

fall of Edward IV, in England and the Finall Recouerye of His Kingdome

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Part I. INTRODUCTION

The principal original historical authorities for the period to which the following narrative relates are, I. The Second Continuation of the History of Croyland(1); II. Fabyan's Chronicle (2); III. An English Chronicle from which there are large extracts in Leland's Collectanea (3); IV. The Anglica Historia of Polydore Vergil (4), and V. The Memoires of Philip de Comines (5) to these is now added in the following narrative, a sixth authority, of greater value than any of them.

The Continuator of the History of Croyland is one of the best of our English Historians of the class to which he belongs. His name is unknown, but it appears in his work that he was a Doctor of Canon Law, was one of Edward IV's Councillors, and was employed by that monarch upon a foreign mission. Thus connected with the house of York, but not writing until after the battle of Bosworth (6), he holds the balance pretty evenly between the rival parties. He does not dwell much upon minute facts; but the general current of events is clearly, and, in all probability, accurately, detailed by him.

Fabyan's narrative is such an one as might be expected from a citizen and an alderman of the reign of Henry VII.; full, and no doubt correct, upon all points connected with the popular feeling and with transactions which took place in the City of London, but brief and inaccurate respecting events which passed elsewhere. Fabyan's bias was towards the Lancastrian party.

Of the Chronicler from whom Leland extracted we know absolutely nothing. The extracts contain many anecdotes and minute particulars, and the spirit and feeling of a contemporary are evident throughout, but I have not observed anything which has enabled me to identify the author. He writes with a very palpable inclination towards the part of "the innocent Henry."

From what sources Polydore Vergil derived his account of these events is unknown; but he has given an excellent narrative, superior in style, more abundant in facts, and more copious in description than any of those before mentioned. It of course strongly favors the house of Lancaster; and may indeed be considered as the account which that party was desirous should be believed.

I have added Philip de Comines to the catalogue of authorities, principally with a view to his account of Edward the Fourth's proceedings on the Continent preparatory to his return into England, and his narrative of the battle of

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Tewkesbury; which last he seems to have received from some of those who fled from thence to the Continent(7). His relation of the intermediate events is extremely inaccurate.

Upon these authorities, which in many points are most singularly contradictory, all our subsequent Chroniclers, with one exception, which will be noticed hereafter, have based their statements. Rastell abridges Fabyan; Hall translates Polydore Vergil and Philip de Comines; Stowe transcribes the Chronicle quoted by Leland: and the rest follow some author and some another.

The present narrative has higher claims to authority than any of those I have noticed. It was written upon the spot; immediately after the events to which it relates; by some person possessed of full means of knowledge; and it will be seen that it was adopted by Edward IV. as an accurate relation of his achievements. All other narratives either emanated from partisans of "the adverse faction," or were written after the subsequent triumph of the House of Lancaster, when it would not have been prudent perhaps not safe to publish any thing which tended to relieve the Yorkists from the weight of popular odium which attached to the real or supposed crimes of their leaders. We have here an authorised version put forth by the Yorkists themselves, and giving their account of the events upon which many of the heavy charges brought against their "house" have been founded.

The author says of himself, that he was a servant of Edward the Fourth, and that he "presently saw in effect a great parte of his employtes, and the resydewe knew by true relation of them that were present every tyme;" (p.1) and these assertions are corroborated, not merely by the narrative itself, which possesses all the characteristics of a relation of an eye-witness, but in a singular manner also by communication made to the Society of Antiquaries in the year 1820, and published in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p.11. It appears from that communication, and from a MS relating to the same subject, in the possession of Thomas Amyot, Esq. with the use of which I have been kindly favored, that on the 29th May 1471, three days only after the termination of the following narrative, Edward IV, being then at Canterbury, addressed a letter in French to the Nobles and Burgomasters of Bruges, thanking them for the courteous hospitality he had received from them during his exile, apprising them of the great success which attended his expedition, and referring them to the bearer of the letter for further particulars of his victories. Those "farther particulars" were contained in a very brief French abridgment of the following narrative; and in the Public Library of Ghent there is a quarto MS. volume in vellum which contains a contemporary transcript of the abridgment, and of the King's letter, all written with great care, and ornamented with four illuminations, representing the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury, the execution of the Duke of Somerset, and the attack of the Bastard of Fauconberge upon London. It is possible that the Ghent MS. is a copy of the communication received from Edward IV, which was transmitted by the Citizens of Bruges to their brethren of Ghent, who were equally interested in the subject matter with themselves.

The identity of the Ghent MS. as an abridgment of the present narrative is unquestionable. Brief, meagre, and spiritless as it is, it yet contains quite enough to render the connexion indisputable. In both, the succession of events, even down to the most minute that are stated, is precisely the same; in both, whenever several persons or several facts are mentioned in one sentence, they stand in the same order; even in the re-translation from the French back into English, which alone is published in the *Archæologia*, the same epithets are frequently applied to the same events; and, with the exception of some obvious mistakes in the publication in the *Archæologia* (8), the same names, dates, and numbers as, for instance, the numbers of killed in the several battles, and the numbers of troops engaged, as to which there is the greatest discrepancy in all the other accounts, are exactly the same.

The identity of the two narratives, the one as the original, and the other as an abridgment of it, lifeless, uninteresting, and almost useless for historical purposes, but still an abridgment of the more important work now published, being established, we become secure both as to the age and authority of the present work; and if we inquire further whether its contents be of sufficient importance to justify its publication, the result will be most satisfactory.

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The events to which it relates have few parallels in history. A fugitive and exile, Edward IV, at the commencement of the year 1471, seemed to have lost all present chance of restoration. The imbecility of the actual monarch was amply compensated by the vigour of the Earl of Warwick, the principal regent, a nobleman whose importance both parties in the state had by turns seen ample reason to appreciate, and whose present measures gave sufficient indication of the energy with which he was prepared to defend the throne he had raised. The inhabitants of the eastern coast, from the Thames to the borders of Scotland, were raised and arrayed to oppose any hostile landing; the Duke of Clarence, one of Edward's brothers, was bound to the restored dynasty by being associated, according to some of the authorities, with the Earl of Warwick in the regency, by a marriage with Warwick's elder daughter, and by a parliamentary entailment of the crown upon him, in exclusion of his elder brother, in case of failure of the descendents of Henry VI; and the new order of things was further strengthened, and the three great families of Lancaster, York, and Neville bound together, as it were, with a triple cord, by the union of the Prince of Wales with Warwick's younger daughter, the sister of the Duchess of Clarence. Nor was there wanting that only sure foundation to the throne the affection of the great majority of people. The simplicity and meek piety of Henry; the generous hospitality of Warwick; the hard fortunes of the youthful Prince of Wales; the licentiousness of Edward the Fourth's life; his undignified marriage; and the unpopularity of his friend Worcester, "the butcher of England;" (9) all these circumstances, operating upon various classes of the community, produced a wide-spread feeling in favour of the cause of Henry VI.

The aspect of affairs upon the Continent seemed equally encouraging to the House of Lancaster. The Duke of Burgundy, the only prince to whom Edward could look for support, was little likely to enter warmly into his cause; for, although married to his sister, he was connected by relationship with Henry VI. and was involved in a war with France, which would become doubly perilous if, upon any opposition to the Lancastrian party, the influence of England were thrown into the scale against him.

Whilst every thing seemed thus secure and prosperous, Queen Margaret and the Prince of Wales prepared to pass into England. Warwick went to the sea coast to receive them; and, if they had landed at that time, their progress to the capital would have resembled a triumph. Detained on the coast of Normandy from February until April by the unusual boisterousness of the weather, they at length, with some difficulty, secured a landing at Weymouth; and what were the tidings with which they were greeted? That, amidst the tempests by which they had been detained, Edward and a small band of followers had landed in the north amongst a people up in arms to oppose him, but whom he had deceived by false representations of the purpose of his coming; that he had obtained possession of the metropolis and the person of the King; that Clarence "false, fleeting, perjured Clarence" had deserted the cause of Lancaster; that a great battle had been fought; and that Warwick, the centre of all their hopes, had been defeated and killed. "When," says Hall, paraphrasing the words of Polydore Vergil, "when she harde all these miserable chaunces and misfortunes, so sudainly, one in another's necke, to have taken effect, she, like a woman all dismaied for feare, fell to the ground, her harte was perced with sorowe, her speache was in a manner passed, all her spirits were tomented with malencholy." (10)

The remainder of the story may be soon told. The friends of the House of Lancaster gathered around the Queen and Prince; a considerable force was raised; a strong position was taken near Tewkesbury; and on the fourth of May 1471 the two armies met. The results were fatal to the House of Lancaster. The Prince of Wales was killed; after the battle sixteen of his principal adherents were selected from amongst the prisoners and beheaded; and Edward returned to London, bearing Margaret with him as a captive.

One death more brought the tragedy to a close. Edward IV. entered London on the 21st of May, and on the 23rd, according to the following narrative, Henry VI. died in the Tower "of pure displeasure and melancholy."

The interest which attaches to the persons and situations of the chief actors in these events; the controversies to which the events themselves have given rise; the picture they present of the state of moral degradation to which the English people were reduced by the long civil war, to which alone Edward's rapid recovery of the throne and the success of deceptions and crimes by which it was accompanied are to be attributed, are quite sufficient to

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justify the addition of our historical authorities of a writer whose means of information were more ample, and whose narrative is anterior in date to any that we possess.

The deaths of the Prince of Wales and Henry VI. are popularly considered to constitute deep blots upon the escutcheon of the House of York; and although the acuteness of some modern writers has little shaken the general faith in the justice of the share in those deaths attributed to the Duke of Gloucester, it has not at all affected the almost universal belief that those Princes were murdered and murdered through the instrumentality of the heads of the House of York. In the following pages we have a representation of the facts relating to both those deaths set forth by the Yorkists themselves, within a few days after their occurrence, and before the public mind had been filled with the rumours which were soon afloat. This is not the place which to enter upon any disquisition as to the manner in which the Yorkist narrative affects their cause; at any event, we shall all agree that they ought to be heard. In the notes, I have brought together the statements of the various contemporary authorities relating to the deaths of the Prince and Henry VI.; and the juxta-position will not only be useful to those who are desirous to approximate towards the truth, but, by displaying the contradictions between the existing authorities, will be found to prove the importance of obtaining further information.

The fate of the following narrative has been singular. Adopted as we have seen by Edward IV., and an abridgment of it translated and sent abroad at the time it was written, it either remained unknown to the English writers of the period, or was considered to be too entirely Yorkist in its tone and spirit to be used during the subsequent ascendancy of the House of Lancaster. After the lapse of a century, a MS. of it is ascertained to have been extant in the library of Fleetwood, the well-known Recorder of London in the time of Queen Elizabeth; and from that MS. Fleetwood, without acknowledging his authority, compiled a narrative of Edward's restoration, which was inserted in Holinshed's Chronicle (11), and is referred to its author by the name "W. Fleetwood" in the margin. In passing under Fleetwood's hand, the orthography was modernised, many passages were omitted, many softened, and in some of the most important places the narrative of Hall, translated from Polydore Vergil, was adopted as "more pleasing to Lancastrian ear." After it had been thus diluted by Fleetwood, it received an infusion of Lancastrian spirit from Abraham Fleming, the editor of that part of Holinshed, who interpolated a number of passages from Stowe, derived from the Chronicler with whom we are made acquainted by the extracts in Leland's Collectanea. In these various ways the red rose was blanched, the colour of the narrative was changed in all its more important passages, and the servant of Edward IV. was transformed into a Lancastrian Chronicler.

It was through the partial representation in Holinshed alone, that the facts contained in this narrative were at all known, until Mr. Sharon Turner, whose endeavours to discover MS. historical authorities cannot be too highly praised, drew attention to the narrative itself, by using and commending it in his History of England during the Middle Ages (12). To that work I am indebted for my first knowledge of it; and I am not aware that it has ever been noticed by any other writer.

What became of Fleetwood's MSS. is not, I believe, known; but Stowe, who had access to them, made a copy of the original of the following paper, and that copy, written in the small clear hand of the Chronicler, found its way into the Harleian Library through Sir Symonds D'Ewes. It now forms the third article, in a small quarto volume of Stowe's Transcripts, numbered 543, amongst the Harleian MSS. It commences on folio 31, and is thus described in a title page written by another hand; "The Historie of the arrivall of King E. 4 in England, and the finall recouerye of his Kingdomes from H. 6 in A.D. 1471. Written by an Anonymus whoe was liuing at the same time and a seruant to saied King E. 4. Transcribed by John Stowe the Chronicler with his owne hand." The work now published is a copy of Stowe's MS.

I cannot conclude without an expression of my thanks to the Council of the Camden Society for the readiness with which they adopted my suggestion for the publication of this Document, and also for the kind assistance I have received from them whilst it has been passing through the press. John Bruce 8th May 1838

Footnotes to the Introduction

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1. Published in Gale's *Rerum Anglicarum Script. Vet.* I 549. 2. I have used Sir Henry Ellis's edition, 4to. Lond. 1811. 3. Vol. II of the edition of 1774, p. 499. 4. I have used the Edition of Basil, fol. 1557. 5. Gale, I. 575. 6. Comines, I. 209. "comment m'ont dit ceux qui y estoient." 7. For example, in p. 20, for the Earl of Exeter, read the Earl of Essex. In p. 21, the death of Henry VI. is said to have occurred on the 24th of the said month of June; May is the only month which can be alluded to, and the day in our MS. is the 23rd. Upon that point, it would be satisfactory if the Ghent MS. were again consulted. In p. 22, the battle of Tewkesbury is dated on the 14th of May, instead of the 4th. 8. Hall, 297. 9. Vol. III. p. 303, Edit. 1808. Part I: Introduction, with Footnotes and Transcriber's Notes on Textual Adaptation

10. Part II: Landing through the Reconciliation with Clarence

11. Part III: Confrontation at Coventry through the Battle of Barnet

12. Part IV: The Coming of Queen Margaret through the Battle of Tewkesbury

13. Part V: The Aftermath of Tewkesbury through the Surrender of the Bastard of Fauconberg

14. Part VI: Endnotes

Part II: Landing through the Reconciliation with Clarence

Here folowethe the mannar how the moaste noble and right victorious prince Edwarde, by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, in the yere of grace 1471, in the monethe of Marche, departed out of Zeland; toke the sea; aryved in England; and, by his force and valliannes, of newe redewced and reconqueryd the sayde realme, upon agaynst th'Erle of Warwicke, his traytor and rebell, calling himselfe Lieutenaunte of England (1), by pretensed auctoritie of the usurpowre Henry, and his complices; and, also, upon and agains Edward, callynge hymselfe prince of Wales(2), sonne to the sayde Henry than wrongfully occupieng the Royme and Crowne of England; and, upon many othur greate and myghty Lords, noble men, and othar, beinge mightily accompaigned. Compiled and put in this forme suinge, by a servaunt of the Kyngs, that presently (3) saw in effect a great parte of his exploytes, and the resydewe knewe by true relation of them that were present in every tyme.

IN the yere of grace 1471, aftar the comptinge of the churche of England, the ij. day of Marche, endynge the x. yere (4) of the reigne of our soveraign Lord Kynge Edwarde the IV, by the grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce, and Lord of Irland, the sayde moaste noble kynge accompanied with ij thowsand Englyshe men (5), well chosen, entendynge to passe the sea, and to reentar and recovar his realme of England, at that tyme usurpyd and occupied by Henry, callyd Henry VI. (6), by the traytorous meanes of his greate rebell Richard, Erle of Warwicke, and his complices, entered into his shipe, afore the haven of Flisshinge, in Zeland, the sayde ij. of Marche; and forasmoche as aftar he was in the shippe, and the felowshipe also, with all that to them appertayned, the wynd fell and not good for hym, he therefore wold not retorne agayne to the land, but abode in his shipe, and all his felowshipe in lyke wyse, by the space of ix dayes, abydyng good wynde and wether; whiche had the xj. daye of Marche, he made saile, and so did all the shippes that awayted upon hym, takyng theyr cowrse streyght over [towards] the coste of Norfolke, and came before Cromere, the Tuesdaye, agayne even, the xij. day of Marche; withar the Kynge sent on land Ser Robart Chambarlayne, Syr Gilbert Debenham, Knyghts, and othar, trustinge by them to have some knowledge how the land inward was disposed towards hym, and, specially, the countries there nere adioyninge, as in party so they brought hym knowledge from suche as for that caws wer sent into thos parties, from his trew servaunts and partakars within the land, whiche tolde them, for certayne, that thos parties wer right sore beset by th'Erle of Warwyke, and his adherents, and, in especiall, by th'Erle of Oxenforde (7), in such wyse that, of lyklyhood, it might not be for his wele to lande in the contrye; and a great cawse was, for the Duke of Norfolke was had owt of the contrye, and all the gentlemen of whom th'Erle of Warwicke bare any

suspicion ware, afore that, sent for by letars of privie seale, and put in warde about London, or els found surety; natheles, the sayd ij knyghts, and they that came on land with them, had right good chere, and turned agayne to the sea. Whos report herd, the Kynge garte make course towards the north parties. The same night followinge, upon the morne, Wenesday, and Thursday the xiiij. daye of Marche, fell great stormes, wynds and tempests upon the sea, so that the sayde xiiij. day, in great torment, he came to Humberhede, where the othar shipps were dissevered from hym, and every from other, so that, of necessitye, they were dryven to land, every fere from other. The Kynge, with his shippe aloone, wherein was the Lord Hastings, his Chamberlayne, and other to the nombar of v{c} well chosen men, landed within Humber, on Holdernes syde, at a place callyd Ravensporne, even in the same place where sometime the Usurpwr Henry of Derby, aftar called Kynge Henry IV. landed, aftar his exile, contrary and to the disobeysance of his sovereigne lord, Kynge Richard the II. whome, aftar that, he wrongfully distressed, and put from his reigne and regalie, and usurped it falsely to hymselfe and to his isswe, from whome was liniially descended Kynge Henry, at this tyme usinge and usurpinge the coronoe, as sonne to his eldest sonne, somtyme callyd Kynge Henry the V. The Kynge's brothar Richard, Duke of Glowcestar, and, in his company iij{c} men, landyd at an othar place iij myle from thens. The Earle Rivers, and the felowshipe beinge in his companye, to the nombar of ij{c}, landyd at a place called Powle, xiiij myle from there the Kynge landyd, and the reminaunt of the felowshipe wher they myght best get land. That night the Kynge was lodgyd at a power village, ij myle from his landynge, with a few with hym; but that nyght, and in the morninge, the resydewe that were comen in his shipe, the rage of the tempest somewhate appeasyd, landyd and alwaye drewe towards the Kynge. And on the morne, the xv. day of Marche, from every landynge place the felowshipe came hoole toward hym. As to the folks of the cuntrye there came but right few to hym, or almost none, for, by the scuringe (8) of suche persons as for that cawse were, by his said rebells, sent afore into thos partes for to move them to be agains his highnes, the people were sore endwsed to be contrary to hym, and not to receyve, ne accepte hym, as for theyr Kynge; natwithstondynge, for the love and favour before they had borne to the prince of fulnoble memorye, his father, Duke of Yorke, the people bare hym right great favowr to be also Duke of Yorke, and to have that of right apartayned unto hym, by the right of the sayde noble prince his fathar. And, upon this opinion, the people of the cuntrye, whiche in greate nombar, and in dyvars placis, were gatheryd, and in harnes, redye to resiste hym in chalenginge of the Royme and the crowne, were disposyd to content them selfe, and in noo wyse to annoy hym, ne his felowshipe, they affirmyng that to such entent were [they] comen, and none othar. Whereupon, the hoole felowshipe of the Kynge's comen and assembled together, he toke advise what was best to doo, and concludyd brifely, that, albe it his enemies and chefe rebells were in the sowthe partes, at London and ther about, and that the next way towards them had to be by Lyncolneshire, yet, in asmooche as, yf they shulde have taken that waye, they must have gon eft sones to the watar agayne, and passyd ovar Humbar, whiche they abhoryd for to doo; and also, for that, yf they so dyd it would have be thowght that they had withdrawn them for feare, which note of sklaundar they wer right lothe to suffar; for thes, and othar goode considerations, they determined in themselves not to goo agayne to the watar, but to holde the right waye to his City of Yorke. The Kynge determined also, that, for as longe as he shuld be in passynge thrughe and by the contrye, and to the tyme that he myght, by th'assistaunce of his trew servaunts, subiects and lovars, whiche he trustyd veryly in his progres shuld come unto hym, be of suche myght and puissaunce as that were lykly to make a sufficient party, he and all thos of his felowshipe, shuld noyse, and say openly, where so evar they came, that his entent and purpos was only to clame to be Duke of Yorke, and to have and enjoy th'enheritaunce that he was borne unto, by the right of the full noble prince his fathar, and none othar. Thrwghe whiche noysynge the people of the contrye that were gatheryd and assembled in dyvars placis, to the number of vi or vij thowsand men, by the ledinge and gwydyng of a priste (9) the vycar of —, in one place, and a gentleman of the same contrye, callyd Martyn of the See (10), to th'entent to have resisted and lettyd hym his passage, by the stiringe of his rebells, theyr complices, and adherents, toke occasyon to owe and beare hym favowre in that qwarell, not discoveringe, ne rememberinge, that his sayd fathar, bisydes that he was rightfully Duke of Yorke, he was also verrey trew and rightwise enheritoure to the roylme and corone of England so he was declared by [the] iij astates of the land (11), at a parliament holden at Westmynster, unto this day never repelled, ne revoked. And, under this manar, he kepinge furthe his purpos with all his felowshipe, toke the right way to a gode towne, called Beverley, being in his high way towards Yorke. He sent to an othar gode towne, walled, but vj myle thens, called Kyngstown upon Hull, desyringe th'enhabitants to have openyd it unto hym, but they refused so to doo, by the meanes and stirings of his rebells, whiche aforne had sent

thethar, and to all the contrye, strict commendements willing, and also charginge, them, at all their powers, to withstonde the Kynge, in caase he there aryved. And, therefore, levinge that towne, he kept his way forthe streight to Yorke. And nere this way were also assembled great compaignies in divars places, muche people of the contrie, as it was reported, but they cam not in syght, but all they suffred hym to pas forthe by the contrye; eythar, for that he had all his felowshipe pretended by any manar langage none othar qwarell but for the right that was his fathars, the Duke of Yorke; or ells, for that, thowghe they were in nombar mo than he, yet they durst not take upon them to make hym any manifest warre, knowynge well the great curage and hardines that he was of, with the parfete asswranche of the felowshipe that was with hym; or ells, paradventure, for that certayne of theyr captaines and garders (12) were some whate enduced to be the more benivolent for money that the Kynge gave them; wherfore the Kynge, keping furthe his way, cam befor Yorke, Monday the xvij. day of the same monithe. Trewthe is that aforne the Kynge came at the citie, by iij myles, came unto him one callyd Thomas Coniers, Recordar of the citie, whiche had not bene afore that named trwe to the Kynges partie. He tolde hym that it was not good for hym to come to the citie, for eyther he shuld not be suffred to enter, or els, in caas he enteryd, he was lost, and undone, and all his. The Kynge, seeing so ferforthly he was in his ionrey that in no wyse he might goo backe with that he had begone, and that no good myght folowe but only of hardies (13), decreed in hymselfe constantly to purswe that he had begon, and rathar to abyde what God and good fortune would gyve hym, thwoghe it were to hym uncertayne, rathar than by laches, or defaulte of curage, to susteyne reprooche, that of lyklyhode shulde have ensued; And so, therefore, notwithstandinge the discouraginge words of the Recordar, which had be afore suspecte to hym and his partie, he kept boldely forthe his ionrey, streyght towards the citie. And, within a while, came to hym, owt of the citie, Robart Clifford and Richard Burghe, whiche gave hym and his felowshipe bettar comforte, affirmynge, that in the qwarell aforesayde of his fathar the Duke of Yorke, he shuld be receyvvd and sufferyd to passe; whereby, better somewhate encoragyd, he kepte his waye; natheles efte sonnes cam the sayde Coniers, and put hym in lyke discomforte as afore. And so, sometyme comforyd and sometyme discomforyd, he came to the gates of the citie (14), where his felashipe made a stoppe, and himself and xvj or xvij persons, in the ledings of the sayde Clifford and Richard Burgh passed even in at the gates, came to the worshipfull folks whiche were assembled a little within the gates, and shwed them th'entent and purpos of his comming, in suche forme, and with such maner langage, that the people contentyd htem therwithe, and so receyvvd hym, and all his felowshipe, that night, when he and all his feloshipe abode and were refreshed well to they had dynd on the morne, and than departed out of the citie to Tadcstar, a towne of th'Erls of Northumbarland, x mile sowthwards. And, on the morrow after that, he toke his waye towards Wakefelde and Sendall, a grete lorshipe appartayninge to the Duke of Yorke, leving the Castell of Pomfrete on his lefte hand, wher abode, and was, the Marqwes Montagwe, that in no wyse trowbled hym, ne none of his fellowshipe, but sufferyd hym to passe in peasceable wyse, were it with good will or noo, men may juge at theyr pleaswre; I deme ye (15), but trouth it is, that he ne had nat, ne cowthe not have gatheryd, ne made, a felashipe of nombar sufficient to have openly resistyd hym in hys qwarell, ne in Kynge Henries qwarell; and one great caws was, for great partie of the people in thos partis lovyd the Kyngs person well, and cowthe nat be encoragyd directly to doo agayne hym in that qwarell of the Duke of Yorke, which in almannar langage of all his fellowshipe was covertly pretendyd, and none othar. An othar grete cawse, for grete partye of [the] noble men and comons in thos parties were towards th'Erle of Northumbarland, and would not stire with any lorde or noble man other than with the sayde Earle (16), or at leaste by his commandement. And, for soo muche as he sat still, in suche wise that yf the Marques wolde have done his besines to have assembled them in any manier qwarell, neithar for his love, whiche they bare hym none, ne for any commandement of higher autoritie, they ne wolde in no cawse, ne qwarell, have assisted hym. Wherein it may right well appere, that the said Erle, in this behalfe, dyd the Kynge right gode and notable service, and, as it is deemed in the conceipts of many men, he cowthe nat hav done hym any beter service, ne not thowghe he had openly declared hym selfe extremly parte-taker with the Kynge in his rightwys qwarell, and, for that entent, have gatheryd and assemblyd all the people that he might have made; for, how be it he loved the Kynge trewly and perfectly, as the Kynge thereof had certayne knowledge, and wolde, as of hymselfe and all his power, have served hym trewly, yet it was demyd, and lykly it was trewe, that many gentlemen, and othar, whiche would have be araysed by him, woulde not so fully and extremly have determyned them selfe in the Kyng's right and qwarell as th'Erle wolde have done hymselfe; havynge in theyr freshe remembraunce how that the Kynge, at the first entrie-winning of his right to the Royme and Crowne of England, had (17) and won a great battaile in those same parties (18), where they

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

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

The Kyng, beinge at Notyngham, and or he came there, sent the scorers (19) alabowte the contries adioynynge, to aspie and serche yf any gaderyngs were in any place agaynst hym; some of whome came to Newerke, and undarstode well that there was, within the towne, the Duke of Excestar, th'Erle of Oxforde, the Lord Bardolf, and othar, with great felowshipe, which th'Erle and they had gatheryd in Essex, in Northfolke, Sowthefolke, Cambridgeshire, Huntyngdonshire, and Lyncolneshire, to the nombar of iiij{m} men. The sayde Duke and Erll, havynge knowledge that the sayde forrydars of the Kyngs had bene aforne the towne in the evenynge, thinkynge verily that the Kyng, and his hole hoste, were approchinge nere, and would have come upon them, determyned shortly within themselfe that [they] might not abyde his comynge. Wherefore, erly, abowte two of the cloke in the mornynge, they flede out of the towne, and ther they lost parte of the people that they had gatheryd and browght with them thethar. Trewthe it was, that, whan the Kynges aforne—ridars had thus espyed theyr beinge, they acertaynyd the Kyng therof, at Notyngham, which, incontinent, assembled all his felowshipe, and toke the streyght waye to—them—wards, within three myle of the towne. And, there, came to hym certayne tydings that they were fledd owt of Newerke, gonn, and disperpled (21), to determyne his qwarell in playne fielde, which the same Earele refused to do at that tyme, and so he dyd iij dayes aftar—ensuinge continually. The Kyng, seinge this, drwe hym and all his hooste streght to Warwike, viij small myles from thens, where he was receyvyd as Kyng, and so made his proclamations from that tyme forthe wards; where he toke his lodgyngs, wenyng thereby to have gyven the sayde Earle gretar cowrage to have yssyed owte of the towne of Coventrye, and to have taken the fielde, but he ne would so doo. Nathelesse dayly came certayne personns on the sayde Erlls behalve to the Kinge, and made greate moynes, and desired him to treat with hym, for some gode and expedient appoyntment. And, how be it the Kyng, by the advise of his Counseylors, graunted the sayd Elre his lyfe, and all his people beinge there at that tyme, and dyvers othar fayre offers made hym, consythar his great and haynows offenses; which semyd resonable, and that for the wele of peax and tranquilitie of the Realme of England, for ther—by to avoyde th'effusyon of Christen bloode, yet he ne woulde accepte the sayde offars, ne accorde thereunto, but yf he myght have had suche apoyntment unresonable as myght nat in eny wyse with the Kyngs honowr and swetye.

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Here is to be remembrede how that, at suche season aforne, as whan the Kynge was in Holand, the Duke of Clarence, the Kyngs second brothar, consyderinge the great inconveniences whereunto as well his brother the Kynge, he, and his brother the Duke of Glocestar, were fallen unto, thrwghe and by the devysyon that was betwixt them, whereunto, by the subtyle compassynge of th'Erle of Warwike, and his complices, they ewre browght, and enduced; as, first to be remembred, the dishertinge of them all from the Royme and Crowne of England, and that therto apperteynd; and besyds that, the mortall warre and detestable, lykely to falle betwixt them; and ovar this, that yt was evident that to what party so evar God woulde graunte the victorye, that, notwithstandinge, the wyunner shuld nat be in eny bettar suerty therefore of his owne estate and parson, but abyde in as greate, or greater, dangar than they wer in at that tyme. And, in especiall, he considered well, that hymselfe was had in great suspicion, despite, disdeigne, and hatered, with all the lordes, noblemen, and othar, that were adherents and full partakers with Henry, the Usurpar, Margaret his wyfe, and his sonne Edward, called Prince; he sawe also, that they dayly laboryd amongs them, brekyng theyr appoyntments made with hym, and, of lyklihed, aftar that, shuld continually more and more fervently entend, conspire, and procure the distruction of hym, and of all his blode, wherethrghe it apperyd also, that the Roylme and Regalie shuld remaygne to suche as thereunto myght nat en eny wyse have eny rightwyse title. And, for that it was unnaturall, and agaynes God, to suffar any suche werre to continew and endure betwixt them, if it myght otharwyse be, and, for othar many and great considerations, that by right wyse men and virtuex were layed afore hym, in many behalfts, he was agreed to entend to some good appointment for the pacification. By right covert wayes and meanes were good mediators, and mediatrixis, the highe and myghty princis my Lady, theyr mothar (22); my lady of Exceter, my lady of Southfolke, theyre systars; my Lord Cardinall of Cantorbery; my Lord of Bathe; my Lord of Essex; and, moste specially, my Lady of Bourgoigne; and othar, by mediacions of certayne priests, and othar well disposyd parsouns. Abowte the Kyngs beinge in Holland, and in other partes beyond the sea, great and diligent labowre, with all effect, was continually made by the high and mighty (23) princesse, the Duches of Bowrgine, which at no season ceasyd to send hir servaunts, and messengars, to the Kynge, wher he was, and to my sayd Lorde of Clarence, into England; and so dyd his verrey good devowre in that behalfe my Lord of Hastings, the Kyng's Chambarlayne, so that (24) a perfecte accord was appoyntyd, concludyd, and assured, betwixt them; wherein the sayde Duke of Clarence full honorably and trwly acquitted hym; for, as sune as he was acertaygned of the Kyngs arivall in the north parties, he assembled anon suche as would do for hym, and, assone as he godly myght, drew towards the Kynge, hym to abyde and assyste agaynste all his enemyes, accompanied with mo than iiij{m}.

The Kynge, that tyme beinge at Warwyke, and undarstondyng his neere approching, upon an aftarnone isswyed out of Warwike, with all his felowshipe, by the space of three myles, into a fayre fylde towards Banbery, where he saw the Duke, his brothar, in faire array, come towards hym, with a greate felashipe. And, whan they were togedars, within lesse than an halfe myle, the Kynge set his people in aray, the bannars [displayed] and lefte them standyng still, takyng with hym his brothar of Glocestar, the Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, and fewe othar, and went towards his brothar of Clarence. And, in lyke wyse, the Duke, for his partye takyng with hym a fewe noble men, and levinge his hoost in good order, departyd from them towards the Kynge. And so they mett betwixt both hostes, where was right kynde and lovyng language betwixt them twoo, with parfite accord knyght togethars for evar here aftar, with as hartyly lovyng chere and countenance, as might be betwix two bretherne of so grete nobley and astate. And than, in lyke wyse, spake togethar the two Dukes of Clarence and Glocestar, and, aftar, othar noble men beinge there with them, whereof all the people there that lovyd them, and awght them theyr trew service (25), were right glade and ioyows, and thanked God highly of that ioyows metyng, unitie, and accorde, hopyng that, therby, shuld growe unto them prosperows fortune, in all that they shuld aftar that have a doo. And than the trompetts and minstrels blew uppe, and, with that, the Kynge browght his brothar Clarence, and suche as were there with hym, to his felowshipe, whom the sayd Duke welcomyd into the land in his best manner, and they thanked God, and hym, and honoryd hym as it apparteigned.

Part III: Confrontation at Coventry through the Battle of Barnet

Aftar this, the Kynge, yet levinge his hooste standyng still, with the sayd few persons went with his brothar of

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Clarence to his hoste, whome he hertily welcomyd, and promised hym largely of his grace and good love, and, from thens, they all come hoole togethars to the Kyngs hooste, when ethar party welcomyd and jocundly receyvyd othar, with perfect frindlynes; and, so, with greate gladnes, bothe hostes, with theyr princes, togethars went to Warwyke, with the Kyng, and ther lodged, and in the countrie near adioyninge.

Sone aftar this the Duke of Clarence, beinge right desyrows to have procuryd a goode accorde betwyxt the Kyng and th'Erle of Warwyke; not only for th'Erle, but also for to reconsyle therby unto the Kyngs good grace many lordes and noble men of his land, of whom many had largely taken parte with th'Erle; and for this the weale of peax and tranquilitie in the land, and in avoydyng of cruell and mortall were, that, of the contrary, was lykly, in shorttyme, to enswe; he made, therefore, his mocions, as well to the Kyng as to th'Erle, by messagis sendyng to and fro, bothe for the well above sayde, as to acquite hym trwly and kyndly in the love he bare unto hym, and his blood, whereunto he was allied by the marriage of his dawghtar. The Kyng, at th'ynstaunce of his sayd brothar, the Duke, was content to shew hym largely his grace, with dyvars good condicions, and profitable for th'Erle yf that he woulde have acceptyd them. But th'Erle, whether he in maner dispaired of any good pardurable continuaunce of good accord betwixt the Kyng and hym, for tyme to come, consyderinge so great attemptes by hym comytted agaynst the Kyng; or els, for that willinge to enterteigne the greate promises, pacts, and othes, to the contrary, made solempnily, and also priuately sworne, to the Frenche Kyng, Qwene Margarete, and hir sonne Edward (26), in the qwarell of them, and of his owne seching, wherefrom he ne couthe departe, without grete desklaundar; or els, for that he had afore thwoght, and therefore purveyed, that, in caase he myght nat get to have the owar-hand of the Kyng, his meanes were founden of sure and certayne escape by the sea to Calais, whiche was enswryd to hym selfe in every caas that myght hape hym (27), so that it myght fortwne hym to come thethar; or els, for that certayne parsons beinge with hym in companye, as th'Erle of Oxenforde, and othar, beinge desposed in extrem malice agaynst the Kyng, wolde not suffre hym t'accepte any mannar of appoyntment, were it resonable or unresonable, but causyd hym to refuse almannar of appointments; whiche as many men deme was the verray cawse of none acceptinge of the Kyngs [grace]; wherefore all suche treaty brake and toke none effecte.

In this meane season of the Kyngs beinge at Warwyke, cam to the Erle of Warwyke, to Coventrye, the Duke of Excestar, the Marques Mountagwe, th'Erle of Oxenforde, with many othar in great nombar, by whos than commynge dayly grew and encreasyd the felwoshipe of that partye. The Kyng, withe his brithern, this consyderinge, and that in no wyse he cowthe provoke hym to come owt of the towne, ne thingkyng it behoffoll to assayll, ne to tary for the asseginge therof; as well for avoydaunce of greate slaghtars that shuld therby enswe, and for that it was thought more expediend to them to draw towards London, and there, with helpe of God, and th'assystaunce of his trwe lords, lovars, and servaunts, whiche were there, in thos partes, in great nombar; knowyng also, that his principall advarsarye, Henry, with many his partakers, were at London, ther usurpyng and usyng the athoritie royall, which barred and letted (28) the Kyng of many aydes and assystaunces, that he shuld and mowght hav had, in divars parties, yf he myght ones shew himselfe of powere to breke their actoritie (29); wherefore, by th'advyse of his sayd brithern, and othar of his counsell, he toke his purpos to London wards, and so departyd fro Warwicke; yet, efte sones, shewinge hym, and his hoste, before Coventrie, and desyryng the sayd Erle, and his felshipe, to come owte, and, for to determyne his qwarell by battayle, whiche he and they utterly refused, wherefore the Kyng, and his brithern kept forthe theyr purpos sowthwardes. And this was the v. day of Aprell the Friday.

On Satarday, the Kyng, with all his hooste, cam to a towne called Davantre, where the Kyng, with greate devocion, hard all divine service upon the morne, Palme-Sunday, in the parishe churche, wher God, and Seint Anne, shewyd a fayre miracle; a goode pronositique of good aventure that aftar shuld befall unto the Kyng by the hand of God, and mediation of that holy matron Seynt Anne. For, so it was, that, afore that tyme, the Kyng, beinge out of his realme, in great trowble, thought, and hevines, for the infortwne and adversitie that was fallen hym, full often, and, specially upon the sea, he prayed to God, owr Lady, and Seint George, and, amonges othar saynts, he specially prayed to Seint Anne to helpe hym, where that he promysed, that, at the next tyme that it shuld hape hym to se any ymage of Seint Anne, he shuld therto make his prayers, and gyve his offeringe, in honor and worshipe of that blessyd Saynte. So it fell, that, the same Palme Sunday, the Kyng went in procession, and

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all the people aftar, in goode devotion, as the service of that daye askethe, and, whan the processyon was comen into the churche, and, by ordar of the service, were comen to that place where the vale shulbe drawne up afore the Roode, that all the people shall honor the Roode, with the anthem, Ave, three times begon, in a pillar of the churche, directly aforne the place where the Kyng knelyd, and devowtly honoryd the Roode, was a lytle ymage of Seint Anne, made of alleblastar, standynge fixed to the piller, closed and clasped togethars with four bordes, small, payntyd, and gowynge rownd about the image, in manar of a compas, lyke as it is to see comonly, and all about, where as suche ymages be wont to be made for to be solde and set up in churches, chapells, crosses, and oratories, in many placis. And this ymage was thus shett, closed, and clasped, accordynge to the rulles that, in all the churches of England, be observyd, all ymages to be hid from Ashe Wednesday to Estartay in the mornynge. And so the sayd ymage had bene from Ashwensday to that tyme. And even sodaynly, at that season of the service, the bords compassynge the ymage about gave a great crak, and a little openyd, which the Kyng well perceyved and all the people about hym. And anon, aftar, the bords drewe and closed togethars agayne, without any mans hand, or touchinge, and, as thwoghe it had bene a thinge done with a violence, with a gretar might it openyd all abrod, and so the ymage stode, open and discovert, in syght of all the people there beynge. The Kyng, this seinge, thanked and honoryd God, and Seint Anne, takynge it for a good signe, and token of good and prosperous aventure that God wold send hym in that he had to do, and, remembringe his promyse, he honoryd God, and Seint Anne, in that same place, and gave his offerings. All thos, also, that were present and sawe this worshippingd and thanked God and Seint Anne, there, and many offeryd; takynge of this signe, shewed by the power of God, good hope (30) of theyr good spede for to come.

The Kyng from that towne went to a good towne callyd Northhampton, wher he was well receyved, and, from thens toke the next way towards London, levyng alway behynd hym in his jowrney a good bande of speres and archars, his behynd-rydars, to countar, yf it had neded, suche of th'Erls partye as, peradventure, he shuld have t[o] have trowbled hym on the bakhalfe, yf he do had done.

Here it is to be remembred, that, in this season of the Kyngs comynge towards and beinge at Warwyke, and of the comynge to hym of his brothar the Duke of Clarence, Edmund callynge hymselfe Duke of Somarset, John of Somarset, his brother, callyd Marqwes Dorset, Thomas Courtney, callynge hym self th'Erle of Devonshire, beinge at London, had knowledge owt of Fraunce, that Qwene Margaret, and hir sonne, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countes of Warwyke, the Prior of Seint Johns, the Lord Wenloke, with othar many, theyr adherents and parte-takers, with all that evar they myght make, were ready at the sea-stde commynge, purposynge to arive in the West Contrie; wherefore they departyd owt of London, and went into the west parties, and ther bestryd them right greatly to make an assemblye of asmoche people for to receyve them at theyr comynge, them to accompany, fortyfy, and assyst, agaynst the Kyng, and all his partakars, in the qwarels of Henry, callyd Kyng, and occupyinge the regalie for that tym. And trew it was that she, hir sonne, the Countes of Warwike, the Lords, and othar of theyr fellowshipe, entryd theyr ships for that entent the xxiiij, of Marche, and so continuyd theyr abode in theyr ships, or they myght land in England, to the xiiij. day of Aprell, for defawlt of good wynd, and for grete temptests upon the sea, that time, as who saythe, continuyng by the space of xx dayes. But leve we this, and retorne agayne to the Kyngs progresse in his jowrney towards London, tellyng how that he came upon Tuesday, the ix. day of Aprill, from whens he sent comfortable messagis to the Qwene at Westminstar, and to his trew Lords, servaunts, and lovars, beynge at London; wherupon, by the moste covert meanes that they cowthe, [they] avised and practysed how that he myght be receyved and welcomyd at his sayde city of London. Th'Erle of Warwike, knowenge this his iowrneyng, and approching to London, sent his lettars to them of the citie, willinge and charyng them to resyste him and let the receyvynge of him and of his. He wrote also to put hym in uttarmoste devowr he cowthe, to provoke the citie agayns hym, and kepe hym owt, for two or three dayes; promisyng that he wolde not fayle to come with great puisance on the bakhalfe, trustinge utterly to dystresse and distroye hym and his, as to the same he had, by his othar writyngs, encharged the maior, and the aldermen, and the comons of the citie.

Hereupon, the ix. day of Aprell, th'Archbyshope callyd unto hym togethars, at Seint Powles, within the Citie of London, suche lords, gentlemen, and othar, as were of that partye, [with] as many men in harneys of theyr

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servaunts and othar as they cowthe make, which, in all, passed nat in nombar vj or vij{m} men, and thereupon, cawsed Henry, called Kynge, to take an horse and ryde from Powles thrwghe Chepe, and so made a circute abowte to Walbroke, as the generall processyon of London hathe bene accustomed, and so returned agayne to Powles, to the Bysshops Palays, where the sayd Henry at that tyme was lodged, supposynge, that, whan he had shewed hym in this arraye, they shuld have provokyd the citzens, and th'enhabitants of the citie, to have stonde and comen to them, and fortified that partye; but, threwthe it is, that the rewlars of the citie were at the counsell, and hadd set men at all the gates and wardes, and they, seyng by this manner of doinge, that the power of the sayde Henry, and his adherents, was so litle and feble as there and then was shweyd, they cowld thereby take no corage to draw to them, ne to fortifye theyr partye, and, for that they fearyd, but rather the contrary, for so moche as they sawe well that, yf they wolde so have done, ther myght was so lytle that it was nat for them to have ones attemptyd to have resystid the Kynge in his comynge, whiche approched nere unto the citie, and was that nyght at Seint Albons. They also of the citie in great nombar, and, namly, of the moaste worshipfull, were fully disposed to favowr the Kynge, and to have the citie opne unto hym at his comynge. They of the citie also consideryd, that he was notably well accompanied with many good, hable, and well-willed men, whiche, for no power, nor no resistance that myght be made, would spare to attempt, and suport, the takynge the citie, by all wayes possible; whereof they ne shuld have failed, consideringe that the Kynge, at that tyme had many greate and myghty frinds, lovars, and servitors, within the sayd citie, whiche would not have fayled by dyvers enterprises have made the citie open unto hym; as this myght nat be unknowne unto right many of the sayde citie; and, also, as might appere by that was don aftar in that behalfe and to that entent. Thus, what for love that many bare to the Kynge, and what for drade that many men had, how that, in caas the citie shuld have bene wonne upon them by foarce, the citiesens shuld therefore have systeyned harmes and damagis irreparable, and for many othar great consyderations, the maior, aldarmen, and othar worshipfull of the citie, determned clerly amongs them selfe to kepe the citie for the Kynge, and to opne it to hym, at his comynge; as so they sent to hym that therein they would be gwydyd to his pleaswre. Th'Archebyshope of Yorke, undarstondynge the Kyngs comynge, and approchinge nere to the citie, sent secretly unto hym desyringe to be admittyd to his grace, and to be undar good appoyntement, promittyng therefore to do unto hym great pleaswre for his well and swertye; whereunto the Kynge, for good cawse and considerations, agreed so to take hym to his grace. Th'Archbyshope, therof assuryd, was ryght well pleasyd, and therefore wele and trwlye acquite hym, in observynge the promisyse that he had made to the Kynge in that behalfe.

The same nyght followynge the towre of London was taken for the Kyngs beholfe; whereby he had a playne entrie into the citie throwghe all they had not bene determyned to have receyvvd hym in, as they were. And on the morrow, the Thursday, the xj. day of Aprell, the Kynge came, and had playne overture of the sayd citie, and rode streight to Powles churche, and from thens went into the Byshops paleis, where th'Archbyshope of Yorke presentyd hym selfe to the Kyngs good grace, and, in his hand, the usurpowr, Kynge Henry; and there was the Kynge seasyd of hym and dyvars rebels. From Powles the Kynge went to Westmynstar, there honoryd, made his devout prayers, and gave thankyns to God, Saint Petre, and Saint Edward, and then went to the Qwene, and comfortyd her; that had a longe tyme abyden and sojourned at Westmynstar, asswringe hir parson only the the great fraunchis of that holy place, in right great trowble, sorow, and hevines, whiche she sustayned with all manar pacience that belonged to eny creature, and as constantly as hathe bene sene at any tyme of so highe estate to endure; in the whiche season natheles she had browght into this worlde, to the Kyngs greatyste joy, a fayre sonn, a prince, where with she presentyd hym at his comynge, to his herts syngluler comforte and gladnes, and to all them that hym trewly loved and wolde serve. From thens, that nyght, the Kynge retornyd to London, and the Qwene with hym, and lodged at the lodgynge of my Lady his mothar; where they harde devyne service that nyght, and upon morne, Good Fryeday; where also, on the morn, the Kynge took advise of the great lords of his blood, and othar of his counsell, for the adventures that were lykely for to come.

Th'Erle of Warrewike, callynge hymselfe lievetenaunt of England, and so constitute by the pretended auctoritie of Kynge Henry, beyng at Coventrie, and undrestandinge well that the Kynge wolde moche doo to be received in at London, and wist nat, in certeyne, ye or no, isshued owt of Coventrie with a great puissaunce, the lords, and all that he might make with him, and, by Northhampton, tooke their way aftar the Kynge, supposinge verrelly to have had right great advantage upon hym by one of the two waies; either, that the citie shuld have kepte the

Kynge owte, whiche failed; or els, in caas he were received in, he shulde there [have] kepte and observyd the solempnitie of Estar, and, if he do dyd, he thwoght sodaynly to come upon hym, take hym, and distroy hym, and his people [to have] disceaveyed, but the Kyng, well advertised of this yvell and malicious purpos, dyd grate diligence to recountre hym, or he might come nere to the citie, as ferre from it as he goodly myght; and, therefore, with a great armye, he departyd out of the citie of London towards hym, upon Saturdaye, Ester's even; the xiiij. day of Aprell. And so he toke in his companye to the felde, Kynge Henrye; and soo, that aftar none, he roode to Barnete, x myles owte of London, where his aforne-riders had founden the afore-riders of th'Erles of Warwikes hooste, and bet them, and chaced them out of the towne, more some what than an halfe myle; when, undre an hedge-syde, were redy assembled a great people, in array, of th'Erls of Warwike. The Kynge, comynge aftar to the sayde towne, and undarstanding all this, wolde [ne] suffre one man to abyde in the same towne, but had them all to the field with hym, and drewe towards his enemies, without the towne. And, for it was right derke, and he myght not well se where his enemyes were embataylled afore hym, he lodged hym, and all hist hoste, afore them, moche nere[r] then he had supposed, but he toke nat his ground so even in the front afore them as he wold have don yf he might bettar have sene them, butt somewhate a-syden-hande, where he disposed all his people, in good arraye, all that nyght; and so they kept them still, without any mannar langwauge, or noyse, but as lytle as they well myght. Bothe parties had goons, and ordinaunce, but th'Erle of Warwike had many moo then the Kynge, and therefore, on the nyght, weninge gretly to have anoyed the Kynge, his hooste, with shot of gonnes, th'Erles fieldes shotte gunes almoste all the nyght. But, thanked be God! it so fortunated that they alway ovarshote the Kyngs hoste, and hurtyd them nothings, and the cawse was the Kyngs hoste lay mucche nerrar them than they demyd. And, with that, also, the Kyng, and his hoste, kept passinge great silence alnyght (31) and made, as who saythe, no noyse, whereby they might nat know the very place where they lay. And, for that they shulde not know it, the Kynge suffred no gonns to be shote on his syd, all that nyght, or els right fewe, whiche was to hym great advauntage, for, therby, they (32) myght have esteemed the ground that he lay in, and have leveled their gunns nere.

On the morow, betymes, The Kynge, undarstandinge that the day approched nere, betwyxt four and five of the cloke, nawithstandynge there was a greate myste (33) and letted the syght of either othar, yet he commytted his cawse and qwarell to Allmyghty God, avancyd bannars, dyd blowe up trumpets, and set upon them, firste with shotte, and, than and sone, they (34) joyned and came to hand-strokes, wherein his enemies manly and coragiously receyved them, as well in shotte as in hand-strokes, whan they ioyned; whiche ioynynge of theyr bothe batteyls was nat directly frount to frount, as they so shulde have ioyned ne had be the myste, whiche suffred neythar party to se othar, but for a litle space, and that of lyklyhod cawsed the bataile to be the more crewell and mortall; for, so it was, that the one ende of theyr batayle ovarrechyed th'end of the Kyngs battayle, and so, at that end, they were myche myghtyar than was the Kyngs bataile at the same [end] that ioyned with them, whiche was the west ende, and, therefore, upon that party of the Kyngs battayle, they had a gretar distres upon the Kyngs party, wherefore many flede towards Barnet, and so forthe to London, or evar they lafte; and they fell in the chace of them, and dyd moche harme. But the other parties, and the residewe of neithar bataile, might se that distrese, ne the fleinge, ne the chace, by cawse of [the] great myste that was, whiche wolde nat suffre no man to se but a litle from hym; and so the Kyngs battayle, which saw none of all that, was therby in nothing discouragyed, for, save only a fewe that were nere unto them, no man wiste thereof; also the othar party by the same distres, flyght or chace, were therefore nevar the gretlyar coragyed. And, in lykewise, at the est end, the Kyngs batayle, whan they cam to ioynynge, ovarrechyed theyr batayle, and so distresyd them theyr gretly, and soo drwe nere towards the Kynge, who was about the myddest of the battayle, and susteyned all the myght and weight thereof. Netheles upon the same litle distresse at the west end anon ranne to Westmynstar, and to London, and so forthe furthar to othar contries, that the Kynge was distressed, and his fieldes loste, but, the lawde be to Almyghty God! it was otharwyse; for the Kynge, trusing verely in God's helpe, ovr blessyd ladyes, and Seynt George, toke to hym great haries and corage for to suppress the falcehode of all them that so falcelly and so traytorowsly had conspired agaynst hym, wherethrwghe, with the faythefull, wellbelovyd, and myghty assystaunce of his felawshipe, that in great nombar deseveryd nat from his parson, and were as well asswred unto hym, as to them was possyble, he mannyly, vigorowsly, and valliantly assayled them, in the mydst and strongest of theyr battaile, where he, with great violence, bett and bare down afore hym all that stode in hys way, and, than, turned to the range, first on that one hand, and than on that othar hand, in lengthe, and so bet and bare them downe, so that nothing myght stande in the

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syght of hym and the welle asswred felowshipe that attendyd trewly upon hym; so that, blessed be God! he wan the filde there, the perfite victory remayned unto hym, and to his rebells the discomfiture of xxx {m} men, s they nombrid them selves.

In this battayle was slayne the Erle of Warwyke, somewhat fleinge, which was taken and reputed as chefe of the felde, in that he was callyd amongs them lyvetenaunt of England, so constitute by the pretended auctorite of Kynge Henry. There was also slayne the Marques Montagwe, in playne battayle, and many othar knyghts, squiers, noble men, and othar. The Duke of Excestar was smytten downe, and sore woundyd, and lafte for dead; but he was not well knowne, and so lafte by a lytle out of the felde, and so, aftar, he escaped (35). The Erle of Oxenforde fled, and toke into the contire, and, in his flyenge, fell in company with certayne northern men, that also fled from the same filde, and so went he, in theyr company, northwards, and, aftar that, into Scotland.

This battayle duryd, fightyng and skirmishinge, some tyme in one place, and some tyme in an othar, ryght dowbtefully, because of the myste, by the space of thre howrs, or it was fully achivyd; and the victory is gyven to hym by God, by the mediacion of the moaste blessyd virgen and modre, ovr lady Seint Mary; the glorious martire Seint George, and all the saynts of heven, mayntaynyng his qwarell to be trew and rightwys, with many-fold good and contynuall prayers, whiche many devout persons, religiows and othar, ceasyd not to yelde unto God for his good spede, and, in especiall, that same day and season, whan it pleasyd God t'accepte the prayers of people being confessyd and in clene lyfe, whiche was the Estare mornynge, the tyme of the servyce-doyng of the resurection, comonly, by all the churches of England. And, albe hit the vycorye remayned to the Kynge, yet was it not without grete danger and hurt, for ther were slayne in the filde the Lorde Cromwell, the Lord Say, the Lord Mountjoies, sonne and heyre, and many othar good Knyghts, and squiers, gode yoemen, and many othar meneiall servaunts of the Kyngs. And it is to wete, that it cowthe not be judged that the Kyngs hoste passyd the nombar ixm. men; but, suche a great and gracious Lorde is Almyghty God, that it plesythe hym gyvythe the victory as well to fewe as to many, wherefore, to hym be the lawde and the thanks. And so the Kynge gave hym speciall lovinge, and all that were with hym. This thus done, the Kynge, the same day, aftar that he had a little refreshed hym and his hoste, at Barnette, he gathered his felowshipe togethars, and, with them, returned to his Citie of London, where into he was welomyed and receyvyd with moche ioy and gladnesse. And so rode he forthe streyght unto Powles at London, and there was receyvyd with my Lorde Cardinall of England (36), and many othar bysshops, prelates, lords spirituall, and temporall, and othar, in grete nombar, whiche all humbly thanked and lovyd God of his grace, that it plesyd hym that day to gyve to theyr prynce, and soveraygne lord, so prosperous a iowrney, wherby he had suppressed them that, of so great malice, had procured and laboryd at theyr powers his uttar destruction, contrary to God, and to theyr faythes and leigeances.

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

Part IV: The Coming of Queen Margaret through the Battle of Tewkesbury

Here aftar, folowithe how that Qwene Margaret, with hir sonne Edward, called Prince of Wales, aftar theyr

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arryvall in the west contrye, asembled greate people and cam to Tewkesberye, where the Kynge delyveryd theym battayle, distressed theym, and theyr felowshipe, [and] the sayd Edward, the Duke of Somerset, and othar, were slayne.

Aftar all thes things thus fallen, the Twesday in Estar weke, the xvj. day of Aprile, came certayn tydyngs to the Kynge how that Qwene Margaret, hir sonne Edward, callyd Prince of Wales, the Countese of Warwyke, the Priowr of Seint Johns, that tyme called Tresorar of England, the Lord Wenloke, and many othere knyghts, squiers, and othar of theyr party, whiche longe had bene nowt of the land with them, with suche also as, with the sayde Priowr of Seint Johns, had gon into Fraunce to fet them into England, were arryved, and landed in the west contrye, upon Estar day, at Waymowthe, aftar longe abydyng passage, and beyng on the sea, and landinge agayne for defawlte of good wynde and wethar. For, trewth it is, that the Qwene, Edward hir sonne, with all theyr felowshipe, entendinge to passe out of Normandy into England, toke first the sea, at Humflew, in the monithe of Marche, the xxiiij. day of the same, and, from that tyme forthe wards, they cowlde nat have any stable wethar to passe with; for and it were one day good, anon it chaunged upon them, and was agaynst them, and fayne they were therefor to goo to land agayne. And so, at divars tymes, they toke the sea, and forsoke it agayne, tyll it was the xiiij. day of Aprill, Estars Even. That day they passyd. The Countysse of Warwyke had a shippe of avauntage, and, therefore, landyd afore the othar, at Portsmowthe, and, from thens, she went to Showthampton, entendinge to have gon towards the Qwene, whiche was landyd at Wemowthe. But beinge there, she had certayne knowledge that the Kynge had wonne the felde upon her howsband, at Barnet, and there slayne hym, wherefore she would no fathar goo towards the Qwene, but, secretly, gat ovar Hampton–watar into the new forreste, where she tooke her franches of an abbey called Beawlew (37), whiche, as it is sayde, is ample, and as large as the franchise of Westmynstar, or of Seint Martins at London.

The Qwene, Margarete, and hir sonne went from there she landyd to an abbey nere by, callyd Seern (38), and all the lords, and the remenaunt of the fellowshipe with them. Thethar came unto them Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, Thomas Courteney, callyd th'Erle of Devonshire, with othar, and welcomyd them into England; comfortyd them, and put them in good hope that, albe it they had lost one felde, whereof the Qwene had knowledge the same day, Monday, the xv. day of Aprell, and was therefore right hevye and sory, yet it was to thinke that they shuld have ryght good spede, and that, for that los, theyr partye was nevar the feblar, but rather strongar, and that they dowted nothinge but that they shuld assemble so great puissaunce of people in dyvars partis of England, trewly asswred unto theyr partye, that it shuld nat mowe lye in the Kynge powere to resyste them; and in that contrye they would begyne. And so, forthewith, they sent alabout in Somarsetshere, Dorsetshire, and parte of Wiltshire, for to arrede and arays the people by a certayne day, suche, algats, as the sayde lords, and theyr partakers, afore that had greatly laboryd to that entent, prepparinge the contry by all meanes to them possoble. And, for that they would gather and arrays up the powere of Devonshire and Cornewaile, they drew from thens more west ward to the citie of Excestar, movinge Edward, callyd Prince, and his mothar, the Qwene, to doo the same; trustyng that theyr presence–shewing in the contrye shuld cawse moche more, and the sonnar, the people to com to theyr helpe and assistaunce.

At Excestar, they sent for Syr John Arundell, Syr Hughe Courteney, and many othar on whom they had any trust, and, in substaunce, they araysed the hoole myghte of Cornwall and Devonshire, and so, with great people, they departyd out of Excestre, and toke the ryght waye to Glastonberye, and, from thens, to the city of Bathe, withar they came the – day of Aprell; and, as they went, they gatheryd the hable men of all thos partes. The cuntrie had bene so longe laboryd afore by th'Erle of Warwike, and such as he for that caws sent thethar to move them to take Kynge Henry's partie, and, now of late, they were sore laboryd for the same entent, and thereunto the more lyghtly enducyd, by Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, and Thomas Courtney, callyd th'Elre of Devonshire, for that they reputyd them old enheritors of that contrie.

The Kynge beyng at London, and havynge knowledge of all this theyr demeanyng from tyme to tyme, anon purveyed for the relevynge of his syck and hurt men, that had bene with hym at Barnet felde, which were ryght many in nombar, what left at London, and what in the contrye, and sent to all partes to get hym freshe men, and,

incontinent, prepared all things that was thought behovefull for a new field; whiche he saw was imminent and comyng on. So purveyed he artillery, and ordinaunce, gonns, and othar, for the filde gret plentye. And Fryday, the xix. day of Aprille, he departyd out of London and went to Wyndsore, ther to thanke and honor God, and Seint George, where he kept also the feaste of Seint George, tarienge somewhat the longar there for that he had commaundyd all the people, and thos that wold serve hym in this iourney, to draw unto hym thithar, and from thens, suche way as shulde happen hym take towards his enemyes. And, for so moche as they at that season were in an angle of the land, and nedes they must take one of the two wayes, that is to say, eythar to come streight to Salisbery, and so, that way, towards London; or ells, alonge the sea-coaste into Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent, and so to London, to make in the way theyr people the mo in nombar; or els, they, nat thynkyng themselves to be puissaunce lykly to have a doo with the Kynge, and therefore, paradventure, woulde drawe northwards into Lancasshyre and Cheshire, trustyng also to have in theyr way th'assystaunce of Walchemen, by the meane of Jasper called Erle of Penbroke (39), whiche, for that cawse, had bene afore sent into the contrie of Wales, to arays them, and make them redy to assyst that partye at theyr comyng; for whiche consyderations, the Kynge cawsed great diligence to be done by meane of espies, and by them he had knowledge, from tyme to tyme, of theyr purposes in that behalfe. Yf they would have taken estwards theyr way, his entent was to encounter them as sonne as he myght, and the farthar from London that shuld be to hym possible, for th'entent that they shuld assemble no myght owt of eny contrye but where they then were, but, for so moche as he undarstode well they toke the othar waye, towards northwest, he hastyd hym, with his host, all that he myght, upon the purpos that he had taken to stope them theyr waye and passage into thos parties whereunto their desyre was to goo, and to make them the more myghty, whiche passagis of lykelyhode eythar, must be at Glowcestar, or els at Tewkesbery, or farthar of at Worcestar. And, algates (40), the Kynge lay so that, would they or no, he nedes shuld now recounter them, or stoppe them, and put them bake. They, in lyke wyse, thynkyng by theyr wysdomes that suche was, or of convenience muste be, the purpos of the Kynges party, therefore, put them greatly in devowre to abwse the Kyngs party in that behalfe, for whiche cawse and prupos they sent theyr aforerydars streight from Excestar to Shaftesbery, and afterwards to Salisbery, and toke them the streight way to Tawnton, and to Glastonberye, to Wells, and there abouts, hovinge in the contrye; from whens, an othar tyme, they sent theyr forrydars to a towne called Yevell, and to a towne callyd Bruton, to make men undarstond that they would have drawne towards Redyng, and by Barkeshire, and Oxfordshire, have drawne towards London, or ells fallen upon the Kynge at some great advantage. Such mannar sendyng natheles servyd them of two thyngs; one was, to call and arays the people to make towards them for theyr helpe owt of all thos parties; an othar was, to have abusyd the Kynge in his approchyng towards them, but thanked be God, he was nat hereof unadertysed, but, by goode and sad advyse, purveyed for every way, as may appere in tellyng furthe his progres from Wyndsowr towards them; from whence he departyd the Wednesday, the morne aftar Saynt Georgis day, the xiiij. day of Aprell, so kepinge his iorney that he cam to Abyndon the Satarday next, the xxvij. day; Where he was the Sondag; and, on the Monday, at Cicestre; where he had certayne tydyngs that they woulde, on Twesday next, [be] at Bathe, as so they were; and that on the morne next, the Wedensday, they woulde com on streight towards the Kyngs battayle. For whiche cawse, and for that he would se and set his people in array, he drove all the people owt of the towne, and lodgyd hym, and his hoste, that nyght in the field, iij myle out of the towne. And, on the morow, he, having no certayne tydyngs of theyr comyng forward, went to Malmesbury, sekyng upon them. And there had he knowledge that they, undarstandyng his approching and marchinge neare to them had lefte theyr purpos of gevyng battayle, and turned asyde-hand, and went to Bristowe, a good and stronge wallyd towne, where they were greatly freshed and relevyd, by such as were the Kyngs rebels in that towne, of money, men, and artillerye; wherethwoghe they toke new corage, the Thursday aftar to take the filde and gyve the Kynge battayll, for whiche intent they had sent forrydars to a town ix mule from Bristow, callyd Sudbury, and, a myle towards the Kynge, they apoyntyd a grownd for theyr field at a place callyd Sudbury hill. The Kynge, heringe this, the same Thursday, first day of May, with all his hooste in array and fayre ordinaunce came towards the place by them appoyntyd for theyr field. Th'enemyes alsoo avauncyd them forthe, the same day, owt of Bristow, makyng semblance as thwoghe they would have comen streight to the place appoyntyd, but, havynge knoledge of the Kyngs approching, they lefte that way, albe it theyr harbengars were come afore them as ferre as Sudberye towne; where they distressed certayne of the Kyngs partye, five or six, suche as neglygently pressed so ferre forwards, dredyng no dangar, but only entenyng to have purveyed ther theyr masters lodgyngs; and so they changyd theyr sayd purpos, and toke

theyr way streght to Berkley, travelyng all that nyght, and, from thens, towards the towne of Gloucestar. The Kynge, the same Thursday, sonne aftar none, came nere to the same grownd, called Sudbury hill, and, nat havynge eny certaynty of his enemys, sent his scowrers alabowte in the cuntrye, trustynge by them to have wist where they had bene. Aboute that place was a great and a fayre large playne, called a would, and dowbtfull it was for to pas ferther, to he myght here somewhate of them, supposynge that they were right nere, as so they myght well have bene, if they had kepte forthe the way they toke owt of Bristow. And, when he cowthe nat here any certaynty of them, he avauced forwards his hoole battayle, and lodgyd his vaward beyonde the hill, in a valley towards the towne of Sudberye, and lodged hymselfe, with the remenaunt of his hooste, at the selfe hill called Sudbery hill. Early in the mornynge, sonne aftar three of the cloke, the Kynge had certayne tydyngs that they had taken theyre way by Barkley toward Gloucestar, as so they toke indede. Whereupon he toke advise of his counsell of that he had to doo for the stopynge of theyr wayes, at two passagys, afore namyd, by Gloucestar, or els by Tewkesberye, and, first, he purvayed for Gloucestar, and sent thethar certayne servaunts of his owne to Richard Bewchamp, sonne and heyre to the Lord Bewchampe, to whom afore he had comytted the rule and govornaunce of the towne and castell of Gloucestar, commaundyng hym to kepe the towne and castle for the Kynge, and that he, in caas they woulde in any wise assaile them; as it was suppos they so would doo that same aforesone; lettynge them wete that he would have good espye upon them yf they do did. And, yf he myght know that they so dyde, he promised to come theyr rescows, and comforte. With this the Kynges message they were well receyvvd at Gloucestar, and the towne and castell put in sure and save kepinge of the sayd Richard, and the sayde Kynges servaunts. Whiche message was sent and done in right good season, for certayne it is the Kyngs enemyes were put in sure hope, and determyned to have enteryd the towne, and ethar have kept it (41) agaynst the Kynge, or, at the leaste, to have passed thwrghe the towne into othar contries, where they thowght [to] have bene myghtely assysted, as well with Welchemen, which they demed shuld have fallen to them in thos parties, in the company of Jasper, called Earle of Penbroke, as also for to have gotten into theyr companye, by the way-takyng, greate nombar of men of Lancashire and Chesshere, upon whom they muche trystyd. For whiche causes they had greatly travayled theyr people all that nyght and mornynge, upon the Fryday, to the about ten of the cloke they were comen afore Gloucestar; where there entent was uttarily denyed them by Richard Bewchampe, and othar of the Kyngs servaunts, that, for that cause, the Kynge had sent thethar. Natwithstandynge, many of the inhabytaunts of that towne were greatly disposed towards them, as they had certayne knowledge. Of this demenyng they toke right great displeasure, and made great manasys, and pretendyd as thowghe they woulde have assaultyd the towne, and wonne it upon them, but, as well thos that kepte the towne as the sayde enemyes that so pretendyd, knewe well, that the Kynge with a myghty puisawnce was nere to them, and, yf eny affraye had there be made, he myght sone have bene upon them, and taken upon them ryght grete advantage; wherefore they in the towne nothyng dowbtyd, and they withoute durst not for feare begynne any suche werke; and, therefore, they shortly toke theyr conclusyon for to go the next way to Tewkesbery, withar they came the same day, about four aftar none. By whiche tyme they hadd so travaylled theyr hoaste that nyght and daye that they were ryght wery for travaylynge; for by that tyme they had travayleyd xxxvj. longe myles, in a fowle contrye, all in lanes and stonny wayes, betwyxt woodes, without any good refresshyng. And, for as mooche as the greater parte of theyr hooste were fotemen, the othar partye of the hoste, whan they were comen to Tewkesbery, cowthe, ne myght, have laboryd any furthar, but yf they wolde wilfully have forsaken and lefte theyr fotemen behynd them, and therto themselves that were horsemen were ryght werye of that iorwney, as so were theyr horses. So, whethar it were of theyr election and good will, or no, but that they were veryly compelled to byde by twocawses; one was, for werines of theyr people, which they supposed nat theyr people woulde be eny longer endured; an other, for they knew well the Kynge ever approchyd towards them, nere and nere, evar redy, in good aray and ordinaunce, to have pursuyd and fallen upon them, yf they wolde any ferther have gon, and, paradventure, to theyr moste dyssavantage. They therefore determyned t'abyde there th'aventure that God would send them in the qwarell they had taken in hand. And, for that entent, the same nyght they pight them in a fields, in a close even at the townes end; the towne, and the abbey, at theyr backs; afore them, upon every hand of them, fowle lanes, and depe dikes, and many hedges, with hylls, and valleys, a ryght evill place to approche, as cowlde well have bene devysed.

The Kynge, the same mornynge, the Fryday, erly, avanced his banners, and devyded his hole hoost in three battayles, and sent afore hym his forrydars, and scorars, on every syde hym, and so, in fayre arraye and

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ordinaunce, he toke his way thrwge the champain contrye, callyd Cotteswolde, travaylynge all his people, whereof were moo tha iij{m} fotemen, that Fryday, which was right—an—hot day, xxx myle and more; whiche his people might nat finde, in all the way, horse—mete, ne mans—meate, ne so moche as drynke for theyr horses, save in one litle broke, where was full letle relefe, it was so sone trowbled with the cariages that had passed it. And all that day the evarmore the Kyngs hoste within v or vj myles of his enemyes; he in playne contry and they amongst woods; havynge allway good espialls upon them. So, continuyng that iourney to he came, with all his hooste, to a village callyd Chilterham, but five myles from Tewkesberye, where the Kyng had certayn knolege that, but litle afre his comynge thethar, his enemyes were comen to Tewkesbury, and there were takynge a field, wherein they purposed to abyde, and delyver him ballayle. Whereupon the Kyng made no largar taryenge, but a litle confortyd hymselfe, and his people, with suche meate and drynke as he had done to be caried with hym, for vitalyge of his hooste; and, incontinent, set forthe towards his enemyes, and toke the fields, and lodgyd hym selfe, and all his hooste, within three myle of them.

Upon the morow followynge, Saterdag, the iiij. day of May, [the Kyng] apparaild hymselfe, and all his hoost set in good array; ordeined three wards; displayed his bannars; dyd blowe up the trompets; sommytted his caws and qwarell to Almyghty God, to ovr most blessyd lady his mothar, Vyrbyn Mary, the gloious martyr, Seint George, and all the sayts; and avaunced, directly upon his enemyes; approching to theyr filde, whiche was strongly in a marvaylows grownd pyght, full difficult to be assayled. Netheles the Kyngs ordinaunce was so conveniently layde afore them, and his vawarde so sore oppressyd them, with shott of arrows, that they gave them right—a—ahrpe shwre. Also they dyd agayne—ward to them, bothe with shot of arrows and gones, whereof noethes they ne had not so great plenty as had the Kyng. In front of theyr field were so evell lanes, and depe dykes, so many hedges, trees, and bussches, that it was right hard to approche them nere, and come to hands; but Edmond, called Duke of Somarset, having that day the vawarde, withar it were for that he and his fellowshipe were sore annoyed in the place where they were, as well with gones—shott, as with shot of arrows, which they ne wold not durst abyde, or els, of great harte and corage, knyghtly and manly avauncyd hymselfe, with his fellowshipe, womewhat asyde—hande the Kyngs vawarde, and, by certayne pathes and wayes therefore afore purveyed, and to the Kyngs party unknowne, he departyd out of the field, passyd a lane, and came to a fayre place, or cloos, even afore the Kyng where he was enbattled and, from the hill that was in that one of (42) the closes, he set right fiercely upon th'end of the Kyngs battayle. The Kyng, full manly, set forthe even upon them, enteryd and wann the dyke, and hedge, upon them, into the cloose, and, with great violence, put them upe towards the hyll, and, so also, the Kyng's vaward, being in the rule of the Duke of Gloucestar.

Here it is to be remembred, how that, whan the Kyng comyn afore theyr fielde, or se het upon them, he consydered that, upon the right hand of theyr field, there was a parke, and therein moche wood, and he, thinkynge to purvey a remedye in caace his sayd enemyes layed any bushement in that wood, of horsemen, he chose, out of his fellashyppe, ij{c} speres, and set them in a plomp, togethars, nere a qwartar of a myle from the fields, gyvenge them charge to have good eye upon that cornar of the woode, if caas that eny nede were, and to put them in devowre, and, yf they saw none suche, as they thowght most behovfull for tyme and space, to employ themselfe in the best wyse as they cowlde; which provisyon cam as well to poynt at this tyme of the battayle as cwothe well have been devysed, for the sayd spers of the Kyngs party, seinge no lyklynes of eny busschement in the sayd woode—corner, seinge also goode opportunitie t'employ them selfe well, cam and brake on, all at ones, upon the Duke of Somerset, and his vawarde, asyde—hand, unadvysed, whereof they singe the Kyng, gave them ynoughe to doo afore them, were gretly dismaied and abasshed, anaad so toke them toflyght into the parke and into the medowe that was nere, and into lanes, and dykes, where they best hoped to escape the dangar; of whom, netheles, many were distressed, taken, and slayne; and, even at this point theyr flyght, the Kyng corageously set upon that othar fielde, were was chefe Edward, called Prince, and, in short while, put hym to discomfiture and flyght; and so fell in the chase of them that many of them were slayne, and, namely at a mylene (43), in the medowe fast by the towne, were many drownyd; many rann towards the towne; many to the churche; to the abbey; and else where; as best they myght.

Part V: The Aftermath of Tewkesbury through the Surrender of the Bastard of Fauconberg

In the wynnynge of the fieelde such as abode hand–stroks were slayne incontinent; Edward, called Prince, was taken, fleinge to the towne wards, and slayne in the fieelde (44). Ther was also slayne Thomas, called th'Erle of Devonshire; John of Somarset, called Marqwes Dorset; Lord Wenloke; with many othar in great nombar.

Thus this done, and with God's myght atchyved, the Kynge toke the right way to th'abbey there, to gyve unto Almyghty God lawde and thanke for the vycorye, that, of his mercy, he had that day grauntyd and gyven unto hym; where he was receyvyd with procession, and so convayed thwrghe the churche, and the qwere, to the hy awtere, with grete devocion praysenge God, and yeldynge unto hym convenient lawde. And, where there were fledd into the sayd churche many of his rebels, in great nombar – or moo, hopynge there to have bene releyvyd and savyd from bodyly harme, he gave them all his fre pardon, albe it there ne was, ne had nat at any tyme bene grauntyd, any fraunchise to that place for any offendars agaynst theyr prince havynge recowrse thethar, but that it had bene lefull to the Kynge to have commaundyd them to have bene drawne out of the churche, and had done them to be executyd as his traytors, yf so had bene his pleasure; but, at the reverence of the blessyd Trinitie, the moste holy vyrgyn Mary, and the holy martir Seint George, by whos grace and helpe he had that day atteynged so noble a victory; and, at the same reverence, he grauntyd the corpses of the sayd Edward, and othar so slayne in the field, or ells where, to be buryed there, in churche, or ells where it pleasyd the servaunts, frends, or neighbows, without any qwarteryng, or defoulyng theyr boodyes, or settinge up at any opne place.

This battayle thus done and atchived, and the Kyngs grace thus largely shewed, it was so that, in the abbey, and othar places of the towne, were founden Edmond, callyd Duke of Somerset, the prior of Seynt Johns, called Ser John Longesthrother, Ser Thomas Tressham, Ser Gervaux of Clyfton (45), knyghts, squiers, and othar notable parsonnes dyvers, whiche all, divers tymes, were brought afore the Kyng's brothar, the Duke of Gloucestar and Constable of England, and the Duke of Norfolke, Marshall of England, theyr iudges; and so were iudged to deathe, in the mydst of the towne, Edmond Duke of Somarset, and the sayd Prior of Seint Johns, with many othar gentils that there were taken, and that of longe tyme had provoked and continuyed the great rebellyon that so long had endured in the land agaynst the Kynge, and contrye to the wele of the Realme. The sayd Duke, and othar thus iudged, were executyd in the mydste of the towne, upon a scaffolde therefore made, behedyd evereche one, and without any othar dismembringe, or settinge up, licensyd to be buryed.

All these thynge thus done, the Twesday, the vij. day of May, the Kynge departyd from Tewxbery, towards his citie of Worcestar, and, on the waye, he had certayne knowledge that Qwene Margarete was founden nat fer (46) from thens, in a powre religows place, where she had hyd hir selfe, for the surty of hir parson, the Saturdaye, erlye in the mornynge, aftar hir sonne Edward, callyd Prince, was gon to the filde, for to withdraw hir selfe from the adventure of the battayle; to whome also he was assured that she shuld be at his commaundement.

The Kynge, beinge at Worcestar, had certayne knowledge also, that certayne his rebells of the northe parties beganne to make commocions, and assembles of the people agaynst hym, in the qwarell of Henry, callyd Kynge; for whiche cawse he kept nat the ryght way to London, as he had purposyd, but, entending to prepare a new felashipp agaynst the sayd rebells in the north, and, to be in a good strengthe of people, whatsoever shuld happe, he determined hym selfe to goo to Coventrye, as he so dyd the xi. day of the sayd monythe; where he refreshed well suche as were left with hym of his hoste, by the space of three dayes; and thethar was brought unto hym Qwene Margaret. He forgate not to send from thens his messengars, with writyngs, all abowte the contries nere adioyninge, to suche especiall as he trustyd, best that they would do hym service. Trewth it is whiles the Kynge, in alwyse, thus prepared a new armye, came certayne tydyngs unto hym, how they of the northe had herd of the certeyntye of his great vycories, and how that he disposyd hym to come towards them, with a great armye, and they, sore dredyng his good spede, and great fortunes; nat havynge any of the Warwykes, or Nevells, blode, whom unto they myght have restyd, as they had done afore; knowynge also, for certaynty, that th'Erle of

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Northumbarland was nothinge of theyr partye, but that he wouold resyste and withstand them at his uttarmoste powere, uttarily takyng parte the Kyng, and his qwarell; the cheftaynes of them that were maliciowsly dysposed, and, for evell entent, as above, have commoned and begone to assemble the people, anon, upon thies knowledge and considerations, they withdrew them from any ferthar proceding to theyr said rebellyon, as folks not lykly to maintayne theire fals qwarell and partye. They lefte theyr bands, and compaignes, and dyvars of them made menes to th'Erle of Northumbarland, beseching hym to be good meane to the Kyng for his grace and pardonne. Some of the scowrars wer taken and put in warde. The cite of Yorke, and othar good townes, and contries, lowly submitte them, and [promysinge] than to the Kyng theyr dwe obedyence. And so, by the xiiij. day of May, it was knowne clerly, by suche as were sent unto the Kyng from th'Erle of Northumbarland, from the cite of Yorke, and othar dyvars places in the northe, that there was no rebellyon in all the northe begon, but that it was so passyfyed that it ne myght ne shuld anye the Kyng, in any wyse. Wherefore it was to hym thwought, and to all hys counsell, that for to goo into the northe for eny pacification, or punishment of suche parsons, it was not nedefull as at that tyme; and so it was most clerly declaryd, the same daye, by th'Erle of Northumbarland, who cam streyght to the Kyng to Coventrye, out of the northe contrye; as his departyng well asswred that the contrye was in good and sure tranquillite, without any comotions, or unlawful gatheryngs. Whiche Erle cam not accompanied greatly, but with a fewe folkes, and nat arrayed in maner of war, for he had no maner knowledge but that the Kyng, aftar this his great victories achived, shuld have good pax, every where in his realme; but it was nat so, for the Kyng had knowledge, or that he cam to Coventrye, by letters sent hym by lords of his blode beinge at London this season, that the bastard Fawcomberge, whiche, a lytle afore that, had bene sent to sea by th'Erle of Warwyke, and had dystressed many marchaunt-shippes of Portyngall, and taken the ships and goods to hym selfe, in breche of the amitie that of longe tyme had bene betwyxt the realmes of England and Portyngall, he had callyd unto hym, and to his fellowshipe, grete partyes and nombers of marinars, out of every party and porte of England, and many othar traytors, and misgoverned men, of every contrye of England, and also othar contries, that had great corage to atend to theft and robberye. It was shewed the Kyng that dayly his nombar drew gretar and gretar, and that he was gone to Calays, and browght many men with hym, from thens, into Kent, where he began to gather his people in great nombar, entendyng, by lyklyhode, to do some great myschevows dede.

Aftar the Kyng was at Coventrye, he had dayly messages from the Lords at London, how that the bastard had assembled grete people, and, bothe by lande many thowsands, and, by watar with all his shippes ful of people he came afore London, thinkyng to robbe, and spoyle, and do almaner of myscheffe; and therto many of the contrye of Kent were assentyng, and cam with theyr good wills, as people redy to be appliable to suche seditious commocions. Othar of Kentyshe people that wouold righte fayne have sytten still at home, and nat to have ronned into the dangar of suche rebellyon, by force and violence of suche riotows people as were of the sayd bastards company, for feare of deathe, and othar great manasses, and thretynynges, were compellyd, some to goo with the bastard, in theyr parsons; suche, specially, as were hable in parsons, yf they had aray, and myght not wage to such as would goo, they were compellyd, by lyke foarce, to lene them theyr aray, and harnes; and such as were unharnesyed, aged, and unhalbe, and of honor, they were compelled to send men waged, or to gyve mony wherewith to wage men to goo to the sayd bastards company. So that, ryght in a shorte tyme, the sayd bastard and his felowship had assembled to the nombar xvj or xvij{m} men, as they accomptyd themselves. Whiche came afore London the xij. day of May, in the qwarell of Kyng Henry, whome they sayd they wouold have owte of the Towre of London, as they pretendyd. And for that cawse, they desyred the citizens of London that they myght have free entrye into the cite where, first theyr entent was to have with them the sayd Henry, and aftar, to passe pesceably thrwge the cite, as they sayd, without any grevaunce to be done to eny parson; upon th'entent from thens to goo towards the Kyng, where so evar they myght finde hym, hym to distroy and all his partakars, in qwarell of sayde Henry, yf they myght have of hym the ovar-hand.

But, so it was, that the Maior, Aldarmen, and othar officers and citizens of London denied them theyr entrye. As this was in doynge ovar came from London freshe tydyngs to the Kyng, from the Lords, and the citizens, which, with right grete instance, moved the Kinge, in all possible haste, to approche and come to the cite, to the defence of the Qwene, than being in the Tower of London, my Lorde Prince, and my Ladies his doghtars, and of the Lords, and of the cite, whiche, as they all wrote, was likly to stand in the grettest ioperdy that evar they stode. In

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consideration had for that gret nombar of the persones within the citie were rather disposyd to have helped to have suche mischiefe wrought than to defend it; some, for they were maliciowsly disposed, and were, in theyr harts, perciall to th'Erle of Warwikes qwarell, and to the party of Henry, wherefore were many; some for they were powre; some, mens servaunts, mens prentises, many; which would have bene right glade of a comon robbery, to th'entent they might largely have put theyr hands in riche mens coffres.

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

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

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

The bastard and his fellashippe, thus returnyd agayne from Kyngstonn brigge, afore London, purposynge to execute theyr greate rancowr and malice agayns the citie of London, and that in all haste, to th'entent they myght have theyr praye afore the Kyngs comynge, whiche they thowght not to abyde, and it to cary awaye in theyr shippes, whiche were ready to attend for the same entent of robberye, but a myle or two from the sayde citie. Wherefore, incontinent, they assayled the citie with greate violence, with shot of goons, suche as they had brought owt of theyr shippes, in great nombar, and layd them on length the watar syde, streight ovar agaynst the citie; where with they prevayled no thinge, for the citizens agayne-warde in dyvars placis layde ordinaunce, and made so sharp shott agaynst them, that they durst not abyde in eny place alonge the watarsyde, and so were dryven from theyr owne ordinaunce. Wherefore the bastard purveyed an othar mean to annoy and greve the sayde Citie sore, and therefore ordeynyd a great fellowshipe to set fyre upon the bridge, and to brene the howsynge upon the bridge, and, through therby, to make them an open way into the sayd citie. An othar great felashippe he sett ovar the watar with his shippes, mo then iij{m} men, whiche were devided into two partes; on partye went to Algate, wenyng to have entred the citie there, by assaulte; an othar partye went to Bysshops-gate, wenyng to have entred there by an othar assaulte; wher they shot goonns and arrows into the citie, and dyd moche harme and hurte. And, at the laste, set fiere upon the gates, for to have brent them, and so trustinge to have entred at large.

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Theyr brennyng at the bridge profytid them of no thyng; albe they brent many howses to the nombar of iij{xx}, but the citizens hadd set suche ordinaunce in theyr ways that, thwoghe all the way had been open, it had bene harde for them to have entred by that way, but upon theyr lyves. The maior, aldarmen, and worshipfull citizens of the citie were in good array, and set to every parte, where was behovefull, greate felowshipe, welle ordered, and ordeyned, for to withstand the malice of thes forsayd rebels.

To the citizens, and defence of the citie, came th'Erle of Essex, and many knights, squiers, gentlemen, and yemen, right well arraied, which had right great diligence in orderinge the citizens, and firste to prepare and ordayne for the defence and surtye of the sayd citie and people therof where it was necessarye, and preparyd how and where they myght best ysswe owt upon them, and put them from theyr purpos. By which medelinge of gentlemen, and lords servaunts, with the citizens, in every parte, the citizens were greatly encoragyd to set sharply upon them with one hoole entent, where elles it had be lykely they shuld nat have willed to have done so moche therto as was donne. For, as it is aforesayde, greate nombar of the citie were there that with right good wille woulde they have bene sofferyd to have enteryd the citie, to th'entent to have fallen to myscheffe and robberye with them. And, so aftar continuynge of muche shote of gones and arrows a greate while, upon bothe parties, th'Erle Ryvers, that was with the Qwene, in the Tower of London, gatheryd unto hym a felashipe right well chosen, and habiled, of iiij or v{c} men, and ysswyd owt at a posterne upon them, and, even upon a poynt, cam upon the Kentyshe men beinge abowte the assawltynge of Algate, and mightely laied upon them with arrows, and upon them with hands, and so killyd and toke many of them, dryvynge them from the same gate to the watar syde. Yet netheles, three placis wer fiers brennyng all at ones. The Maior, Aldarmen, and many of the sayde citie, were anone in theyr harnes, and parted theyr felashippe into divers partes, as them thwoght moste behofefull, but a great parte of the citizens were at Algate, and with them many gentlemen and yemen, which all made the defence that they best myght; and shott many gouns, and arrows, amonge them; but for thy Kentishemen spared nat to assayle at bothe the gates, so that the sayde lord and citizens determined in themselves to arredey them in good array, and to ysswe owt upon them, in hands, and put them to flyght and discomfiture. About iij{m} and [mo] fell in the chas of them, and slew mo than vij{c} of them. Many were taken, and aftar, hanged; the remenaunt went to the watarsyde, and toke theyr boates, and went to theyr shipps, and ovar to that othar syde agayn.

The haynows traytouwrs and robbers, the bastard and his felawshyppe, seinge they cowthe in nowyse profite to theyr entents, by litle and litle withdrewe them to the Blackhethe, to an hill three myle from London, the xjv., xvij., and xvij. day of Maye, there abydyng by the space of three dayes; but, theyr abydyng, they had certayne knowledge that the Kyng was comynge with great puisaunce, whereof they greatly adrad, seinge that they myght nat have theyr praye of London, ne havynge hardies to abyde the Kyng, and his puisaunce, they disperbled; they of Calais, to Calais, the sonest they cowlde; suche as were of othar contrys, into theirs; many of Kent, to theyr howses; the mariners, and myschevows robbers, rebels, riotours among them, to theyr shipps; and drewe downe to he sea coaste with all theyr shipps.

The Kyng this season, well accompanied and mightely with great lordes, and in substaunce all the noblemen of the land, with many othar able men, all arraied for the werre, to the nombar of xxx{m} horsemen, cam to the citie of London, sone aftar the disperblyng of the Kentyshe hooste, the xxj. day of Maye, the Twesdaye; where he was honorably receyvyd of all the people, the maior, aldermen, and many othar worshipfull men, citizens of the sayd citie. At the metyng of them the Kyng dубed Kynghtes the maior, the recordar, dyvars aldarmen, with othar worshipfull of the sayd citie of London (47), whiche as hadd mannly and honorably acquit them selfe agaynst the bastard, and his crwell hooste; honoring, and rewardinge them with the ordar, of his good love and grace, for theyr trwe acquitaill, and as they had ryght well and trwely deservyd that tyme.

Here is it to be remembred, that, from the tyme of Tewkesbery fielde, where Edward, called Prince, was slayne, thanne, and sonne aftar wer taken,, and slayne at the Kyngs will, all the noblemen that came from beyond the see with the sayde Edward, called Prince, and othar also theyr parte-takers, as many as were eny might or puisaunce. Qwene Margaret, hirselfe, taken, and browght to the Kyng; and, in every party of England, where any commotion was begonne for Kyng Henry's party, anone they were rebuked, so that it appered to every mann at

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eye the sayde partie was extincte and repressed for evar, without any mannar hope of agayne quikkening; utterly despaired of any maner of hoope or releve. The certaintie of all whiche came to the knowledge of the sayd Henry, late called Kyng, being in the Tower of London; not havynge, afore that, knowledge of the saide matars, he toke it so great dispite, ire, indingnation, that, of pure displeasure, and melencoly, he dyed the xxiiij. day of the monithe of May (48). Whom the Kynge dyd to be browght to the friers prechars at London, and there, his funerall service donne, to be caried, by watar, to an Abbey upon Thamys syd, xvj myles from London, called Chartsey, and there honorably enteryd.

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

And thus, with the helpe of Almighty God, the moaste glorious Virgin Mary his mothar, and of Seint George, and of [all] the Saynts of heven, was begon, finished, and terminated, the reentrie and perfecte recover of the iuste title and right of ovr sayd soveraygne Lord Kynge Edward the Fowrthe, to his realme and crowne of England, within the space of xj wekes; in the whiche season, moienaunt the helpe and grace of Allmyghty God, by his wysdome, and polyqwe, he escaped and passyd many great perills, and daungars, and dificulties, wherin he had bene; and, by his full noble and knyghtly cowrage, hathe optayned two right-great, crwell, and mortall batayles; put to flight and discomfeture dyvars great assembles of his rebels, and riotows persons, in many partyes of his land; the whiche, thwoghe all they were also rygorously and maliciously disposed, as they myght be, they were, netheles, so affrayde of the verey asswryd courage and manhod that restethe in the person of our seyde soveraigne lord, that they were, anon, as confused. Whereby it apperithe, and faythfully is belevyd, that with the helpe of Almyghty God, whiche from his begynning hitharto hathe not fayled hym, in short tyme he shall appeas his subgetes thrwgh all his royalm; that peace and tranquilitie shall growe and multiplie in the same, from day to day, to the honour and lovyng of Almyghty God, the encrease of his singuler and famows renoume, and to the great ioye and consolation of his frinds, alies, and well-willers, and to all his people, and to the great confusion of all his enemys, and evyll wyllars.