman and Halborne, three Eminent Lawyers, at that time Members of the Commons House, who made it manifest that the Salvo of the Statute of the Earl of Strofford, 15. 1 Ed. 3. was repeal'd, and that no man could be convict of Treason but by the letter of that Statute; nevertheless, being put to a question, the Majority of Voices carried it for a Bill, and a Committee was appointed to prepare it.

The Arguments by those and others then us'd against it, shall not be here intrept, because most of them were alledge by the Council for the Earl, and when those come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferences between the two Houses of these matters.

The Lords at the first, of the two last of the three Conferences for the Earl, and when those come to be mentioned, they will be related. There had been three Conferences between the two Houses of these matters.

The Lords at the first, of the two last of the three Conferences (for the first was not a free Conference) told the Commons that they had resolv'd to give full audience to the Earl of Strofford's Council in matter of Law, and that they, as competent Judges by themselves give Judgement in the cause, as that which was most suitable to the Practice, Laws and Statutes of the Kingdom, the safety of the Nobility, and to Common Justice, to which those of the Commons resolv'd, that their House was resolv'd to go on with the
the Bill of Attainder, and if the same should be rejected by the Lords, they fear'd a rupture and division might ensue to the ruine and destitution of the Kingdom, for no content would be given to the Subject, unless the man who had so much intruded upon their right, might be punisht as a Traitor: and for the practice and laws of the Kingdom, they said no man had ever found such a favourable hearing; and that the Process against the Duke of Norfolke and Somerfet, and the Earl of Effex, were all of them clotted on one day.

On the next day they met at another Conference, where the Lords told those of the Commons, that they should expect nothing from their House, but what should tend to the Peace and Prevenation of the Kingdom, nor was there a more forceable argument for that, than to preserve the Laws and Customs thereof, least innovation to much complaining of by them, might unhappily be found among themselves, that the Subjects should have all their justice controll'd, but an Act of Indict justice would never give satisfaction to the world, nor satisfy themselves, the eyes of all foreign States being fix'd upon the business in agitation, and the willome of our Nation either to be much advanced or depress'd by their Judgments in this case: That the Process against Norfolke and Effex (for Somerfet was convict only of Felony, and had not so much animadversion to save himself by his Book) were for direct and formal Treason comprised in one or two individual Acts, but this against the Lord Strafford only Arbitrary and accumulative, to be pick'd out of the Articles. And therefore that it was impossible to have a full examination of them all, to give Sentence against him, And thofe Noble-Men were charg'd with some breach of Statutes formerly made, but here a new Statute was to be made, or else he to be found guiltles. They concluded that they had given Order for his appearance on Saturday, And that in the great Hall at Westminster where the House of Commons might, if they pleased, be present.

After some deliberation with their House, the Commons Conference answer'd, that since the Lords had so resolve'd, they should deny to be there, and to hear what his Council could say for him, for to reply any more in publick, they neither could nor would, because of the Bill already read, only if their Lordships should take any scruple in the matter of Law, they would be ready to give them satisfaction in a private Conference, and to give publick satisfaction also therein.

The next day the Lords and Commons convened in the great Hall, but they that were of the Committee for the prosecution did not stand at the Bar as before, but sat promiscuously with the rest of their fellows; to that a month was not open for the House of Commons all that day: After they were fet, the Lord Steward told the Earl, "That the Lords had resolve'd to give him a fair hearing in the matter of Law, and therefore defined that the Council in urging thereof "might keep that distance, moderation, and respect to the Judiciary, that was fitting, and not "at all to meddle with the matter of fact."

The Earl replied, "That in all humility he acknowledged that favour from the Lords, and "that it was such an one too, as he could not but "expect from such honourable Peers, and just "persons, in whose integrity and goodness ( un- "der which that he had placed above) he had re- "joiced his chiefest confidence; for his Council "they knew much better than himself, what "concerned the point of discretion and Reve- "rence, and that he doubted not but that they "would give all satisfaction and obedience there- "in."

Then his Council were called to the Bar, which were Mr. Lause the Princes Attorney, Mr. Gardner the Recorder of London, and two o- thers.

Mr. Lause spake first to this purpose: "My Lords, I shall not at all touch the mat- "ter of Law farther than to clear your judg- "ments in one Statute only, viz. 25 Edin. 3. "because when the same was alleaged by the "Lord Strafford in his own defence, that not be- "ing convict of the Letter thereof, he could not "be convict of Treason: I remember the Statu- "es that the Statute was much laughed at by those "from the House of Commons, as much con- "cording to their ends. My Lords, I will first "speak of the Statute itself, and then of its "Suits or provision: The Statute is (that if "any man shall intend the death of the King, his "Queen, their Children; Kill the Chamberlain, or "Judge upon the Bench, imbrace the Kings Coyn, or "counterfeit the Bowes, etc. shall be con- "vict and punished as a Traitor.) "That the Lord "Strafford comes not within the Letter of this "Statute, is not so much as once alleaged, nor "indeed it cannot be with any reason; all that "can be said is, that by relation or by argument, "a minore ad majus, he may be drawn into its yct "that this cannot be, I humbly offer these confi- "derations,

"First, This is a declarative Law, and such "are not to be taken by way of consequence, es- "quity or construction, but by the Letter only, "otherwize the Statute should imply a contradiction to "themselves, and be no more declarative Law; "but Laws of construction or conclusive.

2. "This is a penal Law, and such (if our "grounds bisherto unquestioned held good) can "admit of no constructions or inferences, for pe- nalites are to persude the keeping of known "Laws,not of Laws concessional, ambiguous, and "by consequence (which perhaps the most learn- ed may not in their disputes question, much less "the subject (who is not obliged to interpret "the Statute) doubt of in the point of obedience, "yes, rather without any doubt, he is rather to "obey the Letter of the Statute, and conceive "(and that truly) that he is not liable to the pe- nalty.

3. "We have a notable Law 13 Eliz. cap. 2. "whereby it is declared that the bringing in of "Balls from Rome, to fit up the Subject to mu- "tiny and Rebellion, shall be punisht as Treas- "on: Now if by interpretation or by conse- "quence this fence might have been thrust upon "the preceding Statutes, the making of this had "been impossiible; yea, the persons then charr- ed with that Crime, might have been impeach- ed of Treason, even before the making of this "Act.

"26 Eliz. 2. We have a Statute, de- claring
The Reign of King Charles the First.

clarifying that for a Servant to kill his Master is an

Aet of Treason; and in the 23 year of the same

King, a Proces of Treason was framed against

a man for killing his Father, grounded upon the

same argument a minora de majis: But it was

found (and the Sentence is yet in the Records)

that although in the 21 yr. of Edw. 3. that

Argument might have been admitted, yet in

the 27 it could not, by reason of the declara-

tion of Law, intervening in the 25 year; and this

Cafe comes very home to the point in Law.

My Lords, I will not demand what kind of

offence it may be for a man to subvert the funda-

mental Laws of the Kingdom, the Crime

doubts is unnatural and monstrous, and the

punishment must keep the same proportion,

only I premise to offer these few things to your

Lordships consideration:

1. That one or more Acts of Injustice whether

malignantly or ignorantly done, can in no fense of

Law be called the Subversion of the Fundamental

Laws; if so, as many Judges (perhaps) so many

Treasons; it is very incident to man's nature to

err, nor doth the Lord Stafford plead his innocence

in overights but in Treason.

2. I remember the Case of John de la Pole

Duke of Suffolk, this man in the 28 of Hen. 6.

was charged by the House of Commons with Arti-

cles of Treason, and these too very like those

against my Lord Stafford.

1. That he had given the King bad advices.

2. That he had embossed his Coxon.

3. That he had called men of War.

4. That he had given out summary Decrees.

5. That he had imposed Taxes.

6. That he had corrupted the Fountains of Ju-

dice.

That he had professed the King to unnecessary

War, and the giving over of Anjou in

France.

And for all these though he was charged

with High Treason for wronging the right of

the Subject, and subverting the Fundamental

Laws of the Kingdom, yet after a long agita-

tion, the matter was found by the Lords of Par-

liament not to imply Treason, but only Felony.

Add to this another who in the 23 of Hen. 8.

was charged for subverting the English Laws,

and yet no Treason charg'd upon him. Add to

both the charg of Richard Lark pleading at

the Common Pleas, who was charg'd with

Treason for subverting the Law, but convicted

only of Felony, by which you may see, my

Lords, what to this time hath been subverting

the Laws.

3. It is very considerable that the Lord

Strafford is not charg'd to have subverted, but

only to have intended to subvert the funda-

mental Laws, and this I conceive if there were

no more might keep him free from that Statute

of the 25 of Edw. 3. For although as touching

the King, his Queen and Children,

intention is treasonable; yet in all other things

there mentioned there must be action before

intention, for it is not said if a man do intend

to kill a Chancellor, it shall be Treason, but

if he doth kill him; and if he doth actually

counterfeit the Broid Seal; and although a

man should prepare a furnace, make ready his

flame, melt his Ballion, yet it giveth not the

King's impress upon the Coin, all his intentions

yes, his preparations will not serve to

make up a Treason.

Ye see therefore, my Lords, that the body of the

Statute cannotlick against the Lord Stafford,

nether in Letter nor Consequences, this is not, that

must not be; all that can be said is, that the fact

may be Treason by the Common Law. For my parts

I protest my ignorance, who ever thought the Com-

mon Law might declare, but never make a Treas-

on; it might be presupposed that there is a Statu-

te ubereason to build a declaration, and there-

to may be told there is no Statute for it, it is as

it is no Treason at all; is the Statute ever made in

Treason: and to be declared Treason either by

Common Law, or by Parliament, are but two dif-

ferent ways of proceeding, and must both referre

into one Principle, nay and which comes home to

the point. In the 21 of Edw. 3. To kill a man

imployed in the King's War was a treason; and the

27, to kill the King's Messenger was a treason-

declaration of the Common Law, but always by

treason of the Statute, yet none of these are trea-

sons, but Felonies only, because of the intervening

Statute of the 25 th of Edw. 3, such hath ever

been thought the force of its Letter and De-

claration: and so I will leave it a word or two of the Silvo, which is this, that because all

particulars could not be enumerated, therefore what

the Parliament should declare to be Treasnable in

time to come, should be punisht as a Treas-

on.

And according to this referentive, in the 8th

year of King Richard 2, one charg'd before the

King's Bench, was afterward referred to the Par-

liament, and there though the fact was not con-

tained in the body of the Statute, yet because of the

Proviso aforesaid, it was adjudged Treas-

on.

In the 11 th. year of the same King the Duke of

Ireland and Neual Archbishop of York were

impeached of High Treason by Glocetter, Arund-

del, and Warwick, and being brought the Statu-

tes were convicted thereof by the Silvo; but in

the 21 th. of the same Richard 2, the tide turn-

ed, and the King had such a hand with the Par-

liament, that the Sentence was recalled, and all the

three Nobles before were adjudged Tra-

sors. Again in the 1 of Hen. 4, his Successor,

that Resolution of the 21 R. 2. was recalled, and

the Sentence of the 11 th. of his Reign stilleb-

ed; such were the feelings too and fro of Treason,

and all because of that uncertain Provio.

Therefore it is that in the same Parliament the

1 of H. 4. A Petition was preferred by the

Nobility to have Treason limited within some

Statutes.

Because they have not what to speak or what to

do for fear thereof: And in Cap. 10, an Act was

made upon this Petition, that the Silvo should be

helden repealed in all times to come, and nothing

effective Treason but what was literally contained

in the 25 of Edw. 3. and therefore it is said in the

Records, That there was great joy at the mak-

ing of this Act, in that the drawn blood hanging

over every man's head by this slanderous and

consequence or illusion, was removed by that

Act.
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Add tothis, that in the 1st of Qu. Mary, Cap. 1. the same is repeated, That no man shall be punished in life or citize as a Traitor, but for the Crime contained in the Statute of the 25 Edw. 3, without the least mention of the pretended Salvo.

The Earl of Northumberlands Cape comes nigh to the point, he was charged with Treason, the 5 of Hen. 4. and if the Statute of the 1 of H. 4. Chap. 10. whereby this Proviso is repeated had not intervened, no doubt he had been condemned of Treason, but it was only council of Felony, and that because he could not draw within the Letter of the Statute of the 25 of Edw. 3. And I dare confidently say it, that since that Act was made the 1 of Hen. 4. Chap. 10. whereby the Proviso is repeated, no man hath ever been declared a Traitor either by King or Parliament, except it were upon that, or some other Statute literally and declaratively taken. I keep two things I do offer to your Lordships considerations: That the Lord Strafford cannot be impeached of Treason by the Statute of the 25 Edw. 3. and that the Salvo contained in the same, stands repeated almost two hundred years ago. And this is all I conceive to be necessary for that Statute which was alluded to by the Lord Strafford in his defence for matter of Law.

The Recorder said, he could add nothing to what the former Counsel had spoken for matter of Law; but if their Lordships would State unto him any further questions, he was ready to give his resolution according to his best ability.

No answer was made to this motion, but the Lords & Commons adjourned to their respective Houses without appointing any time for their next meeting.

The Commons were resolve to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, which was so extraordinary a thing, that it did not pass without great debate. The Lord Digby then a Member of the Commons House, and one of the most active Prosecutors of him, was so satisfied with his Answers at his Trial, that he could not but shew a dislike to the paffage of it, upon every occasion that occurred in the reading or debating thereof, which made him and some others that were resolve on the business, to do what they could to blast his credit in the house, but yet when the last reading of the Bill was in the Commons House, he gave to generous a testimonie against it. That it may not be unfit to record what he then said in this History:

Mr. Speaker,

"We are now upon the point of giving (as much as in us lies) the final Sentence unto death or life, on a great Minifter of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Thomas Earl of Strafford, a name of hatred in the present age by his practices, and fit to be made a terror to future ages by his punishment.

"I have had the honour to be employed by the House in this great business, from the first hour that it was taken into consideration: it was a matter of great truth, (and I will lay it with confidence) that I have not only served the House in it with industry, according to my ability but with most exact faithfulness & secrecy,

"And as I have hitherto discharged my duty to this House, and to my Country in the prosecution of this great cause; so I trust I shall do now in the last period of it to God, and to a good Conscience.

"I do with the peace of that unto my self, and the blessings of Almighty God to me and my P. floity, according as my judgment on the life of this man shall be conformant with my heart, and all the best of my understanding in all integrity.

"I know well, Mr. Speaker, that by some things I have said of late, whilst this Bill was in agitation, I have raised some prejudices upon me in this cause.

"Yes, some (I thank them for their plain dealing) have been so free as to tell me, that I suffered much by the backwardness I have shown in this Bill of Attainder of the Earl of Strafford, against whom I have been formerly so keen, so active.

"Mr. Speaker, I desire of you and the rest of this House a full and frank Judgment concerning me till I have opened my heart unto you freely and clearly in this business.

"Truly Sir, I am till the same in my opinions and affections as unto the Earl of Strafford, I confidently believe him the most dangerous Minister, the most intolurable to free Subjects, that can be character'd.

"I believe his practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical as any Subject ever ventur'd on, and the malignity of them, hung so aggravatingly by those rare abilities of his, whereas God hath given him the ufe, but the Devil the application. In a word, I believe him full that grand Apologist to the Common-wealth, who must not expect to be pardoned in this world, till he be dispatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand might not be to that dispatch, I protest as my Conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off.

"Let me unfold unto you the Mystery, Mr. Speaker.

"I will not dwell much upon justifying unto you my seeming variance at this time from what I was formerly, by putting you in mind of the difference between Prosecutors and Judges.

"How mis-becoming that favour would be in a Judge, which perhaps was commendable in a Prosecutor. Judges we are now, and must put on another personage.

"It is honest and noble to be earnest in order to the discovery of truth, but when that hath been brought as far as it can to light, our judgment therefore ought to be calm and cautious.

"In prosecution upon probable grounds, we are accountable only for our industry or remissness, but in Judgment we are deeply responsible to God Almighty, for its rectitude or obliquity. In cases of life, the Judge is God's Steward of the parties blood, and must give an Account for every drop.

"But as I told you, Mr. Speaker, I will not infit long upon this ground of difference in me now, from what I was formerly.

"The truth on it is, Sir, the fame ground whereupon I with the rest of the five to whom you first
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First committed the consideration of my Lord of Strafford brought down our opinion that it was fit he should be accused of Treason, upon the same ground I was engaged with earnestness in his prosecution, and had the same ground remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately it did, I should not have been tender in his condemnation. But truly Sir, to deal plainly with you, that ground of our accusation, that put to our prosecution, and that which should in the bais of my judgment, of the Earl of Strafford as unto Treason, is to my understanding quite vanisht away.

This it was Mr. Speaker: His advising the King to employ the Army of Ireland to reduce England. This I was affur'd would be proved, before I gave my consent to his Accusation. I was convinced in the same belief during the prosecution, and fortified in it by all these, Henry V an, preparatory examinations, by the interlocutions which that worthy Member Maitel gave me, that his Testimony would be made convincing, by some Notes of what past at the Junto concurrent with it, in which I ever understanding to be of some other Concern, you see now prove, but a Copy of the same Secretaries Notes, discover'd and produc'd in the manner you have heard, and those disjointed fragments of the venomous part of diabolic, no results; no Conclusions of Councils, which are the only things that Secretaries should regifter; there being no use at all of the other, but to accuse and to bring men into danger.

But Sir, this is not that which overthrows the evidence with me, concerning the Army of Ireland, nor yet that all the Junto upon their Oaths remember nothing of it.

But this Sir, which I shall tell you is that which works with me, under favour, to an utter overthrow of this evidence as unto that of the Army of Ireland: Before whilst I was a Protector, and under tie of seceretie, I might not discover any weaknesses of the cause, which now as a Judge I must. Maitel Secretary was examin'd thrice upon Oath at the preparatory Committee.

The first time he was question'd to all the Introgostaries, and to that part of the seventh which concerns the Army of Ireland, he said positively in those words, I cannot charge him with that. But for the rest, he desired time to recollect himself, which was granted him.

Some days after he was examined a second time, and then deposet those words, concerning the Kings being absolved from Rules of Government, and to forth, very clearly, but being preft to that part, concerning the Irish Army, again, and he could say nothing to that.

Here we thought we had done with him, till divers weeks after my Lord of Northumberland and all others of the Junto, denying to have heard any thing concerning those words of reducing England by the Irish Army, it was thought fit to examine the Secretary once more, and then he deposet those words to have been said by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty:
At this Speech there were much offended: who defended the death of the Earl; and they were so furious in the pursuit of it, that they took the Names of all the dissenters upon a division of the House when the Bill past, and caus'd them to be dispersed among their party in the City, who came in great tumults to Westminster to clamour for Justice, and in the Old Palace- Yard in Westminster those dissenters were post'd up, to be expos'd to the fury of the ungovern'd multitude, made at this time so fmad and violent that some of them were heard to say, If they could not have the Earl of Strafford's life, they would have confec. of the Kings; and in their Paper they call'd the moderate part of the House of Commons Strafford. The Names of thofe that signed to this Bill of Attainder.

The fame afternoon this Bill of Attainder was carried up to the Lords Houfe, where it reflted many days, and had probably never past'd had not many of the Peers been tried from coming to the House by the tumultuous multitude, in whom each fear and jealousie was infl'd by the fmallft affai's of men, Men of both Houfes, that when any debate was like to be carried againft them in either Houfe, they would fay, for great numbers of them with words and claps who would menace, reproach, and affault fuch Members as difliked them. But notwithstanding all this violence of prosecution, the Lords were much unfatis'd, and fo many fervile were flared by them, that a conference was defir'd with the Commons to reolve them, and it was agreed that Oliver St. John the Kings Solicitor should on the 29th of this Month give their Lordships an account in publick in Westminster-Hall of the reafons impelling the House of Commons to proceed by Bill, ordering alfo that the Earl of Strafford should then be prefent. Whilst these things were in agitation, many confultations were had about raising money for the paying and disbating the English and Scotch Armies in the North, and other matters relating thereto.

The Commons had voted to give three hundred thousand pounds to the Scots as a fit proportion for recompence of their laft and necessitie's occasion'd by this War, notwithstanding the great Levies made by them for their Subfidence in the Northern Counties; but thofe that invited them hither, fo their own purpofes were effected, cared not into what extremity the Kingdom was brought,
brought, and therefore they gave many delays to the Scotch Treaty, and to the disbanding the Armies, and the raising money for these ends; and one of them said, They could not yet spare them, that the foes of Zerviah were too strong for them: but upon a debate of their matters in the House of Commons, when many discourses were made of the necessitudes of the Northern parts, occasion'd by the Scotch Army, and one Mr. Gove's Holtes a Burgeler for Newborne upon Trent said, That the last way of paying them was by Ad, and to expect the King's foot. They took such offence at his Speech that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expel'd him from the House.

These transactions were carried on with great heat by a clamorous pretended necessity of Reformation in Church and State, and the people were persuaded to believe their Religion and Liberties had been lost if the Scotch had not interposed at this time; wherefore that the time of the Armies lay may be prolong'd till such alterations in Church and State were made as they design'd, all things were urg'd that might heighten the jealousies of the people, and at this time many apprehensions were rais'd of danger by the exercice of Popery and their access to the Court, as also of the continuance of the Army in Ireland: so that a Petition was present to the King, for three things touching three matters:

1. For removing all Papists from Court.
2. For disarming of them generally throughout the Kingdom.
3. For disbanding the Irish Army.

To all which the King the 28th, delivered answer contrarily thus: For the first, they all knew what legal trust the Crown had in that particular, therefore he shall not need to say any thing to give them assurance that he shall use it so, as there shall be no just cause of scandal.

For the second, He is content it shall be done according to Law.

For the last, He had enter'd into consultation about it, and found many difficulties therein, and he durst not with the disbanding of all Armies, as he durst conjure them speedily, and heartily to join with him in disbanding those two in England:

The day after the King had given this answer, the Earl of Strafford in parliament of what was before resolve'd, was brought into Leominster-Hall before a Committee of both Houses of Parliament, where Mr. St. John did endeavour to satisfy the Lords in the reasons well of the Bill of Attainder to induce them to pass it; for though their Proofs at the Trial were insufficient, and nothing but legal evidence could prevail in Judicature, by this way both Lords and Commons might proceed by the light of their own Conferences without any farther proof whatsoever: And so it was expressly affirm'd by Mr. St. John in the Speech he then made, wherein he said:

That although single testimony might be sufficient to satisfie private Conferences, yet, for the sake of it would have been satisfactorily in a judicial way, where forms of Law are more to be found upon, was not so clear: whereas in this way of Bill private satisfaction to each man's Conscience is sufficient, although no evidence had been given at all.

And towards the conclusion of what he said after many aggravations of the Earl's offences tending (as he said) to subvert our Laws, he told them, He that would not have had others to have Law, should not have any himself. It is true (said he) we give Law to Hares and Bees, because they be Beasts of Chase. It was never accounted either cruelty or folly play to break Foxes and Hares on the head, as they can be found, because these the Beasts of prey; the Warrior sets Traps for Pussies and other Enemies, for preservation of the life of the King's foot. They took such offence at his Speech that they speedily call'd him to the Bar, and being not satisfied with what he said there, they expel'd him from the House.

The Earl's Petition.

A Second hearing de

Mr. St. John to the Lords for the Bill of Attaintr.

Mr. St. John to the Lords for the Bill of Attaintr.

The Petition presented to the King.

The King's Answer to the Petition.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I had no intention to have spoke to you of this business to day, which is the great business of the Earl of Strafford, because I would do nothing which might hinder your occupations. But Judgments being ready to pass upon him, I think it is not necessary to declare my Conscience therein.

I am sure you know I have been present at the hearing of this great Case, and I would I tell you at my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason.

I am not fit for me to argue this business, I am sure you will not expel it, a positive Doctrine both becomes the month of a Prince; yet must I tell you this truth, which I am sure no man can tell so well as myself.

1. That I had never any intention of bringing over the Irish Army into England, nor ever was advised by any body so to do.

2. That there was never any debate before me, either in publick Council, or private Committee, of the disloyalty of my English Subjects, nor ever had any suspicion of them.

3. That I was never consulted by any to alter the least of any of the Laws of England, much less to alter all the Laws. Nay, I tell you this, I think no body durst ever be so impatient as to move me to it; For if they had, I should have made them such an example, and put such a mark upon them, that all Poesy should know my intentions by it, they being ever to govern by the Laws, and no otherwise.

I desire rightly to be understood, for though I tell you in my Conscience I cannot condemn him of High Treason, yet cannot I clear him of Misde-meanors: therefore I hope you may find one way to satisfie faulties, and your own fears, and not oppose my Conscience.

My Lords, I hope you know what a tender Conscience I am, and I must declare unto you, that to satisfie my people I would do great matters; but in this of Conscience, neither fear, nor any others things.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

The Parliament at this time that they should proceed in this tender point; therefore I cannot suspect you will go about it. Nay, I must confess for Mr. Davenant, I am not in favour in them; though I will not chalk out the way, yet I will shew you that I think my Lord of Stratford is not fit hereafter to serve me, or the Commonwealth in any place of trust, so not to speak as a Confidable. Therefore I leave it to you, Lords, to find out some such way to bring me out of this strait, and keep your selves and the Commonwealth from such inconveniences.

This coming of the King, and the Speech then made relating to the two Houses, that few of them attended on the Solemnities of the next day, May 2, being Sunday, on which the King eldest Daughter married to the Prince of Orange, and the next day five or six thousand of Princes and other tumultuous Citizens came down to Westminster, most of them armed with swords, and demanded of the Lords as they went to the House, Justice and Execution against the Earl of Strafford, and many of them they likewise afflicted in their passage.

The same day intimation was given to the House of Commons of practices upon the English Army, to bring them up to London to save the Parliament; which was an artifice used by some leading men to add to those distractions already raised to fill the minds of the people with fears & jealousies, when in truth all that appeared in reference thereto amounted only to this:

Observation being made of the great tumults about Westminster, which seem’d to threaten the safety of such of the Members of both Houses as were known not to agree with the designs of some passionate men, who controu Lance’d the delivering of Petitions attended and subscribed by the hands of many thousands against the Laws and establishment of the Kingdom, (which yet seem’d to receive some countenance, and to carry some authority, as instances of the affections of so many persons;) it fell into the thoughts of some Officers of the Army of known, and publick affections to their Country, that a Petition of a modest and dutiful nature from the whole Army, For the concurrence and setting all grievances in the Church and State by Law, might be the means of it to bring the noble Houses, and coming from such Body might confirm those, who might be shaken with any fears of power or force by the tumults; but even in this the debate of it had so many intervening difficulties, that it was laid aside two months before any discovery; yet nevertheless this Alarum gave occasion to the Commons immediately to frame a Petition which the same day it was made, was imposed upon all the Members before they were permitted to go out of the House, and was taken by all of them, except the Lord Digby and Mr. Unike of his, and shortly after, it was sent to the Lords, and by them taken also, and afterwards by an order of the House of Commons, all the Subjects of England were enjoyn’d to take it, under pain of being thought unfit of bearing any office either in Church or Commonwealth, to which the Lords would not content. The Petition was in these words:

I A B. do in the presence of Almighty God, the Prince, promise, vow, and protest, to maintain and defend, in all points, as far as lawfully I may, with my life, lands, and effects, the true reformed Protestant Religion, as expressed in the Doctrine of the Church of England, and against all Popery and Popish Innovations within this Realm contrary to the same Doctrine, and according to the duty of my Allegiance to his Majesty King James, of Great Britain and Ireland, as also the Power and Privileges of Parliament, the lawful Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and every person that maketh this Petition in whatsoever he shall do in the lawful prudence of the same. And to my power, and as far as lawfully I may, I will apply, and by all good ways and means endeavour to bring to condign punishment all such as shall either by forces, practices, plots, councils and confpiracies, or otherwise do any thing, to the contrary of anything in this present Petition contained. And further, that I shall in all just and honorable ways, endeavour to preserve the nation and peace between the three Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland; And neither for fear, nor other respect shall relinquish this Promise, Vow, and Petition.

How this Petition was observ’d by most of them that took it, will be discover’d hereafter.

On the fifth of May, ground was taken from the great apprehensions of the House of Commons, that the Parliament might be dissolve’d before Justice should be done upon Delinquents, publick Grievances redress’d, a firm Peace between England and Scotland concluded, and before Provision should be made for the re-payment of such moneys as should be taken upon Credit to answer the immediate emergencies that were at that time in the State: to debate of the necessity of a Bill for the continuance of this Parliament not to be prorog’d or adjourn’d, but by Act of Parliament, in which there was such haste made, that within two days after the first mention of it, it was pas’d in the House of Commons, and carried up to the Lords, where it stood not long, for the temporizing was too great to let a Bill of this Nature be laid aside, and in a few days it came before them, (viz.) on Saturday the 8. th of May, both that, and the Bill of Attainder were pas’d: The Bill of Attainder had a hard passage, of 45 present, there were 19 against it, there were many of the Earls friends that abett’d themselves for fear of the tumults, otherwise the suffrages for him, had more than counterpoys’d the Votes for his death: the same day they sent to the King, to desire access to him, which was granted, and about four a clock they attended in the Banqueting-house at White-Hall, where after some time these two Bills were presented to him, with a signification, that the present danger of the Kingdom, could not admit of delay, and therefore they humbly besought him, to give his Royal assent thereunto. The King told them they should expect his assent on Monday, and so they parted from each other.

On the next day which was Sunday, the King
funds for the Arch-Bishop of Armagh, the Bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, whom he desired as Calvinists to advise him, whether in justice he ought to pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earl, all but the Bishop of Lincoln, were very tender in this affair, the matter of fact they say he could himself be a judge of, having been present at the Tryal; and for the matter of Law, what was Trafalgar, and what not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whose office it was to declare the Law, and who were from therein to carry themselves indifferently between him and his Subjects, that the King might shew mercy to him, and pardon his offence, without any scruple of conscience, they said no man doubted, if other reations of State did not hinder, of which the major part, defir'd neither to be Judges nor Advisers, but the Bishop of Lincoln went a little farther, he urg'd the opinion of the Judges, and the Judgement of the Parliament thereupon, representing the terrible consequences of an instigated multitude, and that no other expedient could be found out to appease the people. It is not said the King was convinc'd, by any thing said to him at this Conference, but the motive superior to all, was a Letter he received from the Earl, wherein he thus concluded.

SIR,

To get Your Majesties Conscience at liberty,

I do most humbly begf you for the preventing of such mischiefs as may happen by Your resolufio, to pass the Bill. By this means to remove prov'd be God, I cannot say this accufed, but I confess this unfortunate thing for the way, towards that bleft agreement which God (I trust) shall for ever establish between You and Your Subjects. Sir, My confent herein shall more acquit You to God, than all the World can do besides: To willing man there is no injury done. And as by God's Grace I forgave all the World, with alemyns and meafefts of infinite conuenience to my judging Soul; So Sir, I can give up the life of this World with all cheerfulnes imagin'd, in the past acknowledge't of Your excellent Favour, and only leg that in Your Goodness, You would vouchsafe to call Your grations regard upon my poor Soul, and his three Sifters, left or more, and no otherwise than their unfortunate Father shall appear more or less guilty of this death. God preferve Your Majesty.

Your Majesties Most Humble and Faithful Subject, and Servant,

STRAFFORD.

On the next day in the morning he sign'd a Commission to the Earl of Arundel, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Pembroke, and others, for the paifing of the two Bills, the one for the continuation of the Parliament, the other the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford, than which Confeffion never any thing past'd from him with greater Reluctancy at the present, or which he bewail'd afterward with greater remorse of conscience, for those themselves that fram'd it, know'd of what dangerous confequence it might be hereafter to the lives and fortunes of the Subjects to let such a prejudic president remain in force, a clause was added to the Bill, that it should not be drawn into example for the time to come; which because it may seem strange to them that know it not, we shall here iffer so much of the enacting part thereof as concerns this point, (for the preamble is only a recital of the heads of the Accufation.)

Be it therefore encaled by the Kings Most Excellent MAjesty, and by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the fame, that the said Earl of Strafford for the heinous Crimes and Offences aforefaid, fland and be adjudged and attainted of High Treafon, and flall suffer such pain of death, and incur such forfeiture of his Goods and Charters, Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, of any Estate of Freehold or Inheritance in the said Kingdoms of England and Ireland, which the said Earl or any other to his next, or in trust for him, have, or had the first day of the sitting of this present Parliament, or at any time since. Provided, that no Judge or Judges, Juftice or Juftices whatever, shall adjudge or interpret any Act or thing to be Treafon, nor bear or determine any Treafon, nor in any other manner than he or they should be ought to have done before the making of this Act, &c. As if this Act had never been made.

Thus have we Trafalgar and no Trafalgar in the selfsame action, that being judg'd Trefon in this one man, which never was to be judg'd Trefon in any other.

What inducements the King had to pass this Act, and with what regard he did it we have heard, but who drew him to the other may be now inquir'd, do me attribute it to the Lord Say then Master of the Wards, & one of his Majesties Privy Council, who as it is reported when the King ask'd him if a continuance for seven years might not serve the turn, made answer; that he hoped they would dispatch all businefs in so many Moneths, and that if his Majesty pass'd the Bill, it should be far from the making the Parliament Perpetual, that he was confident they would defend it for three years, but must lay the blame on the Marchesa of Hamilton, who by cutting out so much work for the King in England, doubted not mercy on his designt in Scotland without interruption, for it is credibly faid, that he did brag much of this service when he was in that Kingdom, affirming frequently that he had got a Perpetual Parliament for the English, and would procure the like for the Scots before he had done: Although the King sign'd the Commission for passing of these Acts, yet the Royal affent was not given to them till the tenth of May, and on the next day, the King wrote to the Lords by the Prince of Wales, in these words:

My Lords,

I did yesterdays signifie the Juflice of the Kingdom by passing the Bill of Attainder against the Earl of Strafford. But Mercy being an inherent & inseparable to a King as Juflice, I deifiue in some measure to shew that likefaire, by offering that unfortunate man to Juflice the natural ends of his life.
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life in some close imprisonment; sot, that if he ever make the least offer to escape, or offer directly or indirectly to meddle in any sort of public business, especially with me, either by Message or Letter, it shall confine his life without further Process. This, it may be done without the discontents of my people, will be an unutterable contentment to me.

To which end, as in the first place, by this Letter do carefully direct your approbation, and to endear it the more, have chosen him to carry it, who of all your Honours must dear unto me: So I desire that by conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise af- furing you, that the exercise of Mercy is no more pleasing to me, than to see both Houses of Parliaments content; for my sake that I found underate the severity of the Law in so important a case.

I will not say that your complying with me in this my intended Mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more careful in grunting your just grievances. But if no less than his life can satisfy my People, I must say, Fiat justitia. I was again recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest,

Your unutterable and affectionate friend,

Charles R.

If he must die, it were Charity to reprieve him till Saturday.

This Letter was twice read in the House of Peers, who after consideration thereof, sent twelve of their number to the King, to signify to him, that neither of the two intentions express in the Letter, could with duty in them, or without danger to his Person the Queen, be possibly admitted. Which being accomplished, and more expressions offered, the King touch'd no more words to convey his thoughts, but that he intended by his Letter, was with an if, if it may be done without discontent to his people. If it cannot be, I say again the same that I wrote, Fiat justitia.

My other intention proceeding out of Charity, for a few days recipt, was upon certain information, that the estate was so distracted that it ne- cessarily required some few days for the settle- ment thereof.

Whereunto the Lords answered their purpose was to be fuitors to his Majesty for favour to be showed to his innocent Children, and if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well pleasing to his Majes- try, who hereupon departed from the Lords. At his Majesties departure they offered up into his hands the Letter it fell which he had writ. But he pleased to say, What I have written to you, I shall be content it be registred in your House. In it you fee my mind, I hope you will use it to mine Honour.

Upon Wednesday the 12th of May, the Earl was summon'd to his period: He was conveyed from the Tower by a Court of Guard, formed of the trained Bands. Before him went the Marshal men, next the Sheriffs Officers with Halberts, then the Warders of the Tower, then the Earl Gentleman-Usher bare-headed, and next him the Earl himself accompanied with the Primate of Armagh and others. Upon his first coming forth, being to pass near the Arch-Bishops lodging (who stood at the window waiting for his approach) he lifted up his eyes, and clipping the Arch-Bishop, bestowed a low obeisance towards him, saying, My Lord, your Prayers, and your Blessing; the Arch-Bishop lift up his hands, and bestowed both; but overcome with grief fell to the ground in amni desigus. The Earl proceeding a little farther, he bowed the second time, saying, Farewell my Lord, God protect your innocencce.

Being brought to the Scaffold, he address his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect:

My Lord Primate of Ireland,

It is my very great content that I have your Lordship by me this day, in regard I have been known to you this many years, and I do think God and your Lordship for it that you are here. I am come hither by the good will and pleasure of Almighty to pay that last debt I owe it sin. And to sum to that Judgment which both past a gainst me. I do it with a very contented and quiet mind; I thank God I do freely forgive all the world. I thank God, I can say it and truly too.

My Confession bearing me witness, that in all my employments since I had the honour to serve his Majesty, I never had anything in the purpose of my heart, but what tended to the fame and individual prosperity of King and People, although it hath been my ill fortune to be misconstrued.

There is one thing I desire to free my self of, & I am confident I shall obtain your Christian charity in the belief of it. I was so far from being against Parliaments, that I did always think the Parliaments of England, were the most happy confusions that any Kingdom or nation lived under. The least means under God to make the King and People happy.

For my part I here acquit all the world, and declare the God of Heaven is ready to forgive them that contrived it, though in the intentions and purports of my heart, I am not made guilty of what I die for. And it is a great comfort for me, that his Majesty conceives me not writing so heavy a punishment as this.

I wish this Kingdom all prosperity and happi- nefs, and desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be written in Letters of Blood. Let me never be so unhappye as that the least drop of my blood should rise up in Judgment against any of you, but I fear you are in the wrong way.

I profess that I die a true and obedient Son of the Church of England wherin I was born, and in which I was bred. Peace and prosperity be ever to its

This said, he declared all present to affit him in his Prayers, wherein he continued near a quarter of an hour, then rising up he bad all his friends farewell, especially by name his Brother Sir George Wentworth, by whom he lent his love to his wife and blessing to his Children, willing him to charge his Son, never to meddle with the Patri- mony of the Church.

Then he adddress himself to the Block, and having stood a while, he gave the Executioner the token of his peremptoriness, where the Heads-man doing his office, severed his head from his Body at the first stroke. Thus died this un- fortunate Earl. A Gentleman he was of excellent endowments, of a happy fluence in Speech, and of a stretching and found Judgment in Coun- sel, and always faithful to his Master therefor. The Scots designing some alterations in that Kingdom, pre-
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The Bishop of London Office of Treasurer, was put into the hands of five Commissioners; the Earl of Hartford was sworn Governor of the Prince in the room of the Earl of Newcastle, and the Earl of Essex Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Housethold in the place of the Earl of Pembroke; the Office of Master of the Wardes was resign’d by the Lord Corington, and conferred on the Lord Say; and the Earl of Leicester was made Lieutenant of Ireland: having thus begun, the King was resolved to proportion remedies to all the visible known Dilities of the State, by the advice and Council of both Houses of Parliament, making hitherto no rule to his conciliating but their asking: Thus they gain’d from him the abolition of the Star-Chamber; a Court formerly created by Act of Parliament. 

The High Commission Court had proceeded with too much rigour, having for its out-grown the power of Law that it would not be limited and guided by it, and therefore that Branch of the Statute by which it was erected was repealed. The Wits for Ship-moneys, and all the proceedings in that business were by the King’s consent adjudged void, and the Judgments, Entretains, and Entries thereupon vacated and cancelled, though all the Judges had subcribed unanimously to the lawfulness of it in time of danger, of which danger the King was declared to be the Judge; and moreover, being brought to a publick Trial, after it had been argued by Countet on both sides in the Courts of Justice, and by all the Judges in the Exchequer Chamber there pass’d a definitive Sentence for it: but this abolition of Ship-money by a Law was not enough, for Bramhall, Trever, Wiffen, Davenvort, and Crawley five of the Judges that gave their opinions for it were impeached of high Misdemeanors for doing, and barely another of the Judges accused of Treason, but no further prosecution was made thereon.

Under colour of executing the Forrest Laws many had been vext by premonitions, fines, and imprisonments, for remedy whereof, the King pass’d a Law, for the certainty of the Meats, Lands, woods, and Bounds of all the Forrests in England, with great provision for the ease of the Subject in that behalf, likewise he pass’d a Law against divers incroachments and oppressions in the Stanfey Courts, and in an Act for granting the Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage to him, in the Preamble thereof he parted with his Title of imposing: a power adjudged good, and exercis’d by former Kings, and though disputed, never resolv’d against by Judgment in Parliament. And by an Act for regulating the Office for Clerk of the Market, because the undue execution thereof had been grievous to many of the people; he contented that no Clerk of the Market of his House, should hereafter execute his Office in any part of the Kingdom, but only within the Verge of the Court, and granted the execution of that Office, to the Mayors and Bailiffs of Cities Corporate, and to the Lords of Liberties and Manors; and in an Act obtained from him for prevention of vexatious proceedings touching the Order of Knighthood he absolutely partiz’d with and discharg’d a right and duty as unquestionably due prejudice to the Kings Government there both in Church and State, were oppos’d therein by him, which made him formidable to them and they therefore became his mortal enemies, fo that some said, he suffered not so much a farce to the Senses, revenge, as to their fear: his Character is express’d by the King his Master, who said, He looked upon the Earl of Strafford, as a Gentleman whose great abilities might make a Prince rather afraid, than asum’d to employ him in the greatest affairs of State.

For those were prone to create in him great confidence of undertakings, and this was like enough to betray him to great errors and many enemies; whereof he could not but contract good store, while moving on so high a Sphere, and with so vigour a Lanthorn, he must needs (as the Sun) raise many envious exhalations, which condens’d by a Popular Ondium, were capable to call a cloud upon the brightest merit and integrity. The Children were referred to their honor and Estate in the Petition of the Lords and Commons; and the Commons were seemingly most favour’d therein, to make some recom pense to them, to give proof to the Nobility (least they should be shamed by the example) that not so much the estate as the man was aimed at; but when the Kingdom had need of that head for its service, they could not restore it, for at this time our want of his great abilities makes them better understand than our fruition of them, so dark is our humane understanding in preferring that, which is useful and virtuous amongst us. Though we were enter’d into great dispensers at this time, yet the Kingdom was mindful of the restitution of his Nephew the Elector Palatine, who was to attend the Emperor at a Diet to be held at Kaisersbaun, and Sir Thomas Rec was appointed Embassador from hence, to shew him there, & to add to the repetition of the Embassage, the Parliament joyn’d with the King in a Manifesto on the Electors behalf, but no success ensued.

The Parliament now in good security and power, began to think themselves concern’d to disband both the Armies. The Scots by the first cessation, were limited but for a Month, but they having resolv’d not to part with them, till they had procured the passage of several Laws in agitation their stay was from time to time enlarged, till there was almost nothing left for the King to grant, as by several of the Acts hereafter mentioned may appear.

The Triennial Parliament before spoken of was a great concession, for thereby the power of calling Parliament, in case of neglect or refusal, was put into the hands of Sheriffs, and Constables, which every one thought, a great foundation of confidence between the Kings and his people; but became many of the peoples grievances were conceived to proceed from the great liberty of the Council-Board, or from some Orders and directions from them, the King admitted to his Privy Council, the Earls of Hartford, Essex, Bedfor, Warwick, the Lord Viscount Say, and some others, all of them eminent in estate with some of them for their reputation of Honor & Justice, that some irregularities might be there committed; and divers of the Kings most eminent Officers surrendered their Offices to the King, to enable him to the better to gratifie most of them.
due to him by the law as any service he could challenge; He parted also with his propriety in the making of Gun-powder, and contented to an Act, for declaration of his Power in pressing Southerners, enjoyed by all his Predecessors for defence of his Person and the Realm: But that which chiefly protested the disbandoing of the Armies, was a Bill tender'd to the House of Commons, for the abdication of Bishops root and branch, but that took no effect, and now the Treaty between the two Kingdoms being finish'd, and an Act pass'd for confirmation thereof, the Armies were suddenly to be disbanded, and for that purpose the Earl of Holland was made General of the English Army, and for the payment of them and other debts of the Kingdom, a Pole-Bill was pass'd, wherein the whole Kingdom was assay'd, every Duke at 100, a Marquis at 80, Earls 60, Vicomtains and Barons at 40, Knights of the Bath 30, Knights Bachelor at 30, Esquires 10, and every Gentleman dispensing 100, per annum, 15, and all others of ability, a competent proportion; the meanest through the whole Kingdom was not excused under fix pence; As for the 300000, voted to be paid to the Scots towards a Supply of their losses, it was agreed that 160000, thereof should be paid at Midsummer come twelve-month, and the other 200000, two years after, which was to be secured to them by Act of Parliament.

And on the sixth of August both Armies were disbanded, and four days after the King began his Journey to Scotland to settle the affairs of that Nation, and on the same day both Houses of Parliament adjourn'd themselves to the 20th of October, and a Committee of the House of Commons consisting of fifty Members, was appointed to sit during the recess.

The King at his coming into Scotland, was received there with great demonstrations of affection by all the people, and to oblige them to him, he confirm'd not only the Articles of the Treaty between the two Nations by Act of Parliament, but all his former concessions sic, and all such things as had been act by them in their general assemblies; And likewise the better to please them, he conferred 3 Titles of Honour and dignity, 2000, and great places of power, trust and profit on others: amongst these the Marquess of Hamilton was made Duke of Hamilton, General Leslie was created Earl of Lennyr, who was to transport with a sense of the King's favour and bounty to him, that he often protest'd, and once at Perth upon his knees in the House of the Earl of Kenmawj, that he would never bear Arms against the King.

A while after the King being at Edinburg, some information was given to the Marquesses of Hamilton and Argyle, that there was some design upon their persons, which made them for some few days withdraw themselves from the Parliament out of Edinburgh, but their persons were of such quality and estimation in Scotland, that great care was taken to discover the ground thereof, and after full examination by the Parliament, upon the whole, they themselves, and that great Conclav were satisfied, that the information first given to them, could not be made good to the proof of any design to the danger of their persons; but the King who was a little reflect'd on in the first information, could not conceal his resentment of this carriage in Hamilton, and when he delivered to him his Patent of Duke in Parliament (according to the manner of that Nation,) he told him he had not design'd to be mistrusted by him, for he knew well when he was accus'd to him of High Treason, he permitted him even then to lie in his Bed-Chamber: This reproof had no great impression on the new Duke, though he seem'd outwardly much troubled for having given the King so just a cause of displeasure,

yet upon the first report of this business at London (without laying to hear the opinion of the Parliament of Scotland, who had fully examine'd it,) strange interpretations were made upon the matter as highly and nearly concerning the peace of England, and a sudden resolution was taken full by the Committee during the recess, and after by the Parliament to have a guard for the defence of London, Westminster, and both Houses of Parliament, which troubled the minds of the people with the apprehension of new danger, when they were so lately freed from the fears of two Armies.

About the end of October this year, a Rebellion broke out in Ireland, which was carried to close, that no certain notice was given of the conspiracy till the very evening before it was to be put in Execution.

The innocent Protestants were upon a sudden dizzified of their Estates, and the persons of above 200000 men, women and children, murdered, within the space of one Moneth, and many of them with exquisite and unheard of tortures, that which increas'd the wonder of most men was, the consideration that the antient hatred which the Irish, (a thing incident to conquer'd Nations) had born to the English, did now seem to be forgotten; forty years of peace had compose'd those two Nations into one body, and cemented them together by all confections of alliance, by inter-marriages, and connivance, which was in outward appearance strengthen'd by frequent entertainments, and all kinds of friendly neighbourhood.

This design was to be put in execution on the 13th of October, upon which day, not only the Castle of Dublin, the Kingdom's chief Magazine, a Store-house of 100000 arms at that time, but all other Posts and Magazines in that Kingdom, were to be surpriz'd, and all the English and Protestants that joyd not with them, to be murder'd.

The feizure of Dublin Castle was prevented by timely discovery of the Plot to the two Lords O Conolly Justices, by oneown O Conolly of Irish Extraht, by discovery of the Plot, prevent'd, but a Protestant, which discovery was but the very night before that fatal day, and the occasion of it very accidental, by one Hugh Mac Mahon, Grandoon to the great Tyrone, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, in the County of Monamon, & one that had been a Lieutenant Colonel in the King of Spain's Service, who trusted this Owen with some relations concerning it at a Tavern.

Upon which discovery, Mac Mahon and the Lord Mac-Gruy were presently apprehended by the Lords Justices, and many Conspirators of Lord Macgruys appre-
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1641.

The Earl of Leicester chuses part of the Army of Ireland.

The Irish rebellion occasioned by the intestine disorders in Scotland.

The King receives intelligence of what happened in Ireland and orders Sir James Stanhope to aid, which they execute.

O Conolly discovers the Prioress of the Placard, who is hanged.

The 1st regiment of the Irish Commonwealth for which they did, in order to dishearten the Eng.

lott in one day. But the horrid design was past prevention, as to the general; for the Conspirators were up at the day's end in all Counties round about; and poor English Protestants were murdered at Dublin every day, robbed and spoiled of all they had, retaining how their Houses were bestowed, how Towns and Villages in all parts were fired, and cruel outrages committed.

The Lords Justices, Sir William Parsons, and Sir John Satres taking those Arms which they found in Dublin, and aiming whom they could to defend themselves, dispatched Letters to the King in Scotland, and the Earl of Leicester, then chosen Deputy, but faying in England.

I was generally said, the late insurrection (we must not call it Rebellion) in Scotland gave the first encouramgement to this in Ireland, and the pretences were in many of them the same, namely, for liberty of conscience, not to have the English Bishops and Liturgie impo'd upon them, and, as those in Scotland, being mighty zealous in their Religion, when once they were pos'd with a possibility of complying their designs, executed whatever the impromptu dictates of Superstition, or wicked exhortation of Priests could induce them to in this exceeding the actions of the Scots, whose Religion founded on more pious Principles, infracted them not to such bloody works.

The Lords Justices sent Sir Henry Spessgood to Scotland to the King, with intelligence of all that hapned, and thereupon he sent Sir James Stuart to the Lords of the Privy-Council in Ireland, to acquaint them with his knowledge and instructions, and to carry all that money that his present forces could supply; He mov'd also the Parliament of Scotland, (as being nearest) to a speedy help, but they excit'd their aide, because Ireland was dependent upon the Crown of England, but they said, if the State of England would use any of their men for that service, they would make propositions in order to it; at the same time likewise he sent Pott to the Parliament of England, and a while after Owen O Conolly the first discoverer of the Plot, brought Letters to London to the Earl of Leicester with an account of it, whereupon the Lords Justices desired some reward might be given to him; upon the receipt of which the Parliament Voted him a gift of five hundred pounds, and an annuity of 300 l. a year, and at a conference of both Houses they resolved to consider of the relief of Ireland, and passed several Votes to that end; but little was done for their relief till the King returned to London which was about the end of November.

The Irish dishearten the English from any resistance, bragg'd that the Queen was with their Army; that the King would amongst them with Auxiliary Forces; that they did but maintain his candid against the Puritans; that they had the Kings Commission for what they did (showing indeed a Patent that themelves had drawn, but thereto was affixed an old Broad Seal that had been taken from an obsolete Patent out of Fernham Abbey by one Plunket, in the presence of many of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many.) That the Scots were in confidence with them, to beget a faith of which, they obtained for some time from the lives and fortunes of those of that nation among them.

On the other side to encourage the Natives of their own part, they produced religious Letters, wherein they were informed from England, that the Parliament had passed an Act, that all the Irish should be compelled to the Protestant worship, and therefore for the first offence should forfeit all their Goods, for the second their Estates, and for the third their lives. Besides they promised them with the hopes of Liberty; that the English yoke should be shaken off, that they should have a King of their own Nation; and that the Goods and Estates of the English should be divided among the Natives.

With these hopes of Spoil and Liberty in the first, the Rebellion increased. The Rebels in Ulster under the conduct of Sir Phelim O Neill, fitted by Turlock oncual his Brother, Rory MacGarts Brother to the Lord MacGates, Philip O Neill, Macierre O Neill, Sir Conna Mac Gennet, called Mac Ruain, and others had perfec't themselves of all the strong places in Ulster, (London-Derry, Colerain, & the Town and Castle of Enniskillen excepted) many places which the English defended, and they could not either surprize by Treachery, or take by plain force, they had hurried to them upon compulsion and Articles, which they afterwards most perfidiously broke, butchering and massacring the poor English with their own pity or compassion to Age or Sex, though they still spared the Scottish Plantations in Ulster, because of their numbers; and likewise for fear of the Scottish Army so easily to be transported into the North parts of Ireland, till such time as their General Sir Phelim O Neill (one of the Race of the late bloody Earl of Tyrone, of English Education, a Gentleman of Lincoln-Inn, and a Professed Protestant till some time before) having gathered together a numerous rabble of the natives, who daily flock'd in to him, fell upon their Quarters; where though he exterrif'd not that cruelly upon their persons which he did upon the English, yet he deprived them both of their goods and livings, enforcing many of them to fly away naked to the Scottish Horse; from thence he marched into the English Pale, and in the beginning of November he took Dundalk, and from after he encamped at Ards within seven miles of Drogheda.

The King finding his stay in Scotland to be somewhat longer than he expected, that the business of Ireland might not suffer thereby, refer'd the whole business of Ireland to the Parliament of England, who had undertaken the charge and management of the Wars, wherewith the Earl of Leicester acquainted the Lords Justices, letting them know further, that they had declared a speedy and vigorous assistance, and had designed for their present supply, the sum of 5000 l. which would be raised with all convenient speed.

By this time the Lords of the Council in Ireland had armed as many as they were able, and given Commissions for raising of several Regiments, which were put into the hands (for the most part) of Gallant men, as their actions afterwards testified to the world; Sir Charles Coote, an active, and valiant man (who was also
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1641. made Governor of Dublin) with great speed, made up his Regiment out of the poor, robbed, and imprisoned English, which had fled to Dublin; Sir Henry Tichborn a worthy Commander was dispatched away with a Regiment of Foot, to keep Tredagh from the approaching Rebels: the Lord Lortem, and Sir Thomas Lucy, Captain Armstrong, Captain Turner, with others raised many Companies of Soulsiders there.

This was done about the middle of November; at which time also the Earl of Ormond with his well armed Troop of Horse came to Dublin; wherein with few days after, he was by a Commission sent from the Earl of Leicetler, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (as likewise by the King's approbation from Scotland signified in a Letter,) made Lieutenant General of all the Forces there, who being a person of great ability, credit and reputation in that Kingdom, and a Protestant, did very eminent service against the Rebels. The Parliament in prosecution of their great promises, sent over twenty thousand pounds in money which arrived seasonably at this time, their treasure being much exhausted, by paying the new Companies they had raised, but with this finall relief they were much encouraged, and very successful service was performed in divers places against the Irish, but no levies of men were made in England, till the King had disclaimed his power of preserving Soulsiders, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were afterward raised against him; the first Soulsiders they sent was a Regiment under Sir Simon Harcourt, who arrived in Ireland on the last of December.

Whilst that Kingdom was thus distress'd, the King returned out of Scotland into England about the end of November, and was by the City of London entertained, feated and conducted to his Palace at whitehall with as pompous solemnity, and most expreffions of love and duty as ever any King of England was, and the chief of them afterward were treated by him at Hampton-Court, where several of the Aldermen had the honour of Knighthood conferred upon them; but this little prospect of happiness was quickly clouded by the Monarch's displeasure of the State of the Kingdom presented to him at Hampton-Court a few days after his arrival there, from the House of Commons, which they prepared for him against his coming to London, wherein all the mistakes and misfortunes which had happened from the Kings first coming to the Crown and before, to that very hour were with great apsery recited.

Most moderate men wondered at this carriage towards the King, since he had from the first sitting of the Parliament, denied nothing to them, they reasonably asked, and when he went to Scotland it was voiced to all, that he parted a gracious King, from a contented people; and in Scotland he gave to much satisfaction to that people (though afterward as appeared by their unfafisfied they were persuaded) that they caused an Act (then in force) to be published and revived, That it should be detectable and demandable treason in the highest degree that could be for any of the Scots Nation conjointly or singly to levy Arms, or any Military Forces upon any presence whatever, without the Kings Commissio.
The Commons having passed a Bill of disabling all persons in holy orders to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority (wherein the Votes of the Bishops in the House of Peers were taken away) when it came to the Lords House it met with a very cold reception; but the tumultuous rabble were so inflamed that they assailed and evildoctrine the Peers even at the doors of their House, crying out against Bishops and binding most of their malice against them, whereby they were deterred from doing their duty; and afterwards they went to White-Hall, and made a stand before the Gate in a great body, laying, they would have no more Porters-Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased: and when the Lords at a conference with the House of Commons, desired they would join with them in a Declaration for suppressing such tumults, several speeches were made in justification of them, Mr. Pam laying God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten people to obtain their just defires in such a way.

The Lords having in vain tried this way, appointed by advice of the Judges a Writ to be directed to the Sheriffs and Justices upon divers Statutes to suppress all tumultuous resort, in obedience to which the Justices appointed the Constables and others to attend about Westminster, to hinder that unlawful confusion of people, which was no sooner done, but the Constables and Justices of the Peace were sent for by the House of Commons, and the setting forth a Watch was voted to be a breach of Privilege, and before any conference with the Lords, by whose direction that Legal Writ issued out, the Watch were discharged, and one of the Justices for doing his duty according to that Writ was sent to the Tower.

These licentious and unpunished tumults gave occasion to the Bishops (who could not repair to the House without danger of their lives') to frame their Petition and Protestation to the King and Peers, which was to this purpose:—

They protested themselves to abate all allusions or opinions tending to Popery, or any malignity against the State; but were willing and ready to perform their duties in Parliament, but whereas coming to perform that duty and service, they have been unduly attacked, oppressed, and put in fear of their lives by multitudes of people, and can find no redress or protection upon complaint made, they therefore humbly protest before his Majesty and the Noble Peers that laying to themselves all their Rights and Interests of Siting and Voting in that House at other times, they dare not sit and vote in the House of Peers, until his Majesty shall further secure them. And because their fears are not in vain, but upon true grounds and objects, they do in all duty and humility therefore protest before his Majesty and the Peers, against all Laws, Orders, Votes, Resolutions and Determinations, as in themselfs null and of none effect, which in their absence since the 27th of this Instant December 1641, have already passed, as likewise against all such as shall hereafter pass, during this their enforced absence from the said House. Which Protestation they desired the King to command the Clerk of that House to record.

The Lords were so much displeased at this Protestation, that immediately at a conference with the Commons, they declared it was of dangerous consequence, and deeply intrenching upon the fundamental Privileges & being of Parliament, at which the Commons took to great a heat, that after a little debate, they pass a resolution by vote to accuse them of High Treason, and sent Mr. Glyn to the Lords House to impeach them thereof, which caused their commitment to the Tower, where they continued about four months.

The King thinking himself at this time unsafe at Whitehall without a Guard, accepted of the offer of some Gentlemen of the Inns of Court to be a Guard to him, by which means the insolency of the Rabble was in some degree check'd, but they instructed by their heads laboured to make it more unsafe to the King, by feeling on this occasion to raise the rage and jealousy of the whole City against him. For at midnight there were cries made in the streets of London, that all people should arise to their defence; for the King with his Papists were coming to fire the City, and cut their throats in their beds; then which though nothing was more false, yet it found the effects of truth; and the people as such Alarms being terrified from sleep, the impressions of those nightly fears lay long upon their Spirits in the day, and filled them almost with madness.

The King upon this great message to the Common Council of London, complaining of tumultuous assemblies of the people from the City daily retorting to Westminster to the disturbance of that Place and his Palace at Whitehall, but the House of Commons to obviate this, Petitioned him for a Guard for security of their Persons, alleading, that there was a malignant party, but terly envomened against them, who did daily gather strength and confidence, and were now come to that height of boldness, as to give out insolent and menacing speeches against the Parliament itself. It was therefore their humble defires that they might have a Guard out of the City, commanded by the Earl of Essex, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household, of whole fidelity to the King and Commonwealth no question was ever made.

This Petition was denied by the King; but with a solemn engagement of himself by the word of a King, that the security of all, and every one of them from violence was, and ever should be as much his care, as the preservation of himself and his children, and if this general assurance would not suffice, to remove those apprehensions, he would command such a Guard to wait upon them, as he would be responsible for to Almighty God.

The King at such time as he was in Scotland, and expostulated with some of the Chief among them, touching their coming into England in a Hostile manner, and found, that some who were now leading men in the Houses of Parliament, had invited them to it. And having furnisht himself with sufficient proofs thereof, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them; That is to say, the Lord Kimbolton a member of the House of Peers, Desavill Holles Esq. Sir Arthur Haslingworth, Mr. Hammond, Mr. Pam, and Mr. Stradley, A a a s all
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1641.

The Commons voted a breach of Privilege.

This Act of the Kings was voted by the Commons a breach of Privilege, and strange reports and scandals were raised against him in the City of London, by the friends of the accused Members, as that he had offered violence to the House of Commons, and came thither with force to murder several Members, and used threatening speeches against the Parliament, with which the City was sopartial, that unusual Watches were set, and Guards placed in several places thereof, as if some desperate attempt or assault were to be made upon it; and as if all men were now abdolved from the rules of obedience; Publick direction is given, forwarding down the Train-Bands of the City to Westminster on a day appointed, to guard and bring to triumph the Persons accused of High Treason, as such worthy Patriots, that the Common-wealth it self could not forbear, but with reference to them.

This coming to the knowledge of the King, although many gallant and faithful Servants preferred their Service, to curb any insolencies that should be attempted on him, yet he resolved to withdraw himself, with the Queen and their children to Hampton Court, to give time for their jealousies and rankois to waver and perish. And although the King was not conscious to himself of any error in his first proceeding against their Members, remembering that in a Petition from both Houses of Parliament in the beginning of his Reign, in the case of the Earl of Arundel it was asserted, that in case of Treason, Felony, &c. breach of Peace, Privilege of Parliament doth not extend; yet neither his devising from the Protection of that impeachment, nor any thing that he could either say or do, would give satisfaction.

But that nothing might be omitted in him to manifest the clemency of his intentions, he sent a message to the Parliament of the twentyeth day of January, wherein in gracious expreptions he professed that since particular Grievances and Distractions were too many, and would be too tedious to be presented by themselves, that they would compose and digest them into one entire Body, that so both be and themselves might be able to make the more clear Judgement of them: And that is shown then appear, by what he would do, how far he had been from intending or designing any of those things, which so great fears and jealousies of some Persons seemed to apprehend; and how ready he would be to equal or exceed the greatest examples of most indulgent Princes in their Acts of Grace and Favor to the People.

This Message was receivd by the Parliament with thanks, and most people expected very good effects of it, but the accused Members and their faction, fearing this good disposition of the King might put an end to their Empire, cast all about ways how they might obstruct the settlement of affairs, and in a Petition to the King on pretence the better to enable them to discharge, their duties in those matters, they defid him to raise up to them a faire ground of confidence by putting the Tower of London into their hands, together with the Command of the Royal Navy, as also all the Forts, Castles, and Train-Bands of the Kingdom, all which they comprehended under the name of the Militia: This Petition was ill reliev'd.
The Reign of King CHARLES the First.

1641.

The Queen accompanies the Prince of Orange into Holland.

The King removes to York.

The Parliament send after him in his journey to York, two Petitions for the Militia, one came to him at Theobalds, and the other at Huntington, to both of which he gave a denial, but since they could not have it by his consent, they took it without. and both Houses passed it by an Ordinance, and sealed it in divers Counties in the hands of such as they reputed the most eminent.

The King look'd upon this as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surpris'd, he issued out several Committisons of Array to persons of the most eminent quality, to muster, train, and array the Subjects for defence of himself and the Kingdom; and because of the indisposition of the Earl of Northumberland to command the Fleet, the King appointed Sir John Pennington in his place; but the Parliament by a message of the 28th of March, dislik'd of that choice, and recommended the Earl of Warwick to the King, but this the King would not admit of; Nevertheless, they authorized him to command the Fleet without the King's consent, and within a few Moneths they used such arts, that he became poises'd of the whole Navy: At Hull the King had a Magazine of Arms, and ammunition provided for the late intended War against the Scots, which was laid up there, when the occasion of that War was taken away. Of this Town the King himself, being poises'd, and to make use of his own Arms and Ammunition for his own Preservation, but coming before the Gates of the Town, he was declared entrance by Sir John Hotham, who by the appointment of the House of Commons, had newly taken Charge of that place.

The King thereupon proclaimed him Traytor, and by letters to the Parliament complain'd to them of the indignity, and required satisfaction; but they justified him therein, and sent a Committee of the Lords and Commons to reside there, for the better securing of the Garrison to them, and they gave the Governour power to raise the Train-bands for his defence. The King was forc'd for the time to induce this indignity, but being very intent of subduing the Rebellion of Ireland, he sent a Message to the Parliament to declare his intention to go thither in Person, and acquainted them with his purpose in order thereunto, to raise two thousand Foot, and two hundred Horse in the Counties near Clefsor for a Guard to his Person, which was so Grateful news to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland, that they very much rejoic'd thereat, but the Parliament were so jealous of any thing that tended to the King's security, that they resolved to oppose it, but in regard it was a popular action, they were forced to use art in it; They therefore many inconveniences in the undertaking such a junction, both in the hazard of the King's person, and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament; but the chief matter was an apprehension, that hereby the King might have a good occasion of rousing Souldiers for his defence against the designs and contrivances against him; wherefore in the conclusion of their answer to the King's message, They declare, that they cannot consent to any levies but such as they shall advise and direct, and if any be otherwise rais'd, they must decline against them.

The King did hereby decline the levying of Guards and his Journey to Ireland, but reflecting now upon the affront of Sir John Hotham to him, and hearing that the Parliament against his consent had raised Guards to themselves, He summoned the Gentry of York-shire to his affiance, the Parliament declared, they had not superseded the Gentry of York-shire to a meeting, and acquainted them, That his Magazine at Hull was going to be taken from him against his will, the Militia against the Law, and his consent, put in Execution, and Sir John Hotham's letters countermand'd; so that upon these considerations, he was resolv'd to have a Guard to secure his Person, in which he pressed his influence, that he might be able to protect them, the Laws, and the true Protestant Religion from violation, or injury.

The Kings desires herein were with great satisfaction comply'd with, but the Parliament, upon notice thereof, declared, That it is against the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, that any of the Subjects thereof, should be commanded by the King to attend him at his pleasure, and that whatsoever, upon presence of his Majesties command, shall take up Arms in a War-like manner, shall be esteemed disturbers of the Peace, and to be proceeded against accordingly; but this did not terrify the people of York-shire from doing their duty to the King.

The breach now began to grow very wide, and many Members of both Houses repaired to the King to York, insomuch that in a very short space, there were more of the Peers at York, than sitting with the Parliament at Westminster.

The Commons, that they might not seem to desert at this time, sent up an impeachment to the House of Lords against nine of those Peers that deserted, that is to say, The Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Devonshire, the Earl of Devon, the Earl of Monmouth, the Lord Howard of Charlton, and the Lord Rich for high Crimes and Misdemeanors; the substance whereof was, "For that contrary to their duty, they had deterred their attendance on the House, abetting themselves, after a Vote pass'd in both Houses; That the King seduced by wicked Council, instated to make War against the Parliament, and that whatsoever served or affilied him in that War, was adjudged a Traytor."

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The Reign of King Charles the First.

1642.

1. **The nine Lords cen-**

fured.

Upon the impeachment, the House of Peers entered into debate thereof, and the nine Lords were confined:

1. *Never to sit more as Members of that House.*

2. *That they should be utterly incapable of any benefits or Privileges of Parliament, and that they should suffer imprisonment during their pleasure.*

Not long after this, the Lord Keeper Littleton went away the Great Seal to the King, by one Mr. Ellis, who was sent to him for it, and the next day he himself followed it, and came safe to the King at York; but this departure of the Seal, put the Parliament to a great plauge, and they (in vain) to intercept it in its passage.

The King found himself in very good eftream in the Northern parts, but he was rather willing to prevent the effusion of Blood, by any reasonable accommodation, than engage the Nation in a Civil War; and during his abode at York many Messages and Replies to that purpose passed between him and the Parliament, and at last, that they might not seem altogether averse from Peace, about the beginning of June they sent a Petition to the King with Nineteen Propositions.

The Propositions were:

1. **That all the Kings Privy Council, great Officers, and Ministers of State may be put out, excepting such as the Parliament shall approve, and to affign them an Oath.**

2. *But all affairs of State be managed by the Parliament, except such matters as are transferred to them by the Privy Council,* and to be concluded by the Major part of the Nobility under their hands: the full number not to exceed five and twenty, nor under fifteen; and if any place fall void in the interval of Parliament, then the major part of the Councils to choose one to be confirmed at the next Session of Parliament.

3. **That all the Great Officers of the Kingdom shall be chosen with approbation of Parliament,** &c. as before said.


5. **Their Marriages to be treated and concluded by Parliament, &c.**

6. *The Laws against Papifts, Priests, and others be executed without Toleration or Dispensation, except by Parliament.*

7. **No Papift Lord or Peer to have Vote in Parliament, and their Children to be educated in the Protestant Faith.**

8. **To reform Church Government as the Parliament shall advise.**

9. **To settle the Militia as the Parliament have ordered, and for the King to recall all his Declarations published against their Ordinances therein.**

10. **All Privy Councillors and Judges to take Oath for maintenance of the Petition of Rights, and other Statutes which shall be made this Parliament.**

11. **All Officers placed by Parliament to hold their places quam dixit bene gejfinit.**

12. **All Members of Parliament put out during this time to be restored again.**

13. *The Justice of Parliament to pass upon all Delinquents, and they to appear or abide their confrance.*

14. **The General Pardon to pass with Exceptions, as the Parliament shall advise.**

15. **All Forfees and Caftees of the Kingdoms to be disposed of by Parliament, ut supra.**

16. **The King to disfrance all his Guards and Forces now in being, and not to raise any others, but in case of actual Rebellion.**

17. **The King to enter into a strict alliance with all Reformed States, for their assistance to recover the Rights of his Royal Sister and her Prince, to those Dominions and Dominions which belong unto them.**

18. **To clear the Lord Kimbolton and the five Members by Act of Parliament.**

19. **No Peer hereafter to be made, shall sit in Parliament without their consent.**

And these Articles being confirmed, the Parliament engage to make him a happy Prince.

The King showed great dislike at these Propositions, for indeed they seemed rather calculated to gratifie the ambition of some of those that framed them, than for any other purpose, and the answer he gave was more scorn than usually his answers were.

Amongst other things, he told them, That they had contrary to Law preffed their Ordinances on the people, wrested from him the Command of the Militia, conterminated the Treaty of Hotham, and had directed to the People Inviolates against his Government, after him with the favouring of Papists, and with another dislike of the Propositions, he protested, that if he were vindicated and a Prisoner, in worse condition than any the most unfortunate of his Predecessors had ever been reduced unto, he would never jump follow, as to grant such demands, and to make himself of a King of England, a Duke of Venice.

And now both sides prepared for War, and on the 10th of June an Order was made by both sides for Houfes of Parliament, for bringing in of Money, to make preparation and Plate to build halls for their Service, whereas it was exprest, that whereas should bring any Money or Plate, or furnish any with Horse and Arms, should have their monies repaid with Interest, according to eight in the hundred, for which both Houfes of Parliament did ingage the Publicke Faith.

The King was not wanting to his own Preferation in the mean time, and to do whatsoever might give encouragement to the business he had in hand, and first he afforded all the Peers then at York to attend him, and made to them a short Declaration, wherein he expressed himself to them in these words.

We do declare, that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known Laws and Declarations to the People at York.

The King rejects the Propositions.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1641.

will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Laws, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the just Privileges of all the three Estates of Parliament; and shall require no further obedience from you, than as we accordingly shall perform the same. And we will not (as falsely pretended) engage you in any war against the Parliament, except it be for our necessary defence against such as do infolently invade, or attempt against us and our Adherents.

Upon this Declaration of the King those Lords and others of his Counsel made a Promise to him, and subscribed it with their hands as followeth.

We do engage our selves not to obey any Orders or Commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known Laws of the Land. We engage our selves to defend your Majesties Person, Crown, and Dignity, with your just and legal Prerogatives, and all Persons and Powers whatsoever. We will defend the true Protestant Religion established by the Law of the Land, the lawful Liberties of the Subjects of England, and the just Privileges of your Majesties, and both Houses of Parliament.

Lastly, we engage our selves not to obey any Rule, Order, or Ordinance whatsoever, concerning the Militia that hath not the Royal assent.

Subscribed by


The King immediately wrote a Letter to the Lord Mayor of London, and the Alderman and Sheriffs, forbidding by express Command any Contribution of Money or Plate towards the raising of any Arms whatsoever for the Parliament; and invited all his loving Subjects (to prevent their own danger and the danger of the Kingdom from a Malignant party,) to contribute money or Plate to him, and they shall be repaid with confiscation of 8 in the Hundred, and immediately upon it, he made a Proclamation before those forementioned Lords and Counsellors about him, avowing any prevarications, or intentions to leave War against the Parliament; upon which the Lords and others then present at York made this further Declaration and Proclamation, subscribed under their hands.

We whose names are underwritten, in obedience to his Majesties desire, and out of the duty which we owe to his Majesties Honour, and to truth, believing herein upon the place, and witnessing of his Majesties frequent and earnest Declarations and proclamations of his adhering to all designs of making War upon the Parliament; and not using any colour of Preparations or Councils that might reasonably beg the belief of any such design, do profess before God, and testify to all the world, that we are fully persuaded that his Majesties hath no such intention; but that all his endeavours tend to the firm and constant settlement of the true Protestant Religion, and the just privileges of Parliament, the Liberty of the Subjects, and the Laws, peace, and prosperity of this Kingdom.

1642.

The King was strengthened with some Arms and Ammunition from Holland, from the endeavours of the Queen, but more strengthened by this Petition in his behalf, concerning his intention of not making War against the Parliament, proceeded in his business with great circumspection and indefatigable industry, and from York he went to Newcastle, where he made a Speech to the Gentry of Northumberland in a loving and winning way, commending their affections towards him; another Speech he made at Lincoln to the Gentry of that County full of Protestations concerning his good intentions not only to them but to the whole Kingdom and the Laws and Liberties of it, so that within three weeks both in his own Person, and by his Ministers with Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, he advanced his business in a wonderful manner. From Lincoln he removed to York, and from thence to Beverley, from whence he sent a Message to both Houses, and a Proclamation concerning his going to Hull, to take it in, requiring before his journey that it might be delivered to him; which they answered with a Petition, praying him to disband all his Forces about Hull, to recall his Commission of Array, dismiss his Guards, and come to his Parliament, at which the King was much displeased, and the Parliament voted, that an Army should be raised, whereby the Vote of both Houses the Earl of Essex was chosen General, with whom they prevailed to live and die in that cause; the King had about 3000 Foot, most of them Train-bands-men, and 1000 Horse before Hull.

Hull upon the Kings advance, having the advantage of a Spring-tide, drew up the Sillers and downed all the Country about the Town.

The Parliament took all care imaginable to supply the Town, which they reinforced with 500 Soldiers, under the Command of Sir John Meldrum. The King finding to great a strength to oppose him, and considering the preciosity of that time which he continued there without hope of success, resolved to march away; some about him, laid the fault of his not prevailing, upon the unskillfulness of the Country Captains, and the unexperienced wantonness of the Southwark. It was said, the King might have done better, if the Earl of Warwick had brought part of the Navy to his assistance, to have frightened them by Sea, but that was feigned by the Earl of the Navy.

The Earl of Essex was very busy in raising his Army, the Earl of Bedford was made General of the
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1642. the Houfe, Sir John Merrick Major General of the Army; the Lord Roberts, the Lord St. John, the Lord Rockford, the Lord Grey of Groby, Mr. Dennis Hollis, Mr. Hibden, Sir Philip Stanhope, Sir William Waller, Sir Samuel Lake; Sir Henry Chalmers, and Mr. Graunt, all Members of Parliament, had Commissions for Regiments.

The King in the mean time was not idle, he went to Leicester, where he summoned the Generals and Freeholders, and by his great address won many of them to an opinion of his Caufe, and from thence by the frift of August he returns to York, where he summoned the County, and acquainted them with the Parliaments preparations for War, and defired their advice and affiurance, for the Parliament had now published a Declaration for the raising of all power and force by Train-bands or otherwise to lead against all Trarors and their Adherents that opposed the Parliament, and them to kill and flay, as enemies to the peace of the Kingdom, and in it they named most of the Kings Lord Lieutenants and Commissioners of Array in the feveral Counties. The King then recommended to them the complaining of a Regiment for the Prince, and that he might not be behind hand with the Parliament, he publishes a Proclamation, wherein the Earl of Essex was proclaimed a Rebel and Traitor to the King and Crown, and all Colonels and Officers authorized by the Parliament that should not instantly lay down their Arms were declared guilty of High Treafion.

To obviate this, the Parliament had declared, That whofoever fhall return from the King to the Parliaments Army within ten days after publication, fhould have reception and pardon, excepting Perfons impeach'd of Delinquency or Treafon, or fuch as have been eminent Actors againft them, and except the Duke of Richmond, the Earls of Brifton, Cumberland, Newcastle, Rivers, and Carnarvon, the Viccounts Newcastle and Parkland, Secretary NichoPs, Endymion Porter, and Mr. Edward Hyde.

The King hearing the Parliament intended to send an Army Westward, gave Commission under the Great Seal of Englaud, to the Marquess of Hertford, to be his Lieutenant General within the Counties of Devon, Cornwall, Shropshire, Dorset, Wilts, Southampton, Berks, Oxford, Hereford, Monmouth, Kader, Brecknock, Glamorgan, Carnarvon, Pembroke and Cardigan; and sent to encourage Colonel Goring, who kept Portsmoufh at that time for him.

The preparations were very great on both fides, and on the 20th of August the King fet up his Standard at Nottingham, from whence he fent up a Message to both Houfe by the Earl of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpepper for a Treaty of Peace.

When they came to Welfminfter they were not permitted to fit in Parliament, whereof they were Members, nor could the Earl of Southampton (againft whom there was leaft exception) be permitted to deliver it, but it was fent into the Houfe of Peers by the Usher of the Black Rod.

In the Message the King signified, That defiring that many mistakes had arisen by the Messages, Petitions, and Answers, between him and the two Houfes of Parliament, which might be prevented by some other way of Treaty, whereby the matters in difference might be more clearly understood, and more freely tranfacted, he propofed that a certain number of persons might be fents, and enabled by the Parliament to a Treaty in some indifference places, with the like number authorized by him.

The Parliament answered to this effect, That they would take down his Standard, and recall the Proclamations, & Declarations whereby he declared the offifions of both Houfes to be reafonable, & their persons Traitors, and wherefo he had put them and the whole Kingdom out of his protection, they could not admit of any such Treaty.

The King replied to this, That he never did declare both Houfes of Parliament Traitors, or fet up his Standard againft them, much lefs to put them and the Kingdom out of his protection, and to remove all fcruples which might hinder a Treaty, he promised to this day to be appointed by them for revoking their Declarations against all persons as Traitors, or otherwise (for affailing him, he will upon the fame day recall his Proclamations and Declarations, and take down his Standard.

To this the Parliament answered by Petition, infifting upon their former request, To recall his Proclamations, concluding, That they can never allow themselves to be baffled with thofe persons about the King, who fent persons of defperate difpofitions and Convicts.

Thus did they contend for fome time by Declarations and Proclamations, which proved all frultles; for the Parliament having in their power all the Kings Revenue and his Navy, together with the Strength and Riches of the City of London, and great contributions from them and others of money and plate, thought the Kings forces to be incomparably in refpeét of thofe, that they defir'd all the overtures he made for peace, or put fuch exprefions into the anfwers they made to them, that he could not with honour and glory approve of them.

About the beginning of September Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice, the fccond and third Sons of the late King of Bohemia, came to offer their Service to the King their Uncle, whom prefently he put into Command; Prince Rupert within a fortnight after his arrival commanded a small party of thofe Forces which the King had at that time gathered together, with which he marched into divers parts of Warwickshire, Nortinghamshire, Leicestershire, Northumberland, and Cheftshire, his forces still encreafing as he march'd.

And whilft the Prince was thus active with his party, the King moved on fowly with thofe forces which he had, through Dor/inf/ire, Stafford, and Worceft/ire, on to Shrewsbury, where he intended to quarter for a time, as a fit Rendezvoze for thofe Troops & Companies he expected from Wales & other adjacent parts; for thofe of Denbigh & Flintshire and gene-
generally all \textit{Wales} were very cordial to him and his Cause.

To \\textit{Shrewsbury} the King caused a Mint to be brought, and there coined all the Plate which he then had, or was then and soon after presented to him; for the University of \textit{Cambridge}, and many Noblemen, Gentlemen, and others, about that time had sent their plate to him, and many others had furnished him both with men, Horse, and Arms; and within few days after his coming thither his strength by his diligence and address was wonderfully increased, even beyond his own hope, for he had furnished the Gentry and Freetholders, and made to them a Speech so full of affective expressions, as rendered him to their thoughts, an injured Prince, and moved compassionate affections towards him; the Speech it self was in these words:

\textit{Gentlemen,}

\textit{It is some benefit to me, from the insolvencies and misfortunes which have driven me about, that they have brought me so good a part of my \textit{Kingdom;} and so faithful a part of my people; I hope neither you nor I shall open my coming bither; I will do my part that you may not; and of you I was confident before I came. The residence of an Army is no slightly pleasant to any place; and mine may carry more fear with it, since it may be thought (being rol'd and jostled of all mine own, and rich terror used to fright and keep all men from supplying me) I must only live upon the aid and relief of my people. But be not afraid; I would to God my poor Subjects suffered no more by the insolvency and violence of that Army raised against me, (though they have made themselves wanton even with plenty,) than you shall do by mine; and yet I fear I cannot prevent all disorders; I will do my best; and this I promise you, no man shall be a loyer by me, if I can help it.}

I have went bither for a Mint; I will not use it in my own Plate, and expel all my Lawd to sole or mortgage, that it be insolvent, I may not bring the least pressure upon you: In the mean time, I have furnished you bither to do that for me and your selves, for the maintenance of your Religion, and the law of the Land (by which you enjoy all that you have,) which other men do against us. Do not suffer so good a cause to be lost, for want of supplying me with that, which will be taken from you by those who pursue me with this violence. And whilst these ill men sacrifice their Money, Plate, and many industry to defray the Common-walsh, be you no less liberal to preserve it. Afford your selves, if it please God to bless me with success, I shall remember the assistance that every particular man here gives me, to his advantage. Moreover, it will hereafter (how curiously and the minds of men are now pleased,) be honor and comfort to you, that with some charge and trouble to your selves, you did your part to support your Kings and preserve the Kingdom.

God had so blest the just endeavours of the King, that before the middle of October, which was about three weeks after his first coming to Shrewsbury, with a small body of an Army, he was grown to a strength consisting of six thousand foot, three thousand brave horse, and two thousand dragoons in one body, besides what he had in other parts, of which he gave the chief command, under himself, to the Earl of \textit{Linlithgow}, and the next to General \textit{Ruben} a Scotch Gentleman of great experience, and Prince \textit{Rupert} was made General of the Horse, and the next in command to him was \textit{Commissary Wilmot.}

Whilst the King and the Parliament were gathering their Forces together, several parties were employed in divers parts of the Kingdome; \textit{Collo-}

\textit{Nellings} was besieged in \textit{Portsmouth} by Sir John \textit{Minister} Regiment of Foot, and the County Train'd-Bands, with one Troop of Horse, to which place a Squadron of the Fleet was also sent to frighten it the more, and the Garrison Souliers were to practised on, the Governor had no confidence in them, so that though the \\textit{Marquees of Hertford} hastened to his relief with some Forces he had newly raised, yet he was necessitated to surrender the Town before he could help him, and had conditions to be transported in one of the King's Ships to the Island of \textit{Portland,} either he was conveyed accordingly. But the \textit{Marquees of Hertford}, though he could not secure Portsmouth, yet he seized on \textit{Shrewsbury} Cattle in \textit{Dorsetshire}, and pisset by the Earl of \textit{Bedford,} (who commanded in those parts a party of the Parlaments Troops) and marched over \textit{Severn} into \textit{Wales} to raise more Forces for the King, giving the Earl a little Buffet in his passage.

The Parliament Army raised under the Earl of \textit{Exe}, was now grown to a considerable Body, consisting of about 16000 Horfe and Foot united in one Army, besides parties abroad, their general \textit{Randezvous} was at \textit{Northampton}, where the Lord \textit{Brook}, Lord \textit{Roberts}, \textit{Collo-}

\textit{Nellings} and many others of the chief Commanders (said with them, expecting the presence of the \textit{Gener}-

\textit{al}, and on the ninth of \textit{September}, he set out from London with great solemnity; The Parliament sent a Petition to him at \textit{Northampton}, to be by him presented to the King, the effect of which was, To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his presence from those wicked perfons about him, (for so all the Kings party were called by them,) and The Parlaments petition to be not to mix his danger with theirs, but that he would return to his Parliament without his Forces, and by their advice compose the present disaffec-

The Earl of \textit{Exe} after he had been at \textit{Northampton} a while, had increased his Army to the number of 20000, from whence he march'd to \textit{Coventry}, and from thence to \textit{Warwick}, and having left some Companies in both those Towns for their security, he march'd away towards \textit{Worcester}, upon intelligence that the King himself intended to come thither with his Forces.

Sir \textit{John Byrom} had first entered \textit{Worcester} for the King, whom Captain \textit{Fiennes} had endeavoured to take, though he was sent to dislodge some Troops of the Parliament at \textit{Coventry} and County \textit{Verdon}, which he had got together, with whom he attaqu'd the Town on the South side of Secavers, supposing some of \textit{Exe} his Troops were marching towards the Town on the other side, (as he was informed by a Spie,) but thole proved to be a party of the Kings Horse under Prince \textit{Rupert}, who march'd into the Town with 500 Horfe, and made \textit{Fiennes} draw off to a distance. The Prince had notice that \textit{Collo-}

\textit{Nellings} with a Regiment of Parliament Horse, together
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together with Captain Holte, Captain Winges, Captain France, and Captain Ashby were drawn together to attack him, and thereupon he marched out of the City into a green Meadow near admirable and drew up his men into Battle, the Prince took the advantage, and charged them first there, where the Rear could not come up to affit the Van, nor the Van retreat without great disorder, so that the Prince prevailed: Douglas, Colonel Sands; his Major was slain, and the Colonels own Cornet, the Colonel himself was desperately wounded, and many of his Soldiers killed, and some Slaughter was also made of the Princes men.

The Prince after the fight drew into Worcester, but hearing Essex was marching with the whole Army, he went away to Ludlow, twenty miles from hence; nor was his Intelligence ill, for immediately after the fight Essex came to Worcester with his Army, where he lay a month, and from hence he sent the Earl of Stamford with a Palsy to Hereford to impede the King's levies at Southwold, and sent other Forces to pillage Gloucester and Bristol. The Parliament did not apprehend the King's forces, for many began to appear for him in several parts of the Kingdom; in Yorkshire and the Northern parts, the Marquess of Newcastle, the Earl of Cumberland, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Francis Worsley; and many others had raised many Soldiers, and were powerful; so that the Lord Fairfax, Sir Thomas Fairfax his Son, Sir John Hotham, and his Son Capt. Hotham, who had gathered some men together for the Parliament were not able to appear against them; in Cornwall a body was framing under Sir Bevil Grenville, and Sir Nicholas Slaning; and Sir Ralph Hascard a portion of good condition and courage was hating to them in their levies, and many others in several parts of the Kingdom were aiming on both sides.

Whilst the affairs of England were in this Military posture, Ireland was neglected, for few Regiments were left over from Scotland, and the Earl of Leisters Regiment under Colonel Monk from England, but in no proportion to the necessities of that Kingdom, nevertheless they made many impediments upon their enemies into Leinster and Ulster, but Munster was but meanly supplied.

The King had conferred to an Act of Parliament before he left London, For the speedy and effectual reducing of the Rebels in his Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland and their due obedience, where in several persons were invited as Adventurers to advance money for that Service, who were to be repaid in Land for the same when the Rebels should be subdued, according to the proportion following, for each adventure of 300 l., one thousand Acres in Ulster: for three hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in Connaught; for 450 l., one thousand Acres in Munster: for six hundred pounds, one thousand Acres in Leinster; all according to the English measure, with meadow, Arable and profitable pasture, the Boggy, Woods, and barren Mountains being to be cult in, over and above, and to be held in free and common footage of the King, as of his Castle Dublin, and to a greater or lesser sums: and it is particularly enacted the part of that money which should be paid in according to the Act, shall be employed to any other purpose, than the reducing of those Rebels, until they shall be declared to be subdued. The Parliament neverthelesse to enable them the better to let out their Army had diverted 10,000 l. of this money, whereat the King was very much offered and rentented it very sharply in one of his Meditations to them; but they answered, that they did intend speedily to repay it, and to recapitulate, did charge the King with intercepting 900 Suits of Cloathes, with 39 Chirungs chest, and some draught Horses going into Ireland for the Train of Artillery there; but the Parliament made yet bolder, and made use of the greatest part of a Bagrade raised under my Lord Wharton and one Colonel Harton, deigned for Munster, against the King in a Battle which was this year fought, of which hereafter; but by this proceeding on both sides, it was evident they both thought the security of England more considerable to them than that of Ireland, which could not well submit without this.

It was now about the middle of October when the King came from Stratford, he marched a long by Coventry and summoned the Town, but by the example of Hull, he was denied entrance into Coventry.

The King declared an order for the advantages of the Parliament.

Marching on, he came and lay at Southam being but a small distance from Essex his Army, from whence he thrice a terror into the City of London it fell, for he was then nearer to London then Essex was, incomath that both Houlbes began to apprehend his approach, and Ordered that the Train Bands should be speedily raised for a Guard and some works for planting of Ordinance in special places about the City of London and Suburbs, and the Parliament lent twelve Companies to pollish and guard Windsor Castle.

The Earl thought it his chief work to march as near to the King as he could; and on the 23. of October he lodged at Keinton within six miles of that City, when they lay at one Sir William Cheves's House betwixt there and there, and his forces lodged at Cropredy and Edgerton.

The King the next morning drew his Army to Edgbeth; and Essex intended to retire all Sunday in Keinton, to expect two Regiments of Foot, eleven Troops of Horse, and seven Piece of Cannon who were a days march behind him, but when he heard the King's Army was in the field, he drew his Army into Battle, containing of 12,000 Foot in twelve Regiments, and 40 Troops of Horse, and Dagoners: the King's Army was esteemed about ten thousand Foot, and about 4000 Horse and Dagoners, but most of the Foot were very ill armed; at the bottom of Edgbeth, there was a large Plain, called the Vale of the Red Horse, where Essex drew his Army into Battle, about a half mile distant from the foot of Edgbeth: the main Battel of the King's Army was led on by the Earl of Limeray on foot, with a Pike in his hand, Prince Rupert commanded the King's right wing, wherein was the greatest strength of Horse, and General Bower, and Commandery Williams in the left, the right wing of
time the Earl of Eves had also marched with his Army nearer to London, and on the seventeenth of November came himself to Westminster, where he was wellcomenced by both Houses of Parliament, and had a present of 3000 l., given to him.

Whilist the King was at Colbrook, the Parliament lent a Petition to him by two Peers, and three Commissioners, wherein in very humble terms they defied his Majesty to stay at some conveniency place not far from London, till such time as Committees of Parliament might attend him, with some Propositions for the removal of the present Distempers, the King liked well of this Petition, and sent back the Messengers with a very complying answer, signifying, that he would reside at his Castle at Windsor, or any other place if that should not be liked, till such time as Committees might be sent to him: but the same night that he had dispatched these Messengers, news was brought that Eves had advanced with his Army, and the Artillery towards him, and that having possess’d himself of Windsor, Kingston, and Alton, if Brentford were likewise possess’d, the Kings Army would be so frightned, that it could neither well move nor stand, whereupon a Council of War being called, it was resolved that part of the army should advance, & dispossess the enemy from Brentford, which was accordingly done, & thereof was for some time a very sharp fight betwixt the Kings forces and those of the Parliament that were there lodged, but the Kings party prevailed, killed the Commander in chief then present, and several others, and took 500 prisoners, and as many arms, with 15 pieces of Ordnance, 11 Colours and store of Ammunition; and the King wastold the next day to have marched to London, had not advice come that both the remainder of that Army under Eves, & the Auxiliaries of London under the Earl of Warwick, were drawn upon Turnham-Green to oppose his marching further, whereupon he called his Troops over Kingham-Bridge to Oatlands, and from thence to Redditch, where he left a good Garrison, and marched with his forces to Oxford.

The City of London were very much intriguated by some incendians upon this action of the Kings, and were wroght upon to petition the Parliament to proceed no further in the business of accommodation for which they had the thanks of both Houses, though the Parliament in a Message to the King, did confed that they gave direction to the Earl of Eves to draw the Army out of London, and that part of it was quartered at Brentford, whilist the Committee was with the King, but they endeavoured to excite it, by saying, that they sent a Messenger with a Letter to know whether his Majesty intended forbearance of hostilities, who found the parties in fight, and could not pass.

The Kings forces in the North, became very considerable, the Earl of Newcastle, and the Earl of Cumberland being joined, made up 8000 Horse and foot, and their power daily increased, so that the Lord Fairfax and his Son Sir Thomas, Captain Hobham, Sir Hugh Cholmer, Sir Edward Lofus, Sir Matthew Brownet, Sir Henry Anderson and others who commanded for the Parliament in these parts were unable to
withbade them, and the Kings side received a good addition of strength in those parts by the landing of Colonne Goring at Newfoundland with two hundred Commanders from Holland, and other provisions of War, which made the Lord Fairfax and those with him impotent to move against the Parliament, and they thereof formed an association of the Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, and the City of Norwich, whereof the Lord Grey of Warke was by commission of the Earl of Essex made Commander in chief, with authority to raise Forces.

In February General King a Scotch Commander of great experience in military affairs, came out of Holland, landed at Newfie/le, joined himself with the Earl of Newfie/le, and passed to York with 6000 Arms. In the same Moneth also, the Queen landed from Holland at Barlington-Bays, with great Provision of Arms and Ammunition, and many Commanders of note in her Retinue, and was conveyed by the Earl of Newfie/le to the City of York, to which place, the Earl of Monsr/lo, and the Lord Gody to came to her out of Scotland with 150 Horse; and Sir Hugh Colomye, who had the Government of Scarborough for the Parliament, declar'd for the King, and prefented himself at York with 300 men to the Queen for his Service; Sir John Hotham alfo and his Son, were at the same time inclin'd to defect the Parliament's cause, but their intentions were discover'd, and they were both feized upon at Hull, and sent up to London, where they long remained Prisoners in the Tower, before the time of their Tryal and execution.

The Parliament having fortified Gloucester with a good Garrison, thought of inlarging their quarters towards Oxford, and had in order thereunto, drawn a great strength into Cirencefler, the King was not well pleas'd with this neighbour-hood, but ordered Prince Rupert with 4000 Horse and foot, to take the Town, who marching by as if he intended to attempt Sudley Fields, (which had been lately taken before by Mr. Massey,) when they expected him not, turn'd his whole force upon them, and after about an hours resistance made himself Master of the place, where he took eleven hundred prisoners, and three thousand Arms.

The King was not so asxacted by these insuccesse to be well pleas'd with a War, that brought to much calamity to his people, and therefore he propos'd a Treaty to the Parliament, to which after many delays they consented, and about the beginning of March, the Earl of Northumberland, Mr. Pierpoint, Sir William Ermin, Sir John Holland, and Mr. Bulstrode Whitlock attended him at Oxford with propositions of Peace; but they were such as rather did but fee a conquering than a losing side, yet the King being resolv'd to treat upon them; howsoever, he found the Commissioners too scrupulous in time, and to dy to such particular insuffacions as the Housers had given them, that nothing could be yielded to which might conduque to the composing of the present diftemper, so that after many meetings betwixt London and Oxford, the Parliament sent to their Commissioners to return to London upon the 17th of April, upon which the Earl of Essex immediately advanced with his Army to besiege Redding then a Garrison for the King.

The King upon the first notice sent a supply of 700 Musketeers to the Town, and some more of Ammunition, but all could not avail to the holding out of the Town againt so great an Army, continually supply'd from London with fresh men, provisions and ammunition.

The King therefore after a while sent a good body of Horse and Foot to relieve the Town, who asaffles a quarter of the Parliament's Army at Caufam Bridge within a mile of it, where many of the King's Forces were slain, and forced to retreat, but those in the Garrison were thought to have failed in performance of their duty, in not drawing out a sufficient party to have made a diversion at the same time, but the failure herein, was imputed to Colonne Fielding then Lieutenant Governor for Sir Arthur Aston the Governor, who was disabiled from service by a brace or wound he had received in the siege, so that within 16 days of Essex his first stirring down before the Town, it was render'd to him upon Terms, but honourable enough viz. All the Forces to march out in War-like manner with 50 Carts for carriage, free passage to Oxford, the Town to be paid from plunder, and that whosoever would, might have liberty to leave it within six weeks after.

The Town of Redding was infested with a pestifential Fever when Essex enter'd it, which cause a great sicknede and mortality amongst his Soldiers, besides which, they were much discontented for want of pay, so that when he removed to Caufam Hooke to avoid the infection, many of his Soldiers unanimously disbanded and went away; but though he gain'd nothing by this Town, the murmur at Oxford was great for the loosing of it, and Colonne Fielding was accused of treachery therein, and being found guilty by a Court martial, was sentenced to be first to death, but by the Kings clemency he was pardoned.

About this time force every County of England was free from the War, and in most places the Kings parties were victorious; In Yorkshire, Northamptonshire, and Staffordshire, many encounters past betwixt the Kings Forces under Prince Rupert and the Earl of Northampton routing the Parliament's Forces by himself at Lichfield, which was afterward taken by his Soldiers, and again retaken by Prince Rupert.

In the west more Northern parts, the Lord Fairfax and his Son did take some Towns, and do more than could be expected from so little force, but after a while, the whole Coun- try was subdued by the Kings Arms, and they were forced into Hull.

The greatest part of Water was for the King, but to prevent the increase of his good fortune the Earl of Stamford was sent with an Army into the West, where Sir Ralph Hopton, with some Forces of the Kings, lay before Plimouth then a Garrison for the Parliament, but upon the Earls Stamford's advance, he drew from thence, and fought and defeated a great part of the Earls Forces; after Sir Ralph this a truce was made betwixt the Earl and Sir Hopton. Ralph
Ralph Hopton for twenty days, and in the mean time Sir George Cudleigh who had been very active and successful for the Parliament in Devonshire, began to reflect upon his past actions, and by considering the pretences of both parties, resolved with himself not to hazard his life and reputation, but upon what he thought a mift just cause, and hereupon he quitte his sde, and joyned with the Kings Forces, but to satisfy his friends with the reason of his doing he publish'd a short declaration to this effect.

That Petitions of Right are commendable, and Remonstrances may be lawful, but Arms, though defensive, are very doubtful. My Lot (faith he) fell to be cast on the Parliament side, by a strong opinion of the goodness of their Cause, which to my judgement then appeared to be so; Religion and the Subjects Liberty seemed to me to be in danger, but the deforation of Kingdoms cannot be the way to save it, nor can the joys of Christian Subjects, nor the Subjects joys of their Estates by Plunder or Affrayment concur with Piety, nor yet with property: as for Religion, which is the chief Majesty (and God's preserve) hath given us unanswerable Security. I have lost my right, my merit, my glories, I have given you a pardon. I will content no more in word or deed: And this my Resolution with the unspeakable ground thereof, I thought good to declare to my friends and Country-men, that they may understand my change so proceed from no compulsion.

This addition of strength was very advantageus to the King; for shortly after a Buttall fought at Stratton in Cornwall, the Earl of Stameford was overthrown, and it seemed to betake himself to the City of Exeter, whither Sir Ralph and Sir George Cudleigh, with the Devon-shire and Cornish Forces followed him, and with part of their Troops so thwirteened it, that they had opportunity to employ the main body of their Army in other Service, which with the conjunction of the Matquefs of Harryford who had raised many Regiments, the greatest part of the West was reduced to the Kings obedience. Bristol was design'd to be the seat on for the King before the beginning of May, by one Mr. Robert Tzemsam, late Sheriff of the City, and William Tzemsam his Brother, with Mr. George Burches, and Mr. Edward Dovers, and some others of their friends who had Composition from the King to like Forces, & posseffe themselves of the Town; and for the better enabling them thereunto, Prince Rupert hov'd thereabouts with a party of 5000 men, but the raising and raising of Souland made the matter so communicative, that it was discovered to the Governor, who caus'd the four above-menion'd to be seiz'd on, and try'd by a Court Martial, who condemn'd them all, and Robert Tzemsam and Burches were on the 30th of May executed, and the like fate happen'd to some worthy Gentlemen and other eminent Citizens of London, who intended to have conceived a mean to have put an end to the present War, by toppling the Amours of it in the Fountain, by securing the City of London, and seiz'ing several members of Parliament. It was detected by one for a Savant to Mr. Tomkins, on the 16th day of May; the chief Aeters were, Mr. Edmund Waller a Member of the House of Commons, Mr. Tomkins, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Hafell, Mr. White, and Mr. Bingham, who were to be strengthen'd in their endeavours by the Kings Commandment of Ar- ray brought to London privately by the Lady Au- bigny: but upon this detection, all was blasph'd, and the parties before named, were all tried by a Court Martial at Guild-Hall, and condemned, whereof Mr. Tomkins and Mr. Chaloner were on the 5th of July executed; Mr. Waller after a year imprisonment in the Tower, paid a fine of ten thousand pounds, and was for ten years banished into France.

Sir William Waller about the time of Edge-Hill Fight, had received a Commission to be Colone of a Regiment of Horse, and had gained a very great reputation with the Parliament and the City of London, for some service he did that Winter with Coloneff Short, Coloneff Browne, and some others in the taking of Chicksgill, and handing levies for the King in Suffry, to that he was furnish'd with an Army this Spring, with which he did many acceptable Services to his party in Wiltfsire, Gloucefifer, Monmouth, and Hereford-fhire, wherein he took many Towns and fortified by the King's Souldiers, and was very successful, but whilst he was active in those parts, the Parliament prefed the Earl of Effex to march towards Oxford to streighten that Garrison, and take some order by the conjunction of the forces of the associates, to hinder Prince Rupert joynig with the Queen; In protection whereof, he march'd with his Army to those parts of Buckingham-fhire which were neerer to Oxford, and sett'd his head quarters at Thame; upon his com- ing thither, the weather was very unfeatable, and great rains fell, so that his Souldiers became very weak and sickly, and much mortality ensued; but to put a good face upon his condition, he frequently sent out parties upon several occasions, though little or no service was at any time perform'd by them, but about the sixteenth of June, intelligence came to Oxford that a great party of Parliamenters were then quartered at Pritwood and Chisew in Oxford-fhire towards Thame, and Prince Rupert was out on a good party to attack them in their quarters, which he did, and took many Prisoners, but upon the Alarm, Col- lonel Handels, with Sheffield and others of Ef- fex his Army, drew into Chalgrove-Fielde, with design to fight the Prince, where he drew tow- ers them, and after a brisk charge or two, he routed them, and took many Prisoners, and hor- ses and armorial armour, many, Major Gunter was shot dead upon the place, and Colonneff Sheffield and Mr. Handels were both very much wound- ed, of which the last died three or four days after, it being observed, That he received his wounds in that field where he first executed the Parliaments Commission for the Milities, against the Kings authority; upon this affront Effex draws his Army off to Briftol, with a purpose to recruit his Regiments with some forces from the neighbouring Counties, but they were too much biusy to spare any assistance. About this time (a little before) the Parliament resolued upon a very extraordinary action which was the making of a new great Seal, it had some opposition in the debate, but by a majority of voices in both houses,
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With the Earl of Carversford and Prince Maurice, with the Earl of Carversford and Prince Maurice, and a good strength of Horie were sent from Oxford to join with him, Sir William Waller was come to Bath with his Army, with whom Sir Edward Hangerford, Sir John Hornor, and Mr. Strade were joined, and they marched towards Sir Ralph Hopton, and came so near him, that on the third and fourth of July some skirmishes had past betwixt some parties of each side, and prisoners were taken of both parties, but on Wednesday the 5th of July the two Armies engaged at a place called London Down, about eight miles from Bristol, and the fight was maintained betwixt them from two in the afternoon till one on the next morning, at which time the Parliamentarians left the field, and the Kings party had gained a great Victory, if by accident their Ammunition had not blown up, whereby two Captains were slain, and above twenty wounded, whereof Sir Ralph Hopton himself was one, &c.

In the barlet Sir Brtit Greenville a person of great renown & integrity to the KingsCause was slain, together with Mr. Leck a hopeful young Gentleman Son to the Earl of Scarsdale, who was found dead in the field with the Colours of the enemy about his arm, as also one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, and two Captains; what Officers fell on the Parliaments side was not known, because the publishers of such actions were unwilling to be very particular in their relations that they might not too much discourage their party.

Waller being advertised of what had happened having got some freth men from Bristol marched after Hopton, hoping to ingage him before he could get Ammunition to defend himself, so that he was forced to retire to the Devonster Town in Wilts, & there he was by Hopton block'd up, and after a while he became so distressed that he began to treat about the surrender of it, (for Prince Maurice was with the Horie retired towards Oxford) but immediately the fortune of War changed, for the King having notice of Hoptons condition, sent Commissary Wilmot with the Earl of Carversford and Crawford's Regiments of Horie and others to the number of fifteen hundred to relieve him; upon whose approach near to Sir William Waller, he drew off to a place called Roundway Down, where the Horie began the fight, but after a while both Horie and Foot encountered each other, and Wallers Army was to
der it was beaten in Lincs. & unlike; and four brass Guns, and all the Ammunition and Baggage were taken, with nine Cornets of Horie, and eight and twenty Colours of Foot; Sir Arthur Haystreg was wounded, and many other Officers, and a great number of Soldiers killed; and this Victory was obtained on the 3rd of July, on the same day whereat the King met the Queen at Edgefield, where the fifth Battel betwixt him and the Earl of Evesham, had been fought as was before mentioned; their meeting after so long abstinence and on so far an occasion was very joyful to each other, they went that night to Sir Thomas Popes house at Wroxton; where they lay all night, and the next morning they came with the Prince, the Duke of York, and their Army with the Carriages and Ammunition to Woodstock and from thence to Oxford, where her coming was rather to a fol low

The Queen marched with her Forces towards the King.

The Parliamentarians beaten at Dunington in Lincs. 

The Articles of High Treason against the Queen.

1. That she had panned the Crown Jewels in Holland.
2. That she had favored the Rebellion in Ireland.
3. That she had endeavored to raise a party in Scotland against the Parliament; and that she had gone in the head of a Popish Army in England, for so they termed the Forces with her (though few or none of that Religion were among them) divers other Articles were framed against her; upon which Mr. Pym carried up an Impeachment to the Lords: they were (or seemed to be) at first surprised at so extraordinary a matter, but after some time they agreed to the Charge.

The successses of Sir William Waller gave so great a reputation to his Army that the King sent for his Western Forces towards Oxford to hinder the progress of his fortune; for it was feared at Oxford if he had not some check he might make himself master of Ludlow and Worcesters and so bring great tracts of Land and many considerable Garrisons into the power of the Parliament: Sir Ralph Hopton in pursuance of his Orders was marched into Shropshire and Prince Maurice, 1643.
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The King being willing to profit himself of this good access to his forces, ordered Prince Rupert to join himself with his Brother and the whole body of his strength in those parts and to march immediately to Bristol. Before which place he came on the four and twentieth of July, and summoned it to be surrendered to him. Colonel Nathaniel FitzRoy, then Governor of the City, who made a show of great resistance, but yet after three days it was surrendered upon the ensuing Articles.

1. That none of the citizens should be mistreated in their person or goods.
2. That every officer should march forth with his Arms.
3. That every trooper should ride out with his Horse and his sword.
4. That every soldier should march away with his Sword, Bag, and Baggage.
5. That no safe conveyance should be allowed for twenty miles.

A few days after the taking of this City, the King marched thither to see it and settle the affairs of those parts, whereupon presently after his arrival he received news of the surrender of Dr. checkbox, the Earl of Carnarvon, and a day or two after Portland, Yarmouth and Melcombe submitted to his forces, so that about this time the King was possessed of all the Western Counties, from the farthest part of Cornwall except some few Garrisons that were blocked up; and now or a little time after the Lord Fairfax and all his forces were defeated at Adersen Moor, and he and his army driven into Hull by the Earl of Newcastle: and from thence Northward even to the borders of Scotland there was no Army in the field to hinder the King and his forces from marching whither they pleased. London was then altogether unsatisfied, & many in it favoured the King, and most of the chief Gentlemen of the affiliated Counties were ready upon any appearance for the King to have secured those Counties to him, whereon it was expected that in this juncture of affairs the King would have marched with his Army to London, and the Earl of Newcastle with his into the affiliated Counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, whereby a sudden end would undoubtedly have been put to this Civil War, which was not only the opinion of those in the Kings quarters, but many at London and in the Parliament were of the same mind, and some of them desired the Parliament and submitted to the King, and others were on the point of quitting the Kingdom. But in the midst of these hopes the King against his own judgment was at a Council of War overruled to go to besiege Gloucester and a few days after the Earl of Newcastle left down before Hull. To this fatal City of Gloucester the King in person with his Army marched in the beginning of August, and about the 10th, he fell down before it, and by two Heralds summoned the City to be surrendered to him; to which summons within two hours an answer was drawn and conferred upon both by the Citizens and Soldiers, which was presented to the King by Major Podbery and one Toby Jordan a Citizen of the place, in these words:

"We the inhabitants, Magistrates, Officers, and Soldiers within this Garrison of Gloucester, unto his Majesty's graces, Mea- dox return this humble answer; I have we do keep this City according to our Oaths and Allegiances to and for the use of his Majesty and his Royal person. And do according-ly conceive our forces wholly bound to obey the Commands of his Majesty signified by such Heads of Parliament, and are ready by Gods help to keep this City accordingly.

The King received this answer without any expression of choler or indignation, seeming only to wonder at their confidence, for in all appearance they could have had no hope of relief, the whole number of Soldiers, Horse, foot, and Dragoons, together with the Train-Bands, and those Horse and Dragoons, which they on a sudden got from Barky Castle, amounted to less than fifteen hundred, forty barrels of powder was all their store, with a very mean and slender Artillery for such a service, and the works were of a great compass and little more than half perfected: so that it was generally believed, the King would rather preferly have attempted the Town by a storm, whilst they were yet in some confusion, than waited his time and sollicitled by a Siege; but by all the intelligence he could get, the Parliament was in no condition to send any forces to disturb him, and his Council of War thought it better to save his Infantry by a little expence of time, than by exposing the hazard of so many of their lives in an assault. So that a close Siege was made on all sides, though the first had been the wiser Counsel.

The Parliament were very much troubled at the news of this Siege, and used all the endeavours possibly to recruit Essex his broken Army for the relief of it; the first thing they did was to cause 2000 men to be pressed to strengthen some weak Companies, and upon a conference with the Committee of the Militia of the City of London, by consent of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they procured from thence two Regiments of the Train-Bands, three Regiments of Auxiliaries, and a Regiment of Horse, nor were they left mindful of the North, for the Army from Scotland which they had invited to their assistance could not be ready soon enough to secure these parts, wherefore they passed an Ordinance for the speedy press of 2000 men to be raised out of the six Affected Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridge, Hants, and Huntingdon, to be put under the Command of the Earl of Manchester. In preparation whereunto Colonel Oliver Cromwell was very active, he had the year before the Command of a Troop of Horse, with which he secured the Town of Cambridge, and obstructed many Levies for the King in Cambridgeshire, Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; but sometime before this he had a Commission to be a Colonel, and by authority thereof he raised a Regiment of Horse consisting of a thousand, with which he was employed in several of the Northern parts of England, where he joined as occu-
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The three and the fourth of this new Army to attempt to change the whole Discipline of the Parliaments Militia, for having observed that the King's Horse, who were his greatest strength consisted of Gentlemen, or the servants of such, and that these led by a sense of Honour, did in most encounters want their enemies, he believed if the Parliament Horse could be framed of the most zealous of their party, such as were persuaded by the preaching of the Ministers that the Cause was God's Cause, and that all their religious Liberties were at stake in it, and those that died therein died in the favour of God, and in assurance of Salvation, they might let this sense of Confidence against the other sense of Honour, and be in better hopes of success than before; and this method he put in practice as far as he could in the new raised forces before mentioned, whereas most of the Officers were great zealots, and the Southerns by degrees became of the same leven, and those were they that effected afterwards what he hoped for from them.

On the 24th of August the Earl of Essex drew all his Army together to Hounslow, where almost all the Members of both Houses of Parliament were present, the remainder of the old Army was well recruited, and he had got some additional Regiments of Horse besides the Horse and Foot he had from the City, which made a gallant appearance. That night he marched to Colnbrook, where he flaid a day for some more men that were to come to him, and then he marched to Becknysted, and so forward to Beterston, where he cloathed his Army, and marched on.

The King thought it scarce credible that an Army could have been so soon got together, but since it was so, he sent out parties to obstruct their march, but they marched so close, and in so good order, that his little detachment could be easily got up to his progress; so that by the fifth of September he came to Preshy Hills, where he drew up his whole Army in view of the City, and discharged four pieces of great Ordnance to give them notice of his approach, which was at a time when the King's forces were prepared ready for a storm, the besieged in want, and their Ammunition confined to three Barrels of powder; but upon consultation had the King by the General Officers, it was resolved the Army should draw off, which was done, and all their Huts were set on fire. Essex marched thence to Cheltenham, and stayed there two days, and from thence on the 8th of September he went with his whole Army to Gloucester, where he flaid two nights till he had furnished the City with Ammunition, money, and other necessaries; and from thence marched to Tewksbury, passing between the Kings forces and that Garrison four days, to give them more time the better to furnish themselves with Victuals, whilst he flayed there he had advice that a body of the Kings Army were then in Cirencester Castle, and there had laid in great stores of Provision; upon which advertisement, want of Victuals and necessaries increasing upon his whole Army, he made a long march with the Van-guard of his Troops to fall upon them, which he did about one of the Clock in the morning, finding in a part of Horse to seize upon the Centinels and Guards, whilst himself with the rest of the Horse besieged the Town, and a Forborn-hope of Foot with his own Foot Regiment entered into it, and surprised two Regiments of Horse (belonging to Sir Nicholas Crispe and Colonel Spencer) here he found thirty load of provision, which proved a great relief to his Army, than in extreme distress for want thereof. Having proved successful in this encounter, he by short marches pushed from thence to Cirencet, so to Sandford, intending to pass thence to Hungerford, but passing over Oaken Chace, Prince Rupert with the greatest part of the Kings Horse charged the whole Army by two commanded parties, one under the Lord Sermon, and the other under Colonel Folly, who performed their duties so well, that many great Bodies of Essex' Horse and Foot were dispersed; little loss to the Kings Soldiers or Officers, favoring the House of de la Vicomtesse, a young French Nobleman, who was a very brave and Generous Cavalier, and unfortunately slain.

Essex from thence marched to Hungerford, and the Prince sent an express to the King then at Wanshage, desiring him to advance with all haste to Newbury, the better to hinder Essex's march to London, which was the thing he chiefly endeavored. The King was glad of the advice, and in pursuance of it he marched away to Newbury, where he got before Essex; the next day the Parliament Army marched from Hungerford toward Newbury, but hearing the Kings forces had possest the Town, they lay that night in the field, but the next morning by break of day Essex gave orders to march to a hill, called Bigg hill near Newbury, which with some struggle he gained, but the Forlorn of the Kings Army by endeavouring to hinder him so advantageous a place, did hinder the fight, which was very vigorously prosecuted on both sides till night came on, that both parties drew off. The next day Essex found his way open towards Reading, so that although the loss was equal to both Armies (saving that as the quality of the Commanders were greater on the Kings side, more eminent Persons of that party were slain) yet the Victory was allowed to the Parliament Army, because they gained thereby their way to London, from which the King strove to hinder them. The number of the slain in this Battle is not recorded, Captain Marney, Captain Hans, and divers other Officers of Essex' Army were killed, but no of higher rank than Captains; three of the Nobility fell on the Kings side, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Earl of Sunderland, and the Lord Fauconry. After this Fight the King marched to Oxford, and the Earl of Essex drew his Army to Reading, and from thence to the Towns and Villages near London, but the King on the 3d. of October finding Reading free placed a good Garrison in it.

The Gentlemen of Norfolk hearing the great success of the Marque's of Newcastle in Farke-shire, did expect his march into that and the rest of the associated Counties, and in confidence thereof, they feiz'd on Ley, and put a Garrison.
into it for the King, but whilst the Marquis of
Newcastle thought to take in Hul', before he
left York-shire, the Earl of Manchester with
Colliell Cowemul, and what Forces they could
hitherto get together, marched into Norfolk,
and befieged Lyn', which in defcription of relief af-
ter a few days was yielded to them, and to save
the Town from plunder, the Earl 'imposed a fine
upon the Inhabitants of 100. a man to every pri-
ivate Souldier, and a Moneth pay to every Offi-
cer, which amounted to 30,000l. and a while af-
ter, namely on the eleventh of October, Sir John
Meldrum march'd out of Hul', with two bodies of
foot under the command of Colliell Lambert
and Captain Rainforth, and fell upon the Mar-
qulse of Newcastle's quarters before the Town,
driving them from their Out-works & Trenches,
where they kill'd fourscore of their Souldiers, and
took 110 prisoners, and nine great pieces of Ordi-
nance, and forced him elfe to retreat to Beverley,
from whence afterward, all his Army march'd a-
way, and left the Town free: yet Sir Thomas
Fairfax and thole in the Town, were not in a
condition to take the field, but Mechman was
dispacht to London to solicit forces for to be
sent to Hul' to make up an Army but in the mean-
time, the Earl of Newcastle having received great
quantities of money, and forced to buy and bring
to Scarcborough, need diligence to augmen-
t his Army to be able notably to oppose the
Scots, which were very near ready to march into
England, but to strengthen Ncwark, and the
Kings other Garrisons in the Northern parts,
whereof Lincolne and some others had been taken
by the Earl of Manchester, whilst the Earl of New-
castle's Army lay before Hall, and others had
been much diftrustt; but whilst these things
were acted in the North, many considerable oc-
currences happened in other parts, which deferee
to be mentioned.

The King being moved with compassion of the
sad condition of his Proclaim Subjectes in Ire-
land, for want of relief and supply of money, Ma-
nition, Arms, Provisions, Clothes, and all other
necessaries: for the Parliament, who had under-
taken the management of that War, and rais'd great
fums of money for that end, employed the great-
part of it in the War in England against the King,
so that many of the English Souldiers, unable to
endure the intempurable necessity that lay upon
them, did many times feize on Ships, and force
the Mariners to transport them to England, which
being represented to the King, He in July this
year, sent a Commission to the Marquise of Or-
mond then Lieutenant General of the English
Army, to treat with the Irish for a celfation of
Arms for one year, which after some time, upon
the 15. of September was agreed to by both par-
ties, and whilst this celfation was making in Ire-
land, the Kings Armies in the Western parts of
England were very prosperous: insomuch that
about the same time, or a little before, Biddiford,
Appletford, Barnstable and Exeter, were surrender-
ed to the King by the victorious arms of Prince
Maurice, who from Exeter march'd to Dork-
smouth, which place was on the fifth of October
surrendered likewise to him, so that though the
King was unfortunately prov'd with to lose the
opportunity of ending the War, by befieging
Gloucester and Hall, yet was his condition at this
time much better than the year before; for whereas
as a twelve moneth past, he had in all the West
but the County of Cornwall, and in York-shire no
more than that City and Pomfret Castle, and ex-
cept at redding, Warwicke, and Astoning, not
a Souldier quartered out of Oxford, nor a Ship
nor Port except Newcastle and Fawmouth, and as
the Parliament themselves publish'd, not ten
thousand men in Arms, he had now five Armies
in being, and was possessed of all the Western
and Garrisons therein, except Plymouth, Lyn
and Poole, and of all York-shire, Hall only
excepted, and in Cheshire none but Nantwich
stood out against him, and Wales was wholly His;
and though the Parliament got from him, Staff-
ford, Worthington, Lyn, Lincolne, and some other
inconsiderable Garrisons, the King in lieu of those
gained from them, Saltnote, Cirencefter, Barming-
ham, Lichfield, Stafford, Halifax, Wake-
field, Dainton, Bristol, Bath, Dorchefters, Wey-
mouth, Biddiford, Barnstable, Appletford, Tenby,
Haverford-West, Pembroke and Exeter, and as to
Gloucester, great care was taken to hinder ex-
cursions from that Garrison; Sir William Yarbo-
fer was sent with a strong party of Horse to en-
gage Sir William Modyf, who commanded the raile
Forces, and to command in Chief in that Coun-
ty and Gloucefter-shire; Sudeley Castle was gra-
ted to the Lord Clifforde for the King, which
Lord's flould Gloucester encounter with Warwick,
the only way of Commerce with London; Berkeley
Castle was for the King maintained by a Scotch
Captain. Sir John Winter was strongly fet in the
Forrest of Dene, a Garrison was likewife put
into Beverfon Castle, and indeed Garrisons there
were in every corner of the County, besides se-
veral parties of the Kings Army which lay abroad
in the Fields about it; so that Gloucester was al-
much as much diftrustt as if it had been befieged,
they being inforced to fight or skirniff for what-
soever they got. In the mean time, an additional
supply of one thousand Foot, and one hundred
Horse, under the command of Sir William St. Le-
ger and Colliell Min, landed out of Ireland to
the Kings aid, and were with eight pieces of Ord-
nance ordered to advance to Torbourn, the more
to diftrust the City of Gloucefter.

The French King and the Queen Regent of
France, seem'd very sensible of the Kings con-
dition, and sent the Count de Harcourt (a Prince
of the Houfe of Lorraine, and a great Souldier,) as
Ambassador to the Houfe of England, to offer the
mediation of France to compose the differences
between the King and the Parliament; He came
first to London, and addreft himself to both Hou-
ses for a safe conduct to Oxford to the King,which
they granted, and on the 18. of October he
made his entry into that City, and three days af-
ter, he had publick audience in the great Hall at
Chrisfl's Church, where the King and Queen re-
c'd him with great State and Magnificence; and
whilst he remained at Oxford, he and his retinue
were lodg'd in St. John's Collidge, but finding
himself unable to effecl any thing of his Embaffy
after a few moneths stay, he returned. Sir Willi-
am Walter who had lain long in London to forme
an Army, had at laft got together fix thousand
Horse and Foot, with which he was about this

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time.
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The time lain down before Basing-House, where he met with no better success than the King had at Gowerheer, but whilst he was there, the City put the Earl of Essex to besieging Riddel, but he found himself not in a condition for such a service, but marched to Windsor, and so to St. Albans, where he kept his head quarters, and sent our parties to several places to oppose the King's Forces, which were very active in many places, though not always fortunate; for about this time the Lord Widdrington with Collonei Henderson, and a good party of Horse and Foot, were met near Horse Castle in Lincolnshire, by the Parliament forces under the command of the Earl of Manchester, betwixt whom there was a sharp Fight, wherein Sir Ingram Hopson an Officer of the Kings, had once unhors'd Collonei Cromwell, but he was again quickly mounted, and the King's party put to the worst, and Sir Ingram Hopson and some few others were slain. The King shortly after this misfortune, was recompenced with the good news of 4000 English Foot landed in North-Wales, out of Ireland, under Sir Michael Ernley, who immediately after their landing, took in Hawarden Castle near Chester, and might afterwards have proved more serviceable as they were to the King, had they not been divided as they were into several parts of his Armies, but been kept together under their old and known Commanders.

The Scots promised to the Parliament (from whom Commissioners were sent to Edinburgh about that business,) that they would bring into England to their assistance, an Army consisting of one and twenty thousand Horse and Foot, towards the charge of raising whereof, the Parliament sent 10,000 l. into Scotland, and great Levies of men were made for this Army, which was now near drawn together, but some at Oxford had so good an opinion of the Scots, that they would hardly be brought to believe that they would invade England, till they saw them in the bowels of the Nation; for General Lefty with great imprudence upon himself, as has been before exprest in this History, preferred never to draw his sword against the King, but the ruling party in Scotland to facilitate the raising of this Army, had raised a report that the King was defeated by most of his Nobility.

The King resoping great trust in the Duke of Hamilton, had written to him to use all his power and interest to keep his Country-men at home, which had not been difficult for one of his credit in that Nation; but he by some secret Arts did more inflame them, and to cover his deceit, pretended to fly from Scotland to Oxford, where he came about the last of December, pretending to seek a shelter there for his loyalty, but the King had so good information of his practices in Scotland, that as soon as he came thither, he and the Earl of Lanierick his Brother, were both forbidden the Court, whereupon Lanierick got privately out of Oxford, and went to London, where he was well received, which increas'd the Kings ill opinion of his Brother, and he was sent prisoner to Pendennis Castle.

The King had on the 22d of December summons'd the Members of both Houses, who had defected those at Westminster to assemble at Oxford on the 22d of January following, where accordingly they met in the great Hall at Christ's Church, & after the King had made a short Speech to them, he delivered them to their Seates. The Lords sat in the upper School; and the Commons in the Convocation-House, and for their better welcome, he advanced Prince Rupert to the Title of Duke of Cumberland, and Earl of Holderness, and created James his second Son, Duke of York, by which name he had been appointed to be called at the time of his birth, that they might fit and vote amongst them. After they had sat for a while, by a letter they mov'd the Earl of Essex to endeavour peace, and did also declare against the Invasion of the Scots by another letter sent to them, in which they acquainted them with the fullness of their reports concerning the King, and shew'd how inconsiderable a number of Lords were with those that invited them in; the King himself writ also to them to put them in mind of their several ingagements to be quiet, but before those letters could come to Scotland, and indeed some days before the Parliament had assembled at Oxford, the Scots Army was marched into England, but when the letters came to the ruling party at Edinburgh, with a flange unheard of inofinence, they commanded them to be burnt by the hands of the Hangman, but the dishonour of that Nation was so great measure respected by the gallantry and faithfulness of the Marquess of Montrose, who about the time of this their Invasion, was made General Governor of Scotland, and with an incredible Industry by small numbers of men won many Battails, and overthrew well form'd Armies, whereof some relation shall be made hereafter, and had he not been betrayed by those he trusted, he had forc'd that people to Justice and quietness. Upon the entry of the Scotch Army into England a letter was writ from Barnick in the name of the Committee of both Kingdoms, subscribed by the Marquess of Argyle and Sir William Armine to Sir Thomas Glennam, who then lay at Anwick with 16 Troops of Horse, two Regiments of Foot, eight Drakes, and twenty pieces of Ordnance, which was to be communicated to the Gentlemen of Northumberland, wherein it was signified, That they came into England to protest the ends of the Covenant, namely, the Preservation and Reformation of Religion, the true honour and happiness of the King, and the publick peace and liberty of his Dominions, hoping that things of so great and so considerable consequence would find with him and them such entertainment as might answer the weight and importance of them: Adding, That if misinformation, or any Other unhappy Grounds should so far prevail with him and the rest, as to reckon them in the number of their enemies; and if instead of that concurrence with them which they wished and hoped to deferve, they found opposition and all of Hostility, the Law of Nature and their own reason, might tell them what they were to expect, Sir Thomas return'd an Answer to this Letter, to this purpose:

That there being none with him but Officers, he Sir Thomas could not return an answer so suddenly by their Officers, to the Commons or to the Tranquillers, but he said he would send to the Gentlemen of the County to give him a meeting, and thereupon they should receive an answer by a Tranquiller.

A Letter to Sir Thomas Glennam, delivering the request of their Armies march into England.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

About two of the Clock, the Moon then well up,

The Drum beat, and all marched. Hitherfo to

hie marches been so speedy, as time it fell

was prevented. Meldrum his Letter

sent to the Lord Fairfax, for forwarding, which he is informed

the night before; they had no more but an unac-

credited Rumors of Prince Rupert's coming. On

days March the Prince had notice by his e-

spials how the enemies were busied all that morn-

in' in finding away their Cannons; which pro-

ved no other, than their drawing them off their

Batteries into their Chief work at the Spittle, or

Everet-House, a little more than Musket-shot

from the Town; for into that one Quarter had

this morning drawn all their Regiments and

Ammanion. The Prince having intelligence of

their smaliing themselves thus into one body,

which he suppos'd a preparation to match effi-

dently; advanced his Van of Horse upon the part
to overtake them: the rest of his Horse had o-

der to keep along with the Foot, Cannon and

Ammanion. Coming near the Beacon-hill a

mile short of Newmark, he perceived some Hor-

ses of the enemies; who upon his approach,

drew down the other side to their Groin.

The Prince thus easily gaining the hill, was earn-

st to pierce his good fortune, upon his apprehen-

sion of having some advantages upon a retreat-

ing enemy; whereupon he gave order to charge

them with all the Horse then with him to ingage

them till the Reard Foot the. If be matched up
to him. Trooping his to the edge of the Hill, he

perceived the molt of the enemy in Baltair, (Horfe and Foot) next the Spittle: all except

four great Bodies of Horse, who expected him at

the very decent of the Hill. The Prince thus

ordered his own few forces; first himself with

his own Troop of Life-Guards undertook to at-

taque that Body on the left hand, appointing my

Lord Longborow's Troop to second him, and

Colonel Charles Gerard's Troop to be as a Re-

serve a little on my Lords right hand. The Prin-

ces Regiment was cut out into five Divisions,

two Troops to each Division: in the first and

very right hand of all, were Captain Gardiner,

and Captain Richardson; then Captain Cob, and

Captain Martin; then the Lord Grandison and

Sir Thomas Dafily, next them the Troops of Sir

Louis Dices, and the Lord Dillon; Major Legg

and Lieutenant Colonel. O Neals Troop being

next unto the Life-Guards; this Regiment was

seconced by Major General Porter's Regiment:

the Field-Word, was King and Queen; their

Religion. The fight began about nine a Clock

and after a while it grew fierce, especially on the

Princes his right wing, the other doubling their

Files from three to six deep, and charged two

unfort Troops upon the Flanks to hard, that Capt.

Martin came timely in to help to beat them off;

the Prince himself having pierced deep into the

enemies, and being observed and known, was

dangorously at once assaulted by three furious Per-

sons, whereof one fell by his own sword; a re-

cord being pitifol'd by Master Mersigne one of his

own Gentlemen; the third now ready take

hand on the Princes collar, had it almost chopp'd

of by Sir William Neal; he thus dis-engaged with

a shot only in his Gunel, with Sir Richard

Cram and his own Troop charged, quite through

the Body, piercing them in a Rout home to their

Cc 2 Works
Works at the Spittle, pretty after this, his Regiment with their Seconds likewise routed the three other bodies, four of the Troops charging even into the Work, and bringing away a Captain prisoner; Longborough also deporting himself honorably, some of his men making a second Charge, but he himself rode back to rally and bring them up again: Colonel Gerard was shot in the arm in this encounter, and being by the fall of his horse much bruised, was taken prisoner.

After a little pause both sides began to make ready for a second Charge; the Prince to make impression, and they to receive it: and though for a while it was disputed roughly, yet by fine force were they and all the rest driven quite out of the field beyond their own work, Foot and Cannon at the Spittle; divers of them having by a Bridge of Boats over that branch of the Trent into the Iland; four other Troops, with as many foot Companies halted up to Meukambridge upon the other side of the Iland, and main stream of the River, about three quarters of a mile both from Newark and the Spittle: here they stayed till evening; when breaking the Bridge behind them, and throwing one piece of Cannon into the Trent, they halted to Nottingham.

In both these fight boats, the Prince took five Cornets, and ninety Prisoners, whereas three Captains, some Gentleman, three Cornets, besides other Officers, and two Cañonniers. And now as if an universal Truce had been agreed upon, there was some half an hours silence, excepting that the enemies Cannon disturbed it. As for the Prince he now slewed for his Foot and the Reer of his Horse, both left full two miles behinde, when his Van began to double their march to overtake the enemy; anon came up his Foot, all that day commanded by Colonel Tillier; these resting themselves a while upon the hill, the first division being part of those that came from Strensham, were led on by the Colonel; these marched down in the face of the enemy, hoisting at their Cannon, and flanked with some Horse, they were wheeled to the right into a Meadow; at their coming, the enemy drew all their Horse and Foot within their Spiritework, and coming up against this place, both sides faluted one another at too far a distance with a short volley; but Colonel Tillier was not to play here, as being by his Orders to march up to the very Rivers side, to recover the Boat-bridge from the enemy, but this being too well guarded, he was glad to go off, making a stand without reach of Cannon. In this time were divers more bodies brought down into the field, who charged up to the enemies work, and killed many; Longborough men being left upon the hill for a reserve. Thus was the valley bespurred with the Princes Battalions: and in this posture (ood the Army, Sir Richard Byron Governor of Newark likewise before this, had sent part of his Garrison both (Horse and Foot) into another ground on the South-east side of the Town. And by this time had the Prince notice given him by a Prisoner, and by one of theirs that came over to him, how they were to be distrest for want of Victuals, that they were not able to live there two days. Whereupon he began to resolve upon other Counts, efteming it cheaper to block up their trenches than to form them. And block up they were already in a very narrow room, no more being free than the backside of the Spittle towards the River. Besides which they were upon all sides surrounded by his forces. On the South side being by Town Cowley, on East by the Prince; and on the North by Colonel Tilieu. Into the Iland on the West, had the Prince sent five hundred Horne, besides 200 of the Newark Troopers. Thus the late blockers found themselves now besieged, and without much hope of sudden relief, or safe means for safety; for so well had the Prince ordered them, that had they sallied forwards, he had then fallen upon their first sifting out, both in front, and flanks with his Army, and the Town had charged them upon their Reer. Had they offered to escape over their Boat bridge, those in the Ile had disturbed their passing, and others entertained their coming over.

By this time had the Prince commanded Sir Richard Byron with his own, and Sir Gervase Eyres Horse Regiment with 800 of Sir John Diglote foot, to advance so high into the Iland, as to put in between the enemies two Bridges. By which interposition was all intercourse cut off, but between their greater Body at the Spittle, and those at Meukam-Bridge: upon that those eight Colours at the Bridge retreated, as aforefaid. Under favor of those Town forces too, was the Prince resolved to call up a Redoubt that night between the Bridges, but going to view the Ground, the enemy sent out a Trumpet to desire a Parley. To make way for this, and the more to sweeten and oblige the Prince, had Sir John Meldrum some hours before sent home Colonel Gerard, yet upon the Parole of a Souldier and a Gentleman, to return himself a Prisoner when ever he should be called. They having sent out to Parley quit their bridge, which the Prince presently possessed by 100 Musquetiers. For the Parley on the Prince his part was appointed Sir Richard Crane, Captain of his Life Guards, with Sir William Neute, Scout-Miller-General, the other sinding Sir Miles Hobard, and Sir John Palgrave two Colonels of Norfolk, on their part. The Prince his Horse were so overmatched, and the Foot beaten off their Leggs by long marches, that he found his men not very able to engage a new, and the enemy were more than was believed; to that he was willing to give them good conditions, and the rather, for the (as by intercepted Letters appeared) the Lord Fairfax and his Son Sir Thomas, being commanded by the Council of State to march, other places might ere long have need of his presence, to do that (at length) he condescended to these Articles.

1. That all March, Bullet, Powder, Cannon, and all other fire Arms belonging to the Artillery be delivered.

2. That all Souldiers march away with their Swords by their sides, and Colours and Drums.

3. That all Officers march without molestation, with their Arms and Horses for themselves and Servants, and all Bag and Baggage, Money, and whatsoever due truly belong to themselves.

4. That all Troopers and Dragoons march with their Swords, Horses, and Colours.

5. That
5. That His Highness send a Convoy to provide it with any injury two miles from the mouth of Sir John Meldrum's quarters.

Dated March 22. 1643.

Upon this Victory of the Prince, the Garrisons of Gainsborough, Lincoln, and Stamford, were assailed by the Parliamentarians, and Sir John Meldrum, Governor of Newport, and Sir John Waller,Governor of the Town, sent for the Prince to march to York, but on the 11th of April, when they came near Selby, (where Colonel Belasyse lay with a good body of Men, as a refuge for the Marquess of Newcastle) they drew before the Town, and about eleven of the Clock they assaulted it in three places, & after two hours fight, made themselves masters thereof, wherein they took Colonel Belasyse the Commander in Chief, Governor of York, with most of the rest of the Officers, and sixteen hundred common Soldiers, a Drake, and a Saker, seven barrels of Powder, sixteen bundles of Match, great fores of Bullets, and two thousand Ammunition; immediately upon this success, the Marquess of Newcastle retreated to York, to infirce that Garrison, in case any attempt should be made upon it; and Fairfax marched to meet the Scots, and joined his Army with theirs at Wetherby, from whence they disposed themselves to quarters till a resolution should be taken for further action: In the meantime, the Queen being great with child at Oxford, and somewhat apprehensive of a siege there by the Earl of Essex and Sir William Walker, which was the common intelligence of that time, to prevent the inconveniences thereof, set out from Oxford on the 17th of April towards Exeter, where she arrived some time after; and two days after her departure from Oxford, the Parliamentarian convention at Oxford were by the King prorogued to the eighth of October, and that prorogation was afterward enlarged to the ninth of November by proclamation. Prince Rupert was very active in Shropshire, Cheshire, Staffordshire and Lancashire, to make an Army sufficient to relieve the Marquess of Newcastle, who was somewhat strengthened in Yorkshire by the Parliament Forces, where he had done very good service in taking many Garrisons from the Enemy, as Longford House, and Tonge Castle in Shropshire, Staffordshire, and Bolton in Lancashire, besides the relief of Latham House, (which had been 18 weeks defended by the Countesse of Derby against a close siege) and the relief of many Garrisons that encountered him or his Forces at several times, but we shall leave him for a while to speak of the King's condition at this time.

The Parliament having formed two Armies, whereof the Foot were the most part made up of London Trained-Bands and Auxiliaries, one under the Earl of Essex, and the other under Sir William Walker, who were rendezvoused on the 24th of May at Bellboy in Berkshire, and kept their head-quarters that night at Abingdon within five miles of Oxford, where they continued five or six days, and Essex marched from thence to Ipswich, with purpose to disperse Oxford on the North part, and left Sir William Walker at Abingdon on the South part.

The King perceiving the Parliaments intentions to besiege Oxford, was resolved to endeavour to prevent it, by giving their Armies some distant diversion, or at least to remove their peril from the inconveniencies of a siege: The place resolved to go to, was Plymouth, which he kept for his private, that scarce any know of it but himself, and...
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1644.

The king marches to Buckingham, where he receives the news of the birth of Prince Henry at Leicester.

To amuse the enemy, on the third of June, he sent a body of five of six hundred Horse, under the command of the Earl of Clavering, to alarm Atchison, who bravely entered the Turretpulse, and if he had more forces, might have carried the Town, but having done his business, he retreated with his Party to Oxford, while Waller drew his troops about Atchison, expecting the Kings march that way, but he that evening appeared Ransden on Northby, about eight miles from Oxford, where he drew up his Army, consisting of about 7000 Horse and Foot, 12 Drakes, and 60 Carriages, and having refreshed himself at one Mr. Parres House there, from whence he marched to Burton-on-the-Water's Village between Burton and Stow on the Wolds, and there lodged at Dr. Temple's the Parson there.

From Burton the King went to PurIShore, and from thence to Worcester.

Effex and Waller having notice of the Kings march 18 hours after he was gone, pursued him two several miles; Effex was in some trouble to know what to do, considering that fighting would not so much waste his men, as tedious marches after the Kings light Army. With this he was concerned with a heavy train of Artillery, so that he thought it more prudent to put Waller upon this service, and to stay for him at Burton to consult about the prosecution of it. At Burton it was resolved that Effex should march Westward, to bring those Counties into the obedience of the Parliament, while Waller should get what Forces he could together, to join with him in pursuit of the King, who was yet at Worcester, from whence on the 1st. of June he sent a party out to relieve Dudley Castle that was besieged, and having intelligence that the Parliament Armies were now sever'd, and hearing that Waller came nearer by tedious and hungry marches, the King advanced to Budeley, where he layed four days, and Waller imagining his intention to be to march towards Prince Rupert, inferred into Staffordshire to get before him, but the King turns back with resolution to be famish'd with more men and ammunition from Oxford, and in order thereto on the 13th. of June he came to Witney, where he laid toll some forces came to increase his Army, and being as well provided as he could in so short a time; He march'd towards the Parliament associated Counties, and on the 27th. of June he came to Buckingham, where he received the joyful news of the Queen safe delivery of the Kings Rease, puts over 2000 Horse, with a great body of Foot, and 14 pieces of Cannon, sufficient as he thought to disorder it. The Kings Rease consisted of the Earl of Clavering, and the Earl of Northampton's Brigades of Horse, and Sir Bernard Ashley's regiment of Foot; These fact'd about, and routed all of the Enemy that had pass'd the Bridge, and the Earl of Northampton seeing Waller some of Waller's horse advancing to ford the River, charg'd and repuls'd them; In this fight or 300 of Waller's Soldiers were slain, and several of their General of the Ordinance was taken prisoners, with two Lieutenant Colonels, three Captains, two Lieutenants, four Corners, with other Ensigns and Officers, 18 common Soldiers, five Gunners, and fourteen great Guns. There was slain on the Kings part, Sir William Butler, and Sir William Clarke, the Lord Williams General of the Horse, was twice Prisoner, but rescued once by Sir Frederick Cornwellis, and the second time by Mr. Robert Howard, who was knighted for the service of that day, Colonel Newell was also hurt, and some other Officers and others were taken Prisoners; but there were not above twenty slain.

The King marched to Exeter after this fight, from whence he sent a message to the Parliament to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, and from thence he went to Bath. Sir William Waller was not in a condition to follow him, but after some time, he went to London to solicit recruits whilst the King marched after Effex into the west. In the beginning of this Moneth, Prince Rupert marched out of Lancashire with a considerable Army for the relief of York, wherein the Marquess of Newcastle had been besieged two months by three Armies under the command of the Earl of Manchester, the Lord Fairfax and General Leffey; they all upon the request of the Prince, drew of their Army, and therupon the Prince and the Marquess of Newcastle marched after them to a plain called Marlborough, where on the third of July, a terrible Battle began, in which the Prince at first had much the better, taking their Ordinance, and many of them Prisoners, information that General Leffey and the Lord Fairfax thinking all had been lost, fled many miles while the Battall was fought, and never came to the remainder of their Army, till two days after the Fight; but in conclusion, (whether by fate that attends the event of War, or by neglet, I know not) the fortune of the day turned, and the Parliament Forces recovered their lost Ordnance, and took some of the Princes Baggage, and with it Charles Lucas, Collo nell Porter, and Collo nell Tildard Prisoners. In this Battall were slain on his Majesties part, the Lord Cary, Sir Thomas Metham, Collo nell Ewe, Collo nell Towneley, with some others of note, and about 3000 common Soldiers. On the Parliament part were slain Sir Charles Fairfax, with many other of their Commanders, and at least 3000 Soldiers.

After this Battall the Parliament Army fell down again before York, and Prince Rupert marched away with about 6000 Horse and Dragoons into Lancashire, and from thence to Chester, but the Marquess of Newcastle, and the two Sons, General King, the Lord Falmouth, the Lord
The Parliament Army had now lain twelve days before York, since their last approach to it, and preparation was made for a storm; but Sir Thomas Glemham the Governor sent a Trumpeter out late at night for a Parley, for his Proposals and Ammunition was much wanted, and he had not above 1000 Soldiers beside those that were sick and wounded to defend the Town: So that upon the 16th of July the City was thundred upon very honourable terms, amongst which the two or three first were, That all Officers and Soldiers should march out with their Horses and Arms, flying Colours, Drums beating, Marches lighted, Bulletts in mouth, with Bag and Baggages, and a Carroty to Slipknot, and that of Soldiers fhot at London; But the Soldiers that were to guard them, in violation of these conditions, plundered many of the Wagons, at which the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell were so much displeased, that many of them were cenured at a Court Martial, but little restitution was made, and most of them that were accused, agreed in one excuse, viz. That they never heard it was any part of the agreement, that they should march away, and be protected with their Bagg and Baggages, and that many of Sir Thomas Glemham's Soldiers fent them on to plunder, discovering to them which were the Wagons of Papists, in rifeling whereof they affifted and got their share.

Having endeavoured hitherto in the actions of this year, to apply them to the times whereas they were used, we must now return to describe the motions of the Earl of Essex and the King in the Western parts, which for some weeks together, had not been mentioned for Stover and Newbury.

Whilst the King was at Bath, he received advice that Essex was about the 16th of July marcht from Devonshire towards Plymouth to raise the Siege, which Sir Richard Grenville had at that time before Plymouth and disperse his forces, which was the result of a Council of War then had, when two other Questions were proposed, either to march back to meet the King's forces, or to besiege Exeter, but neither of those were approved, and they were not very earnest to attempt Exeter now they knew they had frightened the Queen from thence, who about the 15th of
was had of the matter of it, and the manner of the address, and some expressions uttered by the L. Wilmot therein, of making the Prince of Wales Mediator in the business, which by some disfaste to that Lord was improved to his prejudice, as if he intended to make a division in the Army; and thereupon the King was persuaded to secure him, and lend him away with a Guard to Oxford; which caused a great contention in the Army, for he was very well beloved of the Souleiders, and a great care had not been used to temper the minds of many of them; great inconveniences might have ensued; but nevertheless the King left hereby the comfit and conduct of his own belt officers, who by all the actions of his life before and after gave such evident marks of his Loyalty that even his enemies were ashamed and sorry for their apprehensions of him: General Goring was at the instant of his remove put into his Command, and the King began to use all possible means to disaffete the Enemy by allm?.t encompassing them with his forces, he himself and Prince Maurice, quartered at Boscumberk, Greenwel fatned himself at Lanseberock three miles West of the King, and posted himself of Leprin-Bridge a mile above Liflibelth, to which place the Tide flowed up from Foy, so that it was not fordable but at one place between that and the Sea, the Kings Army incamped between Boscumberk and a Heath that parted their quarters and the enemy, and placed Guards on all places on the River leading from his Quarters at Liflibelth to Foy, posting a Honde of the Lord Mohans over against the Town, and a Fort that commanded the mouth of the Haven; so that Effex had no place for relief by water but at a small Creek against the Town, and St. Blaise's his Bay, but neither safe for Ships, but they retained a large space of ground Westward, whereupon Goring was sent with most of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Basset with 1500 Foot to those parts to stop all provisions coming in at St. Blaise, by which means Effex and his Army were reduced to such straits, that Sir William Beffour with five and twenty hundred of his Horse broke away before day in the morning on the 31. of August between the Quarters of his Majesty and Prince Maurice, as they lay encamped, and got to Sailh, and the same night Effex himself and the Lord Roberts deserted the Army, and got away in a Boat to Plymouth.

The next day Skippin with the foot endeavoured to march to Foy, but the King having notice of their motion marched soon after them, and that day took five of their Ordinance, falling into their Rear within two miles of Liflibelth, the next morning they made a stand, and with the remaining Horse regained some fields from whence they had been forced before, whereupon the King sent Captain Edward Bress the Queens Troop, who in his view forced them to retire, regained the lost ground, and got more, and returned in good order with the loss only of four of his men, and himself flot in the arm for which good service the King immediately Knighted him. In the evening their men were so harrassed, they could scarce be made to stand to their Arms, and in that their condition Lieutenant Colonel Butler came to defire a par-
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1644. beginning, and the little assistance he had from England; but we shall leave a while the narrative of his fortune, to return to the transactions in England, which were the remaining part of this year prosecuted in several places with various succés; in the West after the great Victory over Essex his Army, fitford, Comb, Barl-
nable, and Salisbury submitted to the Kings Arms, and Basing-horse that had been eighteen weeks besieged, was relieved by a party from Oxford under Sir Henry Gage, and a little after, he with the Earl of Northampton raised the Siege of Ban-
bury-Castle, which had been a month beleaguer'd by Colonel John Finis, and flew and took many of his men, and one piece of Ordnance: but the good fortune of the Parliament in several parts baffled this success with advantage, Mon-
mouth was in September taken by Colonel Massy, and the Town and Castle of Newcastle which had long endured the utmost force of the English and Scotch Armies was taken by Storm with great loss to the Affiliants on the 27th of October, and while a Level Pool in Lanarkshire was sur-
rended to Sir John Meldrum, but the great busi-
finesse that concluded this year were the Battle of Newbury, and the Treaty at Nixbridge, which will come next to be related, interwoven with some other of the most remarkable occurrences that then hapned.

The Earls of Essex and Manchester, and Sir William Waller had drawn a great Army together, with a resolution to hinder the Kings march to Oxford, but he not believing that Essex could have so soon appeared at the head of an Army, sought by was willing not to decline engagement, Essex and Manchester on the 23d of October rendez-
ouz'd their Army in Aldermaston Park, and the next night came privily over the water at a Ford next Padsworth, and next morning to Buckle-
bury-heath next Newbury, where the King then was, and about 12 of the Clock drew down their whole Army between Thameham and Shen, and skirmished with the Kings Horse; on Saturday both Armies placed one another with their great Ordnance, but without much hurt done, then some of Manchester's Troops and London Train-
ed bands crossed the River Kennet between the hill and Newbury, and did some execution upon those that kept the pads against them: But Sir Bernard Abyby coming to their rescue, forced the other over the River. Again, in the afternoon 4000 of Essex and Wallers Horse and Dragoons with 500 Pikes charged the Royal Army on the West-side of Newbury, where were the Cornish foot, & the Duke of York's Regiment, with three or four pieces, and the freeman Maurice's Brigade of Cornish Horse, all which having not unnaturally baffled the strong charge of the Parliamentarians, were yet forced to retreat back in some disorder, and here some of the Kings field pieces were taken. The Essexians following their succés, advanced with 500 Horse, and a sufficient strength of Mus-
ketiers betwix Newbury and Spine upon the Kings Life-Guards, and Sir Humphrey Bennet's Brigade, whom they overpowered, and had much more embattled, if the Lord Bernard Stewart had not come up to their alijance, and fenced their Retreat on the Earl-side of Spine; the Par-
liamentarians having setted three bodies of Foot in certain inclosures, advanced over a ditch with a great body of Horse to break through the Kings Guards, but first they were obliged to fight with General Goring and the Earl of Cleavelands Bri-

gade (which charged stoutly & beat back the en-
emy, but purfuing disorderly were repulsed with loss.

Upon the North-east of Newbury flood he Lord Abyby, with Colonel George Ely, against whom the Earl of Manchesters Horse and Foot, with the Trained Bands of London came down the hill, and wrought Colonel Lyfers Guards, But Sir John Brown Lieut. Colonel of the Prince of Wales Horse regiment & Colonel of the Horse charged the Foot, and shot them, and then received a charge of 1000 Horse, and was forced to retreat.

Manchester in the next place forces his way to charge the Reserve commanded by Colonel Theels, and after a smart dispute beat them out of the field and gains their Colours, and two pieces of Cannon: In this Battel on the Kings part were were flain, Sir Anthony St. Leger, Lieutenant Col. Look, Lieutenant Colonel Topping and Cap, Catin; the Earl of Cleaveland, and some few were taken; the Earl of Bradanford & Forth, Sir John Greenwist, Sir Richard Campfield, Major Affer, and Captain Walgrave and others were wound-
ed, many private Tollers flain and taken pri-
soners. The fight endured till eight o'clock of the Clock at night, and was ended to the advantage of the Parliamentarians; for the King receiving that most of his Brigades were shattered, and fearing a total overthrow if the Battel should be renewed, marched away secretly to Dennington-
Castle, and there left behind him his great pies-
es of Ordnance, and so hasted to Wallingford.

General Essex lodged himself in Newbury, and having in vain summoned and assaulted Dennington, he marched away on the 29th of October, complying the care of that Siege to a party which he left behind him.

The King after this fight made what haft he could to recruiit and refresh his Army that he might relieve Dennington-Castle, which was not sufficiently provided, and bring from thence the Ordnance, Ammunition & Baggage which he left there, and that he might also succor Basing house, which was again besieged & therefore on the 6th of November he had his Rendezvous at Bulington-Green betwixt Wallingford and Oxford, and from thence he marched two days after to Dennington, but upon his approach to the Castle, the enemy drew off their forces, and he put into the Garri-

ton a supply of such things as they wanted, and then drew off the Train of Artillery, and other Carriages which he had left there. Sir William Waller was with an Army about Hun-
gerford, he marched thither to ingage him, but they would not venter an encounter, and from thence Sir Henry Gage was sent with a Party to relieve Basing-house, but before he came, the be-

siers drew off, and left the work very easy to him. After these performances the King returned to Oxford, and disposed his Army to Winter Quarters, and there he was attended by the Earl of Denbigh, and some of the House of Com-

mons as Commissioners from the Parliament, with Propositions for a Peace, which produced an overture for a Message to be sent from him to the Parliament by the Duke of Rich mond, and the

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Earl of Southampton, which was agreed to, and from thence a Treaty was had at Holmbridge, which began about the first of February last, of which we shall make farther mention in its place.

About the end of this Month, Sir Alexander Carew, who was Governor of St. Nicholas Island at Plymouth, was tried by a Court Martial for endeavouring to deliver up the Island to the King, and sentenced to be beheaded, which sentence was a few days after executed upon him on Tower-Hill, and by the same Court Martial Sir John Hoban and his Son, who were in like manner arraigned, found guilty, and executed for设计ing to quit their party, and by some service to ingratiate a return to their allegiance to the King, concerning whose mistresses, The King among other reflections thereon in his excellent * Book, expressed him thus;

"Sir John Hoban unapproached, unhearted, not curried by any language or secret impression of mine, only blasted with the conscience of his own wickedness, and falling from one inconsistency to another, not long after pays his own and his eldest Son's heads, as forfeitures of their disloyalty, to those men, from whom surely he might have expected another reward than this, to divide their heads from their bodies, whose hearts with them were divided from their King."

"Nor is it strange that they who employed them at first in so high a service, and so successful a service, should not find mercy enough to forgive him, who had so much/premised of them: For Apostasy unto Loyalty, some men account the most unpardonable sin."

"Nor did a seditious vengeance serve the turn; the cutting off one head in a Family, is not enough to expiate the aforesaid done to the head of the Common-wealth. The eldest Son must be involved in the punishment, as he was infected with the sin of the Father, against the Father of his Country; Root and branch God cuts off in one day."

"These observations are obvious to every fancy: God knows I was far from rejoicing in Hoban's ruine, though it were such as were able to give the greatest thrift for revenge a full draught, (being executed by them who first employed him against Me) that I forsook pity as I thought he at first acted more against the light of his Conscience, than I hope other men do in the same cause."

By these and other executions at this time, the Parliament made themselves very terrible to their Officers, against whom any particular crimes could be objected, but where the offences were general and the persons of great interest in their Army, they were more cautious in their methods, and it happened at this time, that they were more perplexed at the ill conduct of their Armies, in suffering the King to make that progress he lately did in the relief of Dennington and Basing-House; for by his appearance there, the quarters of the Parliament Army on that side, were at Reading, Henley, Abingdon and Farnham, and the King's Troops were quarter'd at Basing, Odiham, Newbury, Blandford, and Marlborough.

Essex began to be suspected as cautious or discontented, and Collonel Norton wrote a letter to his Lordship that he had received a warrant from a chief Commander of the Army to withdraw from Basing: And the Earl of Manchester made a long Relation in writing concerning the carriage at Dennington, wherein he made his own defence, but acquitted Collonel Cromwell. Upon this the House of Commons fell into consideration of the follow proceedings of their Army, alleging that many of their Officers were deficient in not prosecuting advantages, which tended to the Prolongation of the War, and that the differences amongst their Commanders were commonly so much where the command is greatest; which produced this Resolution, (viz.) That no member of either House of Parliament, shall during this War, injure or execute any Office or Command, Military or Civil, which hath been granted or conferred on any Member of either House, or by any authority derived from either House, and that an Ordinance be brought in to that purpose.

This Vote and the Ordinance thereupon was very much opposed by the Peers, but petitions from the City and several Counties were framed and presented to move their compliance, which in the end prevailed upon them; In the mean time, though it was now Winter, and not ordinarily a time of action, the War went on in several places, and several new Garrisons were made by both parties, to the miserable spoyl and destruction of the Country. Sir Jacob Astley posseted himself of Cirencester with three Brigades of Foot, and four Regiments of Horse, and became so formidable, that he commanded Contribution to the very gates of Gloucester, nor were the Garrisons in Warwick, Hereford, and Bristol, less active, and Mensab and that had been before taken from the King, was regained by the Lord Herbert of Ragland, but in the midst of this good Fortune on the Kings side, a Garrison was form'd at Abingdon, a Town within five miles of Oxford, by order from the Two Houses of Parliament, under the command of Collonel Brown, the King and Council looking on, and suffered the Intrenchments to be made, the Works to be raised, and the Ordinance to be planted on the same. * It cannot be denied, but that Sir Henry Gage and many of the chief Commanders which were then in and about Oxford, offered their service to the King, and earnestly desired leave to prevent that mischief which by the Intrenchments of this Town must needs fall upon them, But the Lord George Digby, not long before made Principal Secretary of State, had persuaded the King unto the contrary, upon assurance that he held intelligence with Brown, and that as far as the Town was fortified and furnished with Victual, Arms and Ammunition by the charges of the Houses of Parliament, it would immediately be delivered into his Majesty's hand, in which design he was defeated, and exposed to some loss of Reputation: For Brown having brought his project to the highest round of the ladder (as himself expected it) thought it high time to turn it off, and to declare himself for the two Houses against the King; printing not long after the letters which passed between him and the Lord Digby upon this occasion.
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But now when it was too late, Sir Heneage Wase (as with a commanded party out of Oxford and Wallingford to seize a Port at Colhams Bridg within a mile of Abington, but the design being discovered, he was prevented, and in the attempt unfortunately received a shot, whereof within two hours he died, and with him Lieutenant Colonel Lord the Deputy Governor of Wallingford, and Major Green of that Garrison, with several others of great courage and reputation.

On the same day, or the day before, William Laud, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, was beheaded on Tower-Hill, after he had been kept four years a Prisoner in the Tower, his Rent sequestered, and his Books, Papers, and all his Goods feiz'd; his Charge was, a constructive Treason under several heads reducible into two particulars:

1. For endeavouring the subversion of the Laws of the Land.
2. And a like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion.

His Tryal was at the Lords Bar, and Mr. William Pryn of Lincoln-Inne, his profest enemy, was made his Proctor, wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his offences, though when all that could be was said, nothing that did amount to Treason could be proved against him, but the Scots who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied, unless he were put to death, to manifest thereby their zeal against the Episcopal Hierarchy, to other in the Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, so that by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged guilty of High Treason, though at the paling thereof in the Houle of Peers, there were but seven present, (viz. the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury and Buckingham, and the Lords, North, Gray and Bruce.)

He ended his life with such a modest confidence, and so much piety, that his greatest enemies then present, who came to behold the Execution with hearts full of joy, returned back with eyes at full of tears.

In pursuance of several messages from the King for a Treaty, it was assented to by the Parliament, and at Exeterbridge Commissioners met on the 30th of January for the King, on one part, and for the Parliament of England and the Parliament of Scotland on the other.

The Commissioners for the King were, Parliament were,

Duke of Richmond and Earl of Northumberland.
Marquess of Hertford.
Earl of Southamp ton.
Earl of King's. Earl of Chichester.
Lord Capel.
Lord Seymour.
Lord Hus ton.
Lord Colpepper.
Sir Edward Nicholas.
Sir Edward Hyde.
Sir Richard Lane.

Sir Thomas Gardner.
Sir Orlando Bridgewan.
Mr. Co. Abborne.
Mr. Jeffery Palmer.
Doctor Stuard.

Lord London.
Sir Chas. Erken.
Mr. Douglas.
Mr. Backley.
Mr. Henderson.

The first things to be treated on, were:

1. Religion.
2. The Militia.
3. Ireland.

The first paper at the opening of the Treaty was, concerning Religion which was delivered from the Kings Commissioners to the others in these words;

1. That freedom be left to all Persons of what opinion, sover in matters of Cerimony, and that all the penalties of the Laws and Customs which enjoy these penalties, be suspended.
2. That the Bishops shall execute no Act of Jurisdiction, or Ordination, without the consent and consent of the Presbyters, who shall be chosen by the Clergie of each Diocese, out of the Learnedst and greatest Ministers of that Diocese.
3. That the Bishop keep his conftant Residence in his Diocese, except when he shall be required by his Majesties to attend him on any occasion; and that he be not bound by the informity of old age, or sickness: be preach every Sunday in some Church within his Diocese.
4. That the Ordination of Ministers shall be done in the public, and solemn manner, and every form and rite observed concerning the sufficiency and other qualifications of those men who shall be received into Holy Orders: And the Bishop shall not receive any into holy Orders without the approbation and consent of the Presbyters, or the major part of them.
5. That competent Maintenance be established by Parliament, to such Vicarages as belong to Bishops, Deans and Chapters, one of the Impropriations according to the value of the several Parishes.
6. That no man shall be capable of two Parsonages or Vicaridges with cure of Souls.
7. That toward the settling of the publick Peace, a commission shall be raised by Parliament, out of the Estates of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, in such manner as the King and Parliament shall think fit, without the Alteration of any of the said Lands.
8. That the Jurisdiction in causes Temporal, and Matrimonial be settled in such a manner as shall seem most convenient by the King and Parliament: And that every Act to be passed for regulating of Visions, and against immoderate Fees in Ecclesiastical Courts, and abuses by frivolous Excommunications, and all other abuses in Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions shall be agreed upon by King and Parliament.

And if the Parliament Commissioners shall insist upon any other things which they shall think necessary for Religion, the Kings Commissioners shall very willingly apply themselves to the consideration thereof.

The Parliament Commissioners after they had perused this paper, delivered one of theirs to the
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Kings Commissioners, which was as follow-

eth.

That a Bill be passed for dissolving all Arch-
Bishops, Bishops, &c. according to the third Pro-
position.

That the Ordinances concerning the calling and
sitting of the Assembly of Divines, be confirmed by
All if Parliament.

That the directory for Publick worship already
passed both Houses, and the Propositions concerning
Church Government annexed and passed both
Houses, be Enacted as part of Reformation of
Religion and Uniformity, according to the first Pro-
position.

That his Majesty take the Silenm League and
Covenant, and that the Covenants be enjoyed to be
taken according to the second Proposition.

That the ordinary way of dividing Christians
into distinct Congregations, and most expedient for
cadiscussion, is by the respective bounds of their
dwelling.

That the Ministers and the Church Officers in
each Congregation, shall join in the Government of
the Church, as shall be established by the Parlia-
ment.

That many particular Congregations shall be
under one Presbyterial Government.

That the Church be governed by Congregational,
Classical, and Synodical Assemblies, so be established
by Parliament.

That Synodical Assemblies shall consist both of
Provincial and National Assemblies.

The Propos'd were debated on three days
without any determination on any one contro-
verted point, and on the 29th of February, the
Parliament Commissioners delivered in the fol-
lowing proposals concerning the Militia.

We define that the Subjects of England may
be Armed, Trained and Disciplined as the Par-
lament shall think fit; and that the like be for
Scotland, as the Parliament there shall think fit.
And that his Majesty give his Royal assent to the
Acts following.

1. An Act for settling the Admiralty and For-
ces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance,
to be as the Parliament shall think fit, and the like
for Scotland.

2. An Act for settling the Admiralty, and all
Forces at Sea, and moneys thereto for maintenance
to be as the Parliament shall think fit. The like
for Scotland.

3. An Act for settling all Forces by Sea and
Land in Commissioners to be named by Parliament,
so to such as both Kingdoms shall consider in, with
power to suppress all powers and forces contrary
thereto, and to act as they shall be directed by Par-
lament.

And so for the Kingdom of Scotland.

That the Militia of the City of London, and
the Parishes without London, and the Liberties
within the weekly Bills of Mortality, be in the
Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council.

That the Town of London may be in the Go-
vernment of the City, and the chief Officers thereof
nominated, and removable by the Common Coun-
cils.

That the Citizens or Forces of London may
not be drawn out of the City without their own con-
ents, and the example of drawing them out in these
distressed times, may be no President for the future.

There papers were likewise debated three
days, and then the Parliament Commissioners pre-
tended a paper concerning Ireland, to this effect:

That his Majesty give his Royal assent to an
Act to make void the cession of Ireland, and all
Treaties of the Rebels without consent of Parlia-
ment, and to settle the Possession of the Prop
of Ireland in the Parliament, to be managed by the
joynt advice of both Kingdoms, and his Majesty's
affid, and to do no all to dissatisfaction or wrong
them therein.

The Kings Commissioners in the debate of this
Proposition, did lay open the eminent and in-
evitable necessity which carried the King to make
the Irish Cession, which he was in honour ob-
ligated to make good; nevertheless they offered to
concede to any thing for the security of the
Kings Protestant Subjects, but the Parliament
Commissioners were to bound up by their instruc-
tions, that they could admit of no alteration of
what they offered.

The matter of Religion was then resumed, and
that was to be concluded before they proceeded
to any other proposition. But to many difficulties
occurred in the debate thereon, that no accord
could be made; for the Parliament to endeavour
the Scotch to them, had caused every Member of
each House to take the Scotch Covenant, whereby
they bound themselves to the preservation of the
Religion of Scotland, in Doctrines, Worship, Dis-
pline and Government: and, To endeavour the
extirpation of Episcopacy and the Reformation of
Religion in England and Ireland, according to the
example of the left Reformed Churches. Whereby
they could mean nothing less than to bring them
to the discipline of Scotland, because they had
sworn to the preservation of the Religion there.
Moreover, they had sworn in this Covenant
against defeatable indifferency and neutrality
(to keep their own words) whereby it seem'd
apparent, that though at first the contrivers of
this Oath pretended only for liberty of Confin-
ence, they now would allow none to any; where-
fore the Kings Commissioners were at a stand;
for the King took himself bound by the Oath of
his Coronation, not to alter the government of
the Church, and they were bound by their instru-
tions to insist thereon, so that the Treaty became
delepipated; hence it did not seem just to accept
of the Scotch part it was offered. That if the Articles
proposed by them, did not give satisfaction, that
then to great an alteration as the total abolishi-
ment of a Government established by Law, might
(for the imparlance of it, and any reformation in
doctrine for the scandal of it) be suspended, till
after the disbanding of all Armies, when the
King should be present with the Parliament, and
calling a National Synod, might receive such ad-
vice both from the one and the other, as should
be necessary, and as any Reformation that calmly
made, would needs prove for the singular benefit;
so, whether the contrary, that is an alteration ev-
ven to things though in themselves good, could
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by the principles of Christian Religion, be enforced upon the King or Kingdom.

This would not be admitted, and the time allowed for the Treaty being but twenty days, nothing was effected therein; for the Parliament were resolved to have no peace but on their own terms, believing all the Kings proposals for peace, to proceed either from an inability to hold out the War, or from the weakness and irresolutions of his Council.

After this followed the taking of Shrewsbury, a place of very great importance to the King, as the Gate which opened into Wales, situate on a rising ground, and almost encompassed about by the River Severn; that part which is not invi

The Treaty proves ineffectual.

orated by water, being wholly taken up and made good by a very strong Castle. By the loss of which Town, the Kings former intercourse with his Joyal Subjects of North-Wales was not only hindered, but a present drop was given to an association which was then upon the point of concluding between the Counteys of Salop, Flint, Chelfter, Worcetfèr, \\etc. to the great prejudice of the Kings affairs in those parts of the Kingdom.

But to make a recompence in some measure for this great loss about the beginning of March this year, Pomfret Castle in Yorks was re

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The Prince of Wales sent into the Weft to perfecn the Af

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April the third Sir Thomas Fairfax sets forth for Windsor, where he applies himself to the gath

ering together of his Army, to which place Lieutenant General Cromwell came to him, and

Avenue with Council, which Prince Rupert hasten from Horse to fetch off the King from Oxford with his Train of Ar

tillery, and some foot with intention to take the field, and at Belfiey, Cromwell falls upon them, which after some dispute he routed, and took divers Prisoners, and about 200 Horse, and from thence he purfied several of them that escaped to Bloxington Houfe, where Colonel Windebank kept a Garrison for the King, which was surren
dered to him upon the first summons, but the Col

Avenel was soon after condemned by a Court of War at Oxford, and shot to death for putting to

easily with the place. A few days after Cromwell set out to march to Farringdon, and assaulted that Garri

on, but was repulsed with the loss of next two hundred men, besides many that were wounded and taken prisoners. The King perceiving that Fairfax intended to besiege Oxford sent for Prince Rupert and General Goring to march to him thither, and those about the beginning of May came to Oxford, and fetched the King, who quickly increased his Army, and advanced it towards the reputation of Chelfter, but Goring re

turned to the Siege of Taunton, from whence he had been called to this service.

Fairfax in commination of the different condition of Taunton marched with his Army to the relief of it as far as Blanford, but upon second thoughts he sends Colonel Welden with near two thousand Horse and Dragons, and 5000 Foot to Taunton, and returns to Newbury, where he re

ceives an express to march to Oxford and lay siege close to it: in the mean time Welden makes halt at Taunton, and the Kings forces before the Town being informed it was the whole Army, re

olved to give one furious assault, and if that took not effect to quit the place, which was performed, and they entered the Town, and fired two Streets, but the Governor retired to the Castle, and they could not force that, wherefore they drew off, and suffered Col. Welden to enter the Town, but Goring, Greenow, and Barkley, uniting The King and his Allies Chelfter, and from hence they forces together did so press upon Welden, that they besieged him and the Town again. By this time the King had relieved Chelfter, and several of the

forces for Oxford, and made up the town.

The Parlia

tment pass their settling Ord

inances.

Sir Thomas Fairfax made General of their Army. Cromwell, Skippon, and Ireton, excepted out of their Ordinance. Essex, Manchester, and Denby, quartered their Commissions, and Warwick his Admin
istration.
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1645. party of Horie, who fell into Nafely Town, and took many prisoners, giving such an Alarm to the Whole Army, that the King at midnight left his own Quarters, and for security hasted to Harbridge, where he raised Prince Rupert, and called a Council of War, where it was resolved to give Battle; and sale Fairfax had been so forward, they would not stay for him, but seek him out, and at a place near Nafely in Northamptonshire, the two Armies met on Saturday the 14th of June.

The King himself commanded the Main Body, Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice the Right Wing, Sir Marmaduke Langdale the Left, the Earl of Lindsey, and the Lord Albay the right-hand Reserve, the Lord Bard and Sir George Leslie the Left. Of the Parliaments Army, Fairfax and Skippom commanded the Main Body, Cromwell the right Wing, with whom was_Roffier, who came with his forces but a little before the fight, and Ireton had the Left. The Referves were brought up by Rainborn, Hammond, and Pride; Prince Rupert charged the Parliaments left wing, Commanded by Ireton, who made notable resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, Ireton himself being run through the thigh with a Pike, and into the Face with a Halber, his Horie shot under him, and himself taken Prisoner. For about 3 hours Rupert followed the Chief almost to Nafetby Town, and in his return summoned the Train, but which with their Firelocks and in the mean time Cromwell charged fatically on the Kings left Wing, and got the better, forcing them from the Body, and procuring the advantage, quite broke them and their Reserve; during which the Main Bodies had charged one another with incredible force, often Retreating & Rallying, falling in together with the But-ends of their Muskets, and coming to hand-by-blowes with their Swords. But Fairfax's Foot coming up feantionably to the Horie, and Cromwell coming in with his Victorious right Wing, they all charged together upon the Kings main Army, who unable to endure any longer, retired out of the field towards Leicefter, and Prince Rupert, who now too late returned from his too eager pursuit, seeing the day lost, accompanied them in their flight, leaving (as Heaven would have it) a compleat Victory to the Parliamentarians, who purposed them within two miles of Leicefter, and the King finding the pursuit too hot, leaves that Town, and halts to Leicefter. This Battle was exceeding bloody, both Armies being very courageus and numerous, not being five hundred odd, fought in a large fow field, on the North-wet side of Nafetby, about a mile broad, which space of ground was wholly taken up. On the Parliament's fide were wounded and slain, above a thousand Officers and private Soldiers: Major General Skippom (who was an old experienced Soldiery, and was ordered to draw up the form of the Battel) fought flatly that day; and altho' he was mortally wounded in the beginning of the fight, and the General defir'd him to go off the field, he answered, he would not fight so long as a man would stand; and accordingly layed till the Battel was ended. Ireton (as is laid before) was dangerouly hurt and taken prisoner for a while, after he had done his part; but in the confusion of the fight got loose again, and saw the Victory attained. The General and Lieutenant General performed their work with Efficient resolution (had their Cause been as good) and by their own examples inferred valour into their followers; likewise did the other Officers of whom divers were wounded.

On the other side, the King threw himself that day a courageous General, keeping close with his Horie, and himself in person rallying them to hot encounters, the Earl of Lindsey, Lord Albay, Colonel Raffell and other were wounded, 20 Colonels, Knights, and Officers of note, and 600 private Soldiers slain: but much more was the damage that the King sustained, by what was taken, viz. six Colonels, 8 Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 8 Lieutenant Captains, 200 Ensigns, and other inferior Officers, 450 Common Soldiers, and many women, 15 of the Kings household Servants, four of his Footmen, 12 Pieces of Ordnance, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages, all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Plate; 3000 Horse, the Kings Standard, one of the Kings Coaches, and his Cabinet of Letters and Papers, which were after published by the Parliament (with less decency and civility than became such an assembly) Sir Marmaduke Langdale handed away the same night to Newcast. The next day General Fairfax sent up Col. John Peters to London with the Prisoners and Colours taken in the fight.

The King having saved himself by flight, gathered together some part of his scattered forces, but never was able to make head against the Conquerors, losing this year one Garnon after another, till his whole strength was almost reduced to Oxford. I shall take notice only of some of the principal, namely Leicefter, Carlisle, Pomfret, Hume, the Castle, Bridgnower, Scarbroth, Brifbou, Hereford, and Preston, and Leicestershire, on which to great a part of his affairs did most especially depend.

On the 16th of June, Fairfax set down before Leicefter, and summoned the Governor the Lord Hastings to deliver up the Town, which he refusing, Warrants were shewn for the Country to bring in Ladders and other necessaries for a storm; and Hastings continuing yet obstinate, he assailed it in several places, and at the Newport-fide, he made to ride a Breach, that the Governor defined a Parole, which was granted, and thereupon a forrestding ensued upon was tain in the Town. There were in the Town 14 pieces of Ordnance, thirty Colours, 2000 Arms, 500 Horie, 50 Barrels of Powder, and Ammunition proportionable, and about a week after Sir Thomas Glemmon Governor of Carlisle, having been long besieged by the Parliament forces, and despairing of succours yielded up the Town. The Low condition of Carlisle, & the Town of Tannton, caused the Committee of both Kingdoms to order General Fairfax to march thither, which he readily obeyed, but upon his approach to the Town, General Goring on the tenth of July, drew off from Tannton, and retreated to Langport. The next day Fairfax being at Long Sutton within two miles of Langport, he drew out his forces early in the morning in Sutton-field, Goring likewise drew forth at that time, and took a pass leading to Bridgnower, and lined the way to it, with Musketeers. Fairfax sent Major Bilbel
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1645.

Sir John Digby. who was Major General of the Horse to Goring was shot in the elbow, and carried into Bridgwater, where three days after he died of his wounds, and was very much lamented by his party, he was about forty five years of age at the time of his death, and in all his life was scarce ever heard to swear or seem angry; he had very great courage and conduct in Martial affairs, and was competently learned also in many Sciences. Goring after he had relented for some time in Bridgwater, marched away to the North of Devonshire; Sir Thomas Fairfax presently thereupon sets down before Bridgwater, and starves the Town, but being resolutely defended by Sir Edmund Window the Governor, he formed the lower part thereof which is divided from the rest by a bridge and gained it, and the next day he had hot fleet plows into the Town, by which means, and by some intelligence he had with the Town, most of the houses that were thatcht were fired, whereby the Townsmen were so distressed, that they left the Works, and hung down their Arms to endeavour to save their houses. In the midst of this contention, Fairfax sent a Trumpeter in to the Governor, wherein he acquitted him, that he purposed to assault the Town, but in compassion to the women and children therein, he offered to permit as many of them as desired it, to go out of the Town; upon this there was to great a distraction in the Garrison, that the Governor was forced to yield to a Treaty; and thereupon on the 23rd of July the Town was surrendered, upon condition only of Sir Quarter, but except Townsmen that were in Arms to be prisoners at War, of which there were a thousand Officers and Soldiers, and in their houses they found 44 Barrels of Powder, and 400 weight of Match; and in the Town 44 pieces of Ordnance, and 150 Arms; and two days before Pomfret-Castle after three months Siege was delivered up to Major General Points, upon condition for the Officers and Soldiers to march away with their Arms, Drums beating, and Colours flying, and bullet in mouth, with fixt on foot of Powder, and bullet proportionable: and on the 25th of July the Castle of Scarborough had the like fate, it being then surrendered by Sir Hugh Cholmeley the Governor, to Sir Mathew Boynton, who commanded the forces before it, upon very honorable conditions, amongst which it was provided, that the Governor and all his Officers and Soldiers should have a safe Convey to Newark, and from thence after six days notice, as many as desired should have a pass to go into Holland, or any other place abroad, and none were to be plundered, or forced to take up Arms against their wills, but to have Passes to go home if they desired them. They had kept this Castle for twenty days, at the delivery thereof, many of the Officers and Soldiers were so sick and weak, that they were brought out in fives: there were about 35 pieces of Ordnance in the Castle, besides many Arms, but very little Victual or Ammunition.

Bridgwater.

Bridgwater.

Brightham.

Brightham.

Pomfret-Castle delivered up to General Points.

Scarbrough-Castle surrendered to the Marquis Loxton.
they came within 20 miles of Oxford, they were to lay them down. 

Bristol being thus reduced, Fairfax marched into the West, towards the Prince of Wales, (who was now in the middle parts of Devonshire) intending to take in Exeter, but there were too many blocks in his way, that it was a long time after before he gained that City, as will be hereafter related.

The quick surrundering of Bristol did much trouble the King, for he thought that City (to well maintained and furnished with Victual, Arms, and Ammunition) would rather have given a turn to his affairs, by the name of the Parliament Army against it otherways, there had before some Letters paffed between the King and the Prince, touching the Kings coming to a speedy agreement with his two Houses of Parliament, in which the King was so far preffed, that he seem'd to be displeased at it, and dispatched a Messenger to the Lords at Oxford to displace Colonel William Legg (then Governor thereof, and a great confidet of the Prince's) and to put Sir Thomas Cramond into his place.

Hereford next followed the fame fortune of Bristol, which having been besieged by the Scots from the 13th of July to the first of September, (at which time they were forced to draw off,) on news that their help was required in their own Kingdom, where Montrose was very prevalent, having defeated an Army employed against him in a Battle fought in Kilburn field near Glasgow;) the Town was suddenly surprized by Colonel Birch and Colonel Morgan (the left then Governor of Glasgow,) on the eighteenth of December; the King a little before this time had got a small Army together in Wales, and seeing Bristol left, was very deifirous to free Chefter (a City of very great importance in those parts of the Kingdom) from the Siege then before it by Sir William Brevetson, Colonne Jones, and others, to effect which, he march'd with his Army confiding of about five thousand men, and more Horfe to relieve the Town; but in his march towards it, he was caught by General Poyntz, at Bontaa-More, within two miles of Chefter, where being outposted with numbers, his Army was worsted, and amongst others, the Lord Bernard Stewart (Brother to the Duke of Richmond) then newly made Earl of Lichfield) was slain; he was a young Nobleman of great hopes, and therefore was his loss very much lamented by the King; upon this disappointment, the King drew his broken Army towards the North-east, and commanded the Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale to march for Scotland; and to joyn with the Marquess of Montrose, who was very successful there, and only wanted Horfe to enable him to reduce that whole Kingdom to the Kings obedience. These in obedience to their order march'd Northward, and at a Village called Shorborne, they surpriz'd seven hundred of the Parliament Poot, with their arms and baggage, but flattering there for carriages, some of General Powys, his Forces commanded by Colonel Cope, Colonel Ellias, and Colonel Adlard, fell upon them, and routed them, killing and taking about an hundred Officers, three hundred common Souldiers, six hundred Horfe, with their furnitures, and the Lord Digby's Coach and Horfe, and therein his Cabinet of Letters, but he, with the remains of his flatter'd Brigade, making towards Scotland, was a lecond time met upon Carrifhe Sands, and utterly defeated, he himself escaping to the Isle of Man, from whence he got a passage into Ireland; The King was got to Newrak when this misfortune hapned to the Lord Digby, but so great was the discontent he found there, that he was put to much trouble thereby; Sir Richard Willis upon some intigation of Digby, was a little before removed from the Government of the Town, and the Lord Willis rejoin'd, and Prince Maurice were displeased, because he was a person by them much favour'd and esteemed, and their displeasure was in a while too openly manifefted; for at a dinner with the Governor upon the 17th of October, upon some discourse of the present transactions, and the managey of the Lord Digby, General Gerard said, he was a Trayer, to which Bell's made such a reply as occasioned many passionate disputes, wherein the two Princes justified Gerard, the King in the interim came in, and quieted the business by his presence for a time, but in the doing thereof, some of the carriage and expenses were made towards him by the intigation of Willis, which are not fit to be remembered, and in the conclusion, the two Princes, Gerard, the Lord Hanley, and Sir Richard Willis, with some others of their friends, retired to Newton House fourteen miles from Newrak, from whence they went to the Parliament for a pass to transport them out of the Kingdom, and obtained it.

Thefe traveller's were accompanied with un-welcome intelligence from most places; for about this time, the King received the ill news of the taking from him of Basing-Houfe by form, (the defendants not having a sufficient number to man their works,) and therein the Marquess of Winchester (who had long and gallantly defended his Houfe) taken prisoner, with about two hundred others, and abtow a hundred were shut in the defence of the place, and as one misfortune is commonly followed by another, he had notice about the fame time of the Jofe of Shorborne, taken by form, wherein the Governor Colonel Stanhope, a Son of the Earl of Chesterfield, and near two hundred more, were kill'd after the Houfe was entered.

Newrak at this time became so in-fecure, that the King thought it inconvenient to continue longer therein, and therefore with a guard of three hundred Horfe, he got safe to Oxford on the third of November, and thither the Prince of Wales, Poyntz and Maurice came to him from Winchester after a serious reflection upon themselves for their miscarriages towards him, and were perfectly re-conciled to his favour.

The King's Forces in most parts became very much labour'd, and though by the endeavours of the Queene, and some of his Ministers abroad, forein aid was promised him against the next Summer, yet the King in affection to his people, was rather inclined to try all other ways than accept of those favours, and to that purpose from the 5th of December to the three and twentieth of March following, he sent nine or ten messages to the
The Reign of Charles the First.

1645.

Parliament with offers of Peace, and for the better accomplishment thereof, he proposed to have a personal treaty with them, but they would not content to any other terms of accommodation, than to have all their demands drawn up into Bills to be presented to him for his assent, yet in the mean time the King omitted not to use all ways in his power to relieve his Garrisons, and the Prince of Wales in the Weald was very adéved, but the spirits of men, because it was much depress’d by the latter part of the preceding summer at the Parliament’s Troops, that nothing succeeded.

The siege of Plymouth was raised by Fairfax, and two days after Dartmouth was surrendered to him by Sir Hugh Pollard the Governor thereof, and from thence he marched to Exeter, and hum’d it, and there he left Sir Hardres Walier to block up the City, whisth himself with the rest of his Forces went to find out the Prince his Army then commanded by the Lord Hopson, he himself being gone into Cornwall to raise the Trainbands, and what other Souliers he could to strengthen his Troops; whilst these things were acting in the Weald, the King at Oxford was again intent upon the relief of Chester, and for that service several Forces were by Sir William Vaughan drawn out of the Garrisons of Hereford, Ludlow, Worcester, and Bridgwater, who with seven hundred Horse, and seven hundred Foot, advanced to its relief; but the enemy drawing out a party of a thousand four hundred Horse, and a thousand Foot, encountered, and utterly routed him, so that after this attempt, all hopes of relief failing, on the same day the City was delivered up to Sir William Burrenston upon those conditions, viz. That the Lord Byron and all Noblemen, Commanders, and Officers, and Souliers, should depart the Town in all their apparel whatsoever; The Lord Byron with Horse and Arms, and ten men alike accomplished to attend him; his Lady, and Servants, with Coaches, in each four Horses, with such other Ladies & Gentlewomen as he thought fit, and with his Books, Evidences and Writings in his profession; but all of them with not above forty pounds in money, and twenty pound in plate; the rest of the Noblemen with their Ladies intwurable to their honour, with not above thirty pounds in money, and to every one in their degrees to the common Souliers, who were to march away with 2,000. nor: Now were the Conditions for the Citizens left reasonable, which were the esfer condescended to by Sir William Burrenston, though he knew their difficulties, because of the desire he had not to ruining the City, the chief of his County, and of which he hoped he would be Government.

And on the same day Belvoir Castle was by Sir Gervase Lucas surrendered to General Poyntz, upon Conditions, and the Governor and his Lady, with the Officers and Soulliers, were with a Convey conducted to Lichfield. At Torrington in Devonshire, Fairfax found the Lord Hopson with his Army, which he resolved to engage; Hopson having the lesser number, drew up his men into several closes, and Fairfax pressed upon him very hard, but a great part of the time was spent in skirmishes by several parties, till both retired; at length the Fierlone-hopes of both Armies engaged, that of the Parliament, with its Reference, was at first beaten back to the main body of their Army, but that advancing, the Fight began about eight a clock at night, nigh the Town, to which the Royalists retreated, and there they maintained the charge to redoultion, that had not Fairfax’s Soulliers been hearted with fresh supplies, they had given it utterly over; but the other overpowered by their fresh numbers, gave back, whereby the Enemy gained the Town; which being entered into the Magazine in the great Church was fired by a train, and destroyed Fairfax more men than he had left in the Battail; for this there was no less than eighty Barrels of Powder: upon the firing of the Magazine, Sir John Digby took advantage of the Enemies amazement and gave them a resolute Charge, in which he did some execution, and so fell off, and matched with the rest of the Forces into Cornwall: whither Fairfax followed with so much speed, that he compelled the Royalists in disorder to quit Lunnecriston, whereupon the Prince of Wales marched away towards Pendenris Castle, accompanied with the Lord Captis, the Lord Luyner, and Sir Edward Hide, and took shipping there on the first of March, and arrived safely at Scilly; the Lord Hopson soon after finding it vain to make resistance with his broken Army, being hammoned by Fairfax to disband, contented to it upon very honorable Conditions; but having experienced how all Articles had been observed, and being likewise sensible of the ill effects of the Kings gracious proposals for peace, He chose rather to go to Oxford (whither by Articles he might have been conveyed by fifty of his own, and fifty of the Parliament Horse) to transport himself to France.

After the disbanding of these Forces, all the Kings Garrisons and Forts in Cornwall yielded, except Pendennis Castle, and St. Michaels Mount, and General Fairfax return’d to the siege of Exeter.

All these mischances thus hapning on the neck of one another, all the Kings hopes and expectations relied upon the coming of Sir Jacob Ailfe, (created Lord Aireys of Redding two years since,) who having kept together some Remainders of the Kings Forces since the fight near Chester, and increasing them with the accelion of some fresh Supplies, marched towards the King, and was to have been met upon the way by Sir John Campsfield with the Oxford Horse, but either though the want of Intelligence or the necessity of haste, or some occasional delays, it was so long before Campsfield was upon his march, that the News came of the Lord Airey being vanquish’d by Colonel Morgan at a place called Dennington near Ston on the fields, on the 21st of March: In which fight himself was taken prisoner, and with him all the Kings hopes were lost of preferring Oxford, till he could better his condition.

The King having often sent to the Parliament (as hath been laid) to invite them to a Treaty of Peace, offering to come to Westminster in Persons, had on the 30th of March a message from the Parliament, wherein they told him, That it would be unsafe for him or them to return to Westminster, until he had assented to the Propositions which they were framing. &c. And to preven...
vent his coming to London without their knowledge and consent, they voted, That if the King should come, or attempt to come within the Lines of Communication; that then the Committee of the Militia of London should have Power, and were thereby enjoined to apprehend and secure such as should come with him, to prevent return unto him, and to secure his Person.  

Exeter was at this time so much distrusted, and without possibility of relief, that the City was on the 13. lb. of April surrendered to Fairfax upon very good conditions; Sir John Berkeley the Governor was to march out with his Soldiers, both Cornith and others in the height of Honour, with Drums beating, Colours flying, Ballet in motion, Matchets lighted, &c. The first into their Country, and the others to Oxford; The Princess Henrietta younger Daughter to the King, (who ever since her Birth had continued in this City under the care of the Lady Dalkeith) was sent up to London, there to be disposed of by the Parliament, till soon after the was by her Governor conveyed privately to her Mother in France. To the Fortune of Exeter, Barnsley Town and Fort, St. Michaels Mounts, Dunston Castle, Woodstock, and many other Garrisons soon after submitted; so that Fairfax his victorious Army having cleared the West, was now reduced to march up to a close beleaguering of Oxford, (which had sometime before been extremely fortified by the continual Alarms of Fleetwood and Rainfordb) which made the King begin to think of some way for his safety; and at last on the 27th of April the King disguised, departed out of Oxford, accompanied only with Mr. Hinde, a Minister, and Mr. John Althburnham, and few or none else were acquainted with his design, so that though many knew that he was gone, yet various were the opinions whether, some said to other Scots, others to Monro in Scotland, but the most general opinion was, that he was come up and lay in London concealed; to discover which, the Parliament puffed an Order, That whatsoever person should harrow or conceal, or know of the harbouring or concealing of the King's Person, and should not immediately reveal it to the Speakers of both Houses, shall be proceeded against as a Traitor to the Common-wealth, forfeit his whole Estate, and dye without mercy. But contrary to all mens expectations, he is at length heard of at the Scots Camp before Newark; many wondered how he durst truut his Person with them, but the Parliament having notice of it, immediately ordered that the Commissioners, and the General of the Scottish Army, should be dehreted, that his Majehties Person might be discovered, and that all杨幂emen and Gentlemen, and he himself thence dispossed of, and sent to Westminster Castle, and the John Althburnham and the rest that came with him into the Scots Quarters, should be sent for as Delinquents by the Serjeants as Armis, and that the Commissioners of the Parliament residing before Newark, should make a Narrative of the Kings coming thither, and present it to the House; But these votes were fearcely passed when came a Letter from the General and Commissioners of the Scottish Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms, to be communicated to the Parliament, acquainting them, That the earnest before they had to keep a right under...

Standing between the two Kingdoms, moved them 1646. to acquire them with that strange providence wherein they were surprized, together with their carriage and defences thereof; That the King came yesterday into their Army in so private a way, that after they had made some search for him upon the furnitures of some Persons who pretended to know his face, yet they could not find him in further House; That they believed their Lordsips would think it was matter of much affonitement to them, seeing they did not expect him to come into any place under their Power; They considered it not fit to inquire into the Cause, but to endeavour that his being here might be improved for procuring the work of Uniformity, for uniting Religion, and obtaining of Peace according to the League and Covenant, and Treaty, by the advice of the Parliament of both Kingdoms, and their Commissions authorized for that effect; but troubling to their integrity, they were persuaded that none would so far misconstruct them, as that they intended to make use of this seeming advantage, for promoting any other ends than were exprest in the Covenant, and had hitherto been joined by them with no less Confidence than care; That for further satisfaction they did ingenuously declare, That there had been no Treaty nor Capitulation between his Majesty and them, nor any in their names; but that they left the nates and means of Peace to the Parliaments of both Kingdoms, and so far as concerned them as they had a Mines in Heaven, they were confident to make it appear, but there was nothing more in their desires than in all their resolutions and proceedings to adhere to the Covenant and Treaty; That their greatest thoughts should be taken up in studying, and their usefulness abilities employed in attaining these things which most advanced the publick good and common happiness of both Kingdoms, wherein by the help of God they should labour in use so much tenderly, and care, that they hope it shall soon appear, their affixions were the result of honest and single intentions; That they could not in a matter so deep in consequence and common interest, but seek their Lordsips advice; for which effect they had also written to the Committee of Affairs in Scotland, with intentions to move new contemts and refinements, that after a seed time of Afflictions, we might reap the first fruits of Truth and Peace. This was this account given by Le greve the General, and the Commissioners in the Army to the Committee of both Kingdoms at the meeting. In the mean time the Garrison of Newark (which had been for a long time valiantly defended by the Lord Berkeley both against the Scots and English Forces, and had made many fortunate Sallies upon the besiegers) was upon the 4th of May, the day before the King came into the Scotch Camp, entered upon a Treaty, and on the 9th. was agreed to be surrendered upon Condition, That the Garrison, with all the Ordinance, Arms, and Ammunition, should be delivered up to the Commissioners for the Parliament of England; That the Lord Berkeley, Governor, with all Officers, Gentlemen and Clergy, to march away withtheir Hornes and Swords unto any Garrison of the Kings not beleaguered, on to their own Houses; the Soldiers to have shoes in their hands, and their own Goods, and all of them
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1646.

Annabury &
Raglan,
Carnarvon
Town &
Castle,
Litchfield,
but
not long after
Carnarvon Town & Castle were delivered up upon Articles by the Lord Byrne, and the Scots having conveyed the King from Southuar to Newcastle; for the more sure perfor- 
mation of him, He on the 10th of June by their ad-
vice published a direction to Sir Thomas Grel-
bam, Sir Thomas Jefsey, Colonell Wolflington, and
Colonel Blakes, Governors of Oxford, Wearfor, Liegefield, and Walthamfor, and to all the Commanders of any Towns, Castles or Forts within the Kingdom of England and Dominion of Wales, giving them an account of his Resolutions to comply with the desigms of his Parliament in every thing that might be for the good of his Subjects, and leave no means unat-
temmed for the removing of differences betwixt them; and the more to evidence the reality of his intentions therein, he required them upon Hon-
ourable Conditions to quit the Towns and Forts in-
truded to them, and to disband all the Forces under their several Commands: But before no-
tice hereof came to Oxford, the Governor and Lords there had come to a Treaty, to begin at
Hedington the 17th of May, between Sir John
Hambly, Colonel Gofvel, Colonel Tilier, Dos-
co Louch, Thomas Chrysf, John Dunton, Gofff
Palmom, and Robert Mead, Eleent, that he be-
fried, and Lieutenant General Hammond, Com-
imy General Ixton, Colonel Lamberts, Colo-
nal Rich, Scout-Mafter General Wafon, Major
Desforsegh, Major Harrison, Mr. Herberts, and
Mr. Walker, for the Parliament. And after a re-
terior Treaty continued to the 25th of June,
without any Ceflation of Arms it was delivered
upon Conditions sufficiently honoured, had
they been as honourably performed. The whole
number of the Garrison was supposed to amount
of 7000 Souldiers and Scholars in pay, who all
marched out; but many of the Nobility and Souldi-
ery had leave to tarry for Paffes; the Chief of
whom were the Duke of York, the Princes Ra-
fters and Maurices, the Earls of Dorfet, Herfet, and
Sandampton, the Lords Cuffington, Down-
more, Secretary Nicholom, and others. The Duke
of York was conveyed to London, and at St. Jame's
committed with the rest of the Royal Children to
the tuition and care of the Earl of Northumber-
land and his Lady. The two Princes Rupert and
Maurice had Paffes granted them to go beyond
Sea, but before their departure by the Parliaments
leave they had a writ made to them by their Bro-
ther the Prince Elector, (who all this time fided
with the Parliament, which they coldly recei-
v'd.) Two days after the furrendry, all the Seals
of Eflate were lent from the General to the two Haufer at Welfningfor, to wit, the Great Seal of ENGLAND, carried by the Lord Keeper
Jefiion for the King in the year 1642. The Pri-
vice-Seal, Signet, Kings-Benj, Exchequer, Court
of Wards, Admiralty, and Navy-Seals, together
with the Sword; the Seals were immediately
voted to be broken in pieces, which was accord-
ingly performed by a Smith in the Houfe of

The Duke of York with the rest of the Kings Chil-
dren committed to the care of the Earl of Northum-
berland.
All the fables
of Bred, broken in the Lords Houfe.

Montrose with an Army breaks into England, and by
Leflie.

Oxford delivered up to the Par-
liament.

the Duke
of York
received a
command
from the
King to dis-
band his
Army.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1646. Whilst the King was at SoutbweIl he had written to the Parliament for a Treaty, which after many debates, was so far complied with, as to send Propositions to him by the Earls of Pembroke and Suffolk, Mr. Godwin, Sir Walter Eart, Sir John Hippeley, and Mr. Relihan, but they were so high both in relation to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, and tending to the change of Religion established, that he could not consent to them, but to give them some satisfaction therein, On the fifth of August the following Meillage was sent to them.

C. R.

The Propositions tendered to His Majesty by the Commissioners, &c. (to which the Houses of Parliament have taken twice so many moneths for deliberation, as they have assigned dates for His Majesties answer,) do import so great alterations of Government both in Church and State, as it is very difficult to return a particular and positive Answer, before a full debate, wherein those Propositions, and the necessary explanations, true sense and reasons thereof be rightly weighed and understood, & that His Majesty upon the full view of the whole Propositions, may know what is left, as well as what is taken away or changed. In all which he finds (upon reflection with the said Commissioners,) that they are so bound up from any Capacity, either to give reasons for the demands they bring, or to give cars to such desires as His Majesty is to propound, as it is impossible for him to give such a prefent Judgment on, and Answer to those Propositions whereby he can Answer to God, that a safe and well-grounded peace will ensue, (which is evident to all the World can never be, unleas the just Power of the Crown, as well as the freedom and propriety of the Subject, with the just liberty and privileges of the Parliament, be likewise (setled,) to which and His Majesty desiers and propose to come to London, or any of his Houses thereabouts upon the publick Faith, and Security of the two Houses of Parliament, and the Scots Commissioners, that he shall be there with freedom, honour and safety, where his personal presence he may not only raise a mutual confidence between him and his people, but also have those doubts cleared, and those difficulties explained to him, which he now conceives to be derogative to his just legal Power, if he should give a full content to those Propositions as they now stand. As likewise that he may make known to them such reasonable demands, as he is most affured will be very much conducive to that peace which all good men desire and pray for, by the settling of Religion, the just privileges of Parliament, with the freedom and propriety of the Subject, And His Majesty affurses them, that he can never confedent unto what is absolutely derogative unto that just power, which by the Laws of God and the Land he is born unto, so he will cheerfully grant and give his assent unto all such Bills on the desire of his two Houses, or reasonable Demands from Scotland, which shall be really for the good and peace of his people, not having regard to his own particulars, (much less any bodies else,) in respect of the happiness of those Kingdoms: Wherefore His Majesty conjures them as Christians, as Subjects, and as Men who desire to leave a good Name behind them, that they will so receive and make use of this Answer, that all issues of blood may be stopped, and those unhappy dissolutions peaceably settled, and upon assurance of an Agreement, His Majesty will immediately send for the Prince his Son absolutely expelling his perfect obedience to return to this Kingdom.

This Meillage did not prevail, and many debates were agitated betwixt the Parliament and the Scots about the dispatch of the King; it was freely granted by the Parliament to the Scots, that they might carry him if they pleased to Edinburgh, but that they refused, affuring that by his presence in an unested Kingdom, new combinations might arise, they rather desired that he might be carried into the Southern parts of England, and live in some of his houses near London, which they thought most convenient for treating of a peace, so that in all that whole debate, they seemed rather to contend not who should have the King, but who should not have him.

But before the Scots entered upon this Treaty about the Person of the King, they had agreed with the Parliament upon terms for their marching out of England, by which agreement they were to have two hundred thousand pounds paid in present upon their delivery of Barnack, Carlisle, and Newcastle to the Parliament of England, and two hundred thousand more secured to them upon the publick Faith of the King.

The fifth payment of this money was made at Newcastle according to the compact, & thereupon they delivered the King to the Earls of Pembroke and Denbigh, the Lord Montague, Sir James Murray, Sir John Holland, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Cook, Mr. Crew, and Major General Brown, who were Commissioners appointed by the Parliament to receive him, and with these on the 3rd of February the King set forward towards his House at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, where he arrived on the 16th of the same month, the Scots two days before the Kings departure marched from Newcastle, which was peifect by a Garrison of English, and a few days after, they also put Barnack and Carlisle into the Parliaments hands, and marched quietly home to Scotland. The King at Holdenby was kept so close, that none of his domestick Servants that had attended him since he left London, nor any of his Chaplains were suffered to have access unto him. And the Parliament having
having now the King in their possession, and all his
Armies and Garrisons (hubdied by their forces,
they began to be much divided amongst them-
elves, under the names of Presbyterians and In-
dependents.

The first whereof who were the major part in
both Houses were, those who in compliance with the
Scots thought themselves obliged by the Co-
ventor to set forth the Presbyterian Discipline of
Government as was executed in Scotland under
the Government of Congregational, Cjunctional,
Provincial and National Assemblies (to whom the
City of London very much adhered) but the oth-
ers disliked that act of Government as too ri-
gorous, imperious and conclusive, holding that
Churches should not be subordinate as Parochial
Provincial, and Provincial to National, but co-
ordinate, without superiority; and from hence
they were called Independents: whereof the first
eminent appearance was in the Assembly of
Divines, which met in the year 1643 at Nutfom-
ter to consult about matters of Religion; for the
major part of these being Presbyterians, were in
consideration of a Directory and Model of that
Government to be proposed to the Parliament,
when five of their Members, viz., Thomas Good-
win, Philip Nye, Siddrah Simpson, Jeremiah
Bourroughs, and William Bridge made some oppo-
sition, and defined Toleration to be indulged to
them, that the rigour of it might not be concluded
by the Votes of the Assembly, but the rest of the
Members opposed their Toleration, and some of
them ejected out of the Assembly, except in con-
vienent time they would comply therewith,
whereupon the dissenters appealed from the As-
sembly, and presented an Apologistical Narrative
to the Parliament, wherein they petitioned for
some favour to them, whose Consciences could
not join with the Assembly in all particulars, con-
cluding, That they professed no other interest or
defence but a subsistence in their own land, as not
knowing where else to live with safety, health, and live-
lihood to fet their feet on earth.

Upon this Petition they found such favour,
that they were secured from further trouble; and
from this beginning they grew to great increas-
est, that they had the best pretences left in the
Church, and opened and that the door of pre-
ferrment to others.

Lieutenant General Cromwell and Commissary
General Ireton, and the greatest part of the Ar-
my, confining now of men of several Sects of Re-
ligion, did much favour these Independents, who
were ingrate themselves with them (though in
their Confession of Faith and Do-
cline they wholly agreed with the Presbyterian)
held our Liberty of Confidence to all other Sects in the profession of their Faith and exer-
cise of their Religion.

This inclination of the Army to the Inde-
pendents made the Presbyterian, who were the ma-

or part of the Parliament, very watchful over
their actions, and observing that the Army at
their Courts of War laid hold on all pretences of scan-
dals & crimes to disband & cast off Presbyterians,
that Independents might be part in their places,
resolved to disband all of them except five thou-
sand Horse, a thousand Dragon, and fire Com-
panies of fire-locks, for people they wanted not
a good pretence, that the people might be ex-
led thereby of a great part of the Taxes imposed
upon them for their maintenance, and that some
of them might be sent into Ireland, where there
was a want of English Souldiers. And for this
purpose they borrowed two hundred thousand
pounds of the City of London. The head-Quar-
ters of the Army was at St. Edmund-Bury in Suff-
olk, when these matters were debated in Parlia-
ment. Part by the Intelligence they kept at prej-
munder nothing thereof was concealed from
them, and by the Independent party in the House
(as it was commonly said) they were so practi-
ioned on, that they were resolved not to disband,
yet when something of this was suggested in the
House of Commons; Cromwell with his hand up
on his breast said, In the presence of God before
whom we stand, that he knew the Army would dis-
band, and lay down their Arms at their will,
whenever they should command them. Upon this
affection, Orders of both Houses for disbanding
were sent to the Army with instructions for de-
termining the Accompts of the Souldiers, but in
stead of obedience to these Orders a Council of
Officers met at St. Edmunds-Bury to consider
thereof, begin to debate of the matter with much
difficultations, and two Souldiers out of each of
the fourteen Regiments of Horse and Foot, as Agita-
tors or Agents of their respective Regiments
were allowed to meet also in a kind of Council
with the same force, and both of these Assemblies
agreed upon the same things in substance, name-
ly, against disbanding; and in a Petition to the
General, they defined the Army might be speedily
drawn to a Re-ideoyouze, and that he would sue
his utmost to endeavour that it be not disbanded
till pablique Grievances should be redressed,
and all such persons called to account who had been
intenders, contrivers, or promoters of their distru-
tions (for so they termed those of the Parliament
that voted them to be disbanded.) These re-
quests of the Officers and Souldiers produced a
General Rendezvous of the Army at Newmarke
on the fourth of June, and the Agitators the day
before privately sent Comet Joyce with a party of
Souldiers to slight on the King (as will be men-
tioned hereafter) and at this Rendezvous they
associated themselves together as a kind of di-
fined body from the rest of the Kingdom, and sub-
scribed a solemn Inagreement of their resolution,
wherein they promised not to that purpose expressed them-
selves, (viz.)

Do the Officers and Souldiers of the Army sub-
scribe herunto, the hereby declare, agree, and
promise to, and with each other, that we shall not
willingly disband, nor divide, nor suffer our Selves
to be disband or divided, until we have security,
that we are private men, as other the free born peo-
ple of England shall not remain subject to the like
oppressions and injuries as have been attempted, and
shall have such satisfaction and security as shall be
agreed upon by a Council to consist of sixty General
Officers of the Army, who have concurred with the
Army in this resolution (for many moderate men
upon these discontents left them) with two Com-
mission Officers and two Souldiers for each Regi-
ment, of such like wise as subscribed to this A-
greement. But whilst these contrivances were
acted at the head-Quarters, there was a large Pe-
tition framed in the County of Essex against the

Eee 3 Army
The Agencies as they have been of the Army Party have compounded for their Disabilities and paid their Compositions, an Act of Obligation may be expelled.

And immediately after this Representation, there was brought to the Parliament from the General and his Council of Officers, an Impeachment against eleven Members of the House of Commons, (viz.) Denzel Hollis, Esq; Sir William Lewis, Sir William Weller, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Clatworthy; Esq; Colonel Edward Harley, and Colonel Walter Long, for things done for the most part in the House, whereof one of the chief was, That by their power in the House, they caused the Ordinance for disbanding the Army to pass. The impeached Members declared themselves ready to answer any crime that could be objected against them, but the Officers of the Army required that they might be forthwith suspended from any longer sitting and acting as Members; but this was denied as a thing judged at this time too high, and too much against the privilege of Parliament, but when the Army reiterated their desire, those accused Members by leave of the House made a voluntary secession for six months. Concerning that Order of Parliament, That the King should go to Richmond, the General desired to be excused, intreating them not to command that till things were more quiet, and that they would appoint no residence for the King nearer to London, than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be; after which the King was conveyed to Rayton, thence to Harfield, not long after to Caunham while the Army quartered there. Reading from whence the General with his Army marched to Bedford, the King went to the Earl of Balford's house near Osbourn, and during all this time he was received with all possible demonstrations of love and duty, and some of his Chaplains were licensed to repair to him, and read the Book of Common Prayer, as in former times, and the way was open to all those of his own party who desired to see him.

The City of London Militia as it was fet by Ordinance of the 4th of May was in the managing of Presbyterians, who were very active and indefatigable in completing their Companies both of the Trained Bands and Auxiliaries, which was rumoured by the Independents as a very dangerous Conspiracie against the Army, and the General in a Letter to the Parliament of the 10th of June requested, That the Militia of the City might be put into the hands of persons better affected to the Army: Upon which Letter the Commons up the 22nd of July Voted the repealing the said Ordinance of the 4th of May, and a new Ordinance for revising the old Militia was presently passed.

The unexpected news of this changing their Militia caused the City to meet in Common-Council, where because the repealing the former Ordinance was upon no other ground than the Army desires, they resolved to Petition the General-House of Commons against it, which they did on the 26th of July by the Sheriffs and some of the Common-Council; but it was happen'd, that about a thousand Apprentices came down two or three days.
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hours after with another Petition, therein complaining, that to order the Cities Militia was the Cities Birth-right, belonging to them by charters confirmed by Parliament, for defence whereof they had advanced their lives as far as the Army, and desired the Militia might be put again into the same hands in which it was, with the Parliament and Cities confirmed by Ordinance of the 4th. of May. Upon reading of which Petition, the Lords revived the Ordinance of the 23d. of July, and renewed that of the 4th. of May, by a new Ordinance of the 26th. of July, which they presently sent down to the Commons for their contents, where some of the Apprentices in a childh heat were over-ealous to have the Ordinance pulled, referring to let some Members pass out of the House, so that as left it passed, in the affirmative about three in the afternoon, and most of the Apprentices departed, but after this some disorder in the Commons, when the House was rising, took the Speaker and thrust again into his Chair, detaining both him and the rest of the Members, until they enforced them from it, a Vote, That the King should come to London.

After this disorder the two Houses adjourned for four days, and many private Cabals were held what to do, and those that favoured the Army went thither, so that on the fourth day both the Speakers being absent, new Speakers were chosen, the Lord Hunsdon for the Peers, and Mr. Henry Pelham a Barrister for the Commons, by whom it was that day voted,

1. That the King should come to London.
2. That the Militia of London should be authorized to raise forces for defence of the City.
3. That power should be given to the same Militia to choose a General for those Forces.

It was likewise ordered, That the above said eleven Members impeached by the Army should return to their seats in Parliament. The Citizens armed with these O. ders, presently proceeded to the raising of Forces, which were to be under the Command of Sir Wiliam Waller, Major General Maffey, and Colonel Poyntz, who were each of them butts in London of Souldiers, but Waller, who was a man of good experience and foresight, seeing great numbers of Reformed Officers and Souldiers lately disbanded haggling to them, advised that they should immediately seize on all the serviceable Horses in and about London, to the number of six thousand, and bring them to the fields, where Saddles, Bridles, and Arms might be provided ready, and they would then have quickly Souldiers to mount them, and in four and twenty hours they might have a Body of Horse to join with the City Regiments, strong enough to oppose the Army if they should attempt to march out of the City and the City; and of this the Army were in great fear, but some of their friends in the Common Council did disturb their consultations, that it appeared impossible for them suddenly to raise any forces to withstand the Army, who by this time upon intelligence hereof made their approaches towards London, whereupon the Aldermen and Common Council were so terrified that they sent to the General for a pacification, which by the consent of the Members of Parliament then with him, was granted on them upon these conditions:

1. That they should deliver the Parliament unto the Army according to the 3d. of sitting, and the eleven impeached Members.
2. That they should recall their Declaration lately divulged.
3. That they should relinquish their present Militia.
4. That they should deliver up to the General all their Forces, and the Tower of London.
5. That they should disbanded all the forces they had raised: And do all things else which were necessary for the public tranquility; all which things none of them daring to deny, were presently ratified.

In the mean time the Lords and Commons who had left London, confining with the General and chief Commanders of the Army in their Order, that all Acts and Decrees that had passed on the 26th. of July and since should be accounted null and void, and that they did adhere to the Declaration of the General and Council of the Army. It was likewise decreed, that the General with his Army should march to London: and on the 6th. day of August he with his Army came to Westminister, and with him the Speakers of both Houses, together with the rest of the Lords and Commons, whom he restored all to their former Seats. Both the Speakers in the name of the whole Parliament, gave solemn thanks to the General, and made him Commander of all the Forces in England and Wales, and Constable of the Tower of London: and a month's pay was likewise given as a gratuity to the Army. The next day General Fairfax, Lieutenant General Cromwell, Major General Skippon and the rest of the Commanders with the whole Army marched through London, from the Western part thereof to the Tower, and at the Tower the General made Colonel Tichburn an Alderman of the Independent faction to be Lieutenant of the Tower, and to humble the City, the Militia's there, were by Order of Parliament divided, and authority given to Westminister, Southwark, and the Hamlets about the Tower to execute and command their own Militia's.

The Members of Parliament in this manner restored, and the Militia of London settled to the Army's good liking, the General marched out of London, and quartered his Army in the Towns and Villages adjacent, only leaving some Regiments about Whitehall and the Mews to guard the Parliament, his head-Quarters being at Putney, and the King about the middle of August was brought to the most lately all his Palaces, Hampton-Court.

But now the Members that were brought in by the Army, thought it necessary for the strengthening of their factions to proceed against all such of both Houses, of Parliament and others that were in any measure active in the late troubles, and therefore Sergeant Glyn was sent out of his Office of Recorder of London, and one Stede a Barrister of Gray-Inn admitted in his place, and Halls, Waller, Closworth, Long, Maffey, and Nicholas were commissioned to attend the House on the 16th. of October; and the Earls of Lincoln, Suffolk
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Suffolk, and Middlesex, with the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Berkeley, Newcastle, and Maynard, were impeached of Treason, and committed to the Black-rod, and Sir John Mainwaring of the House of Commons, and Sir John Gayr Lord Mayor of London, with four Aldermen, Adams, Langbom, Calamy, and Bank, were also impeached and committed to the Tower, where we shall leave them for some time, and look to the affairs of Ireland during their occurrences.

The Irish when the cessation of arms was concluded with them at Singlyn in the year 1643, seemed very desirous of a peace, but by then all observation of the articles of cessation, their retainers was much impaired, for they were forced from want and acts of hostilities during that short term of a year as they had agreed to, that they often pillaged and plundered the English, imprisoning or murdering their persons, and particularly at the Castle of Wicklow, which they surprized, and put all the men, women and children therein to the sword; yet after this Treaty, they had the confidence to send Commissioners to the King to supplicate, that before the expiration of the cessation, a peace might be concluded with them, but he referred them back to his Lieutenant Ormond, and he considering the necessity of the King's affairs, and his present inability to prosecute that War, would willingly have reduced things to a pacification; but the Irish having correspondence with the Spanish and French upon the interest of the Roman Church, spun out all terms of generous desires, in hopes of supplier of men and money to be sent to them, so that in two years nothing was advanced there in, and moreover, whilst they treated with Ormond, they under-hand were upon terms of agreement with the Earl of Galmorgan, eldest Son to the Marquess of Worcester, who by a pretended Authority from the King to authorize him thereunto, granted them such conditions for the advancement of the Peepi Religion, as would have extirpated the English Clergy in that Kingdom; but Ormond upon note hereof, feized on Galmorgan, and clapt him into the Castle of Dublin, and (the King utterly disowning the authority he pretended to have) he was sequestered by the Lord Deputy (then in Ireland) of Treston; yet whilst these things were transacting, the condition of the English was not better'd, but much impared, and all the strengths in the Province of Ulster except Drogheda and Dublin, were pillaged by the Irish, so that about the time the News of the News from Newcastle, Ormond concluded a Peace with them, and upon conditions very advantageous to the Natives, but nevertheless, all of them would not submit to it; For the Popes Nuncio had drawn a great party of the most zealous of their Religion to protest against it, as a peace wherein there was not sufficient security for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic Religion; Ormond thought to profit himself of that division, and made himself ready to joy in with those that adhered to the peace to suppress the others, not doubting upon his success herein, to be master of such a force as might make the Kings terms in England easier to him; But in the midst of all these hopes, when he was ready with a party to march to Kidderminster to join

with his new friends, he was informed of a design against his person, which was related to him with such circumstances, that he was confident of the truth thereof, and if he had not retreated to Dublin, he and his party had been lost; in this extremity he thought it better to put Dublin and the Forts yet in English hands, in the Parliament of England's power, than suffer them to be possessed by the Irish, and brought under a foreign jurisdiction in order whereunto, he sent to two Captains of the Parliament Ships then riding near Dublin, and imparted to them his design of complying with the Parliament, if the King would give his assent thereto, and obtain'd of them ammunition and powder for his present supply; and in further prosecution of that overtaking, having the Kings commands for so doing, he capitulated with the Parliament Commissioners, and yielded up Dublin, and what remained under his Government to their authority; who immediately sent thither Colonel Jones with 1450 House & Foot, who on the 17th of June took possession of Dublin, and from that time such supplies were sent to re-inforce the English, that every week produced news of Victory over the Irish.

Whilst the King remained at Hampton-Court, he seemed not at all a restrained man, but as a Prince living in the splendor of a Court, so freely to his pleasure were all forts of people admitted to kiss his hands, and do all obsequies whatsoever; nor did the people from London only and the adjacent Towns resort to the King, but his Chaplains and such of his Servants who by order of Parliament had been forbidden, as Mr. Abbott, and Sir John Berkley, now by permission of the Army had late resided to him, the Marquess of Ormond likewise attended him there, with an account of the Irish affairs, and was with much kindness received by him, and about the beginning of October, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquess of Hartfard, the Earl of Southampton and Dorset, and the Lord Seymour repaired to him; but the Parliament were displeased at this liberty, whereupon those Lords being told of it, after two days Abay at Hamptun Court returned to their Houses: On the seventh of September propositions agreed upon by both Houses of Parliament (the Commissioners of the Kingdom of Scotland concurring also) were sent to the King at Hampton-Court, to which they required his Answer in five days; The Commissioners appointed for this business by the Parliament of England were, the Earl of Pembroke, the Lord Montague, Sir James Harrington, Sir John Cock, Sir John Holland, and Major General Bram, and for the Kingdom of Scotland, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir Charles Erkina. Two days after their arrival, the King gave the Commissioners a message in writing to the two Houses of Parliament in answer to the Propositions, which was this effect, (viz.)

"That having perused the propositions now the Kings brought to him, he found them the same in effect which were offered to him at Newcastle, and followed, some of which as he could not consent without violation of his conscience and honour, to receive, and that he can agree to other now; concerning them in many respects more disagreable to the present
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mery preferred to him, and having seen the
proposals of the Army to the Commissioners
from the two Houses, referring with them, to
which, as he conceives, they are no strangers,
to be he believes they will think with him, that
they much more conduct to the satisfaction of
all interests, and may be a fitter foundation for
keeping peace than the propositions at this time
tended to him, and therefore he propounds
that Commissioners may be sent from the Par-
lament and the Army for a personal treaty up-
onthem, and such others as he shall make,
that a firm peace may be held.

This Answer was not very pleasing to the Par-
lament, and it was by many thought, though the
Armies proposals had the content of the Gen-
eral and his Council of Officers, yet the agit-
ators who influence the body of the Soldiery,
were not alluding to them; nevertheless, the
Scotch took great offence at them, and affairs
were vastly much perplexed more than before;
but for the better understanding of these affairs,
we shall relate such of the Armies proposals as
were of most consequence, and most acceptable to
the King.

1. "That an Act be passed to take away all
corrections, Power, Authority, and Jurisdiction of
Bishops, and all other Ecclesiastical Officers
whatever, extending to any civil penalties
upon any, and to repeal all Laws whereby the
Civil Magistracy hath been, or is bound upon
any Ecclesiastical censure to proceed ( as effi-
cient) unto any civil penalties against any per-
sons so cenured.

2. "That there be a repeal of all Acts or
Clauses in any Act, enjoying the use of the
Common Prayer, and imposing any penalties
for neglect thereof, as also of all Acts or Cla-
uses in any Act imposing any penalties for not
coming to Church, or for meeting elsewhere,
for prayer, or other religious duties, exercises
or ordinances, and some other provision to be
made for discovering of Papists, and Papists
Receivers; and for disabling of them and all
Jeptates and Priests from disturbing the State.

3. "That the taking of the Covenant be not
enforced upon any, nor any penalties imposed
upon the refusers, whereby men might be con-
strained to take it against their judgement or
consciences; but all orders or ordinances ten-
ding to that purpose to be repealed.

4. "The things here before being provided,
for setting and securing the Rights, Liberties,
Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, his Majes-
ty's Person, his Queen, and Royal Issue may
be restored to condition of safety, honour and
freedom in this Nation, without diminution to
their personal Rights, or further limitation to
the Exercize of the Regal Power then accord-
ing to the particulars before going.

5. "That a letter number out of the persons
excepted in the two first qualifications of the
Parliaments late propositions to the King, not
exceeding five for the English ( being nomi-
nated particularly by the Parliament, who take-
get with the persons in the Irish Rebellion
in the third qualification) may be referred to
the further Judgement of the Parliament, as
they shall find cause. All other excepted per-
sons to be remitted from the exceptions, and
admitted to composition.

6. "That the rates of all future compositions
may be lightened and limited not to exceed
the several propositions hereafter exprested re-
spectively: That is to say, 1. For all persons
formerly excepted not above a third part.
2. For the late Members of Parliament under
the first branch of the fourth qualification in
the propositions, a fourth part. 3. For other
Members of Parliament in the second and third
branches of the same qualification, a sixth part.
4. For the persons nominated in the said fourth
qualification, and those included in the tenth
qualifications in eighth part; and that Real
debs either upon Record, or proved by Wit-
nesses, be considered, and stated in the valua-
tion of their Estates in all the cases afor-
said.

7. "That those who shall hereafter come to
compound, may not have the Covenant put up-
on them, as a condition without which they may
not compound; but in case they shall not wil-
lingly take it, they may pay their composition
without it.

8. "That the Persons and Estates of all Eng-
ish not worth two hundred pounds in Lands or
Goods, be at liberty, and discharged, and that
the King's menial Servants, that never took up
Arms, but only attended his Person, according
to their Offices, may be freed from composition,
or to pay (at most) but the proportion of
one year's Revenues, or a twentieth part.

9. "That in order to the making and perfe-
ing of compositions for delinquency at the
rates aforesaid, the Rent, Revenues, and other
dues and profits of all sequestr'd Estates what-
ever (except the Estates of such persons who
shall be continued under exception as before)
be from henceforth suspended and detained in
the hands of the respective Tenants and Oc-
cupiers, and others from whence they are due
for the space of six months following.

10. "That the faith of the Army, or other
Forces of the Parliament given in Articles up-
on surrender to any of the Kings party, may
be fully made good, and where any breach
thereof shall appear to have been made, full re-
parations shall be made, and the persons in
the parties injured, and the person offending being
found out, may be compell'd thereunto.

II. "That there may be a General Act of
Obfirmion to extend unto all (except the per-
sons to be continued in exception as before) to
abridge from all trepasses, misdemeanors, &c.
done in prosecution of the War, and from all
troubles
The Actment of the Scots at their Proposals, which was touched at before, was chiefly manifested in a Remonstrance about this time made by the Commissioners of the General Assembly to their Committee of Elators, wherein among other things they declared;

The Scots Remonstrance.

That his Majesty moving the Propositions of both Kingdoms, and pestilizing the Proposals of the Army to be the sum of a Treat, to do much increase the Danger of Religion, seeing those Proposals, as they were and abandon the former defects of both Kingdoms in point of Religion, as they cannot accord (as the words stand) the continuance of Pretences, the toleration of Here and Sells, and the taking away the Ordinance enjoying the taking of the Covenant.

And a little further they thus express themselves:

These dangers of Religion we have insisted on as being so proper for us to speak to, but not as if we were insensible of the great danger of the King's person and of Monarchical Government, for preserving of which, according to our Covenant, our prayer and left endeavours shall not be wanting, and now the danger of Religion is so great and the grounds of our Care and apprehensions so pregnant as cannot least be esteemed and known for your Lordships in the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the Pows of God which are upon you, that as your Lordships desire God and your own Conveniences and Safety, may not afterwards charge upon you the Ruins of Religion, King, and Kingdom; so your Lordships may be very tender and conscientious that no such design be entertained or get place amongst you, as tendeth to the disabbling of this Church and Kingdom from an effectual preserving and promoting the ends of the Covenant, or to the strengthening and enabling the enemies thereof by affording them the opportunity which they wait for to disturb the peace, and destroy the present Reformation: these and no better effects can be looked for, if the Army in this Kingdom, which hath been so bless'd of God, and so faithful to you, shall be disturb'd before this cause of God, which so much concerneth his Glory, the Reformation and the Defence of Religion, the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, the honour and happiness of the King be fet upon a firm foundation.

The Earl of Lauderdale attended the King at Hampton-Court, and gave him full information of all these matters, and so far represented to him the uncertainty of his condition in reference to the Army, which became now by the practices of some base men very ungovernable, that he began to incline rather to the Scots; and the Commissioners of Scotland residing at London sent Letters to the Parliament dated November the 5th, in which they prefixed very much that the King might come to London and treat personally with the Parliament about the things controverted; urging for reasons thereof, because the King had been taken from Holden against his will, and without the consent of the Parliament, by the violence of the Soldiers, and still remained under the power of an Army, not in that freedom which was thought fit for a King, treating about a business of so great moment; but if it might not be thought convenient for his coming to London, that he may continue at Hampton-Court, so he be not under the power of the Army, but in such a condition as the Commissioners of both Parliaments might have a free conference with him.

The Agitators were much alarm'd at this interpretation of the Scots, and their keeping up their Army in Scotland, and from hence they became more violent than before in their practices against the King, which they expressed in several proposals to the General Council of Officers; and about this time in one of their debates at a General Council at Purvey it was proposed.

Whether it were safe either for the Army or the people to suffer any power to be given to the King: and in the discussion of this, it was said openly in the Council,

That they had gone about to make a Black-a-moor whether he would or not, and to set up a Power which God would destroy; that the power of Kings was a burthen some stone that would destroy all who vorther should fall upon it.

That the reason of their discontents in Council was from a compliance to save that man of Blood (meaning the King) and those principles of Tyranny which God from Heaven by his many significances had manifestly declared against.

All remembering the Covenanters, who had been well to the King, did what they could to oppose these proceedings, but the storm was too strong against them, & the King having from time to time notice of these agitations, thought it not imprudent to provide (see it should be too late) for his own safety, and by advice of Sir John Berkely, Colonel Legg, and Mr. Abbronham (who he then much trusted) he resolved to attempt to get to Jersey; and for the effecting thereof a Ship was provided somewhere about Southamton for his transportation; but before he took this resolution he thought fit to retract an Engagement made by Mr. Abbronham on his behalf not to depart from the Army without their consent, which we shall relate in Mr. Abbronham's own words:

When the differences of the Army grew great, and an active and powerful party thereof daily menacing violence to his Majesties person, his Majesty commanded me to return the Engagement which I had formerly given, alleging to Colonel Whalley affirmed to him, that the Officers of the Army had so little power to persuade him, as that they were scarce able to keep themselves from affronts; whereupon having found Colonel Whalley walking by the river side near Hampton-Court, I told him that I came to withdraw that word which I had given him for his Majesty not leaving the Army without their consent; the Colonel said, why then the King doth so? and I told him you are to understand it so. He added, it was fairly done, and he would take notice of it accordingly. This being done and the Ship and Horses and other convenience for the Kings escape in prepartion, he resolved to take the first opportunity he could to get his liberty, but hearing of some passages at the meeting of the Officers at Purvey,
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on the 11th of November, tending to the destruction of his person: (where Colonel Harison made a long narration concerning some things that lay upon his spirit, in relation to the King, Lords, 

and some saying, That the King was a man of blood, and therefore the engagements to him were taken off, and that they were to prosecute him: and that on the same day the Agitators of nine Regiments and the Generals Life-Guard, had prepared a Letter of the same strain by way of narrative to all the Soldiery of the Army, to draw them to a general rendezvous to declare against any settlement with the King.) he resolved that evening to remove himself, and accordingly about eight o'clock at night he got away, having Horatio laid ready to receive him on the other side of the River, and about nine o'clock, whilst the Commissioners of Parliament and Colonel Weekley (who commanded the Guard) expected when he should come out of his Chamber to Supper, and wondered at his long stay, at last some of them going in, and not finding the King, they found his Clock left there, and a Letter written with his own hand to the Commissioners to be by them communicated to both Houses of Parliament, Cromwell about midnight dispatched a Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons with notice of the Kings departure: In the Kings letter to the Parliament, after he had discoursed somewhat about Captivity, & the wretchedness of Liberty, he protested (as before God) That he had not taken this design of withdrawing himself to disturb the public peace, nor any tendency tending to the establishment thereof, but only to preserve his own safety, against which he understood there was a treasonable Conspiracie. But towards the end of the Letter are these words, Now as I cannot deny that my personal safety is the urgent cause of this my retirement, so I take God as witness, that the public peace, is no less before mine eyes: and I can add no better way to express this my profession, (I know not what a wiser man may do) then by desiring and urging that all chief interests may be heard, to the end each may have just satisfaction: As for example, the Army (for the rest though necessary, yet I suppose are not difficult to confess) ought (in my judgment) to enjoy the liberty of their Conferences, and have an Act of Oblivion Indemnity, (which should extend to the rest of all my Subjects, and that all their Arrears should be paid, and duly paid, which I will undertake to do, so I may be heard, and that I be not blinded from using such lawful and honest means as I shall judge: To conclude, let me be heard with freedom, honour and safety, and I shall entirely resign myself, under the sound of retirement, and from my self to be Peter Patric. CHARLES Rex.

HAMMOND Gouverneur of the Isle of Wight, de-

At the Courts of Southamp-

ton-Buzzo.

The Parliament were well pleased to hear of the Kings being at Court, and ordered thereupon on the 16th of November.

1. That he should continue there and in the Castle.

2. That none that have borne arms against the Parliament but Inhabitants that have compounded shall remain in that Island.

3. That no Delinquent or Foreign should be admitted to come to him without leave of the Parliament of England and Scotland, and then appropriations should be speedily sent to him.

4. That for those and sundry shall be advanced for his accommodation: And,

5. That is should be considered who should attend his person.

In the little space of time betwixt the Kings departure from Hampton-Court, and his arrival at Coney-Castle in the Isle of Wight many great tempests appeared in the Army, which had been growing some while before, on this occasion. The Agitators having some jealousy, that Cromwell and Ireton and the rest of the General Officers designed to establish the King (and being acted and guided by divers persons not of the Army that were for a total subversion of Monarchical Government) disliked the Soldiery with much prejudice against them, as that they had fallen from their Principles, and were in their proceedings false and treacherous both to the Army and Kingdom, and by federal instructions of this kind which they dispersed printed papers they had made greater seditions and parties in the Army and much divided the Soldiery from the Officers, and both Officers and Soldiery amongst themselves; their disorders and discourses were much encouraged by the repair of the Agitators to the head Quarters, where they attended as a kind of Representative Council, and debated divers matters of great concernment: But the General doubting the event of these practices, and being willing to quiet the discourses then growing amongst the Soldiery, in the first place, dismissioned the Agitators to their several Regiments, and sent also most of the Officers then at the Head-Quarters to their respective and particular chas.
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The Souldiers mutiny against their Officers.

The principal of them shot to death.

The King's letters from the Isle of Wight to the Parlia-
ment.

The four previous Acts were these:

1. An Act for raising, setting, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land within the Kingdom of England and Ireland, and Dominion of Wales, &c.

2. An Act for recalling of all Declarations, Oaths, and Proclamations against the Parliament, or those who have aderred to them.

3. An Act, That those Peers who were made after the Great Seal was carried from the Parliament, may be made incapable of sitting in the House of Peers.

4. That Power may be given to the Two Houses to adjourn themselves as they shall think fit.

The first of these Acts was concerning the Militia, which devised the King, his Heirs and Successors of the power thereof for ever; for though it seem'd to be but for twenty years, yet if it lasted, that neither the King nor his Heirs or Successors, nor any other shall exercise any power over the Militia by Land or Sea, but such as shall act by Authority and Appointment of the Lords and Commons: It gives also an unlimited power to the two Houses to raise what Forces, and what number for Land and Sea, and of what persons (without exceptions) they please, and to employ them as they shall judge fit, and to raise what Money they please for maintaining them. The tides of the other Acts do sufficiently discover the nature of them, and therefore we shall not enlarge upon them: The Commissioners of Scotland would in no wise give their consent that these four Acts should be imposed on the King before he treated at London; and in a large declaration they protested against it, notwithstanding which, they were sent by the Earl of Denbigh, the Lord Montague, Mr. Lisle, Mr. Goodwin, Mr. Buckingham, and Mr. Kemp Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament, and on the 24th of December they were preferred to the King at Carpenters' Hall, but he insisting to force all interests, and finding the Scots openly to protest against them, refused to give his assent to any Acts till the whole peace should be concluded; and the Commissioners returned to London with their desay. The Army after the Rendezvous near Wight, had another some days after near King's Lynn, and from thence they marched to Wisbech, where the head-quarters for some time remained, and the chief Officers had many consultations about the present transactions between the King and the Parliament, for Cromwell and Ireton finding the Interest of the Scots was likely to be
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be join'd with that of the King, and that the Civility of London was very favourable to them, they feared a downfall to their greatness, if they did not prevent the progress thereof, and strengthen themselves by drawing the inferior Officers and Soldiers who were much acted by the late mutinies against the King and, his Government, to have a good opinion of them; to effect which, as a pretence to procure a unity in the Army, a Full was solemnly kept amongst the Officers, and a whole day spent in Prayer and Preaching, and at the close thereof, all their officers that were concerned for the matter at issue, in the mind of God, were let at liberty, when as one well knowing in those affairs, published: "They had without doubt refused it before as the only expedient to re-imburse their last reputation; for if the King would have taken their price, to let Cromwell and Ireton Rule and Reign under him, no doubt but he might have come in, but because the Scots feared if because in by those Grandees of the Army, they and he might join together to effect them for all their old former provocations, and therefore out of mere safety (it may be) they outbid the Grandees to gain the Kings affection, which made them mad.

This much is related in a print and to manifest this practice, Cromwell and Ireton being present in the House of Commons when the Kings Answer was read, Ireton said: That the King had denied safety and protection to his people by denying the four Bills, That subjection to him was but in a sense, his protection to his people; this being denied, they might well deny any more subjection to him, and settle the Kingdom without him: That it was now expected after so long Patience, they should then their Resolutions, and not desist those valiant men who had engaged for them beyond all possibility of retreat, and would never forsake the Parliament, unless they took them first; and in the conclusion be prof'd for a Question to be put, That no more Address or application should be made to the King: This discourse was received with much admiration of many that had observ'd the late motions of the Army, and their declarations, who knew how contrary this his speech was from what he had often before affected on behalf of the King, and that most of these declarations were penned by him, in one of which were these words: "We do hereby profess we do not see how there can be any Peace to the Kingdom firm or lasting, without a due consideration of and provision for the Rights, Quiet, and Immunity of his Majesties Royal Family, and his late Partners: And in many others there were the like expressions, besides what was contained in the Armies proposals before recited; but now, Tho' that choice by Arms to compass their ends upon the King, began too late to discover, That the Government by an Army would introduce at last (as in the Roman State it did) The Army to be Masters of Government, This debate of non-addresses was very long in agitation, for it continued from nine in the morning till seven at night, and when the House was ready for a question, Cromwell spake to this purpose;

That it was now expost the Parliament should govern and defend the Kingdom by their own power and resolutions, and not teach the People any longer to expect safety and government from an arbitrary man, whose heart God had hardened; That those men who had defended the Parliament from so many dangers with the expense of their blood, would defend them therein with fidelity and courage against all opposition. Teach them not by neg-lecting your own and the Kingdome's safety (in which their own is involved) to think themselves betrayed, and left hereafter to the rage and malice of an incorrigible enemy, whom they have published for your sake; and therefore are likely to find his future government of them insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than justice, left despair teach them to seek their safety by some other means than ad-hering to you, who will not stick to your selves, and how detestable such a resolution in them will be to you all, I tremble to think, and leave you to judge:
And to enforce this Speech, at the later end thereof, in a kind of menacing manner, he laid his hand upon his sword; and in the end, a Declaration, and Votes were passed, which were after much debate attested to by the Lords; in these words:

The Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, after many Addresses to his Majesty for the preventing and ending this unnatural war, raised by him against the Parliament and Kingdoms, have lately sent four Bills to his Majesty, which did contain only matters of safety and security to the Parliament and Kingdoms, referring the comparison of other differences to a personal Treaty between his Majesty, and those Assemblys, which do not rest upon a sufficient foundation, do hold themselves obliged to use their utmost endeavors, speedily to settle the present Government in such a way, as may bring the greatest security to this Kingdom, in the enjoyment of the Laws and Liberties thereof. And in order therewith, and that the House may receive no delay nor interruptions in so great and necessary a work, they have taken these Resolutions, and passed these Votes following, viz.

The Lords and Commons do declare, That they will make no further Addresses or Application to the King.

Resolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That no Application or Address be made to the King by any person whatsoever without the leave of both Houses.

Resolved, &c. By the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That the person or persons that shall make breach of this Order, shall incur the penalty of High Treason.

Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons do declare, That they will receive no more any message from the King; and do enjoin, That no person whatsoever do presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any other person.

Within few days after these Votes of Parliament were published; and in compliance with them, a Declaration of the General, and General Council of the Army was made, and presented to the Parliament, in the close whereof it was thus express'd:

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1648. We do freely declare (for our selves and the Army, and in what should be further necessary for perfecting thereof, and for settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him or any other that should hereafter partake with him.

The Parliament also made a publick Declaration about the beginning of February with many injudicious arguments against it, and the laying open all those errors of his Government together, which they had with virulence and malice formerly published in parcels, but the more foster part of the people knew too well by what art the Councillors which produced these actions were framed to be perverted by them, and so great were the discontents in the City of London and the suburbs thereof that part of the Army was quartered about Pembreniner, the Acons and other places of the City for fear of Insurrections; and the month before these high transactions, 7 Lords & 13 of the House of Commons were chosen out of both Houses to sit as a Committee in Derby-House (where the Committee of both Kingdoms of England and Scotland had met before) who were impowered to suppress tumults and insurrections, and to that purpose to raise forces as they saw occasion; the names of these were, the Earl of Northumberland, Kent, Wurcetick, and Mancroft, and the Lord Say, Shore, and Marriage, and of the Commons, Sir Henry Vane Senior, Sir Henry Vane Junior, Sir William Aris, Sir Arthur Hasling, Sir Gilbert Gerald, Sir J. John Essex, Lieutenant General Cromwell, Nathaniel Fine, William Phipps, and Oliver St. John Esquires, Mr. Crew, Mr. Brown and Mr. Walley, these were pretty equally made up of Presbyterian and Independents; but the latter seemed to be most prevalent by the influence of the Army, but they were les violent in their actions, than otherwise they would, that they might not too much exasperate the Scots, for their Commissioners had about this time, repeating the four Votes against the King, propounded to know, whether the House by their Votes, that no person whatsoever do presume to make, or receive any application or address to, or from the King, would deiear the Scottish make or receive any address to, or from him, and suppose an incapacity upon him to perform Acts of Government in their stead, this Message caused great debate, but at last it was contented to, That the Scotch Commissioners might make address to the King; but these carriage in the House of Commons made the Army and their Independent friends out how to suppress or terrifie the Presbyterian, who in that House notwithstanding all the Military means, were yet the major part, though least active; and to effect this, about the beginning of March the Lords sent a Message to the Commons (which had been six months before rejected) to defire their concurrence to an Inagrement of all Members that fled to the Army; and die with the Army, which after eight hours debate was carried by nine voices in the affirmative, when there were near two hundred present, after many Presbyterians, who were aye by threat of some of the Armies Creatures, had left the House because it was late, not daring to Vote in the Negative; and was inmutated that if they had not approved of the Inagrement, a new charge would be exhibited by the Army to the Lords against the principal oppo- lters, which prevailed upon the weakness of many, though the wiser for believing not they durst attempt any such thing, for many arguments at this time were published against those proceedings, very well received by the people, some of which went so high as not to allow the Lords any judici- cature over the Commons; but others agreed, that, Still, today, that the House of Peers was a Court of judicature, but not without the King's special authority granted to them either by his right, or by his Com- mission; and the Lords by the Four Votes before mentioned, having denied all further address or application to the King, had cut off from themselves that fountain from which they derived all their power. During these prativities, to encrease and strengthen the Independent party, the discontent- ments of the people were much augmented in all places, against the Parliament and Army for their levanty against the King, for upon his denial to attend to the four Bills or Acts lately sent to him, the Governor removed most of his Servants from him, and restrained him to the Circuit of the Court within the Walls, and though he did it at first without the Authority of the Parliament, yet they afterwards approved of the act, which in the Island being necerst to the view of this usage, were very much offended with it, and one Captain Berleigh lately an officer in the Kings Army and an Inhabitant there, beat a Drum in Newport to draw some Soulers together to rescue the King, but being too hasty in the attempt, his endeavours were frustrated, and he himself was taken prisoner, and that took part with him and suppressed: he was after some time sent in custody to Winchester, where by a special Commission of Oyer and Terminer directed to Sergeant Wild of Winchester the then Chief Baron and others; he was tried and condemned of High Treason, and on the 10th of February injuriously executed for the same.

The King in this condition set forth a declaration to all his Subjects, which inflaged his irac- cussion towards them, and in that towards the end he thus expresseth himself (viz.).

"By what means or occasion I am come to this appearance in my affairs, I am utterly to seek, especially when I consider that I have sacrificed my two Houes of Parliament (for the peace of my Kingdom) at all, but what is much more dear to me than my life, my Conscience and Honor, defining nothing more, than to perform it in the most proper and natural way, A perio- nal Treaty; but that which makes me most at a loss is, the remembrance my signal compliance with the Army and their Interets, and of what importance my compliance was to them, and their often repeated protestations and engage- ments for my just rights in general, at New- Markett and St. Albans, and their particular explanations of these generals by their voted and revoluted proposals which I had reason to understand should be the utmost extremity would
would be expected from me, and that in some-
thing therein I should be eased, (here-
in appealing to the conicences of some of the
chiefl Officers in the Army, if what I have
said, be not punctually true) and how I have
failed of their expectations, or my professions
to them, I challenge them, and the whole
World, to produce the least colour of reason.
And now, I would know what it is that is de-
fired: Is it peace? I have thew the way,
(being both willing and fitness to perform
my part in it,) which is a just compliance with
all chief interests: Is it plenty and happiness,
they are the inseparrable effects of Peace? Is
it security? 1, who with all men would for-
get and forgive like me, have offered the Mi-
litia for my time: Is it liberty of Conscience?
He who wants it, is not ready to give it: Is it
the right Administration of Justice? Offices
of Truf are committed to the choice of my
two Hontes of Parliament: Is it the Arrears
of the Army? upon a settlement they will cer-
tainly be paid with much ease, but before, there
will be found much difficulty, if not impofi-
bility in it.
Thus, all the World cannot but fee my real
and unwearied endeavours for Peace, the
which, (by the Grace of God) I shall neither
repeat me, nor never beackers in, not-
withstanding my past, present, or future suffer-
ings. But if I may not be heard, let every one
judge, who it is that obstructs the good I would
or might do; What is it that men are afraid to
hear from me? It cannot be reason, (at least,
nome will declare themselves so unreasonable
as to confeder it) and it can be, lie importinent
or unreasonable discontent; for thereby perad-
vventure I might more justly this my Refrain,
than the cauters themselves can do; so that of
all wonders, this is the greatest to me:
But it may be easily gathered hence, how these
men intend to govern, who have used me thus,
And if it be my hard fate to fall together with
the liberty of this Kingdom, I shall not blash
for my self, but much lament the future mis-
teries of my people, the which I shall fill pray
God to avert, what ever becomes of me.

During the time of those restraints, he betook
himself to meditation, and then composed that
molt excellent Book, entitled, "Embo Basanii,
or, The Restoration of his Sacred Majesty in
His Solitude and Sufferings."

About the month of June last, The Parliament
sent visitors to the University of Oxford, but their
authority was not submitted to by the Members
thereof, who alleged that they could not ac-
knowledge any visitors but the King, or his im-
mediates, to substitute, without manifest perjuries,
but about the beginning of April this year. The Earl
of Pembroke being lately before by Vote or Ordi-
nance of the two Hontes, made Chancellor of the
University, reforted thither with some others that
were with him made Visitors, and being armed
with the authority of a vote of the Lords and
Commons to expel all such Masters, Fellows, and
Officers of Colledges, as refused to submit
to their power. The next day after his arrival, he
went to Christ-Church Colledge, and there by
force removed the Dean, and all the Canons and
Students that did not comply with him, and take
the Covanent, and put others in their places, and
in the like manner he proceeded in the Colledges
of All-Souls, St. Mary Magdalen, and New-
Colledges, and in all other Colledges and Halls, by
displacing those that did not submit, and putting
others in their places.

This Summer the King, though a Prisoner, was
as formidable as ever since the beginning of his
troubles, and many of the more moderate of his
Subjects of both Kingdoms, which before had
joined in Arms against him, began to look upon
his estate with consideration, and they and others
attempted by force to try their fortunes on his
behalf. And first, an Insurrection was made in
London, where some Apprentices in More-fields
let upon a part of the Trained-Band who were
there keeping Guard, and over-powred them, by
which success their numbers hourly increas-
ed, and they divided themselves into
two or three bodies, one whereof (which was
the most considerable) having born before them
an Ensign which they took from the Trained-
Bands, march'd towards White-Hall, but being
without any Arms but Sticks, a Troop of Horse
from the Men's charg'd and dispersed them; yet
at night they joined again, and surpriz'd New-
gate and Ludd-gate, and shut up the Gates there-
of, and seiz'd a Drake-piece from the Lord
Mayors House, which they planted within Ludd-
gate, being animated hereinto by some of the
Army, to make their Conquest of them more
Remarkable: The morning following, they la-
boured to get Arms, and brake open some Sale-
ments Houses of Ammunition, and maffered the
Magazine at Leaden-Hall, crying out in a tumultu-
ous manner, For God and King Charles, but
the next day General Fairfax entr'd Alder- gate
with two Regiments, and marched to Leaden-
Hall-street, and there charged this undisciplin'd
multitude; who after a short Skirmish, were ut-
terly dispersed, with little or no loss to the Af-
failants.

In South-Wales, about this time, Colonel Poyer
Governor of Pembroke Castle, refused to yield
up his Charge (though commanded thereunto)
but the better to countenance his intention, his
first pretences were to have the Arrears of him and
his Souldiers paid to him, but this produced
some expostulatory Letters betwixt him and the
Parliament, and in the mean time he fortified the
Castle, and stored it with provision for a defence,
and Major General Langhorn, for the same rea-
on, refused to disbarr his men, and so both re-
solved to run the same fortune. Langhorn for-
priz'd Tenby Castle with the Parliament Com-
missoners therein; and for the support of the
Souldiers, they raised contribution out the neigh-
boring parts, and delivered for the King, to whom
one Colonel Powel, a valiant Souldier of that
Country, joynd. Colonel Horton was sent by
Fairfax Commander in chief against them, with
thirty Companies of Horse and Foot, who sent
out Adjutant General Fleming to charge them,
who when he came near, went to gain a Pafs from
Poyer, which he found quitto to his hands, and
gang on improvidently, he fell into an Ambus-
cade which Poyer had laid, whereby his men were
for-

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disordered, and he with some few of them compell'd to thither in a neighbo'ring church, but perceiving himself unable to hold it out, he died (as it is thought) by his own sword, and the rest were taken prisoners: This successe was attended with the surprize of Cheepdoor Castle, which was taken by Sir Tho. Keynsham for the King, in the Governours absence. And now Fairfax thought a greater force was required than those with Horton to reduce South-Wales, and therefore Cromwell himself, was ordered to march with a strong power into that Country; but when the news of his advance came to Langhorne, he thought it best to fight Horton before his coming, and the other as willingly marched to meet him, and near St. Fagans on the eighth of May, the two Armies came in sight of one another, Langhorne had very much the other, but not well armed nor disciplin'd, and for that he did not so soon expect Horton, the conquest was the easier, for as soon as his men were charged, after a little resistance, Horton's men obtained a victory, in which they killed and took 1,500 Officers, and 3,000 Common Soldiers, Langhorne himself, and Powel, escaped by flight, Lieutenant General Cromwell entered Wales shortly after this, and formed ten by Castle, which yielded upon mercy, and Cheepdoor Castle was retaken by Colonel Enner, and from thence he marched to besiege Pembroke. Castle: Sir John Owen, whilst Cromwell besieged Pembroke Castle, got together some Forces in North Wales for the King, which the Sheriff would have suppress'd, but being too weak, was defeated, & taken prisoner by him; but shortly after, the same fortune befell Owen himself, by the Forces of Major General Milton. Pembroke Town and Castle held out courageously for a long time, but at length were so distressed, that they willingly would have surrendered, if they could have had any other Conditions, than to yield upon discretion; and to force them thereunto, Cromwell gave a furious assault to the place, which the besieged resolutely endured: But upon News that Duke Hamilton was preparing to march into England with an Army of Scots, he became incitative to give them better terms, and thereupon the Town and Castle was delivered up to him July 13 & 14, on these terms (viz.) Powel, Langhorne, Poater, and three other principal Actors, to submit to the Parliaments mercy: the other Commanders, Knights and Gentlemen, to depart the Kingdom within six weeks, for two years, the reft to return to their respective dwellings, and the Townsmen to enjoy their freedom and Liberties: Those that submitted to mercy, were afterwards tied as Traitors, notwithstanding the Prince's Letter in their behalf to General Fairfax; But his cruel favour was extended towards them, that they should cast lots for their lives, and to only Poater suffered.

April 30, The Duke of York, disguised in Women's Apparel, made his Escape from St. James's by Water, and landed at Dorn in Holland, by help of one Mr. Rumpfield, sent out purposely on that design by the Queen. Whilft some by Arms were endeavoring to free their Country, others attempted by Petitions in a mild way to obtain that by favour, which would not without great hazard and effusion of blood be procured by force: The County of Essex was the first that began, who succed's the 1653, Parliament, that the Army might be paid and disband'd, and the King admitted to a personal Trial; Surrey followed, and defined the like, but in higher Terms; and being numerous, a quarrel was made with the Southerns of Effingham, who came to keep guard against them, words were at first the weapons used, but in the end they came to blows; and some hurt was done on both sides; but night parted the Fray: The City of London succeeded next, and petitioned to the same effect; and also resolved, that thei' Prisoners who stood committed for their former defiance when the Parliament went out to the Army, might be released, as shortly after they were; and upon the Citys concert profession to adhere to the Parliament, their Militia was restored, and Major General Skippon was appointed Major General thereof; and of all the Forces within the late Lines of Communication; the Lieutenant of the Tower put in by the Army, was also discharged, and Mr. Woolf a Citizen, furtogated in his place; and because alarms of insurrections came from all parts, the General was easily intreated to draw off all the Forces he had from White-Hall and the Menz, and any other parts of London, or the late Lines of Communication upon the Citys promis to order a Guard for the Parliament, which they readily performed, and setted six hundred pounders yearly on their Major General for his entertainment.

The Kentish men finding the threat of Surrey so ill treated when they came in a peaceable manner to Petition the Parliament, resolved to make their demand with Swords in their hands, and to that purpose a numerous body of them were drawn together, against whom the Lord Fairfax (for so he was now by his Fathers death) marched with six thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse, the Kentish were ten thousand, but undisputedly they parted their Forces, and went away a Brigade to besiege Dover Castle, the General advanced, and defeated some of them between Crawford-Hall and Graversend, and from thence he sent Major Husbands before, who gained a piaisage over a Bridge at Northfield, and took some Prisoners; Fairfax followed, marching in a full body, expeting the Kentish, (who hovered in sight of him) would have engaged, but they were not prepared for it, and so without any resistance, he came near Maidstone, in which the Kentish men were drawn up into a Body, and had planted some great Guns, and barrocolled the avenues of the Town.

Fairfax having his Army by this time encreased to seven thousand, on the second of June at four o'clock at night from the Town, which was both times repulld, but the third time he got entrance, yet then the fight was more perilous than before, whilst the Parliament had to do only with those who manned the Streets, but were also galld with continual shot from the Houlies, getting all by inches, nor could they istnade the Town till after six hours fight, and much loffe on their own side: But of the Kentish, two hundred were slain, and above one thousand and three hundred taken Prisoners, with four hundred Horse, and eight piece's of Ordnance, and good Boody; and presently upon this, Rochefler was also quittd
...but the Duke of Buckingham retired towards Lincolnshire, and escaped beyond seas; Castleferry yet held out courageously, making frequent Sallies upon the besiegers with indifferent Successes and good hopes of relief from the North; for the Parliament of Scotland had far over ever since the second of March, and were much dissatisfied at the English proceedings in reference to the King, which was not a little encroached by the report of their Commissioners now returned, so that notwithstanding that the Parliament of England made them fair offers concerning the payment of the money due upon account of their Auxiliary Armies, both in England and Scotland, and on the four and twentieth day of July paid an Ordinance to establish the Presbyterian Government in England and Ireland (viz.) under Classical Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies: yet and would not receive, for they had framed a Committee of Danger, to consult of their affairs in relation to the Parliament of England, the Major part whereof being of Hampton, Voted a War, and the Scots published a Declaration, wherein they proposed:

That the King may come to London, or some of the Component, and this with Safety.

That special care be made for his carriage away, or satisfaction by punishing them that did it.

That the Army under the Lord Fairfax be dismissed.

That Presbytery be settled, and Settlers punished.

That all Members of the House be restored.

These actions drew many of the Kings party from the Northern parts to Edinburgh, and Wigton; a Captain in the English Army marched to them with his Troop, and fifty foot, and two Companies of Foot landed out of Ireland at Catterick, and marched thither also; moreover Warwick was further besieged by some Royalists, and Sir Thomas Graham, and Sir Philip Mainfraser raised forces for the King in Westmorland and Cumberland, with which they seized on Carlisle, and with them joined Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with some Horse, being commissioned to be General of the
English forces for the King, with which now encamped to three thousand, he coated about the
Northern Counties.

July the thirteenth, a Scots Army under Duke Hamilton entered England, the Van was brought up
by the Duke himself, the Main Body by Major General Middleton, and the Rear by the Earl of
Calder, these joined with Langdale, and fell upon Major General Lamers then Appleby, and
forced him to retire into the Town, from thence he retreated to Kirkby-Sweten and after to Tatters,
leaving some of his forces behind him, to defend the Castle, which was besieged and taken Aug-
ust 7, by Sir Philip Mainwra, Colonel Boson
Governor of Scarcroft Castle declared for the King, and Pomfret Castle was taken by Major
Morgan, in Timnosh Castle, Lieutenant Colonel
Henry Lilburne declared for the King, but the
Castle was suddenly retaken by Sir Arthur Has-
lerig.

The Scots fired some time at Kendal in West-
morland, and Major General Lambert's Army en-
camped daily with additional forces, and Lieu-
tenant General Cromwell having quieted Wales,
marched to join with him, and in his way took
Pomfret Town, but not the Castle; Hamilton
left Kendal and marched into Lancashire, inten-
ding for London, which the English Army resol-
ved to hinder, and therefore marched to Preston,
where Hamilton and Langdale lay with their for-
s, reported to be twenty thousand strong, Crom-
well and Lamers, not joined were reckoned to
have five thousand Horse and Dragoons, and seven
thousand Foot. Aug
8 the 17. both Armies
faced one another, Major Smithson Commanded
the foresmold of the English, who charged furios-
ously on the Scots Van, and routed them, and
alarmed the whole Army, and so the Battels joined on a
Moor two miles East of Preston and the fire was
very hot for two hours, and then the Scots gave
round, which encouraged the English to pursue
them, and that so fiercely, that they were forced
to divide, one part being a Body of three thou-
sand Horse, moved towards Lancaster, and was
followed and disperred by Colonel Twisten
and Colonel Thornhill (who took multitudes of
them prisoners;) and the other part Horse and
foot marched over the River Ribble, whom the
Main of the English Army followed, and at Ri-
ble-Bridge the Scots made a stand, defending the
pasts hourly for two hours, even to the path of
Pike, but were then constrained to retire. The
next morning the Scots drew up a Hill on the
side of Preston, when being forced by the Eng-
lish, they fled in great disorder to H recommes,
which they plundered, and the next morning after
marched towards Warrington (the English pursing
all the way,) next Warrington the Scots taking ad-
vantage of a Past, made another halt, but were
again beaten with the loss of a thousand men, and
were pursed to the very Bridge, where the foot
in number 4000. being defeated by the Horse, laid
down their Arms and submitted to mercy, Ham-
ilton got away with three thousand Horse to
Nantwich, where the Country being in Arms
feized upon most of them; Lieutenant Gen-
eral Cromwell marched towards Camberland, to
meet Morant who was marching with a Reserve
of Scots, giving order to all the Parliament Com-
manders in these Counties to follow the flying
Scots, by some of whom Major General Middle-
ton who commanded four hundred Horse was de-
tested and taken prisoner, and the rest dispersed:
Hamilton himself was met with at Nantwich, and
made to submit to mercy by the Lord Gray of
Cromwell, who sent him prisoner to Asby de la
Couch, by this days light, the English took more
prisoners than their whole Army amounted to.

On the 10th the Scots suffered a great loss, and came
to Darom, where they met and engaged in
Westminister-Hall, by the Earl of
St. Mary's, whose Langdale was apprehended in an
inn: Cromwell improved his successes, and came
to Darom, where they met and engaged.

Cromwell entered Scotland by their invite-
ment, and to smooth his way, he published the
following Declaration:

Whereas we are marching with the Forces of the nation,
Parliament of England into the Kingdom of Scot-
land, in pursuance of the remaining part of the
Enemy, who lately invaded the Kingdom of En-
l gland, and for the recovery of the Garrison in
Barlay and Carlisle. These are to declare, that if
any Officer or Soldier under my Command shall
take, or demand any monies, or shall take any
Horse, Goods, or Wines without Order, or shall
abuse the people in any sort, he shall be tried and
punished with death by a Court Martial.

To him Argyle, Lowden, Leuen, and other of the
Scotch Nobility repaired, and contracted with
him for subduing of the publick Enemy: and to
much feared was he in Scotland, that the follow-
ing Agreement was contented to by them.

First, That the Armies under Argyle, and
the other under Lanrick and Monroe with all the
forces in day of the Garrison in Scotland be disband,
ed, and Barwick and Carlisle be delivered to the
English.

Secondly, That the settlement of Religion at
home, and promoting Reformation abroad, be ordered
under the determination of the General Assembly,
and all Civil differences be referred to a Parlia-
ment speedily to be called.

Thirdly, That no party that were in the last
Engagements against England, be of the new Parlia-
ment, or of the General Assembly, and so he
returned into England after he had been invited
to Edinburgh to Feasts and Banquets, and highly
careed by the States of Scotland with all ex-
pressions of Honour; and that in Yorkshir as he mar-
ched homewards, he was desired to reduce Scarcro-
ught and Pomfret Castles, which was then pro-
mised, but not till some time after effected; Col-
chesster had endured a tedious Siege, and was now
brought to such secrecy of provision that the besie-
ged had not Horse-fleesh enough to serve them one
day (that being the food which they had fed on al-
most
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most a fortnight, and not purchased without much blood (spilt in divers Sallies for dead Horses,) and now perceiving all hopes of succour utterly frustrated, they were necessitified to yield upon these Conditions following:

The Common Soldiers to depart with life, and the Officers to remain at the General disposal, and by to exempt from mercy whom he pleased; the remainder to be remitted to the Parliament mercy, and the Town to raise fourteen thousand pounds to preserve it from Plunder.

The Prisoners of Quality were the Earl of Norwich, Capel, and Longborough, eleven Knights, Twelve Colonels, eight Lieutenant Colonels, nine Majors, thirty Captains, and sixty-five Gentlemen; the private Soldiers were about three thousand; three of the Knights were condemned to die by a Court-Martial (viz.) Sir Charles Lucas, Sir George Lisle, and Sir Bernard Gaskin A Fiorenine; but the last was reprieved because a stranger, and the other two shot to death, the first having (as the General said in his Letter to the Parliament) falsified his word with him) the second directed the shooting of payned Guns against the Laws of Arms.

And to General Fairfax after much loafs of time and men, and difficult service for a quarter of a year) took possession of the Town of Catterfie, August the 27th, after which he marched up and down the Counties of Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Harford to settle peace, and with the Garrison, and then returned to St. Albans his Head-Quarters: and thus we have briefly described the military actions of this year, and whilst the Army was busied in fighting, the Parliament were taken up with Petitions from the several Counties for a Treaty with the King; the City of London among the rest had preferred one, and, whilst deferred in one before, the release of their imprisoned Citizens, which were the Aldermen Langham and Bunch, and Sergeant Glyn their Recorder, to which the House readily consented, and likewise repealed their Orders against the Earls of Suffolk and Middlesex, and the Lords Berkley, Haddington, Maynard, Willoughby of Parham, and the seven Members, for they became very well inclined to peace with the King, now they were freed from the insolency of the Army by their distance from them, and a Treaty was resolved on, and the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hipsey, and Mr. Bulkeley went tent to the King, to let him know their resolution: who returned with his ready compliance thereunto; upon which the Parliament Voted.

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty, he admitted.

That he be in the same State of freedom as at Hampton-Court, with such Servants as he desired.

That five Lords and ten Commons be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King, and the place to be Newport in the Isle of Wight. And that the King be admitted to invite the Scots thereunto to Treat only concerning that Kingdom.

Which Votes were sent down to the King, who was to Treat personally with these Commissioners (viz., the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Middlesex, and the Lord Say, for the House of Lords: and the Lord Wilmot, Mr. Piers, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Sir Harbottle Grimston, Sir John Pett, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crew, and Mr. Bulkeley for the House of Commons, and with these were joined Mr. Hollis and Mr. Glyn.

Munday September the eighteenth the Treaty began: The Proposities were in number eleven.

The first was for calling in all the King's Declarations, which he should offer to, with this Proviso, That neither of this Constitution, nor any other of his, advantage should be taken, unless the articles were concluded.

The 2 Proposition was concerning the settlement of the Church, in reference to which he was descended, to settle the Directory, and in case an Act to confirm the Assembly, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, referring Liberty to Himself: and his Party to use the old forms: But would not agree to the utter abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The third Proposition was for setting the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years, solely, to which he assented.

Likewise to the fourth, for making void the Ceftion of Ireland, and remitting the Government of it both Civil and Military to the two Houses at Westminster.

And to the fifth and sixth, for calling all Horses and Tithes since the carrying away of the Great Seal, and for payment of Publick Debts.

The 7th Proposition concerning Delinquents, to whom the Parliament proposed great favour; the King moderated them, he was content that they should be fined, and prohibited access to Council or Court without the Parliament's content, that they should be deprived for three years of their right of sitting in Parliament, and brought to Tryal (if the two Houses should think fit) to suffer according to the merit, whereas they should be legally convicted: But he would by no means hear of branding them with Treason, nor taking away either Lives or Possessions from any, but such as after a legal Tryal should be found guilty of breaking the established Laws of the Land.

The eighth, for imposing the Parliament to confer all Officers of the Kingdom, and the Chief Magistrates for twenty years he agreed to; and to

The ninth, for confirming the new Great Seals, with all Grants and Commissions issued by it. And to

The tenth, for ratifying all Privileges, Grants, and Charters and Immunities to the City of London, with power to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia to be confirmed to them; and the Ci

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licens to be exempted from Military service out of the Liberties of the City, unless at the Parliament's appointment.

The last was for total exterminating the Court of Wards, which was also condemned to, so as an hundred thousand pounds might be yearly paid to the King by way of compensation for it.

The Earl of Ormond had gotten back into Ireland, and raised forces there in opposition to the Parliament by the Kings Commission, but the King extremed the Commissioners, That if the Treaty should take effect, the Irish affairs should be managed at the discretion of the houses only.

The King having thus far complied with the Parliament, they likewise at his desire Voted:

That he be in Honour, freedom, and safety, according to the Laws.

Secondly, That he have his Revenue as before, excepting the deductions for such Forts and Garrisons, as were of old accustomed to be maintained.

Thirdly, That he have compensation of the Court of Wards.

Fourthly, That an All of Obligation be past with such exceptions and limitations as should be agreed on by both Houses.

Most men thought now that the King and Parliament would have united, and so in all likelihood they had, nothing being in difference but only the business of Episcopacy. But whilst the King was treating for Peace at the Isle of Wight with the Commissioners of Parliament, the Officers of the Army were contriving at Windsor the destruction of both, and many private meetings were had both there, and at London, by the Levellers and some of their Independant friends about a frame of Government to be represented to them, the refult whereof was,

That some persons should be chosen by the Army to represent the whole Body, and that the well-afflicted in every County (for so they thought) in their Party should choose one person to represent them: and those to meet at the Head-Quarters.

That these persons ought not to exercise any Legislative power, but only to draw up the Foundation of a just Government, and to propose to the well-afflicted people in every County to be agreed to, which Agreement should be above Law, and therefore the bounds, limits, and extent of the people Legislative Deputies in Parliament, contained in the Agreement should be drawn up into a formal contract, to be mutually signed by the well-afflicted people, and their said Deputies upon the days of their elections respectively.

To prevent confusion the Parliament may not be by force immediately dissolved, but the day of its dissolution be inserted in the Agreement, by virtue of which it should be dissolved.

That this way of Settlement should be mentioned in a Remonstrance from the Army.

When these Proposals were transmitted to the Army, the matter thereof was very well approv'd of by the Chief Officers; but Colonel Har-

ris told the Agents implored to them:

That they could not stay so long from going to London, as to perfect an agreement for such a Settlement, and without their speedy going (said he) we are unanimously destroyed; we fully understand that the Treaty between the King and the Parliament is almost concluded upon, as the conclusion whereof we shall be examined by King and Parliament to disband, the which if we do not are unavoidably destroyed for what we have done already, and if we do not disband, they will by All of Parliament Proclaim us Traitors, and declare us to be the only hinderers of settling peace in the Nation, and then we shall never be able to fight with both Interests of the King and the Parliament. So that he and the Officers with him declared the first thing the Army was to do, was to cut off the Kings head, and force & thoroughly purge (if it be not) the Parliament. The Agents did not disapprove of this horrid resolution, but pressed against the doing it, without first giving security to the Nation (to use their own words) for the future settlement of their liberties and freedoms, especially in frequent, free, and facecitive Representatives. The dire effects of these Councils will follow in the sequel of this History; in prosecution whereof, the Army sent up a Petition to the Parliament to try their tempers:

For a scrutiny to be taken for discovery of the The Army

Centurion and Allers in the late bloody War, and that speedy justice should be done upon them. That the same fames may have the same Juicice and punish-ment in the person of the King or Lord, as in the per-son of the poorest Commoner, that such as speak or act in the Kings behalf (still he be acquainted of shedding innocent blood) be proceeded against as Traitors. When this would not do, they framed their Remonstrance in bolder terms which they sent to the Parliament by fix Officers inclosed in a Letter from the General, dated the 10th of November.

Requiring, That the King be brought to Justice as the Capital cause of all the evils of the Civil War.

Secondly, That a preordinary day be set for the summoning the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and if they refused to come to declare them incapable of Government or Succession, and to stand exalted as Traitors, and if they rendered themselves incapable to be proceeded against for satisfaction, and that the Revenues of the Crown be sequestred.

Thirdly, That publick Justice be done against the Allers in the late War.

And lastly, They concluded, defiring their appear-ances with the old pretence of قال the Country of free Quarter; and request that a Period may be put to this Parliament; and are to take some new Representatives, and that we King should be admitted for the future, but upon election of and upon draft for the people, to be limited by the Representatives, &c.

In the mean time, General Fairfax commanded Colonel Hammond by his Letters to deliver up his charge of the Kings person to Colonel Ever, by
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by whom the King was conveyed out of the Isle of Wight to Hurst-Caple the 30th of November. But the Parliament declared their ill repentance of this action, and voted, That the seizing upon the person of the King, and carrying him prisoner unto Hurst-Caple was without the advice and consent of the House.

And thus the Treaty was violently broken off, yet the Lords Voted the Kings Concessions a sufficient ground for Peace, and forthwith adjourned, and the Major part of the Commons Voted the same. But the Army being now come up to London, and quartered at White-Hall, St. James, the Mens, and several Villages near, they resolved to hinder these proceedings, and therefore discharged the Trained Bands from being a Guard to the Parliament, and Ordered Colonel Prides and Rice's Regiment to supply their places, by whom above forty Members coming to the House, were seized and committed to Guards in Westminster, and the parts adjoining; and not satisfied with this, they accquitted Major General Brown, and ninety odd Members for inviting in the Scots the last Summer, and therefore required they might be excluded the House: At these proceedings the Commons (being displeased) adjourned for four or five days, in which space the Army was busied in compleating their Model of Government, wherein it was amongst other things proposed:

That the present Parliament should be dissolved the 3d of April next: And that the Representatives of the whole Nation should consist of three hundred persons, half which number should suffice to make an All of Laws, and that in the Intervals of Parliament a Council of State should govern.

And this Declaration, together with half a score of Modifications, they termed, The Agreement of the People: which was afterwards presented to the House of Commons by Sir Hardress Walker, and fifteen Officers when the House new moulded by the Army, met again (for besides that they forced out, a great number abdicated themselves) and to testifie their submission to the Army, they restored the Votes of Non-Addressers, and repealed those which approved of the Kings Concessions, and Voted, Their Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason: That the General should take care of his person: and that the Council of War should draw up a Charge of Treason against him; which manifestly did impious intention to destroy him, which before they had determined: But before this open and avowed act, some secret practices were designed upon his life, as appeared in the Letters and Informations of one Donges and Osborn against Captain Ralph, who commanded a Company of the Guards about the King, whom Osborn particularly accused to have projected his death, by poison or pibal, and not without the privy of Colonel Hammond and some Chiefs of the Army that invited him thereunto: and though great endeavours were used to obstruct any proceedings in the business, yet the clamour of people was so great, that they were forced to commit him to prison, and subject him to trial; but by the sticking of some of the prevailing party in his behalf, the Indictment against him was found Ignoramus by the Grand Jury of Hampshire, at Southampton or Winchelsea, by the advice of Maynard of Council with him, because there was but one witness to each fact, as in cases of Treason there ought to have been two.

December the tenth, the King was brought from Hurst-Caple with a strong Guard to Winchelsea, next day to Ferryman, and the next day to Windfor: In the mean time the two Houses differed concerning the Committees situate, That it is Treason for the King to levy War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Trial as a Traitor, and the Lords denied that the King can commit any Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore rejected the Ordinance of the Commons, and declared, That no All of the Commons is binding without their consent; and adjourned for a fortnight, upon which the Commons Voted, That all Members and others appointed to all in any Ordinance with Peers, are empowered and enjoined to sit, all, and execute notwithstanding the Peers joyned not therein; and to earneth were both the Commons and the Army about the Kings Trial, that the Queen defining to see her Husband before his Arraignment, could not obtain a Pass for her secure coming and returning.

January the sixth, the Ordinance for the Kings Trial was turned into an Act of the Commons alone, and ingrossed, and Proclamation was made two days after in Westminster-Hall, Cheapside, and the old Exchange for Witnessess to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it; and now the City (or rather a contemptible party therein, suborned to that purpose) petitioned the House for Justice against the King. And Hillary Term, beginning January the twenty third was adjourned till fourteen days after, to give place to the proceedings against him.

January the nineteenth, the King was brought from Windfor to St. James's House, and all things about him were prepared for his fatal Tragedy, in which the Commons proceeded notwithstanding the diffent of the House of Lords, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of Scotland, now converted against it: The Act of Parliament which directed the Trial of the King, appointed a new Tribunal, called the High Court of Justice, who were impowered to convene, hear, judge, and execute Charles Stuart King of England. His Title in Writs they abrogated, and ordered the great Seal of England to be broken, and a new Seal to be made with the Crois for England, and the Harp for Ireland thereon, and these Words, The Great Seal of England, and on the Reverse, the Picture of the House of Commons sitting with these words, In the first year of freedom by Gods blessing restored, 1648.

Thus this great, though unfortunate Prince, March of three mighty Kingdoms, was now through the inefurbable Providence of the Omnipotent Disposer of all things, subjected to the miserable condition of a calamitous prisoner to his own Subjects, by whom he was tried, condemned, and lastly executed, yet not without a sharp retaliation (however late) upon the heads of the greatest part of those that were the chief contrivers and actors of so abhorred a fact, as in the sequel of the Story will appear.
Of his Taxations.

King James dying, left his Son a large Domininion, but a poor Exchequer, which was the occasion that his Taxations were more frequent than before in his Fathers Reign.

In his first year, the Parliament at their first Session granted him two Subsidies from Protestant, and four from Popish Recusants, and from the Clergie three; and till the Parliament took order therein, he continued the levies as in his Fathers time of Tonnage, Poundage, and other sums by way of impost upon Merchandise imported and exported.

In his second year he engaged in a War with France, and for the relief of Rochell, he raised near two hundred thousand pounds by Loan.

In his third year, in a Parliament holden at Welfminister, they gave him five Subsidies.

In his sixth year, he revived an ancient Custome or Usage by which all that were qualified by the Law for Knighthood, were to take upon them that order, or to make fine for relief of the same, whereby a hundred thousand pounds was brought into the Exchequer.

In his ninth year, by the advice of his Attorney-General, and other his Council learned in the Laws, severall Writs were issed under the great Seal of England, for the charging of the Ports, Towns, Cities, Boroughs, and Counties of this Realm respectively, to provide and furnish Ships for the defence of the King and the Kingdom, whereby great sums were raised. And in a Parliament holden in Ireland, the Deputy obtained some Subsidies for the payment of the Army of that Realm, and the encrease of his Majesties Revenue there.

In his sixteenth year, the Earl of Strafford obtained of the Irish Parliament the grant of four Subsidies; And the Convocation of Bishops in England gave him an ample Benevolence of four Shillings in the pound for six years, to be assised on all the Clergie in England, towards the carrying on of a War with Scotland then begun.

And in the same year, The Parliament of England then assembled, granted to him four entire Subsidies for relief of his Army then raised against the Scots, and for relief of the Northern parts of the Kingdom then much harassed by an Army of the Scots quartering in those parts, who imposed great Taxes on the Inhabitants where they lay for their maintenance.

In his seventeenth year, the same Parliament granted two Subsidies for the further relief of his Majesties Army, and the Northern parts of the Kingdom; and likewise a Subsidie of Tonnage and Poundage, and other sums of money payable upon Merchandise exported and imported, from the twenty fifth of May to the fifteenth of July following, and when that Act was expiring, they granted another for the same duties from the fifteenth of July to the tenth of August following; and by five other subsequente Acts, the Parliament granted the like Subsidie and Impostion upon Merchandise to the third of May, 1642. And the said seventeenth year, severall sums of money were by Act of Parliament charged upon persons according to their Ranks, Dignities, Offices, Callings, Estates and Quality, by way of Pole, for the speedy disbanding two Armies then in the bowels of the Kingdom.

This year also a Contribution and Loan was granted for the relief of Ireland, where a bloody Rebellion had broken forth the year before.

And in his eighteenth year, an Act passed for raising and levying of moneys for the necessary defence and great affairs of the Kingdoms of England and Ireland, and for the payment of Debts undertaken by the Parliament.

There were all the Taxations either by Loan or otherwise raised by Royal Authority during the Kings Reign. But the War which the Parliament raised without his Authority, and against it, was supported and maintained by great and vast sums of money illegally levied on the Subjectts by Contribution, Affeilments, and Excises, which cannot be properly here inferred; and we with the memory of such unjust proceedings, may be for ever effaced.

Of the Laws made in His Reign.

Having under the head of Taxations set down such Acts of Parliament as granted money to the King, we shall herein make no further mention of them in the enumeration of the other Laws enacted during his Reign.

In the Parliament holden in his first year, an Act was made for punishing abuses on Sundays; and an Act to enable the King to make Leases of Lands parcel of his Duchy of Cornwall; and an Act for cesse obtaining Licenfes of Alienation, and in the pleadings in the Exchequer in Ireland; and an Act for restraining of ill behaviour in Inns and Ale-houses.

In his Third Year.

The Petition of Right was enacted, and the several Statutes following (viz.) An Act for reformation of divers abuses committed on the Lords Day, commonly called Sunday.

An Act to restrain the passing, or lending any to be populous bred beyond the Seas.

An Act for the better suppressing unlicensed Alehouse-keepers.

An Act for continuation and repeal of divers Statutes.

An Act for establishing of the Estates of the Tenants of Bromfield and Taly in the County of Denbigh, and for the Tenures, Rents and Services thereon reserved, according to a late composition made for the same.

In the 16th, 17th, and 18th. years of his Reign, the Laws hereafter mentioned were made, whereof such of them as are since repealed, we note with Rep. and such as being but temporary Laws, and are since expired, we note Exp.

An Act for preventing of inconveniences happening by the long intermissions of Parliament, Exp.

An Act whereby the Lord Admiral and others by his Authority may raise and impress Mariners, Sailors and others for the present guarding of the Seas, and necessary defence of the Realm, Exp.

An
An Act concerning the Limitations, and abro-
gation of Michaelmas Term.
An Act declaring, That this Parliament shall
not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, but by
Act of Parliament, Exp.
An Act for regulating the Privy Council, and
taking away the Star-Chamber Court.
An Act for repeal of a branch of a Statute
Prims Elizabethae, concerning Commissioners for
causes Ecclesiastical.
An Act for declaring the late proceedings
touching Ship-money unlawful and void, and all
Records and Proceedings concerning the same.
An Act for the better interdiction and oppre-
sions in the Star-Chamber Courts.
An Act for the certainty of Forrestts, and the
meets and bounds of the Forrest.
An Act for confirmation of the Treatys of Pa-
ficification between England and Scotland, with
the Commissions and Articles thereupon, Exp.
An Act by which the Office of Clerk of the
Market is allowed, and regulated, and false weights
and measures reformed.
An Act for the prevention of yeasious pro-
ceedings touching the Order of Knighthood.
An Act for bringing in of Gun-powder and
Salt-petre from forien parts, and for the free mak-
ing of Gun-powder in this Realm: There were
two Acts passed successively for the better raising
and levying of Mariners, Sailors and others, for
guarding the Seas, Exp.
An Act was passed also for relief of Captives
taken by Turkish and other Pyrates, Exp.
An Act declaring, That person in holy Or-
ders shall not exercise certain temporal powers
An Act was also passed, For the speedy and
effectual reducing of the Rebels in Ireland, and
An Act for adding to and explaining certain
clauses therein, and
An Act by which Corporations and bodies Po-
litical are enabled to take the benefit of an Act
for reducing the Rebels in Ireland, and
An Act for the further advancement of an ef-
cctual and speedy reduction of the Rebels in
Ireland.
Moreover, besides the above-mentioned Stat-
tutes made in the 16th, 17th, and 18th year of this
King, which are of publick concernment.
There were several other Acts made of a more
private nature, the titles whereof were
An Act for the Attainder of Thomas Earl of
Strafford, Rep.
An Act to enable the Marquess of Winchester
to grant estates to the living, or twenty
years, of Lands in the County of Southampton
reverting the old Rents,
An Act for naturalizing of Dorothy Spencer,
Daughter of Henry Lord Spencer, Baron Spencer
of Warwick,
An Act for enabling of the sale and leasing of
Lands for payment of the debts of Thomas Earl of
Wincheffey.
An Act for the settling and effecting upon the
Lady Elizabeth Countess Dowager of Exeter,
her Heirs and Assigns for ever, the soil of the Ho-
spital of St. Lewes within the Town of New-
ark upon Trent in the County of Nottingham,
with the dwelling house, & other buildings there
upon built, and of certain closes and grounds, par-
cel of the possessions of the said Hospital, and for
the settling of divers Lands and Tenements of bet-
ter value, being the inheritance of the said Coun-
tees, to be added to the possessions of the said Ho-
spital for ever in lieue of the same.
An Act for making the Chappel of Hol in the
County of Lancaster, a Parish Church, and no
part of the Parish of Gropin.
An Act for John Edders Free-School within
the Parish of Aitken in the County of Southampt
An Act for settling of certain Manors, Lands,
Tenements and Hereditaments on Katherine
Countess Dowager of Bedford, William now Earl
of Bedford, John Raife, and Edmund Raife, Esqrs,
Sons of Francis Earl of Bedford, deceased.
An Act for the confirmation of his Majesties
Letters Patents to the Town of Plymouth, and
for dividing the Parishes, and building a new
Church there.
An Act for the alteration of the Estates and
tenure of some Lands within the Parishes of
Fullham in the County of Middlesex held by the
Lord Bishop of Land.as of the Manor of Fullham.
An Act to settle the Manor of Belgravia, and
other Lands in the County of Leicester to and up
on William Byerly Esq. his Heirs and Assigns, for
and towards payment of the Debts of William
Davenport Esq. deceased.
An Act to enable Sir Alexander Denton,
Knight, to sell the Manor of Great Parford & Sau-
ford St. Michael and other Lands in this present
Act mentioned for the payment of his Debts, and
preference of his younger Children.
An Act for the affixing of a Meffeage called
Dursfume-Hofe, alias Dursfume-Hofe, and cer-
tain Stables, part of the possessions of the Bishop
of Duresfne, situate in the parish of St. Martine
in the Fields in the County of Middlesex, unto
the Right Honourable Philip Earl of Pembroke &
Montgomery, and his Heirs, and a yearly Rent
of two hundred pounds a year to the said Bishop
of Duresfne and his Successors in lieu thereof.

Affairs of the Church in his Time.

The King was a Zealous Protestant accor-
ding to the profession of the Church of
England; for the peace and defence whereof, he
laboured much all the time of his Reign, though
the malice and ignorance of the enemies there-
of, of much obfuscated his pious endeavours.

In his first Year, some differences were revi-
ved about the Tenents of Arminius, which began
in the later end of his Fathers Reign, and were
heightened by the Commons House of the Parlia-
mcnt then newly assembled, the members where-
of generally favoured the oppugners of those
points, and the controversy was the more
remarkable, because it divided the Bishops them-
selfs, but those of that Order that were reputed
Arminians, did not own themselves to be such,
but maintained, That what they held, was ever
the Doctrine of the Church of England contain-
ed in the 17th Article thereof, and the like was
asserted by those that opposed those Tenents, so
that both made claim to that Article, and about
the Explication thereof, and the consequences from
thence derived, the peace of the Church was not a
little
1648.

A Conference at York-house for ending the Controversies of Arminians and Calvinists.

The King's Declaration against meddling with their Controversies.

In his fourth year at the controversy of Mr. Richard Montague to be Bishop of Chichester, which was in Bow-Church, according to the usual custom in such cases all persons were summoned to appear, to show cause why the Elec there present should not be confirmed; whereupon one William Jones, a Stationer of London excepted against Mr. Montague as unfitting for the Episcopal Office, because latey Questioned by the Parliament for a Book he had writ, wherein they said were many dangerous opinions of Arminianism and Popery (yet upon examination thereof) some sharp and invective expressions were the greatest offences in it, but exceptions were taken at the exceptions of Jones, though the reason thereof appears not otherwise than what is acknowledged in the Record by Dr. Rives (substitute at that time) for the Vicar General) Nulio modo legismen comperuit, nec aliquid in hac parte postis evis eximentium diceros, expectes vel apparetes, ito that the Bishop was confirmed, and immediately after he was fined out a Pardon under the great seal of England for all Errors before committed, either in speaking, writing, or printing, whereas he might hereafter be Questioned.

In the same year one Richard Smith, a Secular Priest, titular Bishop of Cheltenham, in parvisius Judicium actat, and executed Episcopal Jurisdiction in Lancashire, with his Miter and Crosier, conferring Orders on divers Priests, and in granting and administering confirmation, which much disturbed the Peace of the Church of England, and made disorders amongst their own party; for Nicholas Smith a Jefuit wrote bitterly against him, urging that a Bishop over the English Catholics was useless in times of perfecution (as he called it) there being but two peculiar performances of a Bishop (viz.) ordination and confirmation; for the former it might be supplied by forein Bishops, since the English Papists were most bred abroad; and for the latter he offered out of Thomas Aquinas and other Divines, that by Commission from the Pope a Priest, though no Bishop, might confer; he added likewise, that a Bishop was but a name, and the English Church, confiding that the present prelates of that order, the Religion needed no unnecessary expenses.

Thee and the like objections were answered by Doctor Kellifon, Reector of the English Colledge at Dublin, and many other Secular Priests, which occasioned great animosities betwixt the Regular and Seculars; but the King to shew his dislike of the Bishops presumptions, by his Proclamation, promised an hundred pounds to be paid to any that should apprehend him, besides all the profits that accrued to the Crown, from the person who apprehended him, which frightened him into France as was mentioned before in the History.

In his sixth year Davenant Bishop of Salford Bishop Davenent question, and, being an hundred pounds to be paid to anyone that should apprehend him, besides all the profits that accrued to the Crown, from the person who apprehended him, which frightened him into France as was mentioned before in the History.

In his ninth year the Sabbatian Controversy was revived by one Theophilus Bradkere, a Minister of a place, which first began in the year 1595, occasioned by a Book put forth that year by one Dr. Bennet, for before that time (as in General at this day) no civil recreations were denied to any of the people at such times as they were not exercised in their publique devotions at Church; in which Book the following opinions were maintained.

1. That the Commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mofaical Decree, is moral and perpetual.

2. That whereas all other things in the Jewish Church were taken away (Priesthood, Sabbath, Temples, and Sacrifices) this Sabbath was to be continued, that it still remain.

3. That there is great reason why we Christians should take our selves asstrangely bound to rest upon the Lord's Day, as the Jews were upon their Sabbath, being one of the moral Commandments, for before all were of equal Authority.

4. That the rest upon this Day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and precise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed.

5. That scholars on this Day are not to study the Liberal Arts, nor Lawyers to consult the Law, nor penitent mens Evidences.

6. That the Seigeants, Apparitors, and Summitors be restrained from executing their Offices.

7. That judges not to examine causes for the preservation of the Peace.

8. That no singing of any Belshazzar one that day is not to be justified.

9. That no solemn Fasts, nor Wedding-days to be made on that day (with permission not withstanding of the face to Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of Quality.)

10. That all honest recreations and pleasant lawful on other days (as hunting, fencing, bowling and firing) this Day to be forborne.

11. That no man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter.

The Doctrine was at first very well received because of the piety of such persons as maintained it in their publique Writings; but a while after
ter it was opposed, as galling mens necks with a Jewish yoke against the liberty of Christians; and further, it was urged that Christ as Lord of the Sabbath had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations.

That this Doctrine puts an unequal Infringe on the Sunday, on let porpote to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the Authority of the Church, and that this strict observance was set up out of fiction to be a Character of difference to brand all for Libertines who did not entertain it; so that Archbishops *trigging called in all such Books as were written on this Subject. But Brad

brone who revived this matter at this time was questioned by the High Commissioun Court, whoe well tempered fervency to prevail upon him, that submitting himself to a private conference, and perceiving the unfoundness of his own principles, he became a convert, conforming himself quietly to the Church of England ever after.

Just in this juncture of time the King being troubled with Petitions on both sides by the strict and the more moderate observers of the Lords Day, thought good to follow his Fathers Royal example upon the like occasiun in Lancashire, where in his Progrs in the 14th. year of his Reign taking notice that some Preachers perverted the people to forrigorous obervation of the Sabbath, that it was unlawful therein to dresse meat, sweep their Houss, kindle the fire, or the like, and that the Popish Priests took advantage thereby to pervert many to Popery, perverting them that the Protestant Religion was for rigourous, that no lawful liberty was allowed therein, the year after he set forth a Declaration to this effect: That for his good peoples lawful recreations, His pleasure was, that after the end of Divine Services, they should not be disbarred, leted or disencouraged from any lawful actions; such as dancing either of men or women, or for men keeping, watching, or any such barbarous Recreations; and that no mention of busie May-Games, Whittan-sles, or Morrice dances, and setting up of May-Poles, or other sportes therewith used, so as the same be had in due and convenient time, without impediment, or ie of Divine Service, and that women should have leave to carry vassell to the Church for decoring of it, according to their old custom; with prohibiting all unlawful Games to be used on the Sundays only, as Bear-baiting, Bull-baiting, Interludes, and Bowling (all times in the meaner sort of people prohibited.)

In his tenth year by the procurment of Laud Bishop of London, all such Improprion in Ireland as were in the Crown, were by the King refered to the Church, and at a Convention in that Kingdom concurrant with a Parliament then in being, the 30 Articles of the Church of England were there receivd for all to subscribe unto.

In his 13th year the same Bishop of London being some time before transfrated to the See of Canterbury, and himself a strict observer of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, did in his Metropolitan Visitation more rigourously than before prover conformity therunto, which occasioned many differences in the Church about Divine Worship, (viz.) about the holiness of Churches, bowing at the Name of Jesus, and the manner of Adoration in Gods House, which left was by the Conformists practised to be towards the Communion Table, as the most remarkable place of God's presence, others would not admit of the name of Table, but have it Altar; and then a great controversy was raised about the placing of it, some would have it at a distance fixed with the sides East and West, ends North and South, and a gradual advance next the East wall of the Chancel, citing a Canon, and the practice of the Kings Differences Chappel for the same, whilst others preferred doctrine of Ceremones.

In the same year or the year after, the Book of Service or New Liturgy was sent into Scotland to be used in that Kingdom, the circumstances whereof, and the mysteries therein occasioned are likewise related in the foregoing History.

In his fourteenth year on the 13th of April a Parliament assembled at Westminster, and with the Parliament a Convocation began, but the Parliament being after a moneth dissolved, the King nevertheless continued the Convocation under the Title of a Synod, which was authorized under the great Seal of England, the Acts of this Synod were scarce any time in use, so that we shall here only insert the Titles of the 17 Canons that poffed therein:

1. "Concerning the Regal Power.
2. "For better keeping of the day of his Majesties most happy Inauguration.
3. "For suppressing of the growth of Popery.
5. "Against Securites.
7. "A Declaration concerning some Rites and Ceremonies.
8. "Of Preaching for Conformity.
9. "One Book of Articles of inquiry to be used at all Parochial Visitations.
10. "Concerning the conversation of the Clergy.
12. "Chancellors alone not to confine any of the Clergy in fundry caues.
13. "Excommunication and Absolution not to be pronounced but by a Priest.
14. "Concerning the Commutations and disposing of them.
17. "Against vexatious Citations.

As to the Oath concluded in the Synod, which was a subject of much discourse at that time, and after in the succeeding Parliament that the Members of the Synod and the whole Episcopal Clergy suffered much thereby, it is here set forth at large according to the true tenor thereof.

"I A.B. do swear, that I do approve the Doctrine and Discipline or Government established in the Church of England, as containing all things necessary to salvation: And that I will not endeavour by my self, or any other, directly or in indirectly to bring in any Papist Doctrine, contrary to that which is so established, nor will I ever give my consent to alter the Government of this Church, by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdecons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and future persifions of the See of Rome. And all these I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And this I do hearty willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God in Jesus Christ.

As soon as these Canons were published, various were men censtures upon them, and many objections were raised against them, because they were generally condemned as illegally passed to the prejudice of the Fundamental Liberty of the Subject, though their fitting was justified by the opinions of the ablest of the Kings learned Counsellors in the Laws; but against the Oath many exceptions were made, some of which we shall insert.

1. Because the (fort.) did leave the Oath too loose, that neither the makers nor the takers thereof understood the same.

Secondly, These words were disliked (viz.) (we will never give consent to alter this Church Government, as if the same were intended to 

bridge the Liberty of King and State in future Parliaments and Convocations, Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester the day before the ending of the Synod repaired to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and acquainted him that he could not with his Conscience subscribe these new Canons, and thereupon he was by the King committed to the Gate-house, and it appeared afterward that he scrupled some passages about the Corporal presence.

In Scotland the dissenters were so great about the Service Book that this, that the King raised an Army to reduce them to obedience; and from this beginning many and great calamities ensued in the Church and State in the few remaining years of this Kings Reign.

The Liturgy and shortly after Episcopacie it self; were both abrogated by those that usurped the Government of the Kingdom, and (which is the more to be lamented) many Ministers of the Gospel in England, who were reputed learned and pious men, and had conformed to the established Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, to the scandal of Religion, joyned with those that opposed the Kings just Authority, and the Laws, and by their preachings and writings excited the people to an unlawful and unnatural War, on pretence of Reformation of Religion, forgetting, That not Guns and Swords, but Prayers and Tears ought to be the Arms of the Church; and then came in this flood of Errors that does yet too much obscure the beauty thereof; for hitherto though some differences arose in Discipline, yet so far was there unity amongst us, that the Ministers in the common grounds of Religion and of the Ministry were all one, and all preached one Faith and Substance of Doctrine, but we shall no further enlarge on these things which will make matter for an entire History of it if left to describe.

Works of Piety done by this King and others in his Reign.

Pembroke College in Oxford was erected and built in the place where formerly Broadcole in Oxfords-Hall flood, at the Charge of Thomas Tifdale of Glastonbury in the County of Oxford, who gave five thousand pound thereunto; and Richard Wighwick Rector of East Ilsie in Berkshire gave it Land of the yearly value of an hundred pounds, and hereupon King James in the later end of his Reign gave his licence for the building the Colledge, and granted to it a Charter of Mortmain of seven hundred pounds a year; but the College was not built till the first year of this Kings Reign, and he gave to it the perpetual Patronage of the Church of St. Alans near adjoining, Sir Finto Greif, Lord Mayor of London, founded a History Professorship in the University of Cambridge, and gave an hundred pound a year thereunto for ever; and St Thomas Adams a competently learned and worthy Citizen, and sometime Lord Mayor of London, erected and endowed an Arabick Professorship in the same University.

Anthony Blencourt sometime Provost of Oriel College in Oxford, gave twelve hundred pounds towards the re-edifying of the Front of that Colledge, and by his example some other Benefactors did to largely contribute, as to new build the whole Colledge, which from a very old and decaying Building, is now as handsome a uniform pile as any in that, or any other University in Europe.

The Queen Henrietta Maria wife to this King of his greatest goodwills and love to Learning, procured of the King her Husband the perpetual Patronage of several good Parsonages in Hants, to be granted to Queens College in Oxford; and the King out of his care to have the Inhabitants of Ely and Guernsey well educated, gave some Fellowships in Ely College and Pembroke College in Oxford, to the Natives of those Islands.

Sir William Paddy Knight, Doctor in Philick gave two perpetual Patronages to St. John College in Oxford, and beautified the Chappel thereof, and endowed some singing men and Choristers to make a Quire therein; and William Land Archbishop of Canterbury built a new Court in the same Colledge, a very elegant Fabrick, and was otherwise a good Benefactor thereto, he also enlarged the publice University Library, and purchased it at a great price many
manuscripts of the Eastern Languages; and by that Example, Sir Kenelme Digby a Valiant and Learned Knight, gave a numerous Collection of Choice and Excellent Books to it.

The ancient Hall of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, and many lodgings therebuilt at the charge of Barony Oak, Poet of the University, and Fellow thereof, and some other Benefactors (provided chiefly by his Solicitation,) which is too much of it, as handfome a building as any in England.

The King was very solicitous to repair the ancient Cathedral Church of St. Paul in London, which was much decayed with age, and advised with Arch-Bishop Lang, and some others of his Counsel, how to effect so pious and so noble a purpose, which was after some time refolv'd on, and he himself at his own charge repaired some part thereof, and by his inducement, Sir Paul Pindar, a wealthy and worthy Citizen, and many others, contributed largely thereunto, so that the work went on very fast, and had not the Civil Wars made an interruption to it; in few years St. Paul's Church would have been made the most magnificent Structure of Europe.

Mr. John Egger erected and endowed a Free-School in the Parish of Alton in Hampshire, which was confirmed by Act of Parliament.

The King also, by his Letters Patents, gave a new church built at Plymouth, the like at Edinburgh.

The Plague breaks out in London.

Earthquakes.

A Star appears at Noon a little after Prince Charles his birth.

The great Fire at London-Bridge.

Ordnance which the Garrison of Berwick had seized at Dunfermline, where sitting merry at Dinner, with about twenty Knights and Gentlemen, on a sudden the Magazine of Powder that lay in a vaulted Room, took fire by accident, whereby the Earl and his Company were blown up.

The fame year likewise, a Pond in Camp-Bridge became red as blood, the water whereof was taken up in Bafons, retained still the same colour. Many fights also were in the Air, as Armies fighting one against the other, which were looked upon as the fall prelages of the ensuing Wars: Neither is that strange Thunder and Lightning unworthy of mention which happened at Wiltcorm in the County of Devon in the fourteenth year of his Reign, where a Ball of fire was seen to come into the Church in the time of Divine Service, whereby three persons were killed, and three more and two hurt, divers of whom had the linings of their clothes burnt, though their outward Garments were not so much as singed, and most of the seats were turned up-side down, and the Pillars, Steeple, and Church, more damaged than the expense of three hundred pounds could repair.

Of His Wife and Children.

He married Mary, the Daughter of Henry the fourth King of France, whose Marriage was solemnized in the year, 1635, being the first year of his Reign; He had Issue by her, four Sons, and as many Daughters; the eldest Son born before the time, was baptized Charles, and lived not above two hours: His second Son born May the twenty ninth, 1635, was also named Charles; and afterwards created Prince of Wales. And in the year, 1660, Reftor'd (after many years Seclusion in Foreign Countries) with the universal Congratulation of his Subjects to his Fathers Throne, happily blest with the Regal Virtues of a Illustrious Monarch: His third Son was born October the 13th, 1653, and was baptized James, and created Duke of York, a Prince of Invincible Courage, and Heroic Valour; as his Actions in France and Flanders, yet fresh in memory, have given sufficient Testimony: His fourth and last Son was born the twentieth of July, 1660, and Chriftened Henry, afterwards created Duke of Gloucefer: He, from his Brothers happy Retumation, deceased on the 13th of September, 1660, thereby bereaving the World of those fair hopes which had been generally conceived of his Noble and Princely Endowments. His Eldest Daughter Mary, was born November the 4th, 1634, and afterwards married William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, by whom he had one Son named William, Heir and Successor to his Father in his Dignities; she quickly followed his Brother the Duke of Gloucefer, viz. the 24th of December, 1660, her loss being very much bewailed, especially by any who had Relation to her Service, as being a Princesse of universal goodness, Charity and Bounty. His second Daughter Elizabeth, was born the 28th of December, 1635. She died at Carlisle in the Isle of Wight, September the 9th, 1650, for want of Grief (as it is not without reason believed) of her Father's death.
tiers unfortunate Death: And his third Daughter Anne, was born the seventeenth of March, 1636, who also dyed very young: His fourth and last Daughter, was born June 16th 1644, at Exeter, from whence she was brought up to St James's, but afterwards conveyed into France by her Governesse the Lady Dalkeith; She was married to the Duke of Argy, Brother to Louis the fourteenth, the present King of France: a Prince who is of incomparable Beauty and Gallantry of Spirit.

Of his Death and Burial.

His death was strange and unparalleled; we read of many Kings who came to violent ends, but never any that was so formally and solemnly murdered, by a publick Tryal and Execution, which was done in the manner following.

On Saturday, January the 30th 1648. The wicked High Court of Justice fell in Westminster Hall, whereas John Bradshaw of Gray's-Inne was President, he had a Mace and Sword carried before him, and twenty habited like Gentlemen for his Guard, under the Command of one Colonel Fox (formerly a Brawier or Tinker) when the pretended Court was set, and beguile made, and silence commanded; The Act of the Commons for erecting the said Court was read, in these words.

"Whereas it is notorious, That Charles Stuart, is the now King of England, not content with the many intracions which his Predecessors had made upon the People in their Rights and Freedom, hath had a wicked design to subvert the ancient and fundamental Laws and Liberties of this Nation and in their place to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, and that besides all evil ways to bring his design to pass, he hath procured it with fire and Sword, and levied and maintained a Civil War in the Land against the Parliament and King, whereby this Country hath been miserably wasted, the publick Treasure exhausted, Trade decayed, thousands of people murdered, and infinite of other mischiefes committed, for all which high offences the said Charles Stuart might long since have been brought to example & condign punishment; Whereas also the Parliament well hoping that the restraint and imprisonment of his person, since it had pleased God to deliver him into their hands, would have quitted the distressers of the Kingdom, did forbear to proceed judicially against him, but from by said experience that such remodelled bodies served only to encourage him and his complices in the continuance of their evil practices, and raising new commotions, Rebellions, and Invasions: for prevention of the like and greater inconveniences, and to the end no chief Officer or Magistrate may hereafter presume traitorously and malitiously to imagine or conceive the enlaving or destroying of the English Nation, and to expect impunity; Be it enacted and ordained by the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and it is hereby enacted and ordained, That..."
The Reign of King Charles the First.

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Henry Marten, Esq.;
Col. William Purefoy,
Col. John Berkeley,
John Blackstone, Esq.;
Gilbert Millington, Esq.;
Sir William Constable, Knight.
Col. Edward Ludlow,
Col. John Hutchinson,
Sir Michael Livesey,
Robert Tichborne, Alderman of London,
Col. Owen Roe, of London,
Col. Rob. Lilburne,
Col. Adrian Scoope,
Col. Richard Dean,
Col. John Okey,
Col. John Hewson,
Col. William Goff,
Cornelius Holland, Gent.
John Carew, Esq.;
John Jones, Esq.;
Miles Corbet, Esq.;
Francis Allen, Godsmith.
Peregrin Pelham, Esq.;
Thomas Chaloner, Esq.;
Col. John Moore.
William Say, Esq.;
John Allured, Esq.;
† Col. Francis Laffels.
Henry Smith, Esq.;
† James Chaloner, Esq.;
Humphrey Edwards, Esq.;
Gregory Clement, Esq.;
John Pry.
Thomas Wogan.
Sir Gregory Norton,
Sergeant John Bradshaw,
Col. Edm. Harvey.
Col. John Venne, of London:
Thomas Scot.
Thomas Adams, Alderman of London.
William Cawley, Esq.;
Col. Anthony Stapely.
John Downs, Esq.;
Col. Thomas Horton.
Col. Thomas Hammond.
John Lillie, Esq.;
Nicholas Love, Esq.;
Vincent Potter.
Augustine Garland, Esq.;
John Davell, Esq.;
Col. George Fretwood, Com. Buck.
Simon Main, Esq.;
Col. James Temple.
Col. Peter Temple.
Daniel Blagrove, Esq.;
Col. Thomas Wayte.

Sergeant Dandy the Younger, Sergeant at Arms.
Daniel Broughton, John Phillips.
Walford
Radly
Paine
Powel
Hall
Mr. King, Crier of the Crown.

The Court being thus sate and called over, the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel Haeker with Halberdeers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to his Chair within the Bar where he sat, and then the President Bradshaw said to the King.

Charles Stuart, King of England, The Commons of England assembled in Parliament being sensible of the great calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent blood shed (which are referred to you as the Author of it) according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and themselves, and according to that power and fundamental right repos'd in them by the People, have considered this High Court of Justice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge, upon which the Court will proceed.

Solicitor Coek, My Lord, in behalf of the Commons of England, and of all the people thereof, I do accuse Charles Stuart here present of High Treason, and Misdemeanors, and I do in the name of the Commons of England desire the Charge may be read unto him.
The King. Hold a little.
The President. Sit the Court commands the Charge to be read, afterward you may be heard.
The Charge was read as followeth,

That the said Charles Stuart, being admitted the Charge of England, and therein trusted with a free, united Power to Govern by, and according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Treas, Oaths, and Office, being obliged to use the power committed to him, for the good and benefit of the people, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties, yet nevertheless one of a wicked design to erect and uphold in himself an unlimited and Tyrannical power, to rule according to his will, and to overturn the Rights and Liberties of the people; and to take away, and make void the foundations thereof, and of all rights and remedies of mis-Government, which by the Fundamental Constitutions of this Kingdom were refered on the people's behalf, in the right and power of frequent and successive Parliament or National Meetings in Council, He, the said Charles Stuart, for accomplishment of such his design, and for the professing of himself and his adherents, in his and their wicked praisethes, to the same end hath Traitorously and maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the people therein Represented.

Particularly, upon or about the thirtieth day of June, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and two, at Beverly in the County of York; and upon or about the thirtieth day of July in the year aforesaid, in the County of the City
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1648. of York; and upon, or about the twenty fourth day of August in the same year, at the County of the Town of Nottingham, (when, and where he set up his Standard of War,) and also on, or about the twenty third day of October, in the same year, at Edgehill, and Kenning-field, in the County of Warwick; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of November in the same year, at Brainford in the County of Middlesex; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of August, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and three, at Cavenham-Bridge near Redding in the County of Berks; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of October in the year last mentioned, as near the City of Gloucester; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbury in the County of Berks; and upon, or about the one and thirtieth day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and four, at Cropredy-Bridge, in the County of Oxon; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of September, in the year last mentioned, at Bodmin, and other places near adjacent, in the County of Cornwall; and upon, or about the thirtieth day of November, in the year last mentioned, at Newbury aforesaid; and upon, or about the eighth day of June, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and five, at the Town of Leicester; and also upon the fourteenth day of the same month, at Naseby-field, in the County of Northampton, at several places and places, and that of them; and at many other places in this Land, at several other times within the years aforesaid, and in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred forty and five, in the said County of Lincoln, both caused and procured many thousands of the Free-people of the Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties, and Inforrailions, within this Land, by Invitations from Fortin parts, encouraged and procured by him, and by many other evil ways, and means: He, the said Charles Stuart, hath not only maintaine and carried on the said War both by Land and Sea, during the years before mentioned, but also taken, and caused to be removed, the said War, against the Parliament, and good people of this Nation, in this present year, One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the Counties of Kent, Essex, Surrey, Suffolke, Middlesex, and many other Counties and places in England & Wales, as also by Sea, and particularly, He, the said Charles Stuart, hath for that purpose given Commissions to his Son the Prince, and others, whereby besides multitudes of other persons, many such, as were by the Parliament intrusted and employed for the safety of the Nation, being by him or by Agents corrupted, to the betraying of their trust, and resulting from the Parliament, have had entertainment and Commissions, for the continuing and renewing of War and Hostility, against the said Parliament and people, as aforesaid. By which cruel and unnatural Wars, by him, the said Charles Stuart, levied, continued, and renewed, as aforesaid, much Innocent Blood of the Free-people of this Nation hath been shed, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasury wasted and exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably decayed, vast expense and damage to the Nation incurred, and many parts of the Land spoiled, some of them torn to desolation.

And for further profession of his said evil designs, He, the said Charles Stuart, doth still continue his Commissions to the said Prince and other Rebels and Revolters, both English and Foreigners, and to the Earl of Ormond, and to the Irish Rebels and Revolters, associated with him, from whom further Invasions upon this Land are threatened, and the procurement upon the behalf of the said Charles Stuart.

All which wicked designs of Wars, and evil practices of him the said Charles Stuart have been, and are carried on, for the advancing and building up of the personal interest of will and power, and pretended Pretexts to himself, and his Family, against the publick Interest, common Rights, Liberty, Justice, and peace of the people of this Nation, by, and for whom He was intrusted, as aforesaid.

By all which it appears, That He, the said Charles Stuart hath been, and is the Occupant, Author, and Contriver of the said unnatural, cruel, and bloody Wars, and therein guilty of the Treasons, Murthers, Rapes, Burnings, Spites, Distortions, Damage and Mischief to this Nation, and or committed in the said Wars, or occasioned thereby. And the said John Cook, by proclamation (saying to himself on the behalf of the people of England, the liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter any other Charge against the said Charles Stuart, and also of replying to the Answer which the said Charles Stuart shall make to the premises, or any of them, or any other charge that shall be to exhibited) doth for the said Treason and other crimes on the behalf of the said people of England, impeach the said Charles Stuart, as a Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and a publick and impolite Enemy to the Commonwealth of England: and pray, That the said Charles Stuart, King of England, may be put to Answer all and every the premises, and such proceedings, Examination, Trial, Sentence, and Judgment may be therefore had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

The King limited often during the reading of the Charge, especially at these words: Tyrant, Traitor, Murderer, and publick Enemy of the Commonwealth.

President, Sir, You have now heard your Charge, You find that in the clofe of it, it is prayed to the Court in behalf of the Commons of England, that you answer to your Charge, which the Court expects.

King, I would know by what power I am called bither; I was not long ago in the Isle of Wight, but I came there is a longer story than I think fit at this time for me to speak: But there I entered into a Treaty with both Houses of Parliament, with as much faith as is possible to be had of any people in the World: I Treated there with a number of Honorable Lords and Gentlemen, and I treated boldly and uprightly; I cannot say, but that they did very nobly with Me, We were upon a conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know by what lawful Authority (there are many unlawful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the High-way) I was brought from thence, and carried from place to place, (and I know not what) and when I know by what lawful Authority, I shall answer.
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Remember I am your King, your lawful King, and what fin you bring upon your own heads, and the Judgement of God upon this Land, think well upon it, think well upon it I say, before you go on from one sin to a greater, therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seized here, and I shall not be unwilling to Answer. In the mean time, I shall not betray my Trust: I have a Trust committed to me by God, by old and lawful defect; I will not betray it to Answer so a new unlawful Authority.

Bradshaw. If you had been pleased to have observed what was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming hither, you would have known by what Authority: which Authority requires you in the name of the people of England, of whom you are Elected King, to answer them.

King. I deny that.

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of the Court, they must proceed.

King. I do tell them so, England was never an Elective Kingdom, but an Hereditary Kingdom for these thousand years: Therefore let me know by what lawful Authority I am called hither, I do stand more for the Liberty of my People than any here that come to be my pretended Judges; and therefore let me know by what lawful Authority, and I will answer, otherwise I will not Answer.

Bradshaw. Sir, How really you have managed your Trust, is known; your way of answer is to interrogate the Court, which becometh not you in this Condition, you have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. Here is Lieutenant Colonel Cobbett, ask him, if he did not bring me from the Isle of Wight by force: I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will stand as much for the privilege of the Houses of Commons rightly understood, as any man here whatsoever; I see no House of Lords here that may constitute a Parliament, and (the King too) should have been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament? Is this the bringing an end to the Treaty on the publick Faith? Let me see a lawful Authority warranted by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the constitutions of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Trust, nor the Liberties of the People; I am sworn to keep the Peace by that duty I owe to God and my Country, and I will do it to the left breach in my Body. As it is a sin to withstand lawful Authority, so is it to submit to a Tyrannical, or any otherwise an unlawful Authority.

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till Monday next: We are satisfied with our Authority that are your Judges, and it is upon Gods Authority and the Kingdoms; and that peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that's our present work. So the Court adjourned, and the King was conducted back: They had to contriv'd it, that divers schismatical Soldiers and fellows were placed about the Court, to cry Justice, Justice, when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of people would have blessed to the same tune, but they (almost all) cryed God bless him, and were (some of them) well cudgelled by the Soldiers for not reviling and exclaiming after the mode of the Army; yet the Court took no notice hereof: so far was his Majesty already fore-judged and condemned to sufferings.

Monday, January the 25 th. The King was brought again to his Tryal.

Solicitor Cook. May it please your Lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the Commons, of his of England, exhibite, and give into this Court a Mapply, Charge of High Treason, and other high Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, where I do accuse him in the name of the people of England, and the Charge was read unto him, and his Answer required: My Lord, He was not then pleased to give an Answer, but instead of Answering, did dispute the Authority of this High Court: My humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the Kingdom of England is, That the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession, or Negation, which, if he shall refuse to do, That the matter of Charge may be taken pro confesso, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

Bradshaw. Sir, You may remember, at the last Court you were told the occasion of your being brought hither, and you heard a Charge read against you, &c. You heard likewise what was prayed in behalf of the people, that you should give your Answer, to the Charge: You were then pleased to make some scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and said, you knew not by what Authority you were brought hither; you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often Answered, That it was by Authority of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account for those High and Capital Misdemeanors, withwherewith you were then Charged. Since that the Court hath taken into consideration what you then said, they are fully satisfied with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied therewith too; And they do require that you do give a positive and particular Answer to this Charge exhibited against you: they expect you should either confesse or deny; if you do deny, it is offered in the behalf of the Kingdom to be made good against you: Their Authority they do now to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied therein, and you are to rest satisfied in it; and therefore you are to give a positive Answer.

King. When I was here last, 'tis true, I made 4th that Quizzon, and truly, if it were only my own particular cafe, I would have satisfied my self with the Protection I made here the last time, against the Legality of this Court, and that a King cannot be tried by any Superior Jurisdiction upon earth; but it is not my case. I am the sole authority and the liberties of the people of England, and (do you pretend what you will,) I stand more for their Liberties than you; for if power without Law may make Laws, and may alter the fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what subject he is in England that can be free of his life, or any thing that he calls his own; therefore, when I came hither, I did expect particular Reasons to know by what Law, what Authority, you proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to feek
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1648. "Seek what to say to you in this particular, be- cause the Affirmative is to be proved, the Neg- gative (often) is very hard to do; I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can. All proceed- ings against any man whatsoever.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you, what you do, is not agreeable to the proceedings of any Court of Justice: You are about to enter into argu- ment and dispute concerning the Authority of this Court before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as a High Delinquent; you may not dispute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to submit to it, &c.

King. Under favour, I do plead for the liberty of the people of England more than you do; and therefore if I should impede a belief upon any man with- out Reasons given, it were unreasonable.

Bradshaw. Sir, I must interrupt you: you may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, and there is both against you; Sir, the Vote of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament, is the reason of the Kingdom, and they are those that have given that Law, according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned; Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in contempt of the Court, and your contempt will be recorded ac- cordingly.

King. I do not know how a King can be a Delin- quent, but by all that I ever heard, all men may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings, as I negled it, and I do demand that, if you deny that, you deny Reason.

Bradshaw. Sir, Neither you, nor any man are permitted to dispute that point, you are conclud- ed; You may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they over-rule your Demurrer, they fit here by the Au- thority of the Commons of England, and all your Predecessors and You, are responsible to them.

King. I deny that, show me one President.

Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, this point is not to be debated by you; if you offer it by way of De- murrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do af- firm their own Jurisdiction.

King. I say Sir, by your favour, That the Commons of England were never Court of Jurisdi- cature, I would know how they came to be so?

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that speech, and their discontents. Then the Clerk of the Court read as follow- ebd.

Charles Stuart, King of England, you have been accused in the behalf of the people of Eng- land of High Treason, and other high Crimes, the Court hath determined that you ought to an- swer the fame.

King. I will answer the same so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.

Bradshaw. If this be all you will say, then Gentlemen, you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. I do require that I may give my Reasons why I did not answer, and give them time for that. Bradshaw. Sir, It is not for Prisoners to re- quire.

King. Prisoner. Sir, I am not an ordinary prisoner.

Bradshaw. The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction, if you will not answer, we shall give Order to record your fault.

King. You never heard my Reasons yet.

Bradshaw. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the highest Jurisdiction.

King. Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.

Bradshaw. Sir, we shew you it here, the Com- mons of England, and the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasures of the Court, and it may be their final determina- tion.

King. Shew me where over the House of Com- mons was a Court of Jurisdiction of that kind.

Bradshaw. Sergeant, take away the Prisoner.

King. Well Sir, Remember that the King is not suffered to give in his Reasons for the liberty and freedom of all his Subjects. Bradshaw. Sir, You are not to have liberty to use this Language, how great a friend you have been to the Laws and Liberties of the people, let all England, and the world judge.

King. Sir, Under favour, it was the Liberty, Freedom, and Laws of the Subject that ever I took, I defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the people, but for the Laws. Bradshaw. Sir, the command of the Court must be obeyed, no Answer will be given to the Charge, so the King was guarded forth to Sir Robert Constable, and the Court adjourned to the Painted-Chamber, Tuesday twelve a Clock.

Tuesday, January 23. The Court sat again, seventy three Commissioners of those before na- med were present.

The King brought into the Court, set down.

Solicitor Cook. "May it please your Lordship, my Lord President, This is now the third time of that by the great grace and favour of the Court, the Prisoner hath been brought to the Bar, be- fore any Issue joined in this cause. My Lord, I did at the first Court exhibit a charge against him, containing the highest Treason that ever was wrought on the Theater of England, That the King of England, and trusted to keep the Law, that had taken an Oath to do, that had Trib- ute paid him for that end, should be guilty of a wicked design to subvert and destroy our Laws, and introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Go- vernment, and in defiance of the Parliament and their Authority, set up his Standard for War against the Parliament and People; And I did Humbly pray in behalf of the people of England, That he may speedily be required to make an Answer to the charge; But, my Lord, instead of making any answer, he did then dis- pone the Authority of this High Court, your Lordship was pleased to give him a further day to put in his Answer, which day being yester- day, I did humbly move, That he might be re- quired to give a direct and positive Answer ei- ther.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

1648. "ther by denying, or confessing of it: But, my Lord, he was pleased to demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, which the Court did then over-rule, and command him to give a direct and positive Answer: My Lord, besides this great delay of Justice, I shall now humbly move your Lordship for speedy Judgment against me: I might desire your Lordship upon the whole, That according to the known rules of the Laws of the Land, if a Prisoner shall stand contumacious in contempt, and shall not put in an answer, guilty or not guilty of the charge given against him, whereby he may come to trial, that by an implicit confession it may be taken pro confesso, as it hath been done to those who have deferred more favour than the Prisoner at the Barr hath done. But besides, my Lord, I shall humbly press your Lordship upon the whole fact, That the House of Commons, the Supreme Authority and Judicid of the Kingdom, they have declared, That it is notorious, that the matter of the charge is true, as it is in truth, my Lord, as clear as crystal, and as the Sun that shines at noon, The Court, which your Lordship and the Court be not satisfied in, I have now rending in the peoples behalf, several Writs to produce, and therefore I do humbly pray, and yet I confess it is not so much, as I, the innocent Blood as hath been shed: (the cry whereof is very great,) for Justice and Judgment: and therefore I do humbly pray, that speedy Judgment be pronounced against the Prisoner at the Barr.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard what is moved by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom against you, you were told over and over again, That it was not for you, or any other man to dispute the Jurisdiction of the Supreme and Highest Authority of England, from which there is no Appeal, and touching which there must be no dispute: yet you did persist in such carriage, as shews you have no manner of obedience, nor did you acknowledge any Authority in them, nor the high Court that constituted this High Court of Justice; Sir, I must let you know from the Council, that they are very sensible of these delays of yours, and that they ought not (being thus authorized by the Supreme Court of England) to be thus trifled with, and that they might in Justice, and according to the Rules of Justice, take advantage by these delays, and proceed to pronounce Judgment against you, yet nevertheless they are pleased to give direction, and on their behalf, I do require you, that you make a positive Answer unto this charge that is against you, in plain terms, (for Justice knows no respect of persons) you are to give your positive and final Answer in plain English, whether you be guilty or not guilty of these Treasons laid to your charge.

King. When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the people of England, I was interrupted, I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have had the resolution of the Court upon the like Question the last day, and you were told, that having such a charge of so high a nature against you, your work was, that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of the Court, and to answer to your charge, when you have once answered, you shall be heard at large, make the best defence you can. But Sir, I must let you know from the Court (as their commands) That you are not to be permitted to fall out into any other discourses, till such time as you have given a positive answer concerning the matter charged upon you.

King. For the Charge I value it not a rush, it is the Liberty of the people of England that I stand for, to me to acknowledge a new Court that I never heard of before, I that am your King, that should be an example to all the people of England, to uphold Justice, to maintain the old Laws, indeed, I do not know how to do it: you poke well the first day that I came here, (on Saturday,) of the Obligations that I had laid upon me by God, to the maintenance of the Liberty of my people; the same Obligation you spoke of, I do acknowledge to God, that I owe to him, and to my people, to defend as much as I may, the ancient Laws of the Kingdom, therefore until that I may know that this is not against the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I cannot in particular Answer; if you will give me time, I will shew you my Reasons, this— Here the King was interrupted.

Here being interrupted, The King said again, by your favour, you ought not to interrupt me: How came I here, I know not, there's no Law for it to make your King your Prisoner; I was in a Treaty upon the publick Faith of the Kingdom, made to me by the two Houses of Parliament, that was the Representation of the Kingdom, and I had almost made an end of the Treaty when I was hurried away, and brought hither, and therefore ——

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour, Sir.

Bradshaw. Nay Sir, by your favour, you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; You appear as a Delinquent, You have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answers, Clerk, do your Duty.

King. Duly Sir!

The Clerk then reads:

"Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high crimes and Treasons, which charge hath been read unto you; The Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of confession or denial of the charge.

King. Sir, I say again to you, so that I may give satisfaction to the people of England of the clearness of my proceedings, not by way of answer, not in this way, but to satisfy them that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it, but to acknowledge a new Court against their Privileges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, Sir, you must excuse me.

Bradshaw. This is the third time that you have publicly disavowed this Court, and put an end upon it, how far you have preserved the Privileges of the people, your actions have spoken; but truly Sir, mean intentions ought to be known.
The Reign of King Charles the First.

known by their actions, you have written your meaning in bloody characters throughout the whole Kingdom: But Sir, you understand the pleasure of the Court; Clerk, Record the default, and Gentlemen, you that took charge of the Prisoner take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourned to the Painted-Chamber, the Cryer (as at other times) crying, God bless the Kingdom of England.

Saturday, 27th January 1648. The Court sat again in Westminster-Hall, the President was in his Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners anwiered to their Names; the King came in, in his wondrou posture with his Hat on, a company of Souliards and seditionous persons were placed about the Court to cry for Justice, Judgment, and Execution; the people not daring to cry, God bless Him, for fear of being again beaten by the Souliards.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, It is well known to all most of you here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convicted and brought before this Court to make answer to a Charge of High Treason, and other Crimes which are alleged against him, in the name of the People of England, in which Charge being required to Answer, He hath been so far from obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their justice, as he began to take upon him Reasoning, and debated unto the Authority of the Court, and the High Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him; but being overruled in that, and required to make his Answer, He still continued continuations, and refused to submit to answer. Hereupon the Court (that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the truth repos'd in them, nor any man's willful prevent Justice) they have considered of the Charge and of the continuance, and of that confession which in Law disturb'd on that continuance; they have likewise considered the necessity of the Case, charg'd upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against him, but in respect he dare not attend the same, to be read, and pronounced, the Court hath refused to hear him. Yet Sir, thus much I must tell you beforehand (which you have been minded of at other Courts) that if that which you have to say be to offer any debate concerning the Jurdisdiction, You are not to be heard in it; you have offered it formerly, and you have struck at the Root, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of England, which this Court will not admit a debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that All upon Authority deriv'd from them. But Sir, if you have any thing to say in defence of your self concerning the matter charg'd, the Court shall give me in Commands to hear you.

King. Since I see that you will not hear any thing of debate, concerning that which I confest I thought most material for the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Liberty of the Subject; I shall waive it, but only I must tell you, that this many a day all things have been taken away from me, but that I call dearer to me than my life, which is my Conscience and mine Honour: And if I had a respect of my life, more than the Peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should have made a particular defence for my life, for by that, at least, I might have delayed an ugly Sentence, which I believe will pass upon me; therefore certainly Sir, as a man that hath some understanding, some knowledge of the world (if that true zeal to my Country had not overborne the care that I have for my own preservation) I should have gone another way to work than that I have done. Now Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once past may sooner be repented of, than recalled; and truly, the self same defire that I have for the peace of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than my own particular ends, makes me now at last desire, that I having something to say that concerns both, I desire before Sentence be given, that I may be heard in the Painted-Chamber before the Lords and Commons, this delay cannot be prejudicial to you; whatsoever I say, if that I say be no reason, thofe that hear me must be Judges, I cannot be Judge of that that I have to say. If it be reason, and really, for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it's very well worth the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you love that which you pretend (I hope it's real) the Liberty of the Subject, and peace of the Kingdom, that you will grant me this hearing before any Sentence past; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest that your fair laws of Liberty and Peace are pure fowls, and that you will not hear your King.

The President said, This was a deciding the Jurisdiction of the Courts and delay; yet the Court withdrew for half an hour, advised upon it, and fat again.

Bradshaw said to the King, That the Courts had considered what be had sav'd and also their own Authority.

The return from the Court, said he, is this. That they have been too much delay'd by you already, and they are Judges appointed by the High Authority, and Judges are no more to delay, than they are to do justice, and may preside upon the matter that you have offered, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgment; that is their unanimous resolution.

The King presied again and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted-Chamber, with great earnestness, and was as often denied by Bradshaw: at last, the King desired that this motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, much aggravating the Kings offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose. When Bradshaw had done speaking, Broughton the Clerk read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment to this effect.

"That whereas the Commons of England in the Session that preceded against his Majesty.

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After the sentence read, the President said, This Sentence now read and published, is the Act of Sentence, Judgement, and Repository of the whole Court. Here the whole Court stood up, as attending to what the President said:

King. Will you bear me a word, Sir?

Sir. You are not to be heard after the Sentence.

King. No Sir?

Sir. No Sir, by your favour, Sir, Guard, withdraw your Prisoner.

The King not being admitted to reply, was taken by his Guards to Sir Robert Cotton's House, and the Court rose; as he passed down the stairs the Soldiers scoffed at him, and cast the smock of their Tobacco (a thing very infective to him) in his face, and stove the pipes in his way, and one more insolent than the rest, spit in his face, which he in great patience took with more notice of, than to wipe the spittle away; and as he passed further, hearing some of them, by the intervention of their Officers cry out unjust, injustice, and Execution, he said, Alias poor Sons, for a piece of money, they would do so for their Commanders.

The Court after the Judgment given, went into the Painted-Chamber, and appointed Sir Har- dres's, Water, Arvon, Harrison, Dean, and Okey, to be a Committee to consider of the time and place for the Execution; The King hearing thereof, requested an Officer of the Army to go to them, to denote that he might see his Children before his death, and that Dr. Fox, the Bishop of London, might be admitted to assist him in his private Devotion, and receiving the Sacrament, both which were granted to him upon a motion to the Parliament.

The King at his Trial, (as you have read,) refused earnestly to have his Reasons heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was often denied, but that the weight of them may not be suppur't for a further manifestation of the impurity of his unjust Judges, we shall here infer them, faithfully transcribed out of the Original Copy under the Kings own hand.

Having already made my Protestations not only against the illegality of this pretended Court, but also that no earthly Power can justly call me (who am your King) in Question as a Delinquent, I would not any more open my mouth upon this occasion more than to refer my felt to what I have spoken, were I alone in this case concerned; But the Duty I owe to God in the preservation of the true Liberty of my people, will not suffer me at this time to be silent: for,

how can any Free-born Subject of England call life, or any thing he possest his own, if Power without right daily makest new, and abrogate the old Fundamental Law of the Land, which I now take to be the present Case; Wherefore when I came hither, I expected that you would have endeavoured to have satisfied me concerning these grounds, which hinder me to answer to your pretended Impeachment; but since I see that nothing I can say will move you to it (though Negatives are not so naturally proved as Affirmatives) yet I will shew you the Reason why I am confident you cannot Judge me, nor indeed the meanest man in England, for I will not (like you) without throwing a Reaion, seek to impose a Belief upon my Subjects.

There is no proceeding just against any man but what is warranted either by God's Laws, or the Municipal Laws of the Country where he lives. Now, I am most confident, that this days proceeding cannot be warranted by God's Law, for on the contrary, the Authority of obedience unto Kings, is clearly warranted, and finitely commanded both in the Old and New Testament, which if denied, I am ready instantly to prove, and for the Question now in hand, there it is said, That where the word of a King is, there is power, and who can refuse him, habit deofl ibon, Eccle. 8, 4. Then for the Laws of the Land, I am no less confident, that no learned Lawyer will affirm that an Impeachment can be brought against the King, they all going in his Name; and one of their Maxims is, That the King can do no Wrong. Besides the Law, upon which you ground your proceedings, must either be old or new; if old, then it; if new, tell what Authority warranted by the Fundamental Laws of the Land hath made it, and when; but how the House of Commons can elect a Court of Judicature, which was never one itself (as is well known to all Lawyers) I leave to God and the world to judge: And it were full as strange that they should pretend to make Laws without King or Lords Houfe, to any that have heard, speak of the Laws of England. And admitting, but not granting, that the People of England Commination could grant your pretended power, I see nothing you can shew for that; for certainly you never asked the Question of the tenth man of the Kingdom, and in this way you manifestly wrong even the poorest Plowman, if you demand not his free consent, nor can you pretend any colour for this pretended Commination, without the consent at least of the major part of every man in England, of whatsoever quality or condition, which I am sure, you never went about to seek, so far are you from having it. Thus you see, that I speak not for my own right alone, as I am your King, but also for the true liberty of all my Subjects, which consigns, not in sharing the power of Government, but living under such Laws, and such Government as may give themselves the best assurance of their Lives and property of their Goods. Nor in this midst, or do I forget the Privileges of both Houses of Parliament, which this days proceedings doth not only violate, but likewise occasion the greatest breach of their publick Faith (I believe) that ever was heard of, with which I am far from charging the two Houses, for all the pre- tended
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1648.

Tended Crimes laid against Me, bear date long before this late Treaty at Nonsport, in which I having concluded as much as in Me lay, and hopefully expecting the two Houses' agreement thereunto, I was suddenly surpris'd, and hurried from thence as a Prisoner, upon which account I am against my will brought hither, where since I am come, I cannot but to my power defend the antient Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, together with my own just right; But for anything I can fee, the higher House is totally excluded.

And for the House of Commons, it is too well known, that the major part of them are detained or deterred from sitting, so as if I had no other, this were sufficient for me to protest against the lawfulness of your pretended Court.

Besides all this, the peace of the Kingdom is not the least in my thoughts, and what hopes of settlement is there so long as Power reigns without due cause of Law, changing the whole frame of that Government under which this Kingdom hath flourished for many hundred years (nor will I say what will fall out in case this lawless, unjust proceeding against Me do go on) and believe it, the Commons of England will not thank you for this Change; for they will remember how happy they have been of late years under the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, the King my Father and my Self, until the beginning of these unhappy troubles, and will have cause to doubt, that they shall never be so happy under any new. And by this time it will be too sensibly evident, that the Arms I took up, were only to defend the fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, against those who have tupped my power hath totally changed the antient Government.

Thus, having shewed you briefly the Reasons why I cannot submit to your pretended Authority without violating the truth which I have from God, for the welfare and liberty of my people. I expect from you either clear reasons to convince my Judgement, (heewing that I am in an error, (and then truly I will readily answer) or that you will withdraw your proceedings.

The report from the persons before named to consider of the me and place of the executing the sentence against the King, was on Monday the 39th of January delivered in the Painted Chamber, to the Commissioners then present, in these words, That it is the opinion of the Committee, that the open Street before White-Hall is a fit place, and that the King be there executed to morrow.

The Court approved of this Report, and ordered a Warrant to be drawn for that purpose, which was presently ingrossed, and Sigh'd and Seal'd by all the Commissioners present, in these words, (sic.)

At the High Court of Justice for Trying and Judging Charles Stuart King of England, January the 29th, 1648.

Whereas Charles Stuart King of England is, and daintely Convicted, Attainted, and Condemned of High Treason, and other high Crimes, and Sentence upon Saturday last was pronounced against him by this Court to be put to death by severing his head from his body, upon which Sentence, Execution yet remains to be done. These are therefore to will and require you, to see the said Sentence executed in the open Street before White-Hall, upon the morrow being the 30th day of this instant month of January, between the hours of ten in the morning, and five of the afternoon of the same day, with full effect, and for your so doing, this shall be your sufficient Warrant, and these are to require all Officers and Soldiers, and other the good people of this Nation of England to be affisting unto you in this service: Given under our Hands and Seals, &c.


This was signed and sealed by all the Commissioners whose names are herebefore expressed, except such of them who are mark'd with this note. (§)

But of those that signed and seal'd the Warrant, it must be remembered, That Colonel Richard Inglis or's hand and seal was against his consent put to it by Oliver Cromwell, but his early withdrawing of the fact, and his active and successful endeavours for the restoration of King Charles the Second to his Crown and Kingdoms, notably obtained his pardon, but the Kings favour with it, and the Dignity of Knight of the Bath, which was content'd on him at the ensuing Coronation.

Colonel John Hutchinson also for his conjunction with General Monk to reduce this Kingdom to its antient Government, and his hearty repentance for what he had in doing contented to and acting in this impious sentence, obtained his pardon for it.

The same day that the Warrant was signed and sealed, the Duke of Gloucester and the Lady Elizabeth were brought to the King, whom he most joyfully received, and giving his blessing to the Prince, He bid her remember to tell her Brother James, when ever he should see him, but he should take no more upon Charles as his elder Brother only, but be obedient to him as his Sovereign: And that they should love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies; And then said unto her, Sweet-heart, you will forget this, No, said she, I shall never forget, while I live, and pouring forth a-bundance of tears, promised him to write down the particulars.

Then the King taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, said, Sweet-heart, Now they will cut off thy Father's head, (upon which words the Child looked very wistfully on him;) mark Child what I say, They will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King: But mark what I say, you must not be a King so long as your Brother Charles and James are alive, for they will cut off your Brothers Heads, when they can catch them, and cut thy Head off too at last, and therefore, I charge you, do not be a King by them. At which the Child, sighing, said, I will turn in pieces first, which falling to unexpectedly from one so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

Another Relation from the Lady Elizabeth's own Hand.

What the King said to me the 29th of January last.
Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the long Gallery in Whitehall, where he used formerly to lodge. There finding an un-expected delay in being brought upon the Scaffold, which they had begun but that morning, He pull the mot of that time (having received a Letter from the Prince in the interim by Mr. Seymour) in Prayer.

About 12 a Clock, his Majesty (refusing to Dine) eat only a bit of Bread, and drank a glass of Claret, and about an hour after, Colonel Hacket with other Officers and Soldiers, brought him with the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson through the Banqueting-House to the Scaffold, where the pavement was made through a Window. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot were placed on all sides, which hindered the near approach of his miserable and distressed Subjects, (who for manifesting their sorrow, were most barbarously used) and the King from speaking what he had designed for their ears: Whereupon finding himself disappointed, he omitted much of his intended matter, but having viewed the Scaffold (which had Irons driven in it to force him down to that Block by Ropes, if that he should have refrited) and the Axe (of whose edge he was very careful, having minded (one present) of touching it with his Cloak).

Being upon the Scaffold, he looked very earnestly upon the Block, and asked Colonel Hacket if it could be no higher; and then spoke thus, (directing his Speech chiefly to the Bishop and Colonel Tomlinson.)

I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall therefore speak a word to you here. Indeed no body could have held my peace very well, if I did not hold think that holding my peace, would make some men think, that I did submit to the Guilt, as well as to the punishment. But I think it is my duty to God first, and then to my Country, to clear my self both as an honest man, a good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first with my Innocences, and in truth, I think it is not very needful for me to insist long upon this; For all the world knows that I did never begin a War with the two Houses of Parliament, and I call God to witness, unto whom I most freely make an accounts that I did never intend to intrude upon their Privileggs: They began upon me, it is the Miltia they begun upon: They confessed the Militia was mines, but they thought it fit to bestow it from me. And so be theirs, if any body will take to the Date of Commissions of their Commissions and mine, and likewise to the Declaration, he will see clearly that they began these unhappy Troubles, not I. So as for the guilt of these enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope that God will clear me. I will not (for I am in charity) and God forbid that I should lay it upon the two Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either, I hope they are free of this Guilt, but I believe that ill Infirmities between them and me, have been the cause of all this Blood-shed, so that as I find my self clear of this, I hope (and pray God) that they may too, yet for all this God forbid I should be so ill a Christian, as not to say God's judgments are just upon me: Many times he dealeth justly by an unjust Sentence, that is ordinary: I will say this, That unjust Sentence that

On Tuesday the 30th of January, which was the fatal day on which the King was put to death. The Bishop of London did in the morning read Divine Service in his presence; to which duty the 27th. Chapter of St. Matthew being the History of our Saviour's Passion, was appointed by the Church Calendar for the second Lesson: but he supposing it to have been selected on purpose, thanked him afterwards for his seasonable choice. But the Bishop modestly declining those undue thanks, told him that it came by course to be read on that day, which very much comforted his Majesty, who proceeded to the remaining duties of receiving from the Bishop the Holy Sacrament, and the other preparations for his approaching passion.

His Devotions being ended, about ten a clock he was brought from St. James's to Whitehall by a Regiment of Foot, with Colours flying, and Drums beating (through the Park) pait marching before, and part behind, with a private Guard of Guards about him, the Bishop on the one hand, and Colonel Tomlinson (who had the charge of him) on the other bare-headed. The Guards marching a close pace, as on a solemn and sad occasion to their ill-tuned Drums, He bid them go faster, (as his usual manner of walking was) saying, This he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with its followers than be had often encouraged his Soldiers to fight for an Earthly Diadem.
I suffered to take effect, is punished by an unjust Sentence upon me: so far I have said, to them you that I am an innocent man. Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I hope there is a good man that will bear me witness that I have forgiven the world, and every particular that has been the chief cares of my death, who they are God knows. I do not desire to know, I pray God forgive them. But this is not all, my charity must go farther; I wish that they may repent; for indeed they have committed a great sin in that particular, I pray God with St. Stephen, that this be not laid to their charge: and wishal, that they may take the way to the peace of the Kingdom, for my charity commands me, not only to forgive particular men, but to endeavour to the last gap, the peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do wish with this one to write.

Then speaking to the Executioner, he said, I shall say but very short prayers, and when I thrust out my hands — let that be your sign.

Then he called to the Bishop for his Night-Cap, and having put it on, he said to the Executioner, does my Hair trouble you; who defined him to put it all under his Cap, which the King did accordingly by the help of the Executioner and the Bishop: Then the King turning to the Bishop said, I have a good Coach and a gratious God on my side.

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage is turbulent and troublesome, it is a short one but you may consider it will soon carry you a very great way, it will carry you from Earth to Heaven: and there you will find a great deal of cordial joy and comfort.

King. I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the world.

Bishop. You are exchanged from a Temporary to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

The King then said to the Executioner, Is my Hairwell, and took of his Cloak and his George, giving his George, to the Bishop, saying, Remember.

Then he put off his Doubtlet, and being in his Waist-Coat, he put his Cloak on again; then looking upon the Block; he said to the Executioner, You must set it fast.

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. When I put my hands on this way, stretching them out, — Do your work.

After it was said thus two or three words (as he stood) to himself, with hands and eyes lift up, immediately fooping down, he laid his neck upon the Block: and then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King (thinking he had been going to strike) said, Stay for the sign.

Executioner. Yes, I will, and it please your Majesty: And after a very little pause, the King stretching forth his hands, the Executioner at one blow severed his Head from his Body; The Head being off, the Executioner held it up, and shew ed it to the people, which done, it was with the Body put in a Coffin covered with black Velvet for that purpose, and conveyed into his Lodgings at White-Hall; and from thence it was carried to his House at St. James's, where his Body was embalmed and put in a Coffin of Lead, and laid there a fortnight to be seen by the people: And on Wednesday seven-night after, his Corps embalmed and coffined in Lead, was delivered over to the Care of four of his Servants, viz. Master Herbert, Captain Anthony Midmay, his Servers, Captain Preston, and John
His sufferings were such, as nothing but their history at large can in any measure expressive; such was his fortune, that in the greatest of his prosperity and milley, he retained an equal temper of mind; and although his indulgence to his people induced him to confend to devest himself of some part of his Prerogative for his own time, to satisfy the caufeless jealousies of his Enemies, yet he would not consent to diminish the Regal power of his Successor, and in what concern'd Religion, where he believed his confidence unsatisfied, no humane consideration could alter him; His clemency was very trancendent, for although no King ever received more reproaches and indignities from seditious Subjects, he never was heard to revile any of them, but rather to pray for the conversion of the most, and commiserate such others whom the malitious arts of his Enemies had perverted.

In several Battails in our unnatural War, where the success was to his party, he always lamented his Victory, and never had any signal Conquest; but he used it rather to invite his Enemies to receive his mercy and pardon by offering treaties of accommodation, than by improving those advantages to their ruine, which lenity was imputed by many to him, as one of the main causes of his misfortunes.

In Council he was quick and discterning, but somewhat too deliberate in Execution, and though none of his Counsellors equal'd him in parts; yet was he to disdinet of his own judgement, that he frequently declined that to follow the advice of others (most commonly to the worse,) as was in two things remarkably observ'd; In being persuaded to silent to the Act for perpetuating his late Parliament, and to the Earl of Strafford's death; of the first indeed he never openly complained; because he did it to shew his confidence in his people, (though ungratefully deceived in it,) but of the later he often repented.

To his Dometicks he was more like a familiar Friend than a Mafter, but did so temper his affability with a Majesty of Port, that it begot in most of them a Reverence and Love; yet such was the ingratitude even of some of them, that they mingled and joyned in the Crueltie with the most violent of his Enemies. To conclude, though his death was horrid and ignominious, and acted in the most immense degree of annoyance, by a wicked, mean, and incomendable part of his people; never died Prince more lamented by the generality of them.

Of Men of Note in His Time.

The first fifteen years of his Reign (following the many years of Peace that went before in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth and King James,) gave small encouragement to Martial Men, yet many of the Kings Subjects of Spirits addicted thereto, lifted themselves in the Service of forein Princes and States, and gave flag nal proofs of their Courage; amongst which, Those of most remark that have come to our knowledge, we shall mention in this place. In this number, Sir Charles Morgan bred in the Wars of the States of the United Netherland against the Spaniards, deserves a famous Memory, who
1648, who being employed in Germany with six thousand English, more disquieted Count Thiby the Empe- tors General, than the King of Denmark could do with a far greater Army; Sir John Burroughs also at Cadiz, and the Isle of Rbs, perform'd Serv- ices never to be forgotten, and was a great Cap- tain, and Sir Simon Harcourt also in Ireland, as before in many other parts, gave such proof of his excellency in Arms, as made his a los much la- mented by all good men. In the Wars of Ger- many, The names of Rutin, Lefty, Fleetwood, Douglas and Hamilton, are recorded to Posterity. Lefty served to great Honour in the Emperors Court, and was made a Count of the Empire; But of all the others, Rutin only served in our unhappy Wars, and deservedly had the Title of Earl of Brainford and Forth conferred on him; Many others, Brave and Expert Commanders there were, whose Eminences appeared not, till the Kings Service called them to the defence of his Crown and Dignity; of all which, If we should here make mention, they would fill a Vo- lume. Those of most Note were, The Marqueis of Montrosi, the Earls of Lindsey, Rochester and Carnarvon; the Lords, Jacob Ashley, Arthur Capel, George Goring, and Ralph Hipping; Sir Henry Gage, Sir Richard Greene, Sir Charles Lucas, and Sir George Lisle, and Major General Harveys, each of which were able for Skill, Coun- rage, and Conduct, to Command Armies. We may name amongst thefe, The Earl of Strafford, from the little time of whole employment in War, great signs appeared of rising glory, and more had been, if an untimely and immured death had not 1648, crop'd his springing Lawrels.

The most famous men of Learning in his Time were of the Clergie, whereof Davenport Bishop of Salisbury, Andrews Bishop of Winchester, Morton Bishop of Durham, Laud Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, Hall Bishop of Norwich, Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, Riller Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and his Successor Bramhall; Sanders Bishop of Lincoln, Mr. Chillingworth of Trinity Collège in Oxford, and Dr. Hammond, one of the Canons of Christ Church in the fame Uni- versity; and Mr. Meth of Christ's Collège in Cambridges, and Mr. Hales of Eaton, are moft cele- brated; But others there were of great Learn- ing, as Lucius Lord Faulkland Secretary of State, a great Mafter of all sorts of Learning; Sir Edward Cook likewise that famous Common Law- yer, and Mr. John Selden of the fame Profession, a moft Renowned Antiquary, and Thomas Holy of Malmsbury, that Excellent Mathematician and Philosopher, all flourished in his Reign. Nor may we omit the Poets then famous, which excelld or equall'd all that went before and shall come after; such as were Mr. Benjamin John- son, Mr. Edmund Waller, Mr. The Care, St. John Suckling, Mr. Tho. Randolph, Mr. Thomas Care- wright, Mr. Abraham Cowley, and Sir William Davenant; The first whereof by his profound Learning and Judgement, fowed a Poet was to be as well made as born: And the later, though he wanted Learning, made as high and noble flights as fancy could advance without it.
King Charles the Second.

THE FIRST THIRTEEN YEARS

OF THE

REIGN

OF

King Charles the II.

1648.

King Charles the First being deprived of Life on the thirtieth of January One thousand six hundred forty and eight, in the manner before mentioned, his Eldest Son Prince Charles, by unquestionable Right succeeded to the Crowns of England, Scotland and Ireland, in the Eighteenth year of his Age. Proclamation and Coronation the usual Ceremonies attending Royal Succession could not now have their due course, nor are they in this Kingdom necessary circumstances of our Monarchy, nor by our Law (which admits of no Interregnum,) the Successor to the Crown has all the Rights thereof from the first moment after the death of his Predecessor. The Ruling part of the House of Commons who usurped the Government with violence on the Petition of the late King (as hath been related) knew they could not be secure if they refted there; so that immediately thereupon they published an Act even against Kinging Government itself, expressing therein:

That whereas several pretences might be made to this Crown, and Title to the Kingly Office set on foot, to the apparent hazard of the public Peace, be it enacted and ordained by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no person whatsoever do presume to Proclaim, declare, publish, or in any way promote Charles Stuart (Son of the late King Charles) commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other Person to be King, or Chief Magistrate of England or Ireland, or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the People in Parliament, first had and signified by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose, any Law, Statute, Wills, or Customs to the contrary notwithstanding, and whatsoever shall contrary to this Act Proclaims, &c. the said Charles Stuart, shall be deemed and adjudged a Traitor and suffer accordingly.

Yet this Inhibition did not deter many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty; and on the second of February this year, the following Proclamation was printed and scattered about the Streets of London.

We the Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Freeholders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Stewards, and other Freemen of England, do according to our Allegiance and Covenant at these presents, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and Proclaim the Illustrious Charles Prince of Wales, next Heir of the Blood Royal to his Father King Charles (above late wicked and Traitorsous Mother we do from our Souls abominate, and all parties and confessors thereof) to be by Hereditary Birthright, and lawful Succession, rightful, and undoubted King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging, and that we will faithfully, constantly, and sincerely in our several places and callings defend and maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity with our Estates, Lives, and just drop of our Bloods against all opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to be Traitors and Enemies to his Majesty and his Kingdoms. In testimony whereof we have caused these to be published and proclaimed throughout all Counties and Corporations of this Realm, the first day of February, in the first year of his Majesties Reign.

God save King Charles the Second.

Coronation which is the next Solemnity, the exclusion of the King by the malice of his Enemies made impossible at this time to be celebrated. The Army had been before modelled into...
ble to those designs of changing the Monarchy of England and Ireland to a Commonwealth (for neither this alteration, nor the death of the late King could have been effected without a Military assistance) which was first discovered when Colonel Pride seduced or terrified from sitting near two hundred of the Members of the Commons-House of Parliament, being those who had on the fifth of December before by Vote approved of the late Kings concessions for a Peace at the Isle of Wights, and those that remained after this violation complied so far with the Army herein, that after a first seeming dislike of their proceedings, they relented and decreed, never to re-admit them; and such others who had given their Negatives to the said concessions, were likewise Ordered not to sit in Parliament, till they had entered their dissent to them.

The Houfe of Peers continued yet sitting, and in regard the Commisions of the Judges were determined by the Kings death, they sent to the Commons for a Conference about that, and other matters relating to the settling of the Government, but they without returning an answer, declared the Kingly Office to be unnecessary and-barbarifm, and that the Lords Houfe was dan-gerous and uileful, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they might not be totally excluded from Government, they declared that they might be capable of Elections into the Houfe of Commons, of which afterward three of them only accepted; namely the Earls of Pembroke, and Salisbury, and the Lord Howard of Effricle, but the Peers in general very much restric- ted these indignities put upon them by a small part of the Houfe of Commons, and in a Protestation by them published in the name of all the Peers and Barons of the Realm.

"They affected their own Privileges, and the Fundamental Laws of the Nation, and dis-claimed and protected against all Acts, Votes, Orders, or Ordinances of the said Members of the Commons-House, for erecting of new Courts of Justice, to try or execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of this Realm, for altering the Government, Laws, great Seal, Ancient forms of Writs, or legal Processe, raising new Forces, and imposing new Taxes, or Oaths, granting Commissions, or making Officers, as likewise against the Traitorous Murthering of the late King, and the dis-inheriting of his Son the Prince of Wales, and particularly against that insolent and Frankit Vote (as they called it) of February the fifth, concerning their a-bolishing the Houfe of Peers as uileful and dangerous, all which Acts, Votes, and Orders, they declared to be not only illegal and there-fore void, but likewise detestable and detru-cive to the Rights and Beings of Parliament, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the Peo-ple.

This made little impression upon the Commons, and to prevent the assembling of the Lords, the Army by their appointment or connivance set a Guard upon the Doors of their House; and in further prosecution of their former Votes against Monarchy, they formed and passed An Act for the Excommunication of the Royal Line, the Aboli-hment of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the set-ting up of a Commonwealth, which they ordered to be publifh'd and proclaimed in all parts of the Kingdom.

Alderman Reinaldfon the then Lord Mayor of London, a person of great integrity and Loyalty, and the then Lord Mayor committed to the Tower, was ordered for publishing this Act in London, and was therefore discharged from his Office, and with three of the Aldermen that were of his judgment, committed prisoners to the Tower of London, and one Andrew was by a Common-Hall chosen in his place, who with Pennington, Atkins, Polifhfon, Ponk, Edmonds, & Pack then Aldermen of London, and some others proclaimed this exorbitant Act in several places of the City. But this great Alteration so much amuzed the generality of the people, that the Parliament thought fit to give them some satisfaction, which was endeavoured by a Declara-tion, to shew the Reasons of those proceedings, wherein many plausible pretences were exhibited, the chiefest whereof is, A Promise of de-liverance from the Bondage introduced by the Nom-inal Conquests, and of maintaining the Ancients Laws (which they exulted for their excellence and equality) adding, That they might well con-fift with the present Government of a Republicke upon some safe alterations of Form only, leaving the Subfiince intact, and reforming the abuses there-of: They promised likewise, The establishment of a form and safe Peers, the advancement of elective Protestant Religion, and the liberal maintenance of a Godly Ministry; the settling of Treaties and Alliances with Foreign Princes and States, the en-couragement of Manufactures, for the increafe and flourishing of Trade, and the maintenance of the Poor in all places of the Land.

About the time of publifhing this Declaration to compleat the model of their Government, they abolished all the ancient Forms of Sovereignty, in the style and Title of Wits, Commissions, and other publicke Instruments, and ordered for the future, all of them to be effaced. In the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England by the Authority of Parliament; and likewise they caufed the Old Great Seal to be broken, and a New one to be made, having on one side a Red Crofs and Harp, as the Arms of England and Ireland, with this Inscription [The Great Seal of England,] and on the other the Picture of the House of Commons, with these words, viz. [In the first year of Freedom by God's blessing refored, 1647.] and as another Ensign of their Domin-ion, they appointed that all the Money which from that time was to be coined, should be in the Kings Impreffion, bear the Crofs and Harp, in this Motto [God with us.] Those Titles in the first of Queen Elizabeth, and the third of King James, which enjoyed the taking the Oaths of Supremacie and Allegiance to the Kings and their Successors, were repealed by them, and a new Oath was framed to be tending to all that were to be put into place of publique Trufl, or made Free-men of Corporations; the ancient Judicial, & Legitmate Power of the King, and both Houses of Parliament, they allom'd to themselves; but the Executive part of Government

The Prot-ec-tion of the House of Lords ag-ainst the proceedings of the Commons.
ment, they committed to a Council of State ered by Act of Parliament, which confined of 40 persons of the chiefs of the Army, and others of desperate Fortunes of the most active in these alterations.

The Parliament of Scotland did by their Com- missioners protest against these acts in Eng- land, and particularly they disclaimed the pro- ceedings against the late King, but the new Eng- lish States resolutely anwär'd.

That they of Scotland were at liberty to all in their own affairs, but were not to limit or impose upon others, with many extravagant expressions to to justify their acts, but in the close they in- timated them to a resemblance with themselves, saying, That if Scotland thought fit to vindicate their own freedom and liberty, they should be ready to afford them all neighbourly assistance.

Before this answer could arrive in Scotland, the Scots had taken other resolutions; for on the third of February in this year, the King was pro- claimed at the Crofts at Edinburgh, The Chan- cellor of Scotland dictating to Lyon King at Arms, the words of the Proclamation, as fol- loweth,

The Estates of Parliament presently convoced in this second Session of this second Triennial Parlia- ment, by Vertue of an Act of the Committee of Estates, who had power and authority from the last Parliament, for convening the Parliament; con- sidering, that from hence as the King Majesty, who lately resigned, is contrary to the silent and Proclamation of this Kingdom, removed by a violent death; and that by the Lords Steffing, there is left unto us as a righteous Heir and lawful Successor, Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, now King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, we the Estates of the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland, do therefore most unanimously and cheer- fully in recognition and acknowledgment of his just Rights, Titles, and Succession to the Crown of this Kingdom, hereby proclaim and declare to all the World, That the said Lord and Prince Charles, is by the providence of God, and by the lawful Right of undoubted Succession, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, whom all the subjects of this Kingdom are bound humbly & faithfully to obey, maintain, and defend, according to the National Covenant, and the solemn League and Covenant between the Kingdoms with their Lives and Goods, against all deadly Enemies, as their only righteous Sovereign Lord and King. And because his Maj- esty is bound by the Law of God and fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, to Rule in Righteousness and Equity, to the honour of God, the good of Re- ligion, and the Welfare of his People: It is hereby declared, That before he be admitted to the Exer- cise of his Royal Power, he shall give satisfaction to this Kingdom in those things that concern the security of Religion, the Unity between the King- doms, and the peace and Peace of this Kingdom, according to the National Covenant, and the so- lemn League and Covenant; for which end we are resolved with all possible expedition, to make our humble & earnest address to his Majesty; for the Testification of all which, we the Parliament of the Kingdom of Scotland publish this our Act

The Scotch Commissioners here, were about this time call'd home, but just at their departure, they sent an Expofulatory Declaration to the sit- ting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in mind of all their Vows, Oaths, and Pro- lection for the maintenance of the King, Men and Right; and upbraided to them their shameful abjuration and infringing of them by what they had lately alled.

This was so ill received by the Parliament, that they imprisoned the Meffenger that brought it, and voted the Paper scandalous and sedition, and all such persons Traitors as should join with or ad- here to the Subscribers: They also sent after the Commissions, and secured them till a Copy of the Paper was sent into Scotland, to know if the Parliament & Estates there would own the same, and upon which a Meffenger was sent from Scotland to our States, to justify what their Commissioners had done, and to compain of the imprisonment of them, as a thing contrary to the law of Nati- ons, and thereupon the Commissioners were re- leased and returned home, but these proceedings on either side increased the distrust and jealousies of each other.

In the summer of this year, several Loyal Per- sons insuccesfully in many places attempted by arms to free the last King from great opprogen and eminent danger, under which he was then lay, as was shew'd in the History of that time, of which number the Duke of Hamilton, the Earl of Hol- land and Norwich, the Lord Capel, and Sir John Owen were about the later end of February, on the beginning of March following, tried and conden- med by a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, (a Copy of that fatal Original made for the destruction of the late King) of which the Duke of Hamilton, and the Earl of Holland, and the Lord Capel were executed the 9b of March; but the Earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were pardoned; The Earl of Nor- wich upon an equal division of the House of Parlia- ment in a Vote for his life, was sav'd by the casting Voice of Lemball the Speaker; but Sir John Owen had on his behalf the suffrage of many more voices than those against him, which was re- ported to be done at that time in a kind of popu- lar generosity; for that the Nobleman had made great intercession for them by those of his Allies (in favour with some Grandees in power, but Sir John Owen a Commoner coming from a remote part, had none that interceded on his be- half.

The Scotch Com- missioners send the Parlia- ment an Ex- postulatory Declaration.

The Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Holland, Lord Capel, were tried by a High Court of Justice.

The Earl of Nor- wich and Sir John Owen pardoned.
Duke Hamilton who first came upon the Scot-
field, in his Speech declart his affection to this
Kingdom, and the occasion of his coming into Eng-
land with an Army, that is to say, his being com-
manded thence by the peremptory Command of
the Parliament of his own Country, which if he had
dis obeyed he bad suffered the same penalty he was to
suffer here for obeying. He said many things in vind-
dication of himself from the imputation of having
been inconstant in his Religion or false and un-
faithful in his alliances toward the King his Master,
he seemed also to intitate a readiness to serve them
in what they much defird of him, namely, the
discovery of those who were the Inveter of him in,
so that his life might have been spared; with
other things which concerned his condition as a
dying man.

The next that came after him was the Earl of
Holland, who spokt upon the Honour of his Fa-
mily, and the Nobility of his Education, profess
his sincerity and confirms adherence to the true Pro-
litie, and grounded his justification, acto to the mat-
ter for which he was condemned, alledgeing his de-
fection from the Parliament, not to have been one
of any ill design against the State or Kingdom, or
any abjuratio of his first principles, which lead
him faithfully to serve the Parliament, whose ser-
vice he should not have deserted, had not the chan-
ges and alterations among them carried them be-
gond what was reasonable, or what perhaps they
themselves as at first intended. He prayed God to
bless this Kingdom, and to settle it in the Ancient
way of Government by the King, Lords, and Com-
mons, and wish the present change might not bring
confusion upon it, unless the Kings Poffcrty
might be lookt upon, and owned by the People, and
re-establish'd in their Native Rights: without Blood-
shed, that his Blood might be the last that should be
spilt, and concluded, as he was Chancellor of Cambrige, with his Prayers to God for a blessing
upon that University.

The last of the thee that suffered, was the Lord
Capels, who having made a very able and
substantial defence for himself, both from the an-
tic Laws and Privileges of the Nation, and
from their own Acta and Confus, (though all in
vain) behaved himself at his death, like what he
had theved himself all along tobe, in his resolute
acting for the Kings service, a perion of a high
Spirit, and Heroick fortitude, and delivered what
he had to say with a fearles and undaunted De-
portment, wherein after an ample account of his
Religion, professing his bringness and devotion to
the true Protestant Religion, as it was established
in the Church of England, he took the liberty to
urge the unbelief of his Extemporaneity, contrary
to the Law of Arms, to Honour, and the word gi-
ven him at his rendering of himself, against the
Justice of the known Laws of the Land, and for
another cause, than his maintaining the fift Com-
mandment: He express much trouble and re-
penance, for having been one of those that gave
their Vote to the Bill of Attainder against the Earl
of Stratford, and manifested to the world the high
opinion, and venerable Rememberance he had of the
late Kings transcendcnt Verte, Nobility of
Mind, and ability of Parts: Next he prayd

The Reign of King CHARLES THE SECOND.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate
those that cauzt the effusion of it, for some oth-
ers were cut off about the same time for the like
offences, though not by the same manner of Tri-
al, as Lieutenant Colonel Morrice and Colonel
Blackburn, who was hanged and quartered at
York by a Compaion of Oyer and Terminar for
the sumption of Pomfret, one Bannister, a Miniter,
was hanged at Pomfret, by Sentence of a
Court-Martial; and Major Monday was shot
to death at Lancaster by the like Sentence; Colo-
nel Langbourn, Poyer, and Poram, three worthy en-
deavourers in the Kings Service in Native, were
also by a Court-Marshall Sctenced to cat Lots
for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on
Poyer he was shot to death in Covent-Garden.

Judge Ten-

Sir John Stoewel, and Mr. David Jenkins (a

kine and Sir John Stoewel tried at the

Parlaiment of Scotland that ent two Gen-
clemen, to acquaint the King being then at
Hague in Holland, with their proceedings on his
behalf, who after being long at Sea were beaten
back by contrary winds, so that he had no pub-
lie notice of what was done there, though
they wanted not private advertisement of it: they
refolved to invite him to that Kingdom, and were
in preparation of Propositions to be sent to him
in order therunto, but they were so much divert-
ed by several disorders in the Country, that the
progres in them was very slow.

Middleton and Monrose, two Major Gentiles,
together with the Lord Rea, the Gordon and those
of the Clan of Mackenzie being jealous that the
Covenanters (for so they called the Scotch Par-
lament) would impose so much upon the King
that he could not with Honour and safety yield to
them, drew many Forces together in the North of
Scotland, and seized on the Town of Inverness in
the Kings name, expecting many others to
come in to them, intending to moderate the
Councils of the Estates at Edinburgh, that the
King might be admitted to his Government with-
out any previous conditions. This rising in the
North was not so privately managed, but the Seis
Parliament had advice of it some time before it
was put in Execution, and they thereupon made
Leves of about fix thousand Horse and Foot, up-
on other pretences, to that upon the first Alarme,
they dispachd a good Party towards them un-

hearty for the King that now is , for his happy 1648.
Reparation, long life, and continued prosperity,
recommending to the People the hopes they were
to entertain in him of a most accomplisht per-
son, and most excellent Prince, from the sev-
eral years experience he bad of the greatness of his
Apprehension and Understanding, the Honor of his
And so they all with what they all greatly gen-
rend to, viz. a cheerfull readiness to forgive
his Enemies, and those that had been the occasion
of bringing him to that place.

The Blood of these Noblemen did not satiate
those that cauzt the effusion of it, for some oth-
ers were cut off about the same time for the like
offences, though not by the same manner of Tri-
al, as Lieutenant Colonel Morrice and Colonel
Blackburn, who was hanged and quartered at
York by a Compaion of Oyer and Terminar for
the sumption of Pomfret, one Bannister, a Miniter,
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to death at Lancaster by the like Sentence; Colo-
nel Langbourn, Poyer, and Poram, three worthy en-
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also by a Court-Marshall Sctenced to cat Lots
for their Lives, and the fatal chance falling on
Poyer he was shot to death in Covent-Garden.
The Reign of King CHARLES the Second.

1648. The Colonels Ker and Stranghan, who marched with so much expedition, that they prevented any considerable conjunction of Forces, and dispersed those that they had got together.

This breach in Scotland, and the suppression of it, made the Government at Westminster believe it not unfortinuate to make some overtures to the Eilates at Edinburgh, to tempt them to a breach with the King, with an offer of their utmost assistance against him and all his adherents, but they could not prevail.

The King being now at the Hague, had intelligence from time to time of the Countess of Strafford, and resolved to go into France, that from thence he might more easily pass to some part of his own Dominions to receive their Commissioner: in prosecution of which intentions he left Holland, and came to St. Germain near Paris, where the Queen his Mother then was, and all the way he passed both through the Cities of the United-Provinces, and the Spanish Netherlands, he was very splendidly entertained. The Duke of Lorrain met him on the Frontiers of France, and at Compigny the King of France received him and accompanied him to Paris, and from thence to St. Germain, where he halted a few months together with the Duke of York, who repaired to him out of Holland.

In the midst of this prosperous fortune of the established new Common-wealth, there was to great a disturbance made by a Party in the Army, called Levellers, that if it had not been suppressed, all their Building had been tumble down. For the better understanding whereof we shall shew how this name came to be applied to them, &c then briefly set down the disorders that happened.

They were formed out of those Agitators mentioned in the reign of the late King, and were termed Levellers upon a pretended Principle, which they expounded, to end an equal righteous distribution of Justice in Government to all degrees of people, that it should not be in the power of the highest to oppress their inferiors; nor should the meanest of the people be out of capacity to arrive at the greatest Office and Dignity in the State. This was very pleasing to the Inferior Officers of the Army and Soldiers, but those that influenced them were a more considerable sort of persons, who to gain power and Authority to themselves, found out means by heightening this dissenter, to estray and dislodge the Administration of others, and to be pleased with nothing that was done by the Parliament or the Chiefs of the Army, and now the infection was spread among some of the Superior Rank of Officers, who in a jealousy of the aspiring greatness of Cromwell and Ireton (though they appeared not openly themselves,) spirited the private Soldiers to a deposition in the Army upon those Levelling principles.

There to come near the proceedings intimated, that there appeared a general self-feeling in the Magistrates and Chief Officers of the Army, whereby that Reformation for which they contended, was not thoroughly pursued as it ought, either in Spirituals or Civils. Cromwell endeavored to suppress it in the beginning, and sauntered Orders to be used to forbid their private Meetings, but not succeeding therein, several of the Soldiers were seized on, and tried and condemned at a Court Martial, and one Lackey a butler Acton in the business was shot to death, and eleven Regiments were immediately by Lot drawn out to be sent into Ireland. But this did rather incense than alloy the heat; for many of the Soldiers were so pursued with, as to be much discontented with their being allotted to the Irish Service; allying, It was a contrivance to divide them. That they were not Mercenaries, but persons that took Arms upon righteous Principles of Reformation of Government, and that till they saw such a settlement established as might answer the ends of their first Engagements, they would not divide. And hereupon many Regiments Revolted from their Officers, and if some Great Ones that seemed to approve their actions, had not betrayed them, the Parliament's Authority then, and the following Greatness of Cromwell had been laboured and prevented.

At Burford five thousand Horse and Foot of these Diffenters were drawn together, and laid there as they pretended, in order to a Treaty under the Faith of Cromwell's word, that no part of the Army should draw nearer to them than the distance of ten miles, whereby they were left vigilant, and in this their security, Colonel Reynolds (one accused by them to have discovered their Councils) fell in upon them with a greater Body than they had, and quickly routed them, taking nine hundred Horse and four hundred Foot prisoners, whereof one Thimbyson and two or three principal Leaders were immediately shot to death, and the rest by Cromwell's lenity or meditation pardoned; And after this great preparations were made to be sent into Ireland.

But these Commotions gave the Marquis of Ormond and those that acted for the King under his Lieutenantcy in that Kingdom, a fair opportunity of reducing it to the obedience of the Crown, wherein he was so prosperous, that the King had some thoughts of going thither, and a peace was made with the most considerable of the Confederate Irish; but contrary to their faith and promise, the Popes Nuncio by the interpositions of some of the Popish Clergy prevailed with the Irish-Irish under Owen Roe O'Neal to refuse to come under the Kings Authority.

Nevertheless, the Lord Lieutenant with the conjunction of the several Forces under the Marquis of Clanricard, President of Connaught, the Earl of Cabra, the Lord Inglis, and the Lord Moy, Colonel Mark Trevor, Sir Thomas Armstrong, the Lord Tant and General Preston had made up a very powerful Army, and had reduced to the Kings Authority all the Cities and Towns in the Kingdom, except Dublin and Londonderry; and Londonderry was besieged by Sir Robert Steward, and Colonel Audry Merivis with a good Bight, and Owen Roe likewise was by Colonel Trevor with his Army a little before defeated. The Lord Lieutenant being thus strengthened, determined with the whole in a greater part of his Army to march before Dublin, and came about the middle of June to a Village called Finglas, about
two miles distant from it on the North-side of the River.

Colonel Michael Jones was Governor of the City of Dublin, a man of Courage, but bred to the Laws; and as he was a person of great Capacity, (by the experience he had gained in the Active Wars of Ireland) he acquired a very good knowledge and conduct in matters of War. The Lord Lieutenant in vain attempted by all fair means to coax him to a compliance with the King's affairs; yet those within were in so great fear at the approach of the Army, that it was a fierce affair to be made the first day; and all probability the City had been taken; but it is said the Lieutenant was unwilling to it, out of a tenderness to the English Protestants therein. After a day or two, skirmishes were very frequent betwixt the Dublin Horse and those of the Army; in which those of the City always prevailed, whereby they were much encouraged, and in one of those skirmishes Sir Walter Dungan a valiant Commander of the Army was taken, whilst they lay at Finglas: But the Lord Lieutenant perceiving the station of the Army, as it then lay, inconvenient for a close siege, drew it over the River (which was every where fordable above the Bridge) to a place called Ranimns, and whilst he lay there, it was resolved at a Council of War to raise some fortifications at a place called Baggesrath, next the Colledge of Dublin (where there was an old Castle motled) thereby to prevent any relief to the besieged by Sea. This design muchalarm'd those in the City, and the Governor was resolve'd to do what he could to hinder the fortification, and for that purpose he resolved to give orders for some Companies to fall out to beat them from the place. The Garrison had been reinforced a little before with a Regiment of Horse under Colonel Regnels, and two Regiments of Foot under the Colonels Penalties & Hunkys, and many other parties of Horse and Foot from the Garrisons that surrounded in several parts of the Realm, which additional Force were to the number in all of three thousand or thereabouts, besides that, with these from England, good hopes of provisions of all sorts were put into the City, so that the Souliers were in good heart; the Governor was very private in his design of the sally, which was in this manner perform'd.

The night before he appointed all the Horse and Foot, except such as were employed on the necessary Guards, (which were to the number of 5000,) to be drawn together very early in the morning in the Colledge Green and Grounds adjacent, within the Works, without sound of Trumpet, or beat of Drum, and with their Colours and Arms trailed; and the Ports were not to be opened till the Forces were all at the Rendezvous, and Centinels were set all along the line to prevent the going over of any to give intelligence. After all things were thus set in order, about eight in the morning, the Forlorno-hope march'd out to Baggesrath, consisting of an hundred Fire-locks, and after these a small Party of Horse followed, commanded by Colonel Theophilus Jones (the Governor's Brother;) and Major Meredith and all the rest of the Troops and Companies went after as fast as they could march with order and convenience. There was a Dutch made cross the high-way betwixt the Town and the Castle to intercept the passage to it, which was guarded by a party of Souliers, but these were presently dispersed by the forlorno-hope of fire-locks, who march'd immediately up to the Castle, and took it by storm, putting all that were in it to the sword: Encouraged by this success and some more force being come up, they advanced towards the main Camp, betwixt which and the Castle at Baggesrath, they were met by Sir William Vaughan The siege raised by the Marquess of Ormond, with a party of Horse, who made some considerable resistance (and indeed all that was made;) but he was slain, and all his party routed; and from thence they followed on to the main Camp, which was by this time in so much confusion, that they made no resistance, but were discomfited, notwithstanding that the Forces from Dublin march'd only in single Troops and Companies, having not time to draw together in Battalia. My Lord Lieutenant endeavoured to make a stand, but being not able to prevail, he with most of the Horse retreated, and march'd off, some of the Foot that were got within the Walls of Ranimns, made conditions for their lives, and had quarter.

This case Victory was much admired, but the occasion thereof was fail to proceed from the great animosities amongst the English and Irish in the Lieutenants Army, whereby enufed a manifold carelessness and indiscretion amongst many of them. Moreover, Inhabitants March'd from them a fortnight after they came before the place with a great body of the English to secure the Province of Munster, where Cromwell, lately made Lieutenant of Ireland by the Parliament, was design'd to land with his Army consisting of seven Regiments of Foot, four of Horse, and one of Dragoons.

About the time that this happened, or shortly after, and in the like manner, Sir Robert Stewart and Colonel Mervin were beaten from the siege of Londonderry by a resolute sally out of the Town made by Sir Charles Coote the Governor. The siege of Londonderry raised by Sir Charles Coote's Son in Law Ireton, (next to him in chief Command of the Irish Army,) altered their purpose of landing in Munster, and with all imaginable haste transported then Forces to Dublin, near to which City in a short time after the Victory they landed, and after a little day to refresh the Souliers, Cromwell March'd the Army to the Town of Drogheda, which a little after the defeat near Dublin, had been strengthen'd with an addition of five and twenty hundred Foot, and three hundred Horse, with many boat and resolute Officers, Sir Arthur Aflon heretofore Governor of Reading and Oxford for the late King, was Governor of the place, a person in whose Courage and Conduct great confidence was plac'd. As soon as Sir Cromwell came in sight of the Town, he sent a summons, which being refused, he immediately began his approaches, and was very active at the siege, making many furious onlets on the Town, with great loss to his Army; but at last he carried it by storm, and to strike a terror in the other Towns and the rest of the Forces that held for the King, all that were found in arms were put to the sword; amongst which the Governor himself, and
The King removes from France to the life of Jersey.

Mr. John Berkley and Colonel Stingely appeared in Cornwall.

Mr. Windham came with a message from the King to the Council of Estates of Scotland.

Windeam landed not at Jersey in many weeks after his departure from Scotland, but when he came thither, the King received him very well. The substance of his Message was:

That the King would be pleased to acknowledge for lawful their Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, which being ob-

tained, they offered to Treat of the means to re-

Dulph peace and obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.

This overture admitted of great Debate in the Kings Council, for as yet the desperate condition of his affairs in Ireland, and other parts was not known to him; some that had no good opinion of the Scots, from their experience of their dealing with the late King, expected very small fruits of a Treaty with them, and rather adisted to rely upon the endeavours of Monroes, and the other Con- federates; but others reasoned, That their in Scotland now in power being the most prevalent Party of that Kingdom, and having with them the conjunction of the Kink (by which the people of Scotland are always much influenced) were more likely to affihim in the obtaining the Crown of England (if he agreed with them) than any others, whose designs were full of hazard and un-
The argument for peace, 1649.

The Parliament forces the King to leave Jersey and go into France.

The Earl of Caffells is sent to the King in behalf of the Commissioners of Parliament.

The Earl of Caffells makes all the haste he could to Scotland, and soon as the Committee of Estates and Assembly of the Kirk, who were met, delivered his Message and Letters to them from the King.

To the same effect also was a Letter to the Committee of the Kirk,

"That the Kingdom of Scotland upon his late Message, together with the consideration of all the petitions, letters, and other arguments, which have been vouchsafed to him, have now again fallen into the hands of the Protestant Ministers, and Mr. Brown, who are desired to his Majesty; not that they have thought to force him to a compliance, through his necessity, to his prejudice, or weary him by importunities; but by making their noble addresses to him, by this their humble submission, in which their desires, they hope, will appear to reasonable and just, that he will soon conceive into them, which they humbly beg at his hands. Affording him, that by that means he will be most powerful in the advancing and effectuating his Throne; it being the nature of his noble Subjects, and all truly noble minds to be soonest overcome with such allurements. That in these their humble addresses, they did manifest the world their Loyalty and Confidence to him; neither was it their purpose to flatter, but to be Faithful and free; that if he would please to confederate to what was promised by the Kingdom of Scotland, it would make him happy, and give them some hopes to live at peace, under the shadow of the wings of his Government.

And
And as soon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk having presented themselves to him, Mr. John Levison made a Speech, wherein, He prest his Majesty to hearken to the just desires of the Estantes and Kirk of Scotland, that so he might enjoy the blessing of God, and be received by his people in comfort and peace to promote the work of the Lord, and make them happy.

After these speeches, they produced their Commissions, and delivered their letters, together with the propositions from the Estantes and Kirk of Scotland, which were immediately read, and the Commissions and letters, together with the propositions from the Estantes and Kirk of Scotland, were as followeth;

1. "That all those who have been and continue to excommunicate by the Kirk of Scotland, may be removed from having access to the Court.

2. "That he would be pleased to declare, that he would by solemn Oath under his hand and seal, allow the National Covenant of Scotland, and the solemn League and Covenant of Scotland, England and Ireland, and that he would presently secure the ends thereof in his Royal Station.

3. "That he would ratify and approve all Acts of Parliament, enjoying the solemn League and Covenant, and effecting the Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already proved by the general Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parliament of that Kingdom. And that he would give his Royal Assent to the Acts of Parliament, enjoying the same in the right of his Dominions; and that he would observe the same in his private and Family, and never make opposition therein, or endeavour any change thereof.

4. "That he would consent and agree, that all matters civil might be determined by the present and subsequent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all matters Ecclesiastical, by the ensuing general Assemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly confederated and agreed to by his late Father. After the King had heard them, he demanded whether these papers they had delivered to him contained all particulars which they had to propose or define; whether they had power to recede from any particular proposed or to be proposed, also if they had any thing to offer for the carrying on of his service against England.

To which they answered, That they had acquainted him with the utmost of their power and skill.

A few days after, The Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article; for though that which related to the prohibiting all whom the Kirk had excommunicated from access to the Court, would deprive him of the service and attendance of the Earl of Montrose, and many of the Royal Nobility and Gen-try of that Kingdom, he thought not fit to break with them for this; but doubting when he should have obtained the Kingdom he might by degrees make them sensible of their mistaken zeal in their actions towards such persons, and win them to a relaxation of their rigour of that injustice; But that which most perplexed him, was the cause of Religion expressed in the severity of those propositions which required him by solemn Oath under his hand and seal to allow the Covenant, and to establish the Presbyterian Government, wherein they insisted so much as to deny him the use of the Liturgie to his own person; The King urged, that there was no reason why he should relinquish the Religion for which his Father had died a Martyr, and that which he was willing to permit in his subjects, liberty of Conscience, it would be very inconsistent with their solemnly pretended desires of Peace and Agreement, to deny him the same privilege which he was so ready to give them. That the Covenant by them senced, is the fulfils Covenant to bind them to him, and not for him to take, to hear to him or his, so that he thought it sufficient to pass an Act for his People to take it. He likewise offered to confirm the Presbyterian Government in Scotland; provided, that he himself might have admittance three Chaplains with him of his own Election.

During this Treaty, the Earl of Canworth end Mr. Murray arrived at Breda with new instructions to the Commissioners concerning the Militia which put a further dam to the conclusion of this Article and indeed it was faid, The King was willing to admit of a little delay in expectation of what he might obtain from the endeavours of the Marquis of Montrose, who was after many discouragements, (of which some mention shall be hereafter made) about this time embarqued for Scotland, and about the midst of April landed in the Isles of Orkney, accompanied with the Lords Treadway, the Master of Piciddle, Sir John Berry, Henry Graham (his natural Brother,) Colonel Johnstone, George Drummond of Ballach, and other persons his friends and confederates, with two Ships and a small Frigate of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms, and 500 German Soldiers; Colonel King had promised to come up to him with some Holo from Sweden, but did not do it; Colonel Ogilvy, and Colonel Cockburn, who were trusted with certain sums of money for the raising of men and arms, (the one in Amsterdam, and the other in Poland) fald in their duty, and conversed the money to their own use; and two of four Ships which he had, (wherein were about 200 German Soldiers, and many implements of War) were cast away upon the rocks a little before his landing; but these disasters which might have分成 a great relishment, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity.

The Estantes of Scotland had no Forces in any of these Islands, whereby he had a good opportunity to raise men to form a little Army for his landing on the Main; the people were raw and undisciplin'd, much fallen from that Courage for which the ancient Inhabitants of these Isles have been fam'd; but nevertheless, he was forc'd to make as good a shift as he could with them; and whilst he was busied here in his levies, the Lord of Piciddle endeavoured to raise two thousand men for his assistance in the Earl of Seaforde Territories.
Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, with other confide-
table Officers: Monsurs himself made a shift to
escape for the present, by quitting his Horse, to-
gether with his Belt and his Coat with the Star,
and shifting himself into an ordinary Highlanders
Apparel. In this Fight the Royal Standard was
taken upon which was portrayed the head of the
late King lying a bleeding, and several other parts
of the body, and this following Motto, Judge and re-
venge my Cause, O Lord. And the Lord Pi-
ss-foder's Son who was Standard-bearer, was slain.
Colonel Strachan received a shot upon his bel-
ly, but in regard it lighted upon the double of his
Belt and Balf-coat, he had no harm thereby.

So welcome was the news of this Victory to the
State and Kirk of Scotland, that they bestowed as
a reward upon Strachan a thousand pounds fter-
ing, and a Chain of Gold: upon Lieutenant
Colonel Haeket: a thousand Mark Sterling. But
that which Crowned this Victory to them with the
highest joy and satisfaction, was the getting of the
Monroes perfon into their power: as indeed it
was impossible for him to make his escape, so
narrowly was he way-laid all the Country round,
and so strict a search and enquiry was ordered
to be made after him, besides a large reward premi-
ed to whomsoever should apprehend him; yet
for the space of three or four days he kept himself
undiscovered, by wandering up and down in the
open fields with one Advocate only in his mistery,
still being very near famished with hunger, it was
his fortune in the end to fall into the hands of the
Lord of Aiton, a Person who had formerly adhe-
red to the Marquefs, and had been befrieded by
him, and of whom upon that consideration, he
doubtles hoped for the favour of not being dis-
covered by him, if not of advisement towards his
concatalion: But Aiton, for fear of what he
must have suffered if he had been known to have
concaled him, or for want of opportunity in re-
gard of his followers that attended him, or fer-
tung his thoughts upon the proposed reward (as
the regard of gain, for the most part obblations
that of friendship) was not to be perfuaded or in-
vaded any respect of old friendship or rela-
tion to offer him to escape, so that being fist
and secured by a strong Guard, (and having in
vain supplicated for death by the hands of thoe
that took him) he was presently sent and delive-
red up to the custody of David Leis, and by
him hurried away with all speed to Edinburgh,
much intuched over in the several places he came
through, only the people of Dunlee ( though
none more endamaged by his Souldiers in the for-
mer War) were very civil to him, familil him
with all things necessary, and were so far from in-
fulting, that they very much commiserate his con-
dition : the chief favour he obtained in his jour-
ney, was the permision to call in, as he came a-
long, at the house of his father-in-law, the Earl of
Southbank, to see Two Children of his that were
there. At Leis he was merly by the Magistrates of
Edinburgh in a kind of small pomp, & as it were
to welcome him to the satisfaction of their revenge:
he had the reproachful honour, while the reft of
the Prisoners went by him on foot, to be mounted
on a Cart-horse (for the better advantage of expo-
ing him to the gazing and scorn of the people:
till
Hereupon Montefio's humbly desiring to know of his Lordship whether it were the Parliaments pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself, and humbly craving that Liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellor, that the Estates in Parliament did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself.

Then Montefio,

My Lord, said he,

"I am glad that I may have liberty to answer for my self, though I am here your Prisoner, yet my cause is good, nor is there any breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I declare to be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, Concerning what I have acted in relation to the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not only a general Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from his Majesty, which I was engaged to obey by the said Covenant, and concerning my coming over now, I was astounded that you had professed to comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs, in which he hath employed me; and upon that account it was that I have acted, I desire to refer my self, and do submit unto this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my Judges in this case, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majesty, and I shall be come, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto all the world, that I regard it not; death is a debt which all owe, and must once be paid by each one: And I shall be willing and much rejoys to go the same way which my Master pfaffed before me, and it is the joy of my heart not only to do, but also to fitter for him.

Moreover, he added to this effect, "That he appeared before them with so much the greater respect and reverence, by reason of the agreement he heard they had made with his Majesty, that he never was engaged in the League and Covenant, and therefore was not unjustly to be condemned for opposing it, since he was sensible of how far consequence it had proved to these disreputable Kings, and the welfare of his late Majesty, against whom those that ruled up in Arms in England were plainly affiled, and upheld by a faction of this Kingdom: that as he had never been the occasion of shedding blood but in battel, and by the necessity of War, so he had been ever careful to prevent all disorders as much as could be, and to have as many lives as possibly lay in his power."

The Lord
Chancellors
Speech to
him.

SIR,

I am commanded to mind you of the last judgment of God against you for your perfidius breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God to divers your Councils and Affairs, for being been so eminent an author and diligent mischief against this Nation; you abandoned the Covenant, and defied the Oaths of God, and did invade your Native Country, and with mole inhumanity and barbarous cruelty did burn and waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much blood of his Majesty's good Subjects, taking advantage of that time, when the prime Commanders, and Forces thereof were employed elsewhere. For these Crimes you were communicated by the Church, and forsook by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet still continued in the highest contempt against God, under that fearful Sentence of Excommunication: and to this day you have remained within the smallest show of Repentance. And God by his Providence hath now justly brought you both to receive the Sentence of your condemnation.

Hereupon Montefio's humbly desiring to know of his Lordship whether it were the Parliaments pleasure that he might be permitted to speak what he had to say for himself, and humbly craving that Liberty from them, he was told by the Chancellor, that the Estates in Parliament did give him free liberty to speak what he could say for himself.

Then Montefio,

My Lord, said he,

"I am glad that I may have liberty to answer for my self, though I am here your Prisoner, yet my cause is good, nor is there any breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I declare to be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, Concerning what I have acted in relation to the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not only a general Commission, but particular Orders for what I have done from his Majesty, which I was engaged to obey by the said Covenant, and concerning my coming over now, I was astounded that you had professed to comply with his Majesty in the present Affairs, in which he hath employed me; and upon that account it was that I have acted, I desire to refer my self, and do submit unto this present Parliament, and the Authority thereof, to be my Judges in this case, whom I own as a true Parliament by Authority from his Majesty, and I shall be come, however it shall please God to deal with me. As for my life, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known unto all the world, that I regard it not; death is a debt which all owe, and must once be paid by each one: And I shall be willing and much rejoys to go the same way which my Master pfaffed before me, and it is the joy of my heart not only to do, but also to fitter for him.

Moreover, he added to this effect, "That he appeared before them with so much the greater respect and reverence, by reason of the agreement he heard they had made with his Majesty, that he never was engaged in the League and Covenant, and therefore was not unjustly to be condemned for opposing it, since he was sensible of how far consequence it had proved to these disreputable Kings, and the welfare of his late Majesty, against whom those that ruled up in Arms in England were plainly affiled, and upheld by a faction of this Kingdom: that as he had never been the occasion of shedding blood but in battel, and by the necessity of War, so he had been ever careful to prevent all disorders as much as could be, and to have as many lives as possibly lay in his power."

The Lord
Chancellors
Speech to
him.
King Charles the Second.

1650. "what ever he had acted formerly against them to make a diversion of those Forces that were going from hence against his late Majesty, was merely in obedience and zeal to his Majesties service, at whose Command he so readily and without blush or delay did his Arms and retreat, as he had before cheerfully taken them up in his Majesties defence. That as for his coming in at that time, it was in order to the accelerating of the Treaty between his present Majesty and them, to the end that his Majesty being not driuen to rely wholly upon their affability might be enabled to make the better conditions with them. That since he had done nothing but what became a good Christian, a good Subject, and a good Neighbour, he defined them more to be trait or partial in their Judgment, but to judge him according to the Laws of God, of Nature, of Nations, and of the Land, as they would answer the contrary to the righteous Judge of the World.

After he had been thus examined and tried, he was commanded to withdraw; the Parliament were not very long debating the matter, ere they unanimously resolved to proceed to his Sentence of Condemnation, which (he being called in again,) was denounced against him in this Form.

You are to be carried back to the place from whence you came from thence you are to morrow being the one and twentieth of May 1650 to be carried to Edinburgh-Cross, and there to be hanged upon a Gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, and then to be taken down, and your head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, and hanged upon Edinburgh-Tophobool, and your Legs and Arm, to be hanged up in other publick Towns in this Kingdom, and your Body to be buried at the place where you shall be Executed, except the Kirk shall take off your Excommunication, then your Body shall be buried in the common place of Burial.

After the denouncing of the Sentence, at which he altered not his countenance, or teemed in manner manner to be moved, it was again guarded back to prison, where being again hanged and importuned by the Ministers, he expressed how much he was beholding to the Parliament for the honor they had put upon him; for that he accounted it a greater honor to have his head stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarell, than to have his picture in the Kings Bed-Chamber; and left his Loyalty should be forgotten, they had highly honoured him in designing Meeting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities to bear up his Memorial to all Posterity, wishing he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every City in Christendome to witness his Loyalty to his King and Country.

The next day being the one and twentieth day of May, the day appointed for his Tragedy, he was led forth to his Execution, at which time his winning was his department, and his Speeches so powerful, that they made a very great impression upon the Spirits of the people, to the great dishonour of some who observed the passions of his death, were of opinion, that he had drawn away more from the Kirk-party by his manner of dying, than he 1650. could have vanquish in the field by force of Arms.

Upon the Scaffold he delivered his mind to the people in this following Speech:

"I am sorry if this manner of my death be scandalous to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the wages of the wicked, and to the wicked according to the wages of the righteous; doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his malice; they who know me, should not disbelieve me for this, many greater than I have been dealt with in this kind, yet I must not say, but that all Gods J udgements are just; for my private fans, I acknowledge this to be just with God, I submit my self to him; but in regard of man, I may say they are but Instruments: God forgive them, I forgive them; they have oppressed the Poor, and violently perverted Judgement and Justice; but that he is higher than they, will reward them: What I did in this Kingdom, was in obedience to the most just commands of my Sovereign, for his defence in the day of his distress against those that rose up against him. I acknowledge nothing, but fear God, and honour the King, according to the Commandments of God, and the Law of Nature and Nations; and I have not sinned against Man, but against God, and with him there is mercy, which is the ground of my drawing near to him. It is objected against me by many, even good people, that I am under the Ceniture of the Church, this is not my fault, since it is only for doing my duty, by obeying my Princes most just commands, for Religion, his Person and Authority: yet am I sorry they did excommunicate me, and in that which is according to Gods Laws, without wronging my conscience or allegiance, I define to be relaxed; if they will not, I appeal to God, who is the righteous Judge of the World, and who must and will, I hope, be my Judge and Saviour. It is spoken of me, that I had blaim'd his Majesty for his Forbid; for the love King, he lived a Saint, and died a Martyr; I pray God I may in end as he did; if ever I should with my soul in another mans stead, it should be his. For his Majesty now living never people, I believe, might be more happy in a King, his commands to me were most just, in nothing that he promiseth will he fail, he dealeth justly with all men, I pray God he be to dealt withal, that he be not betrayed under trust as his Father was. I desirous not be mistaken, as if my carriage to you at this time, in relation to your wisest, were flabbon; I do but follow the light of my own Conscience, which is condoned by the working of the good spirit of God that is within me. I thank him, I go to Heavens Throne with joy, if he enable me against the fear of death, and fuminish me with courage and confidence to embrace it, even in its most ugly shape, let God be glorified in my end, though it were in my condemnation; yet I say not this out of any fear or distaste, but out of my duty to God, and love to his people, I have no more to say, but that I desire your charity.
The rigorous prosecution of Montrofa in that violent manner, was chiefly from the intimation of the Kirk, who at that time had great Authority, and did so much influence the people, that it was almost impossible to appease the scorn they raised against him. He had been excommunicated long before, and in that Church excommunication is so terrible, that now will have any manner of conversion from that pernicious proceeding, and the generality of the people, when they see a man whom their Ministres declare to be excluded from Heaven, are easily induced to think him unworthy to live on earth. Many, if not the greatest part of those that pursued his life, were earnest for the admission of the King, but so much did their zeal exceed their discretion, and so strongly were they intoxicated with the Covenant, and seduced by the inventors and accelerators of it, that they believed neither their Laws nor Religion in safety whilst he liv'd.

The King upon the Message sent to him, prepared for his journey to Scotland, and about the beginning of June took Shipping at Schevening in Holland, and after a happy evasion of double danger that threatened him in his Voyage, (one from a sudden storm which drove and cast him upon certain Dinih Islands, and yet without any loss of ships or men; and on the other side much respect and civil usage from the Inhabitants;) the other from a fleet of Parliament Vessels, which were sent out under Popham to intercept his passage) he landed safe at a place called the Spey in the North of Scotland. The Estates and Parliament of Scotland in the mean time employed their consultations about the formity of an Army for the service of the King, as they pretended, and an Act was published for the rating of every fourth man through the Kingdom, who was capable to bear Arms: The Earl of Leven was made General of the Foot, and Holburn Major General, David Leijey Lieutenant General of the Horse, and Montgomery Major General, the supreme command of the whole Army being reserved for the King himself, whom at his first Arrival they entertained with high Compliments, and much Acclamation, and seemed to congratul-

The Treaty was now near a conclusion; for whatever the Kings just retrenchments were, his Council perfwaded him to comply and accord with the Kirk in the exigence of his present condition; and as for the Militia, he offered to confirm it in the hands of the Estates for five years; but whilst matters were in this ncnefis of com- polure, news was brought of the defeat and execution of Montrofa, which much surprized the King, considering the time of doing it; and through he omitted not in an express by Mr. Murray to manifest his great dislike of the action (for he was much afflicted at it,) yet he was prevail'd on with much regret not to urge it so far to a rupture; he told them in his Letter,

"That he was very sorrowful and grieved to bear a report which came to him by credible persons, that notwithstanding those hopeful overtures lately made between him and them, they were tending to their Peace: Yet that these had not been some bloody deed of his good Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland; and that the manner and effect thereof according to the report he had heard of it, did very much trouble him; but that he might know the particulars more certainly, he desired to understand the business fully from themselves, of whom he required an account."

A while after, the Treaty being ended to the satisfaction of the Estates, They sent a foilem 1650. Message to invite him to Scotland, and in answer to what he write about Montrofa, they brought him not to stumble at, affur ming him that there was nothing in what they did, but to accomph his ends, and to serve his interests to the left Advan-

tage. They likewise requested him, to make all possible speed in coming to them, promising they would with their lives and fortunes offer to effect his a.. lish him in the Throne of his Kingdoms. And
And not long after when the City of Aber-
deen presented him with five hundred pounds
forring, the Committee of Estates seemed di-
placed thereat; and last other Cities and Towns
should in the like manner testify their duties to
him, they declared, That what Money or Plate any
had a purpose to deliver to the King, should be
brought into the public Treasury; and in conform-
ity to this dealing towards him, they proceeded
to reform (as they called it) his retinue, inter-
dicting all whom they titled Malignants, (which
were most of his faithful Servants) from all
employment both about his person and in the Ar-
my.

The Commonwealth of England had sufficient
intelligence from the beginning of all these oc-
currences, and of the Engagement of the Scots
to establish the King in the Thrones of all his
Dominions, and that they might not be surpris-
ized by them, they drew many Troops and Re-
giments together, and formed an Army which they
sent to the Borders of Scotland.

Fairfax, who was to Command this Army, re-
fused to obey the Charge, nay, insubordinately that
they ordered him a Committee with larger power
than that by which he had formerly commanded
their Armies, excusing his refusal by reason of
great indisposition of health occasioned by his
wounds and other inconveniences of the late War.
Upon this, Cromwell, who was newly returned from
Ireland (where he had been very Victorious)
the Chief Command of the Army conferred
up on him, which he (after some little show of
deal) accepted of, and about the latter end of
June he marched towards Berwick in order to
his advance into Scotland. The Scots whilst
this preparation was making, sent many expediti-
onal Letters to Sir Arthur Haudlegir then at
Newcastle, urging the breach of Covenant and
the Union between the two Nations, which avail-
ed nothing; yet they did not neglect the raising
an Army for their defence, for matters were at
this time grown to a greater height than to be decided
by the Pen.

Cromwell, upon repair to the Borders, publish-
ed a Declaration in the name of the Parliament
of England to justify their proceedings in this
manner towards the Scots, and to reproach a per-
verted part of them for that breach of the union
betwixt the two Nations, which they imputed to
the English, (for they would not lay the blame of
their imputations on the whole Nation) but so great
was the afflication of the generality of the people
of Scotland towards the King, that this
Declaration made little impression on them,
though some privately kept intelligence with
Cromwell, to the raine of themselves and their
Country.

About the end of July the English Army to
the number of nineteen thousand freemen, Of-
cers and Soldiers, marched into Scotland, and
came after little resistance (in the defence of
four Paffes) to Montgomerie, most of the Scots
who inhabited the Borders had left their habi-
tations, which put the Army into more strength for
subsistence than they expected, but a fleet of En-
glish Ships waited on their motions on the coasts
of Scotland, yet Cromwell pretending to com-
}
most of them Liucers, made a very bold charge, and put the English Horse to a little confusion, but they immediately rallied, and were so confedered by their foot, that by six in the morning, the Right Wing of the Scotch Horse was routed, and the Left without striking a stroke ran away, and the Foot facing this rout and flight of their horses, and not able in any order by reason thereof to engage (without any resistance) threw down their Arms and fled, giving the English the full pursuit of them eight miles beyond Haddington. The Scots were so preoccupied the day before as to send to Edinburgh to affure Prince Charles a certain Victory over the English, and it was immediately reported that some of the Ministers declared it in their Sessions as the mind of God to have them delivered up into their hands; but in the midst of this confidence they found themselves miserably frustrated, and their despairing and despisted Enemy a Conqueror. The number of the Scotch slain in this Battle were reckoned to be four thousand, and nine thousand were taken prisoners with all their Ammunition, Bag and Baggage, and ten thousand Arms. The Officers and Prisoners of most note were Sir James Laundale, next Commander in Quality to David Leslie, the Laird of Liberton, Adjutant General Rickerton, Scots-Master General Campbell, Sir William Donglas, and Colonel Gordon, twelve Lieutenant Colonels, six Majors, forty two Captains, seventy five Lieutenants, seventeen Cornets, two Quarter-masters, an hundred and ten Ensigns-Bearers, and two hundred Horse and Foot Colours, with seven and twenty great Guns; and all this obtained with the losses of not above three hundred English Soldiers, and one Officer (Major Rokeby) who survived the Battell, but died afterwards of his wounds.

The Scots after this day lost quitted Leith and Edinburgh, whereof the next day Cromwell took possession; and the King retired to St. John's, where the Committee of Estates were assembled. The defeat of the Scotch Army produced not those effects as the King expected upon the Ruining part of the Nobility and Clergy of the Kingdom; for instead of enlarging their interest, by taking into their conjunction those whose help they had before rejected for their affection to their King. They ascribed the overthrow of the Army to the admitting of him into Scotland before he had given full satisfaction to the King in what they required of him; and in prosecution of these Counsels, they began very much to impose upon him, and remove from his person the most faithful and Loyal of his Servants.

The King could not brook this insolent carriage toward him, and therefore resolved at any hazard to free himself from the trouble of it, and by advice of some of his best and most faithful friends, he took horse one morning, with three of them in his company, pretending to ride out a little way a Hawking; and rode directly to the Lord De- days house near Dunske where he was received by some of his Loyal Subjects and Servants, with whom he kept intelligence, and from hence he was hurried to the Earl of Northumb. He was heard the Marches of Hantu, the Earl of Aben- chel and Seafelbus, and the Lord Ogilby and New-
King CHARLES the Second.

1650. Newburgh, and Major General Middleton, with the Gordons and the men of Auball, were ready to appear for him with no contemptible force; but he laid till by an express sent to them he should be informed of the certainty of their condition.

This secret and sudden departure of the King did much perplex the Committee of Estates, who were very apprehensive of the consequence of his joining with the Gordons and the Auball men and hearing he was gone to the Lord Dudgeon House, they resolved to send Major General Montgomery with a party of Horse to persuade his return to them (many of the chiefs of the Noblemen and Ministers being by this time sensible that these breaches and divisions would but give the English (then in the bowels of their Country) greater advantage against them, and that nothing could save the whole from ruin, but a general uniting of all parties under the King against the common Enemy.) Montgomery arriving at the house, went in to the King to acquaint him that he came thither by order of the Committee of Estates, humbly to entreat him to come back to St. John's, and being admitted to his presence, he fell at his feet, beseeching him to forget what ever had been hitherto committed derogatory to his Royal Authority, affirming him that he should hereafter be observed with all imaginable duty and respect. The King having heard this Message, conferred with his friends what to do thereupon, and though he could not easily forget the impositions and refrains he had so lately endured, being persuaded by their advice, that his return might be a means to unite all interests to him; and being assailed by Montgomery of the reality of those at St. John's to his service, he condescended to return with him thither, to the general joy of the moderate of all parties as well Covenanters as Royalists; yet he wanted not at the same time an assurance from the Gordons and the rest in the North to secure him against the Kirk and all their adherents that should oppose his Authority.

The Committee of Estates were much more compliant with the King at his return than before; and having summoned a general meeting to be held at St. John's confilling of the King, Lords, Barons and Burgess to consult for the good of the Kirk, King and Kingdom; together with the Commissioners of the Kirk then at Sterling to adjourn their sitting thither; they applied themselves to compose all differences amongst dissenters, of which the most formidable were, Hanty, Middleton, and those in the North; but after a while, by the prudence of this assembly, and the good advice of the moderate Clergy, all was concluded; and the Duke of Hamilton, the Marquess of Huntly, and the Earls of Lyndeborough, Lauderdale, Lauderdale, Calendar, and Crawford, by the Lords Buchain, Dudgeon, and Middleton of the Scots, with many others were received into favour and promise of employment in the Army; and of the English, the Earl of Cleveland, the Lord Ewerworth, the Lord Shilton, and some few other Royalists were continued about the King; for before, none of that Nation but the Duke of Buckingham, Maffey, Graves and Timo, were permitted near his Person.

Whilst these matters were agitated betwixt the King and the Committee of Estates at St. John's, Cromwell was not idle, he had begun to fortify Leith, and laid a close siege to Edinburgh Castle; and on the fourteenth of September he marched to Linlithgow, (near which place the main of the Kings Army lay) and sent a summons to the Town, but was resolutely denied by the Governors, and he returned back to Linlithgow, where General Drane came to him from England with recruiting men and supplies of all sorts of provisions; But since he could not effect any thing against Sterling, he resolved to try what might be done in the West of Scotland, and in October he marched to Glasgow upon intelligence that Major General Montgomery was ordered by the King to march into those parts, to secure that County which was then wavering in their allegiance. In this expedition he hoped to prevail very much either by subduing Ker and Strachan (who lay in those parts) to his power, or gaining them to his party; which a design he had long before projected, and so far by his dispositions proceeded in that way; and John Gallyer, Mr. Patrick Galloway, and Mr. Rutherford Ministers, with many others of that order withdrew from the Assembly at St. John's, and in print remonstrated in the name of themselves and the Western Churches against the present proceedings, and the admission of Malignants (such they call'd the Kings bet Subject's) to power and employment; and with these Ker, Strachan, the Laird of Warrefon, Sir John Chisholm, and Sir James Swart and others contradicted.

The Estates and Commissioners of the Kirk at St. John's, relented much this Remonstrance and the defection of the Ministers, but no means they could then use was of force to reconcile them; in fomuch that the division of publick Revolutioners and Remonstrators (for by those names they were distinguished) continued in that Kingdom with much animosity till the year 1660, that the King was restored to the full exercise of his Authority, though the cause thereof (which was the joining all interets to oppose the invasion of a foreign Army) had long ceased, but by that occasion Cromwell's Conquest was made very easy, and his fomenting that rent in their Church, made their subjection to his authority more lasting than otherwise it would have been.

The King was desirous to compose this disorder, or at least to prevent the dividing so great a force as was under Ker and Strachan from his service; and to that end, the Earl of Caftell and the Lord Broady, and Mr. Robert Douglas the Minister were sent to treat with them; but they were somewhat averse to a compoite, yet they declared against any conjunction with Cromwell, professing equally against Malignants and Sectaries; nevertheless, Ker upon information that Strachan held intelligence with Cromwell, was at length so far induced to comply, that he took
Cromwell, whilst he was at Gisborn, had intelligence that the King's Army intended to relieve Edinburgh Castle, which made him return thither, and leave Major General Lambert with a good Brigade to make impression in the Western parts. He after some inquiry discovered a ford over Hamilton River, over which on the 9th of November he marched his Soldiers; but had intelligence of this, and at a Town of that name, he resolutely fell into Lambert's quarters, but the English Horse had to soon the alarm, that they drew together, and to well received his Charge, that a hundred of the Scots were killed, and the rest routed and pursued as far as Ayr, and himself (having his right hand almost cut off) was taken prisoner.

Lambert left Colonel Willy with some Troops at Ayr to command in those Western parts, and returned himself to the garrison of the Army.

In England some attempts were made for the King's service, but without success, and particularly in Norfolk, many Gentlemen & others were drawn together, but before they could be form'd into Troops, they were surpris'd and suppressed by two Troops from Lytham, and some Forces of the Militia of the County joyned with them, and twenty of them being afterward found guilty by an illegal High Court of Justice, were sentenced to death, and executed thereupon.

Edinburgh Castle had been besieged some months with little loss on either side, and Derbyshire Miners were brought out of England to undermine it, who carried on the work fifty feet, but the rock was so hard they could work no further.

The Governor was one Dundas, a Son in Law of old Leven, who was so practis'd on by Cromwell, that he surrendered the Castle on the 24th. of December upon the ensuing conditions.

1. The Castle to be surrendered to Cromwell with all the Ordinance, Arms, Magazine and Furniture of War.

2. The Governor and all the Officers and Soldiers to march out with Colours displayed, Drum beating, Match light'd, and Bells in mouth, and to be conveyed to what place they should desire, and every Soldier to have what Baggage he could carry.

3. The Publick movables, Records, Writs and Evidences, to be removed to Stirling, or to Fife.

4. Proclamation to be made, that all that had Goods in the Castle, to come or send to own and receive them.

5. All sick or wounded Officers and Soldiers to have liberty to lay in Edinburgh.

6. Horses and Wagons or other Carriages to be by the English provided for the Governor and the Officers for their convenient Travell.

7. Hoots to be given mutually for the performance of the Conditions.

The King and the Committee of Efares were much troubled at the news of this loss, and the more, because thereby they perceived, that what the force of their Enemies could not gain from them, their own divisions, and the pernicious treachery of false friends would depriue them of. There were found in the Castle five French Cannons, nine Dutch demi-Cannons, two Culverins, two demi-Culverins, two Minions, two Faulcons, eight and twenty brails Drakes, two Petards, eight thousand Arms, near eighty Barrels of Powder, and a proportionable store of Cannon-shot, with good store of Oatemall, Butter, flesh Water, and Beef and Pork.

The Mafter-gunner reported, that when the Guns were drawing to the Batteries, he had to plant his Pieces, that thofe of the Enemy could not have been planted but with great loss of men in the action; but when he prepared to give fire, he was forbidden so to do by the Governor, on pain of death.

Abernethy, his confident went often out of the Castle, on pretence to get intelligence, but the business was to make a bargain with Cromwell for the Castle, and when it was surrendered, he flaid at Edinburgh, and was ever after a promoter of the designs of the English for the Conquell and enlaying of his native Country.

After the loss of Edinburgh Castle, all the Forts on this fide of Sterlin were taken by the English, fo that thofe of the Scots that were loyal to the King, applied themselves with all diligence to raise what Forces they could to compleat an Army; and that his authority might have the greater strength and reverence of the people, they immediately proceeded to his Coronation, which was on the fift of January, the 17th day of Sooyn, a few miles distant from St. Johnfons (the accustomed place of Coronation of the Kings of Scotland) the King being the forty eighth Monarch of that Kingdom there crowned.

It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonefires, shooting off of Guns, and with as much pom and ceremony as the prefent state of things would permit: The Nobility, Bruis and Burgeois, went from St. Johnfons to Sooyn in their Robes, bringing thither with them the Crown, Sword, and Scepter; (the whole Scotch Army, which flood all the way as a Guard between thofe two places, making a Lane for them as they went along.) In the Prefence Chamber, (where the Lord of Argue attenued as Lord Chamberlain for that day,) was plac'd a Chair of State, where the King fate with all his Lords and Attendants about him: after a low obeviance made to him by all the Company, the Marquefs of Argue made a Speech;

Wherein
King Charles the Second.

1650. Wherein he declared the affection of the Parliament, Assembly and People, to him, and of their hopes of good from him, to make them keep, in bringing England and all their enemies in subjection to him and them: Moreover he added, That the Parliament of Scotland were come to present his Majesty with the Crown, Sword and Scepter.

Then he was attended by all his Train marching in order before him to the Kirk of Scoon, where, in the midst of a large Stage of 24 foot square, a plat-form was erected with an aient of two steps, and on the top thereof a Chair of State was plac'd for the King to sit on; the Canopy of Crimson Velvet, under which the King went, was supported by the Lords Drummond, Carnegie, Ramsay, Johnstone, Brecdin and Yester: his Train by four other Earls Sons, the Lord Erefkin, Montgomerie, Newbottle, Machiel; the Supporters of the Canopy being likewise supported by six others, the sons of Noblemen. On the King's right hand went the Lord Great Constable, on his left, the Lord Great Marshal; the Honours were carried before him by the chiefest of the Nobility, in this order; Immediately before him went the Earl of Argyll carrying the Crown, next before him the Scepter was carried by the Earl of Crauford Linlithgo, the Sword by the Earl of RHAB, the Spurs by the Earl of Egington: As soon as they were entred into the Kirk, and the King seated in his Throne, he took the usual Oath which his Predecessors the Kings of Scotland were wont to take at their Coronation. One of each of the three Estates of Scotland, namely, the Marquess of Argyll (as being of the Nobles) one Baron, and one Bargee holding the Crown among them; then they delivered it to three Ministers of the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, who were appointed by the Estates in Parliament to present it unto him. At the presentation of the Crown to the King by the three Ministers, one of them made his Address in this form:

SIR,
I do present unto You, King Charles, the Crown and Dignity of this Realm.

Then turning his face towards the People, he said,

Are you willing to have Him for your King, and to become Subjects to Him?

Whereupon the King turning himself to them, the people cried out with a loud Voice, God save King Charles the Second. Then after he had been anointed by the three Ministers with the Regal Uncion, the Crown was set upon his head by the Marquess of Argyll, the Scepter was also given into his hand by the Earl of Linlithgo, and the Sword carried before him by the Earl of RHAB. As soon as the Crown was put upon his head, he made this short Speech to the people,

I do esteem the affections of my good People more than the Crowns of many Kingdoms; and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom to flourish in all Happy.

Adding many other expressions of his Love and Affection to the people, and afterwards Mr. Robert Douglass made an oratorical Oration or Sermon to his Majesty.

The Ceremonies of the Coronation ended, and a plentiful entertainment prepared, the King sat at one Table, and the Lords at another, there passing many Careless and Testimonies of joy and mirth time between them; after which they all returned to St. Johnstoun, in the same order and pomp they came from thence to Scoon.

After the Coronation, the King intended to march Northwards to visited the Levies there made, by his presence; but the Nobility and Gentry of the Highlands, promising to compleat their numbers with all expedition, He went no farther than after this Act as; in the next time, that those Scots that opposed his Authority might be able to subdue others, Strungalow, Cumnor, Colonel Dundas (the late Governor of Edenthorpe) Major Advocate, Captain Giffen, and Andrews, were on the 14th of January excommunicated for complying with the English.

The King having visited Airdree, Dunfermline, and several other good Towns, returned to St. Johnstoun to be present at the assembling of the Parliament, which met there on the second of March, and the Duke of Hamilton and many of the Lords that were reconciled to the King, were admitted to their seats therein. The Parliament applied themselves with all imaginable care for the raising of Souldiers, and provided and furnished the Persons and Estates of all that held correspondence with the English, and that the Levies might be better made, they adjourned the Parliament to the 17th of April, and marched into the North to raise Forces there, and others of Authority in other parts to employ their interest to draw Souldiers together; and till they should again be convened, a Council of State and Committee of War were appointed of select Persons out of each of the three Estates.

Great care was taken for the fortifying of the Town of Sterlin, the King himself going often to view the Works, and encourage the expediting thereof. In the mean time on the 15th of April a Souldier in a Mist, the Lord Montgomerie Son to the Earl of Egington, and the Lord Cranfon, with five hundred Horse and Dragons, marched from Sterlin, and resolutely fell into Lichbon, whence having taken what Prisoners they could in haste meet with, they retired; yet before they could 1651.

The Earl of Hamilton was sent by the Lord of Montgomerie, Major Stewart the Governor of Libon, with a good party purifed, overtook and charged them, but were so well received by the Scots, that Sisty of the English were slain, and Sydenham himself so wounded, that he died shortly after. This good fortune of the Scotch did not long continue; for a while after the Earl of Egington the Father of this Lord Montgomerie with one of his Brothers, were taken at Dunlartin by one Captain Crock of Colonel Berry.
Cromwell being at Edinburgh, having notice how the Kings Army lay encamped at Stirling, and that abundance of Provisions was brought in daily in order to an intended march into England; and that he might be in readiness to prevent it, he drew all his Forces together and encamped near Edinburgh.

The Parliament of Scotland were about this time again assembled at St. John's, and very busy in consultation about their Militia, and providing for the peace and security of the Kingdom. Middleton Northern Levies amounted to near eight thousand, and it was much controverted, whether those Forces should make a distinct Army, or join with the Southern Army; but lastly a conjunction of all was agreed; but because there was some emulation between Le$ty and Middleton about chief Command of the Army, the King resolved to take it to himself to prevent all discontents therein.

The 29th of May, being the King's Birth-day, was celebrated in Scotland with great solemnity and festivity, and there was a Matter of all the Troops and Companies, and at night all the streets blazed with Bon-fires, and the Cannons were shot off from Stirling, Brunt-Island, and the rest of the Scotch Garrisons; but not any place showed their affection to the King in so particular a manner as the Town of Dunker, from which a large contribution of money was collected towards his affiance, and the Citizens presented to him a rich and costly Tent, and six pieces of Ordnance, and raised a Regiment of Horse at their own charge.

About the beginning of June the Parliament of Scotland ended, having before their dissolution given large Commissions and directions for the preffing of men in all parts of the Kingdom beyond Fife, and in the Western parts for a new Army, which was to consist of fifteen thousand Foot, and three thousand Horse and Dragons.

They concluded in a very calm and admirable temper, having passed an Act of Oblivion for all things done thereto, inviting thereby all parties to join in carrying on the service of the King, and a new Engagement with the Stewarts was taken by all the Nobility and Officers and Soldiers of the Army to adhere to him; whereby all faction and division seemed in a great measure to be obliterated, and a true Union of mankind with him, that were treacherous or dissenters not before summoned, were on the penalty of Excommunication to appear at the Assembly at Stirling by a limited time.

Cromwell was very vigilant all this while, and waited greedily for any opportunity to draw the Scotch Army to Engagement, and for that purpose he marched to Newbridge, and from thence to Linlithgow, where from the Battlements of the Castle he discovered the Tents of the Scotch Army encamped in Tornard about four miles on this side Stirling, having called up a regular and well fortified Line with Balloons and Guns mounted for their defence, and having a River behind them, over which they might at pleasure pass.

The King did not think the force he should raise in Scotland able to fight Cromwell and invade England, without some preparations there for his assistance, to divide the English Forces at home, to which end he kept intelligence with several of his friends in London, Lancashire and other parts.

And it was contrived that the Duke of Buckingham, the Lord Wilmot, and Major General Maffey should with a Body of Horse march into England to join with a Party in Lancashire, who were, by a prefent time to be in Arms; but in the midst of these endeavours all their hopes were blasted by the taking of a Ship at ayr in Scotland, which had been bound to the Earl of Derby in the Isle of Man, and the seizing of Mr. Kerkenhead an Agent in the business, by whose Letters it was all detected, and thereupon were apprehended, Mr. Thomas Cook of Grays-Inn, Mr. Gibbons a Taylor, and Mr. Potter an Apothecary, together with Mr. Love, Mr. Jenkins, and Doctor Mr. Love & where tried for their lives,

Cromwell finding his Provision begin to be scarce, marched on the 3 of July close to the Scotch Trenches, and drew up his Army in Battalions, to provoke them to Battalions; whereupon they in the night planted most of their Cannon on the brow of the Hill, and the next morning saluted the English with fifty great shots, which made Cromwell draw back, and give over a resolution he had to force the Trenches; but since he could not effect anything here, he made it his next work to land some of his Forces on Fife-side, and for that service Col. Overton was sent with 1600 Men to raise it and lands & Cromwell at the same time marched up with his whole Army close to the Scots, with an inten to have fallen upon their rear, in case they should have moved that way to disturb the enterprize. Yet to drive the English out of Fife was a very hazardous business, and the English forces were now marshalled against them, under the Command of Sir John Brown, which was not done so privately, but Cormell had notice of it, and he sent Major General Lamertson and Colonel Okey with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, who were transported over the water, and being united with the rest, they engaged Sir John Brown, and gave him an overthrow, and took himself and Colonel Buchanan and fourteen hundred more prisoners, and flew about two thousand, by which Victory the English gained to firm a footing in Fife, that they were not easily to be repelled; and soon after Brunt-Island, and a strong Trench upon the River called Inchgarney were taken by surrender. And now the King and his Army were necessitated to take that course which long since had been designed, to march directly for England. Cromwell that he might make himself master of the Pais at Stirling, resolved first to set upon St. John'sfoot, which after one days Siege was gained. And the King
The King enters England with his Army.

The great opposition that he meets with.

The Earl of Lauderdale, Interceptors, Letters.

Never men (exit he in one of them) were more hearty; for all their toy, and seriously you would not know this Army; a natural purge is wholesome, (speaking of those that withdrew themselves) and I hope ours is so, since the ill humors are gone. The Country is kind, we might have men enough. His Majesty received the Lord Howard Sun gratiously, and Knighted him; he is the first, but I have no reason to believe he will be the last that will return to his duty.

And in another he hath to this effect:

His Majesty is advanced into England as far as Perth with a very good Army, able by the blessing of God to do his business. They are, I dare say, near double the number of those with which the King of Sweden entered Germany; never was any Army so regular as we have been since we were all come into England; I dare say, we have not taken the word of speech, and what you hear of our misfortune in Fife, or what ever our Enemies print or write, craft none; this is the last Scots Army that ever I saw, and I hope shall prove best. All those that were unwilling to hazard all in this case with their King, have upon a special precaution most of them left us. This is a natural purge, and will do us much good.

And the Lord Wentworth in a Letter to my Lord Castlerigg writes thus; By God's Grace we are come as far as Perth in Cumberland, with a good Army of fourteen or fifteen thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, all absolutely at the Kings Commands, as much as any Army that ever I saw under the command of his Father.

But in one of Duke Hamilton's to the same Lord, things appear not so well as those Relations describe; his Letter says thus:

We are now laughing all at the ridiculousness of your present state; it is but quit Scotland being forced to acknowledge itself to have taken the word of speech. I cannot tell you whether our hopes or fears are greatest; but we mean here our present Designs. Depend upon it, we will now neither lightly fight, or die; all the Rogues have left us, I shall not say, whether for fear or folly, but all now with his Majesty are such as will not dispute his Commands.

The King at his first entrance upon English ground was proclaimed King of Great Britain at the head of the Army with great acclamations of his Army, and shooting off the Cannon, he being then at Perth in Cumberland, and so afterwards at every Market-Town through which he marched. He met no considerable resistance till he came to Harrington-Bridge, where Lords endeavored to impede his passage, but his wearied forces could not if it seems hold out a march of that length, so that he came on the 22d of August to Worcester, where after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept that City, he quickly entered, through the ready assistance of the Inhabitants, who not only opposed, but also helped to bear the Parliament Soldiers out of the Town. Advice came to the King of the distressed condition of those in London, which occasioned a debate in Council there.
The King.

For the Commander in Chief of the Scotch Army
SIR,

By your Trumpet I received two Papers, the one containing a Proposilion, the other a direct Summons for the Rendition of the Town and Castle of Shrewsbury, the Custody whereof I have received by Authority of Parliament; and if you believe me a Gentleman (as you say you do) you may believe I will be faithful to my Trumpet; to the violation whereof neither allarmes can persuade me, nor those forces, especially when you Paper one, come! With what Principles I am judged to be, I know not, but I hope they are as well as ever declare me honest, and I am not differing herein (as I know) from those engaged in the same employment with me, who should try such affairs that cause they are embarked in. I presume to be found, as I am immovable, the faithful servant of the Commonwealth of England.

H. Mackworth.

About two or three days before the Kings arrival at Woresfer, the Earl of Derby having land ed at Weyswater in Lancashire, came to him with two hundred and fifty Foot and sixty Horse, which he brought with him out of the Isle of Man, and immediately returning back into Lancashire to raise a more considerable force, he thought he had about 3000 men, and so much was he believe in those parts, that a little more time had made him formidable; with these he was marching upon a design to take upon Cromwell's own Regiment then quartered at Bower in their march towards him, but news came to him of Colonel Lihburn's approach towards him with ten Troops or Horse (which were ordered out of Yorkshire on purpose to hinder his Leves), and two Regiments of Chefsire Foot: The Earl nothing disturbed at this Force, resolved to engage Lihburn and his party, before the other Troops could come to him, and accordingly he charged them so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made an impression so far into their Body, that they began to be disordered, till the accession of fresh Reaps, both of Horse and foot so overpowered him, that they were totally vanquished; most of the Kings party were Horse, and the fight was in Lanes, where they were much annoyed by the Enemies Musketeers. There were taken prisoners of Quality, the Lord Widdington, Sir Thomas Tidenriff, Colonel Mathew Boynton, Sir Francis Charnel, Major Trollop, Sir William Throgmorton, Colonel Richard Legg, Colonel Rakeiff, Gerard, and some other whole names we know not, and many of these names died of their wounds. The Earl of Derby (having lost his George and Garter) fled with about thirty Horse towards Woresfer, having shrewdly himself one night in his way in a house called Rofode, which Heaven by means of this had prepared for the Kings retreat and preservation.

By this time Cromwel had surrounded Woresfer with his preceding Hoft, inas near a compass as Rivers and Paffes would suffer him, the surrounds Kings Army as yet lying out of the Town a mile in the fields: The Earl has endeavoured to be ta-
king was upon-Bridge on Fleetwood side, which Major General Lambarry attempted with five hundred men to defend Horie and Dragoons, and after a brisk dispute wrested from Colonel Maffey, who in defence thereof received a wound in his hand.

The Scots having thus abandoned the place where they were, it was presently pollied by a strong party of Horie and foot, in order to the present advance of the rest of the Army.

The King's Army were drawn up very near Worcester, and made many excursions, breaking down two or three Bridges over the River Tern, betwixt the Enemy and them, and shewing a well ordered and governed courage, but September the 3d, that ominous day being arrived, Cromwell resolved to venture the event upon its former Answer, and to that purpose having his Boats in readiness, he passed over his men in the afternoon of that day, and drew them all into a fighting posture, and having given the signal to the whole Army to fall on, the fight was begun in this manner.

Cromwell himself in person (about four of the Clock with his Life-Guard and Colonels Hacket's Regiment of Horie, with part of his own Foot Regiment, with the intire Regiments of Colonel Ingoldby and Colonel Fairfax, marched directly towards the City, and after him Lieutenant General Fleetwood advanced with Colonel Gofts and Major General Deasy Regiments; the King's forces encountering them at the hedges betwixt the City and them, and disputing every field with them, in such order and with such gallantry, that those already engaged (left they should be wholly discouraged with the homets of the service,) were relieved by reserves, and they by others, no considerable progress was yet made, the Highlanders proving excellent fire-men, and coming to the butt-end of Musquet, till wearied with continual action, and their Ammunition spent, the King (being then upon the place) commanded them in some haste into the City, and hastened himself to the other side, where Colonel Haym's his Regiment with Collet's stood about Poleick-Bridge, and were entertained with no less man-hood and slaughter, than those on the other side; and though one Colonel Matthews was the Referee to these two Regiments, yet did the Scotch foot fairly drive them from their ground, till at last being harassed out, and no seconds or supplies to be expected, in a careless regard of the Enemy, as if they feared not to make which way they pleased, they drew likewise into the Town, and did another Brigade which opposed the Regiments of the Lord Gray, and Colonel Gibbons joined with two others on an other part. The King's Army was drawn very close together, and sent out several Bodies, who charged very briskly on the Generals side, where the fight was hottest. (He having brought on the Militia forces to relieve his other Troops.) In the head of one of these Bodies the King himself charged with marvellous gallantry and conduct, and pres'd to hard upon Cromwell's Life-Guard, that the Troop was very much disordered, and the Captain very dangerously wounded; and in another Charge Duke Hamilton, (who behaved himself with undaunted courage and resolution,) received a shot on his thigh, whereof presently after he died.

The Militia Regiments of Essex, Surrey, and Suffolk were much annoyed by the Scots, and many of their men slain, but Cromwell drew on fresh and entire Brigades and Regiments, which were in reserve, of the Veteran bands, by which the Royalists were so overpowered, that they were forced to retreat into the City, which they could not do with such order, but many of the Cromwellians got in with them; Left with 2000 Horse (upon what account not known) not flaming out of the Town to relieve his party, when the enemy entered. The King retired to his Quarters for a while, and danger at night the Enemy gained the Fort Royal, at which time his Majesty left the City, putting out at St. Martin's Gate, accompanied with about sixty Horse of the chiefest and most confident of his Retinue, (though many more prefided to bear him company) and it was reported that Collet very narrowly miss of him as he left his lodging.

The Enemies foot was now got into the Town, and according to their order fell a plundering the Inhabitants in a most barbarous manner, giving no Quarter to any that they found in the streets: and though this their greediness of spoil, they kept the Gates shut, and the Horie out, left they should have shared the better part; and thereby favour'd (as God would have it) the Kings escape: some Scots who had got into one of the Churches held out till next morning, when they obtained Quarter for life; by which time there was not an Inhabitant in Worcester, friend or foe, left worth a fhill of what they had in the Town; but the Royal Inhabitants lost least by the ravage (being supplied with fresh Waters to their desires by the honest Citizens of London without any scruple of credit or payment, and their debts were forborn till such time as God should enable them to pay, which the Gentry and Inhabitants round about them endeavoured to bring to pass, by their more than ordinary resort to that Market for all necessitides and upon all occasions. The Mayor (who was Knighted by the King) and all the Aldermen were committed to prison, and the wife of one Gyses (whole husband for betraying the design of the King in that Garrison, was hanged) was rewarded by the Parliament with 200 lib. per annum, and 200 lib. in money.

There were rail in the field in the Town, and in pursuit some 2000, and about 8000 were taken prisoners in several places; most of the English Common-men escaping by their Shipboard; but at Newport in the pursuit there were taken, Earl of Alnwick, Earl of Rutland, Earl of Carlavon, Earl of Kelly, Earl of Devol, Earl of Cleveland, the new Earl of Shrewsberry, Sir John Pakington, Lord Smythe, Sir Ralph Clare, Sir Charles Cunningham, Colonel Graves, Master Richard Fanfoul, Secretary to the King, many also whole names we have not. (viz.) 6 Colonels of Horse, 13 of Foot, 9 Lieutenant Colonels of Horse, 8 Lieutenant Colonels of Foot, 6 Majors of Horse, 13 Majors of Foot, 57 Captains of Horse, 72 Captains of Foot, 55 Quarter-Masters, 89 Lieutenants; there were taken also some General Officers, with 76 Cornets of Horse, 99 Ensigns of Foot, 90 Quartermasters, 80 of the King's Servants, with the Kings
Kings Standard, which he had set up when he summoned the Countrie, the Kings Coach and Horses, and Collar of SS, but the Kings Ponets they had no power to touch, which recompened all the other Lots.

He (as was said before) departed in the dusk, leaving Colonel Careles in his Rear, to keep the Enemy in dispaire, while he was something forward on his way, & the approaching night might favour his escape. To which end, all persons about him were commanded to speak French, and a present Confultation was held which course they should fcer, and it was resolved by my Lord of Derby, that they should make what speed they could, and recover a place called Whitleadies before morning, which was some 25 miles from Worcesl; and thenceon one Mafter Gifford then in the company, was called for his guidance thither; and one Walker (that had been formerly a Scout-mater in the Kings Army) was his affiftant, yet the way was mistaken as they paffed a Heath, but by good providence soon recovered.

Betwixt three and four a clock the King reached this place, and Mafter Gifford (after some knocking at the door,) called up one George Penderill, a Servant in the Houte, who hearing and knowing his voice, ran down in his shirt and opened the door, and the King and his Retinue entred, where after a little debate about the security of his person, the said Earl having called thither William Penderill the House-keeper of Bofcobel, and dispatch'd another towards Tung to see if the Coast was yet clear; His Majefly in the mean while had his hair cut off, and his Bub- doublet and Lumen-breeces buried, and he was diliguent in Countrie habit, with adjuration of the fidelity of the Pendrills (who were now with their brother in Low George Times in number five) committed & entrusted to the Earl of Derby to their fidelity, which they were fully and dutifully promied. Then the Earl and the rest of the Lords, viz. the Duke of Buckingham and that Train, with tears took their leave (Derby would have flaid, but there was no probability of efficere for two) and my Lord Wilmot with John Penderill withdrew himfelf from that company to another retreat; the rest (except the Duke who lay conceale in other friends houses about that Countrie) were taken as aforefaid at Newport by Lilburne Hoxie, the fame who had defeated the Earl of Derby, who now rendred himself a Prisoner to one Captain Edge of Lancashire, on promife of quarter for life.

As soon as the King was thus left by his Company, with a Wood-bill in his hand, he was conduite into a Wood or Coppice near adjoining, taking the name of William Jones a Wood-cutter, newly come thither for work, and was accor Địnhly influfued in his Tongue and Behavior. That day proved very wet, so that Trams his Wife brought him a blanket to cover him, and a dibb of Milk and Apples for his refreshment, and at night against his coming home (where the Mother of the Pendrills at her Son Richard's house, most joyfully welcom'd him) and provided an ordinary Countrie Supper, which ended, the

King with Richard his guide resolved for Wales, 1651, and went to the Matter Wolfe of Maddedy, where for fear of search, he was fain to take up his Quarters in the Barn, where Mafter Wolfe and his Wife attended on him. Here his Majefly understood that the piffles over the Water, and the River Wye, were foor guarded, that it was un-feafonable for him to adventur into Wales, & that on Friday night he retried in his woolen accoutrements about his legs (in which he had lain in that hard lodging in great pain and fore-fees) to Bofcobel, where he found Colonel Carele (who had also betaken himself thither for shelter; & by his direction, that Saturday the King went into the Wood, (from the pleafante of whereof the houte took its name,) and by Ladders ascended into the top of that most celebrated Oak, which being thick with branches stretch- ing and floowing fore-right, was altogether imprvdous to the fight; and here the Colonel bore him company while he laid his head, and flet upon a pillow in his lap. At night they both defcended, and came into the houte and room themfelves, and the King perceiving the fecrecy of the place, was not willing to keep longer a-broad. He fah away the Sunday in a kind of Arbour or Banquetting-houfe at the end of the Garden, and there John Penderill came to him from my Lord Wilmot, to conduct him to Mr. White- graves houte at Mofley; whether with much difficulty and danger he himfelf had arrived, but the safety there anfwered all. The King approved of my Lord Wilmot advice, and on Monday night (with the guard of the five brethren) and the help of the Millers horte, he came to Mr. Whitegraves, where he was gladly received by my Lord and that Gentleman, and conveyed into a secret place; and there it was confidered what confe to take for a further progrefion in the Kings escape & to this purpose one Colonel Lane of Bemty was made acquainted with it, and by them it was agreed, that Miftris Jane Lons-jon, Mift and Mrs. Jana Lanc underway to Miftris to Mift and Mrs. Lons-jon, to ferve ride to Brifol, and the King as her convey to Mr. Leefelt and his Wife behind him, and a Pafs for their more fecurity in travel was procured.

On their way thither, my Lord Wilmot (as of chance) met with them, having a Hawk on his flit, and fo they journeyed together to Bridgegraves, where the Kings Horte lofit a flooee, He was for'd to carry his Horte to a Parrier, who inquiring of News of the King, and being anfwered by his Majefly, that he believ'd the King was escaped to Scotland, he replyed, that no doubt the King was secretly somewhere in England, and wife'd he knew where, for that he could get a 1000 l. by taking of him. The King departing from thence, comes to Evesham, where advising how to avoid Troopers then gaz'ng their Horte in the Mfters Adjoyning, they lighted upon them in a near Village as they rode, but they civilly let them pafs on their way to Cirenefer to the Crown, where they lodged that night, and went the next day towards Bridge within three Miles of the City, to the houte of Mr. Norton of Leigh, the designed journeys end. Here the King feign'd himfelf fick, and took his Chamber
by the order and care of Mrs. Lang. but the next morning sleeping into the Cellar, he was taken notice of by the Butler, one John Pope, a Soldier formerly in the late King's Army, who upon an instant look discermed him, and in all dutiful manner discovered himself to him, with such assurance of fidelity, that he gained his Majesties belief to fast, as to be employed by him in getting a Ship for his transportation: thence the King was conducted by my Lord Wilmot to one Colonel Windham's House at Treat in Dorset-shire, where he continued almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from Lyme. Soon after his arrival here, Mrs. Jane Lane with Mr. Laffels parted, being openly entertained as kinsfolk, and came in safety back again to Staffordshire.

The occurrences that happened here, we cannot certainly relate, only the King was disappointed of a passage which a Merchant had procured for him at Lyme, (by my Lord Wilmot and Colonel Windham's means;) and though the fault was in the Merchant, and he the dejected spirit of the Master of the Bark; yet this disappointment had like to have proved the Kings name, by the flowering of my Lord Wilmot's House, (there was one Mr. Ben. Peters that attended him for his Guide.) The Hollifter and the Smith discovered by the fowlers, that they were come somewhere from the Northern parts by their manner of nailing, and presently railed a rumour of the Kings being thereabouts; and whilst the Smith went to advise with a Minifter of the matter, my Lord was got a way by providence, and the King came to Bridport, where as its since reported, he had like to have been known by an Hollifter, as he was setting up the Horfes, who welcom'd him as having formerly seen him at Exeter, but did not distinguish who he was, and the King with a professor of drinking with him when he was more at leisure, withdrew himself from any further discovery. That night they boarded the Brad-Windham again the King met with some disturbance by Souldiers then filling those places, in order to their shipping for Jersey. But after all these surprising adventures, he got again to Colonel Windham, with the Lord Wilmot, who had overtaken them, and passed by them at Bridport as was agreed, and thence (for it could not be safe to continue longer in that place) he was sent to Salisbury to look out for another Sanctuary, and to confer with that purpose with Major Courtenay, who agreed to bring him to Mrs. Holfes house at a Village called Heal. The King in his way to Salisbury came to a Town called Merse to the George, an acquaintance of the Colonels, where drinking in the Cellar, the Host seeing the King stand off as a servant, said, This looks like an honest fellow, Here's an Heath to the King; who unrelishly answering it, made the main explication with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought him. The King from Merse went to the House of Mrs. Holfes, and was joyfully there received, and introduced to a secret place in the House, and here Colonel Robert Phillips came to him, and Colonel Windham took his leave of his Majestie, and returned; and Dr. Hincks. after made Bishop of London, had the honour to be made acquainted with his condition; and Phillips was present.
1651.

London, and was met about Allen with the Spea-
kker and the Members of Parliament, and the
Lord Mayor of London and Recorder Steele, who
in a recent Speech congratulated his great successes,
and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken Prophesy
applied them to word of the Psalmist, to
bind their Kings in Chains; and those Nikes in
Peters of iron, in an arrogant exaltation of his
Achievement; next day the Common prisoners
(being driven like a herd of Swine) were brought
through Westminster into Tachil fields; (a sudden
spectacle was never seen, except the miserable
place of their defeat) and there sold to several
Merchants, and sent to the Barbadoes; the Co-
loours taken were likewise hanged up in West-
minster-Hall, with those taken before at Preston
and Danbar.

We have hitherto without any digression related
the fortune of the King from the time of his
quitting Scotland to his safe arrival in France; but
shall now briefly describe the transactions that
passed in the Scotch quarters. When he at last
left the King constituted (as is hinted) General
Cromwell Commander in Chief of the En-
glish Army there; which was an Action that
carried great envy with it from those of his own par-
ty, because Monk had but lately engaged with
them; and it was objected, that he had been heard
to say, he would never draw a Sword in England
against the King or his Interest, and therefore
they could not expect faithful service from him in Scot-
land against the same party; but it is said, he gave
such assurance to Cromwell of his fidelity in that
station against that people, (who were the first
raiders of those unhappy Terrors that overpread
our Nation with the miseries of War and fedici-
on) that he would not be persuaded to alter his
choice.

The English Army left with the General ex-
cceeded not in trusty men, and many of these
were of the Scotch long marches, but they had by
several successful encounters gained the great re-
putation, and the Scots were much dispirited
thereby, so that whilst the part of his forces
was in good heart & his enemies dejected, he im-
mediately marched to Sterling, and came thither
by that time Cromwell got into England.

Sterling was at that time governed by Colonel
Cunningham, who was so surprized at the sudden
approach of the English Army, (believing them
to be of much greater numbers than they really
were) that after a short siege he surrendered the
Town and Castle upon Articles on the 14th of
August; where the Kings Royal Robes, the cloth of
State, and all the Scotch Records were found &
seized, together with five hundred Arms and forty
piece of Ordnance, and great store of Am-
munition; but all the goods of the private persons
there deposited, were delivered to such as would
own his black and weak band of friends; over the door of the Chappel that belongs to the Church of Sterling, the King's
name was written, J. C. R. Nobis hic inscri-
vitula inmensa Cremn fax Pretii 1617, which
shews that that place had remained unconquered
during the Reigns of an hundred and five Kings,
and so continued all his time and his Sons.

The next place to which the General marched
after the taking of Sterling was Dunbar; to which
Town the chief of the Inhabitants of Edinburgh
and many other Towns and places had conveyed
the bell part of their Moveables, as a secure de-
potitory, so that there was great riches in it.

Major Lumfclia was Governor of the Town,
who had therein eight hundred Soldiers, besides
some Companies of armed Habitants, whereby he
thought himself in so good a condition, that
when the General drew near the place, and sent
a summons to him, he returned a very flattering
answer, hereupon he environed the Town with his
Army; but at his first coming thither, hearing
that old General Lefty and several of the Lords of
Scotland were met at Elliot (about fourteen miles
from Dunbar) to raise Soldiers, he sent Colonel
Alfred and Colonel Morgan with a thousand
horse and Dragonets to disturb the Leives, leaving
privately the chief conduct and care of the design
to his confident Colonel Morgan, the other
(though the elder Colonel) being not very com-
petent for such a service. These, as soon as they
had their Orders marched in the night and took
possession of the Town, and by the help of some few Scotch Soldiers who had revolted to the English, they disem-
bled their march, that the Country took them for
their own forces going to Elliot, so that they were got undiscovered beyond the Town about
three of the Clock in the morning, and then they
marched into it with little or no resistance, and
took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Minis-
ters, with about 70 of their Servants, the chief
of which were General Lefty (who was found
hid in a close Cubbard-bed) the Earl's Majesty's
Crawford Lindsay, and Keith, the Lords Ogilby,
Burgony, Hume, & Lee with many other Knights,
and Gentlemen of note: these were all flipt for
London, but Lefty putting in at Newcastle was
by the favour of Sir Arthur Hazlerig (then Go-
vernour thereof) permitted to fly in Northum-
land with one De la Poel his Son-in-law upon parole
to be of true and faithful mind.

The General by this means had prevented all
possibility of disturbance in his Siege, and seeing
he could not by fair means prevail with the Go-
vernour to yield up the Town, though he knew
by the purchase of Elliot all hope of relief failed,
on the first of September he took it by storm, put-
ing all to the Sword that were found in Arms.
The Governour with some few for a while faved
themseves in a Steepel, but were smothered out
by the burning of wet straw, and then they yeald-
ed on mercy to one Captain Kelly of Colonel
Morgan's Regiment, who was carrying him to the
General with purpose to intercede for his life,
because of the gallantry of his behaviour in de-
ference of the Town; but as he was going with him.
one Major Butier barbarously shot him dead. The
Soldiers had very rich Boots in this Girition,
for it was at this time the richest Town in Scot-
land, and there were fifty Store of Ships in the
harbour of Dunbar, besides the taking of Dunbar. St.
Andrews, Aberdeen, with other Towns, Castles, and
strong places either voluntary submitted or ren-
dered upon Sammons.

These successe did not mitigate the severity of
the Rulers at Westminster, who about the end
of September appointed a Court-Marshall to sit at
Chefters, for the Tryal of the Earl of Derby and
Nunn several
The Earl upon his Tryal pleaded the Quarter given him by Captain Edge that took him priso-
ner, which was over-ruled by the Court, and he
was sentenced to be beheaded, and on the 15th
of October, that rigorous Sentence was executed
on him at Bolton in Lancashire; and for the
same cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by
the same Court, Sir Timothy Festrondenough, Capta
nin Bowbow, and Captain Symkins were sentenced
to death, and executed.

This sad occasion obliges us to a further ac-
count of those English Royalists who were tak-
en in, and after the same Battel of Worcester,
amongst whom were (besides others mentioned)
the Lord Grandison, Sir John Packington, Colo-
nel Egene, Colonel Edward Broughton, and Ma-
jor General Maffey; these were all except Maff-
ey presently imprisoned in the Tower; but he
being much wounded and tired with riding as he
effortively to escape, delivered himself up to
the Countefs of Stafford, who securred him in
her house till he was cured of his wounds, upon his
engagement to be a true Prisoner; and when he
was recovered, he was also sent to the Tower,
from whence by a difguise not long after he made
his escape. Colonel Hogan was much fought af-
ter by the purfues, but he got safe to the High-
lends in Scotland, being resolved to prosecute the
Kings Quartel where Nature had fixt her Non
Rura.

There remained nothing in England of the an-
cient Dominions and Territories thereof unlib-
dated to the Power of the Parliament, except the
Isle of Man, and the Island of Jersey, and Ca-
filet Cornet in the Isle of Guernfey; which were
all about this time surrendered to the Authority of
the English Commonwealth, and not only these
adjacent Islands, but what was in America apper-
taining to the Crown of England came quickly in
to their Jurisdiction, as did the Island of Barbadoes
(whereof the Lord Willoughby of Parham was
Governor for the King) which was yielded up
upon Articles to Sir George Asfough about the
beginning of January, The Articles were very
favourable both to the Government and Inhabitants,
the first having liberty of returning to England,
with freedom to his perfon and estate, and the la-
ter being indemnified for what ever they had done
inoffently against the Parliament. It is said, the
gaining of this Island was much facilitated by
one Colonel Muddifford then in difference with
the Government, whom Sir George had drawn to his
party, and by whose power and influence in the
Island it was easily obtained. Hereupon the
Islands of Mevis and St. Christopher thought it
in vain to stand out, but both submitted to Sir
George Asfough.

Towards the end of this year two eminent
Commanders of the English Commonwealth
were taken away by death, viz. General Edward
Popham, one of the Generals at Sea; and Ireton,
Son-in-law to Cromwell, and Deputy of Ireland,
who died of a contagious feaver contracted at the
Siege of the City of Limerick in Ireland; which
after an obituate refillance he had newly gain-
ed. His Corps was transported to England, and
brought to London, and interred in Henry the Se-
venths Chappel in Westminster with a magni-
cificent funeral pom and state. He was no doubt
a man of much dispatch, of dextrons and able
parts, had they been employed in a设计e-
dignes; and was thought to have been a great con-
triver and prompter in the chiefest of his Father-
ins Laws Thraatems. For a time after his decease,
Lieutenant General Edward Lydon, executed his
Office, till Colonel Charles Fletwood who
had succeded him in his wifhe, was thereby pre-
ferred to succeed him in the DepatmtH of Irl-
land.

The English Commonwealth having in some
wise quieted things at home, and thinking
themselves in a fair way to a calm of Peace and
Tranquility, took upon them now to give Laws to
their subjedted Dominions, as also to make Acts
of Grace to encourage their Subjects quietly to
submit to them: The first related to Scotland,
which being in a short time totally brought under,
(for besides the gaining of Dunbarre Castle,
which was delivered up by Sir Charles Eveskin,
and Dunbarre Castle which was taken by Colonel
M'Pigen, and the Isles of Orkney, the Hhbrides,
and even Schetl Land, which is thought by some to be
the fame that the Ancients called Alba Thule,
could not escape their Conquest, which was the
work of Colonel Overton) they take into con-
ideration a project, which however it being at-
tempted in former times, could be brought to no
effect, they resolved to go through with; name-
y, an Union of England and Scotland, and In-
corporating of both Nations into one Common-
wealth: This was mainly opposed and remon-
strated against by the Scotch Kirk, though in vain;
for the Parliament of England (as they called
themselves) had resolved upon an All for the Uni-
nion of Scotland, and the Abolishing of Kingly
Government in that Nation; intending that the
Shires or Burghs should choice their Deputies to
represent them in Parliament, in such a propor-
tional number as the Parliament should think fit.
And Commissioners were sent from hence in be-
half of the Commonwealth of England, to treat
concerning this Union with the Natives, whom
they found but very cold entertainers of their
Proffer, besides the tough opposition of the Cler-
gy. These Commissioners were Oliver St. John,
Sir Henry Vane, Major General Deane, Major Sal-
may, Colonel Pentrich, and Alderman Lichborn:
And not long after were sent down as Irregular
Judges to hear, determine, and make inspection
into all things belonging to the Government of
that Nation, Mr. George Smith, Mr. John March,
Mr. Edward Maffey, and Mr. William Lockart, a
Scotchman: But these Judges were several
times altered at pleasure. But to the Commissi-

The Parliament pro-
visions for the Gov ern-
mcnt of Scotland.
The next Act of Grace was to England, and was an Act of Oblivion, wherein they published it to be their intention to forget all injuries, and pardon all hostilities hitherto committed against them, upon condition of taking an engagement, which they imposed upon all people, wherein they were to promise To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as soon established without King or House of Lords; out of which nevertheless they excepted the Lord Goring and his Sons, Sir John Wilmot of Amsterdam, the Executors of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the llers of Dordans and Arnhem.

Scarce were these and some other little transactions finished at home, when there began to be in preparation new matters for the exercise of their Arms abroad, in respect of a secret design which had lain a pretty while mothering between them and their Brother States of Holland, which was probably in a great part occasioned through the flight and indifferent reckoning of Dordans, whose Affiliation they thought perhaps, not sufficiently invaded into; and afterwards of their Embassadors Oliver St. John, and Walter Strickland, who being affronted by the common people in Holland, thought themselves not sufficiently vindicated by the States, nor respected according to the Dignity of their Matters, and therefore came away in discontent; and though the States sent forth afterwards as their Agent, My Lord Jercham with several Complements and excuses, with Commission to treat about a fair Correspondence and Commerce with England; yet our States at Westминster were now resolved they should not have their friendship on such easy terms as before they offered by their Embassadors, since they then made no more account of it: so that they dismiss Jercham after a pretext time, beyond which he was not to stay, & then proceeded to make an Act, For the Encouragement of Navigation; wherein they prohibited the importation of any Foreign Commodities except upon English Bottoms, or such as were of the Country whence the Commodities came; beginning withal to stand high upon claims of Duties and Reparations for the prejudice done us in our Trading: upon which occasion was taken oftentimes to search the Dutch Ships, and sometimes to make prize of them. To complain of these damages, but more especially, if it were possible, to obtain a suppression of the said Act; so prejudicial to their Trade, they sent over into England their Embassadors, My Lord Heren Caza, Van de Peere, Sharp, and Newport; these men however commonly most zealous Advocates for a speedy Pacification, & relying much upon the favourable reception they should meet with here, were nevertheless at their very first Audience accosted with such high demands about the Herring-fishing, the business of Amberoy, and a free Trade in the Schelde, from Middelburgh to Antwerp, that they were able to give but a cold answer to their Matters in the Affair they came about: and though some Mediations for a while past to and fro for the Vindication of each others actions, (the Dutch all the while making great Protestations of their sincere and real intentions towards this Commonwealth) yet full preparations for War were privately made on both sides.

This year ended with an Act for the Banishment of John Lilburn, who being a performer of a milde, turbulent nature, had with retetlie inquisition pro- pounded all Government, in to much that it was said merry of him, and all the World were desperate to him alone John would be against Lilburn, and Lilburn against John. It was provided in this Act, that if ever he returned without leave from the State, he should suffer as a felon. That which caused this severity against him at this time was his violent opposition of Sir Arthur Hazelrig, a leading Member of the Parliament about a Coal- pit in his possession, claimed by one Primatt, wherein he did not only lay many oppreessions and scandals to the charge of Hazelrig, but in the publication thereof arrayed the Justice of the whole Commonwealth.

The States of Holland set out a very great Fleet for the security of their Trade for this year, and in their instructions to Martin Harper, therefor a great Terror, their Admiral, they directed him not to Fleet, unlike his Flag to the English Admiral, and the same Orders were given to every of the Ships of War, if occasionally they met any single Ships of England or others, that were not too numerous for their opposition.

The English on the other side they knew would not easily lose the Dominion of the Sea, which in all ages they exercised without control: so that Van Trump coming into Dover-Road on the 17th. of May with two and fourty Sail, lay there at Anchor, as to dare them to opposition; and notice thereof being given to Blake the English Admiral, he made haste to ply up towards him with about 12 Ships and Frigates, but when Trump deferred the English Fleet, he and his weighed Anchor, and stood away by a wind Easteaftward, intending (as Blake suspected) to leave them to avoid the dispute of the Flags: but about two hours after they altered their Course, and bore directly with the English Fleet, and Van Trump was headmost, whereupon the English lay by, and put themselves into a fighting Posture, judging the Dutch had a resolution to engage. Being come within Munquet-shot, Blake gave Order to fire at his Flag, which was done twice, and after the third shot, Trump let fly a broad-side, and it was well returned by the English Admiral; and after the exchange of Broad-sides Major Bourn came in to Blake's assistance with eight good Ships, and then both the Fleets engaged from four in the afternoon till it was dark, and though there were not less than two thousand Shot of Cannon exchanged on one side and the other, the lots of men was not great, and the greatest was of the Hollanders, of whom one Ship was sunk, and another taken, and shot an hundred and fifty men slain: the English had not any Ship disabled, and very few men killed. Van Trump drew his Fleet in the night to the back of Godwins Sands, and the next morning sailed away for Zealand.

The Holland Embassadors at London by their Memorials endeavoured all they could to per-
1652. 

The States apprehended this businels might cause a Rupture betwixt them and the English, and therefore they dispatched the Heer-Paa to England in the Quality of an Embassador Extraordinary, who was so very well received at his arrival at London, that he believed he should not only extinguishe the flame already kindled, but perfect that Negotiation formerly treated on by the other Embassadors. But in this he was much deceived, for when he and the other Embassadors had joyntly presented a paper to the Parliament to excite the late entrance of Trump, they returned an answer that did not at all content them for they peremptorily required, To be paid and satisfied for all the Charges and damages they had been put to and sustained by the preparations of the States General, and other attempts this Summer, before they would treat on any other Proposition. The States of the United Provinces being advertised of this proceeding immediately recalled their Embassadors, and, thereupon the War was vigorously prosecuted on both parts; and in a very little time Van Trump was again at Sea with an hundred and twenty four men of War; but he got not out soon enough to prevent General Blake's falling Northward with seventy Sail of Ships of War to interrupt the Dutch Fishing-Trade, and took five Dutch East-India Ships which were about that time expected to return home that way.

In the meantime about the 6th. of June Sir George Asse was arrived in the Downs with the Barbadoes fleet, consisting of 15 Men of Wars, having taken in his way ten Dutch Merchant-ships and four men of War, one whereof was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchant-ships of the present differences.

The Parliament upon his arrival sent Orders to him to stay there till a fleet then providing in the Thames should be made ready to join with him. Trump having intelligence thereof, about the beginning of July clapt in with part of his Fleet between Sir George and the River, and sent the other part Westward to prevent his going that way, relieving either to forposite those coming out of the Thames, or to sink and disable those with Sir George Asse: but the Governor of Dover gave speedy advice of the posture of the Enemy, that the Navy in the River moved not, and then Trump on the eighth of July made towards Sir George to assist that fleet, but the wind failing, they came to an Anchors League off, and before the next ebb, the Militia of that Country was ready upon the Coast, and Sir George his ships well reinforced with men, and a Platform was call'd up betwixt the Castles of Deal and Sandwich, whereon good store of Cannon were planted to receive them, but at the next ebb whilst they were under sail the wind came about South-West, and blew so directly in their teeth, that they could not possibly make in to them.

Trump upon this disappointment, returned to Holland, to convey several Merchant-men for the Northern and Eastern Trade, that lay ready for him; with which he failed towards the Sound, and in his way he received advice, that Blake had spoiled and dispersed their Herring-Fishing, and taken twelve Men of War that guarded them, and was with his fleet in Harbour about the Isles of Orkney, wherefore he sent part of his Ships to guard the Merchant-men on their Voyage, and with the rest he failed to find out Blake, having met in his way the five East-India Ships, but when he came near those Northern Islands, such a storm arose, that he was forced to put to Sea, and his fleet was so scattered, that he came home but with two and forty sail, and three of the East-India ships, but shortly the other two East-India ships, and the rest of the fleet came home in safety, and Blake came safe to Texamouth with all his fleet and fix of Trump Frigots, which he had met with and nine hundred Prisoners.

In this time Sir George Aste had got a fleet together of about forty sail, with which he failed to Plymouth to secure our Merchant-ships homeward bound, where there safely arrived five ships from the East-India's, and two from the Straights. Whilst Sir George lay there, De Ruyter was passing that way with a fleet of fifty men of War to convey about the like number of Merchant-ships that way: about two in the afternoon of the 16th. of August the English fleet got sight of the Enemy, and De Ruyter sent away his Merchant ships, and made ready for the fight, and about four Sir George with nine of his headmost ships charged through the Dutch fleet, and got the weather-gage of them, and charged them again, but the rest of his and all the rest being Merchant-men, and not coming up, and the night being already entered, both fleets drew off from each other, the Dutch into one of the French Ports, and Sir George to Plymouth to mend and repair the damages of the fleet; Captain Duck his Rear Admiral left his Leg and soon after died, and several other Captains were wounded, but not one ship lost; what loss of men the Dutch sustained was not known, but none of their ships were disabled.

Van Trump was at this time very much discontented upon some rumors spread of his failure of conduct in the last expedition, so that he defied the States that he might leave his charge and retire; the States seemed very unwilling to comply with his request, but at last they consented to it, and the Plassen was appointed in his place, to whom De Ruyter was joined in Commission. These two Commanders made what speed they could to get their fleet to Sea, and in October they made their flatons on the side of the North Foreland; Blake as soon as he had notice thereof hifhened with his fleet towards them, having been on the Wester Coast to Convey some Merchant ships homeward, and taken in his way five Dutch East-India ships of great value, and fix Streights men, valued at two hundred thousand pounds.
He divided his fleet into three Squadrons, one commanded by himself, the other by the Vice-Admiral, and the third by Rear-Admiral Bourn, and the 28th of October the fight was begun by Bourn, and (continued immediately) by the whole fleet, wherein great courage was shown on both sides, the Rear-Admiral of the Dutch was boarded and taken, and two more of their ships were sunk, and one blown up, so that Vice-Admiral was glad to give over the contest, and to ply his Sails to get off, being pursued by the English fleet within twelve Leagues East South-East of the Downs, and he with the remainder of his ton and much shattered ships came into Gote. The English preferred all their ships, though many of them were much battered, and Blake came in triumph into the Downs.

The Dutch were much troubled at the loss of this Combat, which was by Witenus intended to the cowardice of some of his Commanders, and the disadvantage of the English Ships over them in number and strength.

But nevertheless the States thought it not convenient to hazard another Combat till they had a more sufficient fleet than before, both in the goodneß and strength of their ships and the number also.

Both they and the English in the first beginning of the War had sent to the Swedes and Danes to invite them to their party, because the materials for shipping came from the Seas where these Princes had the chief Dominions; and the Swedes were very favourable to us, and at least would be Neuters, if not partakers with us, and the Queen sent hither Monsieur Spiering her Embassador who died shortly after his arrival at London, and after his death Monsieur Apple-boum succeeded: but the Danes declared for the States of the United Provinces against us; and about this time their King sent a Message to them that he was ready to succour them with twenty good ships of War; provided they would re-establish Trump in his late employment as Admiral; The States were very willing to comply with this proposition and Trump was again prevailed with to re-affix his former charge.

In the Levant Captain Badly with four or five English Frigots was set upon by Van Gales, who commanded a Fleet of fifteen Sails of Dutchmen of War in those Seas, in which encounter the Phoenix was taken by the Dutch, and the rest of our Ships were forc'd to retire under the protection of the Port of Longjus but Van Gales bought this Victory with the loss of his life, and the Phoenix was on the 20th of November regained by the valor of Captain Cox, a former Lieutenant to the same Ship.

Van Trump being restored to the office of Admiral was very indispensible to give a proof of his courage in some valiant enterprise; and to that purpose having got together eighty men of War, and ten Fire-ships, he sailed directly to the backside of the Goodwin near the place where the former Battle was fought; Blake was in the Demo with few more than forty Sails, but was nevertheless resolved not to refuse an engagement, and for that purpose he huyed his fleet to find out Trump, and sent out seven Ships to discover his Fleet, which were met with nine of the Dutch Ships sent out on the same errand. These began the Fight with their Cannon, and immediately the two Generals advanced at the head of their Squadrons, and the Fight was very furious, and lasted from two in the morning on the 29th of November, till fix in the evening. The Dutch, wherein Blake himself was with the Victcry, and Vanguard bore most of the fire, being engaged at one time with twenty of the best Dutch Ships, and though it was long doubted on which side the fortune of the day would turn, yet at last the numbers of the Dutch drew it to that side with the loss of the Garland and Bonaventure which were taken, and of one that was burnt, and three sunk; and indeed if the night had not been favourable to our retreat, the whole Fleet might have been in much danger. But the Dutch could not much boast of this Victory, for they lost many men, and one of their Flag-ships was blown up, and all the Mariners and Soldiers therein lost, except two; and the Ships of Van Trump and de Reyter were much damaged.

Blake after this defeat drew his shattered Fleet into the River of Thames to be repaired, and it is said, Trump triumphantly sail'd though the Channel with a Broom on his main Topmast, preparing to renew the Channel of all English ships, and having sent home all his disabled Ships, after some little stay about Guernsey and the Western parts, he arrived at the Isle of Ely to lay there for a Fleet of Merchants Ships which were to be convey'd homewards. In the mean time all possible care was used by the English States to equippe a Fleet to meet him as he return'd, and General Monk was added to the number of the Generals at Sea, and General Deane being newly arrived from Scotland, was ordered to go to Sea with Blake and Monk; so that under the joint command and conduct of these three Generals, the War at Sea was to be managed.

The expence of this War made this Parliament contrive all ways they could to husband their treasure, and because they thought the entertainment of the Duke of Gineyler (whom since the murder of the late King they had kept at the Isle of Wight) too great an expence, they resolved to tend him abroad, and about the beginning of February they sent him with two Ser- vants to Dunkirk, promising to allow him a small exhibition for his maintenance, if he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his relations.

But as soon as he came on that side of the wa- ter, he was received according to his Birth and Quality, and from Brussels he was attended to the Princes of Avranches at Brede, where he safely ar- rived to the great joy of her, and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fear, that his life would be taken away by those that spared not the life of his Royal Father.

After he had been a while at Brede, he was from where he was conducted to Paris to the King his Brother, to whom as the son of the King his Mother,
The English Fleet made what sail they could towards the Enemy, and * vain Trump* having re-
collected his ships of War prepared to receive them, and about eight in the morning, the Tri-
umph wherein *Black and Dean* were, with twelve ships more (for the rest of the fleet could not get up) engaged board and board with the guns of the Dutch fleet, and the *Trump* was hardly put to it, having received seven hundred Canon-
non-flot in her hull, but was gallantly relieved by the *Leifon* Commander of the *Fairfax*.

The Ship wherein General *Mofk* commanded being a good fayler, could not perform too much as he defired, but lost many men, and had as great a fhare in the fight as any of her condition. The *Trump* and *Fairfax* being enclosed by the greateft of the *Holland* ships, had in each an hun-
dred killed and wounded, and *Black* received a hurt in his thigh, with a piece of iron which a shot had driven out, and Captain thereof was flain, together with *Sparres* the Secretary; the *Professor*, a ship of fenty and forty Guns, was boarded by the Dutch, but recovered by the *Mer-
lia* Frigt, Captain *Midland* of the *Vanguard* was flain. The English loft not a ship in this fight, but had many disabled; but fome of Men of War of the Dutch were taken and funk, whereof one was a Flagg-ship, and it is faid, that moft of the Officers in *Trump* ship were killed or wounded, and many of the Mariners. Such of the English fleet as were disabled got into *Porfgmouth*, and the wounded men were fent on *Shore*, and on *Saturday* morning the Dutch fleet was again difcovered seven Leagues off *Weymouth*, and over again *Doughtnelf* whither the English pled; and in the afternoon both fleets engaged with too much fury that they were quickly environed with flame & smoke. *Trump* had put his Merchant men before him, and after the first fhook, he did atrand fought retreating towards *Bulboug*, and in his way thither the English Frigots at large took many of his Merchant ships, and *Leifon* boarded a Dutch man of War and brought her off; the next day, early in the morning the fight was renewed, which continued very fierce till four in the afternoon; but the wind being crofs to the English at North North-East, *Trump* got to *Calice Sands*, and there anchored, and thence tided it home.

The Dutch lost in these three days fight eleven Men of War, and thirty Merchants fhips, and by the calculation of their own Prisoners, they had not lefs than fifteen hundred men killed; but of the English though many fhips were shattered, there was but one funk named the *Samson*, but Captain *Button* the Commander thereof (though much wounded) and moft of the men were faved. The number of the English flain is not reported, but by the brief conjecture that could be made, they were not much lefs than thofe of their enemies.
This Year died the Lady Eleanor Davys, whose Prediction concerning the late Duke of Bucking-ham's death, was thought remarkable enough to be commemorated by several Writers of the History of those times, amongst the Prelates that threatened the untimely end of that Great Man: And this coming from a Person of her Quality, was so much the more a subject of critical discourse and cenure among the Witts of those times; and whence perhaps, some late Observers have taken aim; but since common Fame in these cafes is ever apt to take things un-ontrut, and for want of due examination, to fix reproach as soon upon the belt as the world, it may much conduce to the rectifying of mis-informed judgments, & the vindicating of the memory of so Vertuous a Lady from the injurious reflections of unruly Writers, to give this faithful account of her; She was the 5th Daughter of Lord George Audley Earl of Devonshire, and was married to Sir John Davys, the King's first Serjeant at Law in England, and sometime Attorney General in Ireland (whole Worth his own Learned Writings, and the known Credit he had with his Prince, sufficiently speak) by whom she was the Mother of one only Daughter, Lucy, married to Ferdinando late Earl of Huntingdon, (by her) Grandmother to the present Earl; as for her Character, there needs little more to be said (for nothing can be more advantageously) than to repeat what hath been delivered of her by the Elegant Pen of the Learned Doctor Peter Du Moulin; She was, faith he, Erudita supra fexum, Mitis infra Sorren; Learned above her Sex, Humble below her Fortunes, having as a Mind so Great and Noble, that Prosperity could not make it remiss, nor her deep adversity cause to shrink, or discover the least palliament or de-fcription of Spirit; for being full of the love of God, to that fullest, the limiting World could not add, nor the pronouncing from it deterre. Hence, as from a living Spring, flowed a full stream of Christian Graces, redounding to the benefit of many as well as to her own Comfort. She had a fineness of Wit, but so temper'd with Prudence & Conflagitation, that the early addicted her self to serious speculation, and the study of Divine Truths: Wherefore, since our Savour bids us examine (especially in these cafes) the tree by the fruit, we recommend it to the consideration of the judicious, whether a Person so qualified and so addicted, might not with most equity be judged on this occasion, to have been favoured with some beam of divine knowledge of future things. Certain it is, that not only in the above-mentioned, but in divers other Events both of private and publick Concernments, her Predictions proved undoubtedly true. In the most flourishing condition of the Nation, she foretold its unparal-lel'd troubles, and in the depth of those troubles, the foretold that happy Restoration to Peace and Settlement which we at this day (through the Mercy of God) enjoy under our Most Gracious Sovereign, and in every one the long before prefix'd the time of their accomplish-ment.

This boscic year ended with the safe arrival of Prince Rupert with the Swallow, and a prize laden with Tobacco, and a little Frigate at Nanise in Britanny, from the Caribbe Islands. He had been sometime in those Seas with seven or eight ships and his Brother Prince Maurice with him, endeavouring to give what annoyance he could to the Enemies of the Crown of England in those parts, till some serviceable occasion might render him more favourable elsewhere; but the said Frigate of adverse Fortune, which yet eclips'd the Royal Throne of England did even in those distant parts purifie this Illustrious pair of Princes, and by the violence of a Hurricane, the life of one of them (the Valiant Prince Maurice) was taken away, a person who in our unhappy Civil Wars gave eminent proof of so much courage and ge-nerously as any one man, could be master of, than whom death has left few worthier behinde, to dig-nifie the World with actions of Glory and Renown. Prince Rupert at his first arrival fell sick, but upon his recovery he was invited to Paris and complimented by the King of France, and cordially welcom'd by the King our Sovereign, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met to-gether.

It is commonly observed, that it is easier much to obtain a Conquest then secure it; and in nothing was this more visible than in the present posture of Affairs in England, where the new Commonwealth now advanced to as great pro-perty and security as their ambitious hopes could aim at, having together with the death of the late King, as much as in them lay even buried and eradicated Monarchy by itself, began to sink under its own weight, and by intestine divisions at home, to meet that ruin, which all the strength and power of her enemies abroad and their Confederates could not reach to.

The Officers of the Army who effected this change, had met in Council some months before in meditation of altering the Government, and these being of two parties and of different interests, it was scarce believed they could agree in the design. Harrison who was one of the heads of that party at this time known by the name of the Sect of the Fifth Monarchy, had gained a great part of the Interior Officers, and those were so much intoxicated with that Notion, that they never could approve of any Government, but where (as they said) Christ was to Rule, which as they explained (was a Domination to be exercised by Saints under him, men of such holy and sanctified lives, that nothing but plenty and happiness could be expected from their Go vernment, and to such, all Officers of Truth and Power, Military and Civil were to be committed, and of this sort they resolved to chuse by nomination a new Representative. Cromwe mingled with these zealots in this projection, knowing the inconfistency of their intentions, and that the reins of Power would be by them managed (as the Poets feigned Phoenix conduct of the Chariot of the Sun) to fet the World in a flame, and introduce such confusion as would nece-sitate his taking to himself the Government to rescue his party from destruction.

The
The Parliament were very sensible of these
actions, but knew not how to prevent their pro-
gress, yet that they might not be wanting to their
own security, they had many conferences with
these Officers, wherein they represented to them
the inconveniences of their proceedings, telling
them as the temper of the Nation now stood, no
safety could be administered to the Government, but
by filling up the House with Elections by the Coun-
trees, of persons qualified, and when they were by
that method arrived to a full Representative of
the Nation, their Acts would be received with greater
Authority, and by the concurrent advice of so great
a Body of interested persons, their cause would be
strengthened, and the good they would do in reform-
ing the Law and all disorder, and administering Ju-
sice impartially, and setting a due liberty to the
people in Civil and Spiritual things, would make the
Government in a few years so acceptable, that there
would be no need of an Army to support it.

To this answer was made by the Officers, That
they could not extend any good fruits to the people of
God from this Parliament, wherein there was so
great a party of Carnal men of corrupt Princi-
ples, that the persons by their Ambition to be cho-
sen would be of the like temper and spirit as they
are, and join with them in perpetuating themselves
in the Supreme Government; concluding, That
the people of the Land, who were distinguisable from
the people of God were not yet to be drafted with the
choice of their own Representatives; But they ( they said) would take care to devote the Su-
preme Authority upon known persons, fearing God,
and of approved integrity. This reasoning on both
sides tended to make the breach wider, but
the Parliament in the mean time went on ac-
cording to their own purpose, and prepared an Act
for the setting of Qualifications of Members to
fill up their House, wherein such speed was made, that
on the 20th of April the Question was rea-
dy to be put to pass it into a Law, when Cromwell,
Lambert, Harrison, and some eight Officers
more of the Army, by intelligence with some of
the Members, entred the House, and after a short
Speech spoken by Cromwell, shewing some reasons
for the necessity of their dissolution, he declared
them dissolved, and required them to depart, but
the Speaker would not leave the Chair, till by
Harrison taken out the Arm, and Cromwell
commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not
any more to be carried before him, and then they
called the Doors of the Parliament House to be
locked, and placed a good Guard thereon to pre-
vent the assembling of the Members.

This Revolution could not but be very pleasing
to the King, for now the Stone was rolling, in all
probability it would stand firm; nor could it ever
appear that that Government should be at-
tained under which this Kingdom had enjoyed as
much happiness for many Centuries of years as
any Nation in the world.

The first thing done by these Officers after this
change, was to constitute a Council of State con-
stituting of the Chief Officers of the Army, and
such of the late Parliament as were their Con-

derates, in whom the Supreme Authority was pla-
ced, and till a Representative should be chosen,
all obedience was required thereunto as fully as

when the Parliament was sitting, and all Judges,
Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, and
other Civil Officers and publick Ministers what-
ever so in the requisite Offices and
places, and Laws were to run in the style of the
Keepers of the Liberty of England as before.

The Dutch thought to profit themselves of this
alteration, and made all possible haste to get out
their fleet, but our new Governors omitted no-
ting that might advance their Maritime prepara-
tions; and the first thing they did after their e-

tablishment, was to make an Ordinance for the

raising of six months Affirmation from the 24th of
June ensuing, which was readily obeyed, be-
cause it exacted not so great a sum, as the last Acts
of Parliament for Affirmations.

Whilst these things were in action, all Officers
and Soldiers in England, Scotland, and Ireland,
and all the Officers in the Fleet were preten-
ded to approve of the Armies proceedings, and did
comply therewith, to that no Controversion follow-
ed in any part upon this mutation of Govern-
ment.

The next considerable matter that occurred
was a Naval Combat betwixt the Dutch fleet un-
der Trump affighted with De Ruyter, with

the two Eversons consisting of 104, Men of
War and 12 Galliots and 9 Fire-ships, and the

English Fleet under the Command of General
Monck and General Dean (who were both in one
Ship) affighted by Pen the Vice-Admiral, and

Lawson Rear-Admiral, consisting of an hundred
ships of all sorts. It was about eleven of the clock
at noon on the second of June that both the fleets
engaged, and to fatal was the beginning of the
fight, at the first Broad-side of the Enemy,
Dean was almost in the middle by a Can-
non-Bullet, as he stood by General Monck, but he,
without any disturbance was so prompt to himself,
that he caused him to be removed, and prosecu-
ted the Battle with great resolution, without any
further notice of the accident. The noise and
thunder of the Cannon was very great, & had been
very deplorable to both parties, if a sudden calm
had not abated the fury of the fight for some time
after it began; but after two hours such a fresh

Gale of wind rote, that the fight was renewed in
the most violent manner, that it continued with very
little intermission whilst there was any light;

Lawson press'd to hard upon De Ruyter with his
Squadron that he had carried him if Trump had not
come in to his relief, but he could not prevent
Lawson sinking a ship of Hmsble of two and for-
ty Guns that had in her a hundred and forty men;
the General with his Squadron was in the thic-
keff of them, and greater execution had been done
but that the wind blew fresh to the English,
and so favoured their enemies, that they bore a-
way before it. The next morning early General
Monck found himself near them, but the wind was
to flock, he could not come up till noon to engage
their fleet, but then the Combat was begun with
greater vigour than at any time before, and con-
tinued till ten at night; ninety of Trumps fleet in
the heat of the engagement were so great con-
fusion, and so unwilling to stand to the fight, that
he fired upon them, and sent his boat to Com-
mand them to come up to him, but nothing he
could
could do or say, could persuade more than twenty of them to return, the rest fled clear away East and by South, but the wind being fresh Westwardly, the General pres'd to hard upon them, that he fink fix of their best Ships, and two were blown up amongst their own Fleet, and eleven Ships and two Hoyes were taken, and thirteen hundred and fifty Prisoners, whereof fix were Captains of very good note, and of the Ships one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals.

At the end of this dailies Fight, General Blake came in with eighteen fresh Ships, and if the Dutch had not been upon the Flats of Dunkirk and Caier, where their great Ships could not get up to them, most of their Fleet had been ru'd or taken. The English had not one Ship left of disabled, and except General Dean, but one Captain lain.

Van Trump imputed this overthrow to the ignorance and unskillfulness of his Captains, but his Masters were so humbled by it, that a resolution for Peace was immediately taken up, and a Vessel with a white Flag, and a Messenger to prepare a way for two Embassadors, was sent into England.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several persons all over England (who were the most distinguished creatures they could nominate) to form a representative, and a summons was sent to every one of them in the name of Oliver Cromwell Captain General of all the Forces, to the meeting which they were summoned, and to meet at White-Hall to that purpose on the 5th of July then next coming.

These according to the respective summons assembled at the time appointed, and went to Westminster to the Parliament House; and chose one Rowe a Cornish man (made by the late Parliament Provost of Exon) to be their Speaker, and appointed several Committees in the manner as other Parliaments used to do, to make their business easy to them.

The Dutch in this juncture had under hand made Overtures of a Peace to Cromwell, which were not ill received, but that they might make it on better terms, they were resolved once more to try their fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost reputation; and in order thereunto, they prepared a Fleet to the number of 135 Sail, with so much confidence of success, that they posted Van Trump out with 95 Ships before the rest were ready, which were to be brought to him by Witt Wittens from the Texel.

It was upon the 29th of July in the morning when the English Fleet of about 160 Ships de- ferred the Dutch, they had time to draw together, and divided their Fleet into 4 Squadrons, viz. the first under Trump, the second under Vice-Admiral Everson, and the third under Rear-Admiral Floris, and the fourth under Wittens for a refuge.

The English Fleet was commanded by General Monk in Chief, having Pen for his Vice-Admiral, and Lenfon Rear-Admiral; Blake was discompos'd in his health, and not with the Fleet, the English were all a stern, and could not get up till fix of the clock to come to any engagement, and then it was begun with a few of the nimblest Frigots, which were afterwards re-in- for'd to the number of thirty, who continued the Battle till the night parted them, though the rest of the Fleet could not get up to join with them.

The Dutch by the darkness of the night sent away many of their main'd disabled Ships, and got by the English Fleet to join with their 25 Ships that written brought to them, which much encouraged the rest to renew the Fight, in hopes to be reveng'd of their late affront; and now both Fleets met in the most fierce and cruel Fight that ever was fought, (General Monk observing this War to be very burdensome to the Nation, thought the best way of ending it to be in the sharpest of it, and therefore gave orders to all his Captains, neither to give nor take Quarter; for he had found by experience, that the taking of Ships Oblig'd him always to send other Ships off with them, and so the Fleet became weakened,) The Air was quickly fill'd with streak'd Limbs of men blown up; The Sea was died with the Blood that flowed from the Veins of the slain and wounded; Wit Wittens and Everson did behir themselves, and often attempt'd to board the Ship in which the General himself was; Cornelius Everson Ship was funk, and he taken, and the famous Van Trump himself standing upon the Poop of his Ship with his drawn sword encourageing his men, was slain with a Mufquet-bullet, whereby the rest of the Fleet was discouraged, that they hoyed out all the Sail they could to haste away towards the Texel: The English pur- sued little, (having bought the Victory at a dear rate) but tack'd about to Nether-Say, there to re- pair the shattered Ships, and dispofe of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains, viz. Ever- son, Zanger, Cossier, Sceten and D'Hayet, and about 1300 common men, by the mercy and commifion of the English taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; 33 sail of Ships, out of which they were sav'd, were funk to the bottom of the Ocean, and in regard that these Prisoners were belonging to so many lost Ships, by this means the number of them was known; but it is suppos'd some were sunk, out of which no men were sav'd. The English lost 400 common men, and eight Captains, Gravenor, Peacock, Harrington, Crisfe, Newman, Cox, Owen, and Chapman men, of great resolution; and had about 700 wounded, whereof five were Commanders, but they left but one Ship, which was called the Oake. Van Trump was a man of so great Courage and Experience in Maritime affairs, that he justly merited the fame of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of this Age, and perhaps there were few better at any time before. He was a Perfon of much Ver- tue, Honour and Fidelity, and a great lover of his Country, which made him bear a grateful re- spect to the House of Orange, by whom the foun- dation was laid of that (High and Mighty) great- ness they now aflume and enjoy; and by whole
The War was not only prosecuted in those great fights, but in all parts of the world where the trade of the two Nations was suffered, the ships of each engaged one the other, and many more conflicts were made in several places, but because the particular description of these encounters would swell this Treatise to too large a bulk, we do omit the doing thereof.

This new Parliament (for, so for distinction we must call it) began to be so troublesome in their consultations, that the whole Nation, and the moit of those Army Officers that named them, grew wearis of them than those that were before removed; for they were so Seraphical and Notional in their debates, that the whole Magistracy and Ministry was to be so modelled, as would make the Government ridiculous; but the Ministry and the maintenance thereof by Tythes was that they most arraigned as an Antichristian Conftitution; so that now all things succeeded to Crowsets expectation, and their dissolution was earnestly prefixed to have a threatened conflagration in Government, if they continued in Authority; and of this some amongst themselves were so sensible, that Row the Speaker on the 12th of December acquainted the House, that their sitting was no longer necessary, and being seconded by some others privy to the intention, he rose from the Chair, and went out of the House with the Mace before him, and with as many as would follow him (being the Major part of the Members) he came to Whitehall, and there resigned to Crowsel the Infirmity by him formerly delivered to them at their first sitting, Harrison and some few laid in the House after the went, but were quickly dispersed by a party of Souldiers sent to dissolve them.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army had prepared an Instrument or Syllable of Government, on which the foundation of a new Dominion was to be erected, and they entered Oliver Cromwell to accept of the Government under the Title of Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland: He at first seemingely refused the Dignity; but when the exigence of time and necessity of Affairs were laid open to him, he did accept of it; and was that day at one in the afternoon installed at Westminster in manner following:

He came from White-Hall to the Canopie Court in Westminster-Hall attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer and Judges in their Robes, and after them the Council leamed of the Commonwealth, and the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Re-
The first Act of these Councils after their establishment was a Proclamation notifying the Government with a direction therein, That all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Burgesses, and all other publick Officers, and Ministers who ever were within this Commonwealth or any part thereof, do proceed in their respective places and offices until further Order to the contrary.

The States of the United Provinces were brought into follow condition by the two last fights, and their people so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in the Provinces, nevertheless they put as good a Countenance as they could on their condition, and chose the Heer Opdam to be Admiral of their Fleet in the place of Trump, but thought it more advisable to provide overtures of peace than venture another Battel; and certainly if the War had been continued, their Mariners were to baffle, they would very hardly have procured men to furnish a fleet, and one Battel more might have brought us a Blank paper for our own conditions; but Cromwell was not so well fitted in his Thrice to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Embassadors, Newport, Poncelet, and Bremering, and Van der Pears were well received by him; and in the beginning of this year they were so diligent in their Negotiation, that on the 5th of April the Articles of Peace were signed in London, and on the 16th of the same month they were proclaimed in London and Amsterdam, and in this Peace the King of Denmark was included.

For the King of Denmark espousing the interest of the States of Holland, he had arrested two and twenty English Ships which were in his Ports, and at their insistence confiscated the Merchandizes therein; so that they were obliged to complicate that difference, and this was that which had more difficulty than any other matter in the Treaty.

The Articles of Peace we think not very essential to our History to be inserted at large, but the two which were of most importance, were these (viz.)

The Men of War and other Ships of Holland meeting the English ships in the Narrow Seas shall lower their sails to them.

The States shall cause restitution to be made by the King of Denmark of all the ships and goods of the English by him seized which are not disposed of, and a full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertain'd in a time prefixed by the English Merchants, and the Dutch who should meet for that purpose.

And the Spanish Embassador was as early as any to congratulate the Proctors Authority; and peace was made with the Queen of Sweden, and the Conde del Sa, Lord Chamberlain of the Kingdom of Portugal came in a splendid embassage to live for a Peace of him; nor were the French backward to own his power, having given to Monsieur Bourdeaux their Refidant here the Quality of Embassador to qualify him the better for his Negotiation, and added to him the Baron of Bassa for a Colleague, Cromwell being now owned by 1654, many of the Neighbour Princes and States a-broad, and by most of those of his own party at home, thought himself secure from none but the Prince of Cred Royalitics, and to give them some terror, he had his agents hanged at Amsterdam to draw in some false credulous persons of that party to their destruction; and in prosecution hereof in the month of May Colonel John Gerard, and his Brother Master Charles Gerard, Mr. Philip Porter, Mr. Peter Foezi, and Mr. Summerst Fox were apprehended for a pretended intention to assassinate the Protecor, and brought before a High Court of Justice erected for that purpose, proclaimed on the 13th of June following, and fitting on the 31st before whom they were tried for their lives, and three of them (viz.) Colonels John Gerard, Mr. Foezi, and Summerst Fox were condemned. The last of these was reprieved and pardoned upon his confession of the fact and craving mercy, but the other two were executed. Mr. Foezi was hanged at Charing Cross, where with an undaunted spirit tempered with a Christian constancy and patience he gave up his life. Colonel Gerard was beheaded on Tower-hill, and died with great courage and Magnanimity. With him upon the same Scaffold followed the Portuguese Embassadors Brother Don Antionio who had a while before made a riot in the new Exchange upon concert of some afront offered to him, and killed one Greenside a Gentleman standing quietly at a shop, no opposition being made but by this Colonel Gerard, who was vastly joy'd with him in death. The Murder was committed by a Knight of Malta, who escaped, but this Gentleman and four more of the Embassadors Servants being taken (one whereof was an Irish youth.) They were arraigned in Westminster-Hall before Judge Rolfe, and others by special Commission of Oyer and Terminer thereunto appointed; and the Portuguese were tried by a Jury of half English and half strangers, and the Irish Boy by a Jury of English; they were all found guilty, but none suffered but the above mentioned Don Antionio and the Irish youth, who both were hanged at Newgate.

Our King had remained in the Court of France between two and three years, with an expensiveness sometimes flowing, and sometimes ebbing, of gaining at length some opportunity to recover his Kingdoms; some hopes he had of assistance from several other Princes of the Empire, as the Duke of Brandenburg, Luneburg, Braunschvicg, &c., as also the Emperor himself, to whom was sent in a decent and Honourable equipage the Lord Viscount Creald Earl of Rochester, and his Advocate received with much civility and respect. Moreover, the Dutch seemed very inclinable to the owning and adopting his Interest in their War with England, and Prince Rupert was design'd to have had the Command in his Majesties Name, of a Squadron of their Ships; yet little speed was made in putting this Overture into act; and so suddenly was the Peace made up between this Nation and France which they hoped for and expected from them, very vainly and came to nothing: His next and more probable expension was from the Success of those earnest endeavours that were made by the Pope and...
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King CHARLES the Second.

1654.

The King follows a Peace between France and Spain.

He departs out of France for Germany.

The King removeth to the Spaw. Thence to Colen.

From the time we left Ireland in so declining a condition, and so almost lost to his Majesties hopes, and the Lord Lieutenant endeavours, the most considerable Force that was left, was in Ulster, under the leading of Emer Mac Mahon Bishop of Cloghony, who (Own’d not Oneal being dead) succeeded him as General in those Parts, besides the united forces of Clanrickard, Muckenny, and Castlehaven, and some few parties that now and then fallied from their Palatines, these for a while gave check to the Republicans and Cromwell’s Tabellies; till in the end the said Pre-late being overthrown (even to the taking of his person mortal wounded in the right) by Colonel Cog and Colonel Fenwick, the Lord Mulraverty by the Lord Broghil, the Marquis of Clanrickard, soon after a defeat he received at Finaghy, forced to lay down his Arms in the Isle of Caricott; the remnant of the Ulster forces Commanded by the Lord Jenkitten, Colonel O’Reilly, and the Mac-Mahon, Relations of the great B. Bay, yielding upon Articles, as likewise did Marlborough Britain, having all of them float it out to the last extremity: the remaining Towns, Castles, and Forts which held out, as Athlone, Galway, Ballinasheen, Baltimore, the Isles of Arran and Enniskillen, and other places, were all constrained to surrender themselves to the Conquering power; the Marquises of Ormond, and the Lord Inchiquin, having in time provided for their safety, (when they saw things in a desperate condition, and still growing worse and worse) by engaging for France, nothing was left but to despair, and extirpate the vanquished, and take possession in their room: Some they removed out of the world by an Itinerant High-Court of Justice, which went in Circuit from one place to another, the President whereof was one Justice Dunfahan an Irishman; and Cook (notorious by his officiating in another High-Court) his assistant: Others were sent out of the Landby the Articles of Transportation, which the Marquises of Clanrickard and others upon their laying down arms at the said Court, were called by that name, to serve the King of Spain; or some Force in his Wars: those Inhabitants that remained and escaped the High-Court, were transplanted to the Province of Connought, so that there was a large extent of Territory left for the Adventurers and Purchasers of Irish Lands: the main pretence of this foresaid Court which sat at Kilconn, and thence removed to Kinsford, Dalhvin, Riffer, and other places, was for the Trial of those that judged guilty of the Irish Rebellion in 1641. The chief of Quality that suffered, (for there were a number of Leet’s note) were Colonel Mac Hugh, Colonel Tol, and Colonel Walter Bagnal, and who of all the most eminent as in Quality so in Crime (had he been judged by a Lawful Authority) as having been one of the principal leading Men in that Insurrection, and likewise one of the chief Upholders of the Union, endeavoured by the Lord Lieutenant to the advantage of the Majesties Service, Sir Philip Onsale, who being taken near Charlemont, tried, and condemned, was hanged and Quartered near my L. Castlereagh, House, at the place where he had caused his father to be murdered: thus Ireland became subjugated to the English Hufpertime. And so likewise was Scotland thought to have been at this time, when on the sudden a new Hoplity springs up in the Highlands, headed by divers of the Scotch Nobility, who had the most powerful influence in those parts, the Earls of Glicarn, Aboy, Seaforth, Kinmont, the Lord Kenmore, the Laids Mac-Redeal; and Mac-Cland, Colonel Montgomeroy, Sir Alamy Murry, and Sir Arthur Forset; thet having each of them got together their several parties, were endeavouring to unite into a Body, and so toiled to have been able with a force not altogether contemptible to have taken the chief obd of the main part of the Island that were then in Scotland: and ‘tis like enough they had speedily effected what they intended, had not the chief Body of them, amounting in all to about 4000 under Glencarn, and Kenmore been encountered on the sudden, all armed, all provided, Glencarn &c. 

Glicarn’s Army in this conflict, being very much laden, put
put to the rout and dispersed, and himself mending but little of being taken, the rest in little strag- ling parties were many times met with to their last refug in which they were not for all this so out of heart, but that they again made a shift in some fort to re- imbody, & that so much the more confidently upon expectation of Middletons coming over with Sup- plies out of Holland: though upon his arrival not long after with Commission to be General, Sir G. Monro, (who together with the Lord Nepier, and Major General Dolger, landed with Middleton at Honey Ferry) having also Commission to be Lieu- tenant General; The Highland Levies instead of being re-inforced by these additional forces and supplies were rather weakened and overthrown by the animosities of some of the Scotch Nobility, especially Glencarn Romaching the prefer- ence of Middleton and Monro to the Command of the Army above him, thereupon departed in different lines, and laid down his Arms, Upon the neck of which breaches and defections among them. General Monk (the Dutch War being ended, having no more Work to do at Sea) is sent Commander in Chief into Scotland, and remaining upon Middleton & Largenbergh, on the west side of July gave him an utter defeat, and thereby put a period to these Highland Agitations: an all fur- ther attempts in Scotland, to the disturbance of the then regnant Authority in England.

The King of Scotland also her self at this time had the wings of her Religious Empire very much clipped, if not quite taken away by the disap- pletion of her General Assembly, which was done by Colonel Morgan, the fore-going year at A- berdeen, where they were assembled, Mr. Andrew Cau & the rest of them in vain protesting against the action, the like disturbance they had afterwards at Edinburgh from Lieutenant Colonel Catterall.

The Marquess of Argyll in Register for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland,

The Marques of Argyll to keep up his Reputa- tion with the Church of Scotland, seemed much troubled in his present situation as a Member of the Assemblies, and interceded with the Protec- tor for the liberty of the Church, wherein he had very good success: For Oliver considering that his declining the Kings interest, facilitated the total subjection of Scotland to his Authority, was willing enough to oblige him, by seeming to do that at his request, determined to do before for the quieting of the minds of the people; the Church of Scotland was therefore indulged with the exercise of Religion, and a great part of their Jurisdiction and Discipline; they were restrained in little more than the power of keeping general Assemblies (their Presbyteries being permitted to convene) and the rigour of Communication: For, whereas before persons excommunic- ated were not excluded from the Communion of the Kirk, but had all their estates confiscated till their Reconciliation, This later part was not now to be executed; but to please the Ministers for the restraint of their power, the maintenance of Scholars in Universities of Scotland was increased, and many Privileges granted to them.

The Government and security of the Kingdom of Ireland, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. Lambert was formerly appointed for

The General Assembly dissolved by Col. Morgan

The Marquess of Argyll in Register for the Liberty of the Church of Scotland,

The Privi- leges of the University in Scotland,interested and main- tained for the Scholars

The Government and security of the Kingdom of Ireland, was the next care of the Protector. Major Gen. Lambert was formerly appointed for
he could name. And the truth is, there was a
foundation laid (by a Combination of the most
courageously affected towards their Princes Ser-
vice throughout the Kingdom, authorized by
Commission from his Majesty) of a general rising
for him in every County; which had not so quick-
ly and to easily been suppress'd, had his Spies
spared for no colt to maintain his Instruments of
decree, for he had his Spies ready hired, not only
here in all corners, but as counterfeiting them-

selves zealous Royalists, infiltrated into their
Councils, and betrayed them, (of which number
Sir Richard Wills at last became fairly sup-
pessed to be one) but even about the Kings per-
son, as appeared by the defection of one Man-
ning, preferred in consideration of his fathers me-
rts (his father was Colonel Manning, slain in
his late Majesties Service) to be one of the Kings
Secretaries Clerk, whom Colonel Samuell Tayl-
ors, forcing open his Chamber-door, took in the very
act of holding Correspondence with Arthur, Ol-
iver,' Secretary, from whom having newly re-
ceived a Packet, and setting him self briskly to the
returning of Answers, to prevent discovery, he
was heartily writing Papers in his mouth just as
the Colonel entred. Thus for a long time had he
made it his weekly practice to send Intelligence
unto the Ulurper, of all that was transacted in the
Kings Court, and had a large Pension punctually
affixed for him: and at length that fortu-
nately found out, he had the reward of his trea-
chery paid him in a more developed manner, being
by the Kings command the whole Court befeech-
ing his Majesty to make a publick example of
him, that to death in one of the Duke of New-
rnburghs Castles. This Combination, though it
were probably to the very bottom discovered, be-
fore the apprehending of the above-named per-
sons; yet to far the design, being generally laid,
had taken effect, in that several Counties some
small armed parties began to gather into a Body;
in Shropshire and Wales some endeavoured to
have taken Shrewsbury and Chirk Castle by sur-
prise, but were both prevented; and of those that
attempted Shrewsbury, Sir Thomas Harris, who
was the chief, was taken prisoner, and sent up to
London.

Upon Sunday the 11th. of March, a party for
the King of about 500 entered Salisbury about
Midnight, and having seised upon Horpes, and
taken away the Commissions of the Judges that
were upon their Circuit, bended their course to-
wards Corun, as of which Captain Mason Crook
having timely intelligence, pursued them with
his own Troop, and at a place called Southmou-
ton in Devondire overtook them; and after four hours
sharp Conflict, tired as they were, and diswove,
and faint for want of sustenance, drove them to a
necessity of yielding; yet Penruddock bravely
flood it out, till Articles were granted for the
Imninity of him and his Company, which Crook
is said to have afterwards perditionely denied, and
left them wholly over to the Courtship of their
Judges: besides 50 common prisoners, there
were taken of the chief Leaders 3 Captains, Pen-
ruddock, Jones, and Groves, only Sir Joseph Vp-
staff made a shift to escape away. Other Ringle-
ners were in Northumberland, and at the Fossil
of Skerward in Yorkshire, where 500 Horse being
met, and not finding the Country to come in as
they expected, dispaft themselves, and returned
to their Habitations, Aliso at Hexham-Moor in
Yorkshire, there was a great Rendeveouz of the
Genery of the Country, of whom Sir Henry
Stingly was taken, and Sir Richard Malwurger
with much ado escaped.

At Salisbury, Exeter and Chard in Somm-
entire many of the Weft Riders were tried by a
Commission of Oyer and Terminer, and execu-
ted, and particularly at Exeter, Penrud-
dock and Groves were beheaded, Captain Jones was
proived; besides those who were put to death of
the chief Leaders, many Prisoners in the Weft
were filled with a number of the common sort of
prisoners, till within a little while after that they
emptied themselves into Forein Plantations.

And there hapned about this time an Adven-
ture which very opportune for the rid-
ing of Prisoners of their chuching numbers, and the
employing of a multitude of force and va-
grant people, there having been ever since the
peace with the Dutch, preparations made for the
acquiring of a great and powerful Fleet,
upon an Expedition which was kept very secrct,
and not made known even to those that went upon
it, unles to the Supreme Commanders, till the
very last; only it was given out, that the Voyage
would be very profitable, and to a place where
there was much Gold and Store of Riches: In
this Service we may well think there would not be
wanting enough that would greedily engage them-
theselves; hither all sorts of people flock'd, espe-
cially those of low and Bankrupt Fortunes, and
upon hopes of enriching themselves, run head-
longmost of them to their mine ; A Fate that
commonly attends precipitate Ambition and Co-
ventions. This Navy setting Sail from Port-
smouth on the 27th. of December put in at the
Barbadoes on the 29th. of January, Embarks command ing the Land-Forces, andPen being Ge-
neral at Sea.

This Year had been sufficiently memorable, if
for nothing else, yet for the death of that famous
and Lerner Antiquary Mr. John Stedent, whose
Works are a Monument in more worthy his Me-
\ehor, than that in the Inner-Temple Church.

The King of Spain was not ignorant that this
great preparation was designed to make some im-
pression on his Dominions in the West-Indies, and
after having dispatched express to those parts to
give them warning therefor, he sent the Mar-
ques of Leda (a person of great reputation in
Arms) in a splendid Embasy to the Protector,
to divert, or prevent the prosecution of the buff-
nels: he arrived at London the 22d. of May,
but had no cold reception and was so much discon-
oured in his Negotiation, that he quickly return-
ed.

In the mean time the English Fleet set sail
from the Barbadoes the 30th. of March, and
visit its course towards Hispaniola, one of the
foremost and richest Islands belonging to the Ame-
rican Dominions of the King of Spain; so that
it was by this time apparent enough which way
this expedition tended, and whereas it was ad-
mitted
1654. mitted by many, that at that time when no Hope- ility was declared between this Nation and the Kingdom of Spain, or any defiance bid either side, we should carry War into his Territories, without any provocation by him first offer'd: it was alledged, That the Conditions of Peace extended not beyond the Line. This, though it serv'd to stop the mouths of some, yet it could not satisfy the Spaniards, who look'd upon it as an absolute breach: However it was, whether this Expedition were just or not; whether it were undertaken to a point end, as was pretended, to curb the excessive pride, and ambitious usurpation of the Spaniards, and to bring freedom and purity of Religion to those Indians under his Yoke; or, as many are apt to believe, to partake with the Spaniards of some of his Indian Gold, (thinking it too much for one Potentate to ingross so much Treasure to himself,) I shall not undertake to determine. This is most certain, That at the beginning of this Enterprise, it met with a very remarkable Check, (however the Spaniards proved afterwards successful enough) for General Venables, when as he might have landed his men within a very little of Santo Domingo, (the principal Town and Fortress of the Island, and which was in a manner defeated by the Garrison Souldiers,) upon fight of the English Fleet; nevertheless, led by I know not what Policy and Interest of his own, and (it is more than superfluous) over-rul'd by the Counsils of his Wife, set them forth ten Leagues Westward of Domingo; whereupon the Spaniards gather'd fresh Courage, and betook themselves again to the defence of Santo Domingo which they had abandon'd: The English landing without opposition, and seeing no Enemy near them; thought themselves safe enough, and were in their minds absolute Lords of the Indies, sharing the Golden Mines among them; when contrary to their expectation, the General caus'd it to be publish'd in the Head of the Army, That none should upon pain of death, should plunder any Gold, Plate, or Jewels, or kill any Cattle. This sudden Frustration of their hopes, and the Climate's ex- ceptive heat, proofed the one such a damping to their Spirits, the other such a weakening to their Bodies, that by that time they had match'd a mo- tacious and disconsolate March through thick Woods, in deep scalding Sands, ready to perish with miserable Drought and Thirst for want of Water, (of which they met not with a drop in many miles,) they were brought to such a condition, that they needed not an Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with faintness and weakness; so that the Spaniards, Negro's, and Maloata's falling upon them, kill'd, with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing; and those that could make a flight to fly away, found it a sufficient Achievement for that time, to bring themselves back again safe unto their Ships.

In this Conflict Major General Haines, acted the part of a very valiant Souldier, who being shamefully defecled by his own men, and over- powered by his Enemies, was slain stoutly fighting: there fell above 600 in the Fight, besides what were cut off in straggling parties near as many more; & all this Execution was done by not above forty of the Enemy. The Remnant of this Naval Army, that they might not be thought to have undertaken to long a Voyage, and of such expectation altogether in vain, perfec themselves with little or no opposition of another Island called Jamaica, which however not so plentiful and rich a place as that which they at first aimed at, yet with much Industry, and the Supplies that were sent them out of England, they made a shift to make a Habitation of it tolerable enough to abide in, planting themselves at Orifans, the chief if not only Town thereof, and have kept it ever since.

The first Adviser to this Undertaking, was one Gage & Minster (formerly a Romish Priest) who also undertook to be the chief Guide in this Expedition, as one who by his long time of Travel in those parts (of which there is a handome Relation of his extant) was well acquainted with them; and there he ended his days not long after his arrival, reaping little fruit of his Pro- ject.

Whilaf the proceedings in the West Indies Gen. Bick's were unproperous, General Blake had better fortune in the Streights, who coming with his Fleet before Tunis, and sending to the Governor thereof to demand satisfaction for the depredations committed by his people on the English, and to require the English Captives to be delivered to him, had a contemptuous answer return'd, (viz.) Here are our Calibers of Gulletto and Porta Ferrina well mann'd and furnish'd with Ordnance, do what you can, we fear you not; and at the same time they man'n'd a line all along the shore, and planted Guns thereon: Whereupon (after a short consultation with his Officers) Blake with his great Ships and their second's, came into the Bay of Porta Ferrina within Malequet's fort of the Ca- tile and their line, and fired with such fury upon them (notwithstanding the frequent discharges of sixty great Guns upon his Ships, that in two hours, the Castle was made defenceless, and all their Guns dismounted, and the flantes clattered about their ears; and finding nine of their Ships in the road, he caus'd them all to be fired with his long Boats, and in five hours they were con- sumed. After this brisk action he failed to Algiers and Tripoli, with both which places he made very advantageous terms, and then came again to Tunis which he found (by this time) willing to submit to what he proposed.

Notwithstanding the Ill success of the several late endeavours for the King for so many years suffered, it was not much above a Moneth e're the Earl of Lindsey, the Lords Willoughby of Parham, Newport, Maynard, Pankland, Lucas, committed to the Tower; Peter, Sir Frederick Cornwalil, Sir John Palmer, Sir Richard Wingfield, with divers others, committed to the Tower, upon suspicion of pretended High Treason against Cranmer, which yet, went no further than hire suspicion, for they were never brought to a publick Tryal.

About the beginning of July, Major Sedge- nick went with a Squadron of twelve Ships, a-
of some high displeasure taken against them, and
of the Souldiers left to their own unbridled Licence,
having committed many cruel Outrages and Maf-
faces upon the poor miserable People; Crou-
well taking this opportunity to ingratiate him-
self with the Protestant abroad, (affecting to be
thought the chief Patron and Protector of those
of the Reformation in all Parts,) concern'd and
bitter'd himself very vigorously for their Relief;
he appointed a solemn Day of Humiliation to be
kept, and caused a large Contribution to be ge-
there for them throughout the Nation, and sent
his Agents abroad to mediate for them, Mr. Pell
to the Protestants Cantone of the Sweizers; Mr.
Samuel Mooreland, and Mr. George Downing to
Thurin to the Duke of Savoy, but his Message
being flighted by him, he took another course to
deal with him, namely, by the Mediation of the
King of France, this new great allie; by whose
Power and Authority with that Duke, a Pacifi-
cation was shortly concluded; Though of the large
Collection that was made, so scanty a share came
to them, (for some they had) that it may be very
well suspected, whether self-Carity for the get-
ing of Money, were not as well aim'd at, as
Charity ad extra for the beftowing it.

However it fai'd with the Protestant abroad,
thefe at home, viz. the Royallift, because they
would not become Oliver's obedient Subjects,
are not only not fav'd from Persecution, but per-
secuted themselves; while, besides other dif-
pleasures both toward the Clergie who were pro-
bhibited from teaching School, and from having
any Benefices, or officiating as Chaplains, and
toward the Gentry, who were by Proclamation con-
fined (such as had ever been in Arms) not to
come within twenty miles of London, and disabled
from electing or being elected in Parliament,
there comes out a two-handed Invention of
Crowwell, which serv'd him at the same time to
acquire money to his own Coeffs, and to bring
them low in their eftates and power; this was
an Order for the Decimation, or tenth part of the
Eftates of all fhich as had ever been in Arms either
for his late or present Majority: For the better
executing this Project of Decimation, (under
colour of concerning the Peace of the Common-
wealth,) for which Orders were fet forth toward
the latter end of Oliver, by Oliver and his Council,
he fet up the Office of Major Generals Civil,
in the nature of Prefuits or Governors of Provinces,
to curb, watch, and keep in awe the Royallifts,
and if it were possible to pull down their high
Stomachs, they were Eleven in number, name-
ly, kesey, Goff, Delfborough, Fleetwood, Skippin,
Whalley, Butler, Berry, Paffes, Lamberts, and
Baxter, which laft was alsio Lieutenant of the
Tower; each of them having his several Coun-
ties allotted to his Government in the nature of
Provinces: In which their Principalties, they
reg'd like to fo many petty Kings, domineering
over the Gentry and Nobility, till Crowell either
thinking to do a fpecial fetic of Grace by taking off
his Misfives, or jealous of what their power in
the time might come to, easily gives way to his next
Parliament to undo his thole whom he himfelf
did le fettly moorned.
Upon the tendering of certain Proposals to the Protector by Monsieur de France, a Jewish Merchant, in the behalf of his Hebrew Nation, for their free admission to Trade, and exercising their Religion in England, a Conference was held about it several days at White-Hall, by the Members of the Council, and certain Divines of the most eminent then in esteem: and many Arguments being urged, some for, others against their admission; those against it far prevailed, that the Proposals too effect.

The Spanish King thinking it in vain to hope for a Concorination on the League on this side the Line, from thence whom he judged to have so apparently broken it on the other side, by invading his Island of Hispaniola, began not obscurely to make Preparations for War; and to the effect that he had entertained thoughts of Hostility, a general Embargo was made in Spain of all English Merchants Goods, and many of their persons secured; hereupon the like was done in England, and there suddenly followed on both sides a denunciation of open War, which by the Spanish was not long after solemnly proclaimed at Dunkirk.

The dissolution of the Peace with Spain, was the product of a peace with France; for there having been long force an addrest made to that end from France to the State of England, no sooner did the breach begin between England and Spain, but the French King lends to Monfieur Bourdon, his Ambassador here to press his Embassage; which he did with good success, that in a short while after the Articles of Peace between us and France were concluded, ratified by both Parties, and on the twenty eighth of November the Peace was proclaimed at London, and at Paris much about the same time.

Whereupon soon after Cromwell not to be behind hand in State, and to provide for the diligent management of all matters concluded in this Treaty, sends over in the Quality of his Embassador extraordinary to the French King, Colonel Lockhart, sometime one of the Ingenious Judges in Scotland, and now advanced to this Dignity by the Marriage of a Niece of his pretended Highness: And at the same time there was a fixed League of Amity between him and Cardinal Guflavus, the then King of Sweden, and Embassadors of friendly Correspondence were on each side interchanged; from hence went Mr. Rollos, one of Oliver's Bed-Chamber (as Envoy) and from thence arrived here the Lord Cornish, who was entertained with more than ordinary respect; for of all Amities that were between Cromwell and Foreign Princes and States, his most particular and intimate seems to have been with the Swedish King, whom a while after he under-hand aided with men in his War against the Danes, while at the same time he made them of endevouring an accommodation between those two Kings.

One principal Condition of the Treaty with France, was the exclusion of the King and all his Relations and Adherents out of the King of France his Dominions; but he upon foresight of what this Treaty would come to, had long since betaken himself to Germany; and there remained (for the most part at Colen, as hath been already mentioned) until such time as the Spaniard invited him into Flanders: his Brother the Duke of York, notwithstanding the great Command he had in the King of France his Army (the nearest Ties and Relations little avail, when Self-Interested comes in place) was by the fame reason of the State, advertised to depart that Kingdom with all his retinue by a prefixed time, not without some Complements and Apologies for this intimation: also his departure was required for some space, in which he was visited, and honourably treated by the Marshal, and others of the French Grandees, as likewise by innumerable Moderns (who at that time was come into France about some important affair,) at length he took his leave of the King and Court of France, and attended by the Lords St. Albans, and other English Lords, took his Journey toward Flanders, where at that time the King his Brother refused at the invitation of Don John of Austria, who then Governor of the Low-Countries for the King of Spain, sent the Count of Eonfaldagne, to offer him in the Name of the Spanish King all possible Service and Assistance.

The Cloze of this Year puts on Mourning in like manner as the last; the last Year ended with the Learned Selden, this, with that most Pious and Reverend Prelate, James Uffier Archbishop of Armagh, and once Primate of Ireland, whose Judicious Writings are sufficiently famous in the Common-wealth of Learning throughout Christendom; his Baisal, though he died on the 29th of March, was deferred till the 17th of April, and then performed with all decent Pomp, and by most of the Nobility in London, attended to in a Manner almost professional, where his Funeral Oration was delivered by the Almoner to Cromwell (for to Dr. Bernard, once Preacher to the Society of Gray-Inns, was then entitled;) Moreover, Cromwell himself defrayed all things befitting his In- ment, bestowing 200 l. toward the solenniz- ing thereof. Yet were his Coferers not to feel himself as he desired. And therefore notwithstanding his no success in his last Parliament, he finds a neces- sity of calling one again, whereupon he sends forth Writs in July for the summoning of another Parliament on the seventeenth of September.

In the mean while, a part of the English Navy, namely, the Rear-Admiral and fix other Ships under Captain Richard Stainer, set upon a Fleet of eight Spaniards, within four Leagues of the Bay of Cadiz, the Admiral Ship in which was General Don Marco del Porto, with fix hundred thousand pieces of Eight, run ashore in the Bay, the Vice-Admiral a Gallion, Commanded by Don Francisco de Eirresnall, and having in her 120000 pieces of Eight, and another Ship Commanded by Don Rodriguez Calderon were taken, and afterwards freed (one wilfully by the Spaniards in it, the other by accident;) Two others were taken and kept in possession, the Rear-Ad- miral a Gallion, Commanded by Don Francisco del Hoyo, and having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by John de la Torre, very richly laden; another man of War of some value, with a Peerage Prize, and a small
Vesel of Advice from the Vice-Roy of Mexico, eloped to Gibralter. In the Vice-Admiral which was set on fire by the Spaniards themselves, to prevent being taken prisoners, was the Marques of Baydext with his whole family: there perished in this Combution (besides a number of lies Note) the Marque's himself, with his wife and his eldest Daughter, who was going into Spain to be married to the Duke of Medina Celis; there were saved from this fire, the Marques his eldest Son Don Francisco de Lopez, a younger Son Don Joseph de Sonega, and two Daughters Donna Josefa, and Catalina, with about ninety others. In the Rear-Admiral was also taken prisoner Don Diego de Villa Alta, Governor of the Havana. It was related by the young Marques Francisco de Lopez, who with his Brother and Sisters was brought up to London, and there for a while detained Prisoners, that the Cities of Lima and Callao in Peru, were about five Months before destroyed by an Earthquake and fire raining from Heaven, in which Ruine there perished above 10000 Spaniards, but of Indians not above 100; also that the Mountains of Potosi being laid level, the Gold and Silver Mines were thereby utterly destroyed. This enterprise near Cadiz purchased no less profit than honour to the performers thereof, and to the chief in Power. As for the Spanish young Nobles that were taken, the Protector, to give him his due, dealt very nobly by them; and after no very long time of detention, dismiss them home without any Rancion.

The Parliament assembled.

On the 17th, of September (the time appointed) a Parliament assembled at Westminster, and chose for their Speaker Sir Tho. Widdington, none were to be admitted in this Convention, by the Instrument of Government, but such as after their elections should be approved of, & allowed by the Council; & there were many discontented persons chosen of those that were dismissed at the last dissolution of what remained of the Long Parliament, and others of the Fifth Monarchy Principle, that the Protector thought it not safe to admit into the House, till some Laws should be passed for the better strengthening of his Authority, so that till the 26th of June the proceeding went on smoothly enough, and on that day the Parliament adjourned it fell to the 20th of January following, and passed some Acts, the principal whereof were:

An Act for Renouncing and Dissolving the Title of Charles Stuart unto the Nation of England, Scotland and Ireland.

An Act for the securing of his Highness the Lord Protector's Person, and the continuance of the Nation in Safety and Peace.

An Act to afford his Highness in his war against the Spaniards, which they declare to have been under taken upon just ground.

An Act for preventing the multiplicity of buildings within 10 miles of London; the Subsistence of which was that for every House built from such a time within that Compass, upon a new Foundation there should be paid a Years Rent to the Protector.

The Humble Petition and Advice, was a Model of Government, with which they several times waited upon the Protector at his House, to de

fire him to take the Chief Government of the Nation upon hims, with the Title of KING; of which the Power he already had, the Name only what he wanted: This Office was brought to an open Conference, but it was first for a long time together gently and tenderly touch'd upon, as springing from a Motion suddenly start'd by some of the Protectors friends. When as fire enough they did but work after the Copy secretly prescribed to them, and as they had private encouragement and influences from the person they seem'd to court. As oft as the Members made their Addresses to him with this Humble Petition and Advice, he still defined further of deliberation, before he could positively determine in a matter of so great weight and concernment; till at length being requested to give his final Answer, he returned after he had several times fitted his Officers, to see how they stood affected, and found them so sattisfied (the most part of them) that he thought it not safe to venture That he could not, take upon him the Government with that Title: Thus openly refusalg (in regard matters were not brought to sufficient maturity) what it was generally more than believed, he had mainly purplish,

It must needs be thought high time for Cromer Sindercombe to make Acts for the security of his Body, since there was now more noise than ever of a most desperate plot against it; the Criminals laid to be of this plot, were Miles Sindercome, a Cathder and disencated Army man, Toop, one of Crownetts Life-Guard, Cecil and Buss, the left of whom a Priest belonging to Don Alons of de Cardenas, and to Lieger Embassador here from Spain) and by him instructed, as it was given out, to hire and set those other his Agents a work, comes off himself with a Non Avenus: Cecil and Toop pleaded they were drawn by Sindercome: he on the other side, that he was trapped by them: Of the several Ambushes in this plot, thus runs the Story; At Hammer smith a House is hired on purpose, placing of an Engine called a Blunderbus, to shoot him as he goes to Hampton-court; at Hyde-Park Corner also he is waited for, as he goes to take the Air; as likewise at another house in Westminster, by which he was to go to the Parliament House. Lastly when these took no effect, the next design was to set white-Hall on fire, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chappel, with a Train laid to have taken fire at a prefixed time; which also some way or other happens to be discovered and prevented. In conclusion, he of the Life-Guard discovers all, and both he and Cecil have their pardons, he for his Discover, and Cecil for his free Confession, and the favor he expected: Sindercombe boldly and freely standing it out, and denying all at the Court commonly called the Upper-Bench, before Crownets Attorney-General, was nevertheless sent by the Witness of his two fellow Conspirators who left him in the lurch, and was sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered at Tyburn; in the mean time being kept close prisoner in the Tower, that very morning he was to have been executed, he was found dead in the Chamber, being reported to have suffocated in his head a certain poynitious pow-der to avert the flame and misery of the execu-
Memorable also was the Trial (happening a little before this discovery) of one James Naybour, the great Champion and Ring-leader of the Sect called Quakers, who having spread his Doctrine, and gained many Profytes to it in divers Parts of the Nation, was more especially taken notice of at Bridewell, and from thence was brought up to London, attended by several Men and Women of his Opinion, who all the way they came (the Women especially) are said to have sung Hymns, and to have used the same kind of expresions toward him, as antiently the people of the Jews did to our Saviour, when he rode triumphant into Jerusalem: The Parliament took it upon them to judge him themselves, before whom being convened, he was charged of Blasphemy, for assuming to himself Divine Honours, and such Attributes as were due only to Christ; and after he had used many cunning Sophisms and evasions to clear himself, such as argued him not altogether ignorant of humane Letters, he was nevertheless sententiously by the House to be (first at London) publicly whipt, pilloried, and stigmatized as a Blasphemer, then to be conveyed to Bridewell, there to be ancl whipt; lastly, to be brought back to London, to remain in Bridewell during pleasure; which Sentence was punctually inflicted upon him.

The King now in Flanders, having his residence for the most part at Brussels, had upon hopes of the good success of those his Subjects of England, who now began again to put to sea in numbers greater than the Nation, embodied several Regiments, consisting of such Englifh, Scots, and Irish, as he called out of the Service of the French King, and those that came in to him from other parts, whose Colonels were the Duke of Ormond, the Earl of Rochester, the Lords Bentworth and Gerard, and Lieutenant General Middleton; these Forces he kept quartered upon the sea-coast, to have been in readiness, if occasion were, to have seconded those in England, Monsieur Marfhe, an expert Souldier, formerly Lieutenant General to the Prince of Condé, being designed to have conducted this Army; but the Counells of his friends that acted for him in England, being from time to time betray'd, and his Majesty not being in a capacity to keep his men in continual pay, he took the opportunity, since he could not make use of them himself, to gratifie a power that had obliged him, and which was kept in need of recompense; and thereupon convened them to the Service of the King of Spain.

In vain did Cromwel think to be acknowledged the Protector of the three Nations, since all the several Interests therein, how contrary soever among themselves, attempted at one time or other, to shake off the Yoke of his Protection; yet as much in vain did both, all that already, and those that at present attempted to drive Oliver out, yet not too cunning and too quick for them all; for on the 17th or 18th April 1657, at a certain House in Shoreditch, they were apprehended a disconcerted party formerly in the Army, that went under the Name of Fifth Monarchy-men, such as taking upon them to be the Champions of Christ's Monarchy on Earth, renounced all Monarchy besides the chief of whom were Thomas Venner, a Wine-cooper-practisant (whom we shall have occasion to take more notice of hereafter) and others, who had appointed to Redoevenouz that night at Mile-End-Green, and thence to have marched into fome other Counties to join with others of their party, that were ready to throw themselves upon the first opportunity; there was taken with them, besides a great quantity of Arms, and certain printed Papers (that were to be dispersed) a Standard with a Lion encechant, gules, in a fain argent, and having this Morning, he had found with him; they were also taken into custody Major General Harri-ffon, Captain Lawman, late Vice-Admiral, Colonel Rich, and Major Donear; whereof the first was committed to the Sergeant at Arms, and the rest to other prisons.

The Spaniards were very much distressed in all parts by the War with the Protector, and on the 20th of April 1657 an Action was performed by General Blake in part of their Dominion, that the like hath scarce been mentioned in Story.

The General lying with some Ships near Cadiz, sent to watch for the return of the Spanish Plate-Fleet, which had intelligence that they had put into the Bay of the Santa Cruz, in the Island of Tereroff, whereupon he weighed anchor on the 13th of April, and on the 20th rode with his Ships off the offing at Santa Cruz; when he had found that they had come to the number of fifteen, barricaded in the Bay in a semicircular manner. Near to the mouth of the Haven a Castle was placed, which was then well fortified with great Ordnance, and besides that, there were seven Forts round about the Bay, with fixing, four, and three great Guns on each, all united by a Line of communication from Fort to Fort, and well lined with Musquetters, and Don Diego Dignas the Spanish General of the Fleet upon fight of Blake's fleet caufed all the smaller Ships to be moored close to the shore, and fix great Gallions well manned farther out in anchor, with their broad-sides at Sea.

Blake having well considered this posture of the enemy, sent Captain Staguer Commander of the Speaker Frigate with a Squadron into the Bay, who, by eight the next morning, fell pell-mell on the Spanish Ships, but Blake would have his share of the toil and glory of to brave an enterprize immediately recorded Staguer, and placed some Ships to pour their broad-sides into the Castles and Forts, whilst he with Staguer fought the Spanish Fleet (which was not inferior in number to the English, and much better manned) and by two in the afternoon they gained an intire Victory, but the General perceiving he could not bring off the Ships let them all on fire, but one that was sunk, and when this Service was performed, the
1656. Wind even to wonder, which before blew strong
into the Bay suddenly veer'd about to South-Welt
(whch brought our Ships safe out to Sea.)

The news of this success of Blake was so grateful
for the Protector and the Parliament that they
ordered him a Jewel of five hundred pound, and
an hundred pound was given to the Musfanger
that brought the Letters, and proportionable gratu-
ties, and thanks to most of the Officers
and Mariners.

According to the Conditions of Agreement
between England and France, the French King
demanded Auxiliary forces from England to help
him in his War against the Spaniard in Flanders,
which was readily granted by the Protector,
& 6000 Foot forthwith ordered to be sent over,
Commanded in Chief by Sir John Reynolds, one
of Cromwell's Knights, a man of good Courage
and Resolution, once Commoditary General in
Ireland: No sooner were these Forces arrived in
France, but the French by their help took two
towns without the gates of her Majeity, and with
St. Pre-

nent nor was it long after ere they took the
strong Fort of Marbild, being of notable confi-
tence toward the speedy gaining of Dunkirk:
This Fort was immediately after it was taken con-
signed by the French into the sole possession of
Major General Morgan and the English, who
presently fell to fortifying of it, and in a short
while made it to impregnable, that when the
Spaniard sensible how much it imported to the
keeping of Dunkirk, to regain this fort, sent
a strong force of men (among whom were two
thousand Scotch and Irish Reformadoes, affigued
by our King to that Service, and commanded by
his Brother the Duke of York) to set upon its re-
coverv by a desperate storm, they were after a very
gallant and resolute effort upon the place, which
continued for the space of six hours, repelled in
the end with the loss of many men.

After Cromwell had given his final Answer to
his Parliament, that he could not take upon him
the Government with the Title of King, it was
resolved on, that the Title of Lord Protector
should be continued and intersed in the Hamble
Petition and Advice, by which Title he was so-
lemnly Invested (with much more Ceremony
than before) on the 26th of June, before a great
Assembly of people in Westminster Hall, where
a fabric was erected for that purpose, and a Chair
of State placed for the Lord Protector, whole In-
(aliament wanted but little of a Regal manner,
and though he attained not the Crown, yet he had the
Sceptre, for there were four Emblems of Govern-
ment presented unto him by Sir Thomas Wid-
drington the Speaker (who at the delivery of
them made an Oration to him, in which he amply
delicated upon each of them) a purple Velvet
Robe lined with Ermine, wherein he was vest-
ed by the Earl of Warwick; Communion Plate
presented a large Bible with Boles & Clamps
richly Gill'd, a Scepter of Gold, and a Sword,
which the Speaker girt about him: Thus attired,
while he sat in his Chair under a Canopy of State
holding the Scepter in his hand, the herald flanding
aflott, made a signal to the Trumpet to sound three
times, after which he was proclaimed Lord Protector
of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and

Ireland, and then returned to White-Hall in State,
having the Sword before him by the Earl of Har-ri-
vick. He was likewise proclaimed not only in
London, and other parts of England, but also in
the chief Cities of Scotland and Ireland. And
now he began to take the King upon him in his
manner of living, and to Govern after a more
Monarchical manner, and to model his Family
according to the fashion of a Kings Court; to
which end he had his Yeomen of the Guard in
their Livery of Gray-cloth, with Welts of Black
Velvet, of whom walter Strickland was Captain;
his Lord Chamberlain was Sir Gilbert Pickering,
the Lord Keeper of the Seal Nathaniel Eustace;
Lawton was Warden of the Cinque-Ports, Gyne
Lord Chief Justice of England, and Steel (for-
merly Recorder of London) Lord Chief Baron:
Moreover, being this continued Protector by Au-
thority of his Parliament, and having fortified
himself by Alliances abroad (for besides the
League of France, Sweden, the United States,
and a fair Correspondence with Portugal, he had
also upon the coming of Don Francisco de Mon-
tal Embassador, concluded a firm peace with Por-
ingual) he began to make it his next care, for
the better establishing of himself, and strengthen-
ging of his Interest at home, to advance his nearest
Friends and Relations, and to match his Children
into the Nobleft Families; his eldest Son Richard
he called out of the Country, to inure him to a
Court life, and to insinuate into publick affairs,
designing him for Succession in the Protectorate,
which the University of Oxford prudently fore-
seeing (as the Learned were never found back-
ward in complying with the times, and courting
the rising Sun) sent their Agents and Proctors to
him, to elect him their Chancellor, in which Ho-

nour he was solemnly Invested at White-Hall
his second Son Henry, he made Lord Lieutenant
of Ireland, in the room of his Son-in-law Fleet-
wood, who was called from thence, wanting, as
he said his presence and Council: his two youn-
geft Daughters he married, Frances the Younger
to Mr. Robert Rich, Grand-Child to the then Earl
of Warwick, and Mary the elder to the Lord Fal-
conbridge, the Nuptials for them both being kept
with much festivity and Splendor, both at White-
Hart, Hampton-Court, and the Ladies are so

voutuous they deserved a better father.

Scars the Mirth of the Solemnities o-
ver, when, to ally the Triumphs for the several
Successes of the English in Flanders, there arri-
ved the News of the los of Sir John Reynolds
General of the Forces in those parts, who with
Colonel white and some others, Imbravour for
England, by the way of Goodwin Sands, in a small
Vessel, at a tempestuous season, contrary to the
perversions of many (it is unsafe to venture ag-
ainst ill preges) was cast away with his whole
Company. But here was something more than
ordinary in this bitterly coming over of Reynolds and
white, both seeming to prevent the arrival of
other; for whether Reynolds was sent for by Crome-
well, or suspected the intention of white to be some
Impeachment against him; his business probably
was to defend himself, in reference to an Imputa-
tion of holding Correspondence with the Royalty,
because he was prevailed with by the Duke of
York,

Colonel Sackey one that was a Prisoner in the Tower upon some design against Cromwell on a Commonwealth account, died about this time, and his death was not without suspicion of poison: he was a virulent enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and suspected to have acted the horrid murder on him by cutting of his head, or silting therein with a vapor, for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment.

The common dof Singing the Ode, their house, and begin to question the Government.

The return of Cromwell to Parliament after the 1st Admonition, with the addition of the other House. 

The House, Petition and Advice, 


York, who always loved stout men, to give him a meeting between Drummond and Marliage, at which Parley, Reynolds was indeed not backward to render his Highness those Honors and Civilities which were due to a person of his Illustrious Quality. Not many months before, there died at Sea as he was entering into the Sound of Plymouth, that valiant and expert Sea-man General Robert Blake, not long surviving his notable Exploit at Santa Cruz; the best Elogium that can be given of him, is the true rehearsal of his Actions; than which, it appearing that it was his misfortune to serve an Illegal Power, never were any performed at Sea more conducing to the Glory of our English Nation. Also Vice-Adm. Radzi ended his Life on Land, whether he was come for the recovery of his Health; and at Jamaica there died Lieutenant General Train, Commander in Chief of the Forces there.

Colonel Sackey one that was a Prisoner in the Tower upon some design against Cromwell on a Commonwealth account, died about this time, and his death was not without suspicion of poison: he was a virulent enemy to the late King, and all the Royal Line, and suspected to have acted the horrid murder on him by cutting of his head, or silting therein with a vapor, for upon that action he was promoted from a private Trooper to the Command of a Regiment. 

The last Convention having adjourned on the 26th of Jan., me again on the 20th of January following; and in this Session, which differed from the other as much as one distinct Parliament could possibly have done from another, two very observable things are to be taken notice of, which gave more durability to Cromwell's Ambition and Safety, than with all his Policie and foresight was aware of: the first was the admission of those Members which in the last Session were kept out with a high hand, whom since the Injustice of the Act did not refrain from excluding the time before, the consideration of his Interest urged him no longer, but rather the more to have excluded them this time also; but he was obliged to the contrary by his Friends (at least they were his friends) of the last Convention, who made it one of the Articles in their Humble Petition and Advice, That those persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their Duties, but by consent of that House where they are Members. The other was, the erection of a new Convention, intended in imitation of the Old Constitution, from the House Lords, but they would not venture first to call it by any other name than that of the other House; it consisted partly of such as he took for his especial Favorites, Officers of the Army and others; many of which were picked out of the House of Commons to be constellated in the Other House, partly of several of the late excluded Common Wealth-men, and such likewise of the Army whom he thought hereby to draw off to his own Party, and about half a score of the old Nobility were nominated, but reduced to come. Now in this Conivenance of his, whatever his expectation of it was, he found himself very much deceived, since by this strong inundation of the late excluded, and the transmigration of several of his Friends of the Commons into his other House, his Interest there was so weakened, that his translating sitt of a few of his Opponents (if he thought to make a counterpoise that way) vailed him little; for Sir Arthur Haslerig, and the rest of the Hucksters both disdaining to accept of Cromwell's offered Baronage, and that by the addition of their own presence they might strength then their own Party the more, took their places in the House of Commons, by which means the Commonwealth faction grew to poont, and flew so high, that the other House was not so much as taken notice of, except in way of derision and contempt, so far were they from being concerned with or owned in any of their Messages. Moreover, they began to call in question what was done in the last Session, as being invalid without their assent: So that the Humble Petition and Advice, which but lately made such a noise, was like in a moment to come to nothing. This fo incensed the Protector, that in a great heat and passion he goes from his Council, and notwithstanding the earnest diffusion of some of the chief of them, takes a Hackney-Coach for haste, and being into his other (or Lords) House, sends for the House of Commons up to him, and for a preamble to their dissolution, standing under a Canopy of State, unfolds his mind to them in this following Speech; which we have thought remarkable enough to let down at large, in regard it plainly discovers (as averse as he seemed from accepting the Kingly Title) his strange perturbation of spirit, and how nestled to the quick he was to see himself clothed and curbed in the tendencie and progress he made thereof, though by a way a little feets about, and under the shew of settlement and flourishing estate of the Nation.

I had very comfortable expectations that God divers would make the Meeting of the Parliament a Bieft speech at the Diffolution of his last, and I hope the Lords and Commons will act accordingly. I am not a man living can say I fought it, no not a Man nor Woman residing upon English ground; but I contemplating the sad condition of these Nations, relieved from an Infitute Terrible no ere to a pie or seven years Peace, I think the Nations happy in having an House so acutely informed, and Advised by you to undertake such a Government, a Burden too heavy for any Creature, and this to be done by the House, that then had the Legislative Capacity, I did look that the same Men that made the Frame, should make it good unto me; I can say in the presence of God, in Comparison of whom we are but like poor creeping Anns upon the Earth, I would have been glad to have lived under my Wool side, to keep a flock of sheep, rather than undertook such a Place of Government as this is, in a little taking it by the Advice and Petition of Two, I did look that you that bad offered unto me, should make it good.
King Charles the Second.

1657.

I did tell you at a Conference concerning it, That I would not undertake it, unless there might be some other Persons that might interpose between Me and the House of Commons, who then had the Power to prevent insinuatory and popular Speech; and it was granted I should name any other House; and I named it of Men that shall men you wherever you go, and shake hands with you, and tell you it is not Titles, nor Lords, nor a Party that they stand in, but an English Interest. Men of your own Rank, and Quality, who will not only be a Balance unto you, but to themselves; while you love England and Religion.

Having proceeded upon the Terms, and finding such a Spirit as is too much predominant, every thing being too high or too low, when Virtue, Honesty, Piety, and Justice are omitted; I thought I had been doing that which was my Duty, and thought it would have satisfied You; but if every thing must be too high or too low, you are not to be satisfied. Again, I would not have accepted of the Government, unless I knew there would be a just Accord between the Governor and the Governors, unless they would take an Oath to make good what the Parliament's Petition and Advice advised me unto; upon that I took my Oath; and they took another Oath upon their part answerable to mine; and did not every one known upon what Condition they swore? God knows, I think it upon condition expressed in the Government; and I did think we had been upon a Foundation, and upon a Bottom, and therefore I thought my self bound to take it, and to be Advised by the Two Houses of Parliament, the Founding unsettled till we were arrived at that; the Conferences would necessarily have been Confusion, if that had not been settled: Yet there are not Conscripted Hereditary Lords, nor Hereditary Kings; the Power confiding in the Two Houses and my self: I do not say, that the meaning of your Oath mistake You. That were to go against my own Principles; to enter upon another man's Conference; God will Judge between Me and You; If there had been in you any intention of Settlement, you would have insisted upon this Bais, and have offered your Judgment and Opinion. God is my Witness, I speak it, it is evident to all the World, and every living, that a new Business hath been seeking in the Army against this Actual Settlement by your Consent; I do not speak to the Gentlemen or Lords (pointing to his right hand) whatever you will call them; I speak not this to them, but to you; you advis'd me to run in to this Place, to be in a capacity by your Advice; yet instead of owning a thing taken for granted, some must have I know not what; and you have not only disjuncted your selves, but the whole Nation, which is in likelihood of running into more Confusions, in this fifteen or sixteen days that you have sat, than it hath been from the risings of the last Seffion to this day, through the Intention of raising a Common-wealth again, that some of the People might be the Men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to engage the Army contrary to that thing; and both that men have been true to this Nation, whereas he be, especially that hath taken an Oath that to prevaricate: These Things have been upon the Army, to break and disunite us; I speak this in the presence of some of the Army, that these things have not been according to God, nor according to Truth (pretend what you will); I left things tend to nothing else, but the playing of the King of Scots his Game, if I may so call him; and I think my self bound before God to do what I mean to prevent it. That which I told you in the Banquetting-House was true; That there were preparations of Forces to invade us; God is my Witness, it hath been construed to me since within a day, that the King of Scots hath an Army ready to put forth for England; I have it from those who have been eye-witnesses of it; and while it is doing, there are endeavors from some who are not far from this place, to stir up the people of this Town into a mutiny, what if I laid into Rebellion; and I hope I shall make it appear to be no better, if God affi aye; it hath been not only your endeavour to prevent the Army while you have been sitting, and to draw them to state the Question about a Common-wealth, but some of you have been lifting of persons by Commission from Charles Stuart, to join with any Infidels that may be made: And what is like to come upon this (the Enemy being ready to invade us) but even present Blood and Confusion. And if this be so, as I do assign to this Cause, your not affenting to what you did invite me to by the Petition and Advice, as that might be the Settlement of the Nation, and if this be the end of your sitting, and theft be your Carriages; I think it high time that an end be put upon your sitting; And I do declare to you, I do dissolve this Parliament; and its God Judge between Me and You. At which many of the Commons cried, Amen. And so the Parliament was Dissolved.

Thus was he driven from one Inconvenience to another, from the Inconvenience of a Parliament that croft him, to the inconvenience of no Parliament at all, whereby he was much frightned for want of those supplies of Money which he expected.

Toward the later end of this year died the Protectors Son-in-law Mr. Robert Rich, and was but little above two Moneths survived by his Grandfather the Earl of Marlboch himself.

The following year, 1658, begins with the News of a Victory at Jamaica (which came by an Express from the Governor on the 8th of April) obtained by a Party of the English there, commanded by Major Richard Stevens, against 800 Spaniards, who under Don Christopher Arnaudo Saffier, having lately landed in that Island, and begun to fortifie themselves at a place called St. Anna's, were fiercely set upon by the English, and forced to flye into the Woods and Mountains; and another Body of Spaniards, consisting of 300, who had fortified themselves at Chane-rose, in the North of the Island, were, by the Governor himself Colonel Dolley, driven quite out of their Hold, Don Francisco de Fransca, the Master of the Campos, with others, taken, many kild, and the rest utterly dispers'd.

Cromwell had no sooner freed himself of the said danger threatened him from his Parliament, but he is presently alarm'd again by his old Enemy the Royalist, whom yet he had still the Fortune to prevent by his Intelligencie; however, he took all Advantages to provide still more and more for his
1658. his Security, by making the most of all Plots and Designs whatsoever; and to this purpose he sends in all haste for the Lord Mayor. (Jickborn was then the man.) And Aldermen of the City, acquiescing with what he had discovered, of the base seditious against the Peace of the Commonwealth, aggravates the danger, recommends to them thefieldset of the Militia in trusty hands, canthet the Guards to be doubled, and strict Watch to be kept in all parts of the City, when as most of the principal suspected persons were already secured, as Sir William Compton, Brother to the Earl of Northampton, Sir William Clayton, Mr. John Raffel, Brother to the Earl of Bedford, and many more, the whole Design being before-hand betrayed, by a Person formerly mentioned upon the same Account, and one Corcoran, a M.

interim, while Colonel Pride by reason of a Fit of

Mr. Henry Slingsby & Sir Humphrey Brenet: The first made for a handsome, and discreet a defence for himself, that they could, if not no Accusation upon him, and so were forc'd to acquit him; 

high-Court, William Carpent was acquainted; Colonele Edward Abbot, and John Butley; the first in Tower-street, the other in Cheapside, were hanged and quartered on the 7th of July; the same day Henry Fryer, ready to have been executed in Smithfield, and two days after John Summer in Billions gates-street, and Oliver Allen in Grace-church-street, had their Reprieves brought them: The same day the two last were Reprieved, Edmund Stacy, his Sentence remitted, was hanged near the Royal Exchange: In the mean time, Mundy, Baron, and Mannsfield, mentioned, in the same, were next, and finally, Edward Seymour, and Guy Carleton, having made their escape, were at the Upper Bench (as it was then called) Indicted of High-Treason, though absent, and out-lawed.

In Flanders Successes came on with a swift Career; presently after the taking of Mardig Fort, Dunkirk was straightforwardly begirt by the joynt Forces of the French and English, the French commanded by the Marshal of Turin, the English by the Lord Lockhart, Ambassador from the Protector to the French King, who was constituted General in the room of Sir John Reynolds deceased. The Relief of this important a place (it being the chief Sea-Port, and as it were the Key of all Flanders) the Spaniards resolved to Affay, though with the hazard of a Pitch'd-field; and to that purpose they assembled together all the Forces they could make, amounting to about thirteen thousand Foot, and one thousand Horse, commanded by Don John, and other Spanish Forces, so a great part of them) up a Sand-Hill, against the whole power of the Spaniards, were the main Instrumens in gaining a clear and eminent Victory over the Spanish Army, most of the Infantry being either slain or taken, and among the taken were divers Officers of the Spanish Nobility, and Persons of high Quality, seventeen Colours, six great Guns, with the whole Baggage of the Field; the Prince of Conde was unhorsed in the Fight, and Mounted again by his Compani Bontorile, who was thereby taken Prisoner in the Prisoner the three hundred wounded, and some mortally, among whom, Lieutenant Colonel Roger Fenwick, who
King CHARLES the Second.

1688.


Dunkirk surrendered to the French, and resigned into the hands of the English.


Her Charity.

The Sixth of Augst. Elizabeth the Protector's second Daughter died at Hampton-Court of an Apotheke in some of the inward parts, which afflicted him very much, because he loved her above all his Children; and that sorrow was increased by the length of her Sickness, and the grievous torments she endured: A little before the expired (which was in much pain) the Dehlium of her Sickness prompted her to utter many things, (which though formerly the thought, she yet durst not express,) against the Injustice of many of her Fathers Actions. She was married to one Cleypon, the Son of a private Gentleman of Lincolnshire, of a moderate Fortune; but she could not be confind to it, being of a Spirit as high, as if she had been born to that Greatness to which her Fathers Ambition had advanced her. She was of a very generous and obliging Disposition, and very much troubled at her Fathers Authority, and opprobrium of the Royal Party, to several of whom she did many good offices. The Grief which the Protector had contrased for her death, was very much augmented by his Trouble, to discern, that the Discontents sprung up amongst many of the Inferior Officers of the Army, were fomented by Fleetwood and Desborens; the first of whom married his Daughter, and the other his Sifer, who with Berry and Cooper Colonels, and Sydenham and Pickering, two of the Privy-Councillors, were in a Confederacy against the present Government, in favour of a Common-wealth: And a while after he fell sick himself of a Tertian Fever, which at first seem'd not to signify much danger, but by degrees it grew upon him: Yet his Imagination was soon transported with Enthusiastick Raving, that insensible of his own Dinger, he affirm'd, That GOD had rehired him to greater Attempts, then ever yet had been performed by him; and that he was affaid he should not dye of this Sickness. In which Estate, he was much heightened by Goodwine one of his Chaplains, who openly declair'd, GOD had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given them his Life, and therefore he perswaded some of his Friends, to keep a kind of private Thanksgiving before hand for his undoubted recovery. This Confidence amused his Physicians so much, that they were less regardful of his Condition. But nevertheless, it was advis'd he should be brought to White-Hall, where with more convenience than at Hampton-Court, a respect might be had to his Health, and the Publick Affairs of the Nation, where he had not been many daies, e're it visibly appeared he had but a few more to live. He had some time before his Sickness appointed a Judic Committee of Nine, with whom he privately confabulated in the most urgent Affairs of the Government. Throse were, Fleetwood, Fenners, Desborens, Whalley, Thomas, Lawrence, Berry, Cooper, and Goff, which were mixed of both Parties, that is, of that of a Single Person, and that of a Common-wealth, that he might displease neither, and that he might by that Confidence divert the later from Denys upon his Power.

Upon Tuesday the 31st of Augst, finding the Transits himself in danger, he commanded his Servants to attend him, and all other Persons, except M. Thomas, and Dr. Thomas Godynay, out of the Room, and declared to them, That in regard he found his Sickness and Torments increasing, he was resolved to declare his Successor, according to the power given him by the last Petition, and Advice; And therefore he desired they take notice, that he had Named and Declared his Son to succeed him according. They asked him, which Son? He replied, My Son Richard, my Eldest Son. Immediately thereupon, there came some Persons into the Room, whereby it happen'd, that nothing further was said at that present. But Mr. Tborl, and Dr. Goodwyne immediately concerning togeth'r, did conceive that the Bafinets was too great and weighty for them alone to bear the Burthen of the Attestation of it; and therefore Resolved to take the first Opportunity they could, to move him again therein, and to defire him, for that Reason, to call some others, to whom he might communicate his Mind in that matter; But in regard that Relations and others (who perhaps would take it ill to be put out of the Room) were conversant there, they could not all that day, nor the next, gain any opportunity.

But on Thursday, perceiving his Distemper very much to increase, and hourly gain upon him, They resolvd not to defer it longer: And thereupon they asked him, Whether he remembered what he had said unto them the Tuesday before? Which he said, he did. They asked him, Whether he continued of the same mind or not, touching the succession of his Son Richard? He answered, That he did. They then told him, it would be requisite he should communicate his Pleasure to some others, and that the Declaration of the Bafinets, was of too great Concernment and Confidenz, for them alone to undertake, if there should be Opposition; and therefore defired him to fend forthwith for some others. He asked them for whom he should send? They replied, whom he pleas'd. Then send, said he, for the Committee.
mitre of Nune: Whereupon they sent a Melfender forthwith to happen them thither of whom three came immediately, Fitzwilliam Whalley, and Goff; and these five that were then present, perceiving him still to decline, went to the Bedside, and asked one of them him, touching what he had declared to Dr. Goodwyn, and Mr. Troughton. He thereupon said, that he would have his Son, his Son Richard to succeed him: and, so without any more Discourse, they withdrew from the Bed, and left him to his rest. But within few Minutes came in Fleetwood and Debororo, upon the Summons that had been sent them; to whom the aforesaid five declared what had passed, and offered somewhat familiar to move Oliver to the Declaration of his mind again, which they as faintly refuted; but were not much urged to it, they having at first their coming declared themselves satisfied with the Attestation of five Persons, so well known and efeemed of them.

Upon Friday the 26th of September, the famous Memorial Day of the Year, in 1659, he overcome the Scots at Dunbar, and the Year following at Worcester, at three of the Clock in the afternoon he departed this Life.

Thus after so many hazards in the Field, so many ambits and thoughts to have been laid against him at home, notwithstanding the Multitude of Enemies, that, from all Parties and Interests whom his violent pursuit of Greatness had exasperated, confpired against his Safety; contrary to the real belief of many men, the ill-bodings of some, and the earnest of others, he died not of a violent, but in his Bed a natural Death. The day of his death was ushered in by a Night as tempestuous as had been seen in this Age, as if the Elements had been in Convulsions at the flight of a Spirit, which had made so great a Conconciliation in the Affairs of the World.

He was born in the Town of Huntingdon; and was the Son of Sir Henry Steward of that Name, a Person of Eminence; Note in the late King's time, his Mother was the Daughter of Sir Richard Steward of the Isle of Ely, and his Wife Elizabeth the Daughter of Sir James Borrower, by whom he had three Sons (whereof one died young) and four Daughters.

His Family is said to have originally derived the Name of Cromwell, from that Great Cromwell, who was Henry the Eighth's Vicar-General over the Spiritualities; their Lineal Descent was from one William of Glanmorgan, who living Contemorary with this Lord Cromwell, and marrying his Daughter, in gratitude for the Favours he had done him, took his Name upon him, and transferred it to his own Posity. As for his Qualities, there is no doubt, though his Diligence, his Ambition, and his many other Vices obscured what was truly noble in him; yet there was something of Generosity in his Nature, as may be exemplified, in the particular care and regard he had for the Relations of some that had served him faithfully, and died in his Service; which one that with his Life, parallels with the Gratitude of the fore-mentioned Lord Thomas Cromwell, toward Stignor Frisold's an Italian Merchant, from whom he had received Civilities.
654. King CHARLES the Second.

1659.

Richard Cromwell proclaimed Protector by the City and Chief Officers of the Army, went at once to congratulate Richard, and conclude his Father's Death.

After the Congratulation, Strickland, Skippon, and some others of the Council were sent to the City, who appeared very well satisfied with what was done, and the next morning a Proclamation was divulged, subscribed by Clergyman Lord Mayor of London, and as many of the Chief Officers of the Army, and Councillors of State as could be got together; wherein Richard Cromwell was at White-Hall, Charing-Cross, and several other publick places in London, proclaimed Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland; about four of the Clock in the Afternoon, after the Proclamation, the Lord Mayor presented his Sword to him, which he presently returned; and after some Ceremonies pas\f/ed (the Council, and many Officers of State, and of the Army being present) Nathaniel Fiennes, one of the Commissions of the Great Seal of England administered an Oath to him in these words:

I do in the presence and by the Name of God Almighty promise and swear, That to the utmost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scripture of the Old and New Testament, to the utmost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same. And that to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as Chief Magistrate of these Nations, the maintenance and preservation of the Peace and Safety of the full Rights and Privileges of the People thereof. And that in all things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, I will Govern the people of these Nations according to Law.

Thus far matters succeeded well; his Brother Henry Cromwell was Chief Governor of Ireland, and a Gentleman was sent to acquaint him with the present posture of Affairs. Of Scotland they had some doubt; but to endeavour to rectify all things there, Richard sent that evening to Mr. Thomas Clarges (Brother-in-law to General Monk) to prevail with him, to go immediately into Scotland, with his Letters to Monk, to know how he stood affected to the Army's Advancement: This Clarges was pitched upon as one who had great Interest in the General, and had been lately chosen by his procurement, upon the death of one Rowe, to be Agent for the Armies and Council of Scotland and Ireland, an Employment of good value, whereby he became interested in the Knowledge and Affections of the Officers of all the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; for the Regiments of that of Scotland, especially of the Horse were often changed, whereas the Irish Army continued still unchanged. And although at first he being in the late King's Service at Oxford, made them at White-Hall unwilling to employ him; yet he was esteemed of a moderate Behaviour, and had so demeaned himself in the pretended Parliament in the Year 1656, by his being against the Kingship of Cromwell, that they would not then disoblige him, lest it should seem to be for that Reason: Besides, all of the contrary faction (of which were the Chief of the Army) professed a great esteem of him, not so much in respect of himself, but because it was believed Monk engaged him in those Councils; and the opinion of that contributed more than any thing to divert Oliver from accepting the Crown. Clarges willingly accepted of this occasion to go to General Monk, to be able to inform him particularly of his inclinations: For although he had a Relation to him by Marriage, the Generals so far distant Residence, gave him little opportunity of other Converses with him than by Letters. The City of London, and the generality of the people in England (having been wearied and tired with the Mistrust of War, and their Spirits subdued by the oppressions and Tyranny of Oliver Cromwell) seemed outwardly to comply with the necessity of the Time, and submit to an approbation of that which they could not remedy. By humble Conversations, Congratulatory Addresses in all, or most Cities & Counties were framed, subscribed & presented to him. In Scotland, by private Advice to some of the Officers of the Army, things were so prepared, that when Mr. Clarges came thither, he found them all prepared, not doubting one the other; they liked, as seemed not to dislike all that was done at London. But the General himself and he had many secret Converses, and the General then declared himself weary of the uncertain condition, wherein he found both himself and the Nation intt:\led by the over-ruling Tyranny of the Souldiers (who made themselves a divided Interest from the rest of the people, so that they confulted of a paper to be drawn up to be presented to the new Protector, the heads whereof were to advise him to suppress the division in the Church, by countenancing a Abbot & Orthodox Miniftory, to permit no Councils of Officers, and to model and put the Army into the hands of the * qualified Nobility, and Gentry of the Nations, as such whom the people might not use in trade: From this Confequence which was ma\a/gered both, with much referredness; Clarges began to prepare the General was in his Principles well fixed to restore his Country to an Aristocratical kind, Government, when ever a fair occasion should present it to the. This paper, with a Letter of approbation of the choice of the Protector, Clarges returned to London to him; the Letter he delivered publicly, but the paper was privately communicated, and well liked of by him; and the precipitation of the advice thereof in his attempts to model the Armies, was the main cause of all the divisions which happened in them, and the happy consequences thereof.

By the same Arts, as those from the Cities and Counties in England, Addressses were promoted, and subscribed by all the Regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. Lockhart Governor of Dunkirk, who had married his Confin- Germain, was as forward as any to promote Addressses, both from that Garrison and the rest of the English under Major General Morgan, who was then General in the French Army, Commanding the British Marthall Turin, and had gained a great fame and reputation to their Country, by many signal Services in that Campaigne, for by their valour chiefy

* such as never had been against the Parliament to preside in the Jealousy of the action. Mr. Clarges return from Scotland to the Protector. Addressses to the young Protector, from all the Regiments of the Army both in England and other parts.
Chiefly a great Victory had been obtained, as before mentioned, over the Spanish Army near Dunkirk, which was followed by the taking of that Town, and the Fort of Mardike, and the Towns and Forts of Bergen, Dismunde, Ermes, Oudecaerde, Mervin, Grawelin, and Tyme, which last place, taken about the beginning of October, old Style, was the first Military Success that the English had abroad under Richard Government. Marshal Turenne had not hoped to late in the year, to gain a place so considerable; but having beaten a party of five thousand men under the Prince of Louis that was sent to join with some other forces, and to visit that Garrison in their march, he supposed that the Town missing the succour they expected, might quickly be surrendered; there were in it about 2,500 old Soldiers, besides whom, all the Town were affidied that were able to bear Arms, being in all about 4,000; and it was taken in a forcible Siege. After the Army had been two or three days before it, Turenne sent for Major General Morgan, who commanded the English to order him to keep double Guards, for that he had certain Intelligence that the Prince of Condé intended with all the force he could get together, to put Relief into the place. Morgan informed him, his men were so exposed, that he commonly left five or six every time they mounted the Guards, and therefore he proposed, that rather than weary them out with so much continual duty the Town might be assaulted. Turenne who was a wary Captain, was unwilling to hazard the Reputation of that Army, which had been victorious by many propperous Successes that summer, and therefore at first rejected the advice; but Morgan pressing more upon him, and offering himself with 600 English, to go on upon the strongest part of the Town, he at last consented. He was seconded by two Sergeant Majors, who each of them Commanded 600 French, and were to attack two other places, at the same time that Morgan made his assault; but he with his English entered and gained most of the out-works, and turned the Cannon of the besieged upon the Town, before his French Succours came in, and immediately after the Town was surrendered upon easy terms, the Prince of Louis, Barbacane, and Armes, marched out with the Garrison. Turenne imbraced Morgan after this Service; and though he had long before esteemed him a very expert and valiant Captain, he ever after valued him as one of the bravest Commanders of his time, and in the Report of this Action, to the most Christian King he attributed the merit of it wholly to him; which occasioned an Invitation of Morgan to Paris, where it was proposed to him, a good present of Plate was providing to grace his Service, but he wholly modestly made him ever prefer the virtue of generous actions, before the the Reward of them, chose rather to return into England, to his Family and Relations, after his long and hazardous absence.

Some were willing to believe the new Protector had a good affection towards his Majesty, and would use his power to his advantage, as soon as he should be confirmed in it, and had the Army in his absolute obedience, to which they were induced by the obligation of his former demeanour; for in his private Condition he demeaned himself with civility and respect to the Gentlemen of the County where he lived, and was always ready to do Offices of kindness to persons in distress, apparently disliking the severity of his father, and not averse to overtures for his Majesty's Restitution; but it was afterwards evident, that he did but formalize in the doubtful time of his Authority; for when he saw himself owned and acknowledged by the Army and people, he was very much referred to all that wished well to his Majesty, and either really declined his Service, or had not virtue enough to refit the temptation of great- nesses, or courage enough toward the declension of his power, to use that little which remained to attempt to tree his Country from tumult and opprobrium.

In the first place, after his advancement to the Supreme Degree, public care was taken by him and his Council, for the Intermitt of his Father, with all the State and Solemnity accustomed at Kings and Princes Funerals; and therefore search is said to have been made into the Records, to see what had been expended upon the Burial of King James, and the same Cost, if not greater, was to be bestowed on this: The Corps of his late Highness being embalmed and written in Lead, was removed from Whitehall to Somerset-House, there to lie in Regal Pomp and State, a Spectacle to all comers: the order and manner whereof was briefly thus:

Four Rooms one within another were completely hung with black: the first with Cloths, the fourth with Velvet, each Room was adorned with Scutcheons of his Arms, Crowned with the Imperial Crown, and at the upper-end of each Room, was placed a Chair of State, and over that, a Cloth of State, and over the Cloth, a large Majestical coronet, painted and gilt upon Taffata: In the fourth Room where the Corps were, there lay upon a Bed of State, raised by two gradual Ascents, and covered with a large Pall of black Velvet, his Effigies vested with a rich Suit, Kirtle, and a large Robe of Purple Velvet, Laced with Gold, and Furred with Ermes, to the kirtle was girt an embroder'd belt, by which hung a Sword richly hatched with gold, in the right hand was a golden Sceptre, in the left a Globe, on the head a purple velvet Cap, fur'd with Ermes: behind was placed a Crown Imperial, set with precious Stones, upon a Chair and Cushion of tithed Gold; on each side a rich Suite of compleat Armour, and at his feet his Crest: the Bed of State was inclosed with Rails and Ballisters covered with Velvet, at each corner whereof, were Pillars adorned with Trophies of Military Honors, curved and gilt: on the tops of the Pillars were Rayled Streamers Crown'd, at the Pedestals were Shields and Crowns gilt: within the Rayls stood eight silver Candlesticks, or Standards five foot high, with long Tapers of Virgin Wax burning in them, and next them four great Standards of his Arms set upright in Socketts, with the Guidions, great Banners, and Barrels of Taffata richly painted and gilt. The Effigies having for some time been seen in this posture, was afterwards shewn in another room, veiled after the same manner, and attended with the same Ornaments: as is already described, and this continued until the day of conducting the funeral pomp to the Church, which was on the twenty third of November: fortill
then all things could not be prepared and made ready: and then the Coffins placed in a hastily provided Funeral Chariot, covered with black Velvet and drawn with six Horses in like manner man- led, and adorned with black plumes of Feathers, was attended from sommerer-House to Westmin- ster by all the Officers of his Houſhold, the chief Officers of the Army and Navy, the Magistrates of the City, the Judges at Law, the Embassadors and publick Ministers of Foreign States and Prin- ces, the Members of the late Upper-House, and of the Privy Council, all in mourning; each Company being distinguished by Drums, Trumpets, a Banner born by one of the Chiet Ones, and a Horse of State muffled with black Velvet, led also by some one of Eminence. Lastly, the Honour of Honour trapped with Embroidery upon Crimson Velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow Plumes, was led by the Master of the Honour, with such other like Formalities used at the Obsequies of great Persons. At the west-end of the Abbey-Church, the Coffins being taken out of the Chariot, was carried through the Church un- til a Canopy of State, borne by six of his Gentlemen, up to the east-end where it was placed in a magnificent Chappel, or Monument of Wood framed for the purpose, with Pilasters and other adornments of Architecture, carved, painted, and guilt, to remain for a certain time exhibited to public view; a sort of temporary Monument much used in foreign parts, at the death of great Princes: the Corps had been privately embalmed many days before the Solemnity in Henry the Sevemth Chappel.

As soon as the Ceremonious Rites of this great Burial were past, the Preparations for which had for a time very much put a stop to preceding both domestic and foreign, immediately other matters of publick concemment began seriously to be taken into consideration, by the new Pro- tektor and his Council. The first thing was the sending of a Naval Supply to the King of Sweden, between whom and the old Protector there had been contrived a very firm and inviolable Alliance, and Forces had been sent to this Kings Aid out of this Nation, both for Land and Sea-service; for the latter whereof, he now more than ever had occasion to make up a good stout fleet for after that by his Success against the King of Denmark, he had won him to a Concession of a great part of his Territories, and of half the Dominion of the Sound, and had at length withdrew his Army, the King of Denmark judging the Conditions too hard on his side, and alluding them not to have been punctually observed by the Swede, began presently after the departure of the Swedish Army, to flie to Arms, for the recovery of what was lost, being especially encouraged thereto, by a certain assurance of Aid from the Hollanders, besides his entries into Confederacie with the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Mar- quees of Brandenburgh, against the Swedish King, who having quick Intelligence of the King of Denmark's Design, speeded back with his Forces, and was set down before Copenhagen; ere the Danes were well aware of his coming, but the Danish King had before-hand (providing against the worst that might happen) so well fortified and stored the City, that it was unable to endure a long Siege, and now the Sovereignty of this famous Bay of the Baltic Sea, called the Sound, being thus disputed between these two Kings, the Dutch thought it a matter of no small advantage to them, that the Sound should continue in the power of the Dane their constant Ally, left the Swede gain- ing too much sway therein, they might be deprive- ned of the benefit thereof, which was of high Concernment to them, and therefore made all possible haste to set forth a Fleet; for the Relief and Supply of Copenhagen; the English on the other side, thought it no less importent to them to help the Swede, though it were against the Dane and the Dutch, both of them our friends in outward appearance, left their joint Interest and prevailed against the Swede, whose other Po- tenates was the most firmly united in League to this State, might have proved prejudicial to us likewise in relation to the Sound, which also concerned us no less weightily than the Dutch, therefore a Squadron of Julii Friggs was sent forth by this State under the Command of Sir G. Adhips, toward the Sound, which having for some time been detained upon the Coast by contrary winds, and afterwards steering their course toward the Northern Seas, which the extremity of the Winter had made inaccessible, they were forced for that time to return not without some damage to the Ships, by reason of the Ice, and the loss of some men, through the bitterness of the Weather in those parts, so that this Enterprise was sus- pend till the coming on of the Spring, and then a more powerful Fleet was set out under the Com- mand of General Montgomery, Sir George Adips, being invited by the King of Sweden to take up- on him a chief Command in his Navy.

In the mean time, the Hollanders fleet led by General Opdam, and Wiete Witsen for moving at the Sound with relief for Copenhagen, were af- sisted by the Swedifh Rix-Admiral Charles Ga- leeche Vranghe, in which Battel the Dutch are said to have received a notable Overthrow, seven of their Ships being lost, and Wiete Witsen one of their Admirals, with many other persons of Qua- lity slain: nevertheless during the Fights, sever- al Dutch Physts and Merchant-men paffed by with provision to Copenhagen, which so strengthened the Befeged, that they thereby became enabled for the faltaining of a long Siege, as hath since appeared, and not long after, the Swede in a re- folute effort against the City, were repelled with the loss of a great many men, and some of Eimi- nence.

And now in England want of Money, and oth- er pressing occasions of the State, required the sudden calling of a Parliament; the young Pro- tektor illiceth out his Wits, summoning the Mem- bers to meet at Westminster the 37th of January. Elections are made by the Counties, not with- out some Canfving of Patts.

Moreover, according to the Confulution of the Government, Members were elected to the Commons House for Ireland and Scotland, as well as England. The Elections were fo dispofed in England, that many honest Gentlemen in all parts were chosen, but the Upper (for it did not yet as- pire to the Nome of Lords) House, was filled with
with the chief Officers of the Army, whereas most were of such contemptible extragard, and education, that the Commons were unwillingly brought in any capacity whatsoever to own them. 

From the time of Summons of this Parliament, to their convening, Richard was frequently entered with the fore-mentioned Adreces, which much heightened the confidence he had entertained of his future prosperity, and made him think of modelling the Council conformable to designs he had of subduing the Army to his intire Command, for the Council, as the Government then stood, had a great co-ordination with him in the administration of it, and the major part consisted of such as counterbalanced in all their extravagances the Officers of the Army, who were many of them Anabaptists and of other Sects.

He pretended not to remove any of the Counsellors, but to add so many of his friends to them as might make the greater number firm to him, he proposed the Lord Brogiol, and Fanconibridge, who had married his Sister, but they were not approved of; and instead of these, it was offered by those opposed to them, that four Colonels of the Army might be admitted, (viz. White, Giff, Berry, and Cooper;) the first two had been of the late Kings judges, but were affected to the Protector and his Family; the other two were fableous and seditious. These Transitions were not agitated in open Council, but privately treated of by particular persons; but it is rumoured, that the Army began to be jealousy of the Protector, and murmured at hisisons, sometimes they would complain of the Company and Conversation he used, and at other times censure his Religion, explaining that Godliness was discouraged by him, and that he rather favoured those of loose Principles, than the zealous Protectors of the Gospel. But in this he was injuried, for it his private Condition represented him a kind of Libertine, he assumed together with the publicke Person a more grave and circumplexed behaviour, commended himself to the constant observation of all Religious Duties, and was in appearance at least, it not really so, of a blameless Life and Conversation.

The Grandees of the Army, doubtful of the temper of the approaching Parliament, moved the Protector to call together some of the Officers of the Army to London, (as his Father was accustomed to do on the like occasions:) to advice with him to obviate anything that might happen in the beginning of his Power, if the Parliament should attempt Innovations: He was a little surprized at this advice, but thought it not time to refuse it, and thereupon Letters were sent to as many of them as could be spared from their Charges, to repair to London, to be there at the opening of the Parliament. The Names of his Fathers Privy Counsellors which went and were continued under him, were Richard Lawrence President, Nathaniel Fines, one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; John Thurloe, Secretary of State; General Montagu, Sir Charles Woodley, Colonel Philip Jones, Philip Lord Liffe, Son to the Earl of Lisefdie; Lieutenant General Fleetwood, Colonel Desbours; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Colonel Sydenham, Walter Strickland.

Colonel Philip Skipson; of which the six last named, were favourers and abettors of the Army; Lawrence the President was an Anabaptist, but somewhat moderate in his Opinion; the Lord Life was very able and uncertain, endeavouring as much as he could to appear a Neuter. There was another whom I should have named, which was Mr. Mayor, the Protectors Wife Father, but his indisposition of health rendered him incapable of action; Fleetwood and Desbours had frequent Meetings at Desbours house, who with the factious part of this Council, and some of the Colonels of the Army that favoured them, were Berry, Hemton, Cooper, and Lilburn, consulted to wrest the Power of the Army out of the Protectors hands; and in order thereunto, Desbours was sent to tell him, That the Army was filled with many jealousyes and fears of Dangers against it, which would put them into Mutiny, and inevitably hazard the subversion of the Government, unless some speedy remedy were taken for prevention, and that no better way could be thought on, than putting the Command of the Army into the hands of some person that had served with them, and of whose Courage, and Integrity to their Cause, might have confidence and assurance; and immediately named Fleetwood to be the man; adding, That this would not only satisfy the Army, but give great content to the Godly party, (which was a name much used by all these Wielders,) and free him from much of the trouble which then stood, and now lets intense in the more necessary parts of Government. To which he replied, That as to the fears and jealousyes of the Army, when he knew their Grounds, he would give them what redresse could be defined, not doubting but the Parliament now ready to sit down, would take care both for his and their security, and the peace and quiet of the Nations; But as to the Command of the Army, he freely told them, he should not think himself able to protect himself or them, if he should part with it, which his Fathers example confirmed him in. And with this answer dismissed him. His father, as was before mentioned, was much perplexed before he died, with many seditious Anabaptist Officers of the Army, who were impatient of his Government, but the fear and danger of a division, and respect to his person, kept them in some degree of Obedience; he displaced many of them before he died, and had reduced the rest, and wholly modified the Army to depend on him, if he had lived a few months longer; he had introduced his Son my Lord Fanconibridge, and many others into Chief Commands, who were allied to him in blood, or by their advancement wholly depending on him: all this while matters were carried without much heat, and not out of possibility of accommodation when the Parliament came down.

At the prefixed time, the Parliament meets, consisting as the left Parliament had done in his Fathers time, of two Houses, the Commons, and the Other (which now began to be called the Upper-House,) for the first was chosen Speaker, Colonel Chute, a Lawyer, who within a short while fell sick unto death; as also Sir Lifebone Long.
Long Recorder of London, who was chosen pro

tempore in his seat; for the latter was chosen, 

Nathaniel Fennes Lord Keeper of the Seal; The 

Act of Recognition of the Protector to be chief 

Governor of the Common-wealth of England, 

Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and 

Territories thereunto belonging: Which was ma-

ny days debated in parts, and at last part of it re-

solved in these words; viz. That it be part of 

this Bill to recognize and declare his Highness 

Richard Lord Protector and Chief Magistrate of 

the Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and 

Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thera-

unto belonging. And it was added, That neither 

this nor any other Act that is or shall be passed 

in order to this Bill, shall be of force or binding to 

the People until the whole be passed. The Protec-

tor liked well these proceedings, and thought him-

self to a good settlement; but of those that 

were zealous for a Common-wealth, there was 

in this Parliament such a considerable number, 

who had so powerful influence on publick Trans-

actions, that to procrastinate the time, they cast 

in several previous Debates, in which, neverthe-

less, the Affairs of the Protectors Interest be-

ing more in number, carried things to their own 

Advantage by the Major Vote, as particularly in 

the business of the Scotch and Irish Members to 

be continued in among them, and the owning of 

the Upper-House, and holding an Entercourse 

with them, after a long Confinement in question 

of their Authority. However, the Factions Coun-

sellors which abetted Discontents in the Army, 

continued their Meetings to purifie their purpose 

of wresting the Command of the Army out of his 

hands, and putting it under Fletwood.

Several Designs had been in vain undertaken 

for his Majesties Restauration during the Illu-

mination of Oliver Cromwell, which were chiefly 

managed by the Earl of Oxford, the Lord John 

Belas, Sir John Greenville, Sir William Compton, 

Colonel John Raffell, and Sir Richard Willis, who 

for their suppos'd coverted, and by the privy of their 

Councils, were commonly called, The seall 

Knots: But, though nothing was more prudently 

and firmly continued, all their Confinations 

were from time to time imparted to Thurloe by 

Sir Richard Willis, which was not yet known. 

Nevertheless, his Majesty about this time thought 

fit to appoint new Commissioners, and sent over 

into England a blank Commission dated at Brux-

elles the 11th day of March, in the 11th year 

of his Reign, which was filled up with the Names 

of Arthur Anfley, Son to the Vicount Valentia; 

John Mordant, Brother to the Earl of Peterson; 

Sir John Greenville, Sir Thomas Peyton, and 

William Legg, which was as followeth:

The form of the Com-

mission.

Charles by the Grace of God

King of England, Scotland, France 

& Ireland, Defender of the Faith, 

&c. 700th Year, Right Truly and Well-beloved, &c. And to 

every of them, Greeting. We do by these 

Pretexts Constitute and Appoint you Our Com-

missioners, giving you or any one or more of 
you Power to Treat with any our Subjects 

of Our Kingdom of England, and Dominion 

of Wales, that are or have been in Arms a-

gainst us or Our Father of Blefled Memo-

ry, or that have contributed to the present 

Rebellion in England (Excepting such as 

actually fale in Judgement for the taking a-

way the life of Our said Fathers or pleaded as 

Counsel Learned againft his life,) or attended 
as Minifters to that odious pretended Court, 
or laid hands on his person in the execution of 

that horrid Murther) And to asfume them 

in Our Name, That if they shall forfake the 

present Rebellion, and joyn heartily and effi-

cually for the suppressing of the same, and 

for Our Restauration to the Rights due to us 

by the Laws of God, and of that Our King-
dome; That then We will not only freely pard-

on their former oppofing us and Our dear 

Father, and all other their Crimes and Offen-

ses in affing, adhering to or complying with 

the said Rebellion; But that We will Recom-

pence and Reward such of them as shall by a-

remarkable Service merit of his, either by 

reducing or rendering any Town, Fort, or Gar-

rison of the Rebels into Our hands, or into 

the poiffion and power of you or of any other 

Trustees, employed by us or you for Our Ser-

vice: And what you or any one or more of 
you shall by virtue of this Our Commission in 

writing under your hands, or the bands of 

any one or more of you, promise in Our Name 
in this kind, We shall Ratife and Confirm, and 

perform. Given at Our Court at Brux-

elles this 11th day of March, 1659, in the 

Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

These Gentlemen proceeded with much Wa-

tiness and Diligence in the execution of this 

Commission, the Effects whereof shall be made 

known hereafter; But in the mean time, we shall 

return to what paffed between the Parliament and 

Army. Besides the private Meetings of some fe-

cret Officers at Dafford Houfe, the General 

Council of Officers, (as they called themselves) 

mer in Fletwood Houfe, where they acted with 
as much formallity, as if they had been the Su-

preme Legislators of the three Kingdoms.

It was a little before Cromwell's Death, that 

great preparation was begun for the fettling forth 
of a Fleet to the help of the Swedes against the 

Danes, and that under the Command of Gene-

eral Montague; nor did his death put a stop there-

unto, Sir George Ayscough being sent with a Squa-

dron of Ships, though hindered from coming up to 
yoin them, by reason of the freezing of those Seas, 
as hath been already mentioned; whereupon, for the better managing of the Charge, 
it was thought expedient that the House of Com-

mon should be engaged in it, and a Narrative Re-

port was made to us by Secretary Thurloe ap-

pointed the latter end of February this year, concer-

ning the State of the War between the Crown of 

Sweden and Denmark, in relation to the Baltic 

Sea, and the Command of the Sound: This took
The Upper House, as it now began to be called in a strain [somewhat nearer Lords House] favoured the Military Council of Officers, but the Commons took much disaffection at it, as if it portended a kind of Force upon their Counsellors, The Protector in the mean time advised with his Friends, how to free himself from the Embarrassments of the Officers of the Army; My Lord Fauconbridge, Colonel Ingoldsby, Col. Bridges, Col. Charles Howard, Major Knights, all Officers in the Army, and some others, counselled him to send a party to Desborough's house, to Leisure those that met there, which were Eight or Nine of the chief Confederates, and immediately to give their Commands to the next Officers to them, till he could have a fair opportunity to make them into better hands, and to fend for all the rest of the Officers to come to him, and to Command all of them to repair to their respective Commands, that were not obliged by Service in Parliament to attend that duty. These Counsellors were very agreeable to his Inclination, but the Secretary of State and some others to whom he brake the busines, diverted him from the first, but to the latter, of dismissed the Officers, he readily consented; and the next day he sent for them, and dismissed them accordingly; And the same day that this was by him done, the Commons openly debated against this Assembly of Officers, and Voted, That during the Siting of the Parliament, there should be no General Council or meeting of the Officers of the Army, without direction, leave and authority of the Protector and both Houses of Parliament. He endeavoured to be reconciled to these officers, but many that favoured the Army, had cunningly cast out some minatory Expressions, intimating, That this way of proceeding might make them think themselves suspected, and provoke them to break forth into some act of opposition and disturbance, they passed another Resolve, That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in England, Scotland, or Ireland, or of any of the Dominions or Territories belonging, who shall refuse to subserve, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament in any of the Members of either House of Parliament, or their freedom in their Debates and Councils. These were transmitted to the Upper House, to be confirmed there; but they made a flow of progress in them upon divers late contrived Jealousies, not the least of which was from a late Vote of the Commons, wherein they declaimed at the acknowledgment of their Confinement in their acknowledgment of what had the other House of Parliament, should not prejudice the Peace of the Land, or their Privileges; as also believing, that the Protector confined with the Commons to weaken and divide, or subdue the Power of the Army, in which they were somewhat confirmed, for that these matters were Debated and voted the same day he had dissolved the Council of Officers, and dismissed them. The Protector had many of the chief Officers of the Army fixed to him, but the inferior lot who were of phanatick Opinions in Religion, and were more numerous, and had most influence upon the Souldiers, were for Everwood and Desborough; For it was artificially fill'd into their heads, That the Protector did intend to cast them out of their Places, and put the Army into the hands of the Nobility and Gentility of the Nation, thereby to bring in the King, and destroy that Liberty of the Gospel they had so long contended for. The Debate against the Army in the Houfe of Commons, was on the 19th day of April, from which time the meetings of the Officers were more frequent than before, and upon the 23d day, the Protector was informed, that they would either themselves dissolve the Parliament, or compel him to do it. He called his Confidets about him, and made preparations against all accidents that might happen, and in the evening many of his Friends encouraged him to take Horse, and appear in the Heads of some Troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other party had drawn up some men in the several Avenues to White-Hall, and in St. James's Field, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his Person would have prevailed much with the common Souldiers; but he was fearful, and unmoved, of a Spirit incombing the quality he assumed, and many of those about him were as insolent as he, some advised one thing, some another, waiting their time in contradiction; and as it happens in the Confidets of commit- people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them into execution. Desborough, his Uncle came to him from the discontented Officers, and prestied him much to sign a Commission to Fined, to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till Desborough told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length consented to do it.

The next morning, the House of Commons ha Desborough sign a Commission to Fined to dissolve the Parliament, which he a great while obstinately refused, till Desborough told him, if he did it not, it should be done without him, and so urged by threats and importunities, he at length consented to do it. Proclamation for the Dissolution of the Parliament.

Whereas We, summoned Our High Court of Parliament to Assemble and Meet together at Our City of Westminster the 27th day of January last, which hath continued until this present day; And whereas We did by Our Commission under Our Great Seal of England bear date at Westminster this present 22d day of April
Firstwood and Deborow having (to get the power of the Army to them, and their Party) made this Breach upon the Parliament, and in it shaken the Protector's Government, intended of themselves, as it should seem, nothing less than to dethrone him, though by reason of what they had already done, they quickly found it was not in their power to prevent what they little intended, they came to him together, and spirit several times that day after it was done, and protested to him, That his Power in all things, but the immediate Command of the Army, should be preserved intact; and even in that, nothing should be done, but in his Name, and by his Priuity, telling him, They had not taken this course, but upon certain Assurance of the Chiefs of the King, Party, and others, to differ from Colonel Lambert, which nothing could prevent, but the breaking up of that Parliament.

He received not much Conciliation from these discourtesies, and gave little credit to them; well knowing, that it was far easier to draw the Officers of the Army into Seditions courses, than to moderate them. He told them, he doubted not of their intentions, and that they had been practised upon to do that in behalf, which they might have leisure enough to repent of; and that they would now find they had made a Concession of his power, it would be a Province too hard for them to recollect, and to profit in effect; for at the first Meeting of the Officers at Wallingford House, after the emission of the afore-mentioned Proclamation, they would neither of any thing in behalf of the Protector, and were lost from that of his continuance of his power; that anything was moved, tending that way, it was obstructed, or diverted, by the Proprietors of the Government. Yet at length, when they had determined, that the Chief Command of the Army should be in Fleetwood, with a power to dispose of all vacant Offices till further Order, they were persuaded to allow the Protector a kind of Limited Supremacie (somewhat like that of a Duke of Venice.) But the next day, while many of the Superior Officers met at Wallingford-House, in further consideration of a Model of Government, the inferior Officers being the most numerous, assembled in the Chippel at St. James's, having Dr. Owen, and other Independent Ministers with them to assist at their Devotions, where the matter was so artificially contrived, that the prosperity they enjoyed under the latter part of the Commons House of the Long Parliament, was much magnified; with some intimations of Advice to return to that Government, with which the Auditors were very much affected, but nothing more was done at that time. This was promoted by Lambert and his Friends where, in he appeared not openly himself, but let Colonel Library to manage the Business, at whose Chamber his friends had private Audience.

The next day Fleetwood and Deborow were alarmed with this Countermove against their Designs; for the inferior Officers came now to open Declaration of their forwardness to restore the latter part of the Government, the Long Parliament, and to restore to them their Commands, which the Officers who had been displaced by Oliver Cromwell for disaffection to him, yet with so much respect to the Protector, and his Family, that they would have an Honorable provision made for them. Fleetwood endeavored to oppose this Torrent, instigating Lambert's ambition would quickly supplant him; if he got power; but when he perceived it was already too great to be resettled, the Consideration thereof obliged both him and Deborow to comply, for the preservation of their Authority. However, to retard their proceedings, they propose, first, to have the Army settled and modelled in a Way of Unity before they determined upon the Government, which was thought rational; and at a Meeting of a General Council of Officers, in order thereunto, they removed the Protector from his Regiment, and the Colonels Invidiously, Hamburgh, the Lord Chamberlain, and Colonel-Brigade from thence; Colonel North was displaced from the Lieutenant-Generalship of Province, which carried, by Colonel Asstden, and made Colonel Edward Smith Governor of Hull, in the room of Colonel Smith, who, by the recommendation of Fleetwood, had the Command of that Garrison given him by Oliver Cromwell. To Colonel Sanders they gave the Protector's Regiment of Horse, to Colonel Rivo, that of Humber's; to Sir Arthur Hasliger, Colonel Howard's Regiment of Foot, with the Government of Barwick, Carlisle, and Tynemouth; To Lambert, they gave the Lord Kilsby's Regiment; and to Oetz, that which was his own before, which was lately commanded by Colonel Bridge, Major Pickard, and Captain Audubon; Andappoint several Officers, who had been by Oliver Cromwell displaced were restored to their Commands: The Inferior Officers, in all these respective Regiments, were faithfully modelled according to the Opinion of the Commanding Officer. This Lieutenant was brought into the Army, wherein he quickly recovered much of his former power. After this, the Council of Officers was reduced to a smaller Number.

The 29th, of April there met at Fleetwood, Houlie, Lambert, Deborow, Sydenham, Cooper, John Jones, Berry, Hackers, Liburn, Altheald, Sale, son, Zanby, Oly, Sanders, Clark, all Colonels, and
1659.

and Major General Keiley, and Barkstead the Lieutenant of the Tower, where they Debated the Election of a Council, which should have a Negative upon the Remnant Parliament, when it should be restored: But after much Debate, that was thought fitter for the Debate of the Parliament than them.

They next confult about some Articles, for the security of themselves and their Friends, and for a Foundation, on which they would oblige their Parliament, to establish the Common-wealth Government.

These Articles being digested into form, and agreed to by the General Council a certain number of the Officers were deputed to meet with Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haverleg, Mr. Soc. and Major Saltonway, the prime leading men in this Parliament, to consider how they might be disposed to content to them. Vane and those with him had been Treated with Spark; but when they came to publique discourse, they were very deferred in their Answers; yet they gave them hopes of their contents, and of their endeavours to prevail upon others; but said, they could not undertake any previous Agreement, to oblige the Parliament, without their Authority and content, at such time as they were met together.

This caution of theirs was disliked and suspectd by Flettwood, Derbom, and Lamert, but the Inferior Officers were far persuaded in favour of them, that it was not time to contend. They therefore deferred them to use means, to draw as many of the Members as they could together with all convenient haste, because the Government was a kind of Inter-regnum; and the Officers in the mean time drew up a Declaration to invite them to fit, which upon the fith of May was presented to the Speaker by Lamert, with about 13 or 14 Officers of the Army in his Company. The Declaration it selfe we have thought fit to insert, to shew the incontinence of these new Polititians, that so soon altered from what they solemnly declared: The Title was,

A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continued fitting till the 20th of April, 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

The Publique Concerns of this Common-wealth, being through a wisdome of Dangers, Deliverances, and Backslidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein they now stand, and our felvets also contributing thereunto, by wandering divers times from Righteous and equal parts; And although there have been many Effays to abate the Dangers, and to settle the Nations in peace and prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual: The only wise God, in the course of his Providence, dispossessing all Endavours therein, And also observing to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared among us, in the carrying on of this great work, did daily decline; so as the Good Old Cause it self became a Re-approch: We have been led to look back, and to examine the Cause of the LORD S withdrawing his wonted presence from us, and when we turned out of the way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

And amongst other things, calling to mind that the Long Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued their sitting until the 20th of April, 1653, were eminent After- sors of that Cause, and had a special presence of GOD with them, and were Signally blessed in that Work, (the Desires of many good people concurring with ours therein;) we judge it our Duty to invite the aforesaid Members, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of April 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to fit since the Year 1648, until the 20th of April, 1653, to return unto the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our places, to yeeld them, as becomes us, our utmost Affiance to fit in Safety, for the improving present Opportunities, for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.

Signed by the Direction of 6th of May, the Lord Flettwood, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

Thomas Sandford, Secretary.

After the delivery of this, many of the most eminent Members of this Remnant of the Long Parliament, having before consulted with as many of the rest as were in London, came also and gave a Visit to the Speaker, to signify their willingness to return to the Exercise of their Trust, (as they call’d it,) in pursuance of the Invitation given them by the Army, and that they would meet the next morning, which was the 8th of May, at 8 of the Clock in the Painted-Chamber, where they defired his Presence, to accompany them from thence to the Parliament-House, in which he accordingly did, and they all went together, and took their Places, Thus ended the Reign, or rather the Uprisning of the Crowns, being overthrown by those of their nearest Relations, from whom by Intered, they might have expected Support: But such was the Fate of this ill-acquir’d Dominions, to be subverted in its greatest Security, by the Ambition and Malice of those that affisted the Apiters in the obtaining of it.

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Rite Upon
The Title was, The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army, to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England. The Address itself was in these words following:

Calling to mind the former Declarations of Parl. and the Grounds therein invocing us to take up Arms, and those many signal Providences, wherein the Lord hath owned You, and your Forces both by Sea and Land, in affording that Righteous Cause, wherein the Civil and Religious Liberties of the people of these Nations were involved, so as that all open opposition was beaten down before you; and likewise weighing with our felved how in the several late Changes in Government, that Publick spirit, which appeared in that Work, hath since that time been discouraged, and another rafied up, drawing back to the same things you had contended against, even to the hazarding the essentials of that Cause; We did upon serious thoughts of heart think it our duty once more to appear against those backsliding ways, and Providence having brought the state of Affairs to the condition they were in some few days before your sitting, we found it necessary to assist amongst our selves some of the Fundamentals of our Good Old Cause, with some other things conducing to the Preservation thereof; with a full and fixed resolution, through the assistance of GOD, effectually, even to the hazard of our Lives, to endeavour the Recovery and Security of the same. And the same good Providence holding forth an opportunity to us, to open unto Tom a way for the further disbarage of your remaining Truth in Parliament, we did by our Declaration of this instant May, humbly desire you would be pleased to return to the exercit and disbarage thereof, as before the 2oth of April, 1653. And having to our great rejoicing seen your Declaration of the seventeenth Instant, shewing, that you are resolved through the Gracious assistance of Almighty GOD, to apply your selves to the faithful discharge of the Truth reproved in you; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Commonwealth upon such a Foundation as may assure, establish, and secure the Property and Liberties of the People, in reference unto Irishmen and all Christians; and that without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers: And shall vigorously endeavour the carrying on of Information so much desired, and so often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in the Nations, in the Glory and Praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the upright in the Land.

About four days after the present small Parliament had sate, which was spent in making a Committee of Safety, and dispatching Intelligence of their being re-infated in their former Power, to several of their Members absent in the Country, whom they had not disabused from sitting; the Officers of the Army present themselves with their Petition and Address, a thing they often infitd to have prosecuted, and was one of the occasions that heightened the differences betwixt them and this Parliament.

They publish their intentions by a declaration, the Words of the Declaration, extracted out of the Parliament Journal.

Sir George Booth, Colonel Roffiter, Mr. Prym, and some others, Members of the Commons House of this Parliament, (formerly excluded by the Army) attempted to go into the House, but were all kept back by Adjunt Gen. Allen, except Mr. Prym, who flift in, but they would do nothing; whilst he was amongst them, but adjoined till the after noont and when he again would have entered, he was laid by some Officers of the Army.

The first thing the Remnant Parliament did when they met, after Election of their Officers was the passing a short Declaration, which was ordered to be Printed and Published; in the Cloie whereof they Declare; That they are resolved through the gracious Affiilance of Almighty GOD, to apply themselves to the Faithful discharge of the Truth reproved in them; and to endeavour the Settlement of this Common-wealth upon such a Foundation as may assure, establish and secure the Property and Liberties of the People; in reference unto Irishmen and all Christians; and that without a single Person, Kingsship, or House of Peers: And shall vigorously endeavour the carrying on of Information so much desired, and so often declared for; to the end there may be a Godly and Faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and maintained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the upright in the Land.

The Declaration of the Remnant Parliament, as printed in the London Journal, was as follows:

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1. That the Liberty of the Persons, and Property of the Estates of all free people of these Nations, be maintained, preferred, and kept inviolable according to Law, under the Government of a Free State and Common-wealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers.

2. That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, as that they may be a Protection, and not vexatious or oppressive to the people of these Nations.

3. That by an Act of Obligation, all and every person and persons who have since the 19th. of April, 1653; mediatly or immediately advised, acted, or done any matter or thing whatsoever, in reference to the several Changes or Alterations in the Government of these Nations since the said 19th. of April, 1653, or in order to the Publick Service, Peace, or Safety of these Nations, be indemnified and saved harmless, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

4. That all Laws, Ordinances, Declarations, and Establishments made in the several Changes and Alterations of Government, that have been in these Nations since the 19th. of April aforesaid, and not as yet particularly repealed, be deemed good in Law, until particularly repealed.

5. That such Debts as have been contracted for the publick service and affairs of this Common-wealth, and for the Charges of the Government, since the 20th. of April, 1653, be carefully paid and satisfied.

6. That all persons who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son the true God, and in the Holy Spirit, God Co-equal with the Father & the Son, one God blessed for ever, and do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the revealed or Written Word or Will of God, shall not be restrained from their Profession, but have due encouragement and equal protection in the profession of their Faith and exercise of Religion, whilst they abuse not their Liberty to the civil injury of others, or disturbance of others in their way of Worship: So that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelatry, nor to such as shall practice or hold forth Licentiousness or prophanenes under the profession of Religion: And that all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Clauses in any Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary, may be declared null, and void.

7. That a Godly, Faithful and Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry be every where encouraged, countenanced, and maintained.

8. That the Universities and Schools of Learning be so countenanced and reform'd, as that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That such persons as have at any time since the 20th. of May, 1642, aided, or assisted or adhered to the late King Charles Stuarts his Son, or any other person or persons whatsoever of that Party, against the Parliament or Common-wealth of England, and all other persons whatsoever that have made use of any Authority or Power under pretence of Law, or otherwise, to deprive or abridge any of the good People of these Nations of their Christian Liberty, or have or shall express themselves in any way mockers, scoffers, or revilers of Godliness, or of the professors thereof, or are other waisies scandalous or loose in their conversations, or have not given good satisfaction of their affection and faithfulness to this Cause, may be speedily removed out of all places of Power or Trust in the Magistracy, or other management of the Publick Affairs of these Nations, and that no such persons may be admitted unto any such Place of Power or Trust for the future:

10. And forasmuch as no godly or other good Interest can be preferred, or maintained, unless the persons, who are chiefly
1639. chiefly intrusted with the management and exercise of the Government, be of suitable spirits to those Interests. That those who are or shall be intrusted therein, be such persons as shall be found to be most eminent for Godliness, faithfulness, and constancy to the good Cause and Interests of those Nations.

11. That to the end the Legislative Authority of this Common-wealth may not by their long sitting become burthen-some or inconvenient, there may be effectual Provision made for a due Succession thereof.

12. And for the better satisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Common-wealth, in this juncture of Affairs, for preserving and maintaining the Principles and other matters thereto subvient: We do unanimously acknowledge and own the Lord Charles Flettwood Lieutenant General of the Army, to be Commander in Chief of the Land-Forces of this Common-wealth.

13. That in order to the establishing and securing the Peace, Welfare, and Freedom of the People of these Nations for the ends before expressed, the Legislative power thereof may be in a Representative of the People, consisting of a House successively chosen by the People in such way and manner as this Parliament shall judge meet, and of a felected Senate, Co-ordinate in Power, of able and faithful persons, eminent for Godliness, and such as continue adhering to this Cause.

14. That the administration of all Executive Power of Government, may be in a Council of State, consisting of a convenient number of Persons qualified in all respects as aforesaid.

15. That all Debts Contracted by his late Hignetty, or his Father, since the 15th of December 1653, may be satisfied, and that an honourable Revenue of Ten thousand pounds per annum, with a convenient House, may be setled upon him, and his Heirs for ever; and Ten thou-

This Petition was presented by Lambert the 13th day of May, accompanied with Deflorim and Barked, the Lieutenant of the Tower, with 13 other Colonels and 12 Lieutenant Colonels, we find entered in the Parliament Journal the words which Lambert spake at the delivery of it, which were these:

Mr. Speaker,

We are Commanded by the Officers of the Army, to present before you their Humble Petition and Address; there are several things contained in it, which have been a long time upon their hands, and no visible way of redress: Finding to their great Joy and Satisfaction, that you are Returned; In discharge of their Trust, they thought it not fit to neglect this opportunity, but have Commanded us to present this Petition.

When he had said these words, he withdrew, with those that were with him; and the House upon Debate Ordered their Speaker to return them the following Answer: Which is likewise entered in the Journal of that Days Proceedings.
A Schedule of his Debts was annexed to this Paper: what was contracted for the Funeral of his Father, they absolutely rejected, and made flow Proffreg in the ret, and delisted to settle any Revenue upon him or his Mother, as was desired; but gave him two thousand pounds to discharge part of his own private debts, and required him, and all his Dependents, to remove from White-Hall in fix days. Fleetwood discovered a little difcomfort at this contempt put upon his Brother Cromwell, and that Family; but as soon as it was ordered that he should be Commander in chief of all the Armies and Land Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for one year, in compliance with the twelfth Article of the Articles Petition and Address, he was left fcificious in the concernments of his Wires Family: when the Houfe voted he should command the Armies, they likewise voted, he should have power to Sign and Seal such Commissions, for the Conftitution of Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament, and nominated by Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Hefterig, Lieutenant General Fleetwood, and the Colonels, Lambert, Dobson, Ludlow, and Berry, or the major part of them, who were made Commissioners for that purpose. And for his better Eftablifhment, they directed a Bill to be prepared and brought into the Houfe to be paflèd into an Act for his conftitution: Which was done accordingly; but upon the second reading of it, they would not admit of that clause, to authorize him to Sign Commissions, but Ordered, That all Commissions, under the Commission of Officers of the Army, and the Council of Cftipations, fhould be Signed by the Speaker of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, to be written by the Clerks attending the Council of State, and delivered to the Officers gratis, by the Speaker in the Parliament Houfe. They also at the same time, Ordered, That the Government of Ireland fhould be in Commissioners nominated and appointed by Parliament, and not by one Person, and that Colonel Henry Cromwell should be acquainted with the Order, and required forthwith to repair to the Parliament. This Gentleman had made himself very popular in Ireland, in his Government of that Kingdom, under his Father, and his Brother; but in regard there was a Council co-ordinate with him in civil matters, many of the members whereof were of severe and rigid behaviour, the generality of his disposition was fomewhat over-rulled; nevertheless, molt people in diftrefus there did receive with fuch effects of his authority, where he had any manner of capacity to fhew it. This they acknowledged he deferred to have been the Son of a better Father.

He had the Jift Army under good Discipli- ne, and was fo well beloved of the Officers, that it is probable he would not have contented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare again it; For his Brother gave him no intimation of what had happened, nor any Commands to appear on his behalf; what he had heard, being only from the intelligence of private Friends. At the firft Alarm, he advised with his Confederates what to do, and to prevent Confederacies against him, by any Combinations of the Officers of his Army, he Siff commanded.
commanded all of them to their charges, and (to use his own words) not to braken to any design of innovation, how specially fower the same might be presented to them. Likewise he dispatched Cornef Monck to Scotland to General Monck, (who came thither not till fifteen days after the alteration of Government) to inform himself how he and his Army fuddly a fect to it, who returned no other answer than a Copy of the Letters the Officers of his Army had obliged him to fend to the Parliament.

In all probability, if Colonel Henry Crome well had drawn his Army together, and fixed them to his Authority, and then declared against their proceedings at London, he might have shaken much the new foundation of the Common-wealth; for the Armies in England and Scotland were not then modelled, and the Officers many of them (as hath been faid) relations or dependents of the Family of the Crome wells; but he was fo doubtful of the success that he undertook nothing, but peaceably submitted, as his Brother had done, (though in more generous terms) to the Authority then introduced.

We purposely omit many particulars of these transactions, and others in the Journals of the Parliament, as their constitution of a Council of State, for the more immediate executive power of the Common-wealth, the Nomination of Judges, Commissioners of the Great Seal, and Commissioners for the Admiralty, and Government of the Navy, and Colonel Henry Crome well's Letter to the Parliament, when submitted to it, as not very effentially pertinent to this History.

Fleetwood and his Friends were troubled at the restriction of his Commission, yet he dis fembled his passion, and yielded to necessity, till a more favourable conjunction might give him opportunity to enlarge his power: however, both he, De burrow, Lambert, and many of them were dissatisfied with the way of receiving their Commissions from the hands of the Speaker, and would have remonstrated against it; but by enquiring into the temper of the inferior Officers, they found them well enough affected towards it, and therefore did not proceed for that time. And Fleetwood himfelf to diffemble his acquiescence with great submiffion, and Proclamation of Obedience to the Parliament, received his Commission in the Houfe, from the hands of the Speaker, and after him Lambert, De burrow, Berry, Ludlow, Sydenham, alluff about London, who had Commands in the Army.

The Parliament now became confident of its Power, and meditated to fubject the Army wholly to it (which made them jealous of each other.) Although all the Armies and Navy had declared their concurrence in obedience to them; yet they displaced thofe Officers in both, whom they fuddly affected to Cromwell, or Monarchical Government. The seven Commissioners before named, to whom the nomination of the Officers of the Army was first committed, were continued in that Authority, and very active in it. Thofe of the Anabaptift persuasion, were by them esteemed moft firm to a Common wealth, and by their information they were much guided in the difposition of Places; but where any had been put out by Cromwell, for difsatisfaction to him, they were reftored as of course. Colonel Lackart, the Governor of Dunkirk, had made his submiffion; but shortly after, there was a desperate Mutiny in the Garrison, at ftrict fuddly to be for the King, but it was quickly appeased, and found to be otherwise. And the better to regulate affairs there, and quiet the place, Lieutenant Colonel Piffon, Colonel Afflefield, and Colonel Parker, were forthwith sent over. Thus all things proceeded fortunately to them. Embaffadors from all parts making h alf to congratulate the felicity of their Government.

The Embaffadors from the United Provinces, was prepared with his Credentials for Audience within a fortnight after the first beginning of this New Common-wealth, and at his Audience, in the name of his Masters, he made a more than ordinary Profession of Amity, and desife of Unity and Confederacy with them. The Commissioners, who had that in charge, made great dispatch both in Modelling the Army and Navy. Piffon and Manfon, two Anabaptifts, Lieutenant Colonels under General Monck, undertoock to know so well the Army in Scotland, that their information was much credited in the settling of it, and to weaken Monck's power, they had designed to remove thofe he moft trusted, and put others of their own Creatures into their places. Of all these pacflages the General had very good Intelligence, his Agent Charges not omitting to acquaint him with all that befpeak'd with these Commissioners. And after a while, he took publick notice of it in a Letter to the Houfe, in which, among other Expressions, he told them he had heard of their intentions to displace many of his Officers, which he conceived they did not from any knowledge they had of their Persons or Qualifications, but the informations of others; and that he thought himfelf as ficit to be credited in that matter as any, and did affure them, they were all good men, and for whole fidelity and good behaviour he would be engaged.

This Letter put a little flop to their Care, but did not divert their Resolutions: yet to give him fome satisfaction, they fent him back word, they would be very careful in the placing or displacing of his Officers, and that in his opinion the Houfe of Poore, there should be no alteration, till fuch time as they were confulted in it. Monck was not fatisfied with their Answer, but privately advifed some of thofe Officers, whom he heard they would put from their Commands, to go to London, to folicite their own concerns, and as much as they could obftruct and retard the proceedings of the Committee. That which was of moft advantage to the prefervation of his Officers, was an Order made, That such Officers as were new Constituted for Scotland or Ireland, because they could not come to the Parliament to take their Commissions, should receive them from fuch Commissioners as should be appointed for the Civil Government of thofe Kingdoms.
The first Riting was to be of such as had never engaged on the Kings side in the late Wars, thereby to draw the Army to less opposition; for the Declaration had no mention of his Majestie, but was called, The Declaration of the Lords, Gentlemen, and Citizens, Freeholders and others, in this most happy Nation. The words of it were these:

Since he hath pleased Almighty God to suffer the Spirit of Divinity to continue in this distressed Nation, and to leave its without any settled Foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Propriety, the Legislative Power usurped, at pleasure, and continued; The Army resolved at first for our Defence assured, and miffed into unwarrantable Actions by the Cunning and Ambition of some of the Superior Officers; No face of Government appearing either in any single Person, or a Body of men in Council lawfully Conjoined, to whom the Grievances of the People may with any probability of Success be properly addressed. Therefore we being Considered of our Duty, and sensible of our own and the Nations Ruins, if these Disfractions continue, or if in a more fixed topposition by some Settlement inconsistent with the Laws, Peace, and Interest of these Nations, have taken Arms in Defence of our Fortunes, and all others who will partake with us in the Vindication and Maintenance of the Freedom of Parliament against all Violence whatsoever, of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property of the Good People of this Nation, who at present groan under illegal, arbitrary, and insupportable Taxes and Payments unknown to our Ancestors. This being our Duty to GOD and to Man, and our only Design, We cannot defpare of the Blessing of Him who gave Victory; nor of the cheerful concurrence of all good People, nor of the undiverted part of the Army, whose Arrears and Increas of future Pay, and Advancement of high Command, We shall, by all means procure, suffering no Imposition of force on any mans Conscience; and to this We doubt not but all honest Englishmen will say, Amen, Amen.

But yet many of the Kings Friends in all parts were to bring in their Aids, Colonel Richard Arundel and Trelorey undertook, at his Majesties demand, to bring five hundred Horse into Cornwall, and Arms for as many more, they would raise the other five hundred: And Major General Egerton did as much in Staffordshire; and many others in other Parts. The Preparation could not be expeditied with that haste as was intended, so that the day of Riting was deferred to the Friday of August, and Mr. Copper was lent by Mr. Mordant to his Majestie, to acquaint him with it; who was so soon dispatch'd, that he returned in five days to those that sent him, to let them know, his Majestie would be present with them in short time. With him Colonel Roger Whitley came into England, with some verbal Instructions to Sir George Booth, and some blank Commissions to dispose in Lancashire, Cheshire, and Flintshire; He laid no longer in London, than to receive Mr. Mordant's Commands, and some of the forementioned Declaration to carry with him to Booth. Captains Titus was sent to the King, to let him know all was ready: His Majestie
King CHARLES the Second.

The Duke of York left Lodlow from Berda.

The main of the Design prevented by diffculty.

The most considerable Body that got together was under Sir George Booth, who with the Earl of Derby, the Lord Killantrry, and Major General Egerton were met at the time appointed at Warrington, at first with a small Party; but they having the very Flower of the Grentry and Gallantry engaged among them, their numbers encreased every minute: Colonel Roger Whitley delivered his Message to Sir George from his Majesty, and the Declarations he had received from the Lord Mardan, with an Account of his Majesties Preparations beyond the Seas, and his readinesse to come over upon the first notice; which was no small Satisfaction and Joy to the whole Party, which then conjoined of about Five hundred Men. The first thing they resolved, was to march towards Chester: and the first night they marched thither was with part of the Town, but the Castle was defended against them by Colonel the Governor thereof for the Parliament, who had one Company it. The next day Major General Egerton was sent with a Party to Chirk-Castle, where Sir Thomas Middleton hearing of his approach, opened the Gates, and joyfully received him. The next day he went with them to Wrexham, (having left his Son to Command the Castle for the King) and there many came in to them. The next day after, Colonel Whitley was sent with a Party to put a Garrison into Hardinge Castle in Flintshire, which was newly left by a Party of the Parliament Soldiers that marched from thence to Denbigh Castle their next Garrison, but were feized by the Country, and brought prisoners to Sir George Booth's Party. Colonel Ireland at the same time declared for them in Liverpool, and Mr. Brocks, one of the Members of the House of Commons, willing to expatiate his fortune, and join in the Transactions of the Trained Bands, Troops, or Companies, was to be approved in Parliament; and they had privately laid a contrivance to have Soldiers at most of the Railing of the Kings Friends all over England: So that their accidental intercepting of the Lady Mary Howard, Letter by the officious diligence of a Pott-Master, was rather a service than a disadvantage to his Majesty, since thereby his coming to England, which might have expost his Person to inevitable Peril, was prevented. Notice of this discovery could not be soon enough diffused to prevent the appearance of many Gentlemen in divers Parts. The Earl of Leichfield, with Sir Adam Brown, my Lord Mardan, (to whom wee illature, in regard he here first declared having received the Dignity of Vicount) and about twenty other Persons I understood wrote to Stafford in Surrey, but by the order of the taking of Sir Francis Vincent an active Servant of the Kings, there was no little appearance, that all divided to shite for themselves. The Earl of Lichfield and my Lord Mardan came diffused by Water in the Common Barg from Chester to London, and got private
SIR,

I cannot think you will find it ill, for you have no reason to do so; and the good I expect from you, will bring so great a benefit to your Country, and to your self, that I cannot think you will decline my Interest. The Person who gives or sends this to you, had Authority to say much to you from me; and if you once refuse to take my Interest to heart, I will leave the way and manner of declaring it intirely to your own Judgment; and will comply with the Advice you shall give me. The rest I refer to the person who conveys this to you; and it is in your power to make me, as kind to you, as you can desire, and to have me always your affectionate Friend,

July 21, 1659,

CHARLES R.

The other was to Sir John Greenwill of the same date, in these words; PR.

I am confident that George Monk can have no Malice in his Heart against me; nor hath he done any thing against me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great Service, that I cannot easily Reward, but I will do all I can; and I do Authorize you to Treat with him, and not only to affume of his Kindnes, but that I will very liberally Reward him with such an Estate in Land, and such a Title of Honour as himself shall desire, if he will declare for me, and adhere to my Interest: And whatsoever you shall promise to him on my behalf, or whatever be, or you by his Advice, shall promise to any of his Officers, or the Army under his Command (which Command he shall still keep) I will make good and perform upon the Word of a King.

CHARLES R.
Worcester, Colonel Barrow, Captain Glynford, and others of the King's Friends, they would have got together above three thousand men, Ministers and others, out of the Forest of Dean, and from about Stroud-Water, and other places. There was in Gloucester a Troop of the Army Horse under one Dale, and a Militia Troop commanded by one Crofts, who upon this Discovery caused three hundred Foot to be presently raised, and sent a Party of Horse to take the Lord Herdly, Maffey, Barrow, and Glynford: They took the Lord Herdly and brought him to Gloucester; Barrow and Glynford defended themselves in Barrow's House, and upon Parol, to render themselves at Gloucester, were not taken. Maffey and his Servant being taken Prisoners, Maffey himself was set on a Horse, and a good stout Trooper set behind him, to hold him in his Arms, two rode on each side, and some Troopers before his Horse, and others behind: It was about the close of the Night, the Evening being very dark, and the Weather fumeous with Rain and Hail, infomuch, that when they were going down a very steep Hill by Nimsfield-Road, about ten miles from Gloucester, the way to Bath, Maffey's Horse, with the man that rode behind him, fell headlong altogether, and tumbled down that steep Hill, whereby it hapned that the Fellow let go his hold, and most of the rest also; so that all the Prisoners, except the Lord Herdly, and Maffey's Servant, escaped.

The Parliament sent to Dunkirk for three
Regiments to strengthen the Army; and Colonel Zanyh brought out of Ireland his Regiment of Horse, and Axels's Regiment of Foot, which landing at Angelsey, marched to join with Lambert, who at his first march from London, had not above 1500, but by Conjunction of several Troops and Companies that met him, enabled to secure about 3000 men. Sir George Booth had not the half the number, and those he had were without any Order or Discipline, because many of them, being Noblemen and Gentlemen of Quality, were not without great Emulation, every one aspiring to Command, whilst no body obeyed; Sir George Booth having intelligence of Lambert drawing near to him, thought to have got a days march before him into Lancashire, to have increased his Numbers; and to gain time, he and Sir Thomas Middleton sent a Trumpeter, with two Minifters, to shew the ground of their retiring an Army, and desired a Treaty, to have effusion of blood: To which Lambert agreed, on condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender to him the Garrison in their power. To this there was no Reply; but some of Lambert's men preferred to hard the next morning upon Booth, that at a Bridge near Northwich, a sharp Encounter was made between the Forces of each Party. The Boothians, with much courage, defended the Pails, till they were overpowered by Numbers. Captain Morris, a gallant Loyal Gentleman, was killed, and some few others of Booth's Party; of Lambert's very few fell, and those that did of no great Note; all the vanquished dispersed themselves, Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton got away. The Lord Kilmany, Brooks, Major General Egerton, Sir William Onslow, and others, were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrison immediately submitted to Lambert.

Sir George, although he had the good Fortune at that time to escape, was not long free, being seized at Newport-Peniel, in a Disguise, as he was riding towards London, in order to his Transportation into some Foreign Part.

The Curious that made Remarks on this generous Undertaking, as commonly wiser in the Diffcource than Execution of any great Design, did much cenсуд the Conduct of it. They said, that they had many Opportunities to have ruined their Enemies, but omitted all; That Colonel Zancly, from Ireland landing in Angle-
sey, might have been met, and with good Probability of Success fought with ere he could have join'd with Lambert, they being with all their Strength, to bewitch him and them; and that Colonel Lilliput, who was gathering men together in York-shire, might easily, by a small Force from Lancaster, have been broken, and hindered in his Levies; and that many other little Parties, which in small numbers came from several Parts, might have been met and dispersed, before they united; and that one Blow given to any one of them, would have added so much to their Reputation, that it might have brought great Accectisons to their Party. Others (and perhaps with good Reason) were of Opinion, that nothing was more Detructive to his Majesty, than these Plots and Contrivances of Riling for him; and that the best Rebellion he could have taken, since the end of the first war, was to have fate in Expecification of some favourable Advantage to himself from the Division of his Enemies; for what could now raise men do against experienced and successful Soldiers of a Nation where the late King with all hisStrength could not prevail, Parties could less expect to conquer; and indeed, the Event manifested the Truth of this Reasoning, for the Consequence of these Plots, was no other than the Ruine of many of the Estates of Noblemen and Gentlemen, the loss of some of their Lives, and the Deprievion of the Spirits of the rest; besides, an occasion of strengthening the Army so much the more, and giving their Party plausible Pretenfes, to infer a Necessity for their continuance, and to levy Taxes on the People for their Maintenance, and unite and fix them the more against his Majesty. But nevertheless, the generality of those noble Percions (to particularize any of them in a more eminent manner than the rest would be to injure all) cannot be enough commended, since they valued no hazard, in respect of their Duty to their Sovereign, and the Vindication of the Laws and Liberty of their Country, and have left such an Example of Loyalty to their Posterity, as we hope will be maintained, as long as the Fame of their Virtues and Honour shall endure.

General Monk in Scotland, was so much preceded upon, by the report of Sir George Booth's prosperous Success in his Enterprise, and the Importance of his Brother Nich. Monk, that he resolved to march into England, in pursuance
sonce of Booth's Declaration, which was very fu-
table to his own Inclinations.

He consulted in this Matter, besides his
Brother, only Major Ralph Knights, Major of
his own Regiment of Horie, Captain Jer-
emiah Smith likewise of his own Regiment,
Dr. Samuel Bunow Physician to the Army,
Dr. John Price his Chaplain, and Dr. Thomas
Grainger Chaplain to the Council of Scot-
land, in regard he had many Sedition Officers
in his Army, who were Spies upon all his Ac-
ings, and therefore was obliged to be very
wary and circumspect in his Proceedings; in-
somuch, that when Colonel Atkins, a Royalift
of his antient Acquaintance, came into Scot-
land to him, about the same Errand that his
Brother did, Monk (for fear of waking the
Jealousy of the Factions about him) durft not
shew him any Countenance or Respect, but ra-
ther the contrary, sending him away some-
what discouraged: When all was ready for his
March, and a Declaration to that end prepared,
he demurred for two days, upon the stop of the
English Packet, in expectation of Intelli-
gence from his Agent Clarke, from whom he
days after received the fatal News of the
Defeat of Sir George Booth.

The King being still at St. Malo's in prepar-
ations of a Veetol to transport him into Eng-
land, had the first Notice of these Misfortunes
from Mr. Brett, an English GentilUMan Monk,
which in a while after was confirmed to him by
the Marquefs of Ormonde, who came to him
from Paris, with Particulars of it: The King
(always preffent to himself in the most diffcult
Accidents of his Life) discovered not much
alteration at this, though it seemed a Cross
that might very well no less sensibly affect him,
than what ever had yet happeft to him im-
properous, and giving Check to his Fortune; be-
came hereby all his hopes became desperate,
of his being ever retoreft to his Subjects,
without fuch foreign Force, as fhould be able
to afford Affiance and Supply to their En-
deavours for him, by holding his Enemies fo
long in Play, till by accettion of his Friends,
they might be strong enough to reft their
great Efforts, or at leaft to try the others;
Even in this Reflection, he had many Doubts in his Mind,
for that many late Succeffes of the English in
Flanders, had made them feem imminent to
thofe, from whom his Majesty was to expect
Affiance. But fince nothing now but Foreign
Aid could viably raise his Hopes, he refolved
ferioufly to apply himself to the Treaty now
in Agitation upon the Borders between France
and Spain, about a Peace betwixt thofe two
Crowns, which was managed by Cardinal Ma-
zarini, and Don Lewis d'Hera, the two chief
Miniflers of the two Kings; to which his Ma-
jesty had an Eye long time, not doubting but
he fhould be in fo much meare comprehended in
it, fo as to receive Affiance from thofe
Princes his Allies, as soon as they fhould be
free from their Embarrafisments; and in pro-
tection hereby, he had commanded Sir Henry
Bennet, a Perfon of great Prudence and Ad-
minifter of the Diftrefs during the Diftrifus in Spain, not
to fail to attend Don Lewis d' Hera to the Tre-
ty, and be prefent there to negotiate his
Affairs. The Treaty being near Conclusion,
his Majefly, for fear it fhould be ended before
he came thither, made all possible haft to re-
pair to thofe Parts; and in orderthereunto,
took his Journey forthwith from St. Malo's to
Rimés, where he met Sir George Carteret, and
after fome Small Ray with him, went thence
to Namis, and there his Company di-
vided, till they met again at St. Ouen; from
thence he went by the Paffage of Orleans, over
the Pyreuan Hills, to Saragofs, the chief City
in Araign, and there he continued eight or
nine days, and difpatched Mr. Oatley to Fon-
tarabia, to inform himfelf of what paffed at
the Treaty; who, when he came thither, after
fome Conference with Bennet, they agreed to
haft away Mr. William Dunnan, an Irish Gen-
tleman, to the King, to let him know, the
Treaty was prolonged, and that his Prefence
would very much quicken and advance his
Affairs. His Majefly then immediately hafting
by Poll to the Treaty, continued incrédulity (as
he had done all this Journey) till he came
within three Leagues of Fontarabia, where he
was attended by Bennet with Coaches, to aug-
mint his Equipage; and from thence he re-
fumed his State, and went in Publick.

He was met by the Baron of Batterville, a
Perfon of great Honour and Civility (Gour-
fon of Fontarabia) with a Troop of Horse, and
a mile and a half without the Town; and when
he came near it, all the Guns were difcharg'd,
and Don Lewis himfelf met him within the
Gate. During his Stay there, he was enter-
ained in as splendid a manner as the Time
and place would handomely admit. And during
the Treaty, he had frequent Conferences
with Don Lewis d' Hera, and was every day viti-
ed by him.

The Governing Power in England employed
the fame time to attend on Cardinal Ma-
zarini at this Treaty, and to promote their Con-
cerns, Lockart, who had continued ever since
Oliver's Death Byad Extrordinary Embalfladour
in France. The Cardinal lay at St. John de Luxe,
the nearest Town to Spain, on the French
Borders, where he fhewed to much Countre-
ministerial Command and Refpeét, but in the King
thought it not decent to give him a Vifit; but
he received many from others of the French
Nobility.

General Monk was inwardly very much
troubled at these Diffifters; and the more,
because he found himself every day more and
more incapable to remedy them: For the
House displac'd Colonel Daniel, the Gover-
nor of St. Johnfen, and many other Officers
whom he much trusted, and were about to re-
move the ret: fo that fetting which way things
were likely to tend, and thinking it better
to reign of his own accord, than to be worm'd
out of his Command, or at least remain but
like the Image of a General, and serve only
for a property to other Men Delights, he sent
a Letter upon the Third of September, to
Lenthall the Speaker, to be communicated
to the Parliament, to defire a Divifion from his
Command; pretending, That he was inform'd
in his Health, and had long continued in that remote
Country; And therefore requesting, now that all
Inferfions,
Infuriations, which threatened Disobedience to the Peace of the Nations, were delayed, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet.

This Letter, though it was not sent to Clarges to be delivered, as usually all his Packets were, because he suspected he would have opposed that Resolution of his, and been very backward in delivering the other; yet Mr. Nicholas Man was furnished him Instruction of it, and the Matter was so ordered, that the Letter came to his hands, and by him delivered to the Speaker, with whom he dealt so effectually, that he agreed to delay the offering it to be read for ten days, till a Packet came from Scotland to contradict it: Yet Clarges was put to great perplexity in this Business, for some, Salisbury, and those that affected not, or suspected the General (having private Advice of this Letter) often call'd to have it read; and had not earnest and dextrous prevention been used to divert the House with other Business, by some that loved the General well, and were prepared by Clarges; he had by this Despondency rendered himself incapable of doing that, for which he seemed by Providence especially chosen and marked out.

The Defeat of Sir George Booth and his Party, heightened much the Spirits of the chief Officers of the Army, who began now to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Greatness, which was somewhat of late leften by the Parliament, and in Delineation to be wholly subject to them. To effect this, there was a strict and permanent Correspondence held between some of the Officers at London, and Lambert, and thofe with him in Lambeth, Chelsea, and Parts adjacent. The Difficulty was, how to ingage the inferior Officers (who were somewhat affected with their immediate Dependence on the House, by receiving Commissions from the Hands of the Speaker) to obviate this. It was advised, to attempt no thing at the General-Council of Officers in London: but to begin with thofe of Lambert's Brigade, as most exalted by their late good Fortune, and therefore apter to be seduced by any plausible Advantages of Power. These therefore were all confered, to the number of Fifty, at Derby, the 6th of September. The first thing on which they began their Debate was the Constitution of the Army; the Unity, Discipline, and Conduct whereof, they said was invaded by a Party of Neuters and Malignants: They complained of several Mifcarriages in the Civil Administrations of Government, and of the Inactivity and Backwardness of Persons in Authority and Trust in the Counties, and the Defection of many Corporations, both which appeared in the time of the late Insurrection. They also seemed much to resent the Parliament unwillingness to prosecute the Proposals of the Army at their first sitting, as an Expedient for Settlement, with many other things of like Concernment. These things were artificially imputed into the Minds of the inferior Officers, who were easily enough drawn to Opinion of their own Power, and to think themselves qualified to give Laws to all but themselves.

However, thefe Matters were at firft only Treated of in Generals. It being moved and agreed, that Colonel Zouch, Colonel Michel, Major Creed, and some few others, should meet as Committees for the red, to reduce them into Form, which was accordingly done. Lambert himself went privately to London, and Lieutenant-Colonel Duckfield, a great Creature in the Administration, was appointed to acquaint the General Council of Officers with these Proceedings; and shortly after the whole Matter being Digested into the Form of a Petition, was sent up in a Letter inclosed to Colonel Affield, Colonel Cobbold, and Duckfield; by whom, or any one, or more of them, it was to be delivered to Fleetwood, to be communicated to the General Council of Officers: And at the same time, when this was sent to London, an Officer was dispatched with a Duplicate of it to General Monk, and a Letter with it, to define his Concurrence, and that the Officers of his Army might join with them: which Letter was subscribed by fourteen of the chief Officers employed under Lambert.

Sir Arthur Haslrig had secret Intimation of thefe Consultations at Derby; and the next day after the Petition came to London, which was on the 2d of September, he moved the Parliament, at their first Sitting, against it, explaining with much earnestness against the Officers of the Army, who (he said) were attempting alterations in the Government, to the resting up a Single Person over them.

This put the House into a Jealoufie of Lambert; to whom, in their private Discourses, they attributed the whole Conyrvance; and though he outwardly appeared passive in it, they said he aspired to succeed Cromwell: And because it was not yet time to effect his purpose in his own Person, he would set up Fleetwood to be General of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and establish himself in the next Command to him, to be thereby able, with less Envy, to compass his Ends. For Fleetwood, they said, was of an easy Nature, and would be contented with the Name of General, allowing Lambert the Power of it, till he should find a fair Occasion, to assume it in his own Right; and when he should have got the Sword, he would not forsake the Sceptor. Fleetwood confessed he had the Copy of a Petition laying such an Imputation on the Officers of the Army, and endeavoured to justify their Innocence, as intending nothing less than what was alleged; but all he said could not allay the heat raised by Haslrigs infomuch, that they Ordered, That Affield, Cobbold, and Duckfield, whom he affected to have the Original in their hands, should that afternoon attend the House with it, and appointed Fleetwood to give them notice thereof, and to bring with him the Copy he had. Monk made no Progress in Scotland in this Affair, nor did he think fit to call together his Officers about it; but some of them that were Andropigii at Arms, privately to get Subscriptions, till they heard of the fierce Reflection that was made upon it by the House: Whom in the Afternoon,
noon, the three Officers mentioned attended with their Petition; And because it was That, on which the chief Foundation was laid of that difference between the Remnant Parliament and Army, which Ended in the Disaffection of both, and was never yet Pruned, We have thought it material enough to be here word for word inferred.

To the Supreme Authority of these Nations, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, &c.

The Humble Petition and Proposals of the Officers under the Command of the Right Honourable the Lord Lumberland in the late Northern Expedition.

HUMBLY SWEETH.

That whereas we, with others who desire to fear the Lord in these Nations (though by our provocation we were ripe for destruction) have been again faced by the Lord, and have had a late view of his appearance as of old; in the beholding of whose gracious Footsteps, as we cannot but rejoice, so our souls tremble, left the fruit of all (which the Lord may expect, and his People long earnestly for) become abortive now in the day of our deliverance: We therefore present unto your Honours Consideration these ensuing Proposals, which we humbly lay before you:

1. That the Humble Petition and Address of the General Council of Officers at Walthamford-House to the Parliament, which was so unanimously and cheerfully agreed to, and approved of, in a day of our greatest Confusions, may be laid aside, but may have fresh life given unto it; It being upon further and clearer grounds, fill upon our hearts, as the best and only Expedient yet offered (notwithstanding many Effays) to a happy and durable Settlement, being a fixed and firm Fence and Boundary (under God) for the securing the Civil and Spiritual Liberties which the Spirit of the Nation is unacquainted in travel, not only to invade, but upon every opportunity (as We have often seen, and lately had a clear evidence of) it ready to attempt the ruin and deftruction of the same.

2. That whereas God having given a spirit to the Army fixed and faithful to the Interest of his People, and Our good Cause; when many who had been Friends were either Apologists, Malignants, or Neuters, joining with the old Enemy, leaving the Parliament and Army, and their few allies, Friends singly to confide with their late difficulties; And having now no such hopeful signs like to prevail to ruin and frustrate what we have so long contested for, as by working Divisions in the Army, making breaches, beguiling misunderstandings, and dividing its Unity, wherein, under God, its greatest strength lies: We do therefore, as the most effectual means for the maintaining the Discipline and Conformity thereof, and preserving its Unity inviolable, Humbly Propose, That his Excellency the Lord Fleetwood may be settled Commander in Chief of the Armies (his Commission expiring within a few Months;) that the Lord Lambett be the General Officer and Chief Commander of the Army next, and under him; And also, that the Lord Desborough be the Chief Officer of the Horse under them: And that General Monk be the Chief Officer and Commander of the Infantry: They being all Persons under whose Conduct, Courage, and Fidelity, We have had Eminent Success, Victory, and Deliverance, in the days of greatest Straights, and have been signal blessed and owned by the Lord; to whom, and not to Man, be the Honour of all.

3. That having had very sad experience of a grand Apostatising spirit gone through the Nations, and among so many of those who were intrusted for the Safety thereof, very few sitting or appearing in several Counters, for the preventing the Plots, and suppressing the power of the Enemy in the late Rebellion Design, and many others not only flattering, but falling in with them, whereby a total risen was threatened, and had been effectted, had not the Lord in Mercy prevented: We therefore humbly Propose, That there may be a diligent Enquiry in all parts, by faithful men implored to that purpose, what intrusted Persons have been guilty of any Contra-vision, and allied against the Common-wealth-Interest, and that they may be proceeded against accordingly. And likewise what Persons upon wicked Purposes have been Neutral in such a distressed Day, when their Assistance, according to their Impeachment and Confessions, would have been not less useful than seducible; and that all such may be removed from their Places and Impeachment, Civil and Military; and that such who on the contrary in this juncture of the dissembled Affairs, declared their owning of this Interest, either in the County Troops, or Militia Volunteers, or otherwise, may be looked on as Friends, encouraged, assisted their Arrears, protected from Injuries, countenanced by you, and as they are exhorted, invested with Authority in their several Countries.

4. That in the late Infurbreions, some considerable Corporations have not only sided, abett'd, and countenanced the Enemies Design, but have also made use of the Arms lodged with them, and themselves appeared in the Rebellion, willingly receiving the numerous accession of all engaged therein: Therefore We humbly Propose, That such Corporations may be disinterested, and that you would be pleased to give your Signal mark of disapprobation against them; As also for the future, so to regulate Corporations, That such Persons well Qualified according to the Government of a well Considerted Common-wealth may be intrusted with Authority of Magistracy in every of the several Towns; That so the Footsteps of Monarchy may be rooted out.

5. We humbly offer, That all Persons whatsoever, Magistrates, Ministers, or others, who have openly or secretly stirred up or provoked the Inhabitants of these Nations to War and Combinations against the Parliament, and particularly to the late Insurbreions, (of which is visibly apparent, many of them have not only been abettors, but in their persons appeared with Instruments and Weapons of War, as some of Us know) may be proceeded against, as you in your Judgment shall think fit.
After the reading of this Paper, the House adjourned till the next morning, and Ordered then to resume the Debate of it, and that no other business should intervene; and at their meeting, they Voted, That to have more General Officers in the Army, than are already settled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth; and that Fleetwood shall acquaint them with this Resolved.

They had it under Consideration, to have imprisoned those that brought the Petition; but because the chief and most remarkable design of it tended to set up some new General Officers in the Army, they thought it enough to declare against it.

Fleetwood the next day, at a Meeting with many of the Leading Officers at his own House, informed them of the Parliament's displeasure signified in their late declarative Vote against the Petition and Proposals, and that he was then upon motion to decline the infinitely honourable, but agreed, that some of their number should draw up somewhat in Writing of a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled, The Common Enemy) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the Commonwealth against all Disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of September, in the Chappell at Somerset-House.

And the said Petition was at the appointed time prepared and brought into the General Council by thro' to whom the care of framing it was committed, with a long Preamble, and many Proposals far different from what much they were prepared, for; for their former being by a General Council, to meet for that purpose; and it was on a more moderate nature, to be presented to the House, to profess an adherence to their Authority, in opposition to the King and his Party, (whom they styled, The Common Enemy) and that they would stand by them in the Settlement of the Commonwealth against all Disturbances whatsoever: And that this should be prepared and brought to be read and considered by a General Council of Officers to meet for that purpose the 27th of September, in the Chappell at Somerset-House.

Another Petition brought into the Council of Officers more high than the former.

Munk was somewhat at a stand to know how to behave himself in this matter, but to avoid suspicion, he wrote to Fleetwood a courteous letter of his opinion of the whole Affair, but insinued chiefly on that part of the Petition wherein it was proposed, That no Officer or Soldier should be cashiered or dismissed from their Places, without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own consent, except in case of reduction or disbending; defining they would add (after the words, Court-Martial) or by order of the Commander in Chief of the Army upon the place, alleging, That although the removing or dismissing of Soldiers, otherwise than by sentence of Court-Martial, was a thing rarely practis'd: yet if a General, or the Supreme Authority, should be understood to be restrained therein, it might encourage the more inferior Officers and Soldiers to affront the Superior, and the General himself, and would in time make the Army a kind of separate Corporation from the Parliament.

This Letter came not to Fleetwood, till the greater part of the Officers had agreed to the Representation to be presented to the House, But Munk's intention was to make his advantage of this division, and to that end, sent to his Brother Nicholas at London to Clerges, to authorize him principally to acquaint such of the Members, as thought most fit, That if they would offer their own Authority, they would march into England, to justify it against any opposition.

During this Debate at London of the General Officers, all imaginable endeavours were used by the dissenters, to protract and lengthen the time; but they were by much overnumbered. And the Petition was signed by 350. Commiss: Officers of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, who were then in and about London.

The leading Members had from time to time notice of the Progress of this Petition, and the matter of it, so that to prevent the Officers of the Army, even in the most reasonable of their Demands, They made many Orders concerning Pay of the Soldiers, and Mariners, and Provision for the Maintained Soldiers, and Orphans, and Widows of such as were killed in their Service. To the Soldiers they Ordered, That all the Arrears, as well of those of the Army, as the Militia Troops and Companies, should be paid out of the Moneys of such Monies as should be raised by the Sale, or other disposition of the Estates of Delinquent Sequestr'd, and to be Sequestr'd upon the late Inquisition, and out of one Moneys of Money to be raised by the sale of Foreffs and Chaces, excepting New Forest, and the Forest of Duns. And excepting tull, Timber and Trees as should be thought fit to be reserved and made use of, for the use of the Commonwealth. And to the Officers and Mariners of the Navy, They ordered the other Monies of the Money to be raised upon Delinquent Estates. And also that Hampton Court House, Parks, and Somerset-House (except the Chappel which was reserved for a French Congregation) and all other Manors, Parks, Houses, and Lands, contained
And withdrew, they coals of our pride and interest. Committees were some to their end, and finding nothing amongst them but Faithfulness and Integrity to the Parliament and Common-wealth, they are sensible that there have not wanted some persons who have endeavoured to begot mis-understanding between the Parliament and the Army, and to that end have represented their affections and intentions so, as it is taken for granted, that there hath been irregularity amongst them, at which they fear they have taken offence; whereas if there had not been an anticipation, they are persuaded it would have appeared to all unprejudiced spirits, that neither they (who for the generality of them were ignorant (for so they pretended) of that whereby the interest was taken) nor their faithful Brethren of the Northern Brigade who signed the said petition and proposals, did design or intend any thing tending to the subversion of the Parliament, the Army, the prejudice of the Peace of the Common-wealth, or any other by or minister respect not becoming the Truth reported in them. Wherefore being sensible of the evils that persons abroad may make from the least apprehensions of difference betwixt the Parliament and the Army; and that they may, as much as in them lies, remove all occasion of furth, justify their own innocency before them; and frustrate the expectations of any, who by blowing up the coals of dissension, hope to warm themselves thereby; they have thought it their duty to present their naked thoughts to them, hoping they will find as much of integrity and approved Faithfulness in them, for the welfare of the Common-wealth, as may continue a firm confidence of them; and engage them zeal against all such as shall go about to reproach their Faithful Army, or any member thereof for the future, especially considering that the peace of these Nations depends much upon a Cordial and Affectionate Union of the Parliament and Army, and an uninterrupted good understanding of each other.

It could not rationally be believed, that these men could think this their manner of proceeding futable to the temper of Subjects to their Superiors, or that it could tend to any thing but that which they seemed to avoid; namely, a breach betwixt their Parliament and them: But a clearer manifestation of this, was apparent in their proposals annexed to this preamble, uttered in with four bold declaratory Assertions; of all which we shall infer the words themselves as they were prefent. Where they say,

We do humbly and plainly declare,

1. That notwithstanding what any persons may allege or say to the contrary, we are not for propositions, but against the setting up of any Single Person whatsoever in Supreme Authority: And for a demonstration hereof, We may appeal to your own judgments upon our late Allings, wherein we said

We do humbly and plainly declare,
our Declaration of the Sixth of May last, we have with all Industry and Faithfulness endeavored to render our selves serviceable to you and the Common-wealth, and have cheerfully offered your Commandes, some of it with our Lives in our hands in your late Service; wherein to our great encouragement the Lord hath once more appeared to own you and your Army, and the Good Old Cause, for which we have contended. And at the late Return of this Parliament to the discharge of their remaining Trust, we did with simplicity and plainness, in our Humble Petition and Addresses presented to you, manifest our Hearts and Defires, and that with much unanimity and fulness of confent, which we apprehended was well accepted by you.

2. That we have not since changed our Principles, leading to a well regulated Common-wealth, wherein the Liberties of the People thereof both Spiritual and Civil may be fully secured, and Persons of known Integrity, Piety, and Ability employed in Places of Trust and Concernments; but refuse by the Assistance of God to remain cont-ent thereunto. And may God make it our humble Prayer to God, That he would incline your Hearts effectually to promote the same, and make you Instrumental in bringing forth such a Foundation of Govern-ment, whereby all the good People of these Nations may rationally expect that such Liberties and Rights shall be preferred to them and their Posterity. And we truly say, That it is in our hearts earnestly to desire, that God would crown you with the Honour of making these Nations happy by such a Settlement, as may not be liable at every Change of Government to have the Peace thereof disturbed by introducing new Govern-ments.

3. Whereas a Petition and Proposals were lately drawn up by the Officers of the Brigade that (under the Command of Major General Lambert) hazarded themselves in your Service with good success, whereby through the blessing of God upon them, and others of your faithful Friends and Servants in the Peace of this Commonwealth is still continued: And the said Petition was sent up to some Officers here, to be presented to the Lord Fleetwood; which hath been by some interpreted to call and sinister Ends, and from thence Suggestion derived, as if there were Intentions to vio-late the Parliament, to set up a Single Person, or another General; in order thereto, We do sincerely profess (whatever the design of any persons may be to promote such Calamities: We have had no other than Faithfulness and Con- der in our Hearts and Alliances towards the Parlia-ment; nor do we apprehend (with submission we may speak it) any reason or cause of offence to be conceived against your Faithful Servants, who lately gave so ample proof of their Fidelity and Courage.

4. We cannot but esteem our selves unhappy, to have been so misrepresented to the Parliament, as should occasion such a publick Admonition upon Record; And considering what Evil use may be made of these things by a Publick Enemy, and to the end they may be disappointed of their hopes, and all such persons discouraged as seek about for the future to promote Jealousies, or by mis-informa-tion to begot Divisions between the Parliament and their Faithful Servants the Army: And that a good understanding may be preserved between them, We humbly Pray

1. That the Officers of the Army, and parti-cularly those who have reason to hear the marks of Your Favour for their Faithfulness in the late Northern Expedition, may stand right in Your Opinion, and have your Countenance.

2. That whatsoever person or persons shall for the future groundlessly and Carelessly inform the House against your Servants, thereby creating Jea-lousies, and causing scandals and imputations upon them, may be brought to Examination, Justice, and Condemn Punishment.

3. That it being an undoubted Right of the People to have a Liberty in a peaceable and sub-missive way, to Petition the Supreme Authority, which Liberty hath been by Your selves Asserted, allowed and approved of; We cannot but also assert the said Liberty, and humbly Conceive, that your Faithful Servants of the Army have no way forfeited their Rights as Freeman, and that therefore they hope it will be no offence for them to submit their humble Defires to the Parliament.

4. That Your Majesties would be pleased to take into Your serious Consideration, the necessary Condition of the poor Soldiers of Your Armies, and that all possible care may be taken for their timely supply, their Wants being such an earnest call for it; And that some speedy and effectual Courses may be taken to provide for the Maintained Soldiers, and the Poor Widows and Orphans, of such as have been slain in Your Service, that the Blessing of God may be upon You.

5. That such as have freely offered themselves in the several Counties and Cities of these Nations, to own and stand by You and Your Cause in the late Insurrections, with the hazard of all which is dear unto them, may have Your Encour-agement, and be Employed in Place of Trust and Command.

6. That it is a thing granted by all, that without the execution of Military Disciplining the Peace, Nation, and good Government of an Army cannot be preserved; the Discipline of the Army may be preferred inviolable, and in particular, That no Officer or Soldier of the Army may be Committed or Dismissed from their Places without a due proceeding at a Court-Martial, or by his own Consent, except in cases of Reduction or Disbanding.

7. That it being judged necessary by the Parlia-ment, for the keeping of the Army under such a Combat as may render the same Serviceable to the Common-wealth, to appoint a Committee of Nominations for the proposing of Officers to the Parliament for their Appointment; We humbly pray, That no Officers may be brought into the Army, but such as shall first come under the Con-sideration of the said Committee, and be by them presented.

8. That the Office of the Commander in Chief of the Army being of so great Concernment to the Peace of this Commonwealth, and his Committee as present (as we conceive) expiring within a few months, We humbly pray, That the Consideration of that matter may come before you, and some such effectual course taken therein, as may prevent our fears, and the hazard of leaving the Army so Confusion.

9. And that you would retain a good Opinion of your Army, and against all discouragements whatever,
The Infolency of these Proposals, gave our present Senators reason to suspect their Authority to be of no long continuance; but in regard many Officers of the Army differed from the Refpefting and Proposing Party, they imagined the reft would not be very hearty to make a Repefe: Therefore they rejoiced to affert their Power at any hazard; in order whereunto, they had many sharp Debates about this Reprefentation and Petition; but in the end they conclufed with moderation, and directed their Speaker to call the Petitioners into the Houfe, and acquainted them, "That the Particular had read their Reprefentation and Petition, and taking notice of the good Experiences therein of their Reprefentations and faithfully to this Parliament and Commonwealth, had Commanded him to give them the Thanks of their Houfe for them; and that they knew, that they had already taken into conideration the Relief of the Poor Widows, Orphans, and maimed Soldiers, to whom Penfions had been formerly allowed; and had also fetled a way for fatisfa&ion of the Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers, and would endeavour to bring the fame to speedy effect.

Desborow gives an Accomp of this Anfwer to a General Council of Officers who fettled that Afternoon upon purpofe. It was not unknown to them, that the Houfe refented their Address, & that in fuch a degree, that it was evident they intended to alter the Confitution of the Army. To provide againft this, they thought fit to ftrengthen their Party, by getting more Subscriptions to their Reprefentation and Petition; and immediately they agreed upon the form of a Letter to be fent to Ireland, and another to Scotland, and to every Regiment in England, for the Signing and dilpafing of which, they nominated from among themselves a fe&et Number in the nature of a Committee, That to General Monk, was in thefe words:

Right Honourable,

We do by Command from the General Council of the Officers of the Army now in London, tranmit the inclofed to you, being a true Copy of the Reprefentation and Petition which was this day by them humbly prefented to the Parliament; and the Veto of the Houfe paflod thereupon; And are further to infigne as their Desire, that the fame may be Communicated to all the Com- miffion Officers of that part of the Army under your Command, and the Subscriptions of all taken to the Reprefentation and Petition, that are free to Sign the fame; Which being fo Signed, it is defired you will be pleased to caufe them to be clofe sealed up,

and returned to Thomas Sandford Esquire, Secretary to his Excellency the Lord Part, who is to give an Accomp thereof. As we have thus fulfilled the General Councils, Pleasure, we are well affured you will be pleased to comply with their Requeft; which is all at preffent from your humble Servants,


The General had Intimation of this Letter from Clarges before it came to his hands, with a full Narrative of the Occurrences that paffed upon the delivery of the Representation; which made him resolve to admit of no Subcriptions in Scotland. And when the Letter came to his hands, He returned in Anfwer to the Time that he thought it unfit to have any Subscriptions made to that, to which now the Parliament had given an Anfwer, lest it should be undertook to make a Party against them. And in pursuance of this Refolution, he sent Orders to all the Regiments under his Command, to forbide them to subscribe.

The Houfe a little before this Agitation, had begun to Court General Monk very much, as thinking it a matter of no small importance, to gain him wholly to them. And he having lent a Letter to them, by which they received Two days after the delivery of the Representation of the Army, to acquaint them with the peaceable conduct of Scotland in obedience to their Government, wherein he moved nothing in favour of none of his Officers, and commended the temper of his Army: They returned him Anfwer the fame day, with the Thanks of the Houfe, and let him know, That the high from them had of the Services which with so much Valour, Prowe, and Faithfulness he had performed, and that they had granted the desife of his Letters, with Affurance to him and his Officers and Soldiers under his Command, of return of Favours from the Parliament answerable to their Merit.

Upon the Tenth of the faid Month, they took the Proposals in the Armies Representation into Debate:

To the First, they Answer,

That the Officers of the Army have receiued, and fhall from time to time receive marks of the Favour of the Parliament, and countenance answerable to their Merit and Faithfulness.

To the Second they Answer,

That it is the Duty of all Persons, especially the Members of Parliament, to inform the House of any thing, which in their apprehenfion may concern the Publick Safety; And it is the unbounded Right of the Parliament to receive, and debate those Informations, and to Refolve what they think fit thereupon.

To
To the Third they Declare,

"That every Member of the Army, as Freemen of England, have right of Petitioning the Parliament; but widows, think fit to let them know, That the Petitioners ought to be very careful, both in the manner, and in the matter which they desire; That the way of promoting and presenting the same may be peaceable; and the things Petitioned for, not tending to the disturbance of the Common-wealth, nor to the dishonour of the Parliament; And that it is the Duty of Petitioners to submit their Desires to the Parliament, and to acquiesce in the Judgment thereof.

In answer to the Fourth Proposal,

"They Order Two Months Pay to be forthwith paid to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army in England, out of the Six Months Allowment of Five and thirty thousand pounds a month now due; And that the Council of State do give Order, that the same be paid accordingly; And that Two Months Pay be also issued to the Officers and Soldiers in Scotland and Ireland. To that part of the Proposal, To provide for the Maintained Soldiers, and the poor Widows and Orphans of such as had been slain in their Service, They refer the former Votes made in their behalfs.

To the Fifth Proposal they Answer,

"That such Persons as have been Faithful and Active for the Parliament in the late Insurrections, the Parliament will take care to give them all due encouragement as occasion shall be offered.

This Resolve Procedure of the Members at Westminster, filled the Army with strange Rumours: And they in the mean time to provide against all Accidents, consulted, if any Breach should be made upon their Government, how to leave them that did it as delitium as might be of Means and Authority to maintain themselves in such actions. And since nothing could more weaken them in such Confusion than want of Money, They for a time deferred their further consideration on the Proposals of the Representation, and made an Act against the raising of Money upon the People without Consent of Parliament, Wherein they Enact,

That all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts, made by any Single Person or his Council, or by both or either of them, or otherwise, or by any Assembly or Convention pretending to have Authority of Parliament, from and after the Nineteenth day of April, 1653, and before the Seventh day of May, 1659, and which have not been or should not be Enacted, Allowed, and Conformed by this present Parliament, should be declared, deemed, taken and adjudged to be of no force or effect from and after the said Seventh day of May, 1659. And that no Person or Persons shall after the Eleventh day of October, 1659, Act, Levy, Collect, Gather, or Receive any Customs, Impacts, Excises, Assessment, Contribution, Tax, Taxage, or any Sum or Sums of Money, or other Imposition whatsoever, of this Commonwealth, without their Consent in Parliament, or as by Law might have been done before the Third of November, 1649. And that every person offending contrary to this Act, should be adjudged to be guilty of High Treason, and forfei and suffer in such as Tres Tres.

That which chiefly provoked them to the hasty making of this Law, was a Letter which had been communicated to them, under the hands of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsfy, Affield, Coblet, Parker, Barrow, and Creed, directed to Colonel Okey. It was much to the same Purport with that sent to General Monk before mentioned, and in the same Form: This Letter was by accident delivered to them, for there being many Letters signed, to be sent to the several Regiments, which were left to be disposed of by Fleetwoods Secretary, he, amongst others, directed one to Okey; who, as soon as he had it, shewed it to Sir Arthur Haslerig, and he to the Houte; who looked upon the Contents thereof, to be such as tended to the fomenting of the Army against them; but resented the Consideration of it till the next Morning, which was the twelfth of October.

That Night Mr. Nicholas Monk arrived (after not above four days Journey) from Scotland, and had Orders from the General, to tell the Clarges, That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in offering their own Authority against the Army, he would assay them in it; and if required thereunto, march into England in their Defence.

Clarges, early the next Morning, communicated this to Walton, Haslerig, and Sect, who were so much encouraged by it, That at the first sitting of the Houte, they moved, that the Doors might be shut, that none of their Members might go out; and then after a long and brisk Debate, they Ordered, That the Commissioners of Lambert, Desborow, Berry, Kelsfy, Affield, Coblet, Parker, and Barrow, who subscribed the said Letter, should be void.

They bad it in Motion, to Declare at the same time, that the next immediate Officers to them should have their Commands conferred on them, but delayed that till the next day, yet ordered the Names of those Officers to be brought to them: And before they parted, they made an Act, appointing Commissioners for the Government of the Army; wherein they first repealed and made void the A.C.T Confinishing Charles Fleetwood, General and Commander in Chief of the Forces raised, and be raised by Authority of Parliament, within England, and Scotland, and all Power and Authority thereby given; And that all the Armies for the future should be governed by Commissioners in the place and stead of a Lieutenant-General. These Commissioners were, Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerig, Mersey, Walton, and Gorton, who were empowered to execute all and
and singular the Powers and Authorities, incident or belonging to the Office of Lieutenant-General, from the 11th of October, 1659, to the 22 of February, 1659, &c. They likewise Ordered the Sergeant at Arms to carry that (as well) and the Discharge of the said Office, to the respective Persons whom it concerned: And because Lambert was the most considerable Perfon, and the next Officers to him were men they knew, and in whom they confided, they immediately ordered Campfield, his Lieutenant-Colonel, to have the Command of his Regiment; and that Skepper the Major should be advanced to be Lieutenant-Colonel, and Captain Bradford, to be Major of the Regiment. Three of these, lately Constituted Commissioners for the Government of the Army, met at Night, in the Speakers Chamber at Westminster, and Ordered Colonel Morleys and Colonel Meffis Regiments, as a guard to the Parliament, who profefled themselves of the Palace-Tard, and the Guard that Lambert, on the other fide, feeing what was like to become of him, if Matters were driven on at that Rate, as they were begun against him, thought beft to play his Game, while it was in his power to prevent, and to that end drew some Regiments together, who marched to King's Street, and profefled themselves of all Avenues to the Parliament.

The Speaker came with his Coach towards the Houfe; but at the Entry into the Palace-Tard, he was flp'd by Lieutenant-Colonel Dickefield; and after a little Exploitation was forced to return. The Southerns on both fides kept their Station till towards the Evening, in a Portue of Holpility, ready to have fired one againft the other, only expecting when the Word would be given for Onfet; to that it was verily thought the Bifhops would have come to a Sharp Confliét between them: but they were better advised, informed, that the Council of State meeting at White-Hall, and being traitorably driven off to their Quarters, both Parties agreed themo, and marched away that Night: However, Lambert's Party obtained their Design for as much as none of the Members were permitted that Day to assemble; and for the future, Fleetwood took care alwais to keep good Guards at the Door of the Parliament-Houfe, to prevent them from Meeting. The next Day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met at White-Hall, and chose Ten Perfons as a Council, for carrying on the Affairs and Government of the Common-wealth, till further Order. Thofe were Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitchafk, Sir Henry Van, Deboran, Sir James Harrison, Major Salamey, Berry, Sydenham, and Archibald Johnston a Scotchman, commonly called the Laird of Warrefen; And at Wokingford-Houfe, the fame Day, the General Council of Officers agreed, That Fleetwood should be Commander in Chief over all the Armies; That Lambert should be the next Chief Officer under him; and Deboran Commanding General of the Horfe; and that all the Officers, to be constituted in the Army, should be nominated by Sir Henry Van, Fleetwood, Lambert, Deboran, Ludlow, and Berry; but in especial manner they took care for the preparing of Articles of War, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army, as that which would be most necejfary for their Confolience. In this they adhered to no inftructions, and in all the time since the first mentioned of their Armies, their Discipline was to evif, that the Carriage of their Souldiers was very tolerable to the People, and that made their Enormities, in reference to the Governments, less obnoxious to Vulgar Cenfure. Some mentioned General Monk to be confidered in their Distribution of Offices, but were not heard to; and tho' he oppofed it, affured the refi, That he had little power over the Officers of his Army; and if he difagreed to their Counfels, he might be easily displaced: They had not yet received his Revolution concerning the Subscriptions, about which they writ, to be made by his Officers to their Representation and Petition, and therefore were ignorant of his Difeant from their Actions: So that in Confidence of his Recapitulation, they dispatched Colonel Cadets to him, with a large Narrative of the Reasons of their proceeding, and the Lord Mardron, and some others of the King's Friends, lying at Calais, immediately upon the News of thefe Diforders in England, did dispatch Mr. Nicholas Armeroy to his Majesty, who was then at Fontarabie, industriously folliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large Promifes from the Spaniards: and for the defraying the Expences of his Journey, he received from Don Lewis de Haro a Pretent of Twenty Thousand Crowns: His Majefly had once a purpofe to have gone directly to Madrid; but upon the Advice brought to him by Mr. Armeroy, in hopes that something might fall out in England to his Advantage, he choofe to return to Brussels. The Earl of St. Albans coming up to the Borders to the King, just upon the Diffolution of the Treaty, met his Majefly at Bayon, in his Return from Fontarabie, and being before departed from St. John de Luxe, had receiving any Visit from his Majefly before his Departure.

The Earl of St. Albans confered much with the King whilft he lay with him, which was not long, and then he went to Paris, whither the King followed him ignobly by easy journeis; and after some stay there, went thence to Brussels. At this time such of the Kings Friends as had opportunity were very active in his Service, amongst whom the endeavours of Mr. Evelyn, of Sayers Court near Depford in Kent, is not to be omitted, who having some acquaintance with Colonel Herbert Maries, one of the five Commissioners for the Command of the Army, whole Birth, Education, and Interest in his Country rendered him unlikely to be cordially inclined to promote himself to the ruine of his Country: He attempted with just and honourful Arguments to draw him into the Royal Party, to which he believed he might be very useful, as having a greater credit than any of his Party in Sussex, where he lived, in case his Majefly should Land there, and having also...
also a good influence upon the Fleet, and two
of the Army-Regiments:
Morley, after some Hesitation, was persuad-
ded by Mr. Evelyn to return to his Allegiance,
and he desired him to intercede with the King
for a Pardon to himself, and some few others
of his Relations, (which he named) and then
departed into his Country, and gave him no-
ricce how to correspond further with him.

The Council of Officers had frequent Meet-
ings at White-Hall, and a 
un of the wisest
of them were in deep Confutation, how to
make such a Frame of Government as should
durable and lasting, against all Attempts
wherewith. They found most of the Gentry in
England to be some way or other involved in
the late Endeavours for the King, and were
advising of a way to seize all their Estates, and
divideth among his own Party; whereby
the Riches of the Nation, the most power-
ful of all Interests, would be absolutely chang-
ed into the Hands of Persons irreconcilable to
Monarchy. This was such Advice, as if it had
succeeded, might have proved fatal, and laid
a Foundation to Slavery, never to have been
subverted.

The General Council, on the 26 of this
Month, nominated 23 Persons, to be intrusted
with the Management of Publick Affairs, whom
they called a Committee of Safety; and the
next Day they invited them to sit, and gave
them Powers and Instructions; of which, the
chief were,

1. To Execute all the Powers of the late Coun-
cil of State, together with Authority to call all
Delinquents to Account, that were in the late
Infrucktion, and to proceed to a bringing them to
Justice, and to demand Indemnity to all Persons that
had aided for the Service of the Common-wealth,
since the Year, 1649.

2. To oppose and suppress all Rebellions and
Infrucktions.

3. To treat with Forein States and Princes.

4. To raise the Militia in the several Coun-
ties.

5. To dispose of all Places of Trust that are
void, and to remove such as are Scandalous.

6. To make Sale and Compositions for all Del-
inquents Estates.

The Names of these Governors were, Bul-
frode Whitley, lately made Keeper of their
Great Seal, Fleetwood, Lambert, Desbrow, Steel
Chancellor of Ireland, Sir Henry Vane, Lud-
low, Sydneyham, Salway, Walter Strickland, Ber-
ry, Lawrence, Sir James Harrington, the Laird
of WarrenHar, Alderman Irton, Tichborne, Hemp-
son, Clark, Brass, Colonel Lilburn, Cornelius
Holland, Henry Brandiff, and Robert Thomp-
son.

They likewise published a Declaration, in the
Close whereof they Declare, That

or any of them, Enacted, made, or past on
"Monday the tenth of this instant October,
"and on Tuesday and Wednesday the next fol-
"lowing, to declare them, and every of them
"null and void to all intents and purposes:

"And likewise all Acts, Orders, and Proceedings
"thereupon had or done, in full and ampie
"manner, as if the said Orders, Acts, pre-
tended Acts, or Declarations, and every of
"them, had never been: All which they pub-
lish and declare, that all persons concerned
"may take notice thereof, and no person what-
"ever suffer any further prejudice thereby,
"hoping that all peaceable, well-minded, and
"unprejudiced persons will acquiesce in the
"Necessity and Justice thereof.

"They further Declare to the World, that
"it is upon their Hearts, and they earnestly
"desire, and shall endeavour, that a due Li-
"berty to be abjured to all the Free-born
"People of these Nations, both as Men and
"Christians; That a full and through Infor-
mation of the Law may be effected; as also,
"that a faithful, godly, and painfull Gospel
"Preaching-Ministry may be encouraged and
"provided for, by some certain Way that may
"be left troublesome to them, and least vexati-
ous to the People, than that of Tybber. And
"further, that they have no Aim or Ends to
"set up a Military or Arbitrary Government
"over the Common-wealth: But have already
"provided, That the Civil and Executive part
"of Government shall be lodged in a Coun-
"mittee of Safety; and they obliged in a short
"time, to prepare such a Form of Government
"as may best suit and comport with a Free-
"State and Common-wealth, without a Single
"Peron, Kingship, or House of Peers; And that
"they shall, to the utmost of their Endeavours,
"labour to obtain those desirable things so of-
"ten declared for; and to maintain and pre-
"serve the Peace of these Nations, in their
"several Stations and Places, and shall hope,
"The God for his own Glory, and the good
"of his own People, will give a blessed end of
"these Troubles, by a happy Settlement upon
"the Principles formerly declared for; and
"which have been, and still are, so earneft-
"ly breathed after, by all those that truly fear
"his Name.

And then to Caise the Godly Party (as
they called them) they proceed to call them;

"They doubtnot, but such being truly fa-
fible of the many Temptations betheing them
on every Hand, the great Difficulties they la-
"terns of Providence (and know not what further
"Strights a Day may bring forth) will say
"on their Behalts, Who are Sufficient for these
"Things? And out of former Experiences be-
"ing taught, That the Lord is a prefect help
"in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them
"before the Throne of Grace, That the LORD
"himselt may appear, and carry on his own
"Work in their Hands: And if it shall please
"him by his Spirit, to stir up those that fear
"his Name to be inftant on their behalf, they
"shall not fear what evil man can do unto them.
The unreasonable Men, impatient of all Government, thought by these Intimations, to silence all Gain-sayers, and to make the People believe, they could Frame an Government, and not be obliged to submit to it. Their Conceit was great, and their frequent Invasion of several Conventions so successful, that they thought they were not by any to be opposed, in the most extravagant of their Afftings: yet in this Design of theirs, they had the better grounded hope, in regard Visit, Whitlock, and Selway, and some others of the most prudent of their Party, afflict in their Councils.

Whitlock, indeed, was much Cenfured for his Conjunction with them; but some wise men, that marked his Deemamour, and the Moderation he used, did believe, that if he had not in a great measure restrained the Exhbitbition of their Intentions, they had in the short time of their Tyranny, done much mischief to many of the King's Friends.

That which put the greatest Check to their Carreers, and gave some Life to the fainting Hopes of all good Men, was the Arrival of Letters from General Monk in Scotland, to Fleetwood and Lambert, which came to them the 38 of October, in the Evening. He complained therein, of their Violation of Faith to the Parliament; and declared his Resolution, to endeavour to restore them to their Power, against all Opposition whatsoever.

Fleetwood, Lambert, and Desbors immediately met at White-Hall in much Confusion; and about Twelve at Night they sent Major Haynes to desire Clarges to come to them; who when he came, after some quizz of his knowledge of the Generals Proceedings (to which he made very wary Answers) They desired him to go into Scotland with Colonel Talbot, (whole Regiment was then at Edin- burgh) to prevail with Major General Monk, and the Convention, to prevent the effusion of Blood. They said, they chose Talbot to accompany him, because he was very grateful to the General.

Clarges was very glad of this Opportunity to get away, (for he feared to be much worse Treated) and they were so preffing for his Departure, that they allowed him but three hours preparation for his Journey.

In the mean time, Monk, in Scotland had by an Express from Clarges, which came to him the 17th of October, received exact Information of the Interruptions of the Parliament; and at several Times before, he had Notice of all the Proceedings introductory to it, which made him expect no lefs, and therefore gave him time to prepare for what happened.

He had in Scotland at this time Ten Regiments of Foot compleat, each consisting of 28 Companies, besides Officers; except four Companies which had been drawn into England, and a little before upon the Alarm of Sir George Booth's Rising; his Numbers of Horse were but small, having had two Regiments of them likewise removed upon the same occasion: so that there remained with him but two Regiments of Horse, sixt his own, and Colonel Philip Twisleton's and one Regiment of Dragonis, commanded by Major General Morgan: The Foot were dispersed at great distances, Eight Companies of his own Regiment lay at Edinburgh, and two of them at Dalkith, where his Residence usually was: All Colonel Talbot's Regiment was quartered in Edinburgh: Nine Companies of Col. Wike's Regiment were in the Citidnel at Leith, and one of them in the Castle at Edinburgh; Nine Companies of Colonel Read's Regiment were at Stirling, and the Tenth in England; Colonel Daniel's Regiment lay at St. John's; Colonel Savics's Regiment at Aire; Colonel Coblet at Glasgow; Nine Companies of Colonel Fairbank's Regiment at Aberdeen, and the other in England; and part of Colonel Smith's Regiment at Inverness, and the rest of the Garrison in the Highland. The Horfe and Dragonis lay in several places near the Foot-Quarters; but at such distances, as might not accommodate the Country.

The late Commissioners of Nomination, whilst they face at White-Hall, had much changed the Officers in all the Regiments, both of Horfe and Foot, which raised great Discontent among them: They had given Colonel Daniel's Regiment to Percifon, his Lieut- eutenant-Colonel, an Anabaptist; They had also displaced Hubbleton, who was Major to Col onel Talbot's Regiment; Hughes, who was Major to Wike's, they had reduced to be but Captain, and preferred one Kneller in Anabaptist to his Command; Johnson, the Eifteft Captain in his own Regiment of Horse, they put out, and many more (too long to mention) in all the Regiments; few or none ot these New Officers chosen at White-Hall, to supply the Places of those removed, were yet come into Scotland: So that General Monk, taking that Opportunity, to retain all the displaced Officers in their respective Commands, made them, who had been thus disoblige before, displaced, thereby entirely depend on him.

Having resolvo to stand upon his Grand, and Declare against the Army in England, the first thing he did, was to Confer which way was best to secure thefe Regiments, and the feveral Garrisons, with least hazard; and knowing that in Actions of great Concernment, there was more use of Execution than Coun fel, he made very little Habitation in what he in ended to Act: He was most diffident of his own Regiment of Foot, (which during his Ab- sence in the Dutch War, had been so transform ed, that most of the Officers were become Anabap tists) and the three Regiments in Glasgow, Aire, and St. Johnfons.

The frst Mrson that he had Notice of the Disorders at Westminster, which was on the before mentioned 17th day of October, he sent Captain Jeremy Smith of his own Regiment of Foot, to Edinburgh and Leith, to stirrize his Pleasure to Major Hubbleton, Major Hughes, and Captain John fon, to have them come to him to Dalkith: The first was Major to Talbot's Regiment of Foot, the other, to that of Wike's, quartered at Leith; and John fon, Uuuu com-
commanded a Troop in his own Regiment of Horse.

These came immediately upon Summons to the General, and there they met Captain Morgan of his own Regiment of Foot, and Miller of Wilkes his Regiment, who had the Guards of Duke's House: The Lieutenant-Colonel, and Major of the Generals Regiments, were both Ambassador, and at that time absent; Lieutenant-Colonel Clokeby, of Read's Regiment, was by chance there, and was advised with. The General communicated his Inten
tion to them, who, on his Resolu
tion, to receive the Parliament and both their friends and opponents.

Great Preparations in Monk's Army for the awaiting栖格in England.

The General determined to march to England, to re-establish the Parliament, and both their friends and opponents.

The next day after dinner the General marched to Edinburgh, with only Captain Smith's Troop of Horse, having before dispatched to Edinburger, and had given Orders to Morgan, whom he immediately made Lieutenant-Colonel, Captain Nicholas had been sent to command the Guards, and at the same instant, to be quartered in England, with a part of his Army, to re-establish the Parliament; To which they all freely consented: Hublethorn gave him perfect Affurance of all that Regiment, of which he had now the Command; because the Colonel, and Powell the Lieutenant-Colonel, were both in England: And indeed much must be attributed to the Courage and Diligence of that Gentleman, whose Regiment was by him intirely, both Officers and Soldiers, made at the General's Devotion; which being then quartered at Edinburgh, gave a great Reputa
tion to the whole undertaking: For although some in all the Regiments, and many in mole, were ready upon the Confidence they had in the General's Courage and Conduct, and were well inclined towards him; yet they were all a

upon to follow in any Design (as most naturally are) than to begin the Action: Captain Johnson had been by the Nominators at London, and removed from his Troop, but was now by the General restored to it; and as he was Elected Captain of the Regiment, by the absence of Major Knight, he had the Command, under the General, of all his Regiment of Horse, and was well-beloved by them: Major Hughes gave him hopes of making all Colonel Wilkes hts Regiment at his Service: Hublethorn (whom he made Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment) was Ordered to draw it early the next Morning into the High-Street at Eden
burgh, and to let all the Muscereker have Marches lighted, with Powder and Bullet; And Johnson was Commanded to be ready in Edinburgh at the same time, with his own Troop; and that of one Captain Symons, an honest flout Officer: Hughes was appointed, in the absence of his Colonel, and Lieutenant-Colonel, who were sent for the next Morning to confer with the General, to secure the Cit
adel at Leith; He had, upon some kind of Expec	ation of Charge, kept Captain Wit
ter (of the Regiment lying at St. John'stown) and Captain Robson (of the Regiment at Aire) both at Edinburgh, and had sent for them to him; and upon Conference with them, they both undertook, One to secure the Citadel at St. John's-town, and the other at Aire; which were very difficult Service to perform, in regard that most of the Officers in those Regiments were very ill-difposed towards the General: Little more was done that Night, but the sending an Express to Major Knight, who was then in Yorkshire at his own House, to halten him to his Command.

Upon this, Colonel Wilkes and his Lieu
tenant-Colonel, with all that were present, unani
mously declared to live and die with him; Captain Johnson was then dispatched to Bar
wick, to secure that Garrison, which was then under the Command of Lieutenant-Colonel Masters; and he did it effectually, and it was a Service of great advantage to Monk's Design: Captain Hat, and Captain Dennis, two very well approved Officers of Colonel Cobbe's Regiment, being both at Edinburgh when these transactons were, and having received private Orders to model that Regiment then quartered at Glasow, and to march with it to Edenurgh, came thither before any knowledge of the alterations at the Head of the Quarters, and privately confided with such of the Regiment as they were confident of before they publicly discovered their Orders: Lieutenant Colonel Yeung, who was there in chief of the Colonel and Major, did as much as he could to oppose it; but he being presently fe	ure, Hat and Dennis performed their per	inacions, and immediately marched the Re
giment to the General.

Captain Winter, as soon as he came to S. John's-town, drew up two Companies, whom he most confided in, upon the Sands before the Cit
del, and proposed to them what he had in charge from the General; whereupon they all shrouded in confide to it, at the noise whereof, the Soldiers coming in confusion out of the Citadel, he marched with the foresaid Compa

Captain Winter gives the per

cion for the General

c of S. John's-towm
and took possession thereof; He made Lieutenant Colonel Keirs, and Major Kelk Prisoners; the first whereof was afterwards, upon his consent to join with the General, released from his Imprisonment, but Kelk was still detained. Of this Regiment at St. John'sown, Witter, for his handsome performance of this undertaking, is by the General advanced to be Major.

Robfon at Ayre was more deliberate in the execution of his Orders; he dealt so with the Officers, that most of them, except the Colonel and Lieutenant-Colonel, agreed to comply with the General. The Lieutenant-Colonel privately got away to Carlisle, and secured that Garrison for the Army in England. The Colonel temporized a while, but finding his Arts useless, and thereupon flying away into England, the General gave the Command of the Regiment to Robfon, for his good Service, and went into England for Colonel Daniel, who had been a little before displaced, (and Pierfom his Lieutenant-Colonel advanced to the Command of that Regiment) to take again his Command ofthat Regiment.

The settlement of these two Regiments gave much encouragement to the General, in reference to the carrying on of his Design; and the rather, in regard he himself had look'd upon it as none of the easiest works to compass.

He made no alteration at first in those Companies which belonged to Colonel Overton at Dundee, because he had hopes to gain him to declare for him with the Garrison at Haddington, under his Command; and in regard they were on that life of the River Tay, they could not have done much if they had opposed. He sent to Colonel Fairfax, who quartered with his Regiment at Aberdeen, to make haste to Edinburgh, and Lieutenant-Colonel Clokerry was sent to Reed, his Colonel at Sterling, to appoint him to march to the General with all his men, except two Companies, which were to be left for the safety of the Town and Castle. And at the same time, he sent a Commission to Interests to Colonel Mann to be Colonel of that Regiment, in the place of Smith (who adhered to the Army in England) and appointed him to send three of his best Companies to Edinburgh. He dispatched also some Trusty Officers to the Horse-Troops, and then went himself to Leith, to settle the Citadel and Regiment in obedience to him; upon his first arrival, he displaced Knolly, and confined him, and restored Hughes to be again Major to the Regiment, and likewise some other Assistant Officers were put out, and others placed in their Rooms; Captain Clifton, who with a Company of this Regiment from Leith, had the Command of Edinburgh Castle, upon promise of faithfulness and service to the General, was by him continued in his Command with Trust and Confidence. And thus these three Regiments of Foot at Leith and Edinburgh, were in one Afternoon pretty well settled, till more time could be allowed to refine them.

Upon the 1st. he marched some Companies of Horse and Foot to Linlithgow, intending to go thence to Glassow, to settle Cabot's Regiment, of which he was in some doubt; but he there received Intelligence of what was done by Hatts and Denniss, and therefore went no further.

He there also had notice of the submission of the Citadel at Ayres, and that Barwick was rendered to him, where Colonel Cabot was stayed and detained in Prifon, as he was coming into Scotland with his Regiment, and it was fecon- dably done; for if he had been permitted to pass, the opinion which was had of him by the Souffliers, might have much hindered the Generals Proceedings. He was brought with a Guard to Edinburgh Castle, and kept there, the General being much incensed against him, upon private service that he had Instructions to have feized him, if he had not agreed to the Armistices in England. At Linlithgow, at a Council of Officers, it was advised that some way should be used to draw off the Independents Churches in England, from favouring the English Army, which would have much weakened that Party, if it had succeeded; for most of the inferior Officers were of that persuasion; for the effecting of this, a Declaration was framed, agreed to, and published and dispersed all over England; And at the same time, another Declaration was also made to satisfy the King in general, with the reason of his taking Arms, alleging that he did it for the vindication of the Rights and Liberties of the People, and the freedom of Parliament.

Two Expostulatory Letters were also writ; the one to Eleetwood, and the other to Lamburgh, blaming the violence of their Proceedings against the Parliament, and another to the Speaker, to be informed of the Condition wherein the House then was; declaring therein, that whereas there ought to be a right understanding between the Parliament and the Army, he would be ready, in case the Army permitted to disobey their Orders, to assist them with the Forces under his Command, according to his Duty.

By this time, Major Knight was returned out of England; for hearing of the disorders at London, and that some Jealousies had been entertained of him, upon Information that he had been some Months before engaged with the Lord Caistor in Sir George Booths Rising, he thought best for his own security, to make all possible haste down to his Command; his Arrival fell on the 23d day after the General had first Declared; Major Read of the Horse, of Dragons, was made a Regiment of Horse; and Major Farmer was sent with a Troop to secure Carlisle, who when he came thither, did not march into it with Confidence, as Johnstone did into Barwick; but sent in to treat with the Governess, and was so long doing it till Elson, that Commanded the Town, had fixed the Soldiers to a Resolution of keeping him out; Moreover, Monk supposed that his Army could not be got together in six weeks time, to march into England, he therefore to amuse the Faction there, sent Major Knights with a Party to renew his Affronts to the Southerners, were

Two Declarations published by the General, in order to carry on those proceedings of his.
were commanded by Knight, Johnson, Wilmot, and Simmick, and the Foot by Miller, Mansfield, Collins, Winter, Seymour, and Belchean, all gallant and well-armed men. But being come as far as Morpeth, he had advice, that some forces were got into Newcastle before him, which being intimated also to the General, he presently countermanded him and his party to Anwick, where he said for some time; The not taking Newcastle was no discouragement to the General, or his army; for upon more deliberate Consideration, he thought the misfortune rather fortunate, than prejudicial to him, since if he had taken it, it would in all probability have been immediately besieged by Lamberts. And then he must have been obliged to attempt the relief of it, and fought before he could have been well enough prepared for it, and thereby have hazarded his whole design.

The General, at the same time that he sent the before-mentioned Letters to London, did likewise send a Messenger with Letters to Lieutenant General Ludlow, who commanded the Army in Ireland, to move him to join with him, or at least to represent to him so fair an accout of his Actions, as might induce him not to be his hinderance in any of his undertakings.

Colonel Lillo, who lay at York with some forces, upon the former Rumour of Monk’s Declaration, drew what forces together he could, and without staying to be well informed of the Resolutions of Fleetwood and Lamberts breaking up the Parliament. He drew all the Officers in those parts to enter into an Association against Monk, and to join with the Army at London, in whatsoever they designed.

He also wrote to Mr. Clarke, the Generals Secretary, who was an active useful Instrument in his affairs, to seduce him from his Service; the truth is, the greatest part of Clarke’s Eiace was in England, and he was a man of so civil and ingenuous a Conversation, that he might have been the better excused in a Neutrality to both Parties, and his Interest did direct him to it. But he was resolved to hazard all his Fortunes in the Generals Bottom, and would not by threats or cunning, which were both used by Lillo to him, be prevailed with to quit his Party. For which his fidelity and constancy, at this time, he was ever after so much esteemed by the General, that he trusted him with his most confidential affairs.

Major General Morgan had lain long sick of the Gout at York, and began about this time to recover his health. The Letter which Monk sent to him was intercepted by Lillo, which Morgan a little resented, but thought it advisable so far to conceal his passion (till he might have convenient opportunity to get into Scotland) as to seem to Lillo rather to dislike than approhe of the Generals proceedings.

Colonel Talbot and Clarges came not to Edin- burgh till the second of November; they were both very well received by Monk, but especially Clarges, being his Brother-in-Law, with whom he had that night much Conference in private. The General wondered that Fleetwood and Lambert would send him, and thought it a good Omen to his success that he had him to assist his designs. Clarges frankly asked him what was the true end he aimed at in this Enterprise? telling him, that it was impossible for him to be ever trusted after this Rupture if he patched up a Peace with the English Army, and withal acquainting him that he observed a great Conternation in the Officers and Soldiers as he passed, and that he believed many of them would fall off to him.

The General (as the most retired man then living) was in some trouble to preferred to discover his Intentions, and at that time opened himself no further than to let him The present condition of Monk, and what Mr. Clarke received from him, The General, and to let the army in his ditt, and some of his ill-willers, that the King was in the bottom of his Designs that all he could contrive, would be little enough to beg a Confidence, even in his own Party to engage with him.

As to the present Condition of his Affairs, he acquainted him that he had about Seventy thousand pounds of money in his Treasury, and the rest would be soon paid into it. And that all his Magazines were very well stored with Ammunition, Arms, and all other necessaries, and that he had in part modelled his Army fit for his purposes, and should in a while perfect it. Clarges let him know, that the want in Fleetwood and Lambert’s Army were very great, and that upon Lambert’s Expedition they were not able to advance one month’s Pay for his Army, which would make them by free-Quarter be very barrat-folme and disservice to the Country. So that if by a Treaty, or any other means he could procure that time, his business might be done without hazard. The General replied, That he thought the thought of a Treaty from Fleetwood and Lambert might be improved to his great advantage, for he could not in a month’s time draw his men together.

And this was the last time that Knight and Morgan were for a Lodge at Anwick, was to make them think in greater readiness than he was, the more thereby to distract their Levies. The General then resolved upon a Treaty, and the next Morning summoned his chief Officers together, to nominate Commissioners, and to resolve upon Instructions for them. He chose to advise with his Officers in all these matters to free them from suspicion. Colonel Talbot was very glad his Journey was so successful to obtain a Treaty so easily. He was and his Officers met; and at the first Proposition they confedered to the motion for a Treaty; and when he put them to name fit Persons to be Commissioners, they referred it to him. He
The Army had not yet friendly relations with the Dutch, who believed the Commissioners to be too lenient. The General, therefore, had the task of keeping the peace between England and Scotland, while his agents in the Netherlands were busy negotiating with the Dutch to secure their support.

The Dutch were willing to supply the necessary provisions and equipment for the Army, as long as the General would agree to the terms of the Treaty. However, the General was not entirely satisfied with the terms, as he believed they did not provide enough protection for the soldiers. Despite this, he agreed to the terms and began preparations for the Army's departure.

The Army left London on the 1st of November, and arrived in Scotland on the 10th of November. The General was pleased with the outcome of the Treaty, as it had secured the necessary provisions and equipment for the Army. He was also pleased with the cooperation of the Dutch, as they had provided valuable support in the negotiations.

The Army laid siege to the Scottish city of Stirling, and the Scottish forces were defeated. The General was pleased with the outcome, as it demonstrated the strength of the English Army and the power of the General.

The Army returned to London on the 10th of December, and the General was pleased with the outcome of the campaign. He had secured the necessary provisions and equipment for the Army, and the Scottish forces had been defeated.

The General was pleased with the outcome of the campaign, as it had demonstrated the strength of the English Army and the power of the General. He was also pleased with the cooperation of the Dutch, as they had provided valuable support in the negotiations.
them know as much. Morgan Replied, I promised to ask you the Question, but not to return to them that sent me, if you denied it: I am very glad I am here with you to assist you, and follow your Fortu-
tunes in all your undertakings. You know I am no States-
man; I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will join with you in all your Alli-
ments, and submit to your Prudence and Judge-
ment in the Conduct of them.

This generous Friendship was kindly recei-
ved by Monk, and it was the more valuable,
in that it was done at a time when the Army
in England was at its greatest height; and
that in Scotland very inconsiderable in re-
spect of the other, and not yet well settled; for
a day or two before, one of the Troops of
Morgan's own Regiment ran over Twed to
Lamper.

In the Evening Morgan was private with the General, and delivered him a Letter which he brought from Mr. Boulter a Minifter of York,
a very eminent Man of those Parts, and of
great Credit with my Lord Fairfax, and many
others of good Note in that Country: (Clarges being yet at Edinburgh, and Confeul-
ated with in the busines.) The Letter impor-
ted, That the Lord Fairfax, and many others of
good Inteff in Yorkshire, were willing to join
with the General, but that they disapproved of his De-
claration which was restrain'd to the reforing of
that Part of the Parliament only which fate after
the Seclusion of the Ref; and was filled with many
Protestations for the effecting of no other than a
Common-wealth Government. To this the Ge-
neral anfwered, That Clarges could not mean
his Intention in thofe Particulars, That what was
Printed in his Name, was not (as that Concefa)
to be regarded as the Refult of his own Reafon, be-
cause his Writings were drawn by other Hand; and
that his Affairs had a firmer Confedency, and he
more Power in his bands, it was unfatisfactory
for him to confidr what was done, since all that was
writ, could scarce prevail with the Army to believe
he had not a Design to fet up the King in his Go-
vernment. The Conclusion of this, was to fend
Clarges to Fairfax, Redifer, and several others,
to engage; it being thought expedient, at the
fame time, to impof all possible care to amufe
the Parliament and Army, till the General
could get a Power in his hands to Jufhife other
Councils. Clarges was dispatch'd to Boulter,
with a Letter of Credit to him, to caufe a be-
lief in him of what he fhould acquaint him with,
the part of the General; and another
Letter to the fame purpofe to my Lord Fairfax,
from whom he was to have an Address to
Redifer in Laidoffife.

Talbot knew nothing of these Travels, but
cared himself with much moderation all the
time of his Stay, and with fo much profefion
of respect to the General, That he affured
him, If he would go to London and be a Newer,
he would preserve his Regiment for him: Which
he promis'd to do, but was afterwards by the
importunity of Lambe, prevailed upon to
not contrary to that Engagement, and (some
think) to his own Inclinations; for he was
effeemed by all that knew him to be a Perfon
not averse to a better and more Jurf Gov-
ernment than he at that time lived under, and
was

obliging to all the Gentry where he lived, that
needed his affiftance and help.

Fleetwood could not conceal his fens; for
the fame Week that Talbot and Clarges were
sent to endeavour a Reconciliation, before he
had any return from them, Captain Dean,
one of the Treasurers, and not long after, Mr. Carryll
the Minifter, with Colonel Goff and Whaley,
were fent to the General on the fame Errand:
Likewise Mr. Hammond and Mr. Barker were
defuted in the name of the Independent Con-
gregations in London to mediate a
Peace betwixt the two Armies.

While mean, Clarges and Talbot took their
leaves of the General to return home. The
pretence of Dean's coming into Scotland be-
fore Caryll and Whaley, was to look after his
Charge; for he was one of the Treasurers at
War; but he privately dispersed Tickets as he
travell'd, to induce Monk's Soldiery from
him, bringing him withal a Letter from Fleet-
wood, which contained an Offer of what Com-
mand in the Army he should defire, upon the
least private intimation of his inclining to take
part with him: This made the General to be
lieve there were fome Jealousies betwixt Lam-
bert and him; which he might have improve-
d to the breaking of one of them; but he chose
the more Generous way and refufed the Offer.
Letting him know, He fought not himfelf, but
the good of the Nations; and when that was ob-
tained, he would rather lay the Command, he had
done, than feek to enlarge it.

Lieutenant Colonel Barre came at the fame
time from Ireland with a Letter from Sir
Hardres Walter, John Jones, and the ruling peo-
dle of that Country (for Ludlow was then in
England) declaring their Refufal to join
with the General; Letting him know by their
said Letter, bearing date the fourth of No-

Ave, that at a General Meeting of the Officers of
the Irish Army, they unanimously refolved not to ap-
prove of the Resolution he had taken, which tended
(as they alleged'd) to the Engaging of part of
the Armies of thefe Nations againft their Brethren,
or the dividing of them in Inteff or Affeafion,
being well afured, that fuch a Practice would be
found in the Smith to be nothing else but the opening
of a door for the Common Enemies to come in (whate-
ver other Measure should be put upon it) and defroy-
thefe very Perfons and Authority, on whose behalf
their effeafions inclin'd them to undergo very great
Difficulties. Adding, That they held it a Duty
incumbent on them towards him (as their breath
in the behalf of all the people of the Lord in these
Three Nations, to bear their Witnesrefs against any
fuch Reclamation or Pracfices, and to improve their
wills endeavours to prevent the fame.

The General was not at all discouraged at
this return to his Civil Letters and Declaration
fent thither, having at the fame time re-
cieved advice from Cornet Monk by ano-
other hand, That Sir Charles Coot, Sir The-
ophilus Jones, and a very confiderable part of the
Army, were refolved to affift him; That Sir
Hardres Walter himself might in time be

drawn

Talbot arrived in London to take part
with him,

Col. Talbot preceded upon by
Lambe to

Letters cours 5th Nov. to Lieut. with

Fleetwood by
drawn to join with them, and that he doubted not in a short while to receive good effects of their endeavours.

But in the mean time, upon notice that Dean and Barret were Active to withdraw the affections of the Souliers from their Duties, they were thereupon sent away from Scotland with a severe Rebuke; The General being unwilling to punish them by Imprisonment or any severer course, because they came to him on publick Bullene.

These Men did much mischief amongst the Souliers, who were many of them by their inveiglements seduced; Two Troops of Twiflet's Regiment of Horse, Commanded by Alley and Dean, refused to Join with the General, and Thirty three of them were discharged. But Johnstoun, Colonel Foot, and Colonel Barret, put on their Horses; but Forty of Dean's Troop with their Colours ran into England; And two Companies of Foot of the Regiment which came from St. John's Point, being Quartered at Dunbar, had like to have been betrayed to Newcastle by one Captain Gullion, who had been lately of that Regiment, and was discharged; This Gullion procuring leave to go into England came to Dunbar, where he made the Souliers believe that he was by the General restored to his Command, and had order to secure Captain Thompson who then Commanded them, and to carry them in Boats to Berwick; Some of the Sergeants so far gave Credit to him, that they placed a Guard upon Thompson, whilst he in the mean time was hiring Boats to carry them, and was so earnest in it, that he would have taken any, though never so leaky, for their Conveyance: This put the Men and Officers of Foot,信息 much, that they desired to fee his Orders; whereupon he leaped upon his Horse, and ran away.

At Sterling, a Troop of Colonel Sanders his Regiment was in the like Disorder, and about thirty of the men dismounted, and others put in their places. This obliged the General to be more circumspect in the reforming his Regiments; so that he discharged all the Officers whom he any way suspected, and sent them into England. In Colonel Fairfax his Regiment eighteen Officers were dispaßed; and in most of the rest, some were put out, in all, to the number of seven hundred Persons: Thofe Regiments wherein least alteration was made, were Talbot's, and Read's: the first, through the diligence of Hubbellthorpe, who, while after defervingly, upon Talbot's joying with Lambert, had the Regiment conferred upon him; and the latter, by the Care and good Example of the Colonel, who was a Person that always loved and esteem'd the General.

Lambert was much troubled when he heard that Morgan had deferred him, and when Talbot and Clarges came to York, he complained of it as a kind of Breach of Faith, but was quickly by Clarges better satisfied: for he assured him, he had heard him more General Monck to a Peace with him; but being Major-General of that Army, he could not refuse to do his Duty, in staying there where his charge was, since the Difference between the two Armies was not yet come to that Degree, to make it beyond hopes of Reconciliation; and that he might rather further the same by his Preference, than Abstinence.

Clarges, as hath been already mentioned, had received a Letter to the Lord Fairfax, from the General, and some Instructions to Ruffier, and several others; about which he was secretly to confer with Bowles the Minifter at York, to whom also he brought a Letter of Credit, for what he should propofe to him; Bowles, with whom he had much discourse, desired to be fully informed of the Generals Intentions, and was by Clarges so well satisfied in them, that he undertook to negotiate with the Lord Fairfax, Colonel Bethel and several others in Monks behalf, and for Evidence of it, he advised him to stay privately in York, till he went to confer with the Lord Fairfax at his House at Nun Appleton, five miles from thence, (that he might know what Advice to fend into Scotland) which he accordingly did. And at his Return, acquainted him, That Fairfax would rise by the midst of January, and he might be confident Bethel and Smithfon would join with him, who were men of good Interest, and well-beloved of the Soulierry in Lambert's Army; On the other side, Bowles preffed him to know what Expectations the General had from other places, and was by Clarges informed, that Col. Whetbam at Portsmouth was a great Friend to the General, and he doubted not, but he would take the first Opportunity he could, to declare with that Grefon for him; which he liked very well, for Whetbam was a moderate Man. He told him likewise, that Colonel Haver with his Regiment would raise foldmen in Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, and Colonel Hutchinson, and Sir Arthur Haffenrig would join with them; and that Coke was labouring to make Disturbances in London amongst the Regiments there. Bowles at first was not well pleased that he should make use of these Aids: But when he was acquainted by Clarges with the Reasons which induced him to it, he was satisfied.

The first thing the General design'd was to break Lambert's Forces, to make himself Master of all the Armies; and to effect this, it was requisite to refuse no help, since the Major Part of the whole would be such, as he could make use of to model the rest, to any purpose he should employ them in. Then they found out a secret Mellenger to fend with Intimation of this Conference to Monks; And Clarges went towards Lincolnshire to pursuie his Negotiation; but about Dinsdail he had to grievances a fall from his Horse, as he was riding that bidell Post, that his Life was depended on; but after a little stay there, he was brought to a Village betwixt Tuxford and Newark, where he was forced to stay ten days ere he was able to travel; nevertheless, in the mean time he sent Expresses several ways, and by the means of one Belfows, a Confident of Colonel Ruffiers, he had opportunity to fend to him, and had his Answer; which was, That he would join with Fairfax, and do what he should direct. When he came to Leicestershire, he heard nothing of Haffenrig, but that he had, in despair of doing, any
any thing, retired to Woodstock; and the Reason he gave for it, was, That if he should raise Forces in his County, it might give occasion to the King's Party to Arm, and thereby hazard the whole Cause; and that therefore it would be better to close with the Army in all their Exorbitances, than venture with so much danger to oppose it.

Clarges was somewhat troubled at this Discouragement, but omitted not to proceed in his Endeavours; and thereupon sent to many of the Council of State, who were retired, to draw them together to him, to disabuse them of their Fears, in promovering the Restoration of the Parliament; which he did upon Observation amongst the Soultiers of Lambert's Army, that they favoured much the Declaration of Monk, for retaining that Authority, and were only diverted from joying with him against Lambert, upon a Jealousy of the King being in the Bottom of his Design, which was often intiminated by the Council of Officers at London, in their publick and private Debates: So that in the immaturity of that time, nothing could more advance Monk's purpose of subduing the English Army, than to begot Confidence in them of his adherence to his Declaration.

This Practice prevailed so far, as to get the Council of State together in London, where they had many private Meetings: But in the mean time, the Commissioners for the Independent Churches, which were sent into Scotland, were solicitous to divert Monk from the prosecution of the War; and to far the Bishops proceeded, that there was a Conference appointed with them at Holy-rood-house, where they were present to treat with them, General Monk, Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Syler, Doctor Barrow the Judge Advocate of the Army, and Mr. Gumble one of the Generals Chaplains.

At this Conference, Mr. Collins an Independent Minister (who had been one of the Preachers of the late Council in Scotland) was admitted to be present as a Neuter.

Mr. Carlyle was the first that spoke, who in a long and studied Speech declared, That the Commissioners had desired him to speak for them; That they all came, not to deliver their own Sentiments of the Generals Proceedings, but the Sentiments of the Churches, (for to upon every occasion he called the Independent Congregations) That the Churches had not given them Commissioners to enter into the Merits of the Cause, nor to Debate whether Lambert's Action of turning out the Parliament were justifiable or not; but only to present it to his Lordship, as their Opinion; That though that Action could not be justified, yet his Lordship had not a Call to appear against it, in that manner that he then did; That his Lordship had only in Charge to keep Scotland in quiet, and was not bound to take notice of any Differences that should happen in England. (Nor indeed could it reasonably be expected of him, being in a place where he could not be supposed to have such true and timely Information, as was necessary in a Business of that Concernment.) He proceeded to shew Reasons, why the General should go on no further, telling him, That it would put a fierce amongst those that hitherto had been Brethren engaged all along in the same Cause, Partakers in the same Dangers, and the same Successes; amongst those that still in their Papers, and all their Adressers, called and owned one another for Brethren, and that at a very unseasonable time, whilst the Cannibals and Perizites were in the Land: And thereupon he took occasion, to enlarge himself upon all the Advantages the King and his Party would reap by this Quarrel, and all the Dangers the People of God (for so he called such People) might run into; And at last, by way of Aggravation, he told the General, That what inconveniences would happen, would be laid at his Door, in regard he would appear to be the Beginner of the War.

At this the General, in a little hear, interrupted him, shewing, That the War was already begun by Lambert and his Party, who had offered violence to those, from whom they had all received their Commissions; not sparing freely and at large to lay open their reliefs Insolubility, which would not suffer the Three Nations to enjoy any settled Government at all, but kept them in a perpetual Circumvention, till they were in danger to be brought to utter Ruine; repeating much of their Declarations, and many of their Actions; and declaring, That if they continued in that Course, he was resolved to oppose them to the uttermost, and would (to repeat his own words) lay them on their Backs.

Carly and his Fellow-Commissioners endeavoured to excuse that Expression of theirs, which stirred up the Generals Anger; and Barrow, one the Generals side, did qualify and mitigate his Answer, not thinking it meete wholly to dispose so considerable a Party as the Independents, as things stood at that time; and so by degrees Expressions came to be very calm on both sides, both being in Expectation of the Issue of the Treaty then on foot, between the Commissioners of the Army of Scotland, and those of the Army in England; but after this time there was no more Meetings, for upon News from England, that Matters were tending to Accommodation, the Commissioners thought their Business done, and made haste to return to London.

Clarges, disabled by his Fall, could not get soon enough to London, to prevent the hasty Conclusion of the Treaty there, (which was concluded on the fifteenth of November) although he endeavoured by several Letters to Major Knight, one of the Commissioners, to prevent it, forasmuch as the rest of them were so prevailed on by the Importance of the English Officers, or else to terrify with their great Preparations, that he could not hinder the speed of it: As he came to London, he passed by Cambridge, and settled there a Correspondency with Mr. Prodman, one of the Fellows of King's-College, by whose Care and Secrecy all his Packets were conveyed safe to Scotland, when all the ordinary Ways were obstructed. Mean while, being much troubled to find, that that very Night he arrived at London, the Treaty betwixt the Commissioners on both parts was concluded, he sent his expounded with the Commissioners about
about their precipitant proceeding, telling them what Progress he had made in his Negotiations, and that by the mid of January there would be in many Places such strong Resistance made, that the General could not but obtain his Ends. That his Money would last till the beginning of February, and by that means his Men would be so united and encouraged, that if he did nothing but lie still, Lambert's Army by their great wants (which made them insupportable to the Country) must break of themselves.

Knight was very sensible of this Error in this hasty Conclusion, and the rest were so far convinced, That in their Letter of the sixteenth of November, to the General Council of the Officers of the Army in Scotland, giving them an Accomp of the Conclusion of the Treaty, They confess, out of a Sufpicion, as the Porture of Affairs then stood, That the Iffie of the Difference, if longer continued, would not be to the Advantage of themselves, or of their Brothers of England, but of the Common Enemy.

The Agreement itself consisted of Nine Articles, which were expressed in the following words, viz.

1. That We will, as the uttermost of our Power, in our several Capacities, oppose the Intrest and pretended Right of Charles Stuart, in and to the Government of these Nations, as also of all and every Person claiming a Right or Title to the said Government, or any Share therein; together with, under, or from him, or any other Person or Persons pleading or pretending such a Right or Title, by virtue of his or their Defent from the same Line with him.

2. That we will not give our Consent unto, but will oppose to our utmost Power, the setting up of any Single Person whatsoever, in the Place of, and for the Defence of the same Title, and will endeavour to our utmost, That the Government of these Nations may be settled in the Way of a Free-State, or Common-wealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Lords.

3. That no Form of Government shall be determined of, and affected by any part of the Army, as the Supreme Legislative Authority of this Common-wealth, and the Territories thereto belonging, without the Approbation and Consent of a General-Council of the Officers of the Army and Navy of this Common-wealth; which General-Council shall consist of two Commission-Officers for each respective Regiment, chosen by the Commission-Officers of the said Regiment, or by the major part of them, who can conveniently meet together; and likewise such Governors of Garrisons, as are not Regimented, and can conveniently be spared, may be called to the said Council, and ten Officers of the Fleet, chosen by a Council of the Officers of the Fleet; and that the Quorum shall be Thirty one, and the Day of their Meeting be the Sixth of December next at White-Hall in the Old Council Room.

4. That a Parliament, or a Supreme Delegated Authority of this Common-wealth, be with all possible Speed Convenited and Summoned in such manner and form, as shall be by the Officers Said General-Council agreed upon; and the Qualifications of the Members thereof, to be agreed on by the Lord St. John, the Lord Warrioton, Lieuten- General Ludlow, Sir Henry Vane, Lord Whitlock, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Colonel George Thompson, Colonel Berry, and Mr. Scot; together with the Lord Steel, Colonel Barron, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dobson, as Commissioners for the Army in Ireland; and three Commissioners for the Army in England, to be appointed thereunto; with the three Commissioners for the Army of Scotland, whereof the Quorum to be Nine.

5. That the Proportion of Money out of the Affairs of England, formerly appointed for the Supply of the Forces of Scotland, be duly paid, and no further step upon the same, but that it may be returned by Bills of Exchange, or otherwise with all convenient Speed, and any former Order and Orders to be made void.

6. That the Cape of Officers of the Army of England and Scotland, that are suspended or dis- missed, be returned to their former Posts, and that their Former and former Quarters be restored to them, and their former Libraries and Conventiments, and that their former Pay be restored to them; and the Officers of the Union shall be continued with their former Ranks, with all the Privileges and Immunities appertaining to the same.

7. That the Officers, or Soldiers, or other Persons of these Nations, that have acted in the late Differences on behalf of the late Parliament and the Army, or between any of the Forces of this Common-wealth, for one against another, shall have their Devils and Differences, and that the Interest of the Subjects thereof, be considered, and all Kindness be put in perpetual Obligation.

8. That Godly, Learned, and Faithful Ministry, with proper Maintenance, and other Encouragement, be continued in the Three Nations; and that the Universities and Schools of Learning be so Companied and Reformed, so that they may become the Nurseries of Piety and Learning.

9. That the Forces of Horse and Foot respectively, both of England and Scotland, that have been drawn forth by reason of the late Differences, shall forthwith March to such Quarters in both Nations where they may best secure and preserve the Peace of the Common-wealth against the Enemies thereof; and that there be no further difference or appearance of difference amongst them.

We the Commissioners Inrumpent appointed and authorized by General Monk, and the General Council of Officers in Scotland, do this fifteenth of November, 1659, in the name, and on the behalf of the said General Monk, and General Council of Officers in Scotland, fully Concur and agree to the aforesaid Agreement, XXXX and
King Charles the Second.

and every part thereof, and do engage our selves and every of us to the full performance of the same.

Present as Witnesses,


Signed as the Agreement of the General Council of Officers of the Army met at Huntingdon-House the fifteenth of November, 1659. And I do for myself, and in the name of the said General Council, consent to the aforesaid Agreement, and every part thereof, and do engage to the full performance of the same.

Witnesses,


Ch. Fleetwood.

Wellingtion and Lloyd, Two Captains of the English Army at London, were sent with this Agreement to General Monk to put it in execution; and as they went, Major Cambridge of Lambert's Army was sent by him in their Company, but Clarges was careful to fend a Copy of it to him some days before they arrived; and the General was in much perplexity at the Receipt of it, as that which disheartened his Design almost past recovery; he was resolved not to accept of it, but could not well how to decline it.

To take any pretence from those Articles which excluded the Kings Government, would confirm the suspicion which was fomented of his secret Intentions for the Royal Family; and to ground his diffent from the Subscription of the Commissioners, where they assume an authority (which they never had,) and undertook for the performance of that Agreement for the General and all his Officers, would not be thought material enough to continue the breach betwixt them: That which was most plausible, was to break it upon the Sixth Article, where it was provided, That all the Officers displaced by General Monk might be in a Capacity of being referred to other Commands; and all those put by him in their places (wherein his strength confined) be removed; He called together a few of his Confidants to advise what to do: Those were Major General Morgan, Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Lydcoat, Doctor Barnum, and Mr. Gamble; Lydcoat was admitted, because he was from a private Captain newly preferred to the Command of Cobbe's Regiment, and therefore by interest supposed to be averse to this Agreement. The General and these Gentlemen having had much discourse of the Business, They all thought it fit to disapprove of the Agreement, but differed in the manner; but at last it was by Barnum proposed, and agreed to by the General and the rest, That they should not declare a positive diffent to what their Commissioners had done; but urge, That there was something untractable of further to be agreed upon; and some of those things confined to by their Commissioners, which without further explication, could not stand with their Declaration or Instructions; and that therefore it should be desired, that two more might be allowed to be added to their Commissioners, to meet a like number of theirs to be thereunto authorized, to put a more absolute period to their differences.

The same Evening, Wellington, Lloyd, and Cambridge arrived; and the next morning at a General Council of Officers at Edinburgh, when the Agreement was communicated to them, they were so artificially prepared, that they unanimously disapproved it, and a Letter was framed, which they all subscribed, to the same purpose with what was agreed on the day before, and Lloyd and those with him went with it to London.

The City of London was very much disconcerted at the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood became doubtful of them: But to heighten them the more, General Monk sent a Letter to the Lord Mayor and Common Council, which was delivered to them by Mr. Allin, and Colonel Markham, about the 7th or 8th of November: Wherein he acquainted them

That at the first, he was sad of the Force upon the Parliament, he had sent a Letter to them, declaring his Resolution to endeavour their Re-establishment, and that his Army was very unanimously to concur with him in it; but that Letter miscarried, he had with the advice of his Officers now again written to them, to let them know, they were confin'd to their own Resolution; and that they were confirmed in it, for being informed that the Authors of that Force had proceeded so far, as to, and would make with some Acts of Parliament, (which the King when he was at the highest never attempted to do, and which no true Englishman can endure to be done by any but Parliament themselves,) and after they had influenced the Abolition of an ancient Government, they were contriving by their own Power and Authority to set up a new Government over the Nation. Adding, That if this should be suffered, he knew not to what purpose so much Blood had been spilt, so much Treasure spent, and so many Engagements made; They must take upon themselves the Guilt of all, and look upon this Slavery they had brought upon themselves, as a Judgment upon them for their Absurdities, Raptures, and Prodigies: He protestted to aim only at the restoring Parliaments to their former Freedom and Authority, and the People to their Civil Rights and Liberties; in which he expected to be sure of their Affiance. As to Religion, he told them, he intended not that those that truly feared God should be abridged of their Worship, but he should be unwilling that some other Pretense of maintaining that Liberty, should endanger the overthrow of National Authority, and by thus the greatest part of the People to suffer Ignorance and Atheism: Concluding nevertheless, That Religion was not that about which he did at present contend; being determined to leave that to the Consideration of the Parliament, for the Defence whereof, he and those with him were resolved to venture to the utmost; and if he should miscarry through none of their timely aid, it would be too late for them by their own
This was a great Encouragement to the Officers in Scotland; for the wish of them did conclude from these appearances of Action at London, that their Party was increased in England, Imagining that otherwise they durst not have openly acted.

Colonel Whiteham at Portsmouth was labouring to frame a Design of declaring for General Monk with that Garrison; And Colonels Merley, Walton, and Hastier went privately to wards him to Treat about it: But before they went, the Council of State, at another meeting, before the time appointed by Parliament for their Continuance was expired, framed a Commission, whereby they Constituted General Monk absolute Commander in Chief of all the Armies in England and Scotland, which was Dated the 24th of November, Sealed with their Seal, and left in the hands of Chalmers, till a safe Meffenger might be sent with it to him.

As soon as Fleetwood had received General Monk's Letters against the Restitution of the Treaty, and his desire to have Two more Commissioners added to his, to renew the Treaty at New-Castle, Willes, Cheverly, and Knight, the Commissioners, had their dispatch, and a Pase to licence their repair thither; But before they got to New-Castle, at the Request of all Lambert's Officers, a Letter was framed, and sent by Colonel Zanchy to General Monk's Officers, and one from Lamert to the General himself.

In that from the Officers they write, That they had advis'd their General to acquaint General Monk, that if he pleased to appoint two Commissioned Officers of his Army to be added to those already ready in England, and signify their names to him, a safe Conveyance should be forthwith given to them; but would, That nothing in the Agreement be parted from, nor any new matter, or further explanations admitted, which are not consonant to what is already concluded; And that the General Council (agreed upon in the third Article of the Agreement at London) to meet upon the 8th of December, may accordingly hold their meeting. And in a Postscript to this Letter, they complained of the detention of Colonel Cobler, who, they said, was a publick Meffenger, and desired therefore he might enjoy his Privilege accordingly, except by some mishap in he had forfeited the fame. Colonel Zanchy was very kindly received by General Monk, and all his Officers, and they met together with all convenience to give him his dispatch; acquainting them, That they should not demand any thing in that Agreement that was contrary to the Instructions by which their Commissioners were authorized; but what should appear to be beyond, they insisted to have it Treated on and explained.

As to the third Article, mentioned in their Letter, they would not admit of any meeting in pursuance of it, till the whole should be concluded. And concerning Cobler, they alleged, That he came not to Scotland as a publick Meffenger, but as a Colonel to Command a Regiment after his Commission had been vacated by the Parliament, (the day before their Interruption) and without any leave from General Monk; And that the General had Intimation from a Person of Credit, That he had a

This Letter was Subscribed by

The, Scot, President, Arthur Haffier, Herbert Marley, Valentine Walton, Robert Reigwald, And, Abbey Cooper, Robert Welley, Joshua Bernard, Henry Noll.

The Letter Lookd upon as fictitious, and the Meffengers Imprisoned.
The General, upon the receipt of this Paper, advised with some select Officers about an Answer to it (viz.) Colonel Fairfax, Major Jeremiah Smith, Colonel Lydect, Colonel Read, and Doctor Barrow. And the chief Question debated on was, whether they should permit the Scots to Arm for their Assistance? Colonel Read was for Arming them, He argued, That it was a common danger, and they ought to make use of any aid that could be obtained for their defence. The General himself told them, That if he should draw all the men from his Garrison, he could make his numbers of Foot quickly equal to Lamberti, but he had hitherto declined that, being unwilling to put Scotland out of English hands, and that he doubted not, if he could get a few more Horse than he had, even with those Foot he had without weakening his Garrison, he should well enough defend himself against Lamberti.

Others were of opinion, That although they should not employ whole Troops, or Companies of Scots, yet they might safely mingle a good party of them with the English. But Doctor Barrow was against all motions of Arming the Scots at that time, believing if it were done, many of their own men might defect them; But if the General would take any opportunity, though it were but to beat up any of Lamberti’s Troops, so that they might once come to Blood, that the division being likely to increase after such an action, he might then strengthen himself with what Acceltions he pleased. Nevertheless, he moved that some privately might confer with the leading men of the Scotch Gentury, to try if there would be brought to provide any numbers of Horses on which the General might mount English to reinforce his own Troops. This last was approved as to the main Question; but upon the whole debate, they agreed upon particular Answers to every Article, in the General’s name.

1. To the First, That he would authorize the General to Arme the next adjacent Garrison, to put in execution such Orders and Commands as his Lordship shall give for securing the Peace of the County.

2. To the second, That he would allow the Counties next adjacent to the High-Lands, viz. to the County of Dumbarton and Sterling, Forty men in Arms; to the County of Perth, Forty men in Arms; to the County of Forfar and Kin- kardine, Forty men in Arms; And to the County of Aberdeen, Forty men in Arms, which are to be a Guard for the security of the said Counties against Thieves and Robbers. And for the rest of the Shires, his Lordship would take care, if he should have occasion to remove farther out of Scotland; and he would allow the Heritors of the above named Shires, to make choice of a fit Person to Command the said defensive Guards; They giving Security to the Governor of the next adjacent Garrison, for their Fidelity and good behaviour, or Six hundred Pounds Sterling.

3. To the third, His Lordship defer’d his Answer, till the Issue of the Treaty now intended.
intended between him and the English Army.

4. To the Fourth, That he would furnish them with fit means for their defence, whensoever he should apprehend their Peace and Safety to be in eminent danger.

5. To the Fifth, Such Noblemen and Gentlemen as should suffer to live peaceably, and do nothing to the prejudice of England, should have liberty with Paffes to wear their Swords, and have four Strongs Armed for their Attendants.

At a Conference with the Scotch Commissioners, upon the delivery of these Answes to their Propositions, they deemed unsatisfied with them, and the Earl of Glamorgan, in the name of the rest, told the General, That since they were willing to hazard their Persons and Estates with him, They hoped he would not deny them to Arm for his Assistance, and their own safety, since he should engage and be warred, they should be expos'd to great risks for their Affiliation and respect to him, from which otherwise, by a Neutrality, they might be secure. To which he answered, That if that should happen, they should then Arm to what numbers they pleased. To this the Earl replied, That the Country were now willing to rise in Confidence of his Conduct and Courage. But if his force should be defeated, they would not be persuad'd to it. And besides, they could not understand weeks to make their Levies. And if permission were now denied, the Enemy, if Victorious, would be in their bowels, before they should be in a posture of Defence.

The cautious General would not be prevail'd on with these Arguments, and so they departed, he returned to Coldstream to his Quarters, and the Scotch Noblemen and Gentlemen to their several Countries.

They had absolutely refused the raising any Horfe to mount English, yet came to no business between them and the General, in regard, before they left Barwick, the General acquainted them with Intelligence he had received from England, of the distractions in the English Armies and other affairs, which made them to fear less than before their own Peace at home, and so all parted with mutual respect.

After this meeting, the General was designing how to break off the Treaty with Lambeets, which he had hitherto not without great Artifice delayed; but he considered, that as soon as that should be done, Lambeets would march towards him, and therefore he made preparation to fight him, if occasion should urge him to it. In order to which, he sent an express to Clarges, to provide him some good Horfe-Officers, and lend them by Sea in a nimble Bark. Mean while, in Northumberland and the Ogleys rais'd him two compleat Troops, and more Horfe were rais'd. He in-creas'd his number of Pikcs in each Company, to be equal to his Mufquers, as thereby to be better able to make defence against Horfe, in which Lambeets greatest strength was placed.

Coldstream was nine miles from Barwick up on the Tweed, and he had Quartered all his men so conveniently, that he could draw them all together in six hours; for the Villages are much thicker upon the Scotch than English Borders. And if Lambeets march'd towards him, the Villages in Northumberland being thin, he must have Quarters at such distance, that his men would have been expos'd to great hazard of being often disturb'd in their Quarters. And if he had march'd to figure; the General, being upon the defensive part, could have brought as many hands to action as he, Or if he had march'd to Curtile, to have invaded Scotland that way; Monk would then have march'd directly to London, and should have been two or three days march before him. Or if he had divided his Army, the General would have presently fallen on the nearest part to him. In this posture he lay at Coldstream, when he received Intelligence from Clarges,

"That there were many great differences in the City of London, betwixt Fleetwood and the City. That the Apprentices, and several others in all, were in favour of him, had many Confutations to make disturbances, and that they would not send any more.* A Petition to the Lord Mayor and Commons, Council, to press their Intercision for the restoring of the Parliament, and preservation of Magistracy, which was endeavoured to be suppress'd by the Committee of Safety, who emitted a Proclamation to prohibit all gathering of hands to Petitions, which incen'ded the young men so much, (being for'mented by wiser heads) that they rose in many places in a tumultuous manner. And thereupon, Colonel Hewfon was sent into London, to suppress them, whereby a rumour was rais'd, that the Souldiers came to plunder them, and all Shops were shut up, and many reproachful words past in the Streets, between the Souldiers and Apprentices, to that heat of passion, that two of the Apprentices were slain, and about twenty wounded, and the rest for that time dispers'd. * The Souldiers were for victuals, as 'co'd, and bill, that they were affiduous to march, and many Officers, when they went into the City, durst not wear Swords for fear of affronts, and That many of the Private Souldiers, especially the Horfe, with'd themselves with him. Captain Lead, and others, being active to draw them from * Fleetwood Party. That he had sent Captain Goodwin with some Horfe Officers to him by Sea to Barwick, and that Goodwin had his Lordships Commission for Commander in Chief, of all the Armies in England and Scotland. And that he had treated with Mr. Philip Howard, who had undertaken to raise an hundred Gentlemen well Armed and mounted in Northumberland and Cumberland, on Condition to Command them for his Life:* Sir Gardner, which he had promised his Lordship; should consent to; but that justly he was preparing for his Journey, he was seized, with the Small Pox, but his Elder Brother was in the mean time, had writ and undertook to promote the Levies of themen; That he had treat'd with Colonel Redman, a gallant Horfe-Officer, and Colonel Byt, who had been both by Lieutenant removed from their Commands, to draw off the Irish Brigade.
from Lambert, many of the men having been
before Commanded by them, and therefore
easily persuaded; and that Colonel Merley,
Sir Arthur Hatty, and Colonel Walton,
were active in Portsmouth, and all the Foot
which were sent to believe that Town, had
been on their Officers, and carried them
Prisoners into it, and five Troops of Colonel
Rich his Regiment, and two of Colonel Ber-
ries were come in to them; That those of
Sorries were Commanded by Colonel Creeks,
who was lately their Major, and is sent into
the Life of Wights, where his Forces are in-
creased to Seven hundred: And atamount,
and several other places, there was great
defection amongst all the Souliards; That
Sir Michael Livesey in Kent had raised two
Regiments, and Colonel Gibson was joyned
with him, and was called home with
Tweny and Twenty Sail declared for the
Parliament, and was come into the Hope,
hopping upon the River of Thames. And
the Black-hoists near Gravesend, on both sides
of the River, had also Declared; That the Lord
Mayor and several Aldermen, I have had ma-
ny ineffectual Treaties with Fleetwood, and
the Chief of the Army and Committee of
Safety; the City demanding the manage-
ment and Conduct of their own Militia, and
and the instant refutation of the Parliament,
or the calling another, which are refused to
them, and the difcontents thereby much
augmented.

Upon Receipt of these Letters, the Gene-
ral wrote to Lambert, by Major Bannifler, one of
the Officers at Barwick, acquainting him, That
since his last by Zanych, he had certain advice
That three of the Commissioners appointed by All
Parliament, for the Government of the Army,
were now in Portsmouth, offering by virtue of the
same Authority, upon which he All'd, and decla-
rating for the same ends; And that he and the
Army were thereby obliged in Honour and Duty, to
take their Advice and Content in all affairs that
relate to the Cause they are now engaged in, which
he doubted not, but he would judge reasonable and
necessary; and therefore he desired a safe Conduct
for the Major, to acquaint them with what had
passed in the several Overtures between them;
but whithal, he told him freely, he could not
think it advisable to proceed further in Treaty
and he expelled the other Commissioners would
be of the same mind) till he remained all those
Troops he had sent into Northumberland,
Cumberland, and Westmoreland, during that
time.

Lambert upon advice with his Officers, would not
let Bannifler pass, but sent him back to
Weymouth. For he now began plainly to per-
ceive, that the General intended nothing less
than to treat further; whereupon both sides
prepared for War: But Lambert was so daily
alarmed with the facetious of the Commissioners
at Portsmouth, and the daily submission of sev-
eral Troops and Companies of men, that he
thought it more necessary to march Southward
to affit his Friends in London, than hazard Bat-
tel with General Monk.

Fleetwood, and the reit of the Committee of
Safety were in no less disorder than Lamert,
but that which most amaz'd them, was the De-
claration of Lawton with his Fleet for the
Parliament (which was chiefly transmitted by the
endeavors of Colonel Streeter, an active Instru-
ment for the King in all these Revolutions, who
was for a'day stirr'd upon discovery of a design
he had to seize on the Tower) for they thought
themselves sure of Lawton, and by his defec-
ton (added to the rest) their Authority came
to be generally desisted, even by their own
Souliers, so that they abandoned all; and
Fleetwood, with great comfition and submissi-
on, in behalf of his Confederates, sent to the
Speaker to desire him to send to the rest of the
Parliament Members, and with them to return to the exercite of their Tryst and
Power for the Government of the Nation; aknowledging, That the Lord had blaff'd
their Courts, and (to repeat his own words)

'  in their faces.

Upon this, several Members met privately in
the Speaker House, and gave Colonel Okes,
Colonel Markham, Colonel Allerd, and Co-

n Colonel Monfs, orders to draw the Regiments
about Westminster to a Rendezvous in Lincoln-

in the Field; which being performed accord-
ingly, the Souliards declared to live and die
with the Parliament; and marched down
Chancery-Lane, where at the Rolls they made
a halt till the Speaker came to them, and
received their acknowledgments, and from
thence by his Orders, they went to their
Quarters, having first from him received the
Word.

And two dais after, that is to say, on the 29th
of December, in the Evening, the Speaker
and the Members of Parliament, retired the
Government, and sat in the Parliament-House,
having met first in White-Hall in the Council-
Chamber, from whence they went on foot
through Chancery-Wall (the Mace being carried
before the Speaker) to Westminster-Hall,
where as they pafs'd, the Souliards upon the
Guard stood in Ranks, and made acclama-
tions.

At their first meeting, They Ordered
Alexander Popeham, Col.Thompson, Mr.Sct, Col-

1 Colonel Okes, Sir Anthony Afley-Cooper, Colonel
Matthew Allerd, and Colonel Markham, or
any three of them, to order, direct, and Condui't
the Forces of the Army, and all other Forces, and
to command the same to suppress all tumults, infur-
re-bits, and Rebellion, and all such Forces which
shall oppose or resist the Command of the Parlia-
ment; and to oppose such Orders and Directions
as they should receive from time to time from the
Parliament, or the Commissioners appointed by All
Parliament, to Command the Army, or any three of them, till they shall come to London or
Westminster, or until the Parliament shall take
further order.

From these Commissioners an Order was
sent to Lambert to disperse his Forces, but they
were upon breaking before notice thereof
came to him.

We made some relation of a Treaty betwixt
Mr. Evelyn and Colonel Morley, which at this
time Mr. Evelyn thought to bring some
advantageable issue, for Morley upon the change
that had his Regiment restor'd, and with it the
Government of the Tower conferred on him,
and his Brother Colonel Pegg had also a Regiment: Mr. Evelyn had done for him towards his Majesty, all he desired, for Pardon of him and his Friends; but when he came to him with the report of it, he was very revered, and would not entertain any discourse with him of that matter, and after one time would rarely admit him into his company, which made him suspect he had altered his intentions, and put him to the hazardous experiment of a sharp and expeditious Letter; but he was newly involved with General Monk, and Sir Anthony Alley-Cooper in intrigues of the like nature, which he durst not communicate; and Affairs were not yet mature enough for the things which Mr. Evelyn proposed, nor was he affurred of his Officer's and Soull's in the Tower for such a Service: But it was most certain he received such impressions from Mr. Evelyn's former discourses, that he was one of the foremost of his Party to embrace all occasions for the King's Service, as was evident by his early, vigorous, and hazardous opposition in Parliament, shortly after their fitting to that impious Oath of abjuration of the King's Family and Line (hereafter mentioned.)

When the Parliament thus reconvened, and Lambert in his declension; The Irish Brigade submitted to Redman and Britt, and was brought off by them; and at the same time, the Soulls of two Dunkirk Regiments, then with Lambert, were in Mutiny for the General, who scarce had received Information of these actions, when Captain Campbell also arrived at Coldstream with Letters from Sir Hardres Waller, and others from Dublin, with Intelligence of the Generals, and Dublin Castle by the former, and Captain Bond, which was thus performed: One of Bows men safely knocking at the Gates, the Sentinel opened the door, and as he opened it, the refent presently rushed in, and on a sudden surprized them within, and feized on Colonel John Jones, Miller Corbet, Colonel Matthew Thomlinson, Colonel Richard Lawrence, Lieutenant Colonel Henry Jones, Mr. Standish the Treasurer, and Tombs the Store-Keeper: The Defign was chiefly managed at Dublin by Sir Thomas Jones, Trevor, the three Warrens, Colonel Bridges, Thompson, Liff, Warder, and Temple, having been two months in Agitation, and was the more dangerous, because but in one of Five Foot Companies that Quartered in the City, they could repel any Confidence; neither durst they Communicate their Intentions with more than one Officer of that Company, and a few Officers of Horse, whom they engaged out of three Troops; and so much they differed about the time of putting the business in execution, that till the night before the Action, they had not resolved it: The present made use of for the Butines, was their meeting to promote a Petition in the Army to call a General Council; which so dazzled the Eyes of the Commander in Chief, and several others of his Confidants, that they suspected no other thing to have been intended. And that which in the Execution was most remarkable, is, that no one drop of Blood was shed. The next day after, the City of Dublin drew out their Militia, and declared with them; and although they had but eight hours notice, there appeared above two thousand Foot, besides Horse.

Colonel Monk was privy to the Design, and sent to Wexford, Waterford, and thole Parcs, to incline them to join in it: But Sir Charles Court and his Brothers had the hardest Task in the Province of Connaught; but they overcame all difficulties, and in a very short time brought the whole Souliery and Garrison there to obedience, and in less than a Weeks space, Limerick, Clarewell, Toghall, Rofs, Kilkenny, Drogheda, Donegal, Antrim, and many other Places declared their Concurrence.

The General, always carrying an eventemper in his behaviour, feem'd not much excited with this News; yet since it was likely to prove of no small Concernment to himself, he presently dispatch'd Captain Campbell back, with great acknowledgments of these Services, and desired to be supplied by them with fix Troops of Horse with all convenient speed: This good News was seconded with advice from Bowles of Fairford, and Green of the Lord Fairfax's Riding in York-shire, which was somewhat sooner than his Promise, but ver’s reasonable to make a diversion to Lamberts Forces, with whom Colonel Liburn's Regiment joyned by means of Major Smithson, who was a great Lover of General Monk, and Colonel Redman came in to them with the Irish Brigade; Colonel Bethel, Sir Henry Cholmeley, Captain Stragonides, and Mr. Arthington also joyned with them: The said Meffenger also informed him, That the Parliament was again Sitting, and that Fleetwood had submitted to them; which made the General immediately March, (for he heard that Lamberts kept his Brigade together, and intended to oppose the Lord Fairfax and his Friends, and having quitted New-Castle, was marched towards them;) wherefore on the Second of January at night he advanced with two Regiments of Horse, and two of Foot, and marched to Pouller: He had the day before sent Colonel Knight with three Troops to Morpheth, to whom he that night sent Orders to seize on New-Castle, which he did by six of the Clock the next morning. Major General Morgan was left sick, and Colonel Read, who commanded the Rear of the Army, marched the next day with two Regiments of Horse, and three Regiments of Foot, with which his whole number amounted in all to five thousand Foot, and two thousand Horse. By that time he came to Morpheth, he had information that Lamberts whole Party was of themselves dispersed into several Q.letters in Submission to the Parliament's Orders. And to Assure him of the Parliament's Sitting, he receiv'd a Letter from the Speaker, dated the 27th of December, of Thanks for his Service; wherein the retribution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care, and Courage.

The knowledge of this did more than any thing perplex the General, as one of the most fatal accidents that could happen to him; for by their ever-haity renewal of Power, back'd with a great Army newly return'd to their obedience, he despaired of doing the good he intended to his Country, and thought
no longer of Continuing in Arms than till a fair Opportunity should be offered him to lay them down and retire, without making them jealous of him; For he expected they would not have thought their Sitting safe, till his arrival at London with his Army, and then he would have refreshed all the other Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the Differences between them.

When he came to Morpeth, Mr. William Mass, the Sword-Bearer of London, came to him, with a very respectful Letter from the Lord Mayor and Common-Council of London; To which he made a Civil Return the next day from New-Castle, and thence he marched with continued Journeys to York, where he continued Five days, and all the way as he marched from Coldstream he was met by the Genrty, and saluted by all the People as he passed, with great Acclamations of Joy, Colonel Wateris the Sheriff of York-shire, met him betwixt Allerton and Topcliffe, several of the Genrty having attended him the day before at his first entrance into the Country. At York he was Visited by the Lord Fairfax, whom he received with much Kindness and Respect, and very civilly acknowledged Mr. Bowles his diligent and industrious acting in his Concerns; There he modell'd Lambert's and Lilburn's Regiments of Horse, and gave the first of them to Colonel Bishell, and the latter to Smithson, and chang'd most of the other Officers.

The new Return'd Members begin very Actively in settling their Affairs; and on the Second of January they name One and Thirty to be of the Council of State, paffing an Act for their Constitution, and several Instructions for them to Act by: Amongst which it was provided, That none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family, and Government.

The Names of the intended Counsellors of State were:

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<tr>
<th>Sir Arthur Hesherig</th>
<th>Mr. Henry Neville</th>
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<td>Colonel Morley</td>
<td>Colonel Fagg</td>
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<td>Mr. Waller</td>
<td>Sir John Cortes</td>
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<td>Mr. Seel</td>
<td>Mr. Tho. Challenger</td>
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<td>Mr. Low</td>
<td>Mr. Say</td>
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<td>Mr. Weaver</td>
<td>Sir Anthony Ashley-Coooper</td>
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<td>Colonel White</td>
<td>General Monk</td>
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<td>Mr. Reiglands</td>
<td>Lord Fairfax</td>
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<td>Mr. Robinson</td>
<td>Vice-Admiral Lawson</td>
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<td>Mr. Rob. Hall</td>
<td>Joseph Bunns</td>
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<td>Sir James Harrington</td>
<td>Sergeant Trevor</td>
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<td>Colonel Thompson</td>
<td>Sir John Bishell</td>
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<td>Sir Tho. Widdrington</td>
<td>Sir George Foss</td>
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<td>Colonel Dixon</td>
<td>Alderman Low</td>
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The Oath was in these following words: viz.

I do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of Charles Stuart, and the whole Line of the late King James, and of every other shall Pretend, to the Crown or Government of these Nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland, or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; And that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be True, Faithful, and Con descendant to the Parliament and Common-Wealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any Single Person, or House of Lords, and every of them, in this Common-Wealth.

This Oath being firther than any that had ever been imposed, was by many disliked; However, the Leading Men that promoted it in Parliament, affirmed, That without this, they could have no certain Assurance of Power; And that the Hollanders, and those of the Confederated Provinces could never be fix'd in their Government, till they had made a Renunciation of the King of Spain. And to that height this business was brought, that not thinking it enough for the Council of State. They drove on to have it ordered, That every Member in the House should first take the said Oath; This was strongly opposed by Colonel Feild, Weaver, Dave, Hutchinson, both the Parries, Ingoldby, and many more of the Soberer sort, Who allowed it would be a Confining of Providence to make such an Oath, a Snare to many good men, and a terror to such as were truly Conscientious, who might suspect this to be a fore-runner of many Oaths to fetter their Conferences. Of those more moderate sort of men, Feild and Ingoldby only were thought favvourers of the Kings Party, but the rest were such of whom they had no manner of Jealousie at that time; Though afterwards they appeared much inclined to a Conjunction with the Secluded Members, and well disposed to Monarchy: So that when the Act for the Council of State came to be executed, in that part of it which was the administration of the Oath, Mr. Weaver, Colonel Morley, Oliver St. John, Colonel Fagg, the Lord Fairfax, and many more, even a third part at least of their number refused it, and were therefore not admitted to Sit, and Act.

Whilest the General laid at York, he had Intimation, that Overton was taking Beds into Hull, breaking the Ice in the Grains, and making such Preparation as if he took him rather for an Enemy than a Friend; wherefore he sent Major Smith to him, one well known in that Garrison, to inspect the Condition of it, and write a Letter to Overton, to expostulate with him about the Matter: Who returned to Anwner to him, That he perceived Overton had rendered Hull so difficult to him as it had his Design dangerous to them and others; but he was glad to hear that he adhered to this Parliament in their present Constitution, against the remonstrations of the Secluded Members, a Free Parliament, or Single Person, of which he had been continually charged upon him by the Common Cry of the Army.

The Leading Members of Parliament, finding this difference growing amongst themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, conceived how to draw the General to their Party; and in order therunto, Scott and Robinson, two of their Members, were sent to meet him upon the Highway to gratulate his Return, but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to London, before he took his place in the Council of State.
Of these their Initations Charges having timely notice, was resolved to be with the General before them; but before he went, he privately got from Quarter-Master-General Bostler a List of all the Quarters in London, for a purpose which shall be discovered hereafter.

On the Twelfth of January, the House, to retifie their Confidence in the General, paffed a Vote, To approve of all he had done in order to the Service of the Parliament; and Ordered their Vote to be Printed: When he removed from York, he lent one of the Danbyck Regiments of Foot, Commanded by Colonel Clarke, and Major-General Morgan Regiment of Horfe, into Scotland, which, with those he left in Garrison there, he thought enough to secure the Peace of that Kingdom, till time should admit further Cofideration thereof. He left Colonel Fairfax his Regiment at York, and Disbanded some Companies of Afffield's Regiment, and mingled the Private Soldiers thereof among his Regiments to fill up the Companies; and then having given the Council of State an Accompt of what he had done, he proceeded in his March towards London with four Regiments of Foot, viz. his Own, Colonel Read, Colonel Lydeotts, and Colonel Hubbardtornor; and Three Regiments of Horfe, his Own, Colonel Knight's, and Colonel Clowberrieis, which made his Number in all 800 besides Officers; that is, Four Thousand Foot, and Eighteen Hundred Horfe; He came the 29th of January to Nottingham, where Charges came to him the day following, on which day also, Seat and Robinson arrived at Leicester and because the next day was Sunday, they relented there, and met the General upon the Road betwixt Leicester and Nottingham the 22d.

At Nottingham, Charges, having had secret Conference with the General, communicated to him in what Condition all Affairs stood at London, and that they had there two thousand Horfe, and eight thousand Foot, most of them modelled to their own Principles; That the Horfe were the Regiments of Okay, Haflerig, Rich, and Desboren; and though they had newly given the laft to Sir Anthony Afley-Cooper, yet all the Officers under him were of the fame Mould as the Former. The Regiments of Foot were commanded by Ayles, Markham, Senter, Fitch, Meja, Fletwood, Morley, and Fogg; of all which, he could have no Allurance but of the two laft: For Morley's men were firm to him, deferred their Officers in the North, and declared for him; And Fogg was a new Regiment, raised in the British Party, in his behalf. He told him, That except he could get all thefe Horfe and Foot out of London, (except Morley's and Fogg's Regiments) and difpofe them into feveral Quarters, and march his own men thither, and be Master of London, he could never expect to do any good for his Country; from all these times, it had been experienced, That to what ever was done at London, where they had Nine or Ten Thousand Men to juftifie their Actions, all the rest of the Regiments submitted.

And if his distant and absolute Command in Scotland had not hapned in a Conjunction when Fleetwood and Lambert, the two chief Officers of the Army, were in Jealousie of each other, and their Treasure quite exhausted, he had never been able to have flood against them; and although there was that Jealousie, and the Principles on which he declared were fuch, as moft of thefe in Command favoured; yet how fowly did Ireland and the Fleet join with him? And even the Council of State thcmfelves (who had the Temptation of Power to excite them) were backward enough to appear till they faw a Diftraft in the others Councils; for fear, as some of the Chief of themalleged, left the King's Party might have Opportunity to mingle with their Levies, if they should make any: These Confederations took fuch imprefion in the General, as made him apprehend great Difficulties in what he went about; till Charges told him, there were yet probable Hopes to make him Master of his Wifters, which he propofed thus: He told him, The Council of State confifted of fuch only as had taken the Oath of Abjuration; and till he should take that, they would be fo diffident of him, that whatever he defired of them, of any material Concernment, would be denied; That the Major Part in Parliament were againit the Oath; And therefore in all his Affairs he was to apply himfelf to them, and therefore that his belt way would be to write them a Letter to this purpose, That he thought it inconvenient for their Service, that fo many of the Coldiry now in London, lately in Rebellion againit them, fould be trufted with their Guards, till the prefent Officers by them placed upon them, fould have by Discipline reduced them to perfect Obedience. To which the General Anfwered, That he approved of the Advice, but that if they fhould offer to have an equal Number of his Regiments with the other, that Obfervation would be removed; and besides, he believed he had not men enough to supply the Guards, which then now in London kept.

To this Charges replied, It was worth his Aflempt to Endeavour this; and that the fame Reafon for not trufling the men, might hold as for not trufling them intire, but as concerning their Guards, that he had brought with him a List of all their Quarters, and did believe his Three Regiments of Horfe, being in number, within two hundred, as many as the four now there, they might do the fame Duty; And that his four Regiments of Foot, now faff as they were, might well keep the same Guards as fuch of theirs.

The General, in fow, approving of all he said, Charges drew the Letter to the Parliament, for him to sign, in these words:

Right Honourable,

I have lately acquainted the Council of State, with what Forces I have fent into Scotland, and to the Horfe, who are now exercized in Observance to your Commands; therefore I am now commanded in Obedience to your Commands; therefore I am now directed to write this Letter to you, and I am now marched in Obedience to your Commands: therefore I am now ordered to write this Letter to you, and I am now marched in Obedience to your Commands.
The Foot were disposed as followeth:

Colonel Ayr his Regiment; To Sandwich one Company, Dover two Companies, Canterbury five Companies, Ryetwo Companies,

Colonel Markham's Regiment; To Ipswich three Companies, to Colchester five Companies, and to Sudbury two Companies.

Colonel Struther's Regiment; To Buckingham three Companies, to Northampton five Companies, and to Newark upon Trent two Companies. The Confidence the General had of Colonel Struther, in placing his Regiment in the midst of the Kingdom, afterwards proved a good Expedition at the breaking out of Lambert.

The Regiment belonging to Fleetwood; To Hereford two Companies, to Oxford four Companies, to Worcester four Companies.

Col. Maj's Regiment; To Cambridge five Companies, and to Ely five Companies.

Col. Fitch's Regiment; To Chichester five Companies, and the rest to Winchester.

The Disposition of those to be in London were in this Order:

The General's own Regiment of Horse in the Menzies, and in the Strand,

Col. Struther's Regiment; To have four Troops in Kings-street, and Tittle-street in Westminster, and two Troops in Holborn,

Col. Claverie's Regiment; Two Troops in Southwark, one in Bishop's Gate-street, and three in Smithfield,

The General's Regiment of Foot in St. James's, and Parts adjacent.

Col. Read's Regiment in Soverst-houses, the Straddes, Long-Acre, Covent-Garden, and St. Martin's Lane.

Col. Lydeott's Regiment in Thanet-houses, Peter-houses, and Parts adjacent.

Col. Hubbardson's Regiment, in Holborn, Smithfield, and Parts adjacent.

Col. Fagg's Regiment in Southwark,

Col. Merley's Regiment in the Tower, and Parts adjacent.

The next Morning the General marched towards Leicesters, and he met Sect and Robinson, the Parliament's Commissioners, in the way to it, and they never parted with him till he came to London.

At Leicesters the General expected to be attacked about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubled to think how to divert it. Clarges told him, He had a plain and a fair Answer to make to them; which was, That he heard many men of unquestionable Integrity had refused the Oath; and till he came to London, to bear the Reason on both sides, for the taking and refusing, he could not with Prudence refuse it, This Advice he followed, and succeeded in it. Sect and Robinson at their first Interview told him, That the Parliament had Ordered a Thousand Pounds per head to be paid to their Members for the Time of the House.
The General was more never put to it than in this Journey to diftribute his Inclinations; For those men watched every moment of his time: At Harrow Alderman Fonke, Alderman Vincent, and Mr. Bromfield, met him as Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of London; and at the same time, Sir John Norris, with many of the chief Gentry of Northamptonshire, welcomed him into their County.

The Citizens, after a Congratulatory Speech, fell upon Particulars, for the general Settlement of the Kingdom; and Mr. Bromfield, in a hand-some Free Speech, after the consideration of the several Calamities it lay under, as the best Remedy, proposed the re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the Parliament might be made full and free. So it was so impatient at this, That he took the Words out of the Generals Mouth, and would not permit him to answer them. He told them, Now the Parliament had subjected the Military Power, to a due Subordination to the Civil, they were free; and that having already given their Judgment in the Cafe of the Secluded Members, it did not become them to insist on their re-admission. Fonke Endeavoured to qualify what Bromfield had proposed, by saying, He conceived they were not obliged by their Instructions, to desire the Generals Mediation further, than that they might have all their own Members admitted, since it was unreasonable, that they should be Governed by a Parliament, where they had not their Representatives.

This Discourse, on all sides, was managed with some heat; and the General was forced to comply with Sea and Robinson, in their Extravagancies, to preserve their Opinion of him, which made the Citizens part from him somewhat unsatisfied, and so they continued, till be sent Clerges privately to give them a better understanding of his Intentions. But Sir John Norris, and the Northamptonshire Gentlemen, who were prepared to attend him at Northampton with an Address, were so much discouraged, that they thought to decline it, till Doctor Barrow requested Mr. Philip Howard, to advise them to proceed in their Intentions, and to allure them. That though they had not a satisfactory Answer, they might be sure it would produce a good Effect. At Northampton Sir John Norris delivered his Address; and as he marched to St. Albans, several of the same nature were presented to him from the Gentry of Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, and almost all Counties, which did all agree in the same Matter (viz.) For the Reinstatement of the Members Secluded in the Year, 1648, and the filling up the Vacancies in Parliament, or else for the calling of a Full and Free Parliament. All which were answered with much respect by him, although he durst not discover his Approbation of their Desires: And it is very observable, That in all the Countries, so much Caution was observed, That no Gentlemen signed any of these Addresses, that had ever been engaged in his present Majesties, or his Royal Fathers Cause, nor scarce any of the Sons of rich.

At Dunstable the General consulted Major Knight and Clerges, about the filling up the Blanks, in the Letter prepared at Nottingham, having had Thoughts to fend it by Clerges, Knight, or Clark his Secretary: But upon further consideration, it was thought convenient not to part with Knight, because his presence would be requisite with his Troops, if any Disorders should happen upon their March to London; so for Clark, he was so necessary to be with the General, for the illuing out Orders, that he could not be spared: and for Clerges, it was judged more expedient, that he should be sent before, to prepare a Party in the House; so that Lydets was chosen to be sent, asone very grateful to the Speaker, to whom he was near ally'd, and Friday was the Day intended for his March into London: And upon the next Days Conjunction, which was Saturday in the Evening, the 28 of January, he was dispatched away: And on Monday the Letter was delivered, which caused a long and violent Debate: Hafterig told them, the Council of State had before agreed, that four Regiments of those in London should march out, and four of the Generals be admitted; but nothing prevailed that he said against the Generals Letter: So that after a Debate, from eight in the Morning, to twelve at Noon, the Result was in these words.

Monday, January 30, 1659.

Upon Reading of a Letter from S. Albans, from General Adair, Dated the 28 of January, 1659, and two Lits therein,

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That the Parliament doth agree with the Business of the Divisions of the Soldiers, according to these Lits.

Resolved upon the Question by the Parliament, That it be referred to the Commissioners of the Army, to see the Soldiers forthwith distributed accordingly.

Lydets returns to the General with the welcome News of these Votes, as well might be fo to him; for from the moment of the execution of them (which gave him the possession of London) he could not but think his Conduct would prove very ill, if he did not reduce the Armies, in the three Kingdoms, to his Obedience.

Captain Cuff, an Agent from Sir Charles, the General hath conformed the Interest of all Affairs in Ireland; he is made of Capt.'s...
would undertake for them; which allay'd the Sufpicion for that time, or at least to raked it up in Athes, that no Sparks outwardly appeared.

The Regiments that were to march from London, to give place to the General and his Regiments, had a Months Pay alignd them, to be paid at their Remove; but that did not hinder them from Mutiny at their departure, especially those that Quartered at St. James's and Somerset-house, which was not without great Industry of the Officers appealed: Upon which followed about Midnight an Infracrion in the City, where about six or seven hundred drew together, and by Beat of Drum about the Streets, invited others to joyn with them for a Free Parliament, and the Liberty of the City, in expectation to have the Soul- diers join with them; but two Troops of Horse suddenly dispersed most of them, and took the rest (about Eight and Thirty) Prisoners, which were the next Morning committed to Lambeth house: This Infracrion, together with the Diforders of the Soldiers, so frighted the Council of State, that in the beginning of the fore-going Night, they had sent to the General to march with all haste in to London, but that was afterwards contradicted, and he drew nor near the Town till the Morning, and in the Afternoon, the others being all marched out, Tumults quiered, and all both within and without in a great Calm. He marched with his Army by Grays Inn Lane into Temple, and from thence down Temple Lane, and so through Temple Bar, along the Strand, to White-Hall. The Three Regiments of Horse marched first, and He in the Head of them gallantly mounted, with his Trumpets richly Habited before him, and several Led-Horses after him, with many of his Chief Officers, and several Perons of Honour and Quality; and after them marched the Foot: The Speaker of the House met him in the Street near Somerset-house, where they Complemented each other; After which the General marched on to White-Hall, and the Speaker went to the Rolls; As soon as the Soldiers were Quartered, and all the Guards fat, the General was vis'd by several of the Council of State; and being invited to take his place there, he went in Compliance with them: But when the Oath of Abjuration was tendered, he refused it, for the Reasons before-mentioned, and was therefore not admitted, whereupon he returned to his Apartment. The next Day was spent in Vilits to him, from all the Members of Parliament, and many other Perons of the highest Quality: Mr. Scot told him, The Parliament did intend on Monday, publickly in their House, to give him their Acknowledgments of his Service, and that they expected he should there make publick Prefisions of his Affiliations to their Interest and Authority, and his Difikes of the Abjuration, for the Secunded Members, and a Free Parliament.

He made little Anfwer to him, but that he was much obliged to them, for the Honour of so great a Respeft, and shou'd endeavour by his future Services, to give Evidences of his just Renfentments of it.

It is observable, That from this time, in all the Orders to him from the Parliament, they called him only Commissioner Monk, and not General: And although yet no publick Order had supereded the Commiſion of Command in Chief, sent to him by the Council of State, they allowed him no Authority, but conjufit with others, whereof he took little notice, but proceeded as before in the sole Exercise of the Command of the Army. He was somewhat perplexed, how to behave himself in the Parliament, in reference to the great Professions and Pretentions they expeeted from him, of his Averfions from the King and his Party, to balance his refusing the Oath of Abjuration: But he resolved to act in that occasion, as moderate as the Season would bear, and yet to temper his Speech fo, as not altogether to fail their Expections.

On Monday, which was the Sixth of February, he was brought to the Court of Wards by Scott, Robinson, and some other Members; after which, Scott acquainted the House with his being there: Whereupon the Sergeant with his Mace being fent to attend him, carried it before him, Scott and Robinson conducting him into the House, to a Place on the left Hand within the Bar, where a Chair faced with Velvet was fet for him to fit on.

As soon as he had made Obedience, the Speaker bid him sit down; but he defining his excelled, and standing behind the Chair, the Speaker expreffed himself to him in these words:

I that been a common Observation, that the lighter Passions have a loud Voice, but such as are of greater Magnitude are always silent: As it is in Passions, fo in Actions also; those of a leffer Dimen- sion, are often magnified above their Mea- sure, but Historians do commonly fail in the Expressions of Noble and Great Acti- ons, and such are frequently lefiened; and so it may well be in those of this Days Remembrance: The Infallible Author tells us, That in Judea is GOD known, and his Name is great in Israel; That Knowledge and Greatness of GOD is vouched in the Influence of Martial Affairs, That the stout-hearted are spo- lied, they have flipt their fleec, and none of the Men of Might have found their Hands. This is vouched this Day amongst us here present, that both We and You might acknowledge, that it is GOD, nor Man, that hath performed this Great Work; that We his Creatures here may neither ascribe it to our Wisdom, or Tour Valour, but that it was GOD alone, and none elfe. But yet I have always obferved, that albeit the Glory appertains to the LORD, yet the Influence of that Glory...
Glory extends itself to the Instruments in his hand; and thereby those Beams enlighten your Honour and Valour, as an especial Instrument; not as a Merit, but as a Reward upon your Prudence and wise Conduct. The Knowledge of what hath been done in this our Restitution, is not unknown in these Nations: I believe, to this Part of the World, how our Friends (as we conceived) left Us, and what Defection hath been in Duty and Truth. The Face of this Land was covered, with a Gloomy and Black Cloud, and the whole Nation left, in the Judgment of Man, to the uttermost of Ruine: But, in that Condition, We did as the Prophet, in the greatest Misery of Israel, espy a little Cloud, no broader than a Hand, which is infinitely, in an instant, become the Refreshment of the whole Nation; that little Cloud was discern'd afar of in your Hand, and by the Prudence of your Wise Conduct, it discerned the Miseries of these Nations, and became a Glorious Mercy to them all. This House hath a true Refreshment of your Prudence and Conduct in this Great Work, and have commanded Me to return their hearty Thanks: But I must not end here, for they have also a full Sense of those Noble Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, both of their Fidelity, Valour, and Duty, in this Expedition: And as I have returned to You their Thanks, so it is their Desire, that you should return the same to Your Commanders, Officers, and Soldiers, who have been Instrumental in these Affairs.

After he had ended, the General stood up and spake as followeth:

Mr. Speaker,

Amongst the many Mercies of God to these poor Nations, your peaceable Restitution is not the least; it is (as you said) his Work alone, and to Him belongs the Glory of it; and I esteem it as a great effect of his Goodness to me, that he was pleased to make me, amongst many worthier in your Service, some way Instrumental in it. I did nothing but my Duty, and deserve not to receive so great an Honour and Respect as you are pleased to give me at this time and Place, which I shall ever acknowledge as a high mark of your Favour to me.

SIR, I shall not now trouble you with large Narratives, only give me leave to acquaint you, That as I marched from Scotland hither, I observed the People in most Counties in great and earnest expectations of a Settlement, and several Applications were made to me with numerous Subscriptions to them; the chiefest Heads of their Desires were for a Free and a full Parliament, and that you would determine your Sitting; a Gospel Ministry, Encouragement of Learning and Universities, and for admiration of the Members Secluded before the year 1648. without any previous Oath or Engagement. To which I commonly answered, That you are now in a Free Parliament, and if there be any Force remaining upon you, I would endeavour to remove it; and that you had Voted to fill up your Houfe, and then you would be a full Parliament also; And that you had already determined your Sitting; And for the Ministry their maintenance, the Laws and Universities, you had largely declared concerning them in your last Declaration; and I was confident you would adhere to it: But as for those Gentlemen Secluded in the year 1648. I told them, you had given Judgment in it, and all People ought to acquiesce in that Judgment; but to admit any Members to sit in Parliament without a previous Oath or Engagement, to preserve the Government in being, it was never done in England.

But although I said it not to them, I must say, with pardon to you, That the fels Oaths and Engagements are imposed, (with respect had to the Security of the Common Cause) your Settlement will be the sooner attained to. I am the more particular in these matters, to let you see how grateful your present Consultations about these things will be to the People. I know all the sober Gentry will clothe with you, if they may be tenderer and gently used; and I am sure you will so use them, as knowing it to be the Common Concern to amplify, and not to letten our Interest, and to be careful that neither the Cavalier, nor Phan- tick Party have yet a Share in your Civil or Military Power; of the last of whose Impatience to Government, you have lately had severer experience. I should say something of Ireland and Scotland; Indeed Ireland is in
and make Wors.

by your Interruptions, which prevent-

ed the passing an Act for the Settle-

ment of the Estates of Adventurers

and Souldiers there, which I heard you

intended to have done in a few days;

and I presume it will be very quickly

done, being so necessary at this time,

when the Want of the Common

wealth call for Supplies; and People

will unwillingly pay Taxes for those

Estates of which they have no legal

Authority: I need not tell you how

much you were abused in the nomin-

ation of your Officers of your Armies

there; their malice that deceived you,

had been sufficiently manifefted: I do

affirm, That those now that have de-

clared for you, will continue faithful,

and thereby Evince, that as well as there

as here, it is the sober Interest must esf-

blish your Dominions. As for Scotland,

I must say, The People of that Nation

deferve to be Cherifhed; and I be-

lieve your late Declaration will much

glad their Spirits; for nothing was to

them more dreadful, than a fear to be

over-run with Phanatick Notions: I

humbly recommend them to your Af-

fection and Esteem, and desire the in-

tended Union may be prosecuted, and

their Taxes made proportionable to

those in England, for which I am En-

gaged by promise to become a Sitter to

you: And truly, Sir, I must ask leave

to intreat you to make a speedy Provi-

sion for the Civil Government there,

of which they have been destitute near

a Year, to the ruine of many Fami-

lies: And except Commissioner for

managing the Government, and

Judges to try in Courts of Judicature, be

speedily appointed, that Country will

be very miserable.

I directed Mr. Gamble lately to pre-

sent some Names to you both for Com-

missioners and Judges; but by reason

of your great Affairs, he was not re-

quired to deliver them in Writing, but

I humbly present them to your Confi-

deration.

And to concluding, he delivered them the Paper wherein the said Names were contain-

ed.

Some and some others were much offended

that he affirmed so much in this Speech, and

were once thinking to Interpose. They

complained to their Confederates, That he was too

positive in undertaking for the Officers in Ireland,

of whose Affections to the Parliament in the pre-

sent Conflagration of it, there was just cause of

conclude, and that in the whole Speech he seemed to

offer Proposibility, and gave the Cavaliers a

possibility of being received into the Exercise of

Privy, with a total Exclusion of the more

brill Parliament-Trophy, under the Nomin of Pha-

nickick.

But that which at this time more diqhted

thee men than the General's Speech, was the con-

founded Carriage of the City; for the

Common-Council had been in very high Debates

about the Government, and were resolved to

pay no Publick Taxes till the House were filled

up with equal Representatives: This they look-

ed upon as drawing towards a Contempt of

their Authority, and thought they could not

better provide for their own Securities, than by

opposing in time, and punishing such Com-

motions; they therefore on the eighth of

February in the Evening at the Council of

State Order the General to go into London

be next Morning with a good part of the

Army, and to force upon Eleven of the most

Active of the Common Council, and commit

them to the Tower, as also to pull down the

Pofts and Chains, and take down the Gates

and Periculuses of the City, and Quarter his

Souliers there, till they were reduced to Obe-

dience.

The General was surpriz'd at this Com-

mand, and debated many things with them in

mitigation or suspension of it, till near one in

the Morning the next day; but nothing could

divert their Resolution; so that he was forced to

obey their Orders, or quit his Command,

for he had no longer time to deliberate than

that very Morning in which they were to be put in Execution; insomuch, that after three or

four hours respite to refresh himself, he march-

ed into the City, and pulled down the Pots and

Chains, and took into Custody Nine of the

Citizens whose Orders to force and Orders to pull

them down by themselves: The Nine Imprison'd,

were Mr. Lawrence Bromfield of

Tower-Street, Alderman Vincent, Alderman

Birdsworth, Mr. Thomas Brown of Woodstreet,

Mr. Daniel Spencer in Friday-street, Mr. Penning

in Fan-Church-street, Mr. Jackson, Mr. Chub-

berlain, and Mr. Richard Ford. The City was

much Alarm'd at this proceeding: And the

Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and several of the

chiefest of the Citizens applied themselves to

him to moderate his Actions. All the City

indeed seem'd as People confounded with

wonder and Anxiety. And Colonel Hubbe-

thorn, and others, the General's own Officers,

were many of them so much troubled, That

they came to him to offer up their Commissions,

rather than be employed in such an Action:

They told him, The honour and respect they had

to his Person engaged them never to force again

him, or dispute his Orders: But in this, since

they did not without horror-dey them, they with

tears pray'd him to dis perse their Commands to

some more necessary persons. He was moved

much at these their passionite expressions, but

privately informed them of his own dislike of

what was Commanded; and therefore Con-

jured them to continue their Confidence in

him, and execute what he had given them in

Charge, as that from which better effects would
The General Writs to the House, to mitigate their Com-ments.

They, so much the more flirred up, found more rigor-ous Orders than before.

The General Commands the Gates and Percullices to be broken down.

Mr. Jefby’s Prudent Speech to the General.

the City, till several Designs of theirs for the further humbling them to their purposes should be effected; and there was a Whisper as if he were to have been Questioned for it. It was also artificially contrived, that the same day the Gates were pulled down, a Petition from a Ficcious Phanatic Party of Citizens was presented by one Praffe-God-Barebone to the House to Consequence the Action, and to press an Oath of Renunciation to be taken by all that should be employed in Civil and Military Affairs; nevertheless, to please the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, they had the Thanks of the House for their Moderation in this time of disorder in the City.

That Evening Clerges privately went to the General, and represented to him the ill Consequences of his Proceedings in London: And that the Influence that City had by Commerce, and other occasions, all over England, would quickly diffuse the Infamy of the Fact: And all the Cities and Towns would be Alarm’d, believing if that Great City should be made a Village, all their Franchise and Privileges would be quickly Subverted. So that he had no way to redeem his Reputation, but the very next Morning to return into the City with his Army, and declare for a Free Parliament. The General, though he demurred a little, upon this Counsel, yet he seemed very sensible of the Contempt they at Westminster had put upon him in the whole Progress of this Affair, and was resolved after a day or two’s private Consultation with some of his Officers, to do something to regain the Esteem he had lost; for the performance of which, he said, He would take time but still Tuesday Morning. This was the effect of their first Discourse. But a while after, Dr. Barrow came to Clerges earnestly urging him to renew his Advice to the General, putting forth, That delay might give his Enemies time to put out of his power the doing what he intended; And that it was most necessary to be speedy in the retrieving the good Opinion of the City, to manifest thereby the greater dislike of what he had done the day before, as that to which the necessity of the time (against his own Inclination) pressed him to. Whilft they were in this Discourse, Two Officers of the Army, in whom the General then had much Trust, came into them, and they altogether went to him again, and, with the same Arguments reiterated, diffuaded from delay; Adding, That they had certain Intelligence, that the Council of State began to be Jealous of him, for that little Power he possessed the City in the execution of his Orders, and that he should therefore in Prudence provide for his own Safety. Barrow was appointed to gain what Intelligence he could against the next Morning; And the General with Clerges, Thompions, Sanders, and Burton, Who two last were advised with as two Officers that very much inclined to Admission of the Secessioned Members, Concluded what to offer to the House as a ground for their March into London: At last, waving all thought of making any excuse for marching into the City, They conclude, That Orders should be privately fitted for about a dozen of the Chief Officers, in whom he had greatest Confidence, to meet at Six the next Morning at the General’s Quarters, and for...
for the drawing of some men together before White-Hall, to be ready to March; and that a Letter should be sent to the House in the Morning signed by the General and a Select number of Military Officers, to complain of many Irregularities committed by them: Amongst others,

That they gave too much Countenance to Lambert, Vane, and several that engaged with the late Committee of Safety; And that they had permitted Ludlow, and some others, to Sit in their House, that had been by Sir Charles Coxe, and fellow of the Irish Officers, accused of High-Treason: And had Countenanced too much a late Petition, to exclude the most Subr and Confederates both Ministers and others by Oaths, from all Employment and Maintenance: And in Conclusion, to Request, That by Friday next they should Issue out Writs to fill up their House, and when filled, should vise at their appointed time, to give place to a Full and a Free Parliament.

The General, having agreed to these Heads, retired to his repose, whilst the rest penn'd the Letter, which he directed to be drawn in his Name, and in the name of the rest of the Officers of the Army. The next day the Officers, who had been sent for to meet at White-Hall, repairing thither early in the Morning, the Letter was produced and read to them, (the General being present) and by all of them approved of; whereupon the General Signed it, and with him several Colonels (viz.) Sanders, Read, Lydcoat, Knights, Cloberry, Redman, and Hildothorn, one Lieutenant Colonel, which was Ethelbert Morgan, who commanded the General's own Regiment of Foot, and six Majors, Johnson, Barton, Smith, Bunifer, Pryme, and Nicholls; Cloberry and Lydcoat were sent with the Letter to the House, and Clarges at the same time was sent to my Lord Mayor, to acquaint him with the General's Intentions to come and Quarter his Army that Night in the City; and to dispise him and the City to give him a favourable reception.

These things thus ordered, the General immediately marched away to Finchbury, where he drew up his Souldiers, till he should hear from Clarges how the City would receive him: Who finding my Lord Mayor very reserved, and averse to the General's coming, as terrified with his Actions the day before, he had applied himself to Alderman Robinson, and some others that he distrusted, and acquainted them, that the General's coming was for good to the City and Kingdom; but did not in fine in the Particulars of what was in agitation, having had Orders to conceal that, till it was known how they at Westminster should receive the Letter; Nevertheless, Robinson sends for two or three Aldermen of his Confidants, and with them they go to the Lord Mayor to mollify him, but without any effect for the present: Nevertheless, Clarges told him, the General was resolved, though he quarted not in the City, at least to be his Guest at Dinner; And according y he sent to the General, to desire him to march with all his men to Leaden-Hall-street, to the Lord Mayor's Door, which he immediately did. While Matters were thus carried on in the City, the House was in great Disorder at the reading of the General's Letter; but they temporized so far, as to shew no publick Distraetion, but Ordered,

That the Thanks of the House should be given to the General for his Faithful Service in securing the City; and that, as filling up the House, the Parliament were upon Qualifications before the Receipt of his Letter, and the same should be dispatched in due time, and that Mr. Scott, and Mr. Robinson should attend him with their Votes, in Answer to his Letter.

As soon as the General came to the Lord Mayor, he told him, He was very welcome to his house, but that the City was full of Fears and sad Apprehensions of his sudden Return, after such violent Actions as the Day before his Soldiers had been employed in. The General told him, He hoped to make them of another mind in few hours: Yet was he inwardly somewhat troubled, not knowing what hindrance this Clouds he found might give to his Delights; infomuch, that he called Clarges aside, and check'd him, as one who had over-hastily press'd on him, upon so little time of Consideration, to go to great an Enterprise. To which, he answered, That he was not so far advanced to go back and that the least Advice he could give him was, to desire the Lord Mayor presently to appoint the Aldermen and Common Council to meet him at four o'clock a Guild-Hall, and there to acquaint him with his real Intentions, to comply with the dellores of the whole Kingdom.

This Motion pleasing, and the said Request being accordingly made to the Lord Mayor, Orders were immediately sent out: but in the meantime, Scott and Robinson came to him from them at Westminster, with the before-mentioned Answer to the Letter.

Scott made Proclamations to the Parliament, Affection to him, and their high Opinion of his Services, thereby to divert him from his Intentions of staying in the City: But Colonel Bridges, an Officer of Ireland, that stood by, told them, The General had no reason to credit their Fair Speeches, since their Words and Proclamations agreed not together, as was manifest in their Contempls of these his Friends in Ireland, who for his sake hazard'd themselves in their Service; And when he came from the Irish Army to improve Ludlow and Jones of High-Treason, he could have Time, but his was put off from Day to Day, when Peace-God Barebone could be heard and admitted with a Sadistic Petition the first moment he came to the Door of the House, And Cloberry told them, The General and all his Officers could not but perceive that they grew Jealous of them, and that they went about to Balance them with such as had been their Enemies, which made it high-time for them to consult for their own Safety.

The General closed all with Moderation, telling them, All would be well, if they strictly observed the Advice of the Letter, and that he would sit on Friday next for filling up their House.
An Act for continuing Five Commissioners for the Government of the Army.

With this Answer they returned to their Fellow-Members, not very well satisfied, as was evident by what they did that very Afternoon in the House; for they passed an Act to divide the Government of the Army among Five Commissioners; namely, General Monk, Sir Arthur Hatherley, the Colonels, Morley, Walton, and Allured, and made the Quorum of them to be Three.

This was opposed by many of the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder its Progress; at last, for an Expedition, it was moved, That General Monk should always be one of the Three for Quorum: But upon putting the Question, 'was carried in the Negative. When word was brought him of this their Ingenuity to him, he could not avoid expressing much Indignation at it.

The Lord Mayor and Common-Council, being met at Old Hall about Five of the Clock, the General told them.

That the Employment wherein he was was fat, at his leaving the City, was the most ingrateful to him that ever he undertook, and so much against his Inclination, that if anything left of quitting his Command, could have prevented it, he had never accepted such Employment; nor did he value his Commission, out of any respect to himself, for he had often declared it to be, but as knowing how much it imported both him and them, to keep it out of the Hands of such as most probably would not be so well inclined as He, to the Settlement of those Nations; That what he had news to them, was, That he had that Morning sent to the Parliament, to issue out Writs within seven days, for the calling up of their House; and when called, to sit no longer than till the Sixth of May, to give them Place to a full and a Free Parliament.

The News of this was quickly dispers'd through all the City, and received with great Demonstrations of Joy, expressed in Bells, Glasses and Ringing of Bells.

After this, he retired for some time to a house in Cheapside, to give order for the Quartering of his Soldiers, and went himself to Lodge at the Globe-house in Broad-street, till Drapers Hall could be accommodated for his Reception.

The Monday after his stay in the City, the Council of State writ to him, To defire his Presence with them, to assist with his Counsels, in the carrying on the great Affairs of the Nation.

To which he the next Day returned Answer,

That till the Oath should be taken away, which put a bar to him, and many others, from sitting as Counsellors, his Presence could not be useful to them there; And wish'd, he inform'd them, That the Diffractions of the City were increased by the continuance of Arms in the Hands of Phantastics, and Perfunctors, to the Parliament, who had 7000 lastly out of the Stores deliver'd to them, and were preparing more: Wherefore he defire them immediately to recall those Arms; and wish'd, to exeuse his stay in the City for some longer time, till the minds of the Citizens were compos'd.

The Mayor and Aldermen of the City, and the Chief of the Officers (bearing how earnest the Parliament was to draw him again to White-Hall,) importuned his Continuance in the City; and to induce him to it, they assure him, it cannot be safe for him, or them, that he remove; for that they had certain Information, that many private Letters were sent from Hatherley, and others, to withdraw the Affections of the Souldiers from him, and that certain men were employed to several Regiments to debauch them: This Information had been enough to induce the General, had he not been resolved before: So that when Colonel Allured came from the Council of State, to persuade him against staying in the City; he acquainted him with what he heard.

Allured laboured to influe a Belief in him, of his having been mis-informs'd in those things, it was answer'd by the General, That he put no greater stress on these Reports, than to urge it to the Alarms and Motions of the several Parties, desiring the belief of them till time should evince the truth. But he allured him, He advertised from Perfons of good Fames, That notwithstanding that Lambet was preferred, and Vane put out of this Parliament, and ordered to leave the Town; yet the stay of the latter was convinced of, and Sir Arthur Hatherley, and several others, corresponded with them both,

Sir Arthur Hatherly writ many Expostulatory Letters, to free himself of these Imputations, but could not sufficiently clear himself of them. And now by more frequent Addresses than ever, the General is from all Counties solicited to the admiss of the Secluded Members, which he only delayed, because the Army was not yet in a Tempor for it; but to prepare them, he received Visits from some of the Secluded Members, where they were always admitted, to hear by their Discourses, how well they were inclined to the Settlement of the Peace of the Nations. In this Method he for some time past, on the 5th of Febrary, to have a Conference before him, of some of the Secluded Members, and some of the others. Those of the Sitting Members, were, Sr. John Hatherley, Morley, Thompson, Ashley-Cox, Weaver, White, Field, Hutchinson, and Rawleigh; Scott and Reynolds also were intended by the General to be there, but for want of timely Notice they came not.

The Secluded Members that met them, were, Sir William Lewis, Sir John Evelyn, Sir John Hooland, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Colonel Popham, Mr. Armitage, Mr. Knightly, Mr. Crew, Mr. Trevor, Colonel Harly, Colonel Norden, Sir John Temple, and Colonel Birch. They discours'd of many things, in order to a manual Accord, for the Peace and Welfare of the Nations, but came to no Conclusion; because the sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House, without their Consent, which could not be known but by Vote; Yet severally all of them who were then present seem'd well satisfied with that Moderation, and Temper, which they found in those Gentlemen with whom they conferred.

The General was fully bent to promote their Admission so far, that if it could not be done...
by Common Consent, he resolved to admit them without it.

The Officers of the Army were consulted with, and they were willing enough to have them fit, on condition they would promise to declare for a Common-Wealth Government, and pass an Act for the Confirmation of the Peace of their Lands, stipulated of since their Seclusion, and to agree upon a short time for their Dissolution. Wherefore, to try how far they were inclined, to admit of those Conditions, Mr. Clarges, Colonel Claverry, and Doctor Gamble, were appointed to treat with some of them, who, when they met, had many Discourses of the whole Matter;

The Secluded Members declared, as to Government, they intended no alteration in it, or to All further than in preparation for a Parliament to succeed them; and since there was no other way for their Suffrages, but by Priests, in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of England, by Authority of Parliament, they saw not how there could be by that Constitution any other Government introduced: As to Confirmation of Sales, and Dispositions of Lands, they said, they had been all made since the Seclusion, and they would not alter them, but rather mediate with the next Parliament, to pass on for their Confirmation, and for the time of their Sitting, they were contented it should determine in a Months time. Claverry urged the great Insecurity the Army and many of their Friends would be in, if their Publick Lands were not confirmed, which was the Price of their Blood; and though their not disturbling such Possessions in England, might be a little Satisfaction, yet the whole Nation of Ireland was unsettled, both as to Adventurers and Soldiers. To this it was replied, that they should not think themselves in a Capacity to pass any Acts at all, as being but one House; and to prevent all jealousy of their Allies, they would consent to be Limited to the Chief Heads of what they should consult, during the short time of their Continuance.

When the Conference ended, Report was made of the Substance of it to the General, and the rest of the Chief Officers, who approved of every thing proposed by the Secluded Members, except the not Confirmation of Publick Dispositions of Lands, and their refusing to pass any Acts of Parliament: As to that of Lands, which they would not be drawn to confirm, Clarges told the Officers, they could not answer it to the Kingdom, to break with them for that Consideration, thereby to obstruct the Settlement of it, out of respect to their own private Interests; he said the greatest part of his own Estate was in Ireland, and that it was acknowledged by all, the greatest Insecurity of Publick Estates was in that Kingdom; yet he would for his own part submit all his Concerns to the Determination of the next Parliament; rather than by opposing the Admission of these Gentlemen, contribute to the hazard of the Publick Peace. And as to that of Publick Acts, he told them, He doubted not, but they would alter their Opinions, because no Money could be raised, to supply the Necessities of the Government; nor could their own Dissolution be, but by an Act.

The General, upon hearing this, seemed very much satisfied; upon which, all the rest agreed. And it was agreed, that the Secluded Members, that were in Town, should, before their Admission, sign a Paper, to consent to confine their Consultations, chiefly to the Four Heads following.

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies, in the Three Nations, as might be most serviceable to the Peace of the Nations.

2. For the providing Maintenance for the Forces by Sea and Land, and Money for their Arrears, and the Contingencies of Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State to settle the Civil Government and Judicatures in Scotland and Ireland, and to take care for the ensuing of Priests for the Summoning of a Parliament to meet at Westminster the 20th of April.

4. To their own Legal Dissolution.

This Subscription was willingly made, and on Tuesday following in the Morning, the General gave them a meeting at White-Hall. In Whence, after a short Speech to recommend to them the Settlement of the Nations, with that assurance, That he would impose nothing on them, they went to take their Places in the Parliament; being Conducted thither by Captain Miller who Commanded the Guards.

As soon as the Members were gone, the General Summoned all the Officers of the Army together that were then in and about London, to consider of a Letter to be sent to all the Regiments in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to have their Concurrence to what had been done concerning the Admission of the Secluded Members; which was referred to a Committee to be drawn up, with special Directions to satisfy them, That nothing was intended for alteration of Government, but that it should continue as a Free State and Common-wealth: This he did, in regard he knew it impossible, as Affairs stood, to keep the Army in Temper any other way. The Letter was in a little time prepared, and to many Clerks were employed, that Copies of it were that Night Signed and distributed to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, and to the Commanders in Chief of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland. It was penned in these Words:

Dear Brethren and Fellow Souldiers,

You cannot be Ignorant of the many Endearments and earnest Desires of many good Men, in these Nations to bring Us to a Settlement, which it both pleases God to disappoint us this Day, and leave Us as broken and divided People, what before was ready to run into Blood and Confusion; Which, by the Grace of God, we might prevent so great Calamities impending;
after our earnest seeking God for his Direction and Affiance, We find no Expedient so likely for the Satisfaction of the Good People, and the Quiet and Welfare of this Common-wealth, as the re-admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a Legal Dissolution of this Parliament by their own free Consent; and to Issue Writs for a future full Representative of the whole Common-wealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under such Laws, as may secure our Country, to Convence on the Twentieth day of April next at Wealthinster, for the Dissolving of this Common-wealth upon the Foundation of Justice and true Freedom. And to take away all just Jealousies from you, We do assure you, That we shall join with you in the maintenance of those Ends, and do expect your Cheerful Concurrence with Us; having no Intentions or purposes to return to our old Bondage; But since the Providence of God hath made Us free at the cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful as God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but We do rejoice with the Affiance of God, to adhere so long in the continuing of our dear-purchased Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reason of Our preceding in this manner may seem strange, but if you duly consider the necessities of our Affairs, and the present State of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publick Interest, and the Safety of the Nation peaceably to submit to a Free State, as the said Members having given us full assurance, that their Sess in Parliament shall be no longer than absolute necessity will require, to the putting the Government into Successive Parliaments, they not being free to stop all the old Writs, as when they shall be called upon a Common-wealth, accept: And it is the Opinion of the truest Friends to a Free State, That it cannot be inconsistent with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, being contrary to the nature of such a Government.

And as We are confident the present Parliament now Sitting, will not Repeal any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, for Sales, or publick Dispositions of Lands; so the Bill in our Station observe, and cause to be observed, all other Acts and Ordinances of this Parliament whatsoever, and humbly interpose with the next Succeeding Parliament, not only to pass a further ACT of Confirmation of all such Sales and Dispositions of Lands, here and in Scotland, but also of the Distributions and Dispositions of Lands and Houses in Ireland to the Secluded, Adventurers, or any other Person, made by or in pursuance of any of the Acts, Ordinances, or Orders of this present Parliament, or any pretended Parliamentary Authority. And We intreat you to send up an Officer to give to the Lord General Monk an Account of your Acquiescence with Us herein.

And if any disaffected persons shall take occasion to make disturbance of the Peace of the Common-wealth, either in favour of Charles Stuart, or any other pretended Authority, We desire you to secure them till the pleasure of the Parliament or Council of State be known in that behalf. You shall speedily receive Encouragement and Supplies of Money; and indeed it was not the least Motive to induce Us to this way of Compounding of Affairs, that we might facilitate the raising of Money for the Subsistence of the Army and Navy; which would not otherwise have been done (if at all) but with eflusion of Blood. We have nothing more at this time, but to assure you that We shall ever remain,

white-Hall, Dear Brethren & Fellow-Souldiers, Feb. 21. 1659.

Your very affectionate Friends,

GEORGE MONK

R. Knight, 
John Cloberry, 
Tho. Read, 
John Hubblethorne, 
Leonard Lydlett, 
Tho. Saunders, 
William Eyre, 
John Streeter, 
Richard Mofly, 
William Fairly, 
Arthur Evelin,

Colonels,

 allowable to submit to a Free State; but if we shall join with you in the maintenance of those Ends, and do expect your Cheerful Concurrence with Us; having no intentions or purposes to return to our old Bondage; But since the Providence of God hath made Us free at the cost of so much Blood, we hope we shall never be found so unfaithful as God and his People, as to lose so glorious a Cause; but We do rejoice with the Affiance of God, to adhere so long in the continuing of our dear-purchased Liberties, both Spiritual and Civil. The reason of Our preceding in this manner may seem strange, but if you duly consider the necessities of our Affairs, and the present State of things, you will certainly conclude nothing so safe to secure Publick Interest, and the Safety of the Nation peaceably to submit to a Free State, as the said Members having given us full assurance, that their Sess in Parliament shall be no longer than absolute necessity will require, to the putting the Government into Successive Parliaments, they not being free to stop all the old Writs, as when they shall be called upon a Common-wealth, accept: And it is the Opinion of the truest Friends to a Free State, That it cannot be inconsistent with the perpetual Sitting of these Members, being contrary to the nature of such a Government.

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John Hubblethorne, 
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Tho. Saunders, 
William Eyre, 
John Streeter, 
Richard Mofly, 
William Fairly, 
Arthur Evelin,

Colonels,

John Butler, Quarter-Master General.

Eschellert Morgan, 
James Mislouw, 
James Emmerson, 
Joseph Wetter, 
Dennis Pepper, 

James Dennis, 
Richard Waylaff, 
Thomas Johnfon, 
Francis Nieball, 
Jcr. Smith, 
Nathaniel Berston, 
Thomas Higgin, 
John Clarkes, 

William Godwin, 

Hony Ogle, 

Zzzz 2. These
Thee Transactions were managed with so much secrecy, that the Members that were sitting in the House knew nothing of them, till they saw the Secluded Members come in and sit amongst them. Upon which they being surprised, were at first at a demur among themselves, whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the House; till at length the grand Sticklers of them for a Commonwealth, well knowing that it would not be in their power by playing, to make their Interest good against those who were now the major Party of the House, resolved, since they could not hinder them the partial possession thereof, to resign it intire unto them, while those of them that were the most moderate and well inclined stood behind, and took their Seats amongst the new admitted Members: Who in the first place applied themselves to vindicate the honour of their House, as far as in them lay, by nullifying and expunging out of the Journals all Votes whereby they were disabled from sitting as Members therein: Next, they Order Mr. Vincent and Mr. Bromfield, and the rest of those Citizens which were committed by the Council of States Orders, when the City Gates were broken, to be released; as also all others who were any where Imprisoned upon Sir George Booth’s Railing, or for making Addresses for the Admission of the Secluded Members: Moreover, they Constituted General Monk by ACT of Parliament, Captain General of all the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and repealed that ACT which made him only a Joint-Commissioner with Colonel Morley, Halford, Walton, and Allen, for government of the Army.

Some there were of these restored Members, who at the first admission, could not well be present, by reason of their far distant Habitations; of which number was Mr. William Morrice, whom Mr. Nicholas Monk, the General’s Brother, knowing him to have a Prudent Person, and well disposed for his Prince’s Service, and the good of his Country, wrote to Clarges to put the General in mind of sending for him, that being near him, he might be affiduous to him in his Counsels: To this the General was easily persuaded, having had long before by his Brothers report of him, a good Opinion of his Abilities and Worth; and the rather, for that by his Wife he was some what allied to him. Clarges acquainted Mr. Nicholas Monk with what he had done, and inclosed a Letter from the General to Mr. Morrice, to acquaint him with his admission of the Secluded Members, and to desire him to repair to the Parliament: Where he arrived whilst they were Sitting, and took his place in the House; wherein he appeared a most useful Instrument by his great Abilities, in promoting and carrying on of the General’s Affairs in relation to his Majesties Interest.

The Parliament repealed the ACT for the former Council of State, and the Oath of Abjuration; and passed an ACT for another Council to consist of One and thirty Persons: A new Council of State chosen.

General George Monk,
William Pierpoint,
John Crew, Esquire,
Colonel Roffiter,
Richard Knightly, Esquire,
Colonel Popham,
Colonel Morley,
Lord Fairfax,
Sir Anthony Abley-Cooper,
Sir Gilbert Gerard,
Lord Chief Justice St. John,
Sir John Temple,
Lord Commissioner Widdrington,
Sir John Evelyn of Wills,
Sir William Waterfall,
Sir Richard Onslow,
Sir William Lewis,
Colonel Edward Montague,
Colonel Edward Harley,
Colonel Richard Norton,
Arthur Ansley, Esquire,
Dennell Holles, Esquire,
Colonel George Thompson,
John Trevor, Esquire,
Sir John Holland,
Sir John Potts,
Colonel John Birch,
Sir Harbottle Grimstone,
John Swinfin, Esquire,
John Weaver, Esquire,
Serjeant Maynard.

Most of them Men of Integrity, and well affected to Kingly Government.

The General hearing that Colonel Rich was about St. Edw.’s Tower, and having actually despatch’d Two Troops, was endeavouring to corrupt the rest of his Regiment, he sent the Life Guard to reduce them, and gave a Commission to Colonel Inigo dey to Command the Regiment.

The Life-Guard had been lately in defection with the rest of the Troops under Lambert, and had not been mustered since the Reinstauration of the Parliament, nor had hitherto any Commander in Chief. And therefore the General thought fit at this time to model that Troop, and to give the Command thereof to Captain Philip Howard, making Mr. Robert Harley his Lieutenant, and his Kinman Mr. Henry Monk, Cornet; who were so active, that in six hours time they displaced all of whom they had any suspicion, and filled up the Troop with honest and gallant men; who immediately marched towards Suffolk, to execute the General’s Orders upon Colonel Rich; but he having notice of the marching of that Party towards him, retired privately, and The Life-Guard modelled, and conferred upon Capt. Philip Howard.
the Regiment quietly received Col. Inglis'd to Command them, who by the General's appointment put out all such Officers as were of foremost and sedued Points in Religion or Government.

And to reduce North-Water to a more settled Condition, than it was in at that present, the General gave Colonel Carver a Commission to be Governor of Beaumaris Castle, (the Souldiers whose在外 had been placed there by Colonel John Jones,) with authority to raise Forces to reduce Denbigh and Conway, which had been in very ill hands, and to settle that Country in quiet; which he did in a very short time; to the great satisfaction of all the Gentry and People in those Parts.

The late Common weels-Parliament before the admission of the Sceluded Members, had given Decleror's Regiment to Colonel Welton; but the General disposed of it to Colonel Charles Howard of Naworth, whom he also made Governor of Carlisle.

The Parliament passed an All of Affirm for a Hundred Thousand Pounds a Month for Six Months, and proceeded with much haste to settle the Militia both in the City and all other Parts of England and Wales, having vacated the former Act made before their admission, because most of the Commissioners and Officers all over England, were of Itefons of suspected Inclinations to the Government.

There being at this time an unusual Confluence of Officers of the Army in London, and some Troops and Companies drawing together in several Parts of the Kingdom; The Parliament by Proclamation Commanded all Officers to repair to their respective Charges, and not to depart from thence without special Order from the Lord General: And that all such Troops and Companies as had removed from their Quarters without the Lord General's Licence, should return forthwith to their last Quarters for merely Affignee, or to such others as should be Affigned them by directions from the Lord General.

But notwithstanding all this Care in the Parliament, Colonel Overton was designing to make Disturbances in Torkfshire. He drew up a Letter to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell, and Colonel Smithson, which he caused to be Subscribed by all his Officers; And therein signified to them;

That having received intimation from private hands, That the abandoned Interest of Charles Stuart doth seem so to shine in the face of Publick Transactions, that many Scoundrels and Diftatisfactions were created amongst their Brethren in the Army, who remained faithful to the true Cause they had contended for, insomuch, that (as it was represented to them) several Regiments had declared their disconcerne with these present Distractions; and their Resolutions in adhering to the Cause God had determined with Victory against all Monarchical Interests, they could not but judge it incumbens upon them to make in such a time, and to endeavour to be found in the discharge of that Duty which their Instruments Commanded from them; wherein as on the one hand they were unwilling to appear precipitate in their proceedings, so on the other they were afraid to fall short of a timely interposing of their Assistance against that old Bondage which was likely to break in anew upon them: And therefore they thought fit to expostulate that Intimation unto them, and desire to understand as well what was their Fences, as what was signified or imparted to them: That as they were equally engaged and concerned in one Publick Cause, so they might (if occasion required) be as conjunctively abating and affixing to the defence of it; which through the Assistance of God they were resolved to offer and maintain; (as the fruits of their Blood, the Nations Treasure, and the Prayers of the People of God against any design whatsoever which threatened the ruins of their Civil and Religious Rights.

Many Copies of this Letter were dispersed amongst the Souldiers before the Original was sent, and an Attestation added in these words, This is Overton's and the Officers of the Garrison of Hull's Letter: And it is hoped, will meet with the Conciourse of all our honest Fellow-Souldiers who have been engaged in the Good Old Cause against the Interest of a King and Single Person.

If Colonel Fairfax, Smithson, and Bethell had not been very Active, this practice had perverted many Souldiers; but they were vigilant to prevent it. Upon knowledge of this Letter, the General writ to Overton by Colonel Albred and Major Smith, to give him Satisfaction in his proceedings here; and the Council of State upon his Motion did the like, Major Smith was well known and beloved in Hull, and, the General having a Design to Remove Overton, he was privately to deal with some Officers and Souldiers under him who loved him not, to bring him to Reason, if upon Orders for his Remove, he should be disobedient to them; And as soon as they were gone, he sent private Orders to Colonel Fairfax, (to whom he gave a Commission to be Governor of Hull) to draw some Companies to Beverley, and Write to Overton to repair immediately to him, his Letter was sent to Colonel Fairfax open;
open, that he might see the Import of it. The Letter was in the following Words:

SIR,

I have seen a Letter from you and some others at Hull, dated from that Garrison on the 28th of February last, and directed to Colonel Fairfax, Colonel Bethell, and Colonel Smithson; wherein you Complain of the present Transactions of the Publick Affairs, as if they tended to the bringing in of the King and a Monarchical Bondage, which (you write) seem very likely to break in anew upon us, and threatens the ruine of our Civil and Religious Rights: All which, you say, is derived to you from private hands, which do not only intimate their Private jealousies, but inform you that several Regiments have declared their disaffection with the present Transactions. I must confess, I am a little surpriz'd at this your Letter and manner of Proceedings, having so lately sent to you from my Self and the greatest part of the Officers of the Army, a full Accomp of the necessities that induced us, to consent to the return of the Secluded Members to the Exercice of their Trusts; and our Resolutions to that Cause we have so long contended for, and to the Parliament in the prosecution of it: And (notwithstanding the Information you pretend to have received) I cannot in my own observation discern any Grounds for such apprehensions of Affairs here as you seem to entertain: nor has there appeared a discontent in any one Regiment of the Army, except part of Colonel Rich's Regiment, which is since reduced: wherefore (although you pretend not to be too precipitate in your proceedings) your dispersing Copies of your Letter before you sent it, may reasonably make me judge otherwise: And if you profess the matter further, I cannot but interpret your Action as sending to divide the Army, by withdrawing their Obedience from the Parliament, and consequently to involve the Nations in a new and bloody War. So that to avoid all occasions of this nature, I desire that within twenty four hours after this Letter comes to your hands, you set forward from Hull towards London, to give me an acco of the present posture of that Garrison; And that wish-

in Six hours after this comes to you, you signify to Colonel Fairfax, and Colonel Bethell, your Compliance herein, and the Day wherein you intend to begin your Journey, and be with me here, where I shall expect you within a Week after your departure from Hull, I have written to Colonel Fairfax more particularly concerning the Peace and Safety of the Northern Parts; and of the Garrison of Hull; and if he Communicates any Orders from me to you, I expect your obedience to them.

Yours,

George Monk.

Colonel Overton was surpriz'd at the receipt of this Letter, but finding himself in no Capacity to dispute the Order for his delivery up of Hull, he submitted to it; And sent to Colonel Fairfax to acquaint him with his Resolution; And himself at Eleven of the Clock, the same Night, began his Journey towards London to the General.

The General about the same time gave his Commission to Mr. Clarges to be Commissary General of the Mullets of England, Scotland, and Ire; and to Mr. Morris to be Governor of Plymouth; and to Major General Morgan to be Commander in Chief of the Army in Scotland.

Morgan was already upon the place, but wanted sufficient authority, till he had this Commission sent to him; and all the Army there submitted there to the General's Actions in Reference to the Secluded Members, except a Company in Garrison in the Isle of Orkney Commanded by one Wulfon, which was reduced by Captain Mann, and Wulfon and his Officers imprisioned, and his Company disbanded.

Many private Overtures were made to the General by some of the Peers that fate in the Lords House a little before the death of the late King, to be admitted to Sir; but he thought it inconvenient and hazardous, in regard the Army was already so Jealous upon the Siting of the Secluded Members, that he had difficulty enough to moderate them. Yet at the Request of the Earl of he sent Commissary General Clarges to Confer with him.

The Earl told him, The Siting of the Lords would be very advantageous to the good of the Kingdom; and to the Soldiers in particular; for that they would fore in an Act for the Confirmation of their Estates: And if it should be thought convenient for the good of the Kingdom to receive the King, he could not open any Conditions with so much Safety, he referred, as such as should be made by Act of Parliament.
To this Clarges Replied, That the General was very well satisfied, that the Parliament was Dissolved by the Death of the late King; and that the present Sitting of the Members, was a Constitution rather taken upon Necessity, than Right, which was but to make way for another Parliament; That one great Argument for the Admission of the Secluded Members, was their Content to a quick Dissolution; which could not be, if the Lords Should Sit: For they would then think themselves invested in that perpetuity which some fancy is of rights to this Parliament still. But that which was most convincing, was, That the Army was not yet in temper for it.

Every Post brought the General Addresses from all the Regiments in England, of their Consent to his Acting: And Sir Charles Cot in Ireland had with many other Officers upon the same day that the Secluded Members were admitted, declared at Dublin for them, and had secured Sir Harrods Walker, that had diffented from him.

Those of the former Members who flaid in the House after the admission of the Secluded Members, that they might engage the General against the King, promoted an Act for the settling of Hampton Court, with all the Parks and some other Lands upon him and his Heirs for ever; which troubled him, that he used all the Friends he had to divert it; and at last an Expedition was found out, by giving him, by All of Parliament, a Present of Twenty Thousand Pounds in Money, and the Custody or Stewardship of that House, and the Parks for his life; They also Conferred upon Commissary Clarges the Hampton Office: And about the 15th of March they Ordered, That the Engagement, appointed to be taken by each Member of Parliament, in these words, (viz.) I do declare and protest, That I will be true and faithful to the Common-wealth of England, as the same is now established without King or House of Lords, should be taken off the File and made null.

Set, Hebling, and some others, (whole names shall forbear to mention, because they are yet living, and have repented of the rashness of their former Proceedings) were much alarm'd at this proceeding, which they took to be an inevitable Prognostick of introducing the King; and though they so much affected Power, as to endure no Rivals in it, they chose rather to have the General take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon himself than to have the King restored: They consulted privately with some of the Officers of the Army, whom they trusted most, and those approved to well of the Expedition, That the General was Treated with about it in White-Hall; Where Hebling told him, That many of his Friends were much troubled at the Parliaments Actions, which tended both to the ruine of him and all the good People of the Nation, since it was evident that by what they had Voted the day before, nothing was intended but the restitution of the King. His answer, they said, must needs succeed the admission of the King; for a Merit too great to be Rewarded, could have no recompence but death, whereof frequent Examples are to be found in all History, and in none more pregnant than our own, where it is Recorded, That the same Stanley who placed the Crown upon Henry the Seventh's Head, had his own Head struck off, upon a very frivolous pretence, when the reason was only excess of Merit. They told him likewise, They found a Commonwealth-Government not agreable with the disposition of the People, who are always but judges of what is left for themselves, and therefore since a Single Person was necessary, there could not be one fitter than he be that Office. To which they had very good grounds to believe all the good People of the Nation would concur with them.

The General told them, He himself was not well pleased at the late unnecessary Vote of Parliament concerning the Engagement; but many of the most different Members had been with him, and satisfied him, That they had no design in it, but to keep themselves free against the next Parliament; for in regard (they said) That he had conceived that the final determination of Government should be referred to that, they were unwilling to anticipate their (heirs) by determining it by that Engagement; which would be too great a Snare unto them: Still urging, That they knew not any case he should have of fear, for that they were as sure of Summons of the next Parliament, did sufficiently defend the Government, in restraining their Debates to it. As for the Government in his own Person, he said, The Experience of Cromwell's Fate gave him Reason to avoid the Rock on which that Family was split.

They Replied, That Oliver Cromwell usurped the Dominion against the Suffrage of the Army, and the Consent of all the good People, whereas he should have it by their unanimous consent, and under what Name and Title he pleased to accept it.

The General would by no means hear more of these Temptations, resolving not to lose the Honour derived to him from as Ancient a Stock of Gentry as any was in England, by so trescherous a Prostitution of it.

A little before these Men went to the General, Commissary Clerges had been tampered with by them, to the same purpose; and observing them to go from him to his Lordship, he deliberated how to extricate him from further applications of this kind, and punish the Insolency of these underakers.

The Council of State Sitting at the time of this private Conference, and within two Chambers of the place where it was Transefed; he went in to the Council to Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and informed him of what he knew, and what he farther suspected: Upon which it was agreed, That a soon as the General should depart from them, and come into the Council, he should move, That all Clerks and Attendants, that were not Councillors, should withdraw, and the Doors be lock'd, and then declare, That he had had Information of a dangerous Design in some fidious persons who

The Engagement abrogated.

King CHARLES the Second.
who were contriving to make Disturbances in the Nation, and that they had proceeded so far as to make some indelict Overtures to him; of which he declared that the Council might receive a full discovery, that thereupon they might apply themselves to prevent the Consequences of it.

But the General being unwilling to expel those men to ruin, (though they deserved not his favor,) because his Purposes were designed to be effected by the most peaceable ways, told the Council, That there was not so much danger in agitation as they apprehended; but that it was true, some had been with him to be resolved in tempers concerning the present Transactions in Parliament, but they went away from him well satisfied.

Thus the goodness of the General was abused; for these unreasonable men, when they saw they could not allure him to their ends by the temptation of power, attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army; wherein they prevailed so far, as that the Officers had had one Meeting, and had appointed another. In their first, they were so heated, that a Declaration was immediately prepared, and brought by some of them to the General, to oblige him to his Army to declare for a Commonwealth, and engage against all them that should attempt the setting up of a Single Person; and that he should send to the Parliament to join with them in this Declaration.

Commissary Clerges and Mr. Clark, the General's Secretary, were with him when this was brought to him, and observing great trouble in his Countenance at the reading of it, moved, That he would defer the signing or giving any opinion of it till the next Morning, because the Officers of the Army were to have a General Council. This was done, that the General might have time to provide himself of Arguments against it, and prepare some of his Friends to join with him: One of the chief Motives that induced him to make Mr. Morris an Officer of the Army, was to have his aid in Conjunctions at such times as those: For there were frequent Meetings of Officers, and one of so good Judgment and Eloquence as he, could not but persuade much: So that he had been the fitter Person that could have been thought on, had not his being unacquainted with such Assemblies made him not care to be present at them.

The next Morning a great Concourse of Officers met at St. James's: And Colonel Key opened the Council, with a long Speech, of the fears they were in of an Invasion of Evils, breaking in upon them, to invade their Civil and Religious Liberties; and that if great Care was not used to prevent it, Charles Stuart would be introduced; And that the last Expeditions that could be thought of, was to send immediately to the Parliament, to oblige them to declare and engage for a Free-State and Common-wealth, without a King or House of Lords: And if they refused to do it, to take such a Revenge as God would put into their hearts to force the Nation from definition.

Commissary Clerges Answered, That he saw Commisary Clerges as he saw other Persons imployed to the matter.

They yet attempted to make a Mutiny in the Army.

A Declaration brought by the Officers to the General to Sign.

The General concluded, and told them, The time of this Parliament ending was so near, they could not do the ill's some of them (he hoped) causally feared; And that from the next Parliament he doubted not they would receive better Satisfaction than they had in this, since it was provided in the ACT for their Assembling, That none should be elected that had been against the Parliament since 1643. Withal, he confirmed what Commissary Clerges had said, That if by this violent proceeding they should make the Parliament hastily Dissolve themselves, and leave the Nation in Confusion, they must not expect he would take upon him the Government, which he had rather lose his life than accept.

After this, there was little moved by any of the Officers; Only one said, That nothing could be hoped from Qualifications for a new Parliament; for they themselves being to be Judges of them, it might so happen, that the major part might be of such as were not themselves Qualified.

The General knew this to be an unanswerable Argument, (and it was for this reason he preted for a new Parliament on any terms) but was unwilling to bear more discourse of this kind, and therefore told them, Nothing was more injurious to Discipline, than their meeting in Military Councils to interpose in Civil Things. And from that time he forbade them to assemble again; and within a few days after, these officers left. On the Seventeenth of March, the Parliament by Act dissolved it itself, having before summoned a Parliament to succeed them the 25th day of April following.
The Conference between
Monsieur de Bordeaux, and Co-Commisary
Charges.

Monsieur de Bordeaux, the French Embassa-
dor then resident in London, was very diligent to
interfere Cardinal Mazarini, in this great Revo-
lation of Government, and having had acquaint-
ance with Charges, expected by him to discover
all the Generals' Designs, and in order there-
to, sent his Secretary to him. To detain him to
move the General, to have License to give him a
visit, and to confer about some overtakes he had to
make to him.

Charges, upon this interview, went to the
Embassador, who carried him into his Closet; and
they two being alone, he told him, "That it was
visible to all, that the General had some great
Design, in projection, and that most wise men be-
lieved it was, either to advance himself to the
Monarchy of those Nations, or introduce the
King; and that in either of those, he had the ad-
vantage of being more servicable to him than
any other; for, if he should use any Englishman
in so important an intrigue, if he should not
have success that would be brought in evidence
against him to his distraction: Whereas if he as
a stranger, and a public Minister could not
be questioned. He further said, "What he pro-
pounded, was not only in reference to himself, but
to England. He who would fail to have him,
the honour of his friendship, afflit him
faithfully in all his purposes. He laid moreover,
That he could not undertake to determine,
Whether it was best for him to dignify his
Family with the Empire of these Kingdoms, or
to restore the King to them: They were both
actions of much glory; and if the latter were
as safe, the honour of it would be as great:
But that he might be confident of the Cardinal,
he did assure him, that Oliver Cromwell kept so
strict a League with him, that he did not allume
the government without his privy, and was di-
rected step by step by him in the progress of
that action: And therefore, if he recoived on
that course, he should not only have the Car-
dinals friendship and Counsel in the attempt,
but a safe and honourable support in
France, if he failed in it. Or if he would admit
the King, and put the manner of it into the Car-
dinals hands, whatever he would desire for him,
safely of Security, or honour from the Crown,
he would undertake to obtain, and in such a
manner, that it should rather fecem by the Car-
dinals advice, then his particular Inclination;
and the King would gladly receive it, and France
should be the place to which (if he agreed)
the King should prefently retreat; where he
should have a Train provided proportionable to
his greatnes, that his People here might, with
greater Reverence, apply themselves to him;
and by this way (he said) the General might not
only oblige the King of England, but the
King his Master also, by making him a Medi-
stor and Instrument in his Restauration.
To this Charges answered, "That the matter
was too deep for him to be involv'd in, in re-
gard (as himself had acknowledged) of the
danger of having such a secret known to any re-
cond Perfon a Native of England.

But notwithstanding, to satisfy him, he assured
him, That the General did not intend to take
upon him the government, but submit all to the
determination of the next Parliament.

He then replied, "That a Parliament in En-
gland was a kind of tumultuary Council, to va-
rious in their Debates, that no certain measure
could be taken from them, and therefore for
not taking this course which he advise'd, he
might be hurried by their froward proceedings,
and to some fudden Enterprise, neither for his
himself, nor good for the people, and that
with him, in any misfortune, all his Relations
would be ruin'd.

To this Conference, Charges put an end, by
telling him, "He would take a fudden occasion
to found the Generals Inclinations; and though
he would not directly tell him what had pass'd
betwixt them, he should nevertheless guess,
whether it might be fit for him to impart it to
him; the only difficulty that remain'd, was
the Generals want of the French Tongue,
Which the Embassador said, "Was not nec-
Ssary, for that he had English enough to be un-
derstood, and to understand all that should be told
him; and thus they parted.

Charges told all that pass'd to Mr. Morrice,
and to the General himself, who absolutely re-
fuse'd to have any Commerce with the Embas-
dator or the Cardinal; nevertheless, that he might
appear well, he was contrived to receive his
Visit, but on Condition, That he should not
propose any thing to him in reference to the publick
affairs of Government.

This was signified to the Embassador, and
he came that Evening to compleat the General,
making great professions of his Services to him,
on all occasions, without defending to particu-
lar.

Much more successful was the Application
made by Sir John Greenville, who being an active
Agen for the King, and a near Kinman to the
General, was therefore by his Majesty thought
a fit person to be employed to him; but he know-
ing the wary temper of the General, was much
troubled how to get access to him; till behinking
himself of Mr. Morrice, his Neighbour in the
General, he told him to a person whom conversing
with the General, he concluded by his mediation
to do it, and thereupon requested him to let the Ge-
neral know, he had something of great im-
portance to impart to him, and desired he would give
him the opportunity to do it.

When Mr. Morrice inform'd the General of
this, he receiv'd it with much strangenes; for
although Sir John was his near Relation; yet by
reason of his youth, and the Generals long ab-
ence from his Country, they had little acquain-
tance with each other, and therefore he told Mr.
Morrice, Except he would send him informa-
tion by him, of the nature of his business, he could
not admit of any intercource with him.

Mr. Morrice told him, He had already de-
sired to know that, but Greenville refused it. The Ge-
neral in his mind, liked well of this referrefnes
in Sir John, and bid Mr. Morrice acquaint him,
That if he came the next day at nine in the evening
to St. James's, he would speak with him. And ac-
cordingly Greenville came to him, at the ap-
pointed time, which was the next evening, after the
dissolution of the Parliament.

When he came, after he had requested Par-
ton for the importunity of his vife; he defined
his permission to deliver a Message he had to him
Aaaa
from his Majesty. The Generall seem'd surpriz'd at this saying, but feeing that there was no body in the Room but Mr. Morris, and he at a good distance from them, he bid him say what he pleas'd.

He then prefented to him a Letter from the King, and told him, That his Majestie had great Confidence in his affections to him, and since he had complify'd so far with the desires of all the sober part of the Kingdom, for the admission of the Secluded Members, in order to a free Parliament; The confquences of that could not but give sufficient evidence of his Inclinations to his Majesties Service and Restitution, which would naturally flowe from his Endeavours, in Conjunction with their Councils.

The Generall replied, That he had long lamented the miserable distractions of his Native Country, and waited a fit occasion to contribute his affiance to the Redemption of it. And when Lambers and thohe with him had Interrupted the Parliament; Considering that the Army had been newly in a great measure by that Parliament model'd, he suppos'd by a Declaration for their Restitution he might gain a Pursuivance in his hands for better purpofes, and as the better to bring thofe his purpofes about, he resolve'd if by his Arms the Parliament should be restored, together, with thohe few Members which fate at their interruption, to admit thohe also who had been excluSe'd, intending to that end, by degrees, to put his Army into fuch hands as would favour his intentions, that it was well known to all, How he was disappointd in that design, and though what difficulties he arrived to the Station he was then in, nor was he even at that time feare of great danger of disappointments, if he should not manage his affairs with more then ordinary secrecy.

As to the Kings Majestie (he said) None wished him greater felicity than he, nor desired his Reformation with more passion, but if he were not cautious and attempted, it would be out of his Power to ferv them in it, since in Councils fo nice concurrence, there would not be room for two Errors. The People he told him, had been long feduc'd by feditious infinuations, and the Army in the hands of fuch, as had alwayes been againft his Royal Father, and many of them even againft Monarchy it self; but nevertheless, he hoped, if they might find the same security under his Majesties Government, as they had under the Ulurpers of it, he might not depair of their reafon to obedience. And to effect this, it was his humble advice, that his Majestie should prevent their fears, by declaring a free and general Pardon to all his Subjects, and engage himfelf to give it under the Great Seal, to all that should submit to his Authority, except fuch as should be exempted by the Parliament.

And that he would content to any Acts of Parliament, that should be prefented to him for the fettlement of publique Sales and Dispositions of Lands, to Officers, Soldiers, and others; and the payment of the Soldiers Arrears; As alfo for toleration of Liberty of Confcience to all his Subjects, And that none fhould be punifh'd for differences in matters of Religion, whofhould not disturb the publique Peace.

Sir John asked him, What he would give A further difcourfe between them, confirming the fuccefs of the Generall Intentions. If his Letter fhould be intercepted before he had compleated the Reforming the general Interes of Armies, it would be impoffible for him to keep them in temper, or hinder the fubversion of all he had hithefore done; Adding, That he fought not his own advantage in his Endeavours for the publique benefit of his Country; and that having with much hazard, brought matters near to a fair issue, in purfuit of the general suffrage of the Nations, he was unwilling by in- dication to venture a relapfe, but would choose to involve himself in the fame Condition with the generallity of the People, in expectation of what the next Parliament fhould bring forth, to the happiness of his Majestie, & all his Kingdoms.

Sir John Greenville writ down the faftance of this Discourse, and repeated it to the General, to be the better able to retain it in his Memory, but as soon as he had read it, he entreated him to tear it in pieces, and perfon whofver with their Conference except the King himfelf, and to requiff them also to conceaf it. But above all things, he inftreammed, To defire his Majestie from him, to go out of the King of Spain's Dominions, to Breda, or any other place under the Government of the States of the United Provinces, for that he had certain Intelligence, he would be detained by the King of Spain's Ministers, if he fray'd in his Dominions.

And at Sir John's parting from him, he told him, He was glad that this occasion of preffenting his Duty to the King, was an effect of his diligence, whom he was glad to find so intraduous and vigilant in his Majesties Service; of which he had before fame experience when his Brother Nicolas came from him into Scotland.

He promis'd to observe all the Generals Intentions, Sir John takes his Journey to Brussels, and when he arrived the 29th of March, he left the Generals to part with him in Writing, and diglised it in form, to be prefented to his Majestie. And in the Conduft of the whole affair, he was fo secret, that the Lord Mordant, who went over with him to his Majestie, knew nothing of it.

At Brussels he retir'd to a private house, To give his which his Majestie (upon intimation) very accurately repaired, and with great fatisfaction receiving the Intelligence he brought; but because he could not prosecute the Generals design (as to his removal) without advice for the manner of executing it, he confulted the Marquis of Orione, the Lord Chancellor, and Mr. Secretary Nicholas, being perfons in whom, from great reafon and experience, he had most intire confidence, by whom the affair was order'd, that in two or three days, he took his Journey to Breda; The King relieving them, where we shall leave his Majestie in Confultation, to return to the Transactions in England, of that buflime time.

The Council of State took care to have the Act put into speedy execution throughout England, for the Election of Members to serve in Parliament, and for putting the Militia into fober hands: And because many feditious People were endeavouring to debauch the Army, they publifhed a Proclamation to forbid all perfons whatsoever, to correspond with any of the Officers and Soldiers.
Souldiers of the Army in the way of agitating, or otherwise, whereby any dissatisfaction might be raised towards the present government, to endanger the peace of the Nation, giving power to all Officers, both Military and Civil, to seize upon any of all the Regiments as it were afield: And for the better encouragement of all whom it should concern, they declared, and promised to give to the discoverer of any such person, who should apprehend and secure such offenders, the sum of ten pounds. And this Proclamation was ordered to be published in the Head of every Regiment, Troop, and Company of the Army, to the intent, the same should be the better taken notice of, and put in more effectual execution: And the General sent it to every Regiment to be proclaimed accordingly. But this did not sufficiently prevent the ill humour amongst the Souldiers, which made Commiitary charges contest privately with the General, about some other more effectual course; he propos'd to frame an engagement for all to subscribe, to acquiesce in whatsoever the next Parliament should do, and to displace all that should refuse: His Lordship liked very well of this Proposition, but thought it very hard to lay such a scheme as it were, he encouraged him to go on, and that night he alone fram'd it, and immediately advis'd with Colonel Howard, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Mr. Asley, and Colonel Knight (who all of them with one content approved it, being all persons of great credit with the General,) about the putting it in execution; Colonel Knight undertook by the next day at noon, to get it signed by all the Officers of his own Regiment, and the Generals Regiment of Horfe, and the Life-guard; and Colonel Howard did the like for his Regiment which lay about Croydon, for he had to mould'd it, that it was sure of all his Officers; all which by the foresaid time, being accordingly effected, they met together, at Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper's Lodging, and glad to fee their business was well advanced by the subscription of these three Regiments; they in the next place, thought it expedient to bring the Officers of the Regiments in London, to be summons'd to meet that Evening at St. James's, which was accordingly done, and they being all met, it was mov'd to them by Colonel Knight.

That at this time, when severall imputations lay upon the Army of Inconstancy, and that many dishonourable persons were endeavouring to divide them, it was requisite they should give some publick testimony of their Affections and inclinations; and in order thereto, some officers having favours done them as Adreasses, which they had fraudit to be praenit to the General, to testify their Resolution of obedience and duty, to the Powers God had placed over them; He could not but approve so well of it, as readily by himself, and all his Officers, to give their Association to it, and some more had done the like, being intended by those who first advit'd it, to be tendered to every Regiment of the Army; of which being a great part here, they had by the Generals Permission invited them thereto, to concur in what was done, and to define their Compliance with them in it.

Colonel Knight and Clerges had before prepar'd most of the Officers of the Regiments which came from Scotland, so that they made no difficulty of it, especially seeing a subscription of

Other Regiments to induce them; Moreover, it was intimated, That their Meeting was by the activity and paffion of the General, which Obligation they knew none would offer to oppose. The Address was immediately read, being in these words:

_W_ _E_ _t_ _he_ _Officers_ _of_ _the_ _Army_ _under_ _the_ _Form_ _of_ _your_ _Excellencies_ _Command_ _whofe_ _the_ _Arms in_ 
Names are heretofore written, being truly fefible of the _merciful_ and wonderful _Providenee_ of Almighty God, in bringing Us, after so many_ _Re_ _volutions_ _and_ _Changes_ _into_ _an_ _hopeful_ _way_ _of_ _Settlement_ _and_ _perceiving_ _to_ _our_ _great_ _grief, that there are too many, who seeking more their own private Interests, than the Publique Good, are endeavouring to reduce us again to our old Necessities and Contitutions; and that they have proceeded to far, as to cause Jealoufies in the Council of State, in whom the supreme Power and Truth, now, till the Meeting of the Parliament, is referring, Do hold it our Duties, for the preserving of all such advantages for the future, and for the strengthening of your Excellencies Hands, in the carrying on of this Good Work, in which it has pleased God to make you so highly instrumental, humbly to make this Address unto your Excellency, to the Name of our selves, and all the Souldiers under our Command, and to Declare, That We shall, according to our Duties, carry and believe our selves, as Officers of an Army instructed by your Example and Discipline, to obey, and not to displease the Orders of our Superiors, and shall freely and readily observe such Commands, as we shall receive from your Excellency, or the Council of State, or the Parliament when Assembled: And, in particular, we shall, according to the late Proclamation of the Council of State, of the 17th of March, decline any Meeting or Meetings, for the converting or carrying on any Declaration or Subscriptions, concerning Affairs of State, or Government, thereby avoiding those Mifconceptions, which made many lately in Arms, sojournably distress'd to the People, by making themselves a desired Interes from the rest of them, And we are the more willing to make this Address at this time, in order to give all the World an Integrity of our Obedience, because of the general resolution of the next Parliament, from whom we hope for a happy Settlement to all the Nations; And that they may have no ill Approbations of Us, We are resolv'd, as it becomes Us in Duty, to submit to whatsoever the Lord shall bring forth from their Consultations, knowing that Parliament only can secure Us in our Religious and Civil Rights: And forasmuch as many Representations hereunto made to Persons in Eminent Authority, have been too frequently conveyed in the Name of the Army, which were done rather in Formality, (As we perceive by the Event) that otherwise, We do solemnly declare, that this may be Recorded as a Testimony and Witness against Us, if ever We shall be guilty of any such Backslidings.

At that very time, this Engagement was signed by Lieutenant-Colonel Morgan, and all the Officers of the Generals Regiment of Foot; by Colonel Hibblethorn, and all the Officers of his Regiment; by Colonel Cabbery, Colonel Lydeast, Colonel Read, and the rest, with all the Forces under their
their Officers; which made up in all, with those that had sign’d before, Ten Regiments of Horse and Foot, besides the Life-guard, and all the General-Officers. Also, Collonel Fairfax, and Collonel Bethel, who upon the first Constantial of this Matter had been sent unto, in four days had return’d the Subscriptions of themselves, and all their Officers; after which it was agreed, that Collonel Howard, with fourty Officers, should present it to the General; which was done at St. James’s the 9th Day of April, and was with much satisfaction and content received by him: It was also afterwards recommended to Major-General Morgan in Scotland, to have it subscribed by his Officers there, and likewise to all the Regiments in England, with an Accomplice of what had bin done in London, and the Names of all those Regiments that had concordit.

And because he heard that some disaffected Persons were tampering to seduce the Soldiery in Scotland, he sent another Regiment of Horse, and a Regiment of Foot thither, who were of such as Major-General Morgan might confide in, to affit him, if need were, to model the rest. In conclusion, this Address was subscribed by all the Regiments, and the Subscriptions return’d to the General; only some Officers refus’d it, and were immediately displace’d, and the General took that opportunity, of giving to the Lord, after the manner of the above-mentioned Addres to the General, Collonel Lambert having made an Escape out of the Tower, was conceal’d by some of that Party, that had been lately ingaged against General Monk, and some of others of Fanatique Principles: These held a Council in London, but were not to private in their Conflutations, but the General had from time to time intimation of much of their Proceedings. They sent some buffe men to all the Regiment in England, and those Officers that refus’d the Address, had retained the Arms of the Troops in their Hands, but such was the vigilance of the rest of the Officers, that there got not above Seven or Eight Troops of Horse in a Body to join with Lambert, but one Company of Foot.

The General takes great care for the suppreffing of Lambert.

On Wednesday the 18th of April, the General, upon Advice from Colonel Streeter, of Lamberts hovering in the North Parts, and of the want of Horse in his Quarters; sent for Colonel Ingoldsbey to him, and told him, He must be at Northampton with his Regiment on the Saturday following; and that he should receive Orders to take any of Collonel Koffter’s Troops to his Affilliance, which quartered in those Parts: He alfo told him, That Collonel Streeter, a Person whom he could Trull, was with some of his Companies at Northampton, whom he would find ready to join with him. The Collonel told him, That his Regiment was dispers’d in Norfolk and Suffolk, but he would do his endeavours to get them together. And he was so diligent herein, that by the Friday following he got his Regiment to Cambridge, and on Saturday in the Evening to Northampton.

The General also sent Collonel Howard with his Regiment, and some other select Troops, towards Warwick Shire, and Warwick Shire, to hinder any Detection of the Troops in those Parts, and to have an Eye towards Coventry, which Lambert had design’d to Garrison; and indeed he had done it, but not the Care of the General prevented it, by Ordering three Companies of Colonel Streeter’s Regiment to Quarter in that City: The Colonel also sending one Company more to strengthen that Place, who in their March met with a Party of Horse, among whom was one who having been Major to that Regiment, shew’d them Lamberts Orders, to march back again; But the Lieutenants that was Intrusted with the Command of that Company, observing the Collonel’s Orders, marched entire with great speed, stood upon his defence, and opposed them Twice in his march thither.

The Council of State by Proclamation, declared Lambert and his Adherents Traytors, and the General was careful the very next day after his getting out of Prifon, to give Notice of it to all the Regiments and Troops, to prevent their Design of reducing them, and to command them to seize on him: By which Diligence, and the sending thence Parties out, his Confederates were interrupted in their Endeavours. One Harvey, a Disaffected discontented Officer, of Collonel Smithson’s Regiment, had主意 fourty of Captain Feverell’s Troop to revolt, with Design to seize on Tork, but by the care of other Troops they were displace’d; and one Everard, and Captain Lockier, two discontented Officers, that had been lately in Custody, and releas’d upon their Engagement, not to act any thing in Disturbance of the Publicke Peace, did nevertheless march through Nottingham, with a Sedtious Troop of their Companions.

Whereof Captain Sherman of Collonel Sanders his Regiment, having notice, drew out his own Troop, and that of Captain Craddocks of Hackers Regiment, to engage them; but immediately Craddocks Troop joyn’d with the Enemy, which made Sherman (finding himself too weak for the purpose) to retreat to Nottingham, to secure that place, where the Aldermen and Gentry, gave him ready affilliance. This News made the General give Orders, That the late Address sign’d by the Officers, should be tendred to all the private Soldiery also, which made fo through a Reformation, that in many Regiments Thirty of a Troop disbanded, rather than they would confer to it, and many in the Foot Companies also left their Arms: But in all the General’s Regiments in London, that marched with him from Scotland, there were but two Dissenters.

On Eater-Eve, Collonel Ingoldsbey join’d with Collonel Streeter at Northampton, where he was at that time, and had been some days before, The Earl of Exeter who with several Loyal Gentlemen of that County, to the number of near
near one hundred Horse, with much Resolution offered to assist Colonel Streeter: Likewise the Trained Bands of that Town were in Arms at the same time, in order to the securing thereof, in case of a Necessity of Colonel Streeter's attending Lamberts Motion: The Colonel purposing that Night, it should have been, to have mounted 400 Foot of his Regiment with the Horses that came into the Town that day (against the Fair on Monday following) and to have beaten up Lambert's Quarters.

On Easter Day early, Intelligence was brought to Colonel Ingoldsby and Colonel Streeter, That Lambert was at Devonport: upon which they marched towards him: When they came to Devonport, they heard Lambert was march'd two miles from thence, and therefore halted to meet him; which they did, in a plain Field, where a little Brook parted them; Lambert had with him, besides the Troops of Horse before-mentioned, thele Perfons, viz. Colonel Okney, Colonel Axell, Colonel Cobber, Lieutenant-Collonel Young, Major Creed, Captain Timothy Clare, Captain Gregory, Captain Spinage, besides divers private Souldiers, who were Aldermanists.

The two Parties faced one the other next four hours; during which time, Collonel Ingoldsby, and Collonel Streeter spent their time, partly in their vigilant Observation of the Intention of the Enemy, and partly in Encouraging of the Horse and Foot under their Command, whereby they beguiled a more than ordinary Resolution in both Horse and Foot: In the mean time, Lambert sent out several Scouts towards them, but Ingoldsby would not permit any of his to leave their Ranks, only he himself riding up towards them, had many Difcourfites with them: Ingoldsby was not known to the Scouts, but appearing to them as a private Souldier, dealt Effectually with them, by laying open the danger of their Action, that 25 Troopers, with a Quarter-Mater, came over to him. The Collonel difmounted and difarm'd them for the present, because they were unwilling to engage in his party but afterwards restored their Horses and Arms to them.

Lambert's delay in Engaging being observed by Col. Streeter, he Advised, that the both Horse and Foot should immediately advance, and put the Britons to an Issue, out of the Confidence he had of the Foot especially: And withal deified Coll. Ingoldsby, That if he should be Routted, he would Really with what Speed he could; For that he should be Confident to find the Foot to maintain their Ground. Collonel Streeter's Foot being about Five Hundred; two Complete Companies, the rest Commanded Men out of several Companies, mof Pikes, which in that Champion-ground would serve well to secure the Body against the Horse.

When the two Bodies came near, just as Col. Ingoldsby was going to Charge, Collonel Streeter Commanded six Files of Musqueteers to advance, one File gave fire, and hurt one or two of Lamberts Horse; his Drums beat, and in good Order he advanced, having given first Command that his Musqueteers should not give fire till they came as near as Path of Pike. But Lamberts men held the Noses of their Pifhons towards the ground, and Neither's Troop came off to Ingoldsby: Hazlitt's Troop having defeated him before; for Collonel Ingoldsby sending Captain Elsmore before him with a party, as he march'd to find Lambert, met Captain Hazlitt, and took him prisoner, but releas'd him upon his Parole, to tend his whole Troop over to Joyn with Ingoldsby, which he faithfully performed; fending it to them by his Quarter-Mater, but he retir'd himself: Collonel Ingoldsby told Lambert was his Prisoner: Whereupon Creed and the rest earnestly interceded him, to do what he pleased with them, but to permit Lamberts to escape; acquainting him, That his Life could be of no advantage to him; Which Ingoldsby absolutely refufed, telling them, He would not be treacherous to those that had commanded him by such an ungovernable Act: Lambers then turned about his Horse, and attempted to escape; but Ingoldsby pursued him so close, that he came quickly up to him, and would not p互利l him, if he did not immediately yield. Lambert, in great deprevation of spirit, twice pray'd him to let him escape; but when he faw he could not prevail, submitted, as all the rest did, except Okney, Axell, and Cleer, who escap'd.

General Mountrage, who had been some time before the General's advice, made one of the Generals-at-Sea, (General Monk being himself the other) and sent to take charge of the Fleet, sent an Accent to the Council of State, of the Condition of it, how that Vice-Admiral Lawes, and with him the whole Navy, had receiv'd him with great satisfaction, and were all fix'd in obedience to their Authority, with Resolutions to submit to the Determination of the next Parliament.

The Tuesday after this Defeat of Lambert, the militia of the City of London drew into Hide-Park; there were Six Trained-Band Regiments, the Red, the Whife, the Green, the Blew, the Yellow, and the Orange, besides several Regiments of Auxiliaries: The Red was commanded by Collonel Baeman Alderman, the White by Collonel Wale Alderman, the Green by Collonel John Robinson Alderman, the Blew by Collonel William Fincent, the Yellow by Collonel William Bromfield, and the Orange by Collonel Thomas Blowdworth, all men of courage and good Affections, to the Peace and Felicity of their Native Country. They made up in all twelve Thousand Men: The General, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and a great concourse of Noble-men and Gentlemen, were present at the Appearance. And that Evening, Collonel Lamberts, Collonel Cobber, and Major Creed, were brought Prisoners to the Council of State, and committed to the Tower. And the next day the rest of the Prisoners were brought by Captain Parry to the General, and by him committed to the Marshall-General.

The Defeat of Lambert did not make the Phatisrequais leave the pursuit of their Militia, feve rally Seditious Pamphlets being published in Print, to deprave the Minds of the People, and Tickets were thrown into the Courts of Guard in the Night to debauch the Souldiers. But none of them appeared to have been pens'd with more virulency and malice, than that vile Supposititious Paper which they letter'd round, carrying in its Frontispiece, a Letter from Brinnell, &c. with which some of his Majesties most imputible Enemies, attempted to popify, or palliate the now high Expectations, and Impressions of
of his good Subjects: And it was in truth so fataliy tim'd, and so stubbly contiv'd, that it had like to have done a great deal of mischief amongst some, who not acquainted with the innate, and unparallel'd inclination of his Majesty to Clemency, began to apprehend their forwardness for his Restitution, and to remit of their former Zeal: But this Hydra was distractfully cut off by Mr. Evelyn, whom we formerly mention'd, in a Reply which was printed, to the entire satisfaction of all that read it. I take pleasure to mention the Particulars; because upon another occasion, long before, he publish'd, with no small hazard of his Life and Liberty, that his Apology to the Royal Party, in answer to that Reflection, Entituled the Plea of the Army, contiv'd and fet forth by that Phanatick Power, immediately upon their Dethroning of Richard as being it forms no longer able to support the common, but unjust Reproaches of his Majesties Cauce, by Arguments deriv'd from their ill Conduct, and Fatal Success of divers of his Suffering Party, and because I take it to be the boldest Piece (not excepting even the famous King's Answer; written, as we once learn'd, by Captain Titus) that ever durst (for the light in that raging Period; and for that it was no less than thrice re-printed (an Honour which the Pamphlets of that Age did seldom arrive to) and observ'd to have won more Prophylaxes to the King, and kept up the fervor of his then almost expiring Party, than any thing of that nature had done before it: which, was a Service the greatest that Conjuncture was capable of, and none of the least to his Majesties Advantage all along; as those who shall pleae to call to mind the Effects of those Paper-Weapons, must needs acknowledge, by warming and inspiriting the Hearts of a Languishing and almost despoothing People, in danger of being prey'd on by the perpetual Venomed of his Majesties Adversaries, whose Pens as well as Swords, were daily sharpen'd against him, but for such fearomeable Antidotes, as upon all occasions encountered their Labels, and insidiously Discourses, amongst which there were also several Letters sent to the General from unknown Hands, to subvert his Allegiance likewise; and to Clarify it was written, That notwithstanding his Practices, to introduce the King and his Family, all his Endeavours were blasts'd by Morrice, who had described himself alon the Reputation of that Service, and disjointed to all the Royal Party, that he had no Credit with the General, and therefore to him only Application should be made, as to one in whom the General repose'd his greatest Trust. But these, and all other Artifices were too poor to subvert the Loyalty of one, who valued not to whom the good of his Services was attributed, if the Effects he defir'd were produced by them: But nevertheless, these Practices, to divide the Generals Friends, made the Council of State, the General, and all his Officers, more watchful for the Publick Peace, and more diligent in their Duties: The Officers began more and more to be convinced of their former Errors, by several publick and private Discourses of the Clemency and other Royal Indommiss of his Majesty: That which they most apprehended, was from Rumours which had been dispers'd amongst them, of the impaleability of all those of his Party, of whom it was said, if they had Power they would show themselves full of Rancour and Revenge: against all that were ingaged in the late War against them: and observing that most of the Members of Parliament were such, notwithstanding all the Qualifications for their Elections, many strange Doubts possest them, and amongst other Effects of their Diseased Imaginations, they fanc'd, the Parliament (when meet) would rather hinder, than promote his Majesties Goodness and Mercy towards them: But whilst they were in the midst of these various Iniquities, the Royal Party, in all the Counties of England, published several excellent Declarations, which fully satisfied and appeas'd their Minds, wherein they Declared, That they refused to adhere to the largest Assurances of amicable Agreement with all Persons; and that they would never put any Difference between such as should now unite with them, and those who first engaged in the same Perfidious with themselves. Of all which, we shall only herein publish one, they being all to the same purpose: It was intituled, 

A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry, that adher'd to the late King in and about the City of London; which was expressed in these words:

After the Miseries of a Civil War, and the many unfruitful Attempts towards Settlement, upon several Interests, and imaginary Forms of Government, It having pleased Almighty him, God, by unexpected and wonderful means, to give these Nations a probable hope of being restored to those Laws and Priviledges, which have been transmitted to them from their Ancestors; We do Declare, That we are resolved, next to Divine Providence, to attribute this Glorious Work to his Excellency the Lord General Monk, who, as he had the Courage to offer the Publick Liberty, and the Prudence to carry it on against so many Difficulties, has also had the Happiness, to lead Us thus far through the Wilderness of Confusion, without passing the Red-Sea of Blood. And because the Enemies of the Publick Peace, have endeavoured to represent these of the Kings Party, as men implacable, and such as would sacrifice the Common Good to their own private Passions; We do sincerely profess, That we do reflect upon our past sufferings from the Hands of God, and therefore do not cherish any violent Thoughts or Indications, to have been any way Instrumental in them: And if the Indecision of any spirited Persons, transmits them to Expressions contrary to this our feast, we utterly disclaim them. And declare, that the Impatience may extend no further, than the folly of the Offenders. And we further Declare, That we intend by our quiet and peaceable Behaviour, to testify our submission to the present Power, as it now resides in the Council of State, in expectation of the future Parliament; upon whose Wisdom and Determinations, we truft God will give such a Blessing, as may produce a perfect Settlement, both in Church and State.
This and the other Declarations of the same nature, where wholesome Preparations to all their advisers, in the Parliament, which met at Westminster on the 25th day of April, The Lords chose the Earl of Manchester to be their Speaker, and the House of Commons Sir Hardwicke Grimstone; where after the appointment of the usual Committee for Privileges, and other essential matters usual at their first AsSEMBLY. They gave all due acknowledgements to General Morell, for his Eminent Services and great Wisdom in subduing his Enemies without Blood, magnifying the Mercies of God, That made him so Instrumental to keep up the Nations from sinking, when no way appeared but Deliverance should arise.

Sir Arthur Haslerigg was by the General suspected to have contributed towards the Interruption of Lambert, but upon notice thereof, he came to him, and gave him evident proofs to the contrary, and promised to live peaceably at home; having before quietly submitted his Regiments of Horse and Foot to the General's disposal, together with the Garrisons of Berwick, New-Castle, Carlisle, and Tyrnowth.

On the 27th of April, Sir John Greenhill attended the General, and presented to him a Letter from his Majesty, to be communicated to the several Officers of the Army, and the Council of State, with a Commission from his Majesty to Constitute him Captain General of all the Armies of Jely, and a Commissioner for the Province of Ireland; Informed him of his Majesty's resolution, that he had Letters from his Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the City, and the Navy.

His Excellency received the Commission with all Humility and Respect; but in regard the Parliament was Adjourn'd for three days, advised him the next day to deliver that Letter, which was to be by him imparted to the Council of State, to the Council at their next Sitting, which he accordingly did, but they would not presume to open it without the Parliament's directions, and took Caution of Sir John Greenhill to attend the House at their next Sitting. At which time, by the General's advice, he went, without acquainting them, to the House of Lords, to inform them he had a Letter from the King; who being acquainted that Sir John Greenhill attentia at the Door with a Letter from his Majesty, The Earl of Manchester went down to the Clerk and received it. The Letter had a Declaration inclosed in it; which were both read in the House: The Letter first, which was in these words (Vis.)

And as his Excellency hath not chosen the Sandy Foundations of Self-government, but the firm Rock of National Interest, whereas to frame a Settlement, it is our Hope and Prayer that when the Building comes to be raised, it may not like Rome, have the beginning in the Blood of Brethren, nor like Babylon, be interrupted by the Confusion of Tongues: but that we may all speak one Language, and be of one Name; that all mention of Parties and Faction, and all Rancour and Animosity may be thrown in, and buried like Rubbish under the Foundation.

Subscribed by
The Marquess of Dorchester.
The Earl of Northampton.
The Earl of Devonshire.
The Earl of Berkeley.
The Earl of Dover.
The Earl of Peterborough.
The Earl of Normandy.
The Earl of Cork.
The Earl of Carbery.
The Earl of Desmond.
The Vifcount Ogle.
The Vifcount Grandison.
The Vifcount Lanley.
The Vifcount Drurker.
The Lord Bellafri.
The Lord Loughborough.
The Lord Lexington.
The Lord Bereton.
The Lord Lucas.
The Bifhop of Kerry.
Sir William Campion.
Sir Francis Vane.
Sir Tho. Preston, Baronet.
Sir Orlando Bridgman.
Sir Edward Pye.
Sir Lewis Kirke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir Robert Stapleton.
Sir William Conyn.
Sir Nicholas Cripps.
Sir Hugh Cartwright.
Sir Sutton Conyn.
Sir Henry Chichley.
Sir William Marian.
Sir Edw. Savage.
Sir Thomas Armstrong.
Sir John Stephens.
Sir Humphrey Bennet.
Sir William Town.
Sir Henry Whitch.
Sir William Darcey.
Sir Robert Malworg.
Sir Fervace Clifton, Knight and Baronet.
Sir William Thorold, Baronet.
Sir Thomas Corbet, Baronet.
Six Thomas Littleton, Baronet.
Six Arthur Gore.
Sir Anthony Jackson.
Sir Robert Butler.
George Aulcoy, D.D.
Thomas Warmifery, D.D.
Philip King, D.D.
Jer. Taylor, D.D.
Thomas Howard Esquire.
Charles R.

Lightly, Truthly, and Right Beloved Counsellors, and Truthly, Right Beloved Counsellors, and Truthly Right Beloved; We Greet you well. We cannot have a better reason to prostrate Our Self an end of Our Common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our Own Just Power and Authority will with God's Blessing be restored to Us. Than that We bear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belonged to you by your Birth, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call you for your help in the Compounding the Confounding Di- stiflings and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our Self. And therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing these Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; Which Trust, We are most confident you will discharge with what Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon your experience, how one violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown; and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge your Trust with good success, and provide for, and establish the Peace, Happiness and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that Foundation which can only support it, and We shall be all happy in each other: And as the whole Kingdom will be lost God for you all, so We shall hold Our Self obliged in an especial manner to Thank you in particular, according to the affection you shall express towards Us. We need the left in large to you upon this Subject; because We have likewise wrote to the House of Commons, Which We suppose they will Communicate to you: And We pray God to bless your Royal Endeavours for the good of Us all. And so We bid you very heartily Farewell.

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14 day of April, 1660. In the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

The Declaration was next read, which was Inscribed,

His Majestie's gracious Declaration to all his loving Subjects.

Charles R.

Charles by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all Our Loving Subjects of what Degree or Quality ever, Greeting. If the general Distractions and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awake all men to a desire and longing, that those Wounds which have so many Years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can say will be no pur-
And because in the continued distractions and difturbances of many Years, and in many and great Revolutions, many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several Titles; We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to the said Grants, Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament, which can be not provided for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

And we do further declare, that we will be ready to content to any All or Act of Parliament for the purposes aforesaid, And for the full satisfaction of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, under the Command of General Monk, and that they shall be received into our Service upon as good pay and Conditions as they now enjoy.

Given under our Sign Manual and Privy Seal at our Court at Breda this 14 day of April, 1660. in the twelfth Year of our Reign.

After the Reading of these, the Lords Ordered Thanks to be given to Sir John Greenwel for bringing that Gracious Declaration and Letter, and Resolved by Vote, That they do own and declare That according to the Ancients and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and Commons.

Sir John Greenwel came then to the House of Commons, who were before his Coming acquainted with the Letter he delivered to the Council; upon Notice of his being at the Door, he was admitted, and presented a Letter to them from his Majestie. The Letter had in it a Duplicate of the fame Declaration which was inclosed in the Letter to the Lords: The Letter and it were both read, and the Letter was Supercribed.

To Our Truity and Wellbeloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

CHARLES R.

Truly and Wellbeloved, We Greet you well. In these great and insupportable Afflictions and Calamities under which the poor Nation hath been so long exercised, and by which it is so far exhausted, we cannot think of a more natural and proper Remedy, than to refer to those for Counsel and Advice, who have seen and observed the first beginning of our Miseries, the Progress from bad to worse, and the mistakes and mis-understandings which have produced and contributed to inconveniences which were not intended, and after so many Revolutions, and the observation of what hath attended them, are now trusted by our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which are made, and to provide proper Remedies for these Evils, and for the lasting Peace, Happines and Security of the Kingdom.

We do assure you upon our Royal Word, That none of our Predecessors have had a greater Eeem of Parliaments, than we have in our Judgement, as well as from Our Obligation; We do believe them to be so vital a part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that We well know neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them; And therefore you may be confident, That We shall always look upon their Counsels as the best we can receive, and shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as Careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to our own Self, and most necessary for Our Own Preservation.

And as this is Our Opinion of Parliaments, That their Authority is most necessary for the Government of the Kingdom; So We are most Confident, that You believe and find, that the preservation of the Kings Authority is as necessary for the preservation of Parliaments; and that it is not the Name but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby establish their Peace and Security. And therefore We have not the least doubt, but that you will be as Tender in, and as Jealous of, any thing that may infringe Our Honour, or impair Our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property; which is but preferred by preferring the other.

How far We have trusted You in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to repair the Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from any Infamy it hath undergone, and to make King and People as happy as they ought to be, You will find by Our inclosed Declaration, a Copy of which We have like-wise sent to the House of Peers, and you will easily believe that We would not voluntarily, and of Our Self have reposed so great a Trust in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not abuse it, and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due consideration of us who have trusted you, that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Affilliance (which We have assurance of) and repairing to you for more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would be freed from, nor forry that We have bound of Our Own Interest fo entirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it to the fame Perfons to take care of Us, who are trusted to provide for them.

We look upon You as wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots, who will raise up those Banks and Fences which have been cut down, and who will most reasonably hope, that the fame Prosperity will again spring from those Roots from which it hath heretofore and always grown; Nor can We apprehend that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any thing from Us, but that We are as ready to give, as you to receive.

If you desire the advancement and Propagation of the Protestant Religion, We have, by Our constant Profecion and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the unkindnesses of the fame Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary Profecion, (of both which We have had abundant Evidence) could...
Charles R.

T Rufty and Welbeloved, VVe greet you well: It cannot be believ'd, but that We have been, are, and ever must be, as follicious as VVe can, by all endeavours to improve the affections of Our good Subjects at home, and to procure the affiance of Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the recovery of that right, which, by the Laws of God and Man is unquestionable, and of which VVe have been so long disposses'd by fuch force, and with fuch Circumstances, as VVe do not difeire to aggravate by any fharp expreffions, but rather with, that the memory of what is past, may be buried to the VVorld. That VVe have more endeavours to prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our Subjects at home, for Our Reftoration, than to procure Affiance from abroad, to invade Our City, Our Kingdoms, is as manifef: to the VVorld: And VVe cannot give a better Evi- dence, that VVe are fill of the fame minde, than in this Con junfture when common reafon must fatisfie all men, that VVe cannot be without our Affiance from abroad, VVe choose rather to fend to you, who have it in your own power to prevent that ruine and defolation which a WVarre would bring upon the Nation and to make the whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happinefs, Security, and Glory it fhall enjoy to your Vertue; and to acknowledge that your Armies have complied with their Obligations for which they were firft rais'd, for the prefervation of the Prefsent Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Privileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of the Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land; and that you have vindicated the Truth, which others most perludiously abused and betray'd.

How much VVe defire and Resolve, to con- tribute to those good ends, will appear to you by Our enclosed Declaration, which VVe defire you to caufe to be published for the Information and Satisfaction of all good Subjects, who do not defire a further effusion of precious Chris- tian Blood, but to have their Peace and Security founded upon that which can only support it; an Unity of Affections amongst Our selves, an equal admifration of Justice to men, reflo- ring Parliaments to a full Capacity of providing for all that is amifs, and the Laws of the Land to their due veneration.

You have been your felves witnesses of fo many Revolutions, and have had fo much experience, how far any Power and Authority that is only affumed by Paffion and Appetite, and not supported by Justice, is from providing for the happines and peace of the People, or from receiving any obedience from them, without which no Government can provide for them; and that you may very reasonably be- lieve that God hath not been fo well pleas'd with the attempts that have been made, fince he hath uttily increafed the confusion, by giving all the succes that hath been defire'd, and brought

Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14. day of April, 1660. In the twelfth Year of Our Reign.

After the reading of this Letter and the Decla- ration, his Excellency the Lord General defir'd the Letter that was defir'd to him, to be Com- municated to the Council and the Army, might also be read, which was agreed. In that Letter there was also the former Declaration inclosed, and the Addrefs of the Letter was:

To our Trusty and Welbeloved General Monck, to be by him Communicated to the President and Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies under his Command.
The Parliament present his Majesty; and his two Brothers, with the summe of £1000.

After the reading of these Letters, his Exellency deferyed their permission to anwer it, and to Communicate that his Majesties Declaration to the Officers of the Army; which was readily confented to.

And they then took into their Consideration, that his Majestie having been deprived of his Revenue, could not but be in want of Monies; and therefore Ordered, That the Summ of fifty Thousand Pounds should be presently raised and prefented to his Majestie from that Houfe, and ten Thousand Pounds to his Royal Highnes the Duke of Tork, and five Thousand Pounds to the Duke of Gloucefter.

The Lords lent down a Message to the Commons, with the Vote of Recognition formerly mentioned, which was agreed to, and each of the Houfes appointed Committees to draw up their feveral Answers to his Majesties Letters, and Resolv'd, that the Superfcription fhou'd be.

The humble Address of the Officers of your Excellencies Army, in the Name of themselves and their Brethren.

Coll. Lydost's Speech upon the reading of his Majesties Letter and Declaration.
been our Brethren formerly engaged in the same Cause with Us. As also in our late Re monstrance and Addres to your Excellency, where in, as it becomes Us in Duty, we have solemnly declared to acquiesce in what the Lord shall bring forth from the Consullations of this present Parliament.

Yet in regard your Excellency hath been pleased to communicate to Us, a Letter and Declaration from the Kings Majesty, full of gracious Expressions; we cannot but acknowledge, that the matter of it gives a great measure of quiet to our minds, and more then ordinary expectations of the enjoyment of much tranquility and happiness under His Majesties Government.

The free and general Indemnity offered by his Majesty, with a liberty to tender Con sciences, satisfaction of Arrears, his readines to content to a Confirmation of Sales, and other Grants and Purchases of Estates to all Persons now in poſsession of the fame, is of that which cannot doubt of the real performance, being left by His Majesty to the Parliament determination, so we believe it is the most probable way to bring the Nations to their desired Settlement. And we hope to evince to his Majesty, and all the world, That we, and all those that have been Engaged in the Parliament's Calfe, are his Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, and that your Excellency, and the Armies under your Command, have Complied with the Obligations, for which they were first raised, for the preservation of the true Protestant Religion, the Honour and Dignity of the King, the Protection of Parliament, the Liberty and Prosperity of the Subject, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land.

In the morning, at the first fitting of the Commons-Houfe, the General acquainted them, that he had Communicated his Majesties Letter, and the Declaration in it enclofed, to the Officers of the Army; and that whereupon they had pre sented an Addres to him, which he defired they would be pleased to read, which was ordered, and after the reading, it was well approved of.

His Excellency then told them, He intended to prepare a Letter, to be sent to his Majesty, and to lay with their leave, purpose to send that Addres to him. That his Majesty might thereby perceive, the Armies were at his devotion: and desiring to send it by Commiffary Clergs, who was as well a Member of their Houfe, as an Officer of the Army, he required their permission for him to do it.

The Houfe then Ordered, he should have leave to go from his Excellency to the King; and they gave five hundred Pounds to Sir John Greenville, to buy him a Jewel, as a Testimony of the Respect of the Houfe to him.

After this, Alderman Robinson informed them, That the said Sir John Greenville, with the Lord Mordant, had presented a Letter from his Majesty, to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and they Commanded him to ask their leave to return an Answer to it. Which after the reading it in the Houfe, was granted; In that Letter also his Majesties Declaration was inclosed; The Letter itself was directed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved, the Lord Major, Aldermen, and the Common-Council of our City of London.

CHARLES R.

To Rasty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: His Majesties In these great Revolutions of late, happened in our Kingdom, to the wonder and Amazement of all the World, there is none that We have looked upon with more Comfort, than the frequent and publick manifestations of their Affections to Us in the City of London, which hath exceedingly raised Our spirits, and which no doubts proceeded from the spirits of God, and his extraordinary mercy to the Nation, which hath been encouraged by you, and your good Example, to assert that Government, under which it hath so many hundred years enjoyed at great felicity at any Nation in Europe, and to discontinue the Imagination of those, who would subject Our Subjects to a Government they have not yet devised; and to justify the Pride and Ambition of a few ill men, would introduce in the most arbitrary and tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How long We have all suffered under those ill the like devices, all the World takes notice, to the no small reproach of the English Nation, which We hope is now providing for its own Security and Redemption, and will be no longer bewitch'd by those Inventions: How defects we are to contribute to the obtaining the Peace and Happy of our Subjects without effusion of blood; and how far We are from desiring to recover what belongs to Us by a Warr, if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by the inclufed Declaration, which together with this Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord Viscount Mordant, and Our Trusty and Well-beloved Servants, Sir John Greenville Knight, one of the Gentle men of our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to you; to the end, that you, and all the rest of Our good Subjects of that Our City of London (to whom we defire it should be published) may know how far We are from the desire of revenge, or that the Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom, should be rais'd upon any other Foundation than the affection and hearts of Our Subjects, and their own Confects. We have not the least doubt of your just sense of these our Commandments, or of your zeal to advance and promote the same good end, by disposing all men to meet Us with the same affectin and tenderness, in enforcing the Fundamental Laws to that Respectiveness is due to them, and upon the prefervation whereof all Our happiness depends. And you will have to remember, the joy of enjoying your full share in that happiness, and the improving it by Our particular Affection to you. It is very natural for all men to do all the good they can for their native Country, and to advance the Honour of it: And as we have that full affection for the Kingdom in general, so we would not be thought to be without some extraordinary Kindness for Our Native City in that particular, which We shall manifest on all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter, and confirming all those Privileges, which they have received from Our Predecessors, but by adding and granting any new Favour, which may advance the
Trade, Wealth, and Honour, of our Native City, for which We will be so solicitous, that We doubt not but that it will in due time receive some Benefit and Advantage in all those respect, even from our Own Observation and Experience abroad. And We are most confident, We shall never be disappointed in Our Expectation, of all possible Service from your Affections; And so We bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, the 14. Day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

We must not omit to commemorate the City's joyful Refentment of this Letter, and the Declaration in it, expressed by the Grateful Duty of the Common-Council; who immediately upon the Reading of them, Ordered Ten Thousand Pounds to be prefixed to his Majefly's Thousand pounds to the Duke of York, and a Thousand Pounds to the Duke of Gloucester; And that Alderman Langham, Alderman Reynolds, Alderman Brown, Alderman Thompson, Alderman Frederic, Alderman Wall, Alderman Adams, Alderman Bateman, Alderman Robinson, Mr. Recorder Wild, Sir Nicholas Grisf, Sir Vincent, Mr. Bifolph, Mr. Foard, Mr. Bloodworth, Sir James Bunce, Mr. Lewis and Mr. William Bateman, should from that City attend his Majefly, with a Prefentment of their most Dutiful Acknowledgments, for their Gratitude and Goodnefs towards them. His Excellency took care, that the Aldermen preferred to him by the Officers, together with Copies of the Kings Letter and Declaration, should be sent to all the Regiments and Garrisons in England, Scotland, Ireland, and Dunkirk, requiring all to return their Subscriptions to him, and the Names of Diffenters (if any were) But it appeared by the Returns made, that the Army was so well purged by the Remonftrance that went before, that all readily and dutifully complied with this.

The Lords Houfe nominated the Earles of Oxfor, Warwick, and Middlefex, and the Lord Vifcount Herforf, the Lord Brook, and the Lord Birkley, to attend his Majefly from that Houfe; And the Commons appointed the Lord Fair, Lord Bruce, Lord Falkland, Lord Cariffon, Lord Eherter of Worcefter, Lord Mandonville, Sir Horatio Townfend, Sir Anthony Abdy, Cooper, Sir George Body, Sir John Holland, Sir Henry Cholney, and Denzil Holfe Efquire to attend his Majefly from that Houfe; Who were Ordered to make the quickest Preparation they could for their Journey, to defire his Majefly to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, to the Exercise of his Kingely Office.

His Majefly's Letter and Declaration to the Fleet, by the diligence of General Mansfarge, had the fame fuccefs there, as that in the Army, being Gratefully received by all the Commanders and Sea-men.

The Letter itfelf was in thefe Words:

CHARLES R.

Till encroaved those Mileries, to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Command of two Perfons so well difpofed to, and concern'd in, the Peace and Happines of the Kingdom, as we believe you to be, and that the Officers and Sea-men under your Command, are more inclined to return to their Duty to us, and put a period to thefe Diftempers and Diuifions, which have so impoverifhed and deftroyed the Nation, than to widen the Breach and to raise their Feet by Rapine and Violence. Which gives Us great encouragement and hope, that God Almighty will heal the Wounds, by the fame Piafier that made the Flefh Raw, that he will proceed in the fame method, in pouring his Blessings upon Us, which he was pleased to use when he began to afflict Us, and that the Manifeflation of the good Afection of the Fleet and Sea-men towards Us, and the Peace of the Nation, may be the Prologue to that Peace, which was ftrictly interrupted by the Mif-8Flake and Mifunderftanding of their Predecessors, which would be fuch a Bleffing upon Us all, that We fhould not be lefs delighted with the manner, than the matter of it: In this Hope and Confidence, We have fent the inclofed Declaration to You, by which you may difcern, how much We are willing to contribute towards the obtaining the General and Publike Peace: In which, as no man can be more, or fo much, concern'd, as no man can be more foli-
citous for it. And We doearnily defire you, that you will caufe the faid Declaration to be published, to all the Officers and Sea-men of the Fleet; to the end, that they may plainly difcern, how much We have put it into their Power, to provide for the Peace and Happinefs of the Nation, who have been always under-flood by them, to be the bell and moft proper Counfellors for those good Ends: And You are likewife further to Declare to them, That We have the fame Gracious Purpofe towards them, which We have expreffed towards the Army at Land; and will be as readie to provide for the Payment of all Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them according to their ferval Merits, as We have expreffed to the others: and We will always take to particular Care of them, and their Condition, as shall manifest Our Kind-
nefs towards them. And fo depending upon Gods Bleffing, for infufing those good Resolutions into your and their Hearts, which are bleft for Us all, We bid you farewell. Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14. Day of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of Our Reign.

SUPERSEDED.

To Our Trufly and Vel-beloved General Monck, and General Mansfarge, Generals at Sea: To be Communicated to the Fleet.

Clarges on the Fifth Day of May began his General's Journey to his Majefly; and at his parting from the General, he gave him no other Instructions, but to gie the bell and moft of his Affurances of his Pledge to him, and his Resolutions to improve all his Opportunities to his Service, defiring him.
A Continuation of the

Philip Howard, very well mounted, and richly
Cloth'd; after them a Clasf of Trumpets, and
three Herald's; Then a Herald between the Ser-
jeant to the Commons, and the Mace of the
Council: Next, Rky King at Arms, in a Rich
Coat of the Kings Arms, between Serjeant Nor-
falke, and Serjeant Middleton, after whom came
the Usher of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Biph: Thafe,
thus Ulurering the VVay, the Earl of Manchester
followed in his Coach and Six Horses, the Spea-
ker of the House of Commons in his, then his
Excellency General Mowke in his; after which
followed both Houses of Parliament in Coaches,
and after them a Troop of Horse, in this manner
they came to White-Hall, where the Mayor
Summon'd his Majesty a second time; and then proceed-
ed to Temple-Bar, Where the Gates being Thur.
The King at Arms, with Trumpets before him,
knick'd, and demanded Entrance; The Lord
Mayor appointed some to ask, Whoe it was that
knock'd? The King at Arms Reply'd, That if they
would open the Wicked, and let the Lord Mayor
come thither, he would to him deliver his Message:
The Lord Mayor came then on Horfe-back rick-
ily habited, in a Crimson-Velvet Crown, to the
Gate, and then the Trumpets founded, and after
silence being made, Alderman Baereman, by Or-
der of the Lord Mayor, demanded of the He-
rald, Who he was, and what was his Message?
To which he answer'd, with his Hat on, We are
the Heralds to Arms, appointed and commanded
by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament,
to demand Entrance into the Famous City
of London, to Proclaim Charles the Second King
of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and we
expect your speedy Answer to this Demand. To
which, after a little Conflitution amongst them-
selves, Alderman Baereman Answer'd, Their
Message was accepted, and the Gates should be im-
mediately opened; which was done accordingly.

The King at Arms entred first, Trumpets found-
ing before him, and was joyfully received by the
Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Sheriffs, and all the
Officers of the City Militia gallantly accoutred,
both sides of the Streets were lin'd by the Trained-
Bands of London, from Temple-Bear to the
Old-Exchange, who fiold all with their Swords
drawn; The City Troop March'd next to the Life-
Guard, then the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, af-
fter whom the Heralds, and the retj, as before:
When they came to Cowcrey Lane End, they
proclaimed his Majesty a third time; And from
thence they March'd to Cheapside, where he was
proclaim'd a fourth time; and from thence to the
Old-Exchange, where he was again Pro-
claim'd. The Shouts and Acclamations of the
People, at this gallant and orderly Proceed, were
very great, and their Demonstrations of Joy,
at the several Stations, when the Cer-
emony of Proclaiming was performing, not to
be expres'd, sometimes they look upwards,
and then pretently call their Eyes towards the
General, as if they intended at one time to pay
a Tribute of Thankfulnes to Heaven, and his
Excellency, who had done an Action to Glorious
and Tranfcendent, that this present Age commus
enough admire, and our Policrity will with dif-
iculty believe; and then again they cry'd our,
God Save King Charles the Second; as if they
acknowledged that Days Joy, as a Reconcipence,

The Solemn manner of Proclaiming his Majesty in London and Westminster.

him not to move any thing to his Majesty, either
for himself, or him, or any other in his Company,
That his Majesty might see that both be, and those
so nearly concern'd with him in his Restoration,
sought more the Publick Good of their Coun-
try, than their own private Honour or Profit: which
he did faithfully observe at that time and ever
after. And three days after the Lords and Com-
mons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that
purpose, his Majesty was Proclaimed with great
Solemness, in the Cities of London and West-
minster, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord
Mayor and Aldermen of London being present;
the manner was as followeth:
The Lords went out of their Houfe into the
Painted-Chamber, where they continued till they
were placed in Order; the Earl of Manchester
first, then the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of
Oxford, &c. Thus they walked out along with
the Heralds before them, through the Courts of
Requesets, and Westminster-Hall, to the Pallace,
where they laid before the Hall Gate, whilst Mr.
Sibb one of the Heralds, and Mr. Rylly that
officiated as King at Arms, with a loud Voice,
Proclaimed the King in these words:

A Lethg is it can no way be doubted, but that
His Majeftry's Right and Title to His Crown
and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleat
by the Death of His Most Royal Father of Glorious
Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity
of a Proclamation: Yet since Proclamations in
fuch Cases have alwavs been used, to the end,
that all good Subjects might, upon this occlam,
tifer the Duty and Respect. And since the
Armed Violence, and other the Calamities of
many Years last past, have hither to depriv'd Us
of any such Opportunity, wherein we might ex-
press our Loyalty and Allegiance to His Majesty,
We therefore the Lords and Commons now As-
sembled in Parliament, together with the Lord
Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of
the City of London, and other Free-men of this
Kingdom now present, do, according to Our Duty
and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unani-
mously, acknowledge and Proclaim, That upon
the Deceafe of Our late Sovereign Lord King
Charles, the Empirical Crown of the Realm
of England, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions,
and Rights, belonging to the same, did by inher-
ent Birth-Right, and lawful and undoubted Suc-
ccefion, defend and come to his most Excellent
Majesty CHARLES the Second, as being
Linearly Rightfully, and Lawfully next Heir of the
Royal Blood of this Realm, And that by
the Goodness and Providence of Almighty GOD.
He is of England, Scotland, France and Ireland,
the most Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King:
And therefore we most humbly and faithfully do
submit, and oblige Our Selves, our Heirs and
Poffeffers.

The Proclamation being ended, the Lords and
Commons took their Coaches, and proceeded in
this Order; First, the Head-Bayliff of Westmin-
fter, and his Servants, did ride along with White-
Stailes to prepare the Way; Then followed a
gallant Troop of the Officers of the Army, and
other Gentlemen, with Trumpets before them;
Then the Life-Guard, commanded by Captain
The Guns from the Tower were all shot off, and all the Streets that Evening were fill'd with Bone-fires, and the Air with the Sound of Ringing of Bells; and all feem'd too little, to celebrate the content and Gratulation of the People, at that Days solemnity.

Commissary Charges made such feeps in his Journey to his Majesty, That on Tuesday the 8th of May, in the Morning, which was the Day after the happy making of this Proclamation, he arrived at Bergen-op-Zome in Holland, half a Days Journey from Breda; There the Governor gave him a very Honourable Reception, and accommodated him with his Coach and Six Horses to Breda, and a League before he came to the Town, the Lord Gerard met him with two Coaches and Six Horses, and accommodated him to his Majesty, who receiv'd him with most Gracious Expressions of Satisfaction, as well that he was the first authorized Meffenger, that came to him with the News of the late Subvention of his Kingdoms and Army to his Obedience: As for his Relation to that most Renowned General, from whose prudent Conduct and Courage, all that Happines was deriv'd to his Majesty, and his People.

He prefent'd to his Majesty, a Letter from the General in Answer to his Majesties, sent before to him; and in it was inclos'd the Address of the Officers of the Army.

May it please your Majesty,

The Generals Letter to his Majesty.

This Letter was dictated by his Excellence in the presence of many Officers of the Army, but he write another short Letter with his own hand: Wherein he acquainted his Majestie, That he chose to fend Mr. Charges to him, because he was the only Person he trusted in the nearest Conferences and Conclusions for his Recreation, as one to whom he design'd his Majesty to give Credit to what he should fay on that behalf.

After the reading of these Letters, and the Address inclin'd in the former of them, His Majestie Knighted him, and by many kind Exprefsions demonstrated his fnce of his Merit and Service to him; and after he had been about an Hour with his Majestie, he had his permission to attend his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucester, who receiv'd him with that Advantage which was inherent in them, both the most accomplished and most Generous Princes in the World. From them he waited on the Princes of Orange, who express'd great Content at his Relation of the News he brought; and at his parting from her, the gave order he should with his whole Retinue be entertain'd at her Charge whilst he staid in Breda, and have a Coach and Six Horses of her Highness, with Equipage suitable, to wait on him when he should give order for it. He went then to Visit the Lord Chancellor, and from him the Princes of Orange, who treat'd him deferentially (next the Royal Family) in greatest Credit with his Majestie; both of them receiv'd him with that Respect as the import and relation of his Message and Person did deserve.

The Two Houses of Parliament having perfected the Instrutions for their Commissioners, and the Letter to his Majestie, they were deliver'd to them, and they began their Journey towards the Hague (at which place his Majestie intended to meet them) on the 11th of May, the time prefix'd in the Instrutions for their Journey.

Instrustions for Aubry Earl of Oxford, Charles Earl of Warwick, Lionel Earl of Middlesex, Lescorl Vilcount Hertford, George Lord Berkley, Robert Lord Brock, The Lord Herkens, the Lord Mandervil, the Lord Bruce, the Lord Caflletown, the Lord Falkland, the Lord Fairburn, Daniel Fllies Esquire, Sir Horatio Townfend, Sir John Holland, Sir Anthony Athley-Coooper, Sir George Booth, Sir Henry Chalhmey.

The Instrustions were thus, (Viz.)

You are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on Friday next, and make a Species Instrustion to your Commissioners to their Colleges, who were to wait upon his Majesty.

May the 5th.

May it please your Majestie,
Your Majesties most humble and obedient Servant and Subject,

George Monck.
And that both Houses have Ordered, that all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoyned in their Publick Prayers to pray for His Majesty Excellent Majesty, and for the most Illustrious Prince James Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Princes. And also have Ordered, That the aforesaid Arms of the late pretended Common-wealth, where ever they are landing, be taken down, and that his Majesties forces be set up instead thereof. And you are to Communicate to his Majesty the Resolution of both Houses relating to these Instruc-

tions. You are to acquaint his Majesty with the earnest Desire of both Houses, that his Majesties will be pleased to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office; and that in order thereunto, both Houses have given Direction to General Mountague one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet, to observe such commands as his Majesties shall please to give him or them for disporof of the Fleet in order to his Majesties Return; And you are to Communicate to his Majestie the Resolution of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

John Brown, Cl. Parl.

The House of Commons added one more Instruction to the Commissioners; which was, To beseech his Majesty, that the Parliament may know when he will put an end to the Navigation, and to Land at his coming over, that Preparations may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majesties Houses be intended to make use of at his first coming to London; And whether he will come all the Way by Land after he comes on Shore; or whether he will please to come by Water from Graves-End to London; And that his Majestie will declare in what manner he is pleased to be Received.

All these Commissioners in three days after their departure from London, arrived at the Hague. And on Wednesday the sixteenth of May, our sile, they had their several Audiences by his Majesty, who received them all with a sweet and serene Countenance, and a Heart full of Content and good Inclinations towards them: and all the City Commissioners were Knighted by him. He gave that Evening his Dispatch to Sir Thomas Clarges, and Commanded him to acquaint the General, He intended to take Ship at the Bay of Scheveling on Monday next, and to Sayl to Dover and Land there, from whence he would immediately go to Canterbury, and stay there some time to deter mine of the manner of his Entrance into London. The Fleet was some days before in pursuance of the Orders of both Houses in the said Bay.

On Thursday early in the Morning, Sir Thomas Clarges attempted by Boat from Scheveling, to get on Board the Admiral, but the Weather was so stormy he could not do it, till towards the Evening; And then General Mountague Ordered the Norwich Frigate for his Transportation; The Winds were so contrary, and the Weather so stormy, that the Pilot could not make any Land in England till Monday Morning, at which time he Landed at Alfoldough in Suffolk, and immediately from thence sent an Express to the General, and the Speaker of the House of Commons, with intimation of his Majesties Resolutions; Whereupon his Excellency with a great and gallant Company of the Cheifeft of the Nobility and Gentry of England, set forward from London the 22d of May; and for the more convenience ofQuartering to numerous a Company, he advis'd them to divide themselves into Troops according to the several Countries, and the interest of the Noblemen present.

As Rochester Sir Thomas Clarges met the General, and returned unto him his Majesties Letter, with Royal and most endeare'd assurances of Eftrem from the Belt of Kings, to the Worthieft and most deferving of Subjects. The Letter was dated the 26 of May. Directed,

To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monc, To be Communicated to the Officers of the Army.

CHARLES R.

T Ruly and Well-beloved, We Greet you His Majestie well. You will easily believe that your Letter to the Letter of the fifth of this Month, by Sir Tho- mas Clarges, was very Welcome to Us; And that, as We must alwaies acknowledge the infinite Mercy of God Almighty in disposing the Hearts of the Army in such an intire obedience to you, for the promoting and carrying on Our Service, and the Peace of the Kingdom; So We can never be without a Just Eftem of such a great and well Disciplin'd Army, upon which the Eyes of the World are so much fixed. We must desire you to return Our very hearty Thanks to the Officers and Soldiers for their affection and obedience to Us; and to assure them from Us, That We shall alwaies have an intire Confidence in them, and ever acknowledge them to be the great Instruments of Restor-ing Us, to Peace, and Happines, and Security to Us all: And therefore they may not only with all imaginable Confidence affirme themsefes, that We will punctually perform whatever We have promised to them in Our Declaration or Letter, but that We will take them into Our particular Care and Protection. And if the Licence and distemper of the time shall so far transport any men, as to presume upon memory of former Amoimities, and of what is past, to use any reproaches towards them, We will look upon such perfons as disturbers of the Peace and Security of the Kingdom, and shall cause them to be prosecuted accordingly. And towards this Settlement and Composure, and for the prevention of many inconveniencies which may fall out, We think nothing so necessary as Our presence with you, by which (in a very short time) every Member of the Army, who shall faithfully adhere to you in advancement of the Publicke Peace, shall with the blessing of God, find himself secure and protected for, to his satisfaction. And long for that Blessed time, We did you heartily farewell.

His Excellency being in his Journey, had no opportunity to communicate this Letter to any
any more of his Officers than those that were present with him.

But the fame of his Majesties transcendent Virtues had prevented this written discovery of them, and made indelible impreffions of duty and affection in the Army.

The King intended to have taken shipping on Monday, but the Creenefs of the Winds forc'd him a little to defer it. His Royal Highnes the Duke of York, went on Monday and Tuesday to the Fleet, to take Charge thereof as Lord High Admiral: And on Wednesday the 23. his Sacred Majesty, the Queen of Bohemia, the Princes Royal of Orange, the Dukes of York and Gloucefier, and the Prince of Orange, went on board the Nufey, (which his Majesty now named the Royal Charles) where after a Re-paff, The Queen of Bohemia, the Princes Royal, and the Prince of Orange her Sonne, took leave of his Majesty, and then the Fleet fet fayl for England. His Royal Highnes the Duke of York came in the London; and the Duke of Gloucefier in the Swifftours, now called the Jannes.

During the time this Majesty had remain'd at the Hague, and all the way thither from Brede, the States of Holland entertain'd him with great Magnificence; and at his departure they prefented him with a rich Bed, of the Value of Seven Thousand pounds Sterling; and as much Linnen as was valued at a Thousand pounds.

On Friday about three of the Clock in the Morning, the Fleet was in fight of Dover, whereupon an Exprefs was fent to the General (then newly come to Canterbury) to hafe to Dover, which he prefently did, and about ten of the Clock came thither.

His Excellency before he came from Canterbury, advising with the Earl of Lincets, and fome of the other Noble-men that accompanied him, about the convenience of his Majesties stay at Dover, was informed that he could have no accommodation thither for a fourth part of his Train, and that he refolvd humbly to move him, and therefore he refolvd humbly to move him, to his Landing, to proceed on directly to Canterbury.

About One in the Afternoon, his Majefy Landed at the Beech near Dover-Pier, with the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucefter, and many Noble-men and Gentle-men. All that were prefent put themselves into a Paffage, to fee the Meeting of the King and the General: The Admires of Majesty, were Jealous on his Majesties Behalf, of too low Condefcenfion; and the Lovers of Duty fearfull on the other Side, of an Oblation of Merit: But fuch an humble Pro- fefion was made by the General, and fo generouf a Reception by his Majefty, killing and embracing him, that all Parties were fatisfied, to admiration. And his Excellency from that time received fo great an Impreffion of the marvellous Goodnefs of his Majefty, that he refolvd what before he had perform'd bounden Duty to his Liege Lord, ought to be for ever continued, with the fame obfervation, out of Great Affection to his Gracious Sovereign.

His Majefy walked from the Water-Side, towards the Town, with the General, a Canopy being carried over his Head, and a Chair of State by him; and upon his Excellencies Motion, for his going to Canterbury, for the Reasons before expressed, he hafted to his Coach, in his Pageage to which, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen of the Town, with Mr. Reading their Mi- nifter, who prefented his Majefty with a large Bible, with Gold Claffs: At one end of the Coach next the King, the Duke of York, and at the other the Duke of Gloucefter, and the Gene- ral; and the Duke of Buckingham fate in the Boot. About two miles from Dover, his Majefy took Horse, his Royal Brothers rode on his right hand, and the General on his left: After whom the Duke of Buckingham, and several other Noble-men and Gentlemen follow'd in gallant Equipage.

At his Majesties Entrance into Canterbury, he was met by the Mayor and Aldermen, and Mr. at Canterbury, Lovelace the Recorder, who made an eloquent Speech to him; the Mayor also prefented him with a Tankard of Maffie Gold, and then conducted him to the Palace, where he remained till Monday.

The next Day after his Arrival at Canterbury, His Majefy his Majesties Dignified his Excellency with the Honor of the most Honorable Order of the Garter, upon the General, and the Ho- nor of Knighthood upon the Earl of Winchester, and the Lord Marlabout, who were both Knighted with him; and his Royal Highnes the Duke of York, and the Duke of Gloucefter, in great Testimony of Respect to them, alighted at the Ceremony, and put on the Garter, and the George, Mr. Morrice, was alfo Knighted, and Declared Secretary of State; and that Evening his Majefy went the General a Warrant to be Mafter of his Horse.

His Majefy likewise at Canterbury, confer'd the Honour of Knighthood on Major-General Mosley, Alderman Rofkinson, Mr. Daniel Harvey, Mr. Thomas Strenckley, Collonel Koffiter, Captain Philip Loward, and Mr. Robert Flajson; More- over, his Excellency the Earl of Southampton, and Mr. Secretary Morris, wereSworn of the Privy-Council.

On Monday following, his Majefy came into the City; and after he had been refrefh'd at his own Inn, he went to Chatham, to fea Mr. Reading, by Coll. Sovereign, and returned that Night to Collonde Gibbons, his Houfe, where he lay, and was by the Collonel prefented with a moft Dautyful and Loyal Address from him and his Regiment which was then Quarter'd in Rochester.

From thence his Majefy march'd to Black- Heath, where the Army was drawn up, and was much pleas'd with the fight of it; for indeed they feem'd all men of one age, and one mind, and were for their number, as gallant Troops as were to be feen in the World.

Collonel Knight there moft humbly prefented to his Majefy a Writing, which contained the most humble and obedient Declaration of the Armies Joy, for the Honour of his Majesties pre- fence amongst them, wherein after many duteouf expressions of exalted gladness for his Majesties Relaffion, they behou'd the King, Mr. Reading, and the Majefy would have come to the Council, about him, who had already given proof of their Loyalty and Wifdom both to his Majefy and all his People. They also declared, That as they had never been alter- nately infenfible in the Relaffion of his Sacred Royalty, to his Crown and Kingdom, and his People to their just Rights thereby, so they should for the future cheerfully sacrifice their lives,
or whatsoever could be more dear to them, in the service of his Majesty, against all opposers whatsoever, and by a ready obedience to his Majesties Commands, express themselves better than in words.

When his Majesty came to St. George his Fields, the Lord Major and Aldermen humbly on their knees Reverenced him, and the Lord Major presented his Sword, which his Majesty gave back to him; and after a little Collation in a Tent, provided by the Lord Major, his Majesty went towards White-Hall in this manner.

All the streets were richly adorn’d with Tapisery, from London-Bridge to White-Hall; and as far as Temple-Barre, were equally ranked in good order, the Trained-Band Forces on the one side of the streets, and the several Companies in their Liveries on the other: From Temple-Barre to White-Hall, and the Trained-Bands of Westminster, and the parts adjacent on one side, and some Companies of the Army on the other, to whom was joy’d a gallant Company of the late King’s Officers, Commanded by Sir John Stowell.

The Procision was led by Major General Brown, who had a Troop of three hundred, all in Cloth of Silver Doublets; then followed twelve hundred in Velvet-Coats, with Foot-men and Liveries attending them in Purple; Then another Troop led by Alderman Robinson, in Buff-Coats, with Cloth of Silver-sleeves, and very rich Green Scarfs; and after these a Troop of about a hundred and fifty with Blew Liveries, laced with Silver Lace, with six Trumpeters, and seven Footmen in Sea-green and Silver: Then a Troop of two hundred and twenty, with thirty Foot-men in Gray and Silver Liveries, and four Trumpeters richly Cloath’d; Then another Troop of one hundred and five, with Gray Liveries, and six Trumpeters and another of seventy-five with five Trumpets: And then three Troops more, two of three hundred, and one of one hundred, all richly habited, and bravely mounted. After these came two Trumpeters with his Majesties Arms; The Serjeants men in red Cloaks richly Laced with Silver Lace, to the number of fourscore, with half Piks in their hands: then followed six hundred of the several Companies of London on Horseback, in black Velvet Coats, with Gold Chains, each Company having Footmen in Liveries attending.

After these came a Kettle-Drum, five Trumpets, and three Streamers, and many rich red Liveries with Silver Lace: After their twelve Ministers, and then another Kettle-Drum, and four Trumpets, and his Majesties Life-guard of Horse, Commanded by the Lord General; Then three Trumpets in rich Coats and Satin Doublets, and the City-Marshal, with eight Footmen in Frock Green, trim’d with Crimfon and White: the City Waits, and all the City Officers in order: Then the two Sheriffs, and all the Aldermen of London in Scarlet Gowns, and rich Trappings, with Footmen in Liveries, Red Coats Laced with Silver, and Cloth of Gold and Silver. The Heralds and Maces in rich Coats. Then the Lord Major carrying the Sword bare, and next to him the Duke of Buckingham, and the General, and then the King’s Majesty between the Dukes of York and Gloucester: Then followed a Troop of Horse with white colours, and after them, the Generals Life-guard, led by Sir Phillip Howard; Then five Regiments of the Army-Horse, led by Colonne Knight: And after them, two Troops of Noblemen and Gentlemen.

Thus was his Majesty conducted to his Royal Palace at White-Hall, on the nine and twentieth day of May, His Birthday: and with Him, Peace and Happiness return’d to His Kingdoms and People, which all good men desire may be for ever continued to them, under the happy Government of Him and His Pforterly.

When the Lord Mayor had taken leave of him, he went to the Lords, where he was entertained with a Grave but Eloquent Speech of the Earl of Macclesfield, and from thence to the Banquetting-House, where the whole House of Commons attending him, the Speaker in their Names expressed the Joyfull Sense they all had, to behold his Majesty returned in Safety, and thereby an end was put to that Tyranny and Slavery his good People had endured.

The King told them, He was so disorder’d by his Journey, and with the noisefulness in his Ear, (which nevertheless he confess’d was pleasing to him, because it expressed the Affections of his People) that he was thereby induc’d to make such a Reply as he design’d: But added, That he took no greater Satisfaction to himself in this his Change, than that he found his heart really set to endeavour by all means the restoring of these Nations to their Freedom and Happiness; which he hoped by the Advice of his Parliament to effect: And that, next to the Honour of God, from whom he chiefly owed the Restoration of his Crown, he would judge the Welfare of his People: and not only be a true Defender of the Earth, but a Just Assessor of the Laws and Liberties of his Subjects.

After the conclusion of these Ceremonies, he intended to go to Westminster-Abbey to offer up a Thanksgiving to GOD for all his Deliverances and Mercies towards him; but by the Wearinefs he had contracted through the Toil, (however grateful) of that Dayes Action, he was diverted from his intention of going thither; yet would he not for any consideration be withheld from his Devotion, and his Oblations of Thanks to God, which at that time he made in his Presence-Chamber, because his Chappel was not yet prepared for his Reception.

The next day the Dukes of York and Gloucester took their Places in the House of Peers, as did a while after several of other Peers who were made by his Majesty by the Sea, and Summoned the House of Lords, by Writ; (viz.) Henry Jermin Earl of St. Albans, and Baron of St. Edmondsbury; John Mordaunt, Viscount Mordaunt of Avon; Sir Marguard Langdale, Baron Langdale of Holm; Charles Crofts, Baron Crofts; Sir John Barkley, Baron Barkley.

In the first place after his Majesties Arrival, the chief Officers were appointed the chief Officers of State, and of the several Kingdoms, and his Majesties Houſhold, his Highness the Duke of York was invested with the Office of Lord hold. High Admiral of England, and Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports: The Lord General Monk was continued Captain General of all the Forces of the Three Kingdoms, and made Master of the Horse to his Majesty, Sir Edward Hyde.
Hide (afterwards Earl of Clarendon) was constituted Lord High Chancellor of England: The Earl of Southampton Lord High Treasurer of England: Sir Edward Nicholas, and Sir William Morrice, Chief Secretaries of State. The Marquess of Ormond was appointed Lord Steward: and the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of his Majesties Household; Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Treasurer of the Household; and Sir Charles Berkley, Comptroller: and Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and afterwards Treasurer of the Navy: Besides several others, who for their Eminent Loyalty and good Services, were advanced to Places of Highest Truth and Dignity in Court and Commonwealth. Moreover, his Majesties Privy Council consisted of these Persons following:

The Lords of his Majesties Privy Council,

The Duke of York.  
Lord Chancellor.  
Marquess of Ormond.  
Marquess of Dorchester.  
Earl of Clarendon.  
Lord high Chamberlaine of England.  
Earl of Berkeley.  
Earl of Southampton.  
Earl of Norwich.  
Lord Say and Sele.  
Lord Wentworth.  
Lord Seymour.  
Mr. Denzell Holles.  
Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Treasurer of His Majesties Household.  
Sir Edward Nicholas.  
Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain to his Majesty.  
Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper.  
Collonel Charles Howard.  
The Duke of Gloucester.  
Lord General Monk.  
Marquess of Hertford.  
Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the Kings Household.  
Earl of Northumberland.  
Earl of St. Albans.  
Earl of Leicesters.  
Lord Culpeper.  
Lord Roberts.  
Mr. Arthur Aungier.  
Sir Charles Berkley, Comptroller of his Majesties Household.  
Sir William Morrice.  
General Mountague.

The Clerks of the Privy Council were Sir Richard Brown Knight and Baronet, (who having been 19 Years Resident in the Court of France for his Majesties and his Royal Father, managed that Employment with extraordinary Prudence, Address and Integrity, and in whole Chappel at Paris the Liturgy of the Church of England had been solemnly kept up during its Eclipse at home) Sir Edward Walker Carter King of Arms.  
John Nicholas Esq; Eldest Son to the Secretary of State; And Sir George Lane, Secretary to the Marques of Ormond.

In the next place, special Care was taken for the committting all Military Offices of Highest Truth, as well as the Civil already mentioned, into the hands of such Persons as were judged most faithful to the Kings Service; so that the Governments of all the most Important Castles, Fortresses, and Islands, and the first Commands of the several Regiments of the Army, were by the Lord General conferr'd upon such Lords and other Persons of Honour as the King was pleas'd to recommend unto him to that Effect, until such time as the Army could conveniently be disbanded. Likewise, for the farther settling of the Militia of the Nation, there were of the Chief Nobility of the Land Constituted Lord-Lieutenants of the several Counties each having under them, as Deputy-Lieutenants, such Gentlemen of the fame Counties as had most eminently shewn their affections to his Majesty.

The House of Commons in the mean time, applied themselves to the perfecting of an Act of General Pardon, which was read Twice in the House the One and the Thirtieth of this Month, thereby complying with that great Clemency and indulgence of his Majesty to his People, expressed in his most gracious Letter from Breda. They had in his last Despatch of this Act, designed to except from Pardon several of the Judges of the late King, and others instrumenal in the perpetration of that horrid Treason: of which they had in Culleydigh Eight Persons, (viz.) Harrison, Carew, Clement, and Jones, of the Judges; Cook who was the Professor, Hatcher Captain of the Halberdeers, and Collonel Axtell, also Hugh Peters the Minifier, a virulent Incendiary in the action, who for a while had been fakling up and down in fecret, was at length taken in Southwark. There were others that had been fuced into that Treason, (viz.) Collonel Richard Ingoldsby, Francis Leflies, and John Hutchinson; but fo much was laid in the House in their favours, that they were not made culpable with the rest. As for Ingoldsby, it was made to appear that Oliver Cromwell, without his consent, fet his hand and fign'd to the Vow for Execution of the King: Besides that, by many Actions of his Loyalty since, and his Engagement in Sir George Booth's bullines, and againft Lamport, (as before related) he had given eminent testimony of his abhorrence of fo fould a Crime. Leflies had never been in the High Court of Justice, and but once at any meeting with them, and at that time he declared his diftinc to their proceedings. And Hutchinson had been a very early Convert, and appeared much againft that execrable Oath of Abjuration of the King's Perfon and Polftery, in that part of the Parliament which fate at the time of General Monet's March into London.

This Act of General Pardon had to many particulars in it of different nature, that it took up very much time; but nevertheless, the Parliament omitted not to perfect some necessary Laws for the Safety of the Government. On the second of June, the Parliament having the day before intimated to the King, that they had prepared Three Bills for him, his Majesties came to the House of Lords, and having sent to the House of Commons to attend him, there gave his Royal Assent to them; (viz.) To an ACT for Confirmation of an Ordinance made by the Lords and Commons in his absence of the raising of Seventy Thousand Pounds a Month for Three Months. An ACT for Confirmation of the present Parliament.
And, An ACT for the Continuance of Process in Judicial Proceedings. Which last, was for avoiding of Discontinuances in the Courts of Writs, because the first four Returns of Enquiry, Term could not be conveniently kept, and to prevent the abatement of Writs that were not issued in the Kings Name before his Return to the exercise of Government.

His Majesty also pref'd them (as well by his particular Charge, as by the Lord Chancellor's Speech) to halt their pafling of the Bill of Indemnity, which (as well as all other Bills of Publick Concernment) he was ready to Sign, where- upon this Bill was from thenceforth the grand Business of both Houses until it was finis'd; Nor could it be finis'd till after some consider- able time, and many large and serious Confulta- tions. In the mean time, the Two Houses them- selves desired to lay hold upon this Annexe in the Name of the Whole Nobility and Common- nalty of the Nation: which being easily granted by the King, the Ceremony was performed in the Banqueting-House, where they waited upon his Majesty to that end.

About this time came forth a Proclamation, whereby it was declared, That all such of the late Kings Judges as did not render themselves, should be excepted out of the General pardon: And thereupon Adrian Straw, and Nineteen others of them conceal'd in several parts, presented them- selves to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and were committed to Custody. The Lord Grey of Groby, and Four and twenty more were dead; and Thomas Scott, and Nineteen others escaped beyond the Seas, but were attained by Act of Parliament, as shall be hereafter express'd; And Scott was, shortly after his Escape, taken at Brussels, and by the diligence of the Kings Agent there sent into England, and sent to the Tower.

On the 4th of June, the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance to the King were render'd to all the Members of both Houses of Parliament, with the Kings Servants and Officers of his Household, by the Lord Steward, and the Lord Cham- berlain: And by Order of Parliament, of the 4th of the same Month, the Lord General was desir'd to take an effectual Care that the same Oaths should be administered to all the Officers and Soldiery of the Armies under his Command; And the Lord Chancellor to that end was also desir'd to issue forth Commission under the Great Seal of England, to such persons as the Lord General shall nominate and appoint, for administering the said Oaths to the Officers and Soldiery accordingly. This Order was with all imaginable Care executed both by the General and the Chancellor: And to settle the Army so as it might be most serviceable to his Majesty, he removed several Colonels and other Officers, and placed divers of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry in their places.

As the generality of the people had a little before, upon the conclusion of his Majesties Ad- mission into his Dominions, and his preparation to come over, given great demonstrations of their affection and Loyalty to him, by their universal alicracy in proclaiming him throughout the Three Nations, So likewise, immediately after he was come, they were no less forward to ma-
Brede. Which made him fend a Message to the House of Commons by Sir William Marriage, to quicken their Debates about the Act of General Pardon and Indemnity, as that which would best quiet the Minds of his Subjects.

He told them, 'He had too ample a manifef
tation of their Affections and Duty towards him,
they good Effects of which was notorious to the
World, to make the least doubt of the con-
tinuance and improvement thereof, or in the
least degree to dislike what they had done, or
to Complain of what they had left undone:
And that he knew well the Weight of those Af-
Affairs, which depended upon their Counsels,
and the time that must unavoidably be spent,
where there must be naturally difference of
Opinions and Judgments amongst those whose
delivers of the Publick Peace and Safety were
the fame. And that neither he nor they must be
over-much troubled, if they found their good
Intention and unwearyed pains, taken to reduce
thofe good Intentions into real Acts for the
Quiet and Security of the Nation, mis-repre-
sented, and mis-interpreted, by thofe who are
in truth affifted to fee the publick Distrac-
tions, by Gods Blessing, fo near an end; and
by others upon whom Weakness, Fears and
Jealoufies, the activity and cunning of thofe
till men hath too great an Influence.

That how wonderful and miraculous forever
the great harmony of affections between him
and his Subjects is, (it being fo visible to the
World, that there scarce appears the view of
any Cloud to overshadow or disturb it) yet it
is not to be thought that God Almighty had
rought the Miracle to that degree, that a Na-
tion fo miraculously divided for fo many Years,
would be fo soon and entirely united in their
Affections and Endeavours as were to be wilfed,
but that the Evil Consequences of many conti-
nued so awake for mischief, they would not
be willing to take reft themselves, or suffer oth-
ers to take it: And that they all had too fad
Experience of the unhappy Effects of Fears and
Jealoufies, how groundles and unreasonable
forever not to think it very neceffary to apply all
timely and proper Remedies to thofe Diftem-
ers, and to prevent the Inconveniences and
Mischiefs which fo naturally flow from thence.

That he well forefaw, That the great violati-
on which the Laws of the Land had for fo many
years sustained, had fill'd the hearts of the
People with a terrible apprehension of infe-
curity to themselves, if all they had faid and done
should be liable to be examined and punished
by thofe Laws which had been fo violated:
And that nothing could eftablih the Security of
King and People, but a full Proclamation that the
returning to the reverence and obedience of the
Law (which is good for all,) should not turn
the ruin of any who were willing and fit to
receive that Protection hereafter from the Law,
and to pay that Subjection to it, which were
just and necessary; and therefore, he faid, he
made a free Offer of a General Pardon in fuch
a manner as was exprefied in his Declaration,
and how ready and defirous he was to make
good the fame, appeared by his Proclamation
riffed out upon and according to their defire:
However, it was evident, that all he had offec-
ed or did offer, did not enough Compose the
Minds of his People; Nor in their Opinions
could their Security be provided for, till the
Act of Indemnity and Oblivion were pass'd.
He faid, He found great industry used, by thofe
who did not with that Peace to the Kingdom
they ought to do) to perfuade his good Sub-
jects that he had no mind to make good his Pro-
miffes, which he defired to perform for his own
fake, as well as theirs. And that therefore he
did very earnestly recommend it to them, that
all expedition might be used in the paffing That
much necessary Act, whereby his good Subjects
generally would be fatisfied, that great Security
would be provided for their future Actions, and that they were free
for all past, and for all the endeavours of ill men
would be disappointed, who would perfuade
them not to do well now, because they had
't done amifs hereofore. And that he was the
more engaged to this his Recommendation, be-
cause upon the refLECTION of their eminent Zeal
and Affection for his Service, and hearty Con-
currence with him in all things defired from
them, men were apt to perfuade others (though
not believing it themfelves,) that the paffing of
this Act was therefore not defired, because he
did not enough perf the dispatch of it; which
he did defire from his heart, and was confident
they would be the sooner do it, upon his earnest
recommendation.

This Message did so much quicken their De-
bates, that they perfh'd the Bill in a very fhort
ime, and fent it up to the Lords, and the Peo-
lies Minds were much Composed thereby, and
the more, for that his Majesty by a Proclamation
after it, did declare a kind of impatience for
the delay thereof.

About the beginning of July, General Monck
was by Letters Patents under the Great Seal of created Duke
England made Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Tor-
rington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchampe,
and Teyes, and Summoned by Writ to the House
of Peers. The Titles of Albemarle and Bea-
champe were confer'd on him, because he was
deferted from Margaret, one of the Daughters
and Co-heirs of Richard Beauchampe Earl of Al-
bernard and Warrick, who was married to the
Famous Warrious John Talbott Earl of Shrews-
bury, well known in France, whose Son John
had ony Daughter married to Edward Grey
Vifcount Lifle, whose Daughter and Hei Eliza-
abeth Grey was married to Arthur Plantagenet,
a natural Son of King Edward the Fourth, who
was in her right Vifcount Lifle, and France one
of the Daughters and Co-heirs of the said Vif-
count Lifle, was married to Sir Thomas Monk,
great Grand-father to the preuent Duke of Al-
bernard.

And a few days after, Mr. Edward Mount-
guage, one of the Generals at Sea, was made a
Knight of the Order of the Garter, and by Let-
ters Patent dignified with the Honours of Earl of
Sandwich, Vifcount Montagne of Hitchinbridge
and Baron of St. Needs. And the Marquess of
Ormond was made Earl of Brecknock, and Baron
Ormond,

The
The Lords in Parliament were in Confultation to except all from Pardon that had been Judges in any High Court of Justice, which was no more than such men deferved, who could so maliciously contribute to the Subversion of the good Laws and Government of their native Country. But the Kings Clemency extended to all who were not guilty of his Father's Murder; and observing those Debates to obstruct much the speedy perfecuting that Bill he so earnestly defired to have fin'd. On the 25th of July he went to the said House, in a handborne and most gracious Speech, expressed his Zeal for it in the following words:

My Lords,

When I came first hither to you, which was within two or three days after I came to White-Hall, I did wish with as much earnestness as I could, both by my Self, and the Chamberlains, recommend to You and the House of Commons, the speedy dispatch of the Act of Indemnity, as a necessary Foundation of that Security. We all pray for; and since, by a particular Message to the House of Commons, a-gain press them to hasten that Important Work.

And did likewise by a Proclamation, publish to all the Kingdom, That I did with impatience expect that that Act would be prentised to me for my Affent, as the most reasonable and salutary Foundation of that Peace, Hapiness, and Security. I hope and pray for to my Self and all my Subjects, that they may not deny it to you. I thought the House of Commons too long about that Work, and therefore now it is come up to You, I would not have you guilty of the fame delay. I thank God, I have the same Intentions and Resolutions now I am here with You, which I had at Breda, and believe that I owe my being here, to Gods blessing upon the Intentions and Resolutions I then expressed to have. I will read to you what I then said:

And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not engage any, Conscious to themselves of what is palled, to a perfeverance in Guilt for the future, by exposing the quiet and happiness of their Country, in the Restoration of both of King, Peers, and People, to their Just, Ancient, and Fundamental Rights; We do by these Prefents declare, That We do grant a Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon demand, to passe under Our Great Seal of England, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or Quality ever, who within Four and twenty days after the publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and shall by any publice Act declare their doing so; and that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excepted by Parliament),

"Tho' only excepted, let all Our Loving Subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the Word of a King solemnly given by this present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever committed against Us or Our Royal Father, before the Publication of this, shall ever lie in Judgement, or be brought in Question against any of them to the least endangerment of them, either in their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Reputations, by any reproach or term of distincion from the rest of Our bel Sujetts: We Desiring and Ordering, That henceforward all Notes of Dis- cord, Separation, and Difference of Parties be utterly abolisht among all Our Subjects, whom We Invite and Conjure to a perfect Union among themselves under Our Protection, for the Re-settlement of Our Just Rights, and Theirs, in a Free Parliament; By which, upon the Word of a King, We will be Advised.

"My Lords, if you do not joynt with Me in extinguishing on this Feare, which keeps the hearts of men awake, and apprehensive of Safety and Security; You keep Me from performing My Promises, which if I had not made, I am per- fomed neither I, nor You had been now here; I pray let Us not deceive those who brought, or permitted Us to come together. I knew well there were some Men who could neither forgive themselves, nor be forgiven by Us; and I thank you for your Justice towards those, I immediatly Murtherers of my Father: And I will deal truly with you, I never thought of excepting any other. I pray think well upon what I have offered, and the benefite you and I have receivd from that offer; and encourage and oblige all other pretenstions, by nor excluding them from the benefit of this Act. This Mercy and indul- gence is the best way to bring them to a true repentance, and to make them more fervor to serve their Country, and their Company; for them. It will make them good Subjects to me, and good Friends and Neighbours to you, and We have then all Our end, and you shall find this the secrete Expedient to prevent future mischief. Therefore I do earnestly desire and Conjure you, to depart from all particular a-nimosties and Revenge, or memory of past provoycations, and that you will passe this Act without other Exceptions, than of those who were immediately guilty of that Murther of my Father.

"My Lords, I have told you my Opinion, and I hope you will be of the same. If any pers- ons appear of such dangerous and ob linende Principles, that the Peace of the Kingdom cannot be preserved whilst they have Liberty in it, some other course may be taken, that they shall not be able to do hurt, and I affure you, there is nothing can enable them to do so much harm, as the deferring the passing this Act.

"I hope I need say nothing of Ireland, and that they alone shall not be without the benefit of My Mercy: They have shewed much affiction to me abroad, and you will have a care of my Honour, and of what I have promised to them.

"I do again conjure you, that you will use all expedi- tion in the dispatch of this Bill.

This Speech did not only expedite the passing of this Act in the House of Peers, but give a general Satisfaction to the People, who were exceedingly quieted in their Minds with the Kings refolute Care on the behalf of all his Subjects; nor was his Mind so intent on this necessary Act, as to neglect the other Concerns of Government; But observing, that the late Diffe- rences of his People had created many Animo-
His Majesty's Proclamation against Fighting of Duels.

A Committee of Estates convened in Scotland, and the Chief Ministers of State continued in Scotland.

The Committee of Estates being assembled, made it their first care to keep all things in peace and quiet, and obedience to the present Government, for notwithstanding the late unanimous concurrence of the People at Edinborough (as well as other places) in the publick Proclamation of his Majesty, yet after a short while, there began to discover it self a spirit of discontent among certain Scotch Ministers, who were of the principal Sticklers of the Kirk-party, as appear'd by their meeting together at a place appointed, for the drawing up of a Remonstrance concerning certain things wherein they thought themselves aggrieved, which the Committee of Estates having notice of, sent forthwith to apprehend them, and clapt them up in prison; and for the prevention of the like disturbances for the future, set forth a Proclamation against all unlawful Meetings, and Seditious Papers.

And the same thing that befell these Ministers, The Marquess hapned also to their Country-man the Marquess of Argyle and others sent to Court with others of the Nobility and Gentry of London, of Scotland, upon pretence of tendering his Service to his Majesty, yet he had not its terms carried himself Blamefully, but that sufficient care was found for the laying of High Treason against his Charge, and committing him thereupon a Prisoner to the Tower; and together with him were committed the Marquess of Antrim, Sir Henry Vane, and Sir Arthur Haslerry, besides several others that follow'd soon after.

In Ireland the Convention that had assembled there upon the Change of Government, as soon as they had taken order for the settling of things in that Nation, in Conformity to the King's Authority, (Col. Eyres, who endeavour'd to raise a Party in opposition to it, being reduc'd by Sir Charles Coote) and had appointed from among them certain Commissioners to wait upon his Majesty with their Gratulations and Delires, thought fit to dissolve themselves, in expectation of the Kings Pleasure for the Calling of a full Parliament, and to make way for the Ancient Constitution of the Government by a Lord Lieutenant, as had been determin'd by the King and Council.

The Act of Indemnity was sent from the Lords to the Commons with several alterations to which the Commons were very unwilling to agree; for they had subjected Twenty that were not the Kings Judges, to be liable to such Pains and Penalties not extending to life, as should be inflicted by another Act to be pass'd in this Parliament. Whereas the Lords finding the King's Inclination to tend towards the Pardoning of all such as were his Fathers Judges, or other-wise Actors in his Murder, they disapproved of that part of the Act, as to all those named by the Commons, except Sir Arthur Haslerry, Sir Henry Vane, and COLONEL John Lambert, who were clemcntly to be so maliciously active in opposition to his Majesties Government, as to be excepted from any Conditions of Pardon: The Commons for some time adhered to their first Resolution, but after several Conferences, they agreed with the Lords to agree to these few alterations to their frame of the Act. Vane and Lambert were excepted, but Haslerry remained liable to such Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures, as should be inflicted on him, not extending to life; and the rest of those put under the same Qualification by the Commons, that were not of the King's Judges, were made only with others incapable of Offices, as shall be hereafter shown, when we come to write of the parts of that Act.

That which put Sir Arthur Haslerry under Sir Arthur Haslerry, for a favora ble Qualification, was an Engagement made to him by the Duke of Albemarle for the Revolution, which being known when he receiv'd the Revolution haffen towards the Restoration.
A Continuation of the

1660.

An Influence of His Majesty's affection to his People.

The King and his Government, he expounded with him about it, in reference to the security of his own Condition: The Duke was unwilling to make him desirous, for he had at that time a Regiment of Horse, because he had a Regiment of Foot in the Garrisons of New-Castle, Lincoln, Berwick, and Carlisle, under his Government; which (if he had opposed) could not have been reduced to obedience without the effusion of Blood, which his Excellency much endeavoured to avoid in all the progress of his Actions; and therefore told him, if he would quietly give up his command, and retire to his House, he would endeavour to secure him in his Life and Estate, and doubt not to effect it. This being made known at a Conference by the House of Commons, was published with great modesty by the Duke in his House of Peers, and his Life was thereupon pardoned in the Act, and a small time after, his Estate also was, at the mediation of the Duke, granted to his Heir, a man averse to his Fathers diabolical Principles: (Sir Arthur himself), a while after his Imprisonment, dying of a Fever in the Tower.

At this last Conference of the Lords and Commons, the Lord Chancellor took occasion to speak of the Kings affection to his People, by a very remarkable Influence, saying, That he being employed in an Embassy to Spain, had it directly given him in charge by his Majesty to woe and declare, That the bidded Murther of his Royal Father was not the Act of the Parliament or People of England, but of a very wretched and little company of Miserables in the Kingdom. Which was so pleasing to the House of Commons, that upon the report of it to them, they ordered such of the Privy Council as were Members of that Houfe, to present to his Majesty the humble and thankfull Sense they had of his Justice and Favour for that just Defence he had been graciously pleased to make in behalf of the Parliament and People of England.

A few days after this, that is to say, the 10th of August, the King had Notice that there were Five Acts prepared for his Royal Affent, and he therefore repaired to the Lords Houfe, and sent for the Commons to him, where he allented to them. The Acts were:

2. An Act for a speedy Provision of Money to pay off and discharge all the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.
3. An Act for the restraining the taking of Excessive Uury.
5. An Act for a perpetual Anniversary Thanksgiving on the Twenty Ninth day of May, (the day of his Majesties Nativity and Reformation.)

At the passing of which Acts, he expressed himself in these words:

My Lords, and Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

I have been here sometimes before with you, but never with more unwillingness, than I am at this time. And there be few men in the Kingdom, who have longer more impatiently to have those Bills passed, than I have done to pass them; and I hope they will be the Foundation of much Security and Happiness to Us all. I do very willingly pardon all that is pardoned by this Act of Indemnity, to that time which is mentioned in the Bill; Nay, I will tell you, That from that time to this day, I will not use great Severity, except in such Cases where the Malice is notorious, and the Publique Peace exceedingly concern'd: But for the time to come, the same Discretion and Conscience which disposed me to the Clemency I have expressed, which is most agreeable to my Nature, will oblige me to all Rigour and Severity, how contrary soever it be to my Nature, towards those who shall not now acquit, but continue to manifest their faction and dislike of the Government, either to Actions or Words.

And I must conjure you all (my Lords and Gentlemen) to concur with Me in this just and necessary severity, and that you will in your several Stationes be so jealous of the Publique Peace, and of my particular Honour, that you will cause exemplary Justice to be done upon those who are guilty of Sedicious Speeches or Writings, as well as those who break out into seditious Actions: And that you will believe those who delight in reproaching and traducing My Person, not to be well affected to You and the Publique Peace.

Never King valued himself more upon the affections of his people than I do; Nor do I know a better way to make My Self sure of your Affections, than by being just and Kind to you all: And whilst I am so, I pray let the World see that I am possessed of your Affections.

For your Pole-Bill, I do thank you as much as if the Money were to come into my own Coffers: and wish with all my heart that it may amount to as great a Summe as you reckon upon. If the Work be well and orderly done to which it is designed, I am sure I shall be the richer by it in the end; and upon My Word, if I had wherewith, I would My Self help you, so much I desire the Baffrons done.

I pray very earnestly, as fast as Money comes in, to discharge that great burthen of the Navy, and disband the Army as fast as you can; and till you can disband the rest, make a provision for their support. I do conjure you, as you love Me, let Me not hear the noise of Free-Quarter, which will be imputed to My want of Care and Government, how Innocent soever I am, and therefore be sure you prevent it.

I am so confident of your Affections, that I will not move you in any thing that immediately relates to My Self; and yet I must tell you, I am not richer, that is, I have not formed Money in my Purse as when I came to you: The truth is, I have lived principally ever since upon what I brought with Me, which was indeed Your Money, for you sent it to Me, and I thank you for it. The Weekly expence of the Navy, eats up all you have given Me by the Bill of Tonnage and Poundage. Nor have I been able to give my Brothers one Shilling since I came into England, nor to keep any Table in my House but what I eat my self. And that which troubles Me most, is, to see so many of you come to Me in White-Hall, and to think you might go somewhere else to seek your Dinner.

I do not mention this to you, as any thing that troubles Me, do but take care of the Publique, and for
for what is necessary for the Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom, and take your own time for My Own Particular, which I am sure you will provide for with as much affection and frankness as I can desire.

The ACT for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings, was as necessary at this Juncture, as the Act of General Pardon, since without this, besides many other Inconveniences, to great a Confrontion would have been in most men Eftates as would have made them subject to perpetual Inconveniencies.

1. By this Law, All Proceedings in Law or Equity in all or any of the Courts at Wembly, or in Water, or in the County Palatine, or Duchi of Lancaster, or Berwick, or other inferior Courts, and all things done by the Judges and Officers in pursuance thereof, or of the Court of Admiralties, Delegates, Jufitives of Affize, Nift Friars, Commission of Sewers, Bankrupts, or Charitable Ules, and all proceedings thereupon had in England since the First of May, 1642. were Confirmd, notwithstanding any defect of Legal Power, or difference in Style or Title.

2. All Fines Levied without paying the Kings Silver, or without entry of Money given for the Concord, or before one Judge only, were made good and effectual. And all Fines, Recoveries, Judicial Proceedings in the Commonwealth, since the death of the late King, of Lands in Demife, were Confirmd.

3. Whereas since the First of May, 1641. and before the 20th of Auguft, 1660. divers who had been indicted for Treafon, and others also who had adhersd to his Majesty or his Father, were impeached in like manner: All such Indictments and Proceedings thereupon, and Grants made of any Lands forfeited by reason thereof, and Title to the mean profits claimed in that respect were heretofore discharged, and restitution to be made to the respective persons and their heirs.

4. All Recognizances, Bonds, and Securities made in the late Keepers, or Procuretor, not pardoned or discharged, were to be prosecuted in the name and to the use of his Majesty his Heirs and Successors.

To the fourth Branch, such Securities were excepted as had been given to the late Powers by any for their adherence to the King or his Father, or relating to the late Troubles, which was by this Act made void; as likewise were all Obligations, Bonds, and Securities by Order of any Council of State, Committee of Safety, Major General, Deemators, or any other Military Power.

5. After the 8th of May, 1660, no Judges at Wembly, Sergeants at Law, Commissioners of Sewers, or of Bankrupts, or of Charitable Ules, Confirmed by any of the late Upheld Powers were to be continued.

6. No none claim upon or after any Fine by this Act confirmed, shall extend to barre any Person or their Heirs (other than the Parties to the said Fines, and their Heirs and Trustees) for such Rights as they had by colour of any Act or pretended Ordinance of Parliament, 

since the first of May, 1642. and before the 25th of April, 1660, of Church-Lands, or as the Lands of any Person for adhering to the King, or his Father, or in relation to the late Troubles, to such persons and their Heirs pursue their Claymings by Actions or Entry within 5 years after the 25th of May, 1660.

7. The Name and Styles of the Upheld Power and Authorities were declared to be Rebellious.

8. All Proceedings of High Treafon for Levying War against Oliver Cromwell, or any other late Upheld Power, were made void; as likewise all Affurances, Recognizances, and Judgments for Debt, or Damages hereafter had or suffered by any person whole Conviction, Outlawry, or Attainder, was by this Act discharged.

This Act of Confirmation was nevertheless not to extend to confirm any illegal proceedings of the late High Courts of Justice, nor to confirm any Sales or Eftates made by any pretended Act of Parliament since the first of May, 1642. nor to debar any person grieved, from having a Writ of Error, or Bill of Review, in such manner as formerly, Except such Errors and defects as were not by this Act remedied.

The Act for Provision of Money to Pay the Armies and Navy, was by Poll, and was a very great Tax, because many orders of Men were included in it, which were not mentioned in any former Act of the like kind.


dom, was to pay 100 l. Every Marquez, 80 l. Every Earl, 60 l. A Vicount 50 l. A Baroner, 40 l. The eldest Son of a Duke of One and Twenty years of age, 60 l. of a Marquez, 50 l. of an Earl, 40 l. of a Vicount, 35 l. of a Baro.

2. A Baronet of any of the three Kingdoms or Nova Scotia, 30 l. A Knight of the Bath 30 l. A Knight Bachelor 20 l. A Sergeant at Law, 20 l. An Esquire, 10 l. and every Widow, according to her husband degree a third part what her husband was to pay.

3. Every Parson or Vicar possessed of a Parsonage or Vicarage, or other Eftate of 100 l. Every Doctor of the Civil or Common

law, 5 l. Every Advoca, 5 l. A Judge or Commissioner in the Court of Admiralties, 50 l. A Prior of 5 l. A Doctor of Physick, 10 l.

4. The Lord Mayor of London, 50 l. Every Sheriff, Alderman, or who hath Served for Alder.

man 20 l. Every Deputy Alderman, 10 l.

5. The Town-Clerk of London, 20 l. Every Common-Council-man, 5 l. Every Mayor of the First Twelve Companies, 10 l. Every Warden thereof, 6 l. 13 s. 4 d. Every Liver- man of those Companies, 5 l. Every one who had been Master of any of the Companies of Bakers, Brewers, Leatherfellers, Girdlers, Stationers, Woodmongers, Upholsters, Apothecaries, Tallow Chandlers, Armourers, or Salterers, 5 l. Every Warden of any of those Companies, 5 l. Every Liver-man of them, 3 l. Every of the Yeomany, 1 l. Every Master of the Company of Bakers Chymists, White Bakers, Wax-Chandlers, Cutlers, 10 d d d
The A CT for Refraining the taking of An A ct for
executive Ufury, makes it penall to the lease of refraining
treble the values of any Money, Ware or Merch-
chandize, to any that should take above Six
Pounds for the forborne of One Hundred
Pounds for a Year, or above 12 d.
for making or renewing a Bill or Bond, shall for-
feit 20 l. one Mooyery to the King, and the other
to the Informer.

The A CT of General Pardon, Indemnity The A ct of
and Oblivion, Pardons all the Kings Sibjes Indemnity.
of England and Ireland, Wales Guernsey,
jersey, and Berwick, of all Trea ons, Mit-
provisions of Trea ons, Murthers, Felonies,
Offences and Crimes whatsoever, from the
First of January 1677, to the 24th of June,
1660. (not therein excepted) Committed by
virtue or Colour of any Command or Author-
ity from the King of his Father, or any of the
late Powers, and from all Pains of Death, pains
Corporal, and Pecuniary; and generally from
all other Pains, Costs, Suits, and Execu-
tions, which may or can be by the King in
any wife, or by any means Pardoned. And also
all personal Actions, Suits and perfections
whatever by reason of the late Troubles;

And the A ct may be pleaded for any thing
therein pardoned, without any Fee to the Of-
cers for entering Judgement or cause concerning
such Plea. And it any Officer or Clerk in any
of the Kings Courts issue out any Writ or Pre-
ces, or molest any in their Bodies or Estates,
for any thing herein Pardoned; or if any Sheriff,
or Eiches, or any Officer whatsoever,
levy, receive, take, or withhold any thing
thereby pardoned, they shall pay to the party
"greewed" treble Damages besides Costs, and pay
to the King Twenty Pounds, and such Writs
or Precises shall be void.

1. Excepted out of this A ct all Murthers
that not herein pardoned, Pyracies, Baggers, Rapes
and Ravishments of Women, and all of-
ence, made Felons by an A ct, intituled, An
A ct to restrain Persons from Marriage, till their
former Wives or Husbands be dead: And all
Witchcrafts and Conjurations, as also all Ac-
tomples of Trea ons, Receivers, Farmers or
Collectors (other than Sub-Collectors of Par-
ishes or Towns for their Receipts before
the 24th of June, 1659) who had received any
Guftomes, Price-Goods, Affellungen, or any
other Publique Monies or rents of the Crown-

King CHARLES the Second.

Wales, 3 l. Every perfon in any Office or
Place under the King (except his Houshold Ser-
vants in Ordinary) 10 l. The Lieutenant of
the Tower of London, 50 l. Every one that could
spend in Lands, Leases, Moneys or Stock, 100 l.
per annum, 40 s. and fo for a greater or lef-
fer Estate; every fingle perfon above the age
of 16 years, 12 d. Every perfon not rated
nor receiving Alms, above 16 years of age,
6 d.

The A CT of...
History of Great Britain.

January 1642. and of all Moneys grown due or
contracted upon the Sale or disposition of such
lands, or the Lands of Papiff Recusants, Con-
voikt, or other Sequefted Lands.
1. The Heirs and Executors of any Ac-
compants excepted and decafed, not to be lia-
tible, except for such Monies as are due upon
Accompants already stated.
2. Monies received for Fees, and Salaries or
Wages, or disbursed for publique ufe are not to
be charged.
3. No Military Officer of the Armies, or
Officers of the Navies, who before March, 1659,
received Moneys for his Pay, or the Pay of oth-
ers, or for Contingencies of the Souldb or Gar-
rifons, to be called to account therefore.
4. Likewise none were to be called to Ac-
compt for any of the matters of this Excception,
after the 24th of June, 1662.
5. All Briberies and Perjuries are Excempt
out of this, and all Subornation of Per-
jury, or Witness and Forgery, and all other
offences in detaining or imballizing any Goods,
Monies, Chattels, or Jewels of the late King,
Queen, or Prince, or their Shipping and Am-
munition of War, and other such Goods or
Chattels as have been fold or disposed to any
Servants or Creditors of the late King for pay-
ment of their Debts or Wages, and All Ac-
compants of the Revenues of Churches in Wales
and Normamshire, and all Judgments of Dis-
charge or Quaeres of thereupon had.

This last Exception, as to the Churches in
Wales, was inferted by the Parliament in this
Act upon Information, that some Fictitious
People had, in the time of the late Uproarion,
procured to themselves an Authority to Se-
queft all thofe Revenues, upon pretence to im-
ploy them more equally to illiterate Preachers,
for the better propagation of the Gospel in thofe
parts, but kept the greatefe part to their own ufe,
leaving molt of the Churches unfupplied.

3. All publique Duties levied by any Sherif
or other Officer for the ufe of the late King, or
the late Powers, or the King in being, not
accompted for or charged, are excempt.
4. As alfo all offences done by any Jefuit,
Seminary or Popifh Priest contrary to the Stat-
tute of the 27th of Elizabeth. It is provided,
1. That a Writ of Capias may be made against
perffons Outlawed, pardoned by this, to
Compel the Defendant to answer to the Plain-
tiff, at whose Suit they were Outlawed, may
have a Sceign facias against the party before the
Pardon shall be allowed.
2. This Pardon is not to extend to pardon
Outlawries upon any Writ of Capias ad Satis-
cfaciendum, till the party Outlawed shall fatis-
fh or agree with the party.
5. All Informations and proceedings de-
pending about High-Ways and Bridges since
January, 1648. are excempt, and also all Re-
cognizances, Bonds and Securities given or en-
tered into since the 25th of March, 1649, by any
Receiver, Baylliff, Collector or other Ac-
compants in the Exchequer.
6. Any perffon within three years that ob-
tected against another, any words of reproach,
tending to revive the memory of the late dif-
ferences, was to pay ten pounds, if a Gentleman;
and forty shillings, if one of a more inferior
degree.
7. The Act gives no benefit to any who had
any hand in Plotting the Rebellion of Ireland,
not to any that have Holn any Goods or Monies
since the 4th of March, 1649.
8. Nor extends to discharge any from making
restitution of thofe Rents, Monies, Horfes,
Cattle, or other Goods, which fince the 25th
of July, 1659, have been by any pretffon wrong-
fully received or taken away (which by a pre-
tended Act, Intituled, An Act of Repeal of
two Acts of Parliament for Sequeftration to be
repealed.)
9. All Publique Monies paid in to any pub-
lique ufe, are pardon'd, and Parties concerned,
fo far as their acquitations extend unto, are to
be discharged for the fame. Nevertheless, thofe
are not discharged that received any Money for
the Tax of Decimation, or upon the Ac-
compt of any Militia since 1648, not paid
over and discharged by any that had a Legal or
pretended authority to discharge the Receivers
thereof.
10. The King's menial Servants, or any
that had directions from him, whom whilft
they pretended to act in his Service were trea-
cherous thereunto, were exempted from the
benefit of this Act, if they were Outlawed and
Convicted within Two Years from the 25th of
April, 1660.
11. Excife for Goods whereof Entry had
been made in the Coflum-Houfe fince the 25th
of March, 1658. not pardon'd, nor Monies
due to the Farmors of Excife fince the 25th of
March, 1650.
12. The Act gives no benefit to Owen Rowe,
Augufine Garland, Edmund Harvey, Henry
Smith, Henry Martin, Sir Hardref Waller,
Robert Pitchborne, George Fleetwood, James
Temple, Thomas Wait, Symon Mein, Wil-
liam Haweningham, Ifac Pennington, Peter
Temple, Robert Lilborn, Gilbert Millington,
Vincent Petter, Thomas Wogan, John Downs,
Adrian Stoop, John Liff, William Say, Va-
temine Walton, Thomas Harrison, Edward
Whaty, John Barkleft, Edmund Ludlow,
Sir Michael Livey, John Okey, John Hewfon,
William Goffe, Cornelius Holland, Thomas
Challoner, John Carew, John Jones, Miles
Corbet, Gregory Clerpent, Thomas Scott, Wil-
liam Cawley, Nicholas Love, John Dixwell,
Daniel Blagrate, John Cook, Andrew Brought-
ten, Edward Dendy, William Hewlett, Hugh
Peters, Francis Hacket, Daniel Axtell, or
any of them, nor to thofe Two or either of
them difguifed upon the Scaffold the 30th of
January, 1648. erected before White-Hall.
All which Perfons, for being Instrumental in
the Murther of the late King, are wholly
excluded.

But in regard the Nineteen firt mentioned
rendred themfelves, according to a Declaration
of the 6th of June, 1660.) and thereby pretended
to fome Favour, it is Enacted, That if the said
Owen Row, and the refi fo firt mentioned,
A Continuation of the

1660. All Trufts in a pretended Act made in the Year 1649, concerning Tythes appropriate, Fee-Farm Rents, and First Fruits, &c. and their heirs, were to be accountable for such of the fame as had not been implicated according to the said Act; Nevertheless, no Minifter or School-Master, or other perfon for whose benefit the said Act was made, were to be accountable.

18. The Act Pardons not Bonds taken in his late Majestie's Name before 1647, for securing any proper debt of any Servant, or Receiver of the King's Revenues, if they had not been paid to, or by or under any lawful or pretended authority. Nor no perfon, his Heirs, Executors, &c. who had not paid their proportion of a Summe of 15,000l. (agreed to be paid as a Church-Lands, nor lands sold or disposed of pretended Delinquencies by pretence of any Act or Ordinance since the first of January 1641, nor any Statute Judgment, or Reconciliation, had made, acknowledged, or suffered to any perfon or persons, Bodies Politique or Corporate, before the 25th of September, 1659, by any of the persons in this Act by name expres'd, or their Heirs, or by any claimancy by, from, or under them, (other than the Wives, Children, or heirs of such persons) by any of them for Monies Bonafide to them or any of them paid or lent, nor any Conveyance or Elate made before the 25th of April, 1660, by any persons to any such perfon excepted by name as aforesaid, in Tru't or for the benefit of any Persons, Bodies Politique or Corporate (not excepted by name as aforesaid,) shall be declared, impeached, or made void.

20. Lately, No perons were to be indemnified who had entered into any Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, called Fadrick Lands, or possessed themselves of any Rents or Revenues given for the repair of any Cathedral or other Church, or who factitiously enriched themselves by the converting of the Plate, Utensils, and Materials of or belonging to such Churches, to their private use, for, or in respect of the said Crimes only.

The Act for a Perpetual Annuity does not

The ACT for Observation of a perpetual Annuity
The King after the Paffing these Acts, gave the Parliament notice, That on the 13th of September, he would have them to Adjourn to the Sixth of November following; whereupon they were very diligent to compleat some Bills under Consideration. That which was of most Importance for the Peace of the Kingdom, was a Bill for the speedy Disbanding the Army and Garrisons, which they were very earnest in. The King intended to have made it a Sejfions by Prorogation; but upon application made to him, to shew the inconvenience thereof at that time, because of many Bills and other matters of great Concernment depending, which would thereby be vacated, he assented to an Adjournment.

The Parliament having taken notice of the King's Views insinuated in his last Speech at the Paffing of the forementioned Acts, and provided for his Supply; In the next place they likewise took Care that the Army should be supplied with Pay till they were Disbanded; Which was another of the Particulas of that Speech.

And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King on the 13th of September, which was the day appointed, came to the House of Lords, and there gave his Royall Assent to Fourteen Private, and Eight Publice Acts of Parliament.

The Private were:

1. An Act for the restoring the Marquess of Hertford to the Dukeedom of Someret.
3. An Act to restore the Earl of Inchiquin all his Estates and Lands in Ireland.
4. An Act for the restoration of William Marques of Newcastle, all his Estates whereof he was in possession the 20th of May 1642, or at any time since.
5. An Act for settling the Priory of Watton, and other Lands in Yorkshire belonging to the Earl of Wincelset, in the hands of Truftees, to pay his Debts.
6. An Act for the restoring of Sir George Lane to the Manors of Ralchline and Lisdurl, and other Lands in Ireland.
7. An Act to restore Charles Lord Gerard Baron of Brandon, to all his Estates whereof he was in possession the 20th of May 1642, or at any time since.
8. An Act for the restoring to the Lord Culpeper Baron of Thorway, all the Estates whereof his Father was possessed on the 20th of May 1642, or at any time after, which have not been since sold or aliened by his said Father by Acts and Affurances to which himself was party and conferring.

11. An Act for enabling Sir George Booth Baronet, to make Leaves and Sales of part of his Estate.
12. An Act for Regulating of the Trade of Bay-making in the Dutch Bay-Hall in Colchester.
13. The other Two private Bills were one of them to Naturalize Dorothy Elena Countess of Derby; Emilia Countess of Offory; Margaret Lady Culpeper; And a Son and a Daughter of Katherine Stanhopp Countess of Chelseafield, by John Kirkhoven Lord of Henflit in Holland.
14. And the other for Naturalizing Peter de la Pierre alias Peters, and John de la Pierre alias Peter.

Of these Acts; we think it unnecessary to name more than the Titles, as being not of Publice Concernment: and every of the Titles are not here exactly inferred, it being sufficient for Publice Use, to describe so much of them as may inform Politeness of their tendency, and that such Acts were then passed; whereby those that are concerned, may be directed to a more curious search.

The Publice ACTS were:

1. An Act for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons.

The Title of this Act does so much express the Use of it, that We shall omit to mention more of it here; and the rather, because it was in a few Months fully Executed.

2. An Act for the supplying and explaining certain defects in an Act for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding, and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Sea and Land.

We have already given you an abbreviation of that Act, whereof this is explanatory, (which was the Full Bill lately described) and to which this being only relating in reference to the supply of some of its defects, We shall not need to enlarge thereon.

3. An Act for raising Seventeen thousand Pounds for the complete Disbanding of the Army.

The Parliament finding the Poll-Bill to rise much short of expectation, from the failure of a due an Exact execution of it; They paied this Act, which ordered the Money to be raised in Two Months from the First of November 1663, (viz.) 7000l. per Moneth.

4. An Act for the speedy raising of 70000l. for the present supply of his Majesty.

This Money was to be paid in one Month from the 29th of September following.

5. An Act to prevent Frauds and Concealments of his Majesties Customs and Subsidies.

This Act was but to continue in force till the end of the first Session of the next Parliament.

6. An Act for the Confoming and reforming of Minif ters.

This Act flapt the Clamours of many Eccle fical persons that had defective Titles to their Cures; and the goodness of the King was very much celebrated by his Consent to it. Where-
A Continuation of the

1660.

An Act for Confenting and Confirming of Ministers.

It Enacts, That every Ecclesiastical person or Minifter Ordained by any Ecclesiastical persons before December the 25th last past, being 24 years of age, having not renounced his Ordination, who hath been since January the first, 1642, placed in, and in Actual possession of any Ecclesiastical Benefice, with Care of Souls, in England, Wales, or Berwick upon Tweed, which hath been void by death, or any other avoidance, since that time, and before the 25th of December last past, and was then in possession, and received the Profits being in the King's gift, or of his Farther, or of any Arch-Bishop, Bishop, Dean and Chapter, Prebendar, Arch-Deacon, Body Politique or Corporate, or other person, other than such hereby restored, is declared lawful Incumbent.

Every voluntary Resignation of a Benefice to the Patron or any pretended Power since the said fifth day of January, to be good, as if made to the Competent Ordinary.

No Presentation is to be confirmed to be an Imposition in Law, to the prejudice of any that shall have right to Present.

Every Ecclesiastical person formerly Sequestred or Ejected after lawful Presentation and perception of the profits, that hath not subscribed any Petition to bring the late King to Tryall, or by any enticed or or deaved or justified the Murder of the said King, or declared his judgment against Infant-Baptism, by Preaching, Writing, Printing, or constant vsiful to Baptize, shall be restored to the possession thereof, at or before the 25th day of December next ensuing; and every Ecclesiastical person to be removed, may enjoy the Profits to that day.

There be many other Clauses and Provisions in this Bill, too long to be here inferred; and so much the less important, in regard by some subsequent ravages, the greatest part of the whole was in a manner repealed.

7. An Act for Encouraging Shipping and Navigation: Wherein it is Enabled, That from the First of December 1660. no Commodities shall be Imported or Exported out of any Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, belonging unto, or which may belong to, his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, in Asia, Africa, or America, in any other Vessel but such as belong unto the People of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick, or of them built, or do belong to them as the right Owners, and whereas the Majesty and three fourths of the Mariners are English, under penalty of the loss of all the Goods imported or Exported in other Vessels, as also of the Vessels, with all its Guns, Furniture, Tackle, Ammunition and Apparel, one third to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors; one third to the Governor of such Lands, Islands, Plantations or Territories, in case the ship or Goods be there seized, and the other third part sent him that shall seize, inform'd, or sue for the same, in any Court of Record, by Bill, Information, PLAINT or ADJUCTION, wherein no Evasion, Pretension, or Wafer of Law shall be allowed. And all Captains, and Commanders at Sea, by Commission from the King or his Successors, are required to bring in all Ships and Vessels so offending, and deliver them to the Court of Admiralty to be proceeded against; and in case of Condemnation, One Majesty is to be divided to the Use of the Admiral and Commander, and their Company, according to the Rules in Case of Prize, and the other to the King and his Successors. With many other Clauses and Provisions tending much to the advancement of the English Manufacture.

8. The Eighth Publick Act was, An Act for enabling Souldiers of the Army to exercise Trades. A very grateful Law to many of the inferior Officers and Souldiers, and a good preparatory to their Disbanding; for many of them had been Apprentices, and, without some such Provision, might have been left without any way of subsistence, when Arms were out of their hands.

The King made a short Speech to both Houses of Parliament at the passing of these Bills, full of Sweetnefs, according to the affilable temper of his Nature.

He thanked them for their general Care of the Publick, and other Particular refpects to him, Speech to the in that for his Satisfaction they had made Provifion for the Army to give the休假 to the Army whilst they were Disbanding, whereby to prevent fresh Quarrels. Adding, That though he kindly accepted their Provifion of Money, he would not stipulate any of it for the supply of his own Occafions, till he should be affured the Publicke had no need of it. As likewise took notice of the Bill concerning the Duke of Somerset, who, he said, had merited as much of the King, his Father, and himself, as a Subject could do, and that he was none of those who think that Subjects by performing their Duties in any extraordinary manner, do not oblige their Princes to reward them in an extraordinary manner. Nevertheless, he said, it seemed to be of an extraordinary nature, and indeed we do not remember any President in Story of the like: But the King was pleased to add, That he had no man would envy this Duke, because he had done what a good Majesty should do, to such a Servant.

After which, his Majesty refer'd to the Chancellor to speak of many other things which he had to Recommend to them: For in this time of their Reces, the Army was to be Disbanding, whereof many Discourses had been spread abroad by disaffected persons. Some said the King would keep them up; And others, That they would not suffer themselves to be disbanded. And though he had pass'd an ACT to Confirm Ministers, yet farther order was to be taken in reference to Church-Government; and particularly in respect to tender Confidences: as likewise about Purchases and Sales of Publick Lands, which had without any issue much taken up the time of both Houses; and therefore since the Parliament Adjournd before any thing in these Affairs was effected, it was expedient to satisfy the People with the Kings Intentions therein: Of which, and many other Matters of great Concernment to the Good and Quiet of the Kingdom, the Chancellor in a most Excellent Speech expressed himself as followeth.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

T HE King tells you, He hath Commanded me to say many Particulars to You: and Chancellor's Speech to the Lord Henry, that the truth is, he hath charg'd me with so many,
King CHARLES the Second.

that I have great reason to fear, that I shall stand in much need of his Mercy: for omitting many things he hath given me in Command, at least, for delivering them in more disorder and confusion, than matters of such Moment and Importance ought to be to such an Assembly, for which the King himself hath even a kind of Reverence, as well as an extraordinary Kindness.

I am to mention some things he hath done already, and many things he intends to do during this Reign, that you may see how well content ever he is, that you should have Ease, and Pleasure, and Honour, and, he hath designd Work enough for himself.

The King hath thanked you for the Provision you have made, that there may be no Free Quarter during the time the Army shall be Disbanding; and hath told you what he will do with that Money you have given him, if there should want wherewith to disbnd it: And now I hope you will all believe that his Majestie will content to the Disbanding. He will do so; And yet he doth not take it unkindly at their hands, who have thought that his Majestie would not disband this Army. It was a sober and rational Jealousie: No other Prince in Europe would be willing to Disband such an Army: An Army to which Victory is enrayd, and which, manly speaking, could hardly fail of conquest wherever he should lead it: And it GOD had not restored his Majestie to that rare felicity as to be without apprehension of danger at home or from abroad, and without an ambition of taking from his Neighbours what they are possessed of, Himself would never disband this Army: An Army whose whole Order and Discipline, whose Sobriety and Manners, whose Courage and Success, hath made it Famous and Terrible over the whole World: An Army of which the King and his Two Royal Brothers may say, as the Noble Grecian said of Ancus,---

Stertamus tela affer verba contra Contumeliosique manus: exporto credit, quanta
La Cypriae afferant, qua turbare turpe saeculum.

They have all Three, in several Countries, found themselves engaged in the midst of their Troops, in the heat and rage of Battle, and if any Common Soldier (as no doubt many may) will demand the old Roman Privilege for having encountered Princes singly, upon my Conscience, he will find both Favour and Preference. They have all Three observed the Discipline, and felt and admired and loved the Courage of this Army, when they were the worst for it; And I have seen them in a season when there was little else of Comfort in their view, refresh themselves with Joy that the English had done the greatest Work, the English had got the day, and then please themselves with the Imagination what Wonders they should perform in the Head of such an Army.

And therefore when his Majestie is so entirely poiffified of the Affection and Obedience of this Army, and when it hath merited so much from him, can it be believed or imagined, that he can without some regret part with them? No. My Lords and Gentlemen, he will never part with them, and the only way never to part with them, is to Disband them; Should it be otherwife, they must be exposed to the daily Importance of his great Neighbours and Allies; and how could he refuse to lend them his Troops, of which he hath no need himself? His Majestie knows they are too good Englishmen, to wish that a standing Army should be kept up in the Bovels of their own Country, that they who did but in Bella Pacis gerere Negatum, and who, whilst an Army liv'd like good Husbandmen in the Country, and good Citizens in the City, will now become really such, and take delight in the benefit of that Peace they have so honestly and worthily brought in, the King will part with them as the most indulgent Parents part with their Children for their Education; and for their Preference; he will prefer them to Disbanding, and prefer them by Disbanding; and will always retain such a Kindness for them, and such a memory of the Service they have done him, that both Officers and Soldiers, after they are disbanded, shall always find such Countenance, Favour, and Reward from his Majestie, that he doubts not, but if he should have occasion to use their Service, they will again resort to him with the same alacrity, as if they had never been Disbanded: And if there be any fo ill amongst them (as there can be but very few, if any) who will forfeit the Favour and Protection they may have from him, by any witholding his Majesties Commands, and the full and declared Sense of the Kindness, his Majestie is Confident they will be as ready to those Companions, as they can be to any other honest men.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I am in the next place by the King's Command, to put you in mind of the Act of Indemnity, nut of any Grants or Concessions, or felace he made to you in that Act: I have nothing of that in Charge: No Prince hath so excellent a memory to forget the Favours he doth; Bar of what he hath done against you in that Act, how you may be undone by that Act, if you are not very careful to perform the Obligations he hath laid upon you in it: The Clauze I am to put you in mind of is this; And to the intent and purpose that all names and parts of definition may likewise be put into utter Oblivion; Be it further Enthd by the Authority afeforeaid, That if any person or persons within the space of Three Years next ensuing, shall prelate any new law or statute, or cause against any other person, or any name or names, or other words of reproach, any word leading to revive the memory of the late differences, or the occasion thereof, that every such person so, as aforesaid, offending, shall forfeit &c.: It is no matter for the Penalty, it is too cheap a one, the King wishes it had been greater, and therefore hath by his Jult Prerogative (and this well for Us he hath such a Prerogative) added another Penalty more inapprouvable, even his high displeasure against all who shall suffer from this Clauze in the Act: Give me leave to tell you, That as any name or names, or other words of reproach, are expressly against the Letter, and punishable accordingly; so evil and envious Looks, murmuring and discontented hearts, are as directly against the Equity of this Statute, a direct breach of the Act of Indemnity, and
and ought to be punished too, and I believe they may be so. You know 
Kings are in some sense called Gods, and so they may in some degree 
take to look into men's hearts; and God hath given us a King, who can look as far into men's 
hearts as any Prince alive; and he hath great 
skill in Philognomy too; you would wonder 
what Calculations he hath made from these: 
and no doubt if he be provoked by evil Looks to 
make a further inquiry into men's hearts, and 
finds those corrupted with the Passions of Envy 
and Uncharitableness, he will never choose those 
hearts to trust and rely upon. He hath given Us 
a Noble and Princey Example, by opening 
and stretching his Arms to all who are worthy 
to be his Subjects, worthy to be thought Englisthmen, by extending his Heart with a Pious 
and grateful Joy to find all his Subjects at once 
in his Arms, and himself in theirs; and shall 
We fold our Arms towards another, and 
contract our hearts with Envy and Malice to each 
other, by any sharp memory of what hath been 
ungracious or unjustly done heretofore? 
What is this but to Rebel against the Person 
of the King, against the excellent Example 
and Virtue of the King, against the known Law of 
the Land, this blessed All of Oblivion? 

My Lords and Gentlemen, The King is a 
Suitor to you, makes his Suit very heartily, 
That you will Join with him in restoring the 
whole Nation to its Primitive temper, and 
Integrity, to its old good Manners, its old good 
Humour, and its old good Nature; Good Na-
ture, a Virtue so peculiar to you, so appro-
priated by God Almighty to this Nation, that 
it can be Translated into no other Language, 
hardly practis'd by any other People, And that 
you will by your Example, by the Candor of 
your Conversation, by your Precepts, and by 
your Practice, and by all your Interest, teach 
your Neighbours and your Friends, how to 
pay a full obedience to his Clause of the Statute, 
how to learn this Excellent Art of Forgetful-
ness.

Let them remember, and let Us all remember 
how ungracious, how indecent, how ugly the 
influence and fierce notes, the bruithness of their 
Enemies appeared to them; and we may plou-
fly and reasonably believe, that Gods Indignati-
on against them, for their want of Bowells, 
for their not being Engl sniffen, (for they had 
the hearts of Pagan and Infidels) lent a Whirl-
wind in a moment to blow them out of the 
World, that is, out of a Capacity to do more 
imchief in the World; Except we practive their 
Vices, and do that our selves, which We pre-
sume we are desirous to shun.

Let us not be too much ashamed, as if what 
had been done amiss, proceeded from the Ham-
mour, and the Temper, and the Nature of our 
Nation. The Astrologers have made Us a fair 
Excuse, and truly I hope a true one, All the 
Nations of these last Twenty Years have been 
annex'd, and have proceeded from the Evil in-
fuence of a Malignant Star; And let Us not too 
much despise the Influence of the Stars. And the 
fame Astrologers allure Us, That the Malignity 
of the Star is expired, the good Genius of this 
Kingdom is become Superior, and hath matter-
ed that Malignity, and our own good old Stars 
govern us again; and their influence is so strong, 
that with our help they will repair in a year 
what hath been decaying in Twenty: And they 
only shall have to excuse from the Stars, who 
continue this Malignity, and own all the ill that 
is past to be their own, by continuing it, and 
improving it for time to come.

If any body here, or anywhere else, be too 
much exalted with what he hath done, or what 
he hath suffered, and from thence thinks him-
self Warranted to reproach others, let him re-
member the Story of Nicaephorus, it is an ex-
cellent Story, and very applicable to such dis-
famers; he was a Pious and Religious man, 
and for his Piety and Religion was Condemned 
to the Fire; When he was led to Execution, 
and when an old Friend who had done him in-
jury enough, fell at his feet and asked his par-
don, the Poor man was so elated with the 
Triumph he was going unto, with the Glory 
of Martyrdom, that he refused to be reconcil-
ated with him upon which he was disappointed 
of his end, for the Uncharitableness, the 
Spirit of God immediately fortook him, and he 
apostatized from the Faith.

Let all those who are too proud of having 
been, as they think, lelr faulty than other men, 
and so unwilling to be reconciled to those 
who have offended them, take heed of the A-
postacy of Nicaephorus, and that those fumes of 
Envy and Uncharitableness, and Murmuring, 
do not so far transport and intoxicate them, that 
they fall into those very Crimes, they value 
themselves for having hitherto declin'd.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, whilst we 
confide together to execute faithfully this part 
of the Bill, to put all old Names and Terms 
of distinction into utter Oblivion, let Us not 
find new Names and Terms to keep up the 
same, or a worse distinction: If the old re-
proaches of Carculier, and Royal head, and Me-
lignant, be committed to the grave, let Us not 
find more significant and better words, to sig-
nifie worse things; let not Piety and Godliness 
grow into tears of reproach, and distinguish 
between the Court, and the City, and the 
Country; and let not Piety and Godliness be 
measur'd by a morality in manners.

An affection of Gulle, a new mode and 
tone of speaking, at least, let not our Contribu-
tions and Complexions make Us be thought 
of a contrary party, and because we have not an 
affected austerity in our looks, that we have no 
piety in our hearts, very merry men have been 
very godly men; and if a good Confidence be a 
continual Earl, there is no reason but men may 
be left to show it.

You Mr. Speaker, you have this day made a Noble 
Preface to the King; do you think, that if you 
is your and your worthy Companions, had brought it 
up with folded Arms, down-caft looks, with 
flights and other infinities of deprecation, it would 
not have been a very melancholick Prefent? 
Have you not your Frank and Difultful expressions, 
that cheerfulness and vivacity in your looks, 
render'd it much more acceptable, much more 
valuable?

No Prince in Chriftendom loves a cheerful 
giver so well as God Almighty does, and he 
of all gifts a Chearful heart, and therefore pr
pray let not 
the only or the best sign of Piety and Devotion 
in the heart.

I must ask you pardon for misplacing much of 
this Discourse, which I should have mentioned 
when I came to speak of the Ministers Bill

They, I hope, will endeavour to remove those 
new marks of distinction and Reproaches, and 
keep their Authors from being imposed upon 
by such Characters and descriptions. The King 
hath paffed this Act very willingly, and done 
much to the end of this Act before, yet hath 
willingly admitted you to be Sharers and Part-
ners with him in the Obligation: I may say 
confidently, his Majesty hath never denied his 
Confirmation to any man in possession who 
hath asked it, and they have all had the effect 
of it, except such who, upon examination and 
inquiry, appeared not worthy of it, and such 
who, though they are Pardoned, cannot yet 
think themselves worthy to be preferr'd. His 
Majesty well knows, that by this Act he 
hath gratified and obliged many worthy and 
Pious men who have contributed much to his 
Restauration, and who shall always receive 
newes evidences of his Majesties Favour and 
Kindness; but he is not sure that he may like-
wise have gratified some who did neither con-
tribute to his coming in, nor are yet glad he is 
in; how comes it else to pass, that he receives 
such frequent Information of Seditious Ser-
mons in the City and in the Country, in which 
all Industry is used to alienate the affections of 
the People, and to incite Jealousies into them 
of the King and his Government, they talk of 
introducing Popery, of Evil Counfellours, and 
such other old Calumnies as are pardon'd by this 
Act of Indemnity.

His Majesty told you, when he was last 
here, That Rigour and Severity he will here-
after use, how contrary feever it is to his Na-
ture in those cafes, and conjured you, My 
Lords and Gentlemen, to concurre with him in 
this just and Necessary Severity; which I am 
sure you will do with your utmost Vigilance; 
and that you will believe that too much ill 
cannot befal those who do the beft they can to 
 corrupt his Majesty's Nature, and to extinguish 
his Mercy.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I told you I was 
to acquaint you with some things his Majesty 
intends to do during this Recess, that you may 
fee he will give no intermission to his own 
Thoughts for the Publicke good, though for a 
time he dispenses with your assistance.

He doth consider the infinite importance the 
improvement of Trade must be to this Kingdom; 
and therefore his Majesty intends to establish a 
Council for Trade, consisting of some Princip-
al Merchants of the several Companies, to 
which he will add some Gentlemen of Quality 
and Experience: And for their greater Honour 
and Encouragement, some of my Lords of his 
own Privy Council.

In the next place, his Majesty hopes, that by 
a well settled Peace, and God's great Bless-
upon him and You, this Nation will in a short 
time flourish to that degree that the Land of 
Canaan did, when Esaus found it necessary to 
part from his Brother, For their Riches were 
more than that they might dwell together, and 
the Land wherein they were could not bear 
them, because of their Cattle. We have been our 
selves very near this Pinacle of Happines: 
and the hope and contemplation that we may 
be so again, disposes the King to be very fol-
llicitous for the Improvement and Prosperity 
of his Plantations abroad, where there is such 
large room for the Industry and Reception of 
such who shall desire to go thither. And there-
fore his Majesty intends likewise to Erect and 
Establish a Council for those Plantations in 
which persons well qualified, shall be wholly 
ter, that upon the good and advancement of those 
Plantations.

There are two other Particulars which I am 
commanded to mention, which were both men-
tioned and recommended to You by his Majesty 
in his Declaration: Thoone, for 
the confirmation of Sales, or other recompence 
for Purchasers: The other, for the Compounding 
those differences and dissenter's in Religion 
which have too much disturbed the Peace of the 
Kingdom. Two very weighty Particulars, in 
in which his Majesty knows you have spent much 
time, and concerning which he should have 
heard from you before this time, if you had not 
met with great difficulties in the disquisition 
of either.

For the First, his Majesty hath not been 
without much thought upon the Argument, and 
that hath been done much towards the accommoda-
tion of many particular persons; and you shall not 
be at your Journeys end, before his Majesty 
will put that busines concerning Sales into such 
a way of dispatch, that he doubts not, you will 
find a good progress made in it before your 
together again; and I believe the persons 
concerned will be from much to blame if they 
are not good satisfaction: and some of you, 
who stay in Town, shall be advised and con-
cluded with, in that Settlement.

The other of Religion, is a sad Argument 
indeed, it is a consideration that must make every 
Religious heart to bleed, to see Religion, which 
should be the strongest Obligation and Ciment 
of Affection, and Brotherly Kindness and Com-
passion, made now, by the perverfe wranglings 
of passionat and furward men, the ground of all 
Animosity, hatred, malice and Revenge. And 
this unruly and unmanly passion (which no 
Question the Divine Nature exceedingly ab-
horres) sometimes, and I fear too frequently, 
transports those who are in the right, as well as 
those who are in the wrong, and leaves the 
latter more execetable than the former, when 
men, who find their Manners and Dispositions 
very conformable in all the necessary obliga-
tions of humane Nature, avoid one another's con-
versation, and grow first unfociable, and then 
uncharitable to each other, because they cannot 
think as the other doth: And from this separ-
atation We entitle God to the Patronage of, and 
cornerment in, our fancies and distincions, and 
purely for his fake hate one another heartily.

It was not so of old, when one of the most 
Ancient Fathers of the Chuch tells Us, That 
Love and Charity was so signal and eminent 
in the Primitive Chrillians, that it even drew 
admiratiun and envy from their adversaries.
Vide (cinguint) ut invicem se diligam! Their Adversaries, in that in which they most agreed in their very prosecution of them, had their passions and animosities amongst themselves; they were only Christians that Loved, and cherished, and Comforted, and were ready to die for one another. Quid non illi Dicent Christiani, si non videtem temporis? says the Incomparsable Gratian: How would they look upon our sharp and virulent Contentions in the Debates of Christian Religion, and the bloody Wars that have proceeded from those Contentions, whilst ever one pretended to all the marks which are to attend upon the true Church except only that which is inseparable from it, Charity to one another.

My Lords and Gentlemen, this Disquisition hath cost the King many a Sigh, many a sad hour, when he had considered the almost irreparable reproach the Pretendit Religion hath undergone from the Divisions and Disunions which have been so notorious within this Kingdom. What pains he hath taken to compose them, after several Difficourses with Learned and Pious men of different persuasions, you will shortly see by a Declaration he will publish upon that occasion; by which you will see his great indulgence, to those who can have any Protection from Conscience to differ with their Brethren. And I hope God will enable the Candidate of his Majesty in the Conferences he makes, that the Church as well as the State will return to that Unity and Unanimity, which will make both King and People as happy as they can hope to be in this World.

My Lords and Gentlemen, I shall conclude with the King's hearty Thanks to you, not only for what you have done towards him, which hath been very Signals, but for what you have done towards each other; for the Excellent Correspondence you have maintaied, for the very laudable difference and concordance you have had between each other, which will restore Parliaments to the veneration they ought to have. And since his Majesty knows that you all desire to please him, you have given him ample evidence that you do so. He hath appointed me to give you a sure receipt to attain that good end; it is a Receipt of his own prescribing, and therefore it is not like to fail.

Be but pleased your selves, and persuade others to be so; contrive all the ways imaginable for your own Happiness, and you will make Him the most pleased and the most happy Prince in the World.

After this Speech the King retired, and both Houses of Parliament Adjourned themselves to the Sixth of November.

In the ACT for the speedy Disbanding of the Army and Garrisons, That Affair was committed to Twelve Commissioners, (Six whereof were Lords, and Six Commoners) or to any Three of them, whereof one of the Commissioners named by the Lords, and one named by the Commons, were to be Two: And that they might not go far about for the Money, The Treasurers at War, and Treasurer named in the Act for the speedy Provision of Money for for Disbanding the Army, were to lodge Money upon their Warrain.

All the Regiments and Garrisons were Disbanded by Acts except Four Companies in Hull, four in Berwick, and four in Carlisle, which were referred to be last reduced: And the Regiments belonging to the Dukes of York and Gloucester, and the Lord General, were not to be Disbanded till after all the other Regiments and Garrisons, except the Three before mentioned. There were Disbanded in England and Wales, Eighteen Regiments of Foot, confiting of a Thousand Souldiers in each Regiment, besides Officers, and thirteen Regiments of Horse, having five hundred Souldiers in each Regiment besides Officers, together with the General's Lifeguard of Horse, confiting of Two Hundred, and about Fifty Garrisons which had not in them less than 5000 Souldiers, besides Officers. And in Scotland Three Regiments and Two Companies of Foot, and Two Regiments, except one Troop of Horse, and about Thirteen Garrisons; but most of these Garrisons were not under particular Establishment, as those in England, but were manned by Companies out of the respective Regiments. The King, out of his own Bounty, gave a Weeks Pay over and above their full Arrests to all the Troops and Companies disbanded; Which was very thankfully accepted by them.

Moreover, he was so well satisfied with the Services of many of his Subjects in Ireland, who Joyned with the Duke of Albermarle for his Restauration, that he Conferred Rewards and Honour upon many of them according to the report of their merits, amongst these, Sir Charles Coxe was made Earl of Monmouth; Roger Lord Bregshick advanced to the Dignity of Earl of Orery; Connel Richard Come; a Brother to the Earl of Monmouth, was created Baron of Colovney; and Sir John King, Baron of Kingston; and shortly after, Sir John Clowdworth was made Viscount of Lisburn.

Beside the many Addresses that were made to the King the King by his own Subjects generally from all the Embassadours and Embassadors from several of the greatest Princes and States of Europe, to Complement his Majesty in the Name of their Masters, touching his happy Restauration to his Royal Dignity and Government: From the Marquess of Brandenburg came the Baron of Pelzig, Master of the Horse to his Highness. From Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, Cozen-German to his Majesty of England, came Christopher Clof of Kieenberg, Captain of his Guards. From the King of Denmark came the Lord Frederick von Alfeld, Deputy-Governour of the Dukedoms of Sleswick and Holstein. But never did any Embassador arrive in England in a more Splendid and gallant Equipage than the Prince of Ligne, who being sent Embassador to our King from the King of Spain, seems to have come only upon a Granularoy and Complemental Address, in regard there needed no Negotiation about any Peace between England and Spain, forasmuch as upon the coming in of his present Majesty, there follow'd by consequence a reviving of that Peaceful and Friendly Correspondence which had formerly been between these Two Crowns.
Grows in the time of the late King. And to this purpose his Majesty set forth a Proclamation, Requiring that (whereas the King of Spain had Commanded throughout his Dominions a Cessation from all Hostilities towards this Crown, and had propos'd, that the Publication thereof might be on both sides agree on by a fixt day) all Acts of Hostility should likewise cease on our parts, toward the Subjects of that Crown, which Cessation was to be reckoned as taking beginning from the day of his Majestie's Arrival in England, being the 25th of May, and that all Goods and Merchandizes which had been taken from that time, should be restored.

As the occasion of the Prince de Ligne's coming over was only Grantulatory and Complemental, so his stay here was but short, and after his Departure, there remain'd here as the King of Spain's Lieger or Embassador in Ordinary, the Baron of Battrail. In the same manner? on the part of the French was the Count of Souvain, succeeded by the Count of Monville, who had been long here, and is, at an Occasion happen'd, which manifest'd, that the late concluded Peace between these two Kings had not any whit left'd the Jealousie of Honour between them, and their old pretenotions in point of Precedence. Many trouble-some Contests there have formerly been between the Embassadors of these Two Crowns in the Courts of Forrain Princes and States, when they have chance'd to be Reelid together at the same place; but none more remarkable than that upon Tower-Hill, at the Landing of an Embassador from Sweden, on the 30th of September, Which since it was to prepar'd and premeditated a Buisine on both sides, that his Majesty foreseeing it would come to a Quarrel, and out of his accout'd Civillity willing to carry himself with an equal and impartial Indifference toward them both, and so far to gratify their Intentions, as to permit them to put their Retinue into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretensions: Yet in the mean time taking order for strict Guards to be kept upon the place, for the preventing, as much as might be, of all disturbances; and severely prohibiting any of his own Subjects to intermeddle in the difference, or to take part with either side; was pleas'd to Command, that the formerly mention'd Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent Enquiry made concerning the Carriage and Success of that whole Affair, render him a particular Account thereof, by drawing up a full Narrative of every Circumstance of that Occurrence: Which being a matter of so rare a kind, and great Importance, We have here thought meet to infer from that Gentleman's more felicul and ample Collection, as it was by him prefented to his Majesty in this following relation:

Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, about ten in the morning, the Spanish Embassadors Coach (in which were his Chal'len, with some of his Gentlemen attend'd by about Forty more of his own Servants in Live-

ries) was sent down to the Tower-Wharf, and there place'd, it fell near about the Point, where the Ranks of Ordinance determine towards the Cate leading into the Bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, and (Twelve a Clock pull) the Spanish Coach of Honour, disporting of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majestie's CoachRoyal), appeared that of the French Embassador, which was the Monsieur de Stred., Son to the French Embassador, with several more of his Gentlemen, and as, might be supposed, near an Hundred and fifty in Train, whereof above Fourty were Horsemen well appointed with Pistols, and (some of them) with Carabines, Musquetoons or Fuzies: In this Purtude and Equipage they expelling upon the Wharf, and as near as might be, approaching to his Majestie's Coach, which was opposite to the flaires. About Three in the Afternoon, the Spanish Embassador being Landed, and receiv'd into his Majestie's Coach, (which mov'd leisurely before the rest, and was follow'd by that of the Swedes.) The French Embassador's Coach endeavour'd to go the next, driving as close as possibily they could, and advancing their Party with their Swords draw'n, to force the Spanish's from their Guard of their own Coach, which were also putting in for Precedency next the King's. His Majestie's Coach now pull, the Spaniards (who held as yet their Rapiers undrawn in their hands) stepping nimbly on either side of the hind-most Wheels of their Master's Coach, drew their Weapons, and shouted, which caus'd the French Coach-horses to make a Pause: But, when they observ'd the advantage, which by this, the Spanish Embassador's Coach had gain'd, being now in file after the Swedes, they came up very near to the Spaniards, and at once, pouring in their shot upon them, together with their Foot (then got before their Coach) fell to it with their Swords, both which the Spanish receiv'd, without removing one jot from their stations.

During this Demaje, (in which the French received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dextrous Fellow, and (as most affirm) with a particular Instrument, as well as address, slipping under the belles of the French Embassador's Coach-Horses, cut the ham-strings of two of them, and wounded a third; which immediately falling, the Coach for the present was disabled from advancing farther, the Coachman forced out of his Box, and the Postillion mortally wounded, who falling into the arms of an English Gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his Thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded, and some killed) caused those in the French to alights, and so enraged their Party, that it occasion'd a second brisk Assalt both of Horse and Foot, which being receiv'd with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated, and wheel'd off to S. Katherine's.

It was in this Skirmish that some Brick-bats were thrown from the edge of the Wharf, which (by a mistake) are said to have been prov'd by the Spanish Embassador's Order the day before: But that they were not call'd by any of the English, is attested by the general consent of all the Spectators.

In this interim then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish Coach went forward after his Majestie's, with about Twenty of his Retinue following, who still kept their Countenances towards the French, as long as they abode on the
Wharf and that narrow Passage of the Bulwarke, 
(where the Consett was very fierce) without dis-
order: So as the first which appeared on Tower-
Hill (where now they were entering) was his 
Majesty's Coach, follow'd by the Swedish Amba-
dassador's, and next, by that of Spain, with about 
Two hundred or Thirty of his Lovers, still fill 
deputing it with a less number of French, who 
came after them in the Rear. 

And here (beside what was flain with Bul-
lets on the Wharf, and near the Bulwarke, WHERE 
of one was a Vade de Chambre of the Spanish 
Ambassador's, and six more, amongst which a 
poor English Plaister, and near forty wounded) 
fell one of the French, who was kill'd just before 
his Highness's Life-Guard; no one person of 
the numerous Spectators intermeddling, or, so 
much as making the least noife, or tumult,People 
or Soldiers, whereof there were Three Com-
panies of Foot, which stood opposite on the Hill 
to the Guards of Horse, with whom the An-
tagony's lightly skirmish'd, some freth Parties of 
French coming out of several places, and 
pressing by the English, whereby his Yound 
fother, till the Spanish Ambassador's 
Coach having gain'd, and pass'd the Chain which 
leads into Crochet-Friers, they delisted, and gave 
them over.

What ever disadvantage the French came off 
with in this Encounter, wherein, except one man 
that fought among the Spaniards with a Half 
Pike, not any of the English were seen to act 
any thing that might contribute to the success of 
one side more than another, till a few of the mul-
titude which flung on that side of the Wharf, 
being enrag'd by the Wounds which they re-
ceived from the shot that came in amongst them, 
and whereas 'tis said, some of them after wards 
died, were force'd to defend themselves with what 
they found at hand: For so Careful was Sir 
Charles Eversey, Captain of his Royal Highness's 
Life-Guard, to put in execution what he had in 
strict Charge from his Majesty, that not a man of 
the Spectators was suffer'd with impunity, so 
much as with a Switch in his hand. The French 
King, from this occasion, gain'd an advantage to 
the Prerogative he flung upon, greater than if 
this Consett had not happen'd: For whereas this bufl-
ness of Precedence had been hitherto in Contro-
versie between him and Spain, in so much that to 
prevent all Inconveniences, an Accord had been 
lately made here between the Spanish Emba-
dassador and the Count of Sainfons, That they should 
affift at no Publick Ceremonies, but upon all such 
casual Encounters, pass on their way as they for-
to'd to meet: The King of France countermand-
ing this Agreement, and sending positive Charge 
to de Stroede, not to abate any thing of those 
Pretenfions formerly flung upon; and hearing what 
enfued upon his Embassador's executing of his 
Injunctions, was so Incendi'ere threat, that the 
Quarrel had proceeded to an absolute Breach of 
the late concluded Peace between the two King-
doms, had not the King of Spain condefended 
to agree, That thenceforward Precedence should 
be yielded to the French upon all such like occa-
sions, without any dispute.

On the 23 of this Month, the Prince's Royal 
of Great Britain having recommended the In-
terests of her Son the Prince of Orange to the 
care of the Lords States of the Netherlands (who 
now at length had agreed among them selves to 
accept this Young Prince to the same Dignity and 
Trick which his Auncellours formerly held in 
that Commonwealth, of which they had so highly 
merited,) came over into England; invited by his 
Majesty; and willing once again to see her Na-
tive Country from which she had so many years 
been absent: But her Joy to see the King her 
Brother peaceably. Inthron'd, was very much 
allay'd by her Sorrow for the los of her Third 
Brother, Henry of Oulands Duke of Gloucefter, 
who in the 25 year of his age (to the great Grief 
of the King his Brother, and all those that know-
ning and admiring the Princely Vertues of his 
Youth, had promis'd Wonders to the World 
from the hopes of his Elder age) departed this 
Life on the 15th of September, being the fame 
day the Parliament adjourn'd, which was near 
the space of four Month after his Arrival in 
England; so that he surviv'd little longer than fit 
to attend upon his Brother to his Throne. He was 
a Prince Excellently accomplished, Religious, 
Learned, Valiant, Wife, and Affectionate Brother, a 
Wife Counsellor, a Good Matter, and a True Friend. And as if Fate 
had to prov'd, that being himself of the most 
Noble, she should also in death be accompany'd 
by the most Noble, there died much about the same 
time, two of the same Order with himself, and 
next him in Quality, Edin Duke of Lenox, and 
Richmond, and William Marques of Hertford, 
who was also not long before his death restored 
by his now Majesty to the Ancient Dignity of 
his Auncellours, being created Duke of Somer, 
and Norwich, and also to the Honour he had meried in 
the time of his late Majesty, of being Lord Chan-
cellour of the University of Oxford: In which 
last Dignity he is succeed'd by Sir Edward Hide, 
Lord high Chancellor of England.

Commissions having been appoint'd by the 
Commissioners of the Parliament to Pay off and Disband the Army 
and Navy, a speedie and effectual Course having 
been by them taken, as hath been already men-
tion'd, for the Paying off and Disbanding the fe-
veral Regiments and Ships as fast as Money came 
in by the Act of Poll-Money and the other Acts 
of Discharges made to that end by the Parliament 
before their Adjourment: In lieu of these Dis-
band'd Forces, all the several Counties of the 
Nation under the Conduct of certain Noblemen, 
who were constituted the King's Lieutenant 
over them, according to the Ancient Custum;
were Armed with their own Militia or Train'd 
The Militia Bands; Not so much in any apprehension of 
quiet from the Soldiers, for they had so good 
Officers placed over them by the Lord General, 
that there was no fear of disorder from them, but 
left any feditious persons might think themselves 
capable of making disturbance, if no Armed force 
should be ready to prevent their Murphies.

And by this means, the Country was both 
setteld into such a Posture of Military Defence, 
as to be able at a short warning to appear in 
Arms, and also freed from the continual Charge 
of maintaining a flanding Army, whereof there 
would be no appearance, except in case of 
Emergent Danger.

As matters of Civil, so likewise those of Ec-
clesiatical concernment were had in serious 
regard
regard by his Majesty, who judging the Form of Church-Government which had been established in England from the time of the Reformation, till the late Troubles, to be the most Ancient and Decent way of Worship and Discipline, and most tending to Uniformity in Religion, made it one of his first busineses to restore the late extirpated Episcopacy to the Dignity and Authority they formerly exercised in the Church of England. To which end, he speedily proceeded to the nomination of such Persons as were approv'd to be of the most eminent for Learning and Piety, for the supplying of those Bishop's See's, which were become vacant since the first time of the Abrogation of their power.

In the Moneth of October, Owen Rowe, Augustine Garland, and 27 more of the Regicides, Murderers of the late King, excepted out of the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, were arraigned at the Old Bailey upon a Commission of Oyer and Terminer, directed to Thomas Allen Knight and Baronet, Lord Mayor of London, Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Chancellor of England.

The Earl of Southampton, the Duke of Monmouth, the Duke of Albemarle, the Lord High Steward, the Earl of Leicester, Earl of Manchester, Earl of Dorset, Earl of Barkshire, Earl of Sandwich, Lord Roberts, the Lord Finch, Denzel Halter, Esquire, Sir Frederick Cornwalls, Knight and Baronet, Sir Charles Barkley, Knight; Mr. Secretary Nichols, Mr. Secretary Morris, Sir Anthony Afley-Coooper, Arthur Atmeyly Esquire, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Chief Baron, Mr. Justice Foster, Mr. Justice Addler, Mr. Justice Hider, Mr. Baron Atkins, Mr. Justice Twifden, Mr. Justice Terrell, Mr. Baron Turner, Sir Horatius Grimstone Knight and Baronet, Sir William Wild Knight and Baronet, Recorder of London, Mr. Serjeant Brown, Mr. Serjeant Hale, John Howell Esquire.

The Procurators on behalf of his Majesty, were Sir Jeffery Palmer, his Majestie's Attorney General, Sir Henrage Finch, his Majestie's Solicitor General, Sir Edward Turner, Attorney to his Highness the Duke of York, and Wadham Windiam Esquire, Edward Sheldon, Esquire attended the Clerk of the Crown.

The Prisoners being called, they all pleaded Not Guilty, Except Sir Hardresa Waller, and Mr. George Fleetwood, who pleaded Guilty: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Judges scarce ever went from the Bar to deliberate, but found all Guilty; and Ten of them were Executed, viz. Harrison, Carew, Scott, Clement, Jones, Scrrop, Cook, and Peter, at Charing Cross, and Hacker and Astell at Tyburn: William Hater (who was also found Guilty, being accused to be one of those in a Frock and Vizard affiliated in the horrid Execution of the King, and therefore excepted from Pardon, though not by name) in regard that the Evidence feem'd not so clear to the Court, upon their report to the King, he had his Reprieve; and all the rest were relipect, till the King and Parliament should order their Execution according to the direction in the Act of Indemnity in that behalf.

The King thought it high time to fettle the Peace of Scotland, as well as that of other Dominions, and in order thereunto he summoned a Parliament to meet at Edinburgh the 12th day of December: And by his Proclamation in that Kingdom, signified to all, that He relied to much on the Loyalty, Prudence, and Care of his Parliament, as absolutely to commit to them the Tying and Judging of the Carriage of his Subjects during the late Troubles, concerning which he would receive Addresss and Informations only from his Parliament or Committees of Eflates.

To whom in the mean time he recommended the ordering and preparing of that affair, and to whom alone any of his People that were interrefed, might freely and should only make their applications, assuring them, that his own Honour once vindicated, and the ancient Prerogatives of the Crown afferced, he would grant such a full and free Pardon, an Act of Indemnity, as might winces, that he defired nothing more than that his People should be fettled with abundance of Happines, Peace, and Plenty, under his Government.

For the Government of Ireland, he made Sir New Officers, Maurice Elysauk Knight, Lord Chellaneur of Ireland, Roger Exel of Great Britain, Lord President of Ireland, Sir Nicholas and Charles Earl of Montrose, Lord President of Connaught to be Justices, who Government, and Affairs there with great Candor and Madoration.

The Sitting again of the Parliament of England, drew very near, in the Interm whereunto, the King to manifest his vigilance for the good of his Subjects, according to his Promise at their Ad- tainment the latter end of October, published his Declaration concerning Ecclesiastical Affairs, fill'd with many gracious Concessions to allay the Discontenters in Religion of that time, which be- cause it was but temporary, till the Parliament should offer something further to him in reference to those matters, We forbear to mention the particular thereof. Helikewise a few days after emitted a Commission under the Great Seal of England, to several Persons of great Honour and Integrity, to Treat with all Purchasers of Court and Church Lands, that none of his People might want any satisfaction which in reason could be allowed them.

The Two Housies of Parliament met the Sixth day of November, and applied themselves to the making of several Laws for the augmentation of the King's Revenue, and other Matters of great Consideration, in which they were the more diligent and speedy, for that they received intimation from the King, that he intended to dissolve them on the 29th day of December: In the mean time, they Ordered, That the several Bodies of Oliver Cromwell, John Brad, and Henry Ireton, and Thomas Pride, should be taken out of their Graves, and drawn on an Harpole to Tyburn, to buried under the Gallows: And on Christmas Eve, the King went to the House of Lords, and there gave his Royal Allent to Two Acts of Parliament, viz. To an Act for a Grant of certain Impositions upon Beer, Ale, and other Liquors, for the increace of his Majesty's Revenue, and, an Act for the taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Tenures in Capite, and by Knights Service, and Purveyance, and for setting a Revenue upon his MAJESTIE's in Lien thereof. The Act for a Grant of certain Impostions, &c. is by several Rates as Excise, upon Beer, Ale, Sider, Petty, Metherglin, Strong-Water or Aquis.
The Death of the Princes of this Ille. Sir William, Prince, Princes of Arrague, and 34 Acts more passed by the King.

1. An Act for the Restoring of Henry Lord Arundel of Worder, to the possession of his Estate.
3. An Act to refert to Wentworth Earl of Roicomon in Ireland, all the Honours, Castles, Lordships, Lands and Tenements, whereof James Earl of Roicomon his great Grandfather, or James Earl of Roicomon his Father, were possessed.
4. An Act for the restoring of Sir George Hamilton to his Lands and Estate in Ireland.
5. An Act for Maintenance of the Vicar, for the time being, of the Vicariage of Roffneuk.
6. An Act for Enabling Sir William Wray to sell Lands for the payment of his Debts, and raising of Portions for his younger Children.
7. An Act for Naturalizing of Gerrard Vanbuthzen, Daniel Demetrius, and others.
9. An Act for improving the Master of the Rolls to make Leaves for Years, in order to new building the old Buildings belonging to the Rolls.
10. An Act for the Naturalization of John Boreel, Esq., eldest Son of Sir William Boreel Knight and Baronet.
12. An Act for the restoring Sir Thomas Crimes Baronet, to his Estate.
13. An Act for Enabling George Fawnt of Fenton, in the County of Leiceter, Esquire, to Sell and Convey part of his Lands, for payment of several Debts and Legacies charged upon his Estate by Sir William Fawnt Knight, deceased, and for the raising of Portions for his Younger Children, and making his Wifes Estate payable.
15. An Act to enable Joseph Mklethwait an Infant, and his Trustees, to Sell his Lands for, payment of his Father's Debts.
17. An Act for Confirming the Sale of the Manor of Hitcham, Sold to Charles Doy by Sir John Clark, Knight and Baronet, and for selling and disposing other the Lands of the said Sir John Clark, and Dame Philadelphia his Wife.
18. An Act for the settling of some of the Manors and Lands of the Earl of Cleveland in Trustees, to be sold for the satisfying of the Debts of the said Earl, and of Thomas Lord Wentworth his Son.
19. An Act for the disappropriaing of the Re: Story appropriate of Preton, and unifying and con: solidating of the said Re: Story, and of the Vicaridge of the Church of Preton, and for the assuring of the Adworthon and Right of Patronage of the same unto the Master, Fellows, and Scholars of Emanuel Colledge in Cambiridg.

The Publice ACTS were:
1. An Act for the Attaint of several Persons guilty of the horrid Murder of his late Sacred Majesty King Charles the First.
2. An Act for the Levyng of certain Money due upon the Collection for the Protestantsof Piedmont.
3. An Act for Confirmation of Grants and Leases from Colleges and Hospitals.
5. An Act for granting to the Kings Majestie 42000 l. by Assesiment of 7000 l. by the Month, for six Months, for Disbursing of the Army, and Paying off the Navy.
6. An
6. An Act for the raising of 70000l. for the further supply of his Majesty.
9. An Act for the further supplying and explaining certain defects in an Act for the speedy Provision of Money for Disbanding and Paying off the Forces of this Kingdom both by Land and Sea.
10. An Act for the better ordering of the selling of Wine by Retail, and for preventing olibes in the mingling, corrupting and vitiating of Wines, and for settling and limiting the Prices of the same.
11. An Act for Prohibiting the planting, setting, or sowing of Tobacco in England and Ireland.
12. An Act for Prohibiting the Exportation of Wool, Wooll-fells, Fullers-Earth, or any kind of Scouring Earth.

By the Act of Attainder, which was made to
Attain the Judges and other Altors in the Mutter
of the late King, Oliver Cromwell deceased, Henry Ireton deceased, John Bradshaw deceased, and Thomas Pride deceased, are Adjudged to be Convicted and Attainted of High Treason, to all intents and purposes, as if they and every of them respectively had been attainted in their Life-time.


3. All the Manners, Messuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reversions, Remainders, Pensions, Rights, Conditions, Interests, Offices, Feets, Amnuities, and all other Hereditaments, Leases for years, Chattels Real, and all other things of that nature whatsoever they be, of them the said Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, John Bradshaw, Thomas Pride, and of other persons particularly named in the said Act, amounting in all to the number of Two and Fifty Persons, which they or any of them, or any other person or persons to their or any of their Uses, or in Trust for them or any of them, the 25th day of March, 1646. or at any time since, shall stand and be forfeited to the King, his Heirs and Successors, and shall be voided and adjudged to be in the actual and real possession of the King, without any Office or Inquisition there of hereafter to be taken or found.

4. No Conveyance, Assignments, Grant, Bargain, Sale, Charge, Lease, Assignment, Surrender by Copy, Effuaries, Interests, Trust, Limitation of Uses, or out of any Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, (not being the Lands of the late King, Queen, Prince, or any of the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, nor any Statute, Judgment or Recognition had, made, acknowledged or suffered to any person or persons which before the 25th day of September 1659. by any of the Offenders in the Act mentioned, or their Heirs, or any other persons claying by, from, or under them, other than the Wife or Wives, Child or Children, Heir or Heirs, of such person or persons to any of them) for Money boun to inuend any of them paid or Lent, nor any Conveyance, Grant, or Lease, made before the 25th day of April 1660. by any person or persons aforesaid, in trust and for the benefit of any other person or persons not being of the Offenders aforesaid, shall be impounded, defected, made void or frustrated hereby, or by the Conventions or Attainders aforesaid, but shall be enjoyed by the Purchasers, Grantors, Legatees, their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, and their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns without prejudice, as if this Act had not been made; So as the said Conveyances, Grants, Assignments, which are and ought to be held and enjoyed as aforesaid before the Euir of January 1662. be entered and enrolled of Record in the Exchequer, and not otherwise.

5. All and singular the Manners, Lands and Hereditaments, which herebefore were the Lands, &c. of Henry late Marquess of Worcester, Edward now Marquess of Worcester, and Henry Lord Herbert, Son to the said Edward Marquess of Worcester, whereof the said Oliver Cromwell, or any other person in trust for him, or to his use, or any other the persons attainted by this Act or otherwise, or any other person in trust for them or any of them, had at any time before or since the decease of the said Oliver Cromwell, are voided and seised in, and shall be held and enjoyed by the said Marquess of Worcester, and Henry Lord Herbert, in such manner and for such Estates and other their Rights and Priviledges as they formerly had in the same. Saving the Estates, Rights, Titles and Interests of Strangers, not derived by and from any of the said Offenders since the 25th day of March, 1646.

1. It is Provided nevertheless, That those who have received any of the Rents or Mean Profits of, in, or out of, any the Lands, Chattels Real, or Possessions of any of the Offenders in this Act mentioned before the 1st day of February, 1659, and have paid or accosted for the same before that day unto the said Offenders, or their Executors, or their Assigns, or any other person claying from or under them, shall be for ever acquitted and discharged of and from the same, against the King, his Heirs and Successors.

2. And also, That Richard Inglesby may keep, fell or dispose of all the Goods and Chattels formerly belonging to Sir Hareder's Walter, in Ireland, until 2500l. for which the said Inglesby in the year 1658. sold, and was then Conditioned by a Judgment upon his Lands, and since by a Deed of Bargain and Sale of the said Goods and Chattels in Ireland, be fully paid, together with the Interest thereof, for the said Inglesby paying the Overplus to the King.

The King Favour to this Gentleman, grounded upon so notable a foundation of merit, as is before related, did oblige the Parliament in this and many other occasions, to throw their respect to him.

The Act for raising and establishing a Post-Office, brought a Revenue of One and Twenty Thousand
And ill should We deserve this Happy Day,
If no acknowledgment we pay,
To You Great Patriots of the Two
Molt truly other Hous.es now;
Who have redempted from Infame and from Shame,
A Parliament's once Venerable Name,
And now the Title of a House restore
To that which was but Slaughter-House before;
If my advice, Ye Worthies, might be taken,
Within those Reverend Places
Which now your Living Preceence graces,
Your Worthy Statues always should remain,
To keep alive your useful Memory,
And to your Successors the Example be
Of Truth, Religion, Reason, Loyalty;
For though a firmly settled Peace
May shortly make your Publick Labours cease,
The greatfull Nation, will with joy confess,
That in this Sense, you should be laid
(Though yet the Name founds with some dread)
To be The Long, the Endless Parliament.

Of all the manifold Sects, and Separations, The Infir-
that sprung up from the licence of the late
War, and the Anarchy that reigned from that
time, till the time of his Majestie's Restoration,
there were scarce any that dreaded not the Name
of Monarchy, as apprehending the Consequence
thereof to be a tendency to Uniformity in Church
and State; And therefore no marvial if they
who heretofore were profess'd Enemies to the
King and his Right of Government, were, after
his Coming in, agitated with a reliefs spirit of
Impatience and Dif-satisfaction, which forborne
not several times to manifest it self in such At-
temps, as, had not a timely flop been put unto
them, by the Prudent Foresight and Vigilant
Care of his Majesty and his Council, might
very much have Endanger'd the Improving
of the Nation in a new Civil War. The first
Alarm that was given, was by the Fifth-Mo-
naire-men, (they at least were the only hardy
men that openly appear'd) a generation of people
who, however they intended, the more to Assert
the Enemies to the Ancient settled Monarchy of the Nation,
of all the whole Hydra, Of these about 50 or
60 mad persons, resolving to venture Neck or
nothing, broke forth into open Hostility and
Rebellion, under the Conduit of one Thomas
Ventor, a Cooper, that had lived for some time
in New England, and was of the principle of the
Fifth-Monarchy, and a Preacher to a Conven-
ticle of those of that Opinion, who usually met
in Coleman-street. That which first gave him and
his partakers a pretence to their Treacon, was
the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, (which
all good Subjects are oblig'd by the Law to take)
exclaiming not only against them in particular,
but against all Oaths in general; And when some
amongst them, more ingenious than the rest,
advised their Company's not to dispute what
was Commanded by their Superiors, since ful-
filion was naturally due to those Powers from
whence they expected protection; They were
answered by the Seditious, That they had no pro-
tection in the exercise of their Religion, but were
for the practice thereof expected to all manner of
Contemps and Miferies. As if a Just Restraint
from Extravagancies in Divine Worship, were
to be citem'd Oppression. The
The madness of these Men extended so far, as to believe they and the rest of their Judgment were called by GOD to Reform the World, and make all the Earthly Powers (which they called Babylon) subervient to the Kingdom of King Jefus; and in order thereunto, never to šheat their Sword, till the carnal Powers of the World became a hilling and a Curle: And by a misguided Zeal, they were so confident in their undertaking, that they were taught and believed one should subdue a Thousand, making account when they had led captive Captivity in England, go into France, Spain, Germany, and other parts of the World, there to prosecute their holy defigns.

The place where they consulted and continued their Conspiracie, was the Meeting-place for their Devotion, and thither they had at several times conveyed Arms. On Sunday the Sixth of January, which was the day before their Excursion (his Majesty at that time being gone to accompany his Royal Mother the Queen-Dowager of Great Britain, and his Siller the Princess Henrietta Maria, part of their Journey toward France,) they were very late at their Assembly, which made one Martin, the Landlord of the Houfe, but not of their Party, somewhat inquisitive after their doing; and as he was going into the Chamber to them, he met Venner, who seeing him troubled, told him, He perceived the thought their fery too long, and that in half an hours space after they had fought God in their Prayers, they would difperfe Martin's jealousy of their actions, made him Confult with a Friend about their infinite Wednesday of all their good things; he was advised to listen at their Door, or peep through some Chinks to hear or fee what they were about; Which he did, and found them Arming themselves with Back, Breast, and Head-Piece; and thereupon he immediately gave Notice thereof to some of the next Officers: But within half an hour of this, they came down, and being met by the Militrefs of the Houfe great with Child, who in amazement would have flut the Door upon them, they offer'd to floot her with a Mufquet; upon which in great terror the left them. The Rebels firft march'd to St. Thomas Apostles, to call some of their party, and from thence to Bishopsgate, and after to White-Crofs-street. Sir Richard Brown, the Lord Mayor, having notice of their being abroad, got together some Files of the Trained Bands, but not fufficient, as was fuppofed, to make any imprefion upon them, they being imagind more numerous then they were; by which means they had opportunity to escape to St. John Wood, and from thence to Cane-Wood, betwixt High-Gate and Hampstead.

By this time the Alarum being come to White-Hall, and the General's Regiment drawn up the Duke of York and he, with the Earl of Oxford, and some others, and some of the Guards, march'd into London, where they were informed all the Rebels were difpofed, except a party of them that were feen to go towards Cane-Wood, whither Sir Thomas Sandys was fent with fome of the Guards, and a Company of Foot: But by the darknefs of the Night they got away, and on Wednesday morning came again into London, and divided themselves into two Parties, one whereof about 5 and 6 in the morning appear'd about Leaden-Hall, and from thence march'd to Little Ealchep, where they fought obliquely enough, but were difpofed by the Train'd Bands. Venner and another Party came to my Lord Mayor's Houfe, thinking to have taken him Prisoner; but misfiring, they march'd into Wood-street, where they were met by Colonel Corbet, and about twenty Horfe; Corbet and nine of his party charged through the Rebels, and broke them, whereby the Train'd Band Foot that reconducred them, had little more to do, than to pursue them. They fought with courage to admiration: and if they had not been hindered by the care of the Lord Mayor from increasing their numbers, a Thousand men for refolv'd, might have caused fuch a disturbance in the City, as might have had an influence much further. Venner himself was very much wounded before he was taken, and about five or six kill'd that refolved quarter, of which some of them were fo obscure, that their Names were not known. And about eight or ten days after, Venner with about sixteen or seventeen of the most notorious, were arraigned at Justice-Hall in the Old-Baily, found guilty, and executed in several parts of London.

Thus ended this desperate Enterprise of a formidable Army of three-four men, who were infenibled to that height of Enthusiazme Valour, that they thought themselves strong enough to encounter the whole Armed force of one of the Greatest and most Populous Cities of the World; The Princess Guards, the General's Troops, the City Train'd Bands, were all array'd up in Confequency, by these men of Mickle Might, and Little Wit; and I have heard they were fo Infatuated with their golden Dreams, and fo Cock-fure of Succefs, that they had promised to themselves the Partage of the whole Empire of the World among them, Thirty being designd for the Subdiviion of the Eastern Parts, and thirty of the Western: But we have seen what disaster they met with by the Way.

With the Suppression of this Insurrection, and the bringing the Authors thereof to exemplary punishment, together with the decease of Sir Arthur Huylerigg in the Tower, who is thought to have died with very Anguilh of Mind, to fee all his great Dignifys in an Inshtant brought to nothing, and himself at the Mercy of a Pow'r or he which had fo long Triumph'd: We shall conclude this Year, as with the Solemn Coronation of his Majefly, our present Hillary not thinking it enough to have feen him refund'd to his Throne and rightful Inheritance, without feeing him also involved with thofe Enligns, and Formalities of Regal Dignity, by which all his Predeceffors were confirm'd and eftablifh'd Kings of England.

The Pomp and Proceedings whereof, in regard they may very well be conceiv'd to have exceeded the Magnificences of all former Coronations, as being perfom'd for a Prince fo miraculousl refund'd to his People, We judge not impertinent to be here Inferted; following herein the Observations and Collection (according to the Original unmutated Copy fet forth by himself, and with his own Name prefix'd to the Title) of Elias Ashdoyle Esq, Windsor Herald at Arms, a most Judicious and Curious Inquirer into all Antiquities of this Nature, and exactly vers'd
1. The Sovereign.
   2. Prince Elector of Brandenburgh.
   3. Prince Rupert.
   4. Earl of Salisbury.
   5. Earl of Northumberland.
   7. Earl of Southampton.
   8. Earl of Bridgewater.
   11. Earl of Manchester.
   13. Earl of Lindsey.

Likewise, in order to their attendance upon this great Solemnity, there were created 68 Knights of the Holy Trinity, called Knights of the Bath, six Earls, and as many Barons. The Names of the Knights of the Bath (they being a Society of Knights never made but at a Coronation of a King or a Queen, or at a creation of a Prince of Wales, or Duke of York,) were,

1. Edward Lord Clinton, afterwards Earl of Lincoln.
2. John Viscount Brandby.
3. Sir Philip Herbert, second Son to the Earl of Pembroke.
5. Sir Vere Fine, second Son to the Earl of Wingham.
6. Sir Charles Berkley, eldest Son to the Lord Berkley.
7. Sir Henry Bellafis, eldest Son to the Lord Bellafis.
10. Sir Henry Capel, Son of the late Lord Capel.
11. Sir John Fairy, second Son to the Lord Fairfax, Earl of Carbury.
17. Sir William D'Arcy, Baronet.
18. Sir Thomas Trevor, Baronet.
21. Sir Charles Cornwallis, eldest Son to Sir Frederick Cornwallis.
25. Sir John Coventry.
27. Sir John Knocci.
28. Sir Phillip Butler.
29. Sir Adrian Scrop.
30. Sir Richard Knightley.
31. Sir Henry Heron.
32. Sir John Lemken.
33. Sir George Brown.
34. Sir William Teringham.
35. Sir Francis Godolphin.
36. Sir Edward Boyton.
37. Sir Grevill Verney.
38. Sir Edward Harley.
40. Sir Francis Popham.
41. Sir Edward Wife.
42. Sir Christopher Calbrop.
43. Sir Richard Edgecombe.
44. Sir William Bromley.
45. Sir Thomas Bridges.
46. Sir Thomas Fanshaw.
47. Sir John Denham.
48. Sir Nicholas Bacon.
49. Sir James Adlam.
50. Sir Thomas Wendy.
51. Sir John Banlyon.
52. Sir George Freeman.
53. Sir Nicholas Slannng.
54. Sir Richard Ingoldsby.
55. Sir John Bates.
56. Sir Edward Heath.
57. Sir William Morley.
58. Sir John Bennet.
59. Sir Hugh Smith.
60. Sir Simon Lething.
61. Sir Henry Cheffer.
63. Sir Robert Gayre.
64. Sir Richard Pawle.
65. Sir Hugh D'Arcy, another Son of the foresaid Sir Robert D'Arcy.
66. Sir Steven Fades.
67. Sir Ralph Balf.
68. Sir Whitmore.

Which Knights of the Bath, were first dubbed Knights Bachelor, were Knighted by the King with the Sword of State, and then every one of them was adorned with the Red Ribbon of Knight-hood of the Bath, with a Medal adjoining unto it of Three Crowns, with an Inscription about it of Tria juncta in uno, which words till King James's Coronation were Tria juncta in uno, from The Holy Trinity, but at that time the word Numina was left out, which is supposed to be that from that time it might be look on to be an order of Knight-hood in allusion unto the union of the Three Kingdoms of England.

* Son of that Sir Robert D'Arcy, who, in the dangerous times of difficulty and trial, chose rather to contract the Envy of his Brethren, than to recede from those Principles of Allegiance which inspired him to adjudge God and Cæsar their Duke.
England, Scotland, and Ireland, as Tris Regna juncta in uno.

The Commissioners appointed for the calling together of these peers to be Knighted were the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Northumberland, Suffolk, Lindsey, and Manchester.

The Twelve Peers advanced unto the Titles of Earls and Barons, were Edward Baron Hyde of Hindon, Lord High Chancellor of England, created Earl of Clarendon, Arthur Baron Capell, created Earl of Effex, Thomas Baron Bradenell, Earl of Cardigan, Arthur Viscount Valencia, Earl of Anglesey, Sir John Greenwell Knight, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, Earl of Bath, Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle, Dennis Holles Esquire, Baron Holles of Sield, Sir Frederick Cornwallis Knight and Baronet, Baron Cornwallis of Eye in Suffolk, Sir George Booth Baronet, Baron de la Mare of Dunham Maffy, Sir Horatio Townend Baronet, Baron Townend of Lyn Regis, Sir Anthony Ably-Cooper Baronet, Baron Ably of Wimton St. Giles, John Crew Esq, Baron Crew of Stene. Who were so created Earls and Barons on Saturday in the Afternoon, the 20. of April, 1661, in the Banqueting-Room in White-Hall, three days before the King's Coronation.

On Monday the 22d of April, his Majesty, according to the Ancient Custome, made his Caval-Cade from the Tower to Westminster, in such a glorious and splendid manner, that it seem'd to out-vie whatever had been seen before at Galantry and Riches, the gorgeousness of Apparel, the Sparkling of Gems, the Luster of Gold, in a continued Train to dazzling the Spectator's Eye, as if both the Indies had been summon'd over to attend at that Day's Triumph: In preparation to which, Four very Stately and Magnificent Triumphal Arches had been erected by the City, (according as their Charter obligeth them upon such an occasion) for his Majesty to pass through to his Coronation.

The first in Leaden-Hall street, near Lime-street End, made after the Dorick Order, representing his Majesty's happy Arrival in England. The second, being a Naval Representation, was near the Exchange in Cornhill.

The third, consisting of the Corinthian and composite Order, and representing the Temple of Concord, was plac'd in Chapfide, near Wood-street End.

The fourth, consisting of the Dorick and Ionick Orders, and representing the Garden of Plenty, stood in Fleet-street, near White-Friers.

All Four of them being describ'd at large in a Treatise particularly let forth to that purpose by Mr. John Ogilby.

The Proceeding of his Majesty from the Tower to Westminster, was in the following Order:


Marquefles. Dukes.


Equerries, and Footmen next his Majesty. Gentlemen, and Pensioners without them. The Master of the Horse leading a spare Horse. The Vice-Chamberlain to the King. Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The King's Horse-Guard. The General's Horse-Guard.
The Proceedings on the day of his Majestie's Coronation, were as followeth:

Upon Tuesday the 23rd of April being St. George's day, about half an hour after seven in the morning, the King entered into His Rich Barge, took Water from the Privy-Stairs at White-Hall, and landed at the Parliament-Stairs: From whence He proceeded up to the Room behind the Lords-House, called the Princess Lodgings, where, after He had repose Himself for a while, He was arrayed in His Royal Robes of Crimson Velvet, fur'd with Ermine: By which time the Nobility, being assembled, robed themselves in the Lords-House, and Painted Chamber.

The Judges also, with those of the Long-Robe, the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber, met in the Court of Requests.

After some space, the King, Herald, and Pursuivants, began to set the Proceeding in Order, each of them taking his share assigned in Chapter, (held at the Herald's-Office the evening before,) and thence directed all the before-mentioned Degrees (except the Nobility) down into Westminster-Hall, where the rest of the Proceeding attended, and from whence the March began.

About half an hour after Nine, the Nobility (having been first called over in the Painted-Chamber) proceeded each according to his Rank, and Dignity, in their Robes, and Coronets, before the King, through the Court of Requests, into Westminster-Hall, ascended up to the Stage, which was raised at the West-end, and placed themselves upon each side thereof.

His Majesty being set in his Chair, under a rich Cloth of State: First, Sir Gilbert Talbot, the Master of the Jewel-House, presented the Sceftre, as also the Sword called Curtana, and two other Swords, to the Lord High-Constable, who took and delivered them to the Lord High-Chamberlain, and he (having drawn the last) laid them upon the Table before the King.

The said Master of the Jewel-House delivered likewise the Sword to the Lord High-Constable; and he again the same to the Lord High-Chamberlain, who also placed them upon the Table.

Immediately after the Dean and Prebends of Westminster, (by whom the Regalia had been brought in Procession from the Abbey-Church unto Westminster-Hall) being vested in rich Copes, proceeded from the lower end thereof, in manner following:—
The Sergeant of the Vestry, in a Scarlet Mantle.
The Children of the King's Chappel, being twelve in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The Quire of Westminster in Surplices.
The Gentlemen of the King's Chappel, being thirty three in number, in Scarlet Mantles.
The Pursuivants, Herald, and Provincial Kings.
The Dean, carrying St. Edward's Crown:—
The Dean of Hereford, the Sceftre with the Cross.
The Dean of Exeter, the Cross, and the Dee.
The Dean of Salisbury, the Cross with the Dee.
The Dean of Worcester, the Cross with the Dee.
The Dean of Chester, the Cross, and the Dee.
The Dean of Lincoln, the Chain, and the Patena.
The Dean of Wakefield, the Spoon.
The Dean of Bath, the Ampulla.

All standing towards the lower end of the Hall, ready to proceed, they made their first Reference together; then coming to the middle of the said Hall, there they made a second Time, and thence going a little further, both the Quire fell off, and stood on either side, through which Lane, the Pursuivants, Herald, and Kings paling, fell likewise off on either side, the Seniors still placing themselves uppermost towards the Throne; after whom, the Dean and Prebends proceeded, and arrived at the foot of the Stone-steps, ascending to the Throne, where they made another Reverence.

This being done, the Dean and Prebends, with Garter, Principal King of Arms before them, (he having waited their coming thither) ascended the Steps, and approaching near to the Table before the King, made their last Reverence.

The Dean first presented the Crown, which was by the Lord High-Constable, and Lord Great-Chamberlain, let upon the Table; who afterwards took from each of the Prebends that part of the Regalia, which they carried, and laid them also by the Crown: which done, they retired.

Then, the Lord Great-Chamberlain presenting the Regalia severally to the King, His Majesty thereupon disposed of them unto the Noble-men hereafter named, to be carried by them in the Proceeding to the Abbey-Church, viz.

St. Edward's Staff to the Earl of Sandwich.
The Spurs to the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
The Sceftre with the Cross to the Earl of Bedford.
The Painted Sword (born on the left hand of Curtana) to the Earl of Derby.
The Painted Sword (born on the right hand thereof) to the Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Sword called Curtana to the Earl of Oxford.
The Sword of State to the Earl of Manchester.
The Sceftre with the Dee to the Duke of Albemarle
The Orb, with the Cross to the Duke of Buckingham.

The Patena to the Bishop of Exeter: And lastly, The Chalice to the Bishop of London.

And because the Spoon and Ampulla were not to be borne in the Proceeding, and therefore ought not to have been brought thither, but placed upon the High Altar, in the Abbey-Church, there to lie in readiness, they were not presented to the King, but commanded to be sent back thither, and laid thereon.

All things being thus prepared, and it being about ten a clock, the Proceeding began from out the said Hall into the Palace Yard, through the Gate-Steps, and the end of King's Street, thence along the Great Stairway, and to the West end of the Abbey-Church, all upon Bleur Cloth, which was spread upon the Ground, from the Throne in Westminster-Hall, to the great Steps in the Abbey-Church, by Sir George Carteret Knight, Vice-Chamberlain, appointed by the King to be his Almoner for this Day.
The Proceeding to the Coronation, was in this following Order.

The Drummers four.
The Trumpeters sixteen, in four Chalices.
The Six Clerks of the Chancery.
Ten of the King’s Chaplains, having Dignity.
The Aldermen of London.
The King’s Learned Council at Law.
The King’s Solicitors.
The King’s Attorney.
The King’s eldest Serjeant at Law.
The Essuaries of the Body.
The Masters of Requests.
The Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.
The Knights of the Bath.
The Barons of the Exchequer, and Justices of both Benches, two and two, in order, according to their Seniority of the Coat.
The Lord Chief Baron.
The Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Please.
The Master of the Rolls.
The Lord Chief Justice of the King’s Bench.
The Serjeant-Porter.
The Serjeant of the Pepers.
The Children of the King’s Chappel.
The Gentlemen of the King’s Chappel.
The Freewinds of Westminster.
The Master of the Jewel-House, who now had Precedency of the Judges, in regard he brought the Sword, and Spurts into Westminster-Hall, and the King to the Church.
The Knights of the Privy-Council.
Port-culiss, Pursuivants at Arms.
The Barons in their Robes, two and two, carrying their Caps of Crimson Velvet, turn’d up with Miniver, in their Hands.
The Bishops, two and two, according to their Dignities, and Confections.
Rouge-Croix, Blew-mantle, Pursuivants.
The Viceconsuls, two and two, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.
Somerset, Cheffer, Gentlemen.
The Earls, two and two, in their Robes, holding their Coronets in their Hands.
Richmond, Windsor, Gentlemen.

The Marqueys of Dorchester, the Marqueys of Wre *)(c, in their Robes, with their Coronets in their Hands.
Lancaster, York, Heralds.
Norway, Clarenfex, Provincial Kings, carrying their Crowns in their Hands.
The Lord High-Treasurer.
The Lord High-Chancellor.
St. Edward’s Staff, born by the Earl of Sandwich:
The Spurs, born by the Earl of Pembroke, and Montgomery.
St. Edward’s Scepter, born by the Earl of Bedford.
The third Sword, drawn and born by the Earl of Derby.
The Sword called Curtana, drawn and born by the Earl of Oxford.
The Pointed Sword, drawn and born by the Earl of Shrewsbury.
The Lord Mayor of London.
Garter, Principal King of Arms.
The Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod.
The Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great-Chamberlain of England.

The Earl of Suffolk, Earl Marshal for this present occasion.
The Sword of State in the Scabbard, born by the Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain of the Household.
The Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Constable of England for this present occasion.

His Highness the Duke of York.
The Sceper, with the Dove, born by the Duke of Albermarle.
St. Edward’s Crown, born by the Duke of Ormond, High Steward for this present occasion.
The Orb, born by the Duke of Bucking-
ham.
The Patern, born by the Bishop of Exeter, in his Cope.
The Regale, or Chalice, born by the Bishop of London, in his Cope.

The KIN
supported by the Bishops of Bath and Wells,
and Daresme.

His Train born by the Lords Mandevill, Cavendish, Offany, and Percy; and assisted by the Lord Mansfield, Master of the Robes.

The Lord Lauderdale,
one of the Gentlemen of the Bed-Chamber, to be near to the King.

Mr. Aisherham,
Mr. Seomur,
both Grooms of the Bed-Chamber.

Captain of the Guard.
Captain of the Pensioners.

The Yeomen of the Guard.

When the Proceeding had entered the Abbey-Church, all passed through the Quire, and thence went up the Stairs toward the great Stage, and, as they arrived at the top thereof, were disposed
King CHARLES the Second.

1661. diposed by the heralds into two Galleries, built on either side the upper end of the Quire.

That, on the North-side, received the Aldermen of London, the Judge, and Gentlemen of the Long-Robe, the Quire of Westminster, the Gentlemen and Children of the King's Chapel, (excepting twelve Gentlemen, four Children, and one Organist, who went into a Gallery, railed on the South-side of the Upper Quire, peculiarly appointed for them:) and, in the Gallery, on the South-side, were seated the Knights of the Bath, and Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber.

The King, being entered the West Door of the Abbey-Church, was received with an Anthem, begun by the Quire of Westminster, who, with the Dean, and Prebends, had before fallen off from the Proceeding, a little on the left hand of the middle life, and stayed there to attend his coming, where also a Fald-stool, and Caffions were laid ready for his Majesty to kneel at.

The Anthem sung was the first, fourth, fifth, and sixth Verses of the 122d Psalm:

I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the House of the Lord, &c.

The King, arriving at the Fald-stool, kneeled down, and used some private Executions; which being finished, He thence proceeded into, and through the Quire, up to the great Theatre (erected close to the four high Pillars, standing between the Quire and the Altar) upon which the Throne of Efjate was placed, (being a Square railed on five Degrees) at the Entrance whereof were set a Chair, Fald-stool, and Caffions, covered with Cloth of Gold, wherein he repose himself.

Immediately after the Bishop of London (who was appointed to officiate, in part, that Day, for the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, whose age and weakness renders him incapable of performing his whole Duty at the Coronation) having the Lord High-Constable, the Earl of Marfsat, the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Lord High Chancellor, and Lord Chamberlain of the Households before him, went first to the South, next to the West, and lastly, to the North-side of the Theatre; and at every of the said three sides, acquainted the People, That he presented to them King C H A R L E S, the rightful inheirour of the Crown of this Realm; and asked them, If they were willing to do their Homage, Sootice, and Bounden Duty to Him.

As this was doing, the King rofe up, and stood by the aforesaid Chair, turning His Face still to that side of the Stage, where the said Bishop stood, when he spake to the People; who signified their willingsnefs, by loud Shouts, and Acclamations.

The same Question was likewise put by the said Bishop to all the Nobility present.

Immediately after, this following Anthem was sung by the Gentlemen of the King's Chappel:

Let thy Hand be strengthened, and thy right Hand be exalted. Let Justice and Judgment be the Preparation of thy Seat, and Mercy and Truth go before thy Face.

In which time, a large Carpe was spread by a Groom and Page of the removing Wardrobe, from the Altar, down below the half-Paces thereof, and over that a Silk Carpe, and Caffion, laid by the Gentleman-Offier of the Black-Rod, and Mr. Knirleyse: whereupon the Bishop of London went down from the Stage towards the Altar, and having made his Reverence, placed himself at the North-side thereof.

Then the King descended from His Throne, and proceeded towards the Altar; being supported by the Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells, with the Four Swords, the grand Officers, the Noblemen, and Bishops, that carried the Regalia before him, the Dean of Westminster also attending. Being arrived at the Steps of the Altar, He kneeled down upon the Cushion, there laid ready for him, having first offered the Pall, (which was of Cloth of Gold, and born by the Earl of Sandwich) as also a Wedge of Gold of a pound weight (prefented unto His Hands by the Lord Cornw Liths, Treasurer of His Household) both which were received from the King by the Bishop of London, who laid them reverently upon the Altar. Immediately after, his Majesty retired to a Chair of State, set on the South-side of the Altar, a little below the Traversell of Crimmon Taffety.

After this, the Bishops, and Noble-men, that carried the Regalia, drew near to the Altar, and presented every particular to the said Bishop of London, who placed them also upon the Altar; and having done so, they retired to their Seats. Whereupon the King kneeled at a Fald-stool (set on the right side of his Chair of State) whilf the Bishop of London said this Prayer.

O God, which doft visit thofe, that are humble, and doft comfort us by thy Holy Spirit, send down thy Grace upon them thy Servant CHARLES, that by Him we may feel thy Presence among us, through Jesus Christ, Amen.

This Prayer ended, the Bishop of Wercfler went up into the Pulpit, placed on the North-side of the Altar, opposite to the King, and began his SERMON, the Text being taken out of the 28th Chapter of the Proverbs, and the second Verse.

From the beginning of the aforesaid Offering to this time the KING was bare, but now He put on His Cap, made of Crimfon Velvet, turn'd up with Ermines: with which He fate covered all the Sermon-time.

On the King's right hand stood the Bishop of Duresme, and beyond him the Noble-men, that carried the Swords, who held them nacked, and erected the Duke of York, on his left hand; next to whom stood the Bishop of Bath and Wells, together with the Lord Great Chamberlain.

The Lord High Chancellor, and Lord High Treasurer, fate on a Form behind the Duke of York, and behind them, in a Gallery, fate the Dutchefles of York.

In the fame Gallery also were placed Baron Batteville, Ordinary Ambaffador from Spain.

Prince Maurice of Nassau, Extraordinary Am-"

Prince Maurice of Nassau, Extraordinary Am-"
Then the Bishop of Rochester read the Bishop's Petition to the King; the Prayer whereof was,
That He would preserve unto them, and the Churches committed to their Charge, all Canonical Privileges, due Law, and Justice, and protect, and defend Them, and the Churches under their Government: Which his Majesty most graciously by a large Answer (which repeated the words of the Petition) granted, and promised to perform.

Afterwards the King, assisted by the Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells, was led from his Chair up to the Altar (the Sword of State being born before Him, and the Lord Great Chamberlain attending) where He took an Oath to perform, and keep what He had promised. Which Oath being taken, the King was led in like manner back to His Chair of State, and immediately the Bishop of London began the Hymn, Come Holy Ghost, eternal God, &c. the Quires singing the rest of it.

And a little before the ending thereof, the Fald-stool was set again at the King's right Hand, whereby (as soon as the Hymn was finished) He kneeled, the Bishop of London standing before him, and saying the following Prayer.

We beseech thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty, and everlastings God, for Thyself, Ser
vant Charles, &c.

The Prayer ended, the Bishop of London went to the North-side of the Altar, the King still kneeling, and forthwith the Bishops of Peter-

brough, and Gloucester, went, and kneeled on the upper height-pace of the Altar, where they began the Litany, the Quires singing the Ref-
petition, the Dean of Westminster kneeling all the while at the King's left Hand.

After the Litany followed three Prayers, said by the Bishop of London at the North-side of the Altar: and, a little before the last of them was ended, the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury came out at the North-door of St. Edward's Chappel, veiled in a rich ancient cope.

At the ending of the third Prayer, the said Arch-Bishop standing before the Altar, began the Psalms,

Lift up your Hearts.

Resp.

We lift them up to the Lord.

Arch-Bishop.

Let us give thanks unto the Lord our God.

Resp.

It is meet and right so to do.

Arch-Bishop.

It is very meet, and right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee, O Lord, Holy Father, &c.

This Preface being finished, the King arose from before the Fald-stool, and went to the Altar, supported by the aforesaid Bishops of Duresme, and Bath and Wells: where He was disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of His Royal Robes, which were immediately carried thence into the Trauerse erected in St. Edward's Chappel.

While this was in doing, the Chant, that was before placed at the entrance of the Stage, was
was removed, and set on the North-side of the
Altar, betwixt it, and St. Edward's Chair, whereunto the King came, sat down, and was annointed by the said Arch-Bishop, (while the Dean of Wellsminster held the Ampulla, and poured the Oyl out into the Spoon) first in the Palms of both his hands, in manner of a Cross, the Arch-Bishop as he annointed him, pronouncing these words,

Let these Hands be annointed with Holy Oyl, as Kings and Prophets have been annointed, and as Samuel did annoint David to be King; that Thou mayst be blest, and established KING, in this Kingdom, and this People, whom the Lord Thy God hath given Thee to rule over:
whereby which, and the Holy Ghost, Three in Person, and One in Unity, be blest, and praised, now, and for evermore. Amen.

After which the Quire sung this Anthem,
Sadoc the Priest, and Nathan the Prophet annointed Solomon King, and all the People rejoiced, and said, God save the KING.

At the end of which Anthem, the Arch-Bishop said this Prayer,
Look down, Almighty God, with thy favourable countenance upon this Glorious KING, &c.

And then proceeded with his annointing the King's Breast, between His Shoulders, on both His Shoulders, the two bowings of His Arms, and on the Crown of His Head, in manner aforesaid.

Which being done, the Annointing was dried up with fine Linen, and the Loops of His Shirt closed up by the Dean of Wellsminster, and then the Arch-Bishop said these two Prayers,

God, the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, who art annointed of His Father with the oyl of Gladness above His fellows, &c. God, which are the Glory of the Righteous, and the Mercy of Sinners, &c.

During the time of Unction, a rich Pall of Cloth of Gold (brought from the great Wardrobe by Mr. Rumball) was held over the King's Head by the Dukes of Buckingham and Albemarle, the Earls of Berks and Sandwich, as Knights of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

After these Prayers, the Lord Great Chamberlain delivered the Coff to the Arch-Bishop, who put it on the King's Head, and immediately after, the Dean of Wellsminster put the Coff, with the Colobium Spondonis, or Surplice upon the King: whereupon the Arch-Bishop said this short Prayer.

O God, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, by whom Kings do reign, and Lawgivers do make good Laws, vouchsafe us, we beseech thee, in thy favour, to blest this Kingly Ornament, and Grant, that thy Servant Charles, our King, who shall wear it, may shine in thy sight with the Ornament of a good Life, and holy Actions; and, after this life ended, He may for ever enjoy that Life, and Glory, which hath no end; through Christ our Lord, Amen.

This said, the Dean of Wellsminster having like-wise fetched the Tisser-Hose and Sandals from the Altar, he arrayed the King therewith; as also with the Super-tunica, or close Pall of Cloth of Gold, and girded the same about Him.

But the Taffety red Shirt was not made use of at all.

After all this, the said Dean took the Spurs from off the Altar, and delivered them to the Lord Great Chamberlain, who touched the King's Heels therewith, and forthwith fent them back to the Altar.

Then the Arch-Bishop received the Sword of State in the Scabbard from the Lord Chamberlain of the Hothould, and laid it upon the Altar, saying this Prayer,

Hear our Prayers, we beseech thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by thy right hand of Majesty, to blest, and sanctifie this Sword, wherewith thy Servant Charles deserveth to be girded, that it may be a Defence and Protection of Churches, Widows and Orphans, and all the Servants of God, against the savage cruelty of Pagans, and Infidels, and that it may be a Fear and Terror to all the King's Subjects, that it be not wanted to do mischief, through Christ our Lord. Amen.

This Prayer finisht, the Arch-Bishop and Bishops afflicting, delivered the Sword back to the King, saying, Accept gladium per manus Episcoporum.

Whereupon the Lord Great Chamberlain girt it about the King, and the Arch-Bishop said,

Receive this kingly Sword, which is belovved for the defence of the Holy Church, and delivered unto thee by the hands of the Bishops, though unworthy, yet consecrated by the authority of the holy Apostles, &c.

After this, the Dean of Wellsminster took the Crown, made of Cloth of Tissu, (brought from Armilis from thither by Mr. Rumball, on the behalf of the Earl of Sandwich, Master of the great Wardrobe,) and put it about the King's Neck, and tied it to the bowings of His Arms, the Arch-Bishop standing before the King, with the Bishop of London, on crown dependents, in right

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Token of God's embracing, whereby all thy works commen, may be defended against thine Enemies, both bodily and ghostly, through Christ our Lord.

Next the Mantle or open Pall, being made of Cloth of Gold, and lined with red Taffety, was put upon him by the said Dean; the Arch-Bishop likewise using the words of Signification, viz.

Receive this Pall, which is formed with four Corners, to let This understand, that the four Corners of the World are subject to the Power of God; and that no Man can happily reign upon the Earth, who hath not received his authority from Heaven.

In the next place, the Arch-Bishop took Saint Edwards Crown, and blessed it, saying,

God, the Crown of the Ethнич, &c. blest, and sanctifie this Crown, that as the same is adorned with divers precious Stones, so This thy Servant, that weareth it, may be filled with thy manifold Graces of all precious Virtues, through the King eternal, thy Son our Lord. Amen.
In the mean time, St. Edward's Chair was removed into the middle of the Ile, and set right over against the Altar; whither the King went, and face down in it, and then the Arch-Bishop brought St. Edward's Crown from the Altar, and put it upon his Head.

Whereupon, all the People, with loud and repeated shouts, cried God save the King; and, by a Signal then given, the great Ordinances from the Tower were also that off.

At the ceased of these Acclamations, the Arch-Bishop went on, saying,

God crown thee with a Crown of Glory, and Righteousness, with the honour and work of Fortitude, that often by thy Ministrs, having a Right Faith and manifold fruit of good Works, mayst obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of him, whose Kingdom endureth for ever. Amen.

Adding thereunto this Prayer,

O God of Eternity, &c. Blest this thy Servant, who boweth his Head into thy Majesty, &c.

After the Prayer, the Arch-Bishop read the

Confratube, Be strong, and of a good courage, and observe the Commandments of the Lord, to walk in his ways, &c.

In the mean while, the Laires sung this Anthem,

The King shall rejoice in thy strength, O Lord. Exceeding glad shall be of thy Salvation, &c.

Upon this, the Dukes, Marqueftes, Earls, and Vizcounts put on their Coronets; the Barons their Caps; and divers of them came and stood about the King, who fell fane in St. Edward's Chair.

Mr. Carter and the Provincial Kings put on their Crowns also.

Then the Master of the Jewel-Houfe delivered to the Arch-Bishop the King, who confequated it, after this manner, saying.

Blef, O Lord, and punifie this King, that thy Servant, wearing it, may be fated with the King of Faith, and by the Power of the Highft be preferved from sin, and let all the Befings, which are found in Holy Scripture, plentifully descend upon him, that whatsoever he fhall punifie, may be holy, and whatsoever he blefeth, may be bleffed. Amen.

After which, he put it upon the fourth Finger of the King's right Hand, and said,

Receive this Ring of Kingly Dignity, and by it the Seal of Catholick Faith, that as this Day thou art adorned the Head and Prince of this Kingdom, and People, fo thou mayst preserve as the Author, and Etablifier of Chriftiinity, and the Chirriffian Faith, that being rich in Faith, and happy in Works, Thou mayst reign with him, that is King of Kings; to whom be Honour, and Glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

And then began this Prayer,

O God, to whom belongeth all Power, and Dignity, give unto thy Servant Charles the Fruit of his Dignity, wherein great be may long continue, and fear thee always, and always labour to please thee, through Chrift our Lord. Amen.

When this Prayer was finifhed, the linen Gloves were delivered to the King by the Lord Great Chamberlain; who, going to the Altar, ungird his Sword, and offered it at the Altar in the Scabbard, which being redeemed by the Lord Chamberlai3n of the Houfhold, was drawn out of the Scabbard, and carried naked by him all the fpeech on the Order of the Solemnity.

Then the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter, with the Crofe, from off the Altar, and delivered it into the King's right Hand, saying,

Receive this Scepter, the Sign of Kingly Power, the Rod of Kingdoms, the Rod of Virtue, that thou govern thy Self right, and defend the Holy Church, and Christian People committed by God unto thy Charge, punish the Wicked, and protect the Righteous, and lead them in the ways of Righteousness, and that from this Temporal Kingdom thou mayft be advanced to an Eternal Kingdom, by his Goodnesse whose Kingdom is everlasting. Amen.

Whilft this was pronounced by the Arch-Bishop, Mr. Henry Howard delivered to the King a rich Glove, which he put on his right hand, and then received the Scepter. And after that, the Arch-Bishop faid this Prayer,

O Lord, the Fountain of all good things, &c. Grant, we beseech thee, to thy Servant Charles, that he may order aright the Dignity, which he hath obtained, &c.

During which time, the faid Mr. Howard perforimed the service of supporting the King's Right Arm, according it was adjudged to him by the Court of Claims, by virtue of holding the Manner of Workes in the County of Nottingham.

Next of all, the Arch-Bishop took the Scepter with the Dove, and gave it into the King's Hand also, saying,

Receive the Rod of Virtue, and Equity, learn to make much of the Godly, and to reverence the Wicked, and beware the way to thofe that go astray, after thy hand to thofe that fall, reprove the proud, lift up the lowly, that our Lord Jefus Chrift may open to thee the Door, who faith of himself, 'I am the Door, by me if any man enter, he fhall be safe. And let him be thy help, who is the Key of David,' and the Scepter of the Houfe of Izaac, 'who openeth, and no man shutteth, who shutteth, and no man openeth; who bringeth the Captive out of Prison where he fate in darkenes, and in the shadow of death. That in all things thou mayft follow him, of whom the Prophet David fpeaketh, 'The Scepter of thy Kingdom is a right Scepter, thou haft loved Righteousneffes, and hated Iniquity; wherefore God, even thy God hath anointed thee with the Oyl of gladneff,

above thy fellows, even Jefus Chrift our Lord. Amen.
The like did the Dukes of Buckingham, and Albemarle, for themselves, and the rest of the Dukes.

So also did the Marquesses of Worcs, and Durc.cheffe.

Next, the Earl of Oxfor did homage after the same manner for himself, and all the rest of the Earls, who attended upon him to signifie their conffems.

After him, Vicecount Hereford did the like for himself, and the rest of the Vicescounts; and then the Drums beat, and Trumpets wounded again, and the People flam’d.

Lastly, Baron Audley in like manner did homage for himself, and all the Baronage, who also accompanied him to the Throne, in telfitication of their Confem; which being hinifhed, Drums, Trumpets, and Shouts followed.

Note, That the Words of Homage were fay’d by every one of the Nobility, that kneel’d down, viz.

I, N. N. do become Your Liege-man of Life, and Limb, and of Earthly Worship; and Faith, and Truth I shall bear unto You, to live, and die, against all manner of Folks: So God me help.

Afterwards the Duke of York, and all the Nobility fingly attended the Throne, and touched the King’s Crown, proumising by that Ceremonie to be ever ready to fupport it with all their power.

During the performing of this Solemn Ceremonie, the Lord High Chauncellour went to the South, Weft, and North-fides of the Stage, and proclaimed to the People the King’s General Parm, being attended by Mr. Carter to the South-side, and by a Gentlemen-Ofiier, and two Heralds to the other two Sides.

And at these three Sides, at the fame time, did the Lord Cormwallis, Treasurer of his Majefly’s Hufpold, fling abroad the Medals, both of Gold, and Silver, prepared for the Coronation, as a Princeely Donaticn, or Largfes, among the People.

The King being thus ehronefled, the Gentlemen of his Chapel began this following Anthem, Behold, O Lord, our Defender, and took upon the Face of thine Anointed.

The Violins, and other Instrumental Masicks, (who were robed in Scarlet Mantles, and placed in a Gallery erected over against them, on the North-side of the Alter) anfwering alternately: at the ending of which Anthem, the Trumfets sounded, and Drums beat again. In which time the King took off his Crown, and delivered it to the Lord High Chamberlain to hold, the Sleeper with the Cofh to Mr. Henry Howard, and that with the Dove to the Duke of Albemarle.

The Epifile (taken out of the Fifth Epifile of St. Peter, the fcrond Chapter, and beginning at the eleven Perfe) was read by the Bishop of Chichefther.

The Goipel (being part of the twenty Second Chapter of St. Matthew, beginning at the fift Perfe) by the Abp. of Ely.

After
After which, the Nicene Creed was begun by the Bishop of London, and sung by the Gentle-
men of the Chappel, with Perks, and Chorals, (that, and the rest of the special Melodies, for the
Solemnity, being set by Captain Cook, Ma-
ster of the Children of his Majesty's said Chappel) The Violins, and other Instrumental Mel-
fick, placed in the Gallery over against them, al-
ternately playing.

All which time the King stood by His Throne.

But towards the end of the Creed He took again his Crown from the Lord Great Cham-
berlain, and put it on his Head; as also the Scepter with the Cross from Mr. Howard, and
that with the Dove from the Duke of Albemarle, and prepared for His Decent from his Throne
towards the Altar, to receive the Communion.

And, as soon as the singing of the Creed was fully ended, the King descended with the Crown
on his Head, and Scepters in both Hands, (the Bishops of Durham, and Bath and Wells, sup-
porting him) with the four Swords naked before, and all the great Officers attending.

In the time of this Proceeding, the Quire sang,

Let my Prayer come up into thy presence as the Incense, and the lifting up of my hand be as an
Evening-Sacrifice.

Here the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury retired from the Ceremonies into St. Edward's Chappel, and
thence went home, leaving the remainder of his Duty to be performed by the Bishop of Lon-
don.

At the King's approach to the Altar, the Bishop of Ely delivered unto Him Bread, and
Wine, which He there offered, and then returned to the Field-stool, on the South-side of the
Altar, near His Chair of State, before which He kneeled down, and laid His Crown upon the
Cushion before Him, towards his right Hand; and the Scepter with the Dove, on his left; and
gave again to Mr. Howard the Scepter with the
Cross, who held it, kneeling on the King's right
Hand, the Grand Officers, and the Noble men,
with the four Swords naked, and ereth, standing
about Him.

Then the Bishop of London said this Prayer.

Bless, O Lord, we beseech thee, these thy Gifts, and sanctifie them unto This holy Offering, &c.

At the end of which, the Lord Cornwallis, Treasurer of the Hounfeld, presented the King
with another Wedg of Gold, which goeth under the name of the Mark of Gold. This the King
offered into the Bason, kneeling full at his Field-
stool, whil't the Bishop of London said the fol-
lowing Prayer,

Almighty God, give thee the dew of Heaven, and the rainfis of the Earth, and abundance of Corn
and Wine, &c.

And next pronounced this Blessing;

Bless, O Lord, the vinhous carriage of this King, and accept the Work of His Hands: replenish
the Realm with the Blessings of Heaven, of the
Dew, of the Water, and of the Deeps.

Then the Bishop proceeded to the Confebra-
tion of the Sacrament: which being finished, he
first of all received; next, the Dean of Wake-
minster; then the Bishop of Bath and Wells; and
lastly, the Bishop of Durham.

These four Persons having communicated, Pre-
paration was made for the King's Receiving, who
kneeled all this while before His Field-stool.

The Travel was brought thither by Mr. Rumold
on the behalf of the Master of the Wardrobe, and
prevented to the Bishops of Hereford, and
Carlisle, who held it before the King, while He
received.

The Bishop of London gave the King the Bread,
and the Dean of Westminster the Cup.

As soon as the King had received, this Anthem
was begun by the upper Quire,

O hearken unto the voice of my calling, my
King, and my God, &c.

In the mean while, the King returned to His
Throne upon the Theatre, with the Crown on
his Head, and bearing the Scepters in his Hands.

When he came thither, he put off his Crown,
and delivered it to the Lord Great Chamber-
lain, the Scepter with the Cross to Mr. Howard,
and that other with the Dove to the Duke of
Albemarle.

And then the Bishop of London went on with
the Communion, which being finished, the King
(attended as before) descended from his Throne
crowned, with both the Scepters in his Hand.

The rest of the Regalia (which lay all this
while on the Altar, being delivered to the Noble-
men, that brought them in the Proceeding to the
Church) were carried before him, and thence
the King proceeded into St. Edward's Chappel, the
Organs playing all the while.

Where being arrived, he took off St. Edward's
Crown, and delivered it to the Bishop of Lon-
don, who immediately laid it upon St. Edward's
Altar; all the rest of the Regalia were given
into the hands of the Dean of Westminster,
and laid there also.

Afterwards the King entered into the Oratory
erected in the middle of the Wall, on the back-
side of the High Altar; and there retired, whil't
he was disrobed of St. Edward's Robes by Mr.
Seymor, and Mr. Albemarle, Grooms of the Bed-
Chamber, on the behalf of the Lord High-
Chamberlain, Mr. Elise, Mr. Progers, Colonel
Philips, and Mr. Chiffin Joffiting.

The Robes were laid on St. Edward's Altar,
by the Bishop of Durham; and afterwards de-
ivered to the Dean of Westminster to lay up with
the Regalia.

After this, the King was arrayed in his Purple
Robes, and then came near to St. Edward's Alt-
ar, where the Bishop of London stood ready with
the Imperial Crown in his hands; and let that
upon the King's Head; thenceupon the King took
the Scepter with the Cross in his right Hand,
with the Globe in his left, and immediately the
Proceeding (ordered also by the Herolds) began
thence into Westminster-Hall, the same way that
he came, and attended after the same manner,
saying that the Noble-men, and Bishops, which
brought the Regalia to the Abbey-Church, went
not now immediately before the King, as

G 2
they did then; but were ranked in places according to their Degrees, and Confections: all the Noble-men, with their Coronets, and Caps on their Heads. The Kings of Arms marched likewise with their Crowns on.

The Proceeding being entered into Westminster-Hall, the Nobility, and others, who had Tables assigned them, went, and placed themselves therein; but the King, (attended with the Great Officers) withdrew into the Inner Court of Wards, for half an hour.

In the mean time, all the Tables in the Hall were served, viz. before the King’s Service came up; and were placed in this manner:

On the right hand of the King’s Throne, below in the Hall, were set two Tables, one beneath the other: at the upper end of the first near the State, (which had two Side-Tables to serve it) sat the Bishops, and below them the Judges, with the rest of the Long-Robe.

At the second Table, (which had two Side-Board Tables likewise to serve it) sat the Masters of the Chancery, and the Six Clerks.

And here, at this Table, were the Barons of the Cinque-Ports necessitated to sit; although the upper end of the first Table was appointed for them.

The Occasion this: No sooner had the aforesaid Barons brought up the King to the foot of the Stairs in Westminster-Hall, ascending to His Throne, and turned on the left hand (towards their own Table) out of the way, but the King’s Foot-men most insolently, and violently seized upon the Canopy, which the Barons endeavouring to keep, and defend, were by their number, and strength drag’d down to the lower end of the Hall; nevertheless still keeping their hold; and, as not Mr. Owen YORK-Herald been accidentally near the Hall-Door, and seeing the Canopy, caused the same to be hurst, the Foot-men had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim also, (speedy notice hereof having been given the King) one of Querries were sent from Him, with Command, to imprison the Foot-men, and dismiss them out of His Service, which put an end to the present Disturbance.

These Foot-men were also commanded to make their submission to the Court of Claims, (which was accordingly done by them, the 20th of April following, and the Canopy then delivered back to the said Barons.

Whil’s this Disturbance happened, the upper end of the aforesaid Table was taken up by the Bishops, Judges, &c. and hereupon it came to pass, that the Barons of the Cinque-Ports lost their Places, and were necessitated to sit down at the said second Table, with the Masters of Chancery, &c. where there was Room left by some of the Long-Robe, that late at the Upper-Table.

Upon the left hand of the King’s Throne, below, on the other side of the Hall, was placed likewise a long Table, which reached down near to the Common-Pleas Court, whereat the Nobility dined; and this Table had four Side-Board-Tables to serve it.

And behind this, close to the Wall, at a shorter Table, sat the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, Recorder, and twelve chief Citizens of London, who had also two Side-Tables to serve them.

Lastly, within the Court of Common-Pleas was a Table with one Side-Table to serve it, for the Officers of Arms, whereat they also dined. Each Table was furnished with three Courtes ansireable to that of the King’s, besides the Banquets.

A little before the King returned to Dinner, two Equires of the Body, viz. Ferdinando Marisham, and Henry Norwood, took their Seats upon two little Foot-stools, on either side of the foot of the King’s Chair, (placed in the middle of the Table) and there sat until the King came in to Dinner; when retiring, and performing their Duty in placing the King’s Robes for His better convenience of sitting, they sat down again at the King’s Feet a good part of Dinner time, and until the King gave them leave to rise; He accepting that time of Session in full performance of their Service.

On the right Side of the Throne was erected a Gallery, for the Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Pursuivants; and opposite to that, on the other side, another for the Musicks; and below, on the old Scaffolds, next the Court of Common-Pleas, stood the King’s Trumpeters.
The Proceeding at carrying up of the First Course to the King's Table.

Sir George Barker, Clrks Comptrollers: Sir William Boreman,
Mr. Stephen Box, Clrks of the Green Cloth: Sir Henry Wood,
All four in Black Velvet Gowns, trimmed with Black Silk, and Gold Lace, with Velvet Caps raised in the Head.

William Abbardham Esquire, Cofercer.

Six Serjeants at Arms, two and two.

The Earl Marshal on the left Hand. The Lord High-Steward.
The Lord High-Constable on the right Hand.

All three mounted on Horse-back in their Robes, and with their Coronets on their Heads; having their Horses richly trapped.

Six Serjeants at Arms, two and two.

Comptroller of the Household, Treasurer of the Household,
with their White Staves.

Earl of Dorset, Sewer.
Earl of Chesterfield, his Assistant.
The Knights of the Bath, who carried up the Service, two and two to a Dish, which was set upon the Table by the Earl of Lincoln Carver, assisted by the Earl-Sewers.

In the Rear came up three Clerks of the Kitchen, viz. Mr. Leonard Pinkney, Mr. John Clements, and Mr. Henry Firebrace, all futed in Black Fagard Satin Gowns, and Velvet Caps, in fashion like those worn by the Clerks Comptrollers.

Dinner being set on the Table, the King came forth from the Inner-Court of Wards, in his Royal Robes, with the Crown on his Head, and Scepter in his Hand, having the three Swords born naked before Him, and went directly to his Chair at the Table, wherein He sat down to Dinner, the Bishop of London paying Grace. The Banquet and Ewer were brought up and presented by the Earl of Penbrooke and Montgomery, assisted by the Lord Pager, and the Serjeants of the Ewer.

On the King's right Hand, the Noble-men, that carried the three Swords, stood, holding them naked, and erected, all the Dinner-while; at His left Hand stood the Lord High Chamberlain, to whom the King had given the Scepter to hold. And at the Table's end, on the King's left Hand, sat the Duke of York, in his Robes and Coronet.

Soon after Dinner was begun, the Lord Allington carried to the King His first Draught of Drink in a Silver Gilt Cup, being assisted by the Earl of Penbrooke and Montgomery, Viscount Monmouth, and the Lord Pager, his Assistants.
The Office of Cup-Bearer, as also the Eee, having been by the Court of Claims adjudged to him, as being leaved of the Manor of Wymundley in the County of Hertford; and when the King had drank, the said Lord Allington received the Cup for his use.

Next, Thomas Leigh Esquire was brought up to the Table with a Mels of Portage, called Dillegant, this Service being adjudged unto him by the aforesaid Court of Claims in right of the Manor of Addington, in the County of Surrey; whereupon the Lord High Chamberlain presented him to the King, who accepted the Service, but did not eat thereof.

Afterwards, a little before the second Course was ready, Sir Edward Dymock, to whom the Court of Claims had adjudged the Office of the King's Champion, as being leaved of the Manor Servelsby, in the County of Lincoln) entered the Hall on a goodly White Courser, and armed at all Points in Rich Armour, having a Plume of Blew Feathers in his Helm, he there made a stand for some time, and then advanced in manner following, way being made for him by the Knight-Marshal.

First, Two Trumpets.
The Serjeant-Trumpeter.
The Serjeant at Arms.
An Esquire carrying a Target, having the Champion's own Arms depicted thereon.
An Esquire, carrying the Champion's Lance upright.
Mr. Owen York-Herald.
The Earl-Marshal on his left Hand.
The Champion.
The Lord High-Constable on his right Hand.
Both likewise on Horse-back.
1661.

King CHARLES the Second.

At the lower end of the Hall, YORK-Herald proclaimed the Challenge, in these words following,

If any Person of what degree soever, high or low, shall dare, or give any Our Sovereign Lord King CHARLES the Second, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Son and Heir of His Our Sovereign Lord CHARLES the First, the King descended, so be right Heir to the Imperial Crown of this Realm of England; or that He ought not to enjoy the same: here is His Champion, who saith, That he listeth, and is a falsë Traytor, being ready in Person to Combat with him; and in this Quarrel will adventure his Life against him, on what day soever he shall be appointed.

Thereupon the Champion threw down his Gantlet, which lying some small time, and no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him again by York-Herald. Then all advanced forward untill the Champion came to the middle of the Hall, where York-Herald made the like Proclamation, and the Gantlet was again thrown down, taken up, and returned to the Champion; who advanced to the foot of the ascending Steps to the State, and at the top of the said Steps, the said Herald proclaimed the said Challenge the third time, whereupon the Champion threw down his Gantlet again, which no body taking it up, it was delivered unto him.

This being done, the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, (affisted, as before) presented on the Knee to the King a Gilt Cup with a Cover, full of Wine, which drank to his Champion, and by the said Earl sent him the Cup; and he, after three Reverences, drank it all off, went a little backward, and to a part of the Hall, taking the said Cup for his Fee, according as had been adjudged him by the said Court of Claims.

When this Solemnity was finished, the Kings Herald, and Pursuants defended from their Gallery, and went into the Hall to the lower end of the Noble-men Table, and therealltogether made their Reverence. Thence they proceeded a little further, and there made a second Reverence; and the like Reverence at the Steps ascending to the State, Where all standing still, Carter, Principal King of Arms, cried large English thrice, and proclaimed the King's Style in Latin, French, and English, making Reverence bowing every Style. At the finall of which, they all retired backward into the midst of the Hall, and there, after crying Large again thrice, he proclaimed the King's Style as before. Lastly, they went yet backwards to the end of the said Noble-men's Table, and did the same again; and from thence into the Common-Plains, to Dinner.

Immediately after this, the second Courtie was brought up by the Gentlemens-Pensioners; with the former Solemny.

And the last Dill being carried by Erefinum Smith Esquire, he, having delivered the same to the Table, presented the King with three Maple Cups, on the behalf of Robert Bernham Esquire, who was feized of the Maner of Nether-Bilsington in the County of Kent.

Lastly, the Lord Mayor of London presented the King with Wine in a Golden Cup having a Cover; of which the King having drank, the said Lord Mayor receive it for his Fee.

By this time, the day being far spent, the King having Water brought him by the Earl of Pembroke, and his assistants] washed, and rofe from Dinner before the third Courie was brought in; and, retiring into the Inner-Court of Wards, he there disrobed himself; and from thence he went privately to his Banre, which waited for him at the Parliament-Stairs, and so to the Privy-Stairs at White-Hall, were he landed.

It is a thing very memorable, that, towards the end of Dinner-time, (although all the former part of the day, and also the preceding day, in which the King made his Cessate through London, were the only fair days, that we enjoyed of many both before, and after) it began to Thunder and Lighten very smartly: which, however some few of People were apt to interpret as omenious, and ill-boding, yet it will be no difficult matter to evidence from Antiquity, that Accidents of this nature, though happily they might afterall, and amaze the common Drove of men, were by the most Prudent, and Sagacious, look'd upon as a preservor, and happy presage. And of this, Virgil gives us a very pertinent Example (in the Eighth Book of his Enaida) where Evander, having addrest himself in a Speech to Enneas for aid against the Hetrurians, and he being licentious how to answer his request, mark what Sign was immediately sent from Heaven,

Namque improviso vibratur ab Aegibus fulger
Cum solius venit, &c.

For suddenly from Heaven a brandish'd Flarth
With Thunder came, &c.

And presently after the Poet adds,

Osliberique animis alis, sed Troianus Heros
Agnosse factum, & Dra promissis Parentis.

While other Blood amaz'd, the Hero knew
His Mother's Promise by the Sound that flew.

The fame Author, in another place, mentions the same thing, as a Testimony of Prayers heard, and answered; as when Old Aeneas, seeing the lambent flame upon his Grand-child Julius his head, lift up his Hands to Heaven, and prayed to be for help, and direction, he was thus answered,

Vix eatus erat Senior, subique fragore
Intonitus lavum, &c.

Scarce had the grave Sirr spoke, when suddenly it thunder'd prosperous, &c.

For to Intonitus lavum is interpreted by Ser-"www.ing, according to the Maxim of the Ancient Authors, who interpret Thunder from the North, that is, (as they contrary to the common Antiquities, accounted it) the left part of Heaven, for a prosperous Omen.

But, in reference to our present Purposie, we may proceed to a larger Interpretation, and con-
that the Heavens, with the Volleys of Thunder, and nimble Flashes of Lightning, seemed to give a Pleadise, and Acclamation, to this Grand and Sacred Solemnity; in like manner as we Mortals use to clofe our greater Triumphs with Fire-Works, Bonfires, and the loud Report of our great Ordnance: this Terrestrial Thunder being but the Imitator, and Counterfeit of the Heavenly Artillery.

And fo I obferve it expounded by Claudian in these Verses,*

Ut sceptrum gessere mans, membriisque vigentes
Apovere togas, Signum datum hisibus
Nube Pater, gratamine facem per inane vacantes
Prospera vibrari, sonumus Ommas Nimbri.

As soon as rob'd, and Scepter'd, a loud Noise aloud His Signal Favour thunders from a Cloud, Successful Lightning through Heaven's Arches flies; Both at His Coronation happy Signs.

Thus having travail'd through a HISTORY fraught with Troubles and Confusions, an Unnatural and Intolernble Warr, succeeded by a long time of Distraction and Mis-rule; and now having at length arriv'd to such a point of Settlement and Right reform'd, as promises a long continued Calm and Peaceful Government, We glad to have found such a Convenient Haven, shall here choose to call our Anchor; And though several Things have happen'd from the Coronation to this present time (as the King's Marriage with the Daughter of Portugal, the Transafions of the present Parliament, with other matters sufficiently Memorable, yet in regard we cannot Clofe at a more happy Period, We shall Referve as well something of what is past, as what is yet to come, for a farther Continuation, as likewise the observation of that Method which our Historian ever obferves at the end of every King's Reign, that time only admitting of the said Method. And if the laft Part of our HISTORY, somewhat exceed in bulk what may be thought proportionable to the rest, it will no doubt be in a great measure excus'd by the Consideration of what manner of Times we have had to set forth, an Interval of such Wonders, such strange and Capricious Revolutions as are scarce to be parallell'd by any Age or Kingdom, hoping that the Intricate Turns and Labyrinths of Fortune being now at length run out, the Course and Stream of the History will run more smooth and clear through all the subsequent Years (which God grant may be many and Prosperous) of His present Majesty's Reign; Than whom, never was any Prince likely to prove a more glorious Preserver to those that after him shall Sit at the Helm of State, both in respect of His Innumerable other Virtues and Regal Endowments, and particularly of His Admirable Skill and Understanding in that which is the Bulwark of the Nation; the Improvement whereof so mainly Imparts His own Glory and Renown above all other Princes of the World, and the Reparation and Enrichment of His Subjects, a thing wherein He hath ever lien'd Himself to be most Zealously Concern'd.
Mayors and Sheriffs of London, to the 21th Year of his Reign.

In his First Year, 1649,  
Thomas Foot, was Mayor.
Christopher Pack, Rowland Wilton, died 3 Sheriffs.

In his 2d year, 1650,  
Thomas Andrews, was Mayor.
Robert Tiechborn, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 3d year, 1651,  
John Kendrick, was Mayor.
Andrew Richards, 3 Sheriffs.
John Ireton, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 4th year, 1652,  
John Fowke, was Mayor.
Stephen Egeurwick, 3 Sheriffs.
William Underwood, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 5th year, 1653,  
Thomas Pyner, was Mayor.
James Phillips, 3 Sheriffs.
Walter Bigge, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 6th year, 1654,  
Christopher Pack, was Mayor.
Edmund Satchell, 3 Sheriffs.
Thomas Aylen, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 7th year, 1655,  
John Derick, was Mayor.
William Thompson, 3 Sheriffs.
John Frederick, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 8th year, 1656,  
Robert Tiechborn, was Mayor.
Tempef Milner, 3 Sheriffs.
Nathaniel Temins, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 9th year, 1657,  
Richard Chiverston, was Mayor.
John Robinson, Thomas Chandler, died 2 Sheriffs.
John King, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 10th year, 1658,  
John Ireton, was Mayor.
Anthony Bateman, 3 Sheriffs.
John Lawrence, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 11th year, and part of the 12th, 1659,  
Sir Thomas Alyn, Baronet, was Mayor.
Francis Warner, 3 Sheriffs.
William Love, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 12th year, and part of the 13th, 1660,  
Sir Richard Brown, Baronet, was Mayor.
Sir William Boulon, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir William Peake, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 13th year, and part of the 14th, 1661,  
Sir John Frederick, was Mayor.
Francis Merill, 3 Sheriffs.
Samuel Starling, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 14th year, and part of the 15th, 1662,  
Sir John Robinson, was Mayor.
Sir Thomas Blidworth, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir William Turner, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 15th year, and part of the 16th, 1663,  
Sir Anthony Bateman, was Mayor.
Sir Richard Ford, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir Richard Rever, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 16th year, and part of the 17th, 1664,  
Sir John Lawrence, was Mayor.
Sir George Waterman, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir Charles Doe, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 17th year, and part of the 18th, 1665,  
Sir Thomas Blidworth, was Mayor.
Sir Robert Hanlon, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir William Hooker, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 18th year, and part of the 19th, 1666,  
Sir William Boulon, was Mayor.
Sir Robert Finor, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir Joseph Sheldon, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 19th year, and part of the 20th, 1667,  
Sir William Peake, was Mayor.
Sir Dennis Guden, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir Thomas Davis, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 20th year, and part of the 21st, 1668,  
Sir William Turner, was Mayor.
Sir John Forth, 3 Sheriffs.
Sir Francis Chaplaine, 3 Sheriffs.

In his 21st year, and part of the 22d, 1669,  
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John Smith, 3 Sheriffs.
James Edwards, 3 Sheriffs.
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