

THE DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II

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History till 1856*

WITH MAP AND FASCIMILE

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I.

AN interest far in excess of its historical value, or so it seemed, has always attached to an anonymous chronicle published more than eighty years ago by Benjamin Williams as an appendix to the *Chronique de la Traison et Mort de Richard Deux*.¹ It was only a fragment, without beginning or end, drawn from a corrupt seventeenth-century transcript, and it contains little more of value than a description of the revolution of 1399. But the writer, if hardly an eyewitness of these events, was at least a contemporary, and historians have valued it above all as the unique statement, the French chronicles apart, of the point of view of Richard's supporters.

It is the original text of this chronicle which is here printed from a fifteenth-century MS. (no. 9) in the Library of Gray's Inn; and the discovery of the original, it will be seen, has both rescued much of the chronicle, before and after 1399, that was unprinted by Williams, and has made it possible to fix definitely its date, provenance, and value. These points are dealt with below in the first part of the paper, and are of some complexity since the chronicle turns out to be the composite product of two writers of strongly opposed views. Indeed, it almost seems as though a rare chance has revealed to us

within a Cistercian Abbey the clash of opinion during a revolution and the partisanship, which it is natural to suppose were reflected in monastic life, but which can so rarely be proved. But the chronicle is something more than a literary curiosity. In the work of editing, we were persuaded that it supplies weighty evidence for a restatement of the facts regarding Richard II.'s deposition. Other neglected or unknown material which came to light, showed a similar inconsistency with the accepted story and the convergence of such various and independent evidence suggested the reconsideration of the fall of Richard which is the second portion of this paper.

The small but precious collection of Gray's Inn MSS. was catalogued by A. J. Horwood in 1869. It was this little-known catalogue which called our attention to the chronicle. In a full description of MS. no. 9 it is mentioned as follows :—

From 142*b* (accession of Richard II.) the MS. proceeds very much in the style of the "Brute" chronicles. Down to the death of Rich. II. it is by a partisan of that King; then, 145*b*, col. 1, is an interpolation by the copyist or the composer of the following portion, stating that he finds much in his copy that is untrue, "et hoc scio pro certo, quia in multis locis interfui et vidi." The chronicle ends on 146*a*,¹ after describing the battle of Shrewsbury and the execution of some of the rebels. . . . There is nothing to show the ancient owner of this volume.

It is remarkable that Horwood, his interest once aroused, did not track down his text to the extracts which had been published some twenty years earlier. It is even more remarkable that he failed to discover its provenance, which appears from an analysis of the relevant section of the MS. It falls roughly into two parts, of which the first (ff. 1-86) is a well-known Latin poem, the *Speculum Humane Salvationis*,² and the second is of a miscellaneous historical character.³ The second section can in turn be divided into two parts. Of these the first (ff. 88-128) consists chiefly of large extracts from Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle, and the second (ff. 129-146), with which we are alone concerned, is a tripartite chronicle divided as follows :—

¹ *Recte* 147*a*.

² Ed. J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet (1907), 2 parts. The Gray's Inn MS. was not known to the editors.

³ The *Speculum* may not originally have been bound up with the rest of the volume and is written on slightly larger parchment; it is also separately paged.

Part I. : ff. 129-136 is headed *Excerptiones de diversis auctoribus de monarchia anglie de orbe terrarum et de ejus demensione et divisione*. It is a general description of England, its laws, customs, geography taken from Bede, Higden, and Geraldus. It ends on f. 136 : *Explicit prima pars*.

Part II. : ff. 136-141 is (chiefly) a history of the Earls of Chester and of Dieulacres Abbey, written in the thirteenth century by a monk of that house.¹ Therein is a list of the kings of England with the length of their reigns, which gives the year of Henry IV.'s accession but not that of his death. It ends on f. 141 : *Explicit secunda pars*.

Part III. : ff. 141-147 is a history of England from 1337 to 1403, headed *Incipiunt guerre inter Angliam et Franciam*.

After several blank leaves the volume ends with a short theological tract describing a "Tower of Wisdom," the work of a certain *Magister Iohannes Metensis* or *Metlynsis*.

The whole of the tripartite chronicle was evidently compiled by a single writer writing apparently before 1413 and trying, not unsuccessfully, to combine local with general history.² Further, this writer, it can hardly be doubted, was a monk of Dieulacres, the composition of whose work was determined by the nature of his materials, viz., the standard histories for Part I. ; an earlier, thirteenth-century chronicle of Dieulacres for Part II. ; for Part III. another chronicle the composition of which is examined below. It is obvious that the plan of the chronicle was governed by the compiler's possession of the earlier account of the Abbey.³

¹ On f. 137 is a list of the earls of Chester headed *Comites Cestrie fundatores de Deulencres*.

² It is written in two hands, the first from f. 129-132, the second from this point to the end. The *Speculum* was, perhaps, written in the second of these hands.

³ Printed in *Monasticon* (V. 626). The chronicle is headed *Descriptio genealogice comitum Cestrie* and is anonymous, but the contents prove its provenance. The existence of the original MS. was unknown to the editors of Dugdale who printed from an incomplete and extremely corrupt transcript. The identification of the MS. is of interest for the history of Staffordshire, and the chronicle might well be reprinted. It is worth noting that the name of the abbey is consistently written as *Deulencres* : but this can hardly be taken to settle the question of the correct spelling, since the still earlier charters of Ranulf Blundeville as consistently use the form *Deulacresse*. Cf. William Salt, *Arch. Soc.*, vol. ix., New Series, p. 293.

The ascription of the whole volume to Dieulacres is confirmed by the fact that it belongs to a group of manuscripts, one of which (Manuscript No. 10) was the property of Ralph Egerton in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century.¹ Ralph was the legitimate son of Sir Richard Egerton of Ridley, Cheshire; his bastard brother was Thomas Egerton, Lord Chancellor, 1596-1617,² the owner of the manor of Dodleston, some five miles south-west of Chester. As the property had formerly belonged to Dieulacres, it was probably in this way that the volume came into the hands of Ralph Egerton and so to the Gray's Inn Library.

In examining Part III. of the MS. (ff. 141-147), we start from Horwood's acute discovery of its divided authorship. The writer of the portion 1337 to 1400, whom we may call A, was a strong partisan of Richard II.; while his continuator to 1403, who may be called B, was an equally strong admirer of Henry IV. Now the whole of this section (1337-1403) is in a single script, and we may therefore conclude that the present MS. can only be a copy of the portion originally compiled by A. We may next ask whether Gray's Inn MS. no. 9 contains B's autograph or the original continuation of A? In other words, Was B the compiler of the whole tripartite chronicle? The answer is that he was not, but that the compiler of the existing

¹ About one half of the extant MSS. of Gray's Inn have a definite Cheshire interest which suggests that they once formed a single private collection. Four of them (Nos. 1, 5, 11, 12) are known from notes in the volumes to have belonged to the Friars Minor of Chester, to whom it is probable, though not certain, that Nos. 2, 6, 7, 14 and 23 also belonged. Of the rest No. 8 is by "Jehan de Souhabe" of the Order of Friars Preachers and may possibly have also belonged to the Minorites of Chester. No. 13 belonged to "St. Mary de Cumba by Coventry" and No. 16 is by a Dominican of Dalmatia called Monaldus. No. 9 (the Dieulacres MS.) clearly belonged to this group, and we learn from the transcript in Harleian MS. 1989 (f. 403 or 39 according to the pencil number) that it was once in the custody of "Mr. Bostock," doubtless Lawrence Bostock, a well-known Cheshire antiquary of the late sixteenth century (Ormerod, *History of Cheshire*, I. xxxix.). There is an account of his historical collections in Dr. Foote Gower's tract published in 1771 proposing a new history of Cheshire. It is possible that this volume passed directly to the Inn from Bostock, or indirectly through the Randall Holmes or Challoner Families. But on the whole the view set out in the text seems more likely, *viz.* that it belonged, together with the other Cheshire MSS., to the Egerton family, and passed from them to the library of Gray's Inn.

² Ormerod, *Cheshire II.*, 301; Foss, *Judges of England*, pp. 228 ff.

MS. had before him a chronicle, already composite, extending to 1403. The proof of this is apparently slight but really conclusive. If the reader will turn to p. 48 below, he will be struck by the fact that the hexameter

Contra naturam tauri dispergere curam

now incorporated in the text must have been a marginal gloss in an earlier MS. Similarly on pp. 55-6 the words

Quia nondum venerat tempus eius sed adhuc "Renovabuntur castra Veneris," which are wholly contrary to the tone of what precedes and follows, must have been ignorantly transferred into the text from the margin of another MS. It is not difficult to see what has happened. The original MS. of A was continued by B from 1400-1403. Then some sympathiser with Richard II., not A,¹ scribbled in the margin these two prophecies, one of which (*Renovabuntur castra Veneris*) he had already written at the head of Richard II.'s reign and which has been duly copied by the scribe of Gray's Inn MS. 9.² We must therefore conclude that the compiler of the existing MS., whom we may call C, was merely copying a composite chronicle whose separate authors have yet to be discovered. That this conclusion is substantially correct is borne out by the frequent passages abruptly terminated by the words *etc.*³ C was not only copying the whole chronicle but abbreviating it in places.

The possibility, it may be said, remains that Gray's Inn 9 is a later transcript or fair copy of the original tripartite chronicle, of which B was in fact the compiler. But this is rendered unlikely by the fact that the present MS. was apparently written before the death of Henry IV., while the excisions and deletions in the early folios of the MS., the striking difference between the various hands in which it is written, and the frequent blanks between the entries on the last three folios, as though to leave room for fresh matter, prove fairly conclusively that we are dealing with an archetype which has "grown" and not with a later transcript.

¹ Since A believed that Richard had died at Pontefract in 1400. Below p. 52.

² It is possible that the same hand is responsible for the inconsistent comment (below p. 54), "Sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt." Cf. too p. 59 n. 2.

³ Below pp. 45, 50, 53-4, 56, 59.

The provenance of the original compilation from 1337-1403 is thus not so certain as that of the surviving MS. It would seem natural to assume that it was written at Dieulacres, but against this we may set the common assumption of historians who used the printed fragment,¹ that the early portion was written at Chester. At first sight the loyalty of A to Richard, together with the reference to de Vere and Bolingbroke in Chester, the account of the Cheshire Guard and of the coming of Harry Percy to the county, suggest that A was a religious living permanently in the town itself. But it seems inconceivable that the account of the Peasants' Revolt should have been written by a Chester monk without the slightest reference to the rising in the Wirral of the bondmen of S. Werburg's Abbey

"in contemptum domini regis et affraiam et perturbacionem pacis sue manifestum et terrorem populi sui tam civitatis Cestrie quam totius comitatus predicti et ad nullacionem et destruccionem predicti abbatis et conuentus sui ac bonorum et catallorum domus et ecclesie sue predictae."²

The Chester references, though frequent and of great interest, are never in the first person and have a certain detachment as (of Henry's entry)

"Deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus."

In fact the whole tone of these references suggests a writer whose Cheshire news came to him intermittently, exactly the way in which we can imagine news coming to Dieulacres. The Chartulary shows that the Abbey held fishing rights in the Dee, one "liberum batellum in aqua Cestrense," a garden at the bridge head and lands at Pulford, Poulton, and Dodleston, less than six miles south of the city. Care of this property must have made frequent visits necessary, at least as often as once a year for the audit of the reeves' accounts. Now Dieulacres was as much a Cheshire as a Staffordshire house; it was originally at Poulton on the Dee and in 1214 it was refounded by Ranulf, sixth Earl of Chester on the county border, within a few miles of Newcastle-under-Lyme. It held salt pans in the Wiches, lands and fishing rights along the Dee, and property in Chester itself.

¹ *E.g.*, Professor Tait in D.N.B. *sub* "Richard II."

² Trevelyan and Powell, *The Peasants Rising and the Lollards*, pp. 15-16.

Closely in touch with Cheshire and royalist interests, it also lay on the northern frontier of Lancastrian influence in Staffordshire. It is in just such a house we should expect to find both knowledge of events in Cheshire and Shropshire and clash of opinion over the rival claims of Plantagenet and Lancaster.¹

This conclusion, it must be admitted, is not more than an hypothesis. It is, however, supported by the fact that all three writers, A, B, and C, follow one another so closely in point of time. Thus A wrote either after February, 1408, if we accept the MS. reading of *comitem* (p. 52) or after 1403 which seems more likely, if we amend the MS. and read *comitis*.² Again B states in effect that he finished his chronicle before the death of Edmund Mortimer (Dec., 1408-Feb., 1409),³ and the MS. as we have it was apparently finished before the death of Henry IV. These dates give but little time for circulation of MSS. and suggest strongly the personal connexion of common membership of the same house.

The narrative of A, of which only the portion 1381-1400 is here printed, probably began in 1337.⁴ As far as the death of Edward III. he used a meagre continuation of the Polychronicon, which is of no special interest. With the accession of Richard II. there is⁵ a marked change of style: he ceases to transcribe and becomes himself the author. The first entry describes the coronation of the *nobilis et excellentissimus rex regum omnium terrenorum Ricardus secundus*. This is followed by a column of prophecies and verses ending with the note

plura de laude et nobilitate istius regis dicti albi⁵ regis et nobilis possent hic interseri secundum diversorum scripturas sed quia estimo quod prolixitas scriptur(arum) quosdam invidos non modicum tribueret tedium ideo ad presens hic multa omitto alibi ea inserere proponendo.⁶

¹ See the map facing, which we owe to the skilful draughtsmanship of Miss G. Hipkin of Somerville College.

² The MS. reads "comite(m) Northimbrie filium et fratrem pro mercede decapitavit."

³ Below p. 55 "et in operacione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit."

⁴ An early entry (f. 19) suggests that the Edward III. portion, as well as what follows, formed a part of A's work. About the Feast of St. Nicholas (1337), it says, there occurred an eight weeks' frost *ita ut in dissumptione gelicidii multi pontes caderent et maxime apud Cestriam*.

⁵ Cf. Adam of Usk's Chronicle, ed. E. M. Thompson (1904), 28, 179.

⁶ f. 142v.

The rest of the column is left blank, the continuous history of the reign beginning on the next folio with an account of the Peasants' Revolt. The chronicle has little direct historical importance, until the writer reaches the events of 1399 which he knew at first hand. For the earlier portion he had, clearly, neither special information nor even good books to draw on. His fondness for the metrical prophecies of Merlin and John of Bridlington suggests that he relied chiefly upon the popular, versified histories of the time, all written from the Lancastrian point of view.¹ The interest thus lies in the interpretation a royalist writer puts on facts well known and by his sources construed to the king's discredit.

Apart from a few incidents of church history—a papal indulgence, Bishop Spenser's crusade—the chronicle is concerned only with the struggle of the “just” and “innocent” king with his “rebel” and “perjured” barons. There are occasional references to the king's council, but parliament is mentioned only once in the year 1399 (when it could hardly be omitted)—and the Commons not at all. The unlimited nature of the royal power is summarised in his comment on the Appellant's rising.

Sed absurdum est servum vel subditum contra suum dominum esse rebellem.

This unqualified belief in the rightness of the king, colours the interpretation of every crisis of the reign. The arrest of the Appellants, for example, in 1397, he regards as a just retribution for their rebellion ten years before.

Sed quia nullum malum erit impunitum deus cor regis illustravit ut predictos rebelles quodammodo puniret unde . . . arestavit etc.

The murder of the Duke of Gloucester is described as a mystery, but since the king can do no wrong, it is at least certain that he was not responsible,

obiit qua morte deus scit justo rege non consenciente.

In the same spirit he mentions the closing incidents of Richard's autocracy—the “blank” charters and the banishment of Henry of

¹ *E.g.*, Wright, *Political Poems and Songs (Rolls Series)*, I., 417-454. The verses were accompanied by notes, which were in effect a chronicle. The dates make it unlikely that the writer actually saw Gower's *Tripartite Chronicle*.

Lancaster—as matters of hearsay only (*ut quidam dixerunt*) and seems to suggest that the blame lies with the Council.

For the return of Henry of Lancaster and his movements in and about Chester, the chronicle is an authority, as valuable for the facts he gives as for the construction he puts upon them. The revolution of 1399 had its sordid side, and no other chronicle brings this out with such force and brevity. In a few gloomy pages he describes how Henry's banner attracted all kinds of rogues and robbers who were in exile, the pillage of the county of Chester ("*Havok*" *super eam proclamato*), and the final surrender to Henry IV.

The continuation of B begins with the protest against A, referred to above.

- Iste commentator in locis quampluribus vituperat commendanda et commendat vituperanda et hoc est magnum vicium in scripturis et maxime in strenuis personis quando aliquis scribit de eis enormia per aliorum loquelam et non per veram noticiam sicut in copia multa fuerunt scripta minus vera et hoc scio pro certo quia in multis locis interfui et vidi et propterea veritatem novi.¹

We are justified in supposing that the writer of this protest was the compiler of the continuation of the chronicle to 1403, and that he was a monk of Dieulacres Abbey. The patron of the abbey was Henry IV. and it is perhaps not going too far to suggest that the original compiler of the continuation was a clerk in the service of Henry IV. who entered Dieulacres Abbey after the revolution. The chronicle, so far as it goes, is consistent with this view. It is largely confined to Welsh border affairs culminating in the battle of Shrewsbury—matters of close interest to the monks of Dieulacres. And that the writer knew the king at first hand is likely enough from the vivid description of his heroic conduct at the battle of Shrewsbury. He knows, too, the name of the king's confessor—Robert Mascall, a detail preserved in none of the other chronicles. It has been thought that the name of the compiler is preserved. The last folios of the MS. describe, with a number of diagrams, a "Tower of Wisdom" the author of which was a Master John Metensis or Metlynsis. The seventeenth century transcriber of the chronicle in Harley MS. 1989 assumed that this was the compiler of the continuation, but although this is possible there is really no proof or even indication that he wrote it.

¹ Below p. 52.

B's work it will be seen lacks the personal interest of A's chronicle. This defect, however, is more than counterbalanced by an excellent account of the battle of Shrewsbury and in particular of the obscure negotiations between Henry IV. and Hotspur which immediately preceded it. It is apparently independent of all the other chronicles and mentions a number of facts found in none of them. At the same time it is in general agreement with the best extant authority—the *Annales Henrici Quarti*, while many matters of detail, when not supported by the *Annales*, are borne out by one or other of the narratives of the battle. Still other statements are substantiated by the official sources such as the Patent Rolls and the Privy Council Proceedings. Where so much can be verified it is tempting to accept the account of the negotiations between Percy and Henry IV. on the day of the battle. The question is one of real importance, but in the nature of things is likely to remain more or less a matter of conjecture. Which side was finally responsible for the battle? The royalists blamed the Earl of Worcester, the Lancastrians the Scottish Earl of Dunbar: while the judicious chronicler, whose work was printed by Giles, divides the blame equally between the two.¹ The Dieulacres writer, who does not even mention the Earl of Dunbar, boldly lays upon Henry IV. the direct responsibility for joining battle though only after he had offered the rebels every possible concession. The king, he explains, was loth to fight and offered either a free parliament or even to meet Percy in single combat. Part at least of his statement is confirmed by Bower's *Scotichronicon*.²

Cui (Percy) rex subdolo nuncium misit exhortans eum ut parceret effusioni sanguinis; et si sibi videbatur quod iniuste coronam usurpasset convocato parlamento ad insinuacionem prelatorum et procerum coronam deponeret et debenti eam tradi consentiret.

Bower adds that Percy accepted these terms and ordered his men to bivouac for the night: whereupon the king, waiting until his enemies had dispersed, suddenly attacked them. The important point in this account is that so hostile a witness as Bower admits that Henry made an offer to summon a free parliament, though he holds that the offer was not made in good faith. The *Annales* and the *Eulogium His-*

¹ *Chronicon incerti auctoris*, ed. Giles, 1848, p. 32.

² *Scotichronicon*, ed. W. Goodall (1759), ii., 438.

toriarum agree that it was the king who eventually broke off negotiations, but while the first says Percy's archers actually began the fight, the *Eulogium* states, almost in the words of the Dieulacres writer, that the king gave the signal to advance.

"Precor dominum," dixit rex, "quod tu habeas respondere pro sanguine hic hodie effundendo et non ego. Procede signifer," quod est dictu, "anauant baner."¹

But the Dieulacres writer is rather more explicit at this critical point, and attributes to Henry IV. a remarkable outburst not elsewhere recorded. Losing all patience, he says, the king when his offers were refused, cried out to Hotspur's ambassadors,

Divulgatum mihi esse vestrum nequam consilium. Profiteor quod me vivente in eternum non fiet. Disponitis siquidem filios comitis Marchie spurios et Edmundum de Mortuo mari proditorem approbare; sicque Henricum Percy vel filium eius iure hereditario uxoris sue in regem coronare.²

We can well believe that this was precisely what was in Henry IV.'s mind; nor is it unlikely that Hotspur may have had dreams of the throne or even designs upon it. Two incidental statements in other chronicles point in this direction. The chronicle, printed by Giles,³ says that Worcester hoped for the king's death in the battle "ut ipso extincto, sub suo consanguineo melius valeret dominari;" while, according to the *Annales*, Hotspur's troops, at the critical moment in the battle, cried out (*clamabant ingeminantes*), "Henry Percy Kyng."⁴ He had disappeared, we are told, and his followers were hoping against hope that he had captured Henry IV.—and thus that no obstacle remained in his way. Here again casual references in other chronicles seem to confirm a remarkable statement of B. Is there, one may ask, any other explanation as simple and as likely, of Hotspur's inconsistent actions in this half-unexplained revolt?

If Bower, the *Eulogium* and the *Annales* support the Dieulacres writer's account of the negotiations before the battle, he in turn goes far to substantiate a most curious document preserved only by the chronicler Hardyng. This is the proclamation made by Percy and

¹ *Eulogium Historiarum*, III., 397. Below p. 57 *Precedat vexillum in nomine domini.*

² Below p. 57.

³ P. 33; the authorship of this chronicle is discussed below, pp.27-31.

⁴ *Annales Henrici Quarti* (*Rolls Series in "Trokelowe"*), 368.

his friends in which they accuse Henry IV. of having murdered Richard II. The proclamation mentions

Quod quando tu post exilium tuum Angliam intrasti, apud Doncastre tu jurasti nobis supra sacra evangelia corporaliter per te tacta et osculata iuxta clamare regnum, seu regium statum nisi solummodo hereditatem tuam propriam et hereditatem uxoris tue in Anglia, et quod Ricardus dominus noster rex ad tunc regnaret ad terminum vite sue gubernatus per bonum consilium dominorum spiritualium et temporalium.¹

The oath is duly mentioned below, though with slight variations.

Henricus dux juravit aliis duobus Henricis super reliquias de Bridlynton quod coronam nunquam affectaret.

Hardyng is one whose testimony, other things being equal, one would more readily reject than believe, but so confirmed, the genuineness of this proclamation which has a real bearing on the question of Richard's deposition, must be accepted.

The value of this unusual little chronicle, compounded of two such different elements, is greater than perhaps might be gathered by a casual reading. In the early part we feel the impact of great events upon that part of England that was most attached to Richard II. : it was written close to these events, and it is the unique and pathetic statement of the case of those who believed in him. Yet whoever feels that Richard has been hardly used by historians, will scarcely claim to revise the general verdict of contemporaries on the strength of this Dieulacres chronicle. It does indeed suggest that Richard had a party in 1399 had he known how to use it ; but it illumines no dark place in the reign before the year 1399, and the writer in his abuse of Henry IV. shows a malice at least as great as that with which he credits his opponents. But if it helps Richard but little, it does much, it will be seen, to blacken the character of his enemies, and to discredit the official version on the Rolls of Parliament of the actual process of deposition.

The work of the continuator leaves no such direct impression as that of the original writer : but it is at least plain, from his own statement, that he had a sound conception of truth in historical writing. He had grasped how much evil is spoken in current gossip of men who hold great positions, and in his account of the battle of Shrews-

¹ *The Chronicle of John Hardyng* (1812), 352.

bury there is every reason to think he lived up to his own standard, writing *per veram noticiam et non per aliorum loquelam*.

II.

The Revolution of 1399 is perhaps as fully documented as any event of equal importance in mediæval history, yet the main trend of events remains in obscurity, over-shadowed not by a cloud of witnesses but from their alignment into two hostile camps. The contemporary authorities have been ranged against each other as Lancastrian propagandists, or as French royalists—English testimony versus French, one man's word against another's. On the whole, orthodox historians have accepted the English version. They follow the lead of Stubbs, who dismissed the crucial problem of the place and terms of Richard's abdication in two sentences. "He saw at once that all was over and made no attempt to stem the tide of desertion and ingratitude. After a conference held at Conway . . . he offered to resign the crown." This rapid slurring over the decisive moment in the revolution reflects the attitude of the official Lancastrian apologists, the S. Albans Chroniclers and Adam of Usk. Behind them is the weighty testimony of the Parliament Roll, and to challenge it is to challenge the orthodox interpretation of the whole cause and course of the revolution.

Stubbs dismissed the main French authority, Creton, as "so much at variance with other authorities that it cannot be relied upon at all," but as far back as 1824 Creton's editor, Webb, rejected the official version and maintained that the decisive point of variance was the place and terms of Richard's abdication. Was it at Conway, at Flint or in the Tower and on what conditions? Accepting Creton's story in detail, he concluded: "I am reluctantly compelled to look upon the ground of Richard's retirement . . . given in the Parliament Roll to be a gross fabrication by Henry IV. for purposes of state. . . ."

In 1846 Benjamin Williams, the editor of the *Traison et Mort*, put forward the view that the Parliament Roll must be "branded with fabrication" because it was contradicted by "the testimony of two foreign and independent chroniclers."² This judgement was adopted by Wallon in *Richard II.: Episode de la Rivalité de la*

¹ *Archæologia*, XX., p. 138.

² *Traison et Mort*, p. 202, note.

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See Stubbs, vol. II, pp. 321-334.
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f. l. II. f.
527.
Stubbs, II
pp. 527-
534.

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France et de l'Angleterre (1864).¹ He accepted the whole French version and concluded that "la fausseté de l'abdication de Richard à Conway est prouvée."

Webb, Williams, and Wallon came to the same conclusion for reasons that were substantially the same. They believed that Creton's *Histoire du roy d'Angleterre Richard* and the *Traison et Mort* were independent of each other, and they accepted Creton's picture of himself as an eye-witness at Conway. The French authorities name only Northumberland as Henry's envoy and this, a matter on which an eye-witness could not err, is made a test of English veracity. The English official version emphasises the presence of Archbishop Arundel; therefore, they argue, it must be false. They also point out the improbability of abdication at Conway, where Richard was free, rather than at Flint, where he was a prisoner.

All these arguments, except the last, rest on premises which do not bear close examination. The two French authorities are not independent, but interdependent. The author of the *Traison* began his narrative at 1397 and apparently wrote with special knowledge until Richard's departure for Ireland in May, 1399. For the critical months of June to September he obviously borrowed from Creton, adding no detail of his own and merely swelling his text by putting into Richard's mouth much tearful complaining and rhetorical appeals to the king and princes of France. As an independent witness he must be put out of court. We are left with Creton, on his own showing an eye-witness from Richard's sailing for Ireland until his imprisonment in Chester Castle. The exact and realistic detail of much of his narrative bears out the claim, but it has been too hastily assumed that because he was an eye-witness for part of the time that he was an eye-witness all the time. This is exactly what he wished his readers to believe, but in his double anxiety to convince and to make a pathetic appeal for Richard he over-reached himself. He admits that he did not sail with Richard from Ireland; "for the sake of song and merriment," he went with Salisbury's contingent to Conway. At the point when he describes Salisbury's advance to the Cheshire border, his style becomes inflated and the sequence of events confused. There is no longer anything in his narrative to suggest

¹ Vol. II., p. 247.

personal observation and much that can be explained only as a misunderstanding of the tales of others. He reports with equal fulness Richard's conclaves at Conway and Henry's at Chester, and has a more convincing account of the surrender of Holt than of anything that was happening in Wales at the same time. His chronology will not work. He says that Richard first heard of Henry's landing through news of the executions at Bristol which we know took place on July 29.¹ He then describes how Richard was hindered by Aumarle's treachery from sailing until eighteen days after Salisbury had left. Even if Salisbury could have got under way as soon as August 1, Richard could not have reached South Wales before August 19. Yet he gives the date of Richard's coming to Chester as August 22, making no allowance for the journey north and even saying that eight days were spent in waiting for a reply to a message sent to Henry. To fill in the time, he describes aimless wanderings from Conway to Beaumaris, Carnarvon and back again, castles which the king had really visited on his hurried march north from Milford. In fact, he plainly had no personal knowledge of Richard's plans or movements and cannot be accepted as an eye-witness. Probably Salisbury left him with the garrison at Flint when he withdrew on Conway, an explanation which would account for the reappearance of convincing detail from the point when Northumberland brought Richard to Flint. It would also account for his failure to mention Archbishop Arundel's mission to Conway, a fact on which all other authorities are agreed, and for the false and hollow ring in Richard's lamentations. This forlorn and weeping king, railing against ingratitude, is a progagandist legend; the Richard Creton saw with his own eyes was "pale with anger."

If we thus reduce the French authorities to one and dismiss Creton's claim to be heard as an eye-witness, it must be granted that Webb and his followers have failed to prove their case. The value of their work lies in the attention they draw to the inherent improbabilities of the story on the Parliament Roll. We are asked to believe that Richard abdicated at Conway when he was free and in a strong castle with shipping in the bay which could have brought him to Dublin or to Bordeaux, and that he confirmed his abdication 55

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III., 656. Petition of Rauf Grene.

in the Tower with joyful face (*hilari vultu*), and without any protest of his right to confront Parliament or to have some form of trial. These difficulties, first stated over a century ago, have never been resolved nor the real value of the French narratives estimated. The discovery of new chronicle material and the examination of official documents makes it possible to open the whole question again and to attempt to find an answer.

In the first place it is necessary to fix the chronology of events. Stubbs, Ramsay, Tait, and Tout accept the dates of the *Annales*, Evesham, Creton and the *Traison* in so far as they place the critical days of negotiation and surrender in the third full week of August, but some juggling with figures was necessary before they reached the conclusion that Richard surrendered at Conway on the seventeenth, saw Henry at Flint on the eighteenth, rode to Chester on the nineteenth, and set out for London on the following day.¹ They had no warrant for putting the Conway interview on the seventeenth, but it was necessary to push everything back one day to account for the issue of writs for a parliament at Chester on the nineteenth. Even then they made little allowance for the time and fatigue of the fifty miles' hard riding between Conway and Chester or for the march of some thousands of Henry's army to Flint and back again. They would have been wiser to adopt the chronology of Usk, who was certainly among the Lancastrian camp-followers. He shifts all events a week earlier and his dates are confirmed by official records. Henry was at Chester on August 9, and there letters patent were issued by Richard on August 16 and 17.² It is true that the Regent, York, was attesting royal letters at exactly the same time, but these are dated at Wallingford. The letters dated at Chester are the first that can be connected with the king's itinerary since his departure from Ireland

¹ *Traison* dates the surrender August 18, *Annales*, August 20, and Creton gives August 22 as the day when Henry brought Richard to Chester. Evesham makes the envoys set out on Sunday the seventeenth to go to Richard, *abierunt ad regem*. They could not have reached Conway before the eighteenth, and he definitely dates the surrender *tertia die post haec, id est die Martis* (August 19).

² On August 10 Henry issued a safe conduct to the Prior of Beauval, tested at Chester, Madox, *Formulare Anglicanum*, p. 327. Usk and the Dieulacres chronicler agree that he reached Chester on the previous day. For the letters patent see *C.P.R.*, pp. 591, 592.

in May, and we must accept them as proof of Richard's presence. We may assume, therefore, that he was in Chester on the sixteenth of August, and place the critical days of negotiation and surrender in the preceding week.

This change in chronology is not without significance. It brings order into the hitherto meaningless manoeuvres of Lancastrian and royalist armies, and it throws into strong relief the relentless pressure of Henry's strategy and his full knowledge of the movements of the king. Henry was still at Bristol when he heard of Richard's landing in South Wales; ¹ at once he guessed that the enemy's objective was Chester and made a rapid march north to forestall him. At Shrewsbury he had news from the deserters, Scales and Bardolf, and at Chester, Thomas Percy and Aumarle came in, running the gauntlet of the Welsh of the Towy valley to join his banner.² Salisbury's army, which had advanced to the Cheshire border, scattered in a panic, hearing that the king was dead; its commander, after this pitiful display of incompetence, withdrew to Conway, with barely a hundred men.³ All this took place in the second full week of August. In the same week Richard, who had sailed from Ireland on July 27,⁴ had lost his first army at Haverford West⁵ through the treachery of Percy and Aumarle. He then travelled hard 160 miles along the Welsh coast to join the second army which he had sent with Salisbury to Conway, no doubt with orders to raise North Wales and Cheshire on his behalf; he found that it had dispersed on the eve of his coming. The chronology shows that Richard and Henry must both have been hurrying north at exactly the same time, only Henry, moving on the interior lines of the Wye and the Dee, was naturally far quicker. He reached Chester on August 9, and at once sent his envoys to Conway. Richard's messengers to him arrived just after Northumberland and the Archbishop had set out. Even if Richard took three days to deliberate, as the *Dieulacres Chronicle* suggests, he

¹ *Annales*, p. 247.

² *Evesham*, p. 154; *Creton*, pp. 104-5.

³ *Creton*, p. 71.

⁴ A note enrolled on the Foreign Accounts, quoted *Eulogium* III., lxii. n. 1; Below, p. 50, circa Aug. 1.

⁵ Richard's personal baggage, plate and chapel furniture were seized at Haverford West, where he probably abandoned it before his march north. Palgrave, *Antient Kalendars and Inventories of the Treasury of the Exchequer*, III., 358.

could still have left Conway on August 14 (the date given by Usk), reached Flint on the fifteenth, and on the sixteenth, when Henry's army had deployed before the castle, gone as a prisoner to Chester. We thus shorten by a week the time of Richard's wanderings in Wales, which historians have taken as a sign of crazy panic. Even with favouring winds from Ireland, only a bare fortnight can have passed before he heard that Henry was in Cheshire. He had lost two armies in as many weeks because Percy and Aumarle were knaves and Salisbury was a fool, but he had still his liberty and the self-confidence of an anointed king. He had not yet time to distrust his native ingenuity or to understand the terrible danger of his position. By cornering Richard in North Wales, Henry had isolated him from his supporters and cut him off from all authentic news. Bold in his ignorance, he took the risk of staying at Conway instead of withdrawing by sea. Is it probable that he should have promised to abdicate at the first message from his enemy?

In what may fairly be called the official Lancastrian Chronicles there is agreement over a plain tale of Richard's abdication at Conway. The *Annales* describe how Richard, when he saw no hope of escape, sent Exeter to Chester and how Archbishop Arundel and Northumberland came back to him as Bolingbroke's envoys. Then he told them "that he wished to resign and to be relieved of the trouble of governing, provided his life were spared . . . and that he had security for eight companions." When this security was granted he went to Flint to speak with Bolingbroke, and the cousins rode together, *bonum vultum invicem*, to Chester. Walsingham tells the same story in a shortened form and Usk repeats it, slightly amplified and with a change of dates. That we have here the official narrative is made clear by the definite statement on the roll of the Deposition Parliament: *idem rex . . . apud Conewey in North Wallia in sua libertate existens promisit Domino Thome Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et dicto Comiti Northumbr' se velle cedere et renunciare Corone Anglie et Francie et sue Regie Magestati. . . .*¹

To this Creton's narrative is a flat contradiction. Northumberland offered Richard fair terms at Conway. If he would agree to refer to Parliament Henry's claim to be hereditary seneschal and to

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III., 416.

permit the trial of five of his councillors, he should be *couronnez haultement, roi et seigneur*. "Duke Henry . . . wisheth for nothing but his land, and that which appertaineth to him ; neither would he have anything that is yours, for you are his immediate rightful king." After some privy consultation, Richard decided to feign agreement in hope of finding a way to his revenge ; "there are some of them," he said, "whom I shall flay alive." When Northumberland was told his decision he replied—"Sire, let the body of our Lord be consecrated. I will swear that there is no deceit in this affair and that the duke will observe the whole as you have heard me relate it here." Each of them then heard mass and the earl "took oath upon the body of our Lord." The *Traison* is merely a redaction of the same story and, as Creton was not an eye-witness, we cannot reject the official narrative on his bare word. It is only by the help of other contemporary sources that we can decide between witnesses so sharply divergent.

We cannot fairly deduce anything from silence, even from partisans like Gower and *Richard the Redeless*. But the Monk of Evesham deserves close consideration as a Lancastrian contemporary chronicler who gives us more exact topographical detail about Henry's movements than any other writer. He borrowed freely from S. Albans for the earlier part of his work and probably had access to the official *cedula* of the deposition parliament, as he quotes with verbal accuracy Richard's formal act of resignation. His story is that Richard interviewed the Archbishop and Northumberland at Flint and was then taken to Conway where Henry came to him with all reverence and said he had returned to enjoy his life, lands, and inheritance. There is no mention of abdication, but the transposition of Flint and Conway discredits the whole story. It cannot be imagined that Richard was carried forty miles back into Wales before Henry came to him. It may be explained away as a mere slip of the pen, but is it not possible that the confusion arose out of conflict between what Evesham had heard in the west and what he had read in the official *cedula* ?

The first part of the *Dieulacres Chronicle*, now that we can be reasonably sure of its date and provenance, appears to us to decide the issue against the Parliament Roll. Though clearly independent in origin, it dovetails into Creton's story at point after point. A false

adviser delayed Richard's sailing; Creton names him as Aumarle. Only fifteen remained in the royal suite; Creton says at one time thirteen and at another sixteen were faithful to the king. Richard lodged at Harlech, Carnarvon, and Beaumaris; Creton mentions, though in great confusion, visits to Beaumaris and Carnarvon. Apart from Creton's omission of Archbishop Arundel, the Dieulacres story of what happened at Conway is the French version, shorn of its rhetoric and propaganda. Henry's envoys claimed for him the hereditary stewardship of England and a free parliament; they swore on the host that Richard *staret in suo regali potestate et dominio*. After three days Richard accepted these terms and yet at Flint he was treated as a captive and a slave. There can be no doubt that the French version of the surrender and that current in Cheshire are essentially the same.

Further confirmation comes from a continuation of the *Polychronicon*, one manuscript of which belonged to the Cistercian Abbey of Whalley, Lancashire.¹ The monks of Whalley, like those of Dieulacres, had migrated from a Cheshire site to Lancastrian territory and, through their estates round Stanlaw, they retained a close connection with the Palatinate.² The Chronicle breaks off at 1430 and, from the treatment of the French war, it may be assumed that it was written not long after that date. The account of Richard's reign takes the same general line as the *Dieulacres Chronicle*.

f. 232^v. "Postmodum prefatus dux cum complicitibus suis ivit Cestriam ubi dominus Ricardus rex securitate sibi facta per sacramentum domini Thome Arundel et comitis Northumbrie venit Cestriam ad colloquium, sed prefatus dux Herfordie contra iuramentum predictum cepit ibidem eundem Ricardum rege[m] et ducens London posuit in turri London' in custodia donec resignaret sibi coronam regni cum omni iure sibi pertinente.

. . . Postmodum Ricardus quondam rex translatus est de turri London' usque ad castrum de Pomfret ubi diu ante mortem pane et aqua ut dicebatur sustentatus tandem fame necatus est secundum communem

¹ Harleian MS. 3600; identical with Cotton Dom. A. XII. for Henry IV.'s reign. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 279 ff., prints the fifteenth-century portion under the title "A Northern Chronicle. 1399-1430."

² *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, ed. W. A. Hulton, Cheetham Society, 1847.

famam et sepultus apud Langley; deinde tempore Henrici quinti translatus est London' et ibi in ecclesia Westmon' honorifice tumulatur.¹

It will be noted that Richard is said to have gone to Chester *ad colloquium* on security given on oath by Arundel and Northumberland. Though the whole story is contracted into a sentence, it is remarkable that the essential facts have been retained.

When we consider that the narrative of Creton is confirmed at the critical point by the Chronicles of Dieulacres and Whalley, and when we weigh this evidence against the significant confusion of Evesham and the smooth improbabilities of the official version, it is impossible to halt any longer between two opinions. The account on the Parliament Roll of the place and time of Richard's abdication must be false, deliberately concocted to gloss over the capture and coercion of the reigning king.

If we reject the story of free resignation at Conway confidence is naturally shaken in the account on the Parliament Roll of the true abdication in the Tower. It has often been noted that there is something strange in the description of Richard as showing a glad countenance (*hilaris vultu*) to the commissioners who visited him in prison and in his insistence in reading his own renunciation, *Idem tamen Rex gratanter, ut apparuit, ac hillari vultu, cedulam . . . tenens, dixit semetipsum velle legere, et distincte perlegit eandem.*² Webb remarked on "an overstrained affectation of cheerful acquiescence . . . which defeats itself. The parties are all very courteous and happy in each other's society while it lasts. . . . The whole is curious; and, I fear, in many particulars a piece of deliberately recorded falsehood." Ramsay drew exactly the opposite conclusion; he took Richard's good humour to prove that he had security for his personal safety: "there is," he says, "a naive simplicity about it that inspires confidence."

Examination of other contemporary sources appears to us once more to decide the question against the official record. In the first place Usk, a strong Lancastrian witness, makes no mention of Richard's cheerfulness in the abdication scene; it would have accorded ill with his account of a visit to the Tower a week earlier when, he

¹ There follows a remarkable passage about a deposition of Richard in 1388, printed and discussed in Note B. Below pp. 35-39.

² *Rot. Parl.*, III., 416. Cf. *Annales*, 255.

says, he heard the king "discoursing sorrowfully . . . musing on his ancient and wonted glory and on the fickle fortune of the world."¹ Evesham is again just different enough to arouse suspicion. He represents Richard as causing the renunciation to be written out and merely saying, *Ego Ricardus, Rex praedictus, me subscribo*.² The *Traison*, a better authority than Creton for events in London, omits all reference to the renunciation and records as the king's last speech before deposition a demand to be brought before Parliament for trial.³ The brief account in the *Dieulacres Chronicle* is a convincing compromise between the French and English versions. "Unde ne parlamentum intraret humiliter, ut dictum est, rogavit ; et corona regni super humo posita Deo ius suum resignavit." Resignation to God instead of to Bolingbroke is a last gesture characteristic of Richard. There is no contemporary confirmation for the fatuous scene of smiles and cordiality rehearsed for us on the Parliament Roll, and there seems no alternative but to reject it altogether.

A third and last issue is raised by the reference in the *Dieulacres Chronicle* and in the *Traison* to Richard's demand to be given a hearing in Parliament. There is no mention of any such demand in the official version, where it is implied that Richard was thoroughly satisfied with agreements reached in Conway or in the Tower. New light is thrown on the subject by examination of the unpublished portion of the work known as *Giles' Chronicle* 1848, which follows Evesham closely from 1377 to 1402 and extends to 1455. It is extant in two manuscripts, Sloane 1776 and the Royal MS. 13. C. 1. We may dismiss the Sloane MS. as a later copy, as it gives the four reigns continuously, while the Royal MS. has the reigns out of order as follows : Henry V. ; Henry VI. ; Richard II. and Henry IV. The part dealing with Henry V.'s reign is the *Gesta Henrici Quinti* of Thomas Elmham. We have, therefore, three distinct chronicles, one of which is a variant of Evesham.

The Royal manuscript contains two versions of the events of September 30, the second day of the deposition parliament ; one is

¹ Usk, p. 30.

² Evesham, p. 159, with the addition that Richard reserved for himself certain lands and revenues which he intended to bequeath for his soul to Westminster.

³ *Traison*, p. 218.

scored out and reads at first sight like a rough draft of the other. A closer examination shows that the whole passage was partly copied and partly condensed from the Parliament Roll, with the addition of new matter describing a debate on the justice of deposing Richard without a hearing. Its significance cannot be understood except by verbal comparison with the Parliament Roll.

Rot. Parl. III. 417.

In crastino autem, videlicet die martis in festo Sancti Jeronimi, in magna aula apud Westm' in loco ad parliamentum tenendum honorifice preparato, dictis Archiepiscopis Cantuariensi et Eboracensi, ac duce Lancastrie, aliisque ducibus ac dominis . . . presentibus . . . supra-dictus archiepiscopus Eboracen' suo et dicti Hereforden' episcopi nomine . . . eandem cessionem et renunciationem per alium, primo in latinis verbis, et postea in anglicis, legi fecit ibidem. Et statim ut fuerat interrogatum a statibus et populo tunc ibidem presentibus, primo videlicet ab archiepiscopo Cantuarien' predicto, cui ratione dignitatis et prerogative ecclesie sue Cantuarien' metropolitice in hac parte competit primam vocem habere inter ceteros prelatos et proceres regni, si pro eorum interesse, et utilitate regni vellent renunciationem et cessionem eandem admittere? Status iidem et populus reputantes, ex causis per ipsum regem in sua renunciatione et cessione predictis specificatis, hoc fore multum expediens, renunciationem et cessionem huiusmodi singuli singillatim, et in communi cum populo, unanimiter et concorditer admitterunt. Postquam quidem admissionem fuerat publice tunc ibidem expositum, quod ultra cessionem et renunciationem huiusmodi, ut prefertur, admissam, valde foret expediens ac utile regno predicto, pro omni scrupulo et sinistra suspicione tollendis, quod plura crimina et defectus per dictum regem circa malum regimen regni sui frequentius perpetrata, per modum articulorum in scriptis redacta.

Royal MS. 13, C. 1, f. 115, excerpt A.

Et perlecta cedula renunciacionis omnes ad hospicia redierunt et in crastino die viz. in festo Ieronimi apud Westmonasterium fuerat ista renunciacio coram omnibus dominis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus primo in Latinis verbis secundo in Anglicis [perlecta]. Et statim ut fuerat interrogatum a stantibus et populo tunc ibidem presentibus primo viz. ab archiepiscopo Cantuar' cui racione dignitatis et prerogative ecclesie sue Cantuar' metropolitice in hac parte competit primam vocem habere inter ceteros prelatos et proceres regni, si pro eorum interesse et utilitate regni vellent renunciacionem eandem et cessionem admittere, cui idem archiepiscopus et quam plures alii domini affirmant illam renunciacionem et cessionem regno fore utile et expediens. Sed quidam alii opinantur quod ista renunciacio licet fuerat ore regio proclamata verumtamen dummodo fuerat in carceribus a libertate proprie voluntatis impeditus non penitus agnoscitur an huius resignacio fuerat ex plenaria et sinsera cordis affectione aut mortis timore incussus omnia facere et dicere

que libenter detentores offerebant. Et cum regia dignitas maiorem privilegii libertatem quam alii inferiores persone, postulat ex ratione hinc est quod ipse idem rex quemadmodum alii persone tamen inferiores poterit publice, sic ipse in persona propria coram iudice aut sui imperii populo iuxta sui intencionis arbitrium suam plenariam voluntatem intimare quia sic nostra regni statuta et privilegia vendicant discernendum pro omni suspicione evitanda. Tamen pro huiusmodi suspicione tollenda alia pars adversa allegebat plura crimina et defectus per regem perpetrata in maximum dedecus et detrimentum toto regno. [A summary of the "Articles" against Richard follows.]

Royal MS. 13, C. 1, f. 122, excerpt B. A scored out passage.

Sed aliqui affirmant absentem et impeditum a libertate sui iuris quod equali libra esset omnibus regni incolis concedenda hoc ab ipso rege non fore deneganda viz. pro declaracione sue voluntatis in persona propria coram regni statibus et plebeis saltem in parlamento compareret quia quamvis ista renunciatio fuerat sine reclamacione oretenus prununciata tamen quia in carcerali tedio tentus poterit a quibusdam personis estimari quod cicius timore quam sincera cordis intencione omnia ista fecit attamen cum maior numerus dominorum et eciam comitatum p[ro] tunc favebant duci Lancastrie affirmabant p[re]fatam resignacionem fore et esse utile et expediens unde pro maiori suspicione tollenda alligabant plura crimina per dictum regem in magnum detrimentum proceribus regni et eciam omni communitati perpetrata.

At first glance comparison of the three passages suggests that we have before us an excised portion of the Parliament Roll, but the wording and the repetition in two forms make it impossible to put forward so simple an explanation. We have either two passages from the same author, or else an excerpt from some other source has been copied in as an afterthought. Further on in the Royal manuscript the same trick of writing in a second or even a third and fourth passage on the same subject recurs.¹ We have three versions of the burning of Richard Wick and two of the death of the Duchess of Clarence: they are not verbally identical and in each case the information varies slightly. There are also three accounts of the disgrace of the Duchess of Gloucester; they differ considerably in detail and in treatment: two are cautiously worded but the third and most severe mentions her death sixteen years later at Flint. Finally there are four accounts of events overseas in 1441-43, which

¹ The later variants are not in Giles' edition, but are printed by Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 339-41, as "Brief Notes, 1441-43."

deal with the appointment of Somerset as Captain-General in France over the head of the Duke of York. This appointment was a provoking cause of the Wars of the Roses, and it is significant that two variants are Lancastrian and two Yorkist in sympathy. In short, differences in matter, style and point of view make it impossible to believe that they were all composed by the same writer, and we may reasonably conclude that they are extracts from various sources collected by the compiler. This hypothesis coincides with what we know of William Worcester from whose papers the manuscript was probably put together.¹ His *Itinerarium* shows that he was a disorderly and tireless copyist of chronicles; he refers to no less than ten, more than half of which have not been traced.² We conclude, therefore, that we have excerpts from two chronicles, one from an unknown source and the other from an earlier portion of that printed by Giles. To estimate their historical value it is necessary to come to at least a tentative conclusion as to their date, provenance, and authorship.

Analysis of *Giles' Chronicle*, to which excerpt A belongs, brings out some puzzling facts. It breaks off abruptly with a reference to the Parliament of 1411, and its general treatment of Henry IV. and the Prince of Wales is that of a cautious contemporary, yet it cannot be earlier than 1421, as the marriage of the Duke of Clarence, who died in that year, is described as barren. Analysis of the subject matter shows that it has been made up from several sources. Down to 1402, Evesham is followed closely, though with interesting emendations or omissions and the interpolation of a long complaint of fortune, ascribed to W. Feruby. References to events in London are often in substance the same as those in the *London Chronicles*, *Gregory's Chronicle*, and *Davies' Chronicle*; Kingsford therefore concluded that they had a common original, the work of a London writer. But this London source and Evesham are only a part—and the most

¹ British Museum Catalogue of Royal MSS. describes the whole volume as "Historical Collections made, wholly or in part by William Worcester (+ 1482?), secretary to Sir John Fastolf."

²Chronicles of Wells, friars of Norwich, S. John's Bristol, S. Thomas' Bristol, Dominicans of Thetford and Augustinians of Yarmouth; excerpts from the *Brut*: notes from Gildas, Giraldus Cambrensis and Marianus Scotus. See *Itinerarium*, ed. Jas. Nasmyth, Cambridge, 1778.

commonplace part—of the compilation. It has two more remarkable characteristics ; one the steady citation of official documents, the other special knowledge of events in the North. The parliament or statute rolls are used for six out of the nine parliaments of Henry IV ;¹ sometimes the text is copied verbatim, sometimes it is neatly contracted. Only a clerk in the Chancery could have had access so continuously to official records. For the North we have a unique explanation of Hotspur's reason for revolt, the sole text of the tripartite convention between Northumberland, Glendower, and Mortimer, and an account, with a good deal of local detail, of Archbishop Scrope's execution. If the writer was a Chancery clerk he must have had a strong northern connexion.

The chronicle is, in fact, a patchwork, rather clumsily cobbled together, but at the same time the whole work bears the stamp of a clearly defined personality. The writer has a guarded but steady sympathy for Richard II. He cuts out the blackest charges in Evesham and, writing of the starvation of the heir to the Scottish throne, he slips in *quemadmodum Anglici Ricardum regem suum interemerunt*. His attitude to Henry IV. is correct but grudging. He omits Evesham's praise of him as *pius et misericors et generosus* and emphasises the disasters of the Welsh campaigns. Though careful to preserve the forms of loyal speech, his sympathies were plainly with the northern rebels. He gives a shrewd and convincing picture of Thomas Percy as *causa principalis* of the battle of Shrewsbury, sets out Archbishop Scrope's manifesto with obvious satisfaction and skilfully tells the story of his execution as the passion of a saint. He names no northern lord, not even Westmoreland or Fitzhugh, as having a share in the *execrabile opus*. We have the impression of a man who had friends on both sides or whose personal opinions ran counter to his professional interests.

Now the only personal excursus in the chronicle is a long lament on the death of Richard, beginning *de hujus mundi fortuna et mutatione subita scribit W. Feruby in hunc modum*. Kingsford identi-

¹ 1399. Giles, pp. 3-7, Rot. Parl. III., 452, 453. 1401. Giles, pp. 22-23, Stat. 2, Hen. IV., Cap. XV. 1402. Giles, pp. 34-35, Rot. Parl. III., 487. 1404. Giles, pp. 35-36, 36-39, Rot. Parl. III., 526-527, 528, 1406. Giles, pp. 49-52, Rot. Parl. III., 571-572, 574-576. 1411. Giles p. 63, Rot. Parl. III., 658.

fies this Feruby with the William Feriby who was taken prisoner at Conway and executed immediately after the Holland rising early in 1400; as he was certainly dead before Richard's death was announced he cannot have written the lament. But the Feribys were a great Yorkshire family of officials, connected with, if not related to the Thoresby-Ravenser-Waltham clan, and several of them at this time were called William.¹ A William Feriby, notary public, went to the Tower with the commission to hear Richard's renunciation; he was probably the William Feriby who was the Chancellor of the Prince of Wales in 1403 and master of S. Leonard's Hospital, York, from 1409 to 1415.² S. Leonard's Hospital was a typical Chancery benefice, held throughout the fourteenth century by king's clerks, like Gilbert de Stapleton and Richard de Ravenser. It is tempting to find in this William Feriby the Chancery clerk of northern connexions who wrote *Giles' Chronicle*, especially as William Worcester in his *Annales* has a reference to *Chronicam Wi. Feriby* which he borrowed from the Bishop of Ely.³ But this Feriby died in 1415, six years before the earliest date when *Giles' Chronicle* can have been written. He cannot have been the author, but he may have collected the official documents and excerpts from the Parliament Roll which, with his lament, were used by someone who had access to his material. It is possible that excerpt B may come from a lost chronicle begun by William Feriby, afterwards carried on to Henry VI.'s reign by someone who wrote certain of the additions to *Giles' Chronicles* printed by Kingsford.

Assuming that Feriby collected much of the material we may

¹Tout, *Chapters in Mediæval Administrative History*, vol. iii., pp. 215-216.

²Rot. Parl. III., 416; Nicolas, *Proceedings of Privy Council*, I., 206; *C.P.R.*, 1408-13, p. 88, 1413-16, p. 283. We should like to thank Professor A. Hamilton Thompson for his help in unravelling the intricacies of the Feriby family, a subject which is peculiarly his own.

³Published in *Letters and Papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, 1864. The note, sub anno 1446, Vol. II., Part II., p. 764, is as follows: "Nota folia duō immediate praece-dentia bene, et latus sequens, et pro temporibus regis Ricardi Secundi, Henrici etiam V et Henrici regis VI nota chronicam Wi. Feriby, ut in libro domini Nicholai, prioris Sanctae Margaretae de Lyne, quem accomodavit domino meo Johanni Alkok, episcopo Eliensi. Nota etiam chronica Ranulphi monachi Cistercensis" (*sic*).

hazard a suggestion that the author was one of his successors at S. Leonard's. Robert Fitzhugh, master from 1415 to 1431 was a northern clerk, the son of Henry V.'s chamberlain, the nephew of Archbishop Scrope, and the first cousin of Sir William Plumpton, executed in 1405. His sympathies may well have been divided between his uncle, the rebel and martyr, and his father who tricked him into surrender,¹ but there is nothing else in his career to carry the suggestion of his authorship further. The next master of S. Leonard's was William Scrope (1431 to 1456), another nephew of Archbishop Scrope, this time on the father's side.² He was king's clerk at the time of his appointment and held several other preferments in the North with a papal indulgence because "by both parents he is of a race of barons."³ Raine suggests that he resigned because "the wish to suppress the honours that were paid to Archbishop Scrope would destroy William Scrope's chance of holding preferment in York Minster."⁴ He had no other preferment before his death in 1463. It is remarkable that first one and then another nephew of the archbishop should have succeeded Feriby at S. Leonard's; either of them may have worked up his material into the form in which we find it in the Royal manuscript.

If we accept either of these Scopes as having a share in putting together Feriby's material, we have a clue to the way in which the manuscript came into the hands of William Worcester. Sir John Fastolf, Worcester's patron, was the stepfather of Stephen Scrope, the "Master Stephen" of the Paston letters. He was the son of another Stephen Scrope, who was taken prisoner with the other Feriby at Conway, in 1399, and his uncle was the Earl of Wiltshire, beheaded at Bristol in the same year. His mother, the heiress of Castlecombe, married Fastolf in 1409, and he spent much of his life at Caistor where Worcester was secretary. Fastolf treated his stepson

¹ *Annales*, 407: *Historians of Church of York*, III., 289. Fitzhugh was afterwards bishop of London, 1431-1436.

² See Scrope pedigree, Note A, below p. 34.

³ *C.P.R.*, p. 181, 1431: *Cal. Papal Letters*, 1417-31, pp. 338-339.

⁴ *Testamenta Eboracensia*, Vol. III., p. 36. Raine cites from Torre MS. 224 his epitaph in York Minster: "Hic jacet Magister Willelmus le Scrope, Archidiaconus Dunelm, et Residentarius in ecclesiis collegiatis beate Johannis Beverlac' et Sancti Wilfridi Rypon, qui obiit xii° die mensis Mai anno domini M.cccc.lxiii, cuius anime propitiatur deus."

badly and sold his wardship to Sir William Gascoigne: "thorugh the wiche sale," Stephen writes, "I took sekenesses that kept me a XII or XIII yere swyng: whereby I am disfigured in my persone and shall be whylest I lyve. . . ."¹ He lived a sickly, studious life, translating from Christine de Pisan *The Boke of Knyghthode*; *The Boke of Noblesse*, also from Christine, was probably translated by him in collaboration with Worcester.² In Worcester, who "said that he wold be as glad and as feyn of a good boke of Frensh or of poetre as my Mastr Fastolf wold be to purchase a faire manoir,"³ he must have found a congenial companion, and it is possible that he possessed or procured for his friend the chronicle which tells so much of his family's history and which may have been put together by one of his cousins of Masham.

Thus several converging lines of evidence, no one of which we can defend as strong in itself, leads us to the opinion that excerpts A and B are both derived from material collected by the Chancery clerk William Feriby, some of which was later worked up into *Giles' Chronicle*, by a master of S. Leonard's, York. We are therefore inclined to treat the accounts of the deposition parliament as having the value of contemporary evidence. It is even possible that Feriby was an eye-witness. Confirmation of the whole story comes from the much-disputed passage in the *Traison* where the bishop of Carlisle spoke in Richard's defence:—

My lords, consider well before you give judgment upon what my lord the Duke has set forth, for I maintain that there is not one present who is competent and fit to judge such a sovereign as my lord the King whom we have acknowledged our (liege) lord for the space of twenty years and more, and I will give you my reasons; there never was, nor is in this world, any false traitor nor wicked murderer, who, if he be taken prisoner by the hands of justice, is not, at the least, brought before the judge to hear his sentence. My lords, you have well and truly heard the accusation that my lord the Duke has made against King Richard; and it appears to me that you are about to give judgment, and to condemn King Richard, without hearing what he has to answer, or even his being present.⁴ . . .

¹ G. P. Scrope, *History of the Manor and Barony of Castle Combe*, p. 274.

² *The Epistle of Othea to Hector or the Boke of Knyghthode*, ed. G. F. Warner, Roxburghe Club, 1904.

³ *Paston Letters*, ed. Gairdner, I., p. 431.

⁴ *Traison*, pp. 221-222.

Stubbs, vol. II, p. 3

The speech is in content almost identical with our excerpts, but the *Traison* places it not on September 30, but on the following day, when Parliament did not meet. The *Eulogium* preserves the tradition of the bishop's presence at the deposition scene,¹ and it is much more probable that he made his protest then instead of waiting until after the coronation. The same charge of deposition by coercion and without a fair trial was brought against Henry again and again by the northern rebels,² and it was made as early as 1402 to the king himself. Certain friars were accused of plotting treason. Their leader, Robert Frisby, warden of the convent at Leicester, maintained before Henry in the Tower that Richard was "veray king" of England. "The king saide, 'He resigned.' The maister ansuerde, 'He resigned ayens his wil in prison, the whiche is nought in the lawe. . . . He wolde not have resigned . . . yf he hadde be at his freedoum; and a resignacion maad in prisoun is not fre . . .'" The juries of London and Holbourne twice refused to convict these friars, and they were finally sentenced to death on the verdict of jurors from the villages of Islington and Highgate.³

Holinshed knew the *Traison* through Hall, and from him Shakespeare drew the material for the speech he put into the mouth of Carlisle at the deposition parliament:

51. "What subject can give sentence on his king?
 And who sits here that is not Richard's subject?
 Thieves are not judged but they are by to hear,
 Although apparent guilt be seen in them;
 And shall the figure of God's majesty,
 His captain, steward, deputy-elect,
 Anointed, crowned, planted many years,
 Be judged by subject and inferior breath,
 And he himself not present . . ."

¹ *Eulogium*, III., 383, Bolingbroke sat in his father's place "iuxta episcopum Carleoli." The position cannot be correct as the spiritual and temporal peers already sat on opposite sides. This is illustrated in the miniature of the deposition scene, the earliest picture of a parliamentary session, B.M. Harl. MS. 1319, reproduced in *Archæologia* XX., plate XVI.

² E.g., the manifesto ascribed to Archbishop Scrope, but probably issued by Northumberland in 1407, *Historians of Church of York*, II. 297; Hardyng, 349, says Northumberland told him that Richard made resignation "under dures of prison in the Toure of London in fere of his life." Cf. Hotspur's defiance before Shrewsbury, *ibid.*, pp. 351 ff.

³ *Davies Chronicle*, pp. 25-26; *Eulogium*, pp. 393-394; *C.C.R.*, June 1, 1402, p. 528.

(London, Westminster)

These lines are like a poet's echo, not only of the *Traison*, but of the clumsy Latin of the Royal manuscript. They are in harmony with the stiff legalism of the age and are confirmed by a long tradition of anti-Lancastrian disaffection. The first protest against the usurpation of Henry of Lancaster was made in the deposition parliament; the procedure of deposition as well as the act itself was a cause of the "disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny" of the fifteenth century.

Thus, collation of the official story of Richard's deposition with other sources of the early fifteenth century has led us to conclude that on three points the Parliament Roll has either distorted or suppressed the truth. The free resignation at Conway and the account of Richard's cheerful bearing in the Tower are soothing falsehoods which probably no one at the time believed or was expected to believe; silence about Richard's demand to confront Parliament, and about a public protest on his behalf are deliberate suppressions of the truth. The statement in the Royal manuscript that the articles of deposition were drawn up as a substitute for the trial of Richard draws attention to their hasty composition and *ex parte* character. But it is on these articles that Stubbs and other constitutional historians have based their discussion of Richard's tyranny and his theory of absolutism. If, as we think, the authority of the Parliament Roll has been shaken, it will be necessary to go over all the ground again and to treat the official story of the revolution as carrying no more weight than any other tainted and partisan contemporary evidence.

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sh
p. 3
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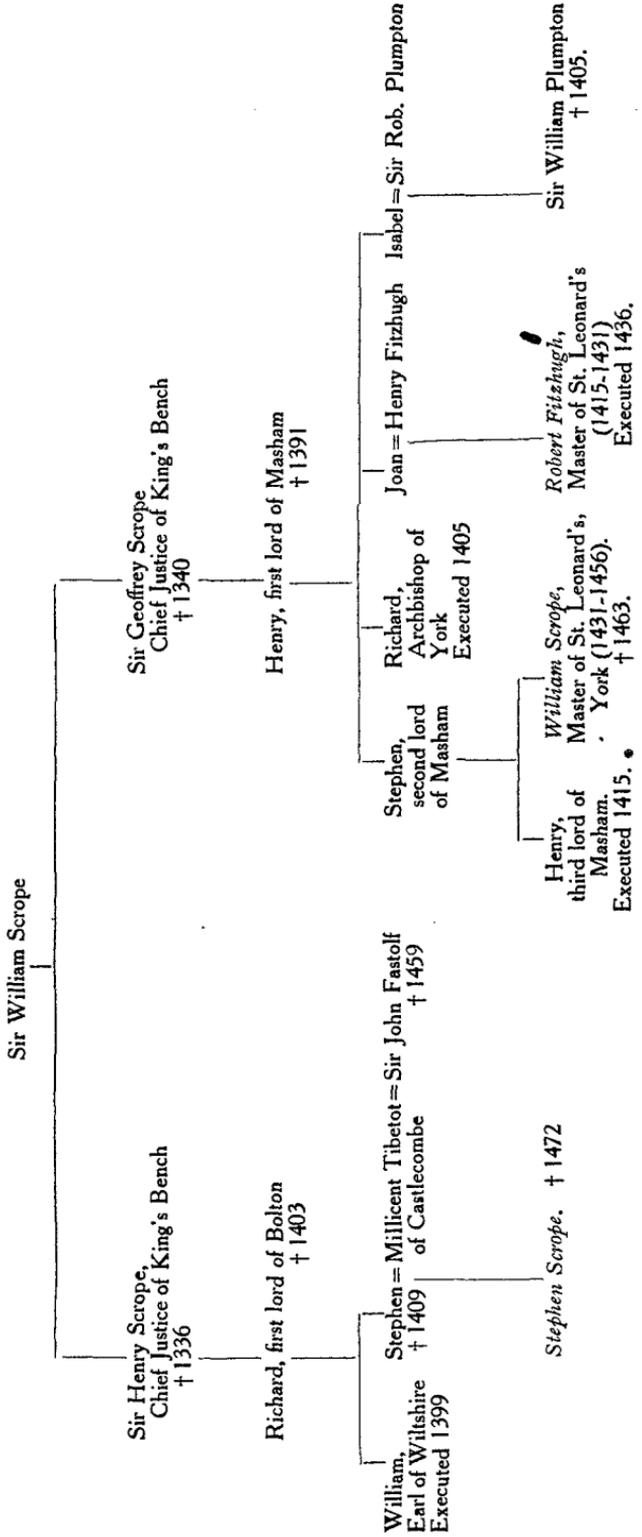
And if you crown him, let my prophecy
 The blood of English shall redouble the groan
 And future ages groan for this foul act
 Disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny,
 Shall here inhabit, and this land be called
 The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls.
 Shakespeare, p. 451.

Henry IV

NOTE A.

SCROPE PEDIGREE.

[N. H. Nicholas. Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy. Vol. II.]



NOTE B.

ANOTHER DEPOSITION OF RICHARD II?

Harleian MS. 3600.¹

f. 232^v. Hic intercerere disposui quod in tempore suo pretermisum fuit. Nam cum Thomas Wodstok comes de Bokyngham,² comes de Arundel, comes Warwyc' cum ceteris magnatibus consurrexissent adversus quosdam consiliarios regis et Symonem de Burlay decapitassent ad ducem Hibernie apud Ratcotebrige profugassent et Thomam de Molenewes cum aliis multis ibidem occidissent, adierunt regem Ricardum et eum de solio regali deposuerunt et sic per triduum mansit discoronatus; sed ill (is) de successione concertantibus, communibus volentibus exaltari in regem Thomam Wodstok sed e contra Henricō duce Herfordie³ se de seniori fratre progenitum protestante ac per hoc regem se fore debere vendicante, videntes magnates et timentes ne illi duo inter se discordarent et illi quasi proditores notarentur concilium iniunt et regem Ricardum iterato recoronant ammoventes omnes familiares suos et consiliarios a maiori usque ad minimum, eidem alios assignantes ad quorum concilium rex regeretur, sed qualiter rex se de hiis vindicaverit supra patet.

At first sight this story of a deposition of Richard II. seems preposterous and directly counter to all contemporary evidence. A closer examination of the authorities shows that, while there is no direct confirmation of the deposition itself, there was one short period when it might have taken place.⁴ After the defeat at Radcote Bridge (December 20), Richard shut himself up in the Tower. He knew that his plight was desperate, as by allowing de Vere to bring an army from Chester and by plotting with the Londoners he had broken the protection, ratified on oath, which he had issued to the appellants on November 18. By December 27 the army of the appellants was encamped at Clerkenwell, and the leaders had won

¹ See p. 23.

² Thomas of Woodstock had been Duke of Gloucester since 1385.

³ Henry was still only Earl of Derby; he was not Duke of Hereford until 1397.

⁴ The detailed chronicles for the period 1387-88 are Walsingham, Knighton, the Anonymous of Westminster, and the short account of the Merciless Parliament and events immediately preceding it by Favent, *Camden Miscellany*, Vol. XIV. Knighton is the least useful, except for official documents; Walsingham has a fair account of events in London; Westminster and Favent, one inclined to favour Richard and the other the official defence of the Appellants, are both of great value.

over the citizens of London. The king was blockaded in the Tower and the Thames was guarded to prevent his escape by water. A parley was arranged by Archbishop Courtenay and Northumberland. Taking elaborate precautions against treachery, the appellants entered the Tower with 500 men and the gates were closed and guarded by their supporters. The uproar in the inner ward was so great that the king and the leaders withdrew into the chapel for quiet. What happened at the interview is obscure. Knighton and Favent represent Richard as agreeing at once to all that was demanded of him. Walsingham says that he promised in tears and confusion to hold a council at Westminster on the following day; the same evening he changed his mind, but was forced to yield by the threat of the appellants *quod eligerent alium sibi Regem*.¹ The Anonymous of Westminster describes a much more prolonged crisis. The appellants spoke sternly to Richard, rehearsed his misdeeds and reminded him that *suum heredem fore indubie perfectae aetatis*.² Richard, *stupefactus*, swore to govern by their council, saving his crown and royal dignity. The barons then left him with a rough warning that if he wished to enjoy his crown and regality in the future he must keep faith with them.

Unfortunately, authorities differ as to the date on which this interview was held. Knighton says December 27; Favent and Walsingham, December 28. The Anonymous of Westminster's chronology is confused at this point; he describes the whole of December 28 as spent in preliminary negotiations, implies that the interview took place on December 29 and then names December 30 as the actual day. On the whole the evidence suggests either December 28 or 29. The point is of crucial importance if we are to find three days of deposition. A council was held on January 1³ at which new writs were issued for the coming parliament, and from that time onwards there can be no possible doubt that Richard was acknowledged as king by the appellants. If they ever deposed him, it must have been between December 28 or 29 and New Year's

¹ This Council did not meet until Jan. 1; Walsingham is running events together too quickly.

² The Earl of March, who was heir presumptive, was still a minor, and this ambiguous phrase may refer to Gloucester or to Derby.

³ *C.C.R.*, 460; *Anon. Westminster*, 115.

day. It is, perhaps, significant that there is not a single entry on the close or patent rolls bearing the dates of the last three days of December.

Certain facts, which have not hitherto been emphasised, must also come under consideration. Gloucester's confession, exacted at Calais on the eve of his death (Sept. 8, 1397), contains some important admissions.¹ In spite of the circumstances of its drafting, the document has a convincing ring. The saving clause, the ambiguity of the wording at the crucial point and the poignant closing appeal for "compassion and pytee" show that it could not have been dictated by Rickhill or concocted after the murder. He acknowledged:—

“ . . . in that tyme (1387-8) that I came armed into my Lordes presence, and into his Palais, howsoever that I dede it for drede of my lyf, I knowleche for certain that I dede evyll, and azeyns his Regalie and his Estate. . . . ”

He put forward as the final plea for mercy :

“ . . . It was never myn entent, ne my wyll, ne my thought, for to do thyng that schuld have been distresse or harmyng azeyns the salvation of my lyege Loordys persone, as I wyll answer to for Godd at the day of Jugement. . . . ”

He admitted:—

“ . . . that I among other communed for feer of my lyf to zyve up myn hommage to my Lord, I knowlech wel, that for certain that I among other communed and asked of certains Clercs, whethir that we myght zyve up our homage for drede of our lyves, or non; and whethir that we assentyed therto for to do it, trewlich and by my trowth I ne have now none full mynde therof, bot I trowe rather ze than nay: Wherfor I submett me heygh and lowe evermore in his grace.”

The crucial paragraph concerns the deposition of the king, and we give it in full, transcribed from a copy of the confession, sewn as a schedule to the Parliament Roll of 1397.²

“ Also in that I was in place ther it was comunod and spoken in manere of deposail of my lyege loord trewly I knowlech wel that we wer assented ther to for two dayes or thre and than we for to have done oure homage and our ootheres and putt hym as heylly in his estate

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III., 379. Cf. *E.H.R.*, 1923, Vol. XXXVIII., pp. 249-251.

² The original sealed confession is attached to *Parl. and Council Proceedings (Chancery) Roll 4*.

as ever he was bot for sothe ther I knolech that I dede untruly and unkyndely as to hym that is my lyege loord and hath bene so gode and kynd loord to me wherfor I beseche to hym naight wyth stondyng myn unkyndenesse I beseche hym evermore of his mercy and of his grace as lowly as any creature may beseche it unto his lyege loord." (Parliament Roll 61, m. 3, schedule.)

The avowal of armed coercion, the emphatic declaration that no personal injury to Richard was intended and the guarded references to renunciation of allegiance and to deposition bear out and carry further the story in the chronicles. In the deposition paragraph the phrase *We wer assented ther to for two dayes or thre* might be read as an independent confirmation of the Harleian manuscript.

The account of Gloucester and Derby contending over the succession also falls into line with what we know of the factions of the time. It is not always remembered that the five appellants belonged to two clearly marked parties. The original appeal, issued at Waltham Cross on November 14 and repeated before the king at Westminster on November 17, was in the names of Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick. They were the recognised leaders of the baronial opposition and the muster of the army at Haringay was their work.¹ Derby and Nottingham, representing the Lancastrian faction, did not join them until de Vere's army was on the march. It was at this point that the project of deposition was first brought forward and opposed by Warwick, who may have held an intermediate position between the two groups. Furthermore, Knighton says that Richard detained Derby and Nottingham to sup with him after the interview in the Tower, and Walsingham tells the same story, omitting Nottingham. Later, Favent and Walsingham tell how Derby and Nottingham joined in the plea for Burley's life.² It may therefore be granted that, if there was a dispute about Richard's successor, it must have followed the lines indicated by the Harleian manuscript.

Certain proceedings in the Merciless Parliament are not incompatible with the story of a deposition. Business was begun by

¹ *Rot. Parl.*, III., 248-249.

² *Ibid.*, 431. Gloucester was said to have admitted to Rickhill at Calais that *Le Roy parla a luy de Monsieur Simond de Burley, et le dit Duk respondi a Roy, et disoit a luy, que s'il voloit estre Roy covient estre perfourne et fait.*

a solemn declaration by the appellants that they had never imagined or consented to the death of the king. Favent represents Gloucester as demanding, through Speaker Plessington, an opportunity to clear himself of the charge of treason. The Chancellor's reply to him is strangely worded: *Domine dux, ex quo oriundus excuteras de tam digna stirpe regali et ita proximus reperimini ei in linea collateralis non suspicabatur de vobis talia ymaginari.* The concluding scene of the parliamentary session is still more significant. After a solemn mass and sermon in Westminster Abbey, in the presence of the lords and commons, the king renewed his coronation oath and the lords spiritual and temporal *ea quae domino regi solebant in sua coronatione praestare cum omni subjectione ac grato animo sibi exhibuerunt.*¹ Favent explains this remarkable procedure by saying it was done partly because the king had taken the oath *in minori etate* and partly *propter cordium scrupulas et titubaciones tam penes regem quam penes proceres evellendas et evitandas. . . .* It may be that the repetition of the coronation oath was itself the cause of a later legend of deposition. If this be so, it is remarkable that it should have dropped almost out of knowledge only to be discovered again in a form that fits neatly into place with other evidence. But if, as we think, the story be true, it is easy to understand that both Richard and his enemies—he for his prestige and they from fear—would combine to check its circulation and force it into oblivion.

NOTE C.

NEPHANDUS CULPEPER DE CANCIA NOMINATUS JAK STRAWE.

Jak Strawe is obviously a "masonic" name, like Piers Plowman, and it is possible that we have here a clue to the family and social standing of Wat Tyler. Culpeper or Colepepir is a well-known Kentish name; the family had estates on the Medway, where a fourteenth-century bridge crosses the river at Aylesford between Rochester and Maidstone. One Walter Colepepir died in 1326-27, seised of lands in Aylesford, East and West Farleigh and other

¹ Higden, IX., 183; Favent, 24. Cf., Harleian MS. *iterato recoronant.*

villages on the Medway, both north and south of Maidstone (Hasted, *Kent*, III., 174). His descendants, Thomas and John, sat on various commissions in Kent in Richard II.'s reign ; a John Colepepir served Gaunt as constable of Pevensey Castle and master forester of Ashdown Chase (*Register*, 279, 701). An entry on the close rolls (*C.C.R.*, p. 778, 8 Feb., 1381), names a Walter Colepepere as witness, with John Colepepir of Farleigh, to a charter quit claiming the manor of Cobham. The patent roll at almost exactly the same time (*C.P.R.*, p. 629, 15 Feb., 1381), records the appointment of Walter Colepepere as one of nine commissioners appointed to survey all ports in the hundreds of Hoo, Shamele and Totyngtrowe, Kent, where galleys, barges or other vessels might enter, and to guard against invasion by repair and construction of piles and trenches. The hundred of Hoo lies north of Rochester in the dreary, almost empty peninsula between the Thames and the Medway ; it is opposite Canvey Island and the marsh villages of Fobbing and Corringham where the revolt in Essex began. No later reference to Walter Colepepere can be traced in the official records.

It is, perhaps, fanciful to connect this seemingly respectable Walter Colepepere with Wat Tyler, though the coincidence of his Christian name, the association of the Culpepper family with the district round Maidstone where Tyler first appeared and his own association with the district which could most easily communicate with the Essex rebels are remarkable enough to deserve attention. It should also be noted that the jurors of three Kentish hundreds later declared that Tyler was born in Essex ; this runs counter to all other evidence, and it may be that his connection with the no man's land opposite Fobbing was the cause of the confusion. According to the *Anonimale Chronicle* a valet at Smithfield recognised Tyler as the greatest thief of Kent, and Froissart, who had some detailed knowledge of the revolt, describes how he was identified as a disbanded soldier by Sir John Newton, constable of Rochester Castle. The little we know of Tyler is not incompatible with the suggestion that he was an unruly cadet or hanger-on of the Culpepper family. The information might have come to Dieulacres through Matthew de Swettenham, a Cheshire yeoman of the king's chamber who was granted maintenance for life at the abbey in January, 1383 (*C.P.R.*, p. 418). If the suggestion is rejected, we are confronted with a

Culpepper leader of the rebels whose name does not appear in any narrative, indictment or pardon.

NOTE D.

THE CHESHIRE GUARD.

These squires have Cheshire names and their history can be traced in the entries on the close and patent rolls and in Reports 31 and 36 of the Deputy Keeper. Nearly all were officials in Cheshire and in 1397-98 they were drawn more closely to the king by special gifts and grants. John de Leigh del Bothes submitted to Henry at Shrewsbury (*Evesham* p. 154; Report 36, p. 292) and John Downe a fortnight later in Cheshire (Report 36, p. 154). Henry evidently tried to win the Guard over to his side. In his first Parliament the Commons petitioned that the great sums of gold and silver delivered by Richard to "Esquiers Maestres del Wache de Chestreshire" should be repaid and he replied that they could not make repayment, but would serve him for a certain time at their own expense (Oct. 1399, *Rot. Parl.* III., 439). Bostock, Beston, Cholmondeley, Halford and Leigh probably took part in the disturbances in Cheshire early in 1400, as they were exempted from a general pardon in May of that year (*C.P.R.* 286). Cholmondeley drops out of the records at this point. All the others, except Davenport and including Downe, were out with Hotspur in 1403 and either were killed at Shrewsbury or forfeited their estates.

Peter or Perkin de Leigh was not an officer in the Cheshire Guard, but he was the kinsman of one of them and was evidently regarded as the leader of the king's party in the county. His estates lay round Macclesfield, not far from Dieulacres (Ormerod, *Cheshire*, III., 671 ff.), and he held various important appointments in the Palatinate. He was bailiff of the manor of Macclesfield in 1382 (Report 36, p. 286) and almost until the end of the reign justice in eyre for Macclesfield. His great prestige in the county and with the *vernaculos* of the Guard is, illustrated by a passage from the Kenilworth Chronicle compiled by John Strecche (*Additional MS.* 35295):—

f. 260. Verumtamen Rex Ricardus anno regni sui XIX^o. proceres et valectos de comitatu Cestrie sibi sic adstuit [*sic*] et ut confidentissimos et carissimos in custodiam sui corporis deputavit pre omnibus aliis regni.

sui per vigiliis diurnas atque nocturnas ita ut sub eorum tutela securius ac quiescius ut putavit ubique respiraret: quos sue salutis conseruatores veresimiliter existimauit. Hii namque in curia regis Ricardi pre ceteris tantum favebantur ita quod nullus officarius ausus fuerat quod petebant in aliquo denegare. Et in tantam familiaritatem domino regi annectebantur ut eidem in materna lingua audacter confabularentur "Dycun, slep sicury quile we wake, and dreed nouzt quile we lyve sestow: ffor zif thow haddest weddet Perkyn douzter of Lye thow mun well halde a love day with any man in Chester schire in ffaith."¹ Ecce quomodo nimia familiaritas parit contemptum maxime in populo stulto et insipienti.

A local tradition supporting the Dieulacres attitude to his death and opposing that of Usk (p. 27) is preserved in the church of S. Michael, Macclesfield. A brass in the Leigh Chapel is inscribed:—

Here lyeth the bodie of Perkin a Leigh
That for King Richard the dethe did die,
Betrayed for righteousnesse;
And the bones of Sr Peers his sonne,
That with King Henry the Fifth did wonne,
In Paris.²

CHRONICLE OF DIEULACRES ABBEY, 1381-1403.

GRAY'S INN MS. NO. 9.

[f. 143.] Anno³ domini millesimo CCC^{mo} LXXXI^o plebani Cancie Estsex' et aliarum parcium regni vi oppressi inter quos specialiter nominabant sibi duces magna excitacione ut dictum est cuiusdam sacerdotis nephandi Iohannis B., lak Strawe,⁴ Per Plowman et ceteri nitentes iura et consuetudines regni destruere inter quos principaliter bondagium affectantes nativos omni iugo servitutis exui liberos esse ut eorum domini. Quod quidem facturi timor multitudinis coadunati ultra modum circa festum corporis Christi⁵ LX milia communium inter vicum dictum le Millesende et turrim London' convenerunt. Rex Ricardus petita coactus concessit ne rabies iniquorum plurimos procerum et ministrorum legis deleret. Sane dicti satellites per ante

¹ Cf. *Traison*, p. 293, note 1.

² D. and S. Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 1810, p. 728.

³ The editors would like to express their warmest thanks to the Benchers of Gray's Inn, and to Lord Merrivale, the Master of the Library, for granting the fullest opportunities to examine the MSS. of the Inn, and for permission to print this extract from MS. No. 9.

⁴ See note C, pp. 39-41.

⁵ 13 June.

Symonem de Sudbury archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et cancellarium domini regis fratrem Robertum Hales priorem de Clerkenwell cum nonnullis aliis extra turrim London' decapitabant verumptamen per ante multos senescallos iureperitos et ballivos combustis rotulis libris statutorum et extractibus cur[ie] ubique inventis interfecerunt. Interim ille nephandus Culpeper de Cancia nominatus Jak Strawe nulla reverencia regi facta nec capucium deposuit regem minatur bulla regia optata confirmari quod pre timore multitudinis licet invitus concessit. Erat enim cum rege nobilis civis London' Willelmus Walworthe intuens dictum maleficum dominum regem sic inquietare extracto cultello coram rege eum interfecit. Ceteris vero rex parcens terga vertendo sparsim fugerunt.

Verumptamen Iohannes de Gaunt tunc dux Lancastrie ea tempestate formidine communium insurgencium in Scociam fugam tulit et ibidem latuit. Et cum sedata [Col. 2] fuisset tumultuacio ad suas partes reversus licet maneria diversa cum manerio suo de Saveye London' rebelles funditus evertissent culpam ut dictum est condonando pro eorum delictis a rege veniam impetravit.¹

Anno domini etc. LXXXII^o terre motus factus est universalis per totam Angliam feria iii^a² ebdomada Pentecostes immediate post horam nonam.

Hoc anno venit generalis absolucio a summo pontifice Urbano VI^o de pena et culpa omnibus qui sua largirent vel in propria persona venirent in obsequium dicti patris contra scismaticos adherentes Roberto xii apostolorum Clementis vocati Antipapa. Quo anno multi ecclesiastici omnium statuum religionum cum proceribus et valentibus mense Aprilis³ Flandriam navigaverunt Inter quos capitaneus et dux ex auctoritate pape dominus Henricus Spencer episcopus Norwicensis erat. Erant autem Willelmus Elmeham et Willelmus Faryngton milites constabularius et marescallus. Fuerunt eciam in dicto exercitu

¹ This statement may be connected with a conspiracy for a second revolt in Kent which came to a head on 30 September, 1381. A conspirator who turned informer said that pilgrims coming to Canterbury *extra patriam del north* spread the rumour that Lancaster had emancipated all his *nativos* throughout England: the conspirators agreed, if the story was true, to make the duke their lord and king (*Coram Rege Rolls, 5 Ric. II., Kent Arch. Soc., vol iv., 1861.*) ² Wednesday, 28 May. *Recte 21 May.*

³ The Norwich expedition did not set sail until 17 May (*Polychronicon, ix. 18*).

strenui milites Hugo de Calverley, Thomas Fog[es] Willelmus Bruyz¹ cum multis aliis quasi duces et propugnatores. Ceperunt villam de Gravenynge et Dunkirke occisis L^a milibus Flandrensiū mediante villa de Gaunt Iprum obsiderunt, multa spolia per Anglicos in naves collecta. Sed episcopus bona cum navibus fecit concremare ne naviganti regi Francie cum magna classe cederent. Qui accepit villam de Burbrigge ab Anglicis preoccupatam sub condicione quod sani cum suis abscederent: sicque perempto proposito paucis Anglis perditis vacui ad sua remearunt.

Anno domini etc. LXXXVII^o reperti sunt quidam vocati proditores London' inter quos Nicholaus Brembhull et [*f. 143^v.*] Symon Bureley milites decapitantur quamvis iniuste quia tenuerunt cum domino suo rege iusto unde postea multe tribulaciones iustorum etc. Preterea repertus est Iohannes Tresilyan miles et iusticiarius per dominum Thomam ducem Glovernie qui in habitu heremitis diu latuit. Hic vero affilatam sibi barbam fecerat ut dictum fuerit et glutinnie secretissime contextam capite est plexus.²

Hoc anno suscitata fuit magna distensio inter innocentem regem Ricardum et coherentes sibi ex una parte et Thomam ducem Glovernie et alios multos ex malicia confederatos ex orientalibus et diversis partibus regni coadunatos ex altera ob causam Roberti Veer comitis Oxonie qui uxorem suam filiam Isabelle sororis dicti ducis expellebat et favente altera parte aliam extraneam de Boemia ancillam Anne regine et patriotam nomine Launchechrone³ apud Cestriam sibi copulavit propter quod factum dictus dux cum nonnullis aliis et manu forti orientalium in die sancti Thome apostoli⁴ anno supradicto insultavit dictum comitem cum sua comitiva versus London' regi properantem qui assidens

¹ William Bruyz may have come from Bruera or Churton Heath, 8 miles S.E. of Chester and 10 miles W. of Calverley Hall. Thomas Fog [Fogg, Foger] was a Kentish knight who represented the county in the parliaments of 1378-84 inclusive (*Cal. Close Rolls*, pp. 221, 497; 107, 291, 414, 600).

² Cf. *Camden Miscellany*, xiv. 17.

³ Agnes Lancecrona, damsel of the queen's chamber, was abducted from de Vere by John Banastre of Faringdon in Lancashire and William Stanley of the Wirral, Cheshire (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1389-92, p. 20). There is no evidence for the divorce of de Vere's wife, Philippa de Coucy, granddaughter of Edward III.; the Westminster chronicler (*Polychronicon*, ix., p. 95) describes the relationship with Lancecrona as *in coniugem nefarie*. Cf. Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, ii., p. 160. The fact that de Vere brought her to Chester is new.

⁴ 21 December, *recte* 20 December.

bonum equum per aquam Tamysie aufugit ab eis et sic eorum minas viriliter evasit Domino favente.

Preterea iusticiarius Cestrie Thomas Molyneres¹ qui sepius habuit in mandatis tam per brevia regia quam per secretas litteras anulo regio signatas dictum comitem regi securius conducere ibidem capitur cum multis aliis et per Thomam de Mortuo Mari per letale vulnus in capite obiit. Ceteri vero occidentales spoliati nudi quoque dimissi fugerunt. Que arestacio facta fuit apud Radecotebrugge ubi coadiutores fuerunt dicto duci Glovernie Henricus dux Herford, Thomas comes Warwyc', [Col. 2] Ricardus comes Arundell et Thomas Mowbray comes de Notyngham vel dux Norfolch et alii cum predictis pro muneribus confederatis. Sed absurdum est servum vel subditum contra suum dominum esse rebellem. Sed quia nullum malum erit impunitum deus cor regis illustravit ut predictos rebelles quodammodo puniret unde secrete in aurora diei anno domini M^o CCC^{mo} XCV^{to}² venit iste iustus rex cum suis familiaribus ad manerium Thome ducis Glovernie in Essex Plasshee dictum et arestavit eum et Calisie misit incarcerandum et ibidem obiit qua morte deus scit, iusto rege non consenciente quamvis multi nephandi et filii mendacii ex malicia propria vel ex suggestione diabolica regem innocentem de morte et relegacione dictorum dominorum maliciose accusarunt. Sed origo istius materie imposterum exquisite et plane scietur quis fuit causa dictorum mortis et exulii. Insuper comes Warwyc' exulavit in insulam de Man atque alii diversimode diversis custodiis custodiri relegantur.

Anno domini millesimo CCC^{mo} XC^o VI^o³ una magna aula nova facta fuit apud Westmonasterium in qua iudicatus est Ricardus comes Arundell per Iohannem ducem Lancastrie ut caput plecteretur; qui sepultus est London³ in choro fratrum Augustiniorum. Ventilabatur

¹ Cf. Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, II., p. 168. Thomas Molyneux was deputy justice of Chester, 1381-87 (*Deputy Keeper's Reports*, 31, pp. 347, 441). Thomas Mortimer was appealed of treason with Gloucester, Arundel and Warwick in 1397 (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 351), no doubt for his conduct in 1387-88. Adam of Usk (p. 19) says he was the uncle of the Earl of March, but as his name does not appear in Mortimer pedigrees he was probably illegitimate (*ibid.*, p. 159, note). The Westminster Chronicler (*Polychronicon*, IX., p. 113) states that Mortimer slew Molyneux during the parley at Witney.

² Recte 1397.

³ Recte 1397.

fama inter vulgares caput corpori redintegrari ob quam causam in assistencia ducis Surrye existimatur iussu regis quod minime verum fuit quia Iohannes dux Lancastrie ivit inter corpus et suum caput iterum una cum capite dicte sepulture traditur.¹ Traditur de istis tribus scilicet Thoma Glovernie duce, Thoma comite Warwyc' et Ricardo comite Arundell' quidam sic ait

Nunc vulpis cauda vigila dum volat alaunda
Ne rapidus pecus simul rapietur et equus

Hoc de duce dicebatur qui caudam vulpis² [f. 144] in lancea ferre solebat. "Rapidus pecus" est ursus quem armigeri Warwyc' gestare consueverunt. "Equum" vero generosi comitis Arundell' deferunt.

Alius loquitur de punitione regis et nescit quid dicit quia manifeste mendacia scripsit et hoc evidenter patebit alias cum deo placebit quia scriptura dicit "quem diligo castigo." Et Bridlington dicit,

Et castigabit in mundo quem decorabit.

Anno domini millesimo CCC^{mo} XC^o VII^o³ anno videlicet regis Ricardi secundi XX^o fuit suscitata magna briga inter Henricum ducem Herford et Thomam Mowbray ducem Northfolch ob quibusdam consiliis inter eos motis et cum palam fierent a dicto Thoma negatis unde per dictum Henricum appellatur ad duellum unde apud Covynt' in die sancte Eufemie virginis⁴ cum duellare cepissent rex autem pacem statim proclamabat et sine cede dimissi abcesserunt. Et data fuit eis sententia videlicet ut Henricus dux exul esset ab Anglia X annis, alter vero Thomas imperpetuum. Postea in die translacionis sancti Edwardi Confessoris⁵ supradictus Henricus comitantibus secum paucis transfretavit in Franciam cum litteris regalibus regi Francie deprecatoriis cuius filiam Isabellam mortua Anna prima uxore rex Ricardus desponsavit.

Eodem anno circa festum Purificacionis Beate Marie⁶ mortuo Iohanne duce Lancastrie patre dicti Henrici et sepulto Leycestr' in collegio dicto le Newerke quod fundavit bone memorie Henricus

¹ Cf. *Annales Ricardi Secundi (Rolls Series, in Trokelowe)*, pp. 218-219; Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, pp. 39, 194.

² Cf. Wright, *Political Poems (Rolls Series)*, I., pp. 226, 420.

³ Recte 1398.

⁴ 16 September, 1398; not the day of St. Euphemia the virgin but of SS. Euphemia, Lucianus, and Germanianus M.M.

⁵ 13 October.

⁶ 2 February, recte 3 February.

quondam dux Lancastrie pater Blanchie matris supradicti Henrici ducis Herford' misit idem exulatus, ut quidam dicunt, regi Ricardo litteras placabiles rationabili legacione ut subsidium patrimonii tempore relegacionis sue gracie sibi concederet ; nec concessit rex cum consilio eidem in aliquibus subvenire distributis vero universis terris et mobilibus fiscatis [*Col. 2*] usque ad animalia que erant in quatuor forestis in partibus Lancastrie.¹ Rex vero magnam classem versus Hiberniam dirigebat. Demum ut quidam dicunt rex suo consilio fulcitus tam Iohannem ducem mortuum quam Henricum eius filium in exilio positum imperpetuum relegavit et bannivit ac per universum regnum id acclamari fecit feceruntque quidam albas cartas per omnes comitatus regni sigillari tam per ecclesiasticos quam per seculares et omnes iurare fideliter observare que in eis scribenda forent unde malam famam duri bondagii futuri in tota communitate populi ventilabant.

Rex vero in Hiberniam applicans modicum profuit quia inimici eius et regni latenter et furtive ipso absente in regnum Anglie super-
venerunt et suos ministros interfecerunt et ipsum regem innocentem
verbis blandis pacem quasi tractando ipsum fraudilenter circumvenerunt.
De hoc dicit Bridlinton

Porci flandrenses non cedent Angligenenses	}	versus ²
Falsi sunt penses cum possint impetuenses		
Pacem tractabant sed fraudes subtus arabunt		
Nam fient falsi fideles sint nisi salsi.		

Anno domini millesimo CCC^o XCIX^o anno regni regis Ricardi secundi xxii^o Henricus dux Herford' pausavit in Francia et circa festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste³ levi manu Angliam repecüt, quia absente pastore cum canibus lupus leviter in ovile ovium transcendit, *contra naturam tauri dispergere curam*,⁴ ut dixit, ius sue hereditatis vendi-

¹ Letters patent allowing Henry of Lancaster to take up inheritances by attorney, with respite of homage and fealty were issued on 3 October, 1398 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 425) and cancelled by the parliamentary committee on 18 March, 1399 (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 372). Numerous entries on the patent and close rolls show that the Lancastrian estates were not confiscated, but merely held "until Henry . . . or his heir shall have sued the same out of the king's hand according to the law . . ." (e.g. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 563, 8 May, 1399). The forests of Lancashire were Bowland and Blackburnshire, the latter divided into Pendle, Trawden, Accrington, and Rossendale (Whitaker, *History of Whalley*).

² Wright, *Political Poems*, I., p. 204.

³ 24 June.

⁴ Wright, *Political Poems*, I., p. 195, from John of Bridlington.

caturus et Thomas Arundell archiepiscopus cantuariensis cum eorum fautoribus contra eorum iuramentum venerunt. Et quia ut dicit Philippus similia similibus applaudunt, omnes vispilones latrones et qui antea fuerunt exulati per adventum istius ducis ad pacem sive cartis regeis sive nummo sunt revocati; et universa castella fere per totam Angliam diversis cautelis¹ dictorum ad opus ducis capta et occupata fuerunt. Convenerunt [*f. 144^o*] illi boriales et de partibus Lancastrie, Derbeie et Stafford multi nobiles et in bellis audaces, ita ut cum manu forti per medium Anglie transeundo fideles quasi proditores insequentes, exercitus velut arena maris in dies crescebat. Demum in castello Bristollie Willelmus Scroupe comes Wiltonie captus et decapitatus est. Item Henricus Grene, Iohannes Busshy eadem pena interierunt quia cum iusto rege tenuerunt.² Abinde revertentes per Gloverniam, Herford', Lemysteriam, Ludlowe cum Salopie appropinquasset in eius exercitu ultra ducentena milia universorum plures pravorum quam bonorum fuisse referuntur. Sicque consiliatur versus Cestriam quia omnes fere odium contra Cestrenses habuerunt, "Havok" super eam et eius comitatum proclamato transire.³

Cum vero rumores de rege Ricardo se non audivisse nec manu forti resistere valuisse eo quod universi fines Anglie post eum abierunt, tunc quidam veritati emuli cuius nomina ad presens referre nolo se duci predicto reddiderunt et claves per verba optulerunt quia hii de nostro ovili non fuerunt.⁴ Preterea dux predictus cum exercitu suo in vigilia sancti Laurentii⁵ ad civitatem Cestrie devenit, et deus scit quo animo a civibus receptus. Pace vero concessa et ad altam crucem proclamata, ne occiderent, incenderent seu spoliarent nec quicquam

¹ Cf. *Traison et Mort*, p. 180, note 2.

² 29 July (*Rot. Parl.* III., 656). The monk of Evesham (*Vita Ricardi*, p. 153) says Scrope and the rest were tried "coram iudicibus viz. constabulario et marescallo," but Aumarle and Surrey were then Constable and Marshal and they were with Richard II. Henry himself may have presided over the trials as Steward.

³ Cf. Archbishop Scrope's manifesto against Henry IV.: "clamando havok, fideles homines . . . quosdam spoliavit, quosdam miserabili et incensabili et turpissima morte condemnavit et occidit . . ." (*Historians of the Church of York, Rolls Series*, II., p. 246).

⁴ A reference to the desertion of the regent York, who joined Henry at Berkeley Castle in the last week of July (*Annales Ricardi Secundi, Rolls Series in Trokelowe*, p. 246: *Vita Ricardi*, p. 152).

⁵ 9 August.

acciperent nisi victualias ibi et iumentis proclamari fecit. Isti vispilioes contrarium facientes tam infra civitatem quam extra magna spolia accipientes circumquaque totam patriam depredaverunt et furtive secum abduxerunt, vinumque excussitis doliorum capitibus effuderunt, thesaurum vero et universa in terra abscondita ubique abstulerunt. Annonam vero devastabant, [*Col. 2*] pecudes senes et iuvenes in campis et pascuis occiderunt et ibidem quasi cadavera iacere permiserunt: scalas, cistas, herpicas et alia utensilia agricolis necessaria in domibus ruralibus ubique combusserunt et propterea maledictionem dei incurrerunt et cet.

Quo in tempore caput Petri de Legh iudicio ducis sine causa est abscissum et super portam orientalem Cestrie positum cuius anime propicietur Deus. Et corpus sepelitur in ecclesia fratrum Carmelitorum Cestrie.¹ In anno vero sequente communibus insurgentibus contra magnates propter tallagium caput cum corpore sepelitur.²

Eodem anno circa festum Advincula sancti Petri³ rex Ricardus in Hibernia audiens insurrectionem ducis predicti prodiciose festinantem diu per insanum consilium impeditus fuit, donec eius adversarius totum regnum contra ipsum suscitaverit, tandem transmeavit et ad Caermethyn devenit in Wallia dispersoque exercitu pauci cum rege permanserunt. Habuit quidem rex predictus vij^{tem} armigeros valentes et generosos de comitatu Cestrie et cuilibet eorum circa octoginta vernaculos electos specialiter deputatos, excubias regis cum magnis securibus custodientes. Nomina vero eorum hec sunt—Iohannes de Legh del Bothes, Thomas Cholmeley, Rauf Davenport, Adam Bostok, Iohannes Downe, Thomas Bestone, Thomas Holford. Isti vero signa regalia in scapulis album cervum quasi resurgentem deferebant. Ab eis siquidem mala fama extorcionum in populo ventilabatur. Ob quam rem rex innocens in odium suorum communium letaliter sine merito inciderat.⁴

Insuper, ut dictum est, cum rex audiret de copioso exercitu ducis et quasi mundus totus post eum abiit media nocte comitantibus solum-

¹ See note D, pp. 41-2 above.

² There was evidently some disturbance in Cheshire in connexion with the Holland rising, as the Council minutes refer to the rising of the Earls of Kent and Salisbury and of the men of Cheshire (Nicholas, *Proceedings*, vol. I., p. 109, February, 1400).

³ 1 August.

⁴ See note D, pp. 41-2.

modo [f. 145] xv de familiaribus secreta exivit ad castra de Hardelagh, de Caernarvan, de Beaumarrys et de Conway, et in istis, nunc in uno, nunc in alio prestolabatur. Mane autem surgens senescallus domus regie innuens eis regem recessisse virgamque fregit deceptorie et ut quilibet se ipsum salvaret monuit. Sicque dispersi fere sunt omnes, a Wallensibus spoliati unusquisque cum labore ad sua remeabat.¹

Interea dux regem audiens apud Conway prestolari misit legacionem ut se sponte duci tunc Anglie senescallo iure hereditario et communibus secure presentarent. Tunc per mediacionem precipue archiepiscopi cantuariensis et comitis Northamhimbrorum et super sacramentum corporis Christi iurati quod rex Ricardus staret in suo regali potestate et dominio promiserunt. Et in hac condicione triduo postea ad eos spontanea voluntate se transmisit et cum aliis condicionibus minime retentis sed omnibus in nichilum redactis apud castrum de Flynt simul obviaverunt. Tunc pulcra promissa defecerunt quia suum dominum quasi [Col. 2] captivum vel servum tractaverunt: sicque per Cestriam et eius comitatum versus London' properabant. Tunc quidem erant signa regalia tam cervi quam corone sub abscondito posita, unde creditur quod armigeri ducis Lancastrie deferentes collistigia quasi leporarii² ad destruendum insolentiam invise bestie albi cervi per annum presignati sunt quodam presagio futurorum.

Quo etiam anno in festo sancti Michelis³ archangeli factum est parliamentum apud London ubi intimatum erat regi pro eius depositione in quantis tam proceres quam plebani eum accusare disponebant. Unde ne parliamentum intraret humiliter, ut dictum est, rogavit; et corona regni super humo posita Deo ius suum resignavit.⁴

Eodem anno circa festum Epiphanie⁵ domini conspirabant quidam adversus regem Henricum non immerito ut occideretur, Thomas dux Surrye, comes Cancie qui capite est plexus nesciente rege Henrico in villa sua a suis proditoribus apud Surecestr',⁶ item comes Sar' et fidelis miles Rauf Lomney cum multis aliis nobilissimis personis similiter decapitantur. Et dux Exon' frater regis Ricardi apud Plasshee fraudilenter est occisus. Verumptamen rex Henricus fuisset per eos

¹ Space of about 16 lines between this and the next paragraph.

² Cf. Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, p. 173 and note 2.

³ 29 September.

⁴ Space of about 8 lines between this and the next paragraph.

⁵ 6 January.

⁶ Cirencester.

et alios subito occisus nisi esset premunitus per Edwardum ducem de Amarle. [f. 145^v.]

Eodem anno Ricardo nobili rege iniuriose sic deposito a suis subditis diversis temporibus periuratis in castro de Pontefracto in custodia detentus cum necem propinquiorum suorum audiret doluit, ut fertur, usque ad mortem relictoque cibo et potu penitus per xii dies languescens deo animam suam commendavit in die sancti Valentini¹ martiris cuius corpus ductum est abhinc usque London in omni villa facie discooperta visui omni palam patuit. Tandem in choro fratrum predicatorum de Langley humatur.

Adeptus culmen regiminis prefatus rex Henricus multa multis promisit et a diversis dona iuste data abstulit et aliis vispilionibus dedit. Ulterius ascolta qualiter quosdam de suis coadiutoribus remuneravit, quia comitem² Northumbrie filium et fratrem pro mercede decapitavit. Inter cetera dominum Thomam de Arundell quem alter fugavit exulem sedi sue archipresulatus Cantuariensis restituit. Et sic facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus quia uterque eorum erat periuratus. Alium quem prefatus Ricardus rex instituit Rogerum Waldene iure sede relicta ad sua redire coegit. Ricardum de Bello Campo comitem Warwyc' a relegacione ab insula de Man omnibus iuribus suis evocavit multosque patrie pacificando reduxit.

Iste commentator in locis quampluribus vituperat commendanda et commendat vituperanda et hoc est magnum vicium in scripturis et maxime in strenuis personis quando aliquis scribit de eis enormia per aliorum loquelam et non per veram noticiam sicut in copia multa fuerunt scripta minus vera et hoc scio pro certo quia in multis locis interfui et vidi et propterea veritatem novi. Sed multi propter adulacionem invidiam seu iram opera aliorum detestantur cum minime sciunt utrum vituperanda sunt vel non nisi per relacionem aliorum qui forsitan erant adversarii predictorum. Nam quilibet

¹ 14 February.

² The MS. reads *comitē*, but the form of the sentence, as well as chronological difficulties (above p. 9) suggests that the true reading is *comitis*. Hotspur and the Earl of Worcester were beheaded after the battle of Shrewsbury (the former after death): the Earl of Northumberland was killed at the battle of Bramham Moor (19 February, 1408) and, like his son, beheaded after death (Walsingham, *Hist. Anglic.*, II., p. 278: Davies, *Chronicle of Camden Society*, 1856, p. 34).

Christianus ex iure divino tenetur mori pro veritate citius quam eam negare quia qui veritatem negat Deum negat quia Deus est veritas. Ideo ex hoc sequitur quod qui detestatur opera viri iusti et fidelis in hoc nititur contradicere veritati, id est, Deo; et sic ex hoc patet quis sapere quid hic scriptor videtur sentire et cet [*Col. 2*].

Eodem anno in parlamento superius notato Henricus primogenitus regis Henrici de Hibernia ductus, qui quidem Henricus per regem Ricardum ibidem in segura custodia fuerat reclusus ordinatus est heres apparens regni, princeps Wallie, dux Cornubie, et comes Cestrie.

Anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} quidam maleficus et rebellis cum suis complicibus Wallencium de genere Britonum cuius siquidem nomen Owinus de Glyndour erat, figens se iure progenitorum suorum principem Wallie fore villas angligenas in Wallia, scilicet, Conway, Ruthyn, Oswaldistr' et alias tam muratas quam nudas, spoliavit et incendit. Quequidem terra Wallie tempore regis Edwardi primi conquesta fore dinoscitur.

Circa idem tempus stella comata apparuit in borialibus partibus Anglie. Que comata sintillas vertebat versus Walliam; et quidam estimant dictam cometam pronosticare bellum Salopie.

Eodem anno Reginaldus Grey dominus de Ruthyn non longe a castro dolo et fraude Wallencium et precipue domus sue captus est et fere per biennium in arta custodia positus, ultro pro x milibus librarum redemptus est.¹

Eodem anno quidam Wallencium, Willelmus ap Tuder in die Parasceves² hora tenebrarum dolo et fraude, custode absente, Iohanne Massy de Podyngton milite capitaneo castellum de Conway cepit.

Fertur³ siquidem in dicto castello hora supradicta tres Wallicos familiares et duos Anglicos custodes, aliis in servicio divino in ecclesia parochiali occupatis remansisse: sicque Anglicis ab eis subdole occisis, castellum vendicarunt: parvo quoque tempore obsidio fessi, ad festum sancti Iohannis Baptiste⁴ treugis factis et

¹ Adam of Usk, *Chronicon*, pp. 77, 247; *Annales*, p. 338; *Vita Ricardi*, p. 177. All give the year 1402 for Grey's capture. He was ransomed at the end of the same year. (*Annales*, p. 349; *Fœdera*, viii., p. 279. ² 1 April, 1401. Cf. Adam of Usk, pp. 60, 226.

³ Space of 2 or 3 lines between this and the preceding entry.

⁴ 24 June, 1401. Cf. Wylie, Henry IV., i., 217.

pace concessa omnibus octo exceptis in manum principis reddiderunt.¹
[f. 146.]

Anno domini millesimo CCCCI^o Owinus iuxta le Pole² primo spoliatus contra Anglicos super undam Sabrine dimicavit suisque letaliter lesis et multis interfectis atque galea de capite proiecta sero profugit ab eis. Sed discreti reputant demenciam quando quis una manu percutit alteram. Sicque rex Henricus et princeps Henricus diversis temporibus cum manu forti Walliam pergirantes omnia devastabant, quia in primeva fundacione † circa ea † modicum laborabant.³ Illi vero rebelles semper fugiendo latuerunt in montibus, boscis, et cavernis terre, semper machinantes caudam anglicorum perimere.

Hiis temporibus Anglici multa bona et precipue bestiarum omnium generum quasi infinitam multitudinem abduxerunt, ut putaretur quasi impossibile tanta bona in tam modica plaga principaliter bestiarum accreari.⁴ Sed mira res, licet tempus esset clarum et tranquillum nunquam habuerunt, cum ibi essent amenum tempus ante reversionem sed inundacionem tonitruum, grandinem et precipue tempore estivali. Sed hoc non videtur difficile ex sortilegio contingere quod putatur fieri per magos Owini et non est impossibile per potestatem im-mundorum spirituum aerem commoveri; sed quampluribus discretis videbatur quod causa dictarum tempestatum principaliter fuit quia predicti iustum titulum contra eos non habuerunt: ideo proposito pene semper caruerunt et in vanum sepius laboraverunt etc.⁵

Eodem anno in die sancti Albani⁶ in loco qui dicitur Pilale⁷ Wallici fraude circumvenerunt Anglicos interficientes ex eis mille

¹ Space of 2 or 3 lines at the foot of the column.

² Welshpool.

³ The text seems to be corrupt. Perhaps *circa ea modicum laborabant*.

⁴ Mr. Charles Johnson (whom we should like to thank for help in fixing the text) suggests that this word is a back formation from *creare*, meaning "to destroy."

⁵ The English chroniclers show a certain sympathy for Glendower, calling him *armiger formosus* (*Vita Ricardi*, p. 171), *armiger non ignobilis* (*Annales*, p. 333), and *venerabilem et decentem armigerum* (Giles, *Chronicle*, 1848, p. 20). For the magical devices, cf. *Annales*, p. 343.

⁶ 22 June, 1402.

⁷ Pillith, co. Radnor, near the village of Knighton in the valley of the Teme. Cf. Giles, *Chronicle*, p. 27.

quingentos captoque Edmundo le Mortimere a sua familia, ut dicitur, decepto et cum Owyno converso eius filiam desponsavit et in operatione istius cronice in eodem errore perseveravit.

Anno M^o cccij^o in festo exaltacionis sancte crucis¹ Scoti intraverunt in Angliam predando et devastando circa xvi milia quibus venit obviam Henricus Percy cum bori [Col. 2] alibus apud Homuldonhull et pugnatum est fortiter et ceciderunt ex Scotis et Francigenis circa octo milia et ex Anglicis, ut fertur, nisi quinque homines. Capti siquidem fuerunt mille armati cum quinque comitibus, scilicet, Archibaldo Dowglas, Modrico Her' comite de Fyth, comite de Angus, comite de Orkeneye.² Item, vj barones, scilicet, dominus de Mongomere, dominus Thomas Haskyn, dominus Iohannes Stiward, dominus de Sutton, dominus Willelmus Grame et alius baro cuius nomen a memoria excidit. Isti siquidem fuerunt occisi, dominus de Gordon et dominus Iohannes de Swenton.³

Annò domini M^o cccij^o circa festum translacionis sancti Thome martiris⁴ die lune sequente videlicet VI^o⁵ Idus Iulii, Henricus Percy iusticiarius tunc Cestrie venit per partes Lancastrie cum parva comitiva pacem similans intravit comitatum Cestrie, ibique incitavit diversos in conspiracione contra regem Henricum insurgere; factumque est populo credere Ricardum regem superstitem fore. Quod proclamatum bis in Cestria et in diversis foris comitatus eiusdem fuit proclamatum palam ut qui eum videre affectabant, feria iij^a, scilicet, in die Sancti Kenelmi regis⁶ ultra forestam de Dalamar' apud le Sondyweye, hora vi^a convenirent. Fingebant autem dictum regem Ricardum cum comite Northimbrie et grandi exercitu ibidem convenire. Accelerabat quoque utriusque sexus admirabilis multitudo desideratum eius adventum intueri. Cumque ibidem venisset perspicua multitudo, precipue bellatorum, affuit Henrico Percy. Ricardus vero rex ibidem non comparuit quia nondum venerat tempus eius: sed adhuc *renovabuntur*

¹ 14 September.

² Murdoch Stewart was Earl of Fife. There are therefore only four Earls, the number given in Devon, *Issues*, p. 302: but the *Vita Ricardi*, p. 181 and the *Annales*, p. 346, add the Earl of Moray.

³ Haskyn = Erskine: Sutton = Seton: Swenton = Swinton. The sixth baron was perhaps Adam Foster who acted as spokesman for the prisoners in parliament (*Rot. Parl.*, III., p. 487). The *Vita Ricardi* and the *Annales* name eight barons.

⁴ 9 July.

⁵ Recte v. Id. Iulii.

⁶ 17 July.

castra Veneris.¹ Cum autem defraudati erant a desiderio multitudo inbecillorum utriusque sexus ad sua unusquisque revertebatur. Valentes igitur et belligerosi coacti sunt tam promissis quam [*f. 146^v*] minarum asperitate longius ire² usque Pryceheth ubi regem Ricardum viderent : sed ibidem non fuit inventus. Abinde movebat exercitum validum versus Salopiam iuxta quam die Veneris pernoctabat.

Die lune perantea misit³ litteras amabiles de Notyngham ad Cestriam per reverendum et spectabilem virum religiosum Willelmum fitz William priorem de Bewle⁴ ordinis cartusiensis illum vero dilectum consanguineum nominando et ut ad eum veniret seu propositum suum fideli legacione mitteret affectuose rogabat : et si quid haberet penes eum sufficienter satisfaceret. De quibus predictus ambassiator nullum responsum gaudebit referre. Concilium et legacionem mittit patri comiti Northumbrie per confessorem suum fratrem Robertum Marshall⁵ doctorem in theologia. Ducti siquidem sunt multi cum dicto Henrico licet inviti eius propositum aut actum penitus ignorantes et quamquam reverti vellent coacti sunt progredi.

Sabbato in vigilia sancte Marie Magdalene⁶ cum exercitu grandi quasi LX^a milia virorum ultra flumen Sabrine in campo ultra villam Salopie et pontem de Attingham⁷ monstrabat exercitum incognitum Henrici Percy expectando. Cum autem notum ei fieret regis adventus disposuit exercitum quasi vii milia virorum in campo de Harlescote vocato vulgariter le Oldefelde⁸ a latere aquilonari ville Salopie. Quod cernens rex movit exercitum per vada⁹ prius incolis incognita prosperum iter arripuit sed multis non sic contigit etc., et

¹ Margin *Merl[ini]*. The same quotation is found on the upper margin of f. 142^v. Cf. Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora (Rolls Series)*, I, p. 209.

² Cf. Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I, p. 357. The tenants of Lord Lestrangle were bullied into following Percy (*Patent Rolls*, 4 Henry IV., pt. 2, m. 12).

³ Understand *rex*. The two paragraphs are not consecutive. The king was at Burton-on-Trent on the 17th (*Nicholas, Proceedings*, I, p. 208).

⁴ Beaulieu Abbey, Hants.

⁵ Cf. Ramsay, *Lancaster and York*, I, p. 71. • ⁶ 21 July.

⁷ Attingham Hall (in Atcham) is 4 miles S.E. of Shrewsbury.

⁸ Cf. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature*, p. 36.

⁹ This suggests that the king, who arrived at Shrewsbury on Friday the 20th, made a wide *détour* to the east, covered by the "bosky" hill of Haughmond, and recrossing the river came upon Percy by surprise. Ramsay (*Lancaster and York*, I, p. 60, following Owen and Blakway), supposes the king to have marched north along the Whitchurch road.

subtus monasterium in monte Hamonis¹ in conspectu dicti Henrici aciem ordinavit.

Misit sepius ambassiatores et abbates Salopie et Hamonis et alios ut dictus Henricus a proposito desisteret et quicquid iuste peteret gratanter optineret. Sequens vero rex mitis consilium sapientis quanto magnus es tanto te humilia in omnibus et eciã [Col. 2] scripture dicentis qui effunderit humanum sanguinem effundetur sanguis eius. Cum dictus Henricus cedere nollet, misit rex pacifice per Thomam Percy comitem Wygornie investigans ab eo belli causam et quare adversus eum convenerunt. Qui protinus regi respondit quod causa corone iniuste occupate que iure hereditario filio comitis Marchie cederet. Consiluit² proinde rex discedere sine cede et convenire ad parlamentum non obstante quod specialiter per eos et per proceres electus fuerat; sed probabile signum erat quod Henricus Percy ad hoc non consencit quia in die coronacionis ad festum non incedit quia pro certo ipso invito coronacio facta fuit quia Henricus dux iuravit aliis duobus Henricis super reliquias de Bridlynton quod coronam nunquam affectaret, et tunc dixit si aliquis dignior corona inveniretur libenter cederet; ducatum Lancastrie sibi sufficere fatebatur. Quod nequaquam consentire videbantur, sed coronam sibi reddere aut pro ea pugnare affectabant. Rex vero non obstante proterva eius responsione adhuc ut sepius humanum sanguinem salvare satagens ut cum dicto Henrico duellaret affectans ne plures causa eorum occumberent. Cum vero hoc plane negatum foret et in priori proposito perseverassent ait rex. "Divulgatum mihi esse vestrum nequam consilium. Profiteor quod me vivente in eternum non fiet: disponitis siquidem filios comitis Marchie spurios et Edmundum de Mortuo mari proditorem approbare sicque Henricum Percy vel filium eius iure hereditario uxoris sue in regem coronare." Sicque tractando de pace quod minime concedebatur dies ad horam vesperarum³ declinaverit. Ait quoque rex cum nullo modo a cede vellent quiescere, "Precedat vexillum in nomine Domini." Exercitus quoque regis in tribus aciebus dispositus erat utriusque exercitus pedites obviantes con [f. 147] gressum est fortiter in campo supranominato. Affirma-

¹ The Abbey of Haughmond, 4 miles N.E. of Shrewsbury.

² For these negotiations, see above p. 12.

³ "Shortly after midday the battle was begun" (Wylie, *Henry IV.*, I., p. 362: but the *Annales* (p. 370), say "*diu post meridiem.*")

bant autem qui interfuerunt se nunquam vidisse, nec in cronicis legisse a tempore christianitatis tam acrum¹ bellum in tam parvo tempore nec maiorem stragem quam inibi acciderat.

Comes ergo Staffordie qui primam aciem regis ducebat una cum suis a sagittis Percii interemptus est. Deinde venit rex in secunda acie. Cumque utraque pars fere sagittas expendissent primo hastis secundo securibus et gladiis dimicabant. Prosternuntur multi ex utraque parte. Magna pars exercitus regis scilicet orientalis relicto eo equis cariagiis sociorum assumptis fugerunt. Cumque rex in magno periculo in laciore parte esset supervenit princeps Henricus cum tercia acie et magna valitudine armatorum : conflagabat acriter. Rex vero accepta secure propriis manibus latam viam et magnam stragem in hostibus fecit et multos propriis manibus prosternabat. Nullus vero validis eius ictibus obstare valebat. Ceciditque vexillum Henrici Percy etiam ipse a rege in terram prosternitur. Mortuus Gilbertus Halsall² et multi alii ut ferunt manu regia perimuntur. Et sic occidit Saul mille et David decem milia.

Vix fuerunt arma aliqua illo die que sagittis obstare valebant. Cadebant ex utraque parte plures, fitque grandis et letalis strages quoniam in nostro evo nunquam pictabatur in toto mundo tanta multitudo aceri pugna duarum horarum spacio : armati siquidem intrepidius acriter confligentes ex parte dicti Henrici Percy disconflicti media, laudabiliter acie principis dorsa verterunt. Dei gracia factus est victor campi insequentibus autem eos victoribus multi letaliter occumbant. Denique rex galea capitis deposita viva voce sepius acclamavit ne interficiatis [*Col. 2*] plures hominum meorum. Sicque cessante omnes utriusque partis tam vulnerati quam mortui quasi in momento spoliati sunt et nudi relictii. Ceciderunt in dicto prelio inter v et v milia virorum extra multis diu languentibus³ domoque occumbentibus multi vero mutilacione membrorum patientes superfuerunt. Venerabili princeps Henricus tunc puer quasi XVI annorum graviter vulneratu

¹ *Sic.*

² Gilbert Halsall was a Lancastrian knight who served Richard II. in Ireland for the greater part of the reign. His lands and goods in the Duchy of Lancaster were forfeit by reason of his rebellion (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 252 12 August, 1403). The village of Halsall is three miles west of Ormskirk just off the road from Liverpool to Southport.

³ *Cf. Annales*, p. 370, says that of the wounded *postea perit magna pars languendo.*

st in facie cum sagitta prope narem : dei gracia convaluit.¹ Mortui sunt milites ex parte regis ut dicitur circa xxviii, ex parte vero Henrici Percy circa viii. Sepulti sunt enim in uno sarcofago in eodem campo t qui numeravit retulit mille octingenti xlvij^{tem} extra illis qui aliis locis epulti sunt.

Henricus Percy qui apud Whitchirche fuerat sepultus, in crastino, scilicet, die dominica exhumatus est eiusque corpus Salopie reductum e putaretur a populo vivus evasisse positumque corpus predictum nudum supra unam axem in mola positam in conspectu transeuntium intuentium loquebatur siquidem rex ut sepius ante initium belli Henrico Percy quasi vivo : " Ego apello te in die iudicii de humano sanguine me invito preempto." Die vero lune sequenti dampnati sunt decem² quasi proditores : corpus dicti Henrici quarterizatum sive quadripartitum unumque quarterium Cestriam missum diuque super orientalem portam civitatis pendebatur. Thomas Percy, Richardus Venables baro de Kynderton, Ricardo³ le Vernon baro de Shybroke cum multis aliis tracti, suspensi, et quarterizati sunt. Deditque rex pacem et pacem universis cicius causa metus quam amoris et cet, ut quidam dixerunt.

Explicit tertia pars.

¹ " Qui post bellum cum suis lesis ad castrum veniens Kenill[worth] ibidem curatus erat *per artem medicine*" (*Addit. MS. British Museum, 35295, 263v*).

² These words occur also above, p. 49, l. 9, and are clearly inconsistent with the point of view of the continuator. They may be one of the glosses referred to on p. 7. Cf. below *cicius causa metus quam amoris*.

³ MS. *sic*.

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