

KNIGHTON'S  
CHRONICLE

1337–1396

HENRY KNIGHTON

EDITED AND TRANSLATED

BY

G. H. MARTIN

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## PREFACE

EDITING a chronicle is marginally less exacting than writing one. The rewards are much the same, though over the centuries the advantage probably lies, and not unjustly, with those who died of composing rather than of criticising. Both occupations accumulate obligations with every other word, and especially from acts of kindness by long-suffering friends, the tale of which could readily match the finished text. Having tried, at the risk of officiousness, to determine some of Henry Knighton's debts, it is a relief to acknowledge some of my own, though there are others unnumbered.

Like many other fortunate people I was introduced to Knighton's chronicle by Vivian Hunter Galbraith, and under that inexhaustible stimulus I suggested some years later to Professor Christopher Brooke (whom I also first met in Galbraith's company) that I should edit it. He encouraged the notion with characteristic warmth, and even urged me on, but I was not able to undertake the work until I left the Public Record Office in 1988. In 1989 I had the advantage of spending a semester in Toronto, where, living in Massey College, and with the resources of the Robarts Research Library, and the Humanities Computing Centre there, on the doorstep, I could not have asked for a better start.

On returning to England I was grateful for the opportunity of working in the School of Library, Archive, and Information Studies in University College, London, a perfect hive of word-processing, where much of the text took shape. Besides those institutions I have had much help in and from many others: from the Bodleian Library and the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, DM Zerner-Recherche and the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, Lambeth Palace Library, Lincolnshire Archives, the Rijksarchief Gelderland, Arnhem, Tullie House, Carlisle, from colleagues in Merton College, Oxford, and in the University of Essex and its library, and from former colleagues in the Public Record Office. I have been able to discuss Cottonian and other manuscripts with Dr Andrew Prescott, Dr Nigel Ramsay, and Dr Colin Tite, Middle English in various manifestations with Professor John Burrow, Dr Richard Green, Professor Anne Hudson, and Dr Elena Meneghetti;

palaeography and much else with Dr Pierre Chaplais. Mgr Leonard Boyle, OP, Dr Rosalind Brooke, Professor Archie Duncan, Dr Michael Dunnill, Professor Michael Jones, Ms Maureen Jurkowski, Mrs Pamela Nightingale, Dr F. A. Nizami, Dr Mark Ormrod, Dr Dorothy Owen, Dr John Post, Professor Peter Russell, Dr Maurice Sheehan, OFM, Miss Caroline Shenton, Sir Richard Southwood, Dr Simon Walker, and Professor Andrew Watson have fielded various inquiries with kindly resource; Dr Luisa Greppi has tested medieval and modern prose with a poet's ear, and Christopher Martin has read and discussed innumerable drafts, with unflinching acuity.

Like every contributor to the series I am greatly indebted to the editorial triumvirate of Oxford Medieval Texts, Dr Diana Greenway, Miss Barbara Harvey, and Professor Michael Lapidge, for their helpful advice and encouragement, and to the publishing staff of Oxford University Press, especially Ms Anne Gelling and Mr John Cordy. I am also obliged to the Board of the British Library for permission to reproduce the plates on pp. lxxxviii and lxxxix, for access to the text, and for the services which the Library, and particularly its Department of Manuscripts, has afforded over many years to a persistent, appreciative reader.

G.H.M.

12 July 1993

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- |                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Anon. Chron.</i>                  | <i>The Anonimale Chronicle, 1333-81</i> , ed. V. H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927).  |
| Armitage-Smith, <i>John of Gaunt</i> | S. Armitage-Smith, <i>John of Gaunt, King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, Earl of Derby, Lincoln, and Leicester, Seneschal of England</i> (London, 1904, repr. 1964).  |
| Aston, <i>Arundel</i>                | M. Aston, <i>Thomas Arundel: A study of Church Life under Richard II</i> (Oxford, 1967).   |
| <i>Avesbury</i>                      | <i>Ade Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum; Robertus de Avesbury, De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii</i> , ed. E. M. Thompson (RS xciii, London, 1889).  |
| Barker, <i>Tournament in England</i> | J. R. V. Barker, <i>The Tournament in England 1100-1400</i> (Woodbridge, 1986).  |
| Barron, <i>Revolt in London</i>      | C. Barron, <i>Revolt in London: 11th to 15th June 1381</i> (London, 1981).   |
| BD                                   | Bachelor of divinity   |
| BIHR                                 | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research</i> (see also <i>HR</i> ).   |
| Bird, <i>Turbulent London</i>        | R. Bird, <i>The Turbulent London of Richard II</i> (London, 1949).   |
| BL                                   | British Library.   |
| BLR                                  | Bodleian Library Record.   |
| Bodl.                                | Bodleian Library.  |
| Bridge, 'Calveley and Knollys'       | J. C. Bridge, 'Two Cheshire soldiers of fortune of the fourteenth century: Sir Hugh Calveley and Sir Robert Knollys', <i>Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for Chester</i> , NS xiv (1908), 112-231. |
| Britton, <i>Met. Chron.</i>          | C. E. Britton, <i>A Meteorological Chronology to AD 1450</i> , Meteorological Office, Geophysical Memoirs, 70 (London, 1937).  |
| BRUC                                 | A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge, 1963).  |
| BRUO                                 | A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500</i> (3 vols., Oxford, 1957-9).  |

- Cal. Letter-Book H* *Calendar of Letter-Books of the City of London: Letter-Book H*, ed. R. R. Sharpe (London, 1907).
- Campbell, 'England, Scotland' J. Campbell, 'England, Scotland, and the Hundred Years' War', *Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (London, 1975), pp. 184-216.
- Catalogue* *Catalogue of the Library of Leicester Abbey*, by Montague Rhodes James, ed. A. H. Thompson (Leicester, 1943).
- CCR *Calendar of the Close Rolls.*
- CFR *Calendar of the Fine Rolls.*
- CHJ *Cambridge Historical Journal* (see also HJ).
- Chron. Anglie* *Chronicon Anglie, 1328-88, auctore monachi quondam Sancti Albani*, ed. E. M. Thompson (RS lxiv, London, 1874). See also *Walsingham*.
- CLRO Corporation of London Record Office.
- Clementi, in *EHR* D. Clementi, 'Richard II's ninth question to the judges', *EHR* lxxxvi (1971), 96-113.
- CP G. E. Cokayne, *The Complete Peerage*, ed. V. Gibbs, H. A. Doubleday, and others (13 vols., London, 1910-39).
- CPL *Calendar of Papal Letters.*
- CPR *Calendar of the Patent Rolls.*
- CS Camden Society.
- DD Doctor of divinity
- Delachenal, *Charles V* R. Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V* (5 vols., Paris, 1909-31).
- DNB* *Dictionary of National Biography.*
- Duncan, 'David II and Edward III' A. A. M. Duncan, 'Honi soit qui mal y pense: David II and Edward III, 1346-52', *SHR* lxvii (Oct. 1988), 114-15.
- EAST* *Essex Archaeological Society Transactions.*
- EETS Early English Text Society.
- EHR* *English Historical Review.*
- Favent* *Historia siue Narracio de modo et forma Mirabilis Parliamenti apud Westmonasterium AD MCCCLXXXVI, per Thomam Fauent clericum indictata*, ed. M. McKisack, Camden Miscellany xiv (1926).
- Foedera* *Foedera, Conuentiones, Littere (1066-1383) denuo aucta*, Record Commission (4 vols., London, 1816-69). See also Rymer.
- Fowler, *King's* K. Fowler, *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of*

- Lieutenant* *Grosmont, Duke of Lancaster, 1310-61* (London, 1969).
- FZ *Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico*, ed. W. W. Shirley (RS v, London, 1858).
- Given-Wilson, *Royal Household* C. Given-Wilson, *The Royal Household and the King's Affinity: Service, Politics, and Finance in England, 1360-1413* (New Haven, CT, and London, 1986).
- Goodman, *John of Gaunt* A. Goodman, *John of Gaunt: The Exercise of Princely Power in Fourteenth-Century Europe* (Harlow, 1992).
- Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy* Idem, *The Loyal Conspiracy: The Lords Appellant under Richard II* (London, 1971).
- Harriss, *King, Parliament* G. L. Harriss, *King, Parliament, and Public Finance in Medieval England to 1369* (Oxford, 1975).
- HBC *Handbook of British Chronology*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, ii (3rd edn., London, 1986).
- Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition* H. J. Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-6* (Manchester, 1958).
- HJ *Historical Journal* (see also CHJ).
- HR *Historical Research* (see also BIHR).
- Hudson, *Premature Reformation* A. Hudson, *The Premature Reformation: Wycliffite Texts and Lollard History* (Oxford, 1988).
- HUO *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. T. H. Aston and others (8 vols., Oxford, 1984-).
- HUP C. E. du Boulay, *Historia Uniuersitatis Parisiensis* (4 vols., Paris, 1665-8).
- IPM *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem.*
- JBS *Journal of British Studies.*
- JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History.*
- King's Works* *The History of the King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin (6 vols., HMSO, London, 1963-82).
- Le Baker* *Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke*, ed. E. M. Thompson (Oxford, 1889).
- Lloyd, *Wool Trade* T. H. Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1977).
- LQR *Law Quarterly Review.*
- Lucas, *Low Countries* H. S. Lucas, *The Low Countries and the Hundred Years' War, 1326-47* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1929).
- Lumby, *Knighon* *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cniithon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby (RS xcii, 2 vols., London, 1889-95).

- Lunt, *Financial Relations* W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England, 1327–1534* (Cambridge, Mass., 1962).
- McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings* K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972).
- McFarlane, *Wycliffe* Idem, *Wycliffe and English Nonconformity* (Harmondsworth, 1972).
- Mallet, 'Earthquakes' R. Mallet, 'On the Facts of Earthquake Phenomena: A Catalogue of known Earthquakes', *Reports of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1852–3* (London, 1854).
- Murimuth *Ade Murimuth, Continuatio Chronicarum; Robertus de Avesbury, De Gestis Mirabilibus Regis Edwardi Tertii*, ed. E. M. Thompson (RS xciii, London, 1889).
- NHI *A New History of Ireland*, ed. T. W. Moody, F. X. Martin, and F. J. Byrne (10 vols., Oxford, 1976–).
- Nicholson, *Scotland* R. Nicholson, *Scotland in the later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974).
- NMT Nelson's Medieval Texts.
- OC Order of Carmel (Carmelite friar).
- ODP *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*, ed. J. N. D. Kelly (Oxford, 1986).
- OESA Order of the Eremites of St Augustine (Augustinian or white friar).
- OHS Oxford Historical Society.
- OMT Oxford Medieval Texts.
- OP Order of Friars Preacher (Dominican or black friar).
- OSA Order of St Augustine (Augustinian or Austin canon).
- Packe, *Edward III* M. Packe, *King Edward III*, ed. L. C. B. Seaman (London, 1983).
- Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom* J. J. N. Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom, 1377–99* (London, 1972).
- Pantin, *English Church* W. A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955).
- PBA *Proceedings of the British Academy*.
- PCAS *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society*.
- Perroy, *Le grand schisme* E. Perroy, *L'Angleterre et le grand schisme d'occident: Étude sur la politique religieuse de l'Angleterre sous Richard II* (Paris, 1933).

- PRO Public Record Office.
- Roskell, *Impeachment* J. S. Roskell, *The Impeachment of Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, in 1386, in the Context of Richard II's Reign* (Manchester, 1984).
- RP *Rotuli Parliamentorum*.
- RS Rolls Series.
- Russell, *English Intervention* P. E. Russell, *The English Intervention in Spain and Portugal in the time of Edward III and Richard II* (Oxford, 1955).
- Rymer, *Foedera* *Foedera, Conventiones, Litere et cuiuscunque generis acta publica*, (20 vols., London, 1704–35). See also *Foedera*.  
*Studies in Church History* (London, 1964–).  
*Southern History*.  
*Scottish Historical Review*.  
*Statutes of the Realm*, Record Commission (11 vols., London, 1810–33).
- SCH J. Sumption, *The Hundred Years' War*, i. *Trial by Battle* (London, 1990).
- SH *The Abbey of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester*, ed. A. H. Thompson (Leicester, 1949).
- SHR *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society* (see also TLHAS).
- SR *Transactions of the Leicestershire Historical and Archaeological Society* (see also TLHAS).
- Sumption, *Trial by Battle* T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England* (6 vols., Manchester, 1920–33).
- Thompson, *Leicester Abbey* F. Trautz, *Die Könige von England und das Reich* (Heidelberg, 1961).
- TLAS *Treaty Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, ed. P. Chaplais (2 vols., London, 1955–72).
- TLHAS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*.
- Tout, *Chapters* A. Tuck, *Richard II and the English Nobility* (London, 1973).
- Trautz, *Könige von England* *The Victoria History of the Counties of England*.
- Treaty Rolls *S. Walker, The Lancastrian Affinity*, 1361–99 (Oxford, 1990).
- TRHS *Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani: Thome Walsingham, quondam Monachi Sancti Albani, Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, (RS xxviii, 2 vols., London, 1863–4). See also *Chron. Anglie*.
- Tuck, *Richard II* *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–94*, ed. and trans. L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey (OMT, 1982).
- VCH *Westm. Chron.*
- Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*
- Walsingham

- Wing D. Wing, *Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America, and of English Books printed in other Countries, 1641-1700* (3 vols., New York, 1945-51).
- Workman, Wyclif H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif: A Study of the Medieval English Church* (2 vols., Oxford, 1926).
- YAf *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

## INTRODUCTION

## THE CHRONICLE AND ITS AUTHOR

Henry Knighton's chronicle, or the work in hand, as its author liked to call it, was written during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, in the Augustinian abbey of St Mary of the Meadows, Leicester, of which Knighton was a canon. The abbey was founded c.1140<sup>1</sup> by Robert le Bossu, the second Beaumont earl of Leicester, and remained closely associated with the earldom, which from 1265 was vested in the princely house of Lancaster.

In Knighton's lifetime, and perhaps during his time in religion, the abbey's natural heroes were therefore Henry of Grosmont (c.1310-61), the fourth earl and first duke of Lancaster, and his son-in-law and successor John of Gaunt (1340-99), both of whom appear prominently in the narrative. The dukes were men of widespread power and influence in England and abroad, but the chronicle is of much larger interest than a mere celebration of their careers. Knighton's concerns and connections made him an attentive observer of public affairs, and among other matters a horrified spectator of the rise of Lollardy, the earliest manifestation of protestant dissent in England, in which his own house and its locality played a leading part.

The chronicle survives in two manuscripts in the British Library's Cottonian collection, Tiberius C. VII and Claudius E. III, the second of which derives from the first, and appears to have been copied directly from it, most probably at Leicester, early in the fifteenth century. The older manuscript, Tiberius C. VII, of which fos. 139<sup>v</sup>-239<sup>r</sup> are printed here, is the work of several hands. None of them can be confidently attributed to the author himself, though his concern with the text is attested by the presence of two versified notes, deploring his own defective sight and his copyists' incompetence. The manuscript is annotated throughout by one particular reviser whose

<sup>1</sup> 1143 is the date given by Knighton, but Professor D. Crouch has recently dated the foundation charter to 1139: 'The foundation of Leicester Abbey and other problems', *Midland History*, xii (1987), 1-13. The foundation may, as he observes, have begun even earlier, and between establishment, endowment, and vesting, have taken some time to complete. See also V. H. Galbraith, 'English monastic foundation charters of the eleventh and twelfth centuries', *CHJ* iv (1934), 205-22; and below, p. lxxviii.

hand is firm and competent, but is concerned only with omissions and misreadings of detail.<sup>2</sup>

The narrative, which includes a substantial duplicate passage towards the end, is incomplete. After an introductory account of the last century of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, it runs from the Norman Conquest of England into the second half of Richard II's reign, with a chronological gap of three years between 1372 and 1376<sup>3</sup>, and an abrupt ending in 1396. Down to 1337 (fos. 3<sup>r</sup>–139<sup>r</sup>) it is almost entirely a conflation of two other works, the first a version of Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon* continued to that year, with a coda to 1340, and the second Walter of Guisborough's history of England.<sup>4</sup>

In that respect the chronicle seems to conform to a pattern common amongst medieval narrative sources, which was to follow some acknowledged authority to its end, without any attempt at what would now be thought of as originality, and then to continue the tale into the period of the compiler's own experience, with whatsoever materials might be to hand. Knighton, however, seems to have begun with what is now the last part of his chronicle, launching into a narrative of his own times in or soon after 1378, and then to have resolved to extend it. He thereupon began again, with the Conquest, and closed the gap between the end of the *Polychronicon*, in 1337, and his original starting-point, the death of Edward III and accession of Richard II, in 1377, as best he could. It appears that the passages covering c.1350–72, and c.1382–96 were written at much the same time.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For the verses, on fos. 3<sup>r</sup> and 62<sup>r</sup> of Tiberius C. VII (= T), see Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, p. xxiv, and i. 186. The principal reviser's hand is not unmistakably present in the last three folios (fos. 236<sup>r</sup>–9<sup>r</sup>) of T, and is submerged in a welter of inking-in on fos. 155<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>r</sup>. Otherwise it is ubiquitous. Its firmness and precision suggest that it is not Knighton's own, but it appears to be correcting rather than modifying or redrafting what has been written. See further below, n. 44.

<sup>3</sup> Not, as has been variously said, a gap of ten years (Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, p. lxxvii), or a gap between 1366 and 1377 (V. H. Galbraith, 'The chronicle of Henry Knighton', in *Fritz Saxl, 1890–1948: A Volume of Memorial Essays from his Friends in England*, ed. D. Gordon (London, 1957), pp. 136–48, at pp. 137–8.

<sup>4</sup> For Higden, and the imposing success of his chronicle, see J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden* (Oxford, 1966); for Guisborough, see *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell, CS, 3rd Ser., lxxxix (London, 1957). See also below, n. 19. Neither work can now be identified in the catalogue of Leicester Abbey library, though we can tell that Knighton used a version of Higden which ran to 1340, and that his copy of Guisborough had been extensively annotated in the house. See further below, pp. xxx–xxxi.

<sup>5</sup> As V. H. Galbraith suggested in 1957, in 'The chronicle of Henry Knighton', pp. 141–2, though he envisaged a later date for its inception (c.1390) than is proposed here (1378–9).

All the indications, therefore, are that the work as a whole was begun in the late 1370s, and broken off, by the author's death or incapacity, before Richard II's attack on the principal Lords Appellant in 1397.<sup>6</sup> It affords, however, a distinctive view of English history not only during those years, but over the greater part of Edward III's reign, for which it uses some widely-recruited and novel material.

What we know of Henry Knighton comes mainly from the chronicle itself, with a few fragments of archival evidence. His name appears in the initial letters of the chapters of the first three books of the history, where he spells it out, in imitation of Ranulf Higden, as HENRICVS CNITTHON, three times over. It appears elsewhere in other forms, but it most probably derives from the abbey's own manor of Knighton, immediately south of Leicester.<sup>7</sup> Knighton tells us that he was in Leicester during Edward III's visit in 1363, and he was certainly a canon of the abbey in 1370 when he was pardoned for having, in undisclosed circumstances, harboured a friar and his groom who had broken prison and were wanted for felony.<sup>8</sup> He also appears as a canon of Leicester in the returns of the clerical subsidy of 1377, where his name is given as Knyston, and in addition to his chronicle, the abbey library contained at least three books which Knighton had presented to it.<sup>9</sup> The sudden ending of the chronicle in 1396 is consistent with its author's demise at that time, but we know nothing more about his age, or about any aspect of his life before he entered religion.

Despite the sketchiness of those details, Knighton is a relatively well-documented author by the meagre standards of medieval

<sup>6</sup> The Appellants' destruction of the king's friends in 1387–8 is a substantial theme of the chronicle (below, pp. xlvi–xlviiii). There is no suggestion in Knighton of Richard's subsequent revenge, in 1397, upon Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick, for which see e.g. A. Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 184–97.

<sup>7</sup> On the process by which the abbey acquired the manor, see D. Crouch, 'The foundation of Leicester Abbey', pp. 4–6.

<sup>8</sup> The pardon is dated 6 Nov. 1370; the friar was John Killingworth, OFM, and his groom John Stamford. Knighton's involvement with them suggests that he was not in the abbey at the time, but perhaps in one of its granges: *CPR 1370–74*, p. 4. The pair seem to have been on the run for some time, and presumably made the most of their local acquaintance: see *ibid.*, pp. 95 and 140. For their delicts, which included homicide and robbery, besides gaol-breaking, see *ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>9</sup> See *Clerical Poll-Taxes of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1377–81*, ed. A. K. McHardy, Lincoln Record Society lxxxi (1992), p. 28. For Knighton's books, an encyclopedia of general reference (Bartholemeus Anglicus, *De proprietatibus rerum*), a compendium of clerical functions and duties (John Belet, *Speculum de officio ecclesie*), and a volume of devotional poems (John Howden, *Liber meditationum*) see *Catalogue*, pp. 93, item 402; 109, item 503; and 123, item 518. See also p. 97, item 420.



historiography, and can at least bear comparison with his great exemplar, Ranulf Higden of Chester.<sup>10</sup> He has suffered, however, from an editorial disparagement which denied him his identity, despite his care to spell it out, and which for more than half a century attributed the greater part of his own composition to a ghostly continuator. The general reliability of his narrative has been impugned by a similar confusion, which has undeservedly clouded the reputation of a frank and conscientious historian.

Although his chronicle seems to have passed almost unnoticed outside Leicester during the Middle Ages,<sup>11</sup> Knighton's close commentary on the early history of Lollardy helped to secure him a good deal of attention from the sixteenth century onwards. Tiberius C. VII is annotated by a number of early-modern hands, and at least one Tudor anthologist made extracts from it on the constitutional history of Richard II's reign.<sup>12</sup> In 1652 Sir Roger Twysden included Knighton in his collection of ten medieval historians, and wrote a brief but perceptive introductory note to the work.<sup>13</sup>

The chronicle was therefore available during the formative period of English historical studies, and Twysden's edition remained in scholarly use until the later nineteenth century. By that time, however, the Rolls Series had begun to disseminate critical editions of medieval narrative and other sources, and although Knighton was not chosen for early publication, his role as the first historian of Lollardy naturally attracted attention to him.

The fifth title in the Rolls Series was devoted to the polemical anti-Wycliffite treatise known as the *Fasciculi Zizaniorum*, edited by Walter

<sup>10</sup> Despite the overwhelming success of his chronicle, and the currency of some of his other writings, we know nothing of Higden except that he was professed at Chester in 1299, wrote his chronicle there, was once summoned to advise the king and council in London, and died in 1363: J. Taylor, *Ranulf Higden*, pp. 1–2.

<sup>11</sup> It is cited by John Rous of Warwick (1411–91): see *Ioannis Rossi Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Anglie*, ed T. Hearne (Oxford, 1726), pp. 97–8. On Rous himself, and his work, see T. D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950), pp. 19–29; and A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, ii. c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century (London, 1982), pp. 308–27.

<sup>12</sup> In Bodl. MS Engl. hist. c. 380: see *BLR* vii (1962–7), 107–8. Richard James and Brian Twyne made some extracts (see *The Life and Times of Anthony Wood, Antiquary, of Oxford, 1632–95*, ed. A. Clark, OHS xix, xxii, xxvi, xxx, xl (1891–1900), iv, p. 278), and Sir William Dugdale copied out passages relating to Warwick which are now in Bodl. MS Bodley 6, pp. 497–520. For some other citations, see Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, pp. xxiv–xxv, and M. McKisack, *Medieval History in the Tudor Age* (Oxford, 1971), pp. 67–8, 88–9.

<sup>13</sup> *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem* [ed. R. Twysden] (London, 1652), p. [xiii]. On Twysden's career as an editor, see further F. W. Jessup, *Sir Roger Twysden, 1597–1672* (London, 1965), pp. 96–7, 197–9.

Waddington Shirley, a man of promise who secured immortality for his ideas amongst his friends by dying young.<sup>14</sup> To elucidate the *Fasciculi Shirley* turned to Knighton, and it occurred to him upon a brief scrutiny that the break in Knighton's narrative between 1372 and 1376 signalled the advent of an anonymous continuator. He supposed that the newcomer had, in classic fashion, taken up Knighton's work, itself 'a dry and comparatively worthless' commentary, and brought it down to his own time in Richard II's reign. Shirley went on to deduce that the interloper, though a Lancastrian partisan and apparently, like Knighton, a canon of Leicester Abbey, was not improbably a foreigner, and at best had no affection for the English language.<sup>15</sup>

The hypothesis, which now seems eccentric, lay fallow until in the 1880s Joseph Rawson Lumby undertook the editing of Knighton in the same series. Lumby was a contemporary of Shirley's, a classicist and Hebraicist who became successively Norrisian and Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and an energetic editor of scriptural and other texts.<sup>16</sup> His most recent works included seven of the nine volumes of Higden's *Polychronicon* in the Rolls Series,<sup>17</sup> an undertaking which had made him broadly familiar with medieval narrative history without inspiring the slightest empathy with its authors.

Lumby was readily able to recognize the extent to which Knighton had drawn on Higden down to 1340, and he reasonably chose to divide his two volumes at that point. He also embraced Shirley's hypothesis that a continuator was at work from 1377, though there are some indications that he was not entirely convinced by it.<sup>18</sup> He then, with what seems resolute perversity, chose to edit not Tiberius

<sup>14</sup> *FZ*, Shirley died in 1866 at the age of 38, a canon of Christ Church and Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. On the nature of the MS of the *Fasciculi*, which was written in 1439, and its authorship, see J. Crompton, '*Fasciculi zizaniorum*', *JEH* xii (1961), 35–45, 155–66.

<sup>15</sup> *FZ*, p. 524 n. On the language of the chronicle, see below, pp. lxiv–lxv.

<sup>16</sup> On Lumby see *DNB*. His works fill just over a page of the *BL Catalogue of Printed Books*, with 38 entries, several being long-lived scriptural commentaries, and the like, in multiple editions. He edited five volumes for the Early English Text Society.

<sup>17</sup> *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis*, ed. J. R. Lumby (9 vols, RS xli, London, 1882–6) iii–ix. On vol. ix, see *The Westminster Chronicle, 1381–94*, ed. L. C. Hector and B. F. Harvey (OMT, 1982), p. lxxv, and J. A. Robinson, 'An unrecognized Westminster chronicle', *PBA* iii (1907–8), 61–92, an exemplary essay of its kind.

<sup>18</sup> See Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, pp. ci–cii, where he speaks as though Knighton were writing throughout, despite the passage on p. xcvi, where the continuator reigns. See also below, n. 25.

C. VII, but Claudius E. III, which had nothing but a measure of legibility to recommend it. What was ultimately disastrous to him, however, was that he failed to recognize that down to the early fourteenth century almost every clause in the chronicle that was not copied from Higden had been lifted from the chronicle of Walter of Guisborough.<sup>19</sup> Lumby's first volume appeared in 1889, with a brief preface promising a critical assessment of the text in the introduction to the second. It fell into the hands of Reginald Lane Poole, who dismembered it, with many expressions of distaste, in the *English Historical Review*.<sup>20</sup>

It would have been difficult in those circumstances to make the second volume triumphant, and Lumby, injured, bewildered, and pompously defensive, did not succeed in doing so. Whether he deserved the further misfortune of encountering James Tait as his second reviewer is beyond judgement, but he did not live to read the strictures with which Tait dismissed the hapless enterprise.<sup>21</sup> The dual commination was not lost upon the deputy-keeper of the public records, Henry Maxwell Lyte, who was poised to replace the Rolls Series with something more useful, and could hardly have asked for a better justification.<sup>22</sup>

All that was left of Lumby, apart from an indifferent text which was nevertheless cheaper and more readily available than Twysden's, was the notion that the fifth book of Knighton was not Knighton's own.<sup>23</sup> The continuator, as *Cont. Knighton*, haunted the footnotes of learned works for some decades, before he was laid to rest in 1957 by V. H. Galbraith,<sup>24</sup> who demonstrated that the middle section of the work, and particularly the unnumbered sequel to the fourth book, was written with knowledge of and even explicit reference to events in

<sup>19</sup> See above, n. 4. Guisborough was formerly known, and was edited by Thomas Hearne in 1731, as Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh: *Walteri Hemingford, Canonici de Gisseburne, Historia de Rebus Gestis Eduardi I, Eduardi II, et Eduardi III*, ed. T. Hearne (2 vols., Oxford, 1731). Joseph Stevenson had remarked in 1836 on Knighton's use of Guisborough: English Historical Society, *General Introduction* (London, 1836), p. v.

<sup>20</sup> See *EHR* vi (1891), 172–3. Poole had offered to edit the chronicle himself, in 1885 (*PRO*, *PRO* 37/16a, p. 1) but it had already been offered to Lumby.

<sup>21</sup> See *EHR* xi (1896), 568–9. Lumby died 21 Nov. 1895.

<sup>22</sup> See M. D. Knowles, 'Great historical enterprises: iv, the Rolls Series' *TRHS*, 5th ser., xi (1961), 149–56, reprinted in Knowles's *Great Historical Enterprises, and Problems in Monastic History* (London, 1963).

<sup>23</sup> Or, in V. H. Galbraith's rendering of Sir Ernest Barker's Mancunian tones: 'The only thing you have to remember, is that Knigh-ton's chronicle is not by Knigh-ton'.

<sup>24</sup> In 'The chronicle of Henry Knighton', pp. 136–48. For *Cont. Knighton*, see, e.g. Tout, *Chapters* iii. 367 n. 5. See also below, n. 48.

Richard II's reign. It was a point which Lumby himself had noticed, but had not followed to a conclusion.<sup>25</sup> The chronicle was one again, and Galbraith and R. A. B. Mynors showed that the physical form of the manuscript was consistent with its serial compilation in Richard II's reign.<sup>26</sup>

Lumby had suffered one particular misfortune, which was that Knighton, who was in fact a conscientious editor, had consistently distinguished the version of Guisborough which he used by the name *Leycestrensis*, 'the Leicestrian', but had then once referred to himself by the same term when he came to the beginning of his own composition in 1337.<sup>27</sup> Poole's revelation that the greater part of Knighton's supposedly independent account of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries came word for word from Guisborough evidently made Lumby feel that he had been wilfully deceived by his author, or authors. Seeking to display some measure of authority over his impaired text, and probably also aware that he had chosen the wrong manuscript to edit, he took refuge, in the introduction to the second volume, in busy trivialities, and a nervously elaborate summary of the narrative. He then peppered the margins of the text with references to other chronicles, lest any of them should prove to be another of Knighton's, or the deuterio-Knighton's, hidden sources.

It also occurred to Lumby that the presence of the reviser's hand in Tiberius C. VII indicated not an ordinary process of correction, but the existence of 'a better text than either of those here used'. He does not seem to have considered what the better text might have been, nor why anyone should seek to disseminate it in so cumbrous a fashion, with several hands at work, but he raised another phantasm which, like the continuator, lingered on to bemuse his readers.<sup>28</sup> He had at least enlarged, even if he had not much enhanced, the world of fourteenth-century historiography.

The intrinsic interest of the chronicle has survived all those attentions, and will probably survive others. It is a complex and rewarding

<sup>25</sup> See Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

<sup>26</sup> Mynors's analysis of the codex is printed as an appendix to Galbraith's 'Chronicle of Henry Knighton' (pp. 146–8).

<sup>27</sup> On fo. 139<sup>v</sup>; see below, p. 2. The term is not truly ambiguous, because Knighton had already indicated the end of the Guisborough *Leycestrensis* in 1326, on fo. 129<sup>v</sup> (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 442).

<sup>28</sup> Lumby, ii, p. xxv. Cf Rothwell's comment in 1957 (*Guisborough*, p. xiii): 'MS Cotton Tiberius C. VII. Not the original of Knighton's chronicle, but Leicester Abbey's own copy of it'. On the provenance of the MS, see below, n. 34. See also below, p. lxxv: Pseudepigrapha.

text, which deserves attention both for its own sake, and as an exemplar, a means of understanding others of its kind. To that end, the form and detail of the manuscript are primal.

#### THE MANUSCRIPT

Tiberius C. VII is a parchment codex of 240 folios, originally comprising twenty-nine booklets, or gatherings, of folded sheets. The text, which occupies fos. 3<sup>r</sup>–239<sup>r</sup>, is in a number of hands, not fewer than six. It is nevertheless carefully finished, with floriated capitals in red and blue, and extensive rubrication of key words, chiefly proper names, and titles such as *Rex*, throughout. The principal items are indicated by marginal headings usually in the scribes' own hands, underlined and decorated in red, whilst some particular phrases and dates are written in a larger script, with or without red lining. The first two folios (fos. 1–2) are almost certainly, and the last one (fo. 240) probably, additions made after Sir Robert Bruce Cotton acquired the volume. Cotton's signature appears at the foot of fo. 3<sup>r</sup>, but there are no other unambiguous marks of ownership.<sup>29</sup>

The volume was dismantled in the British Museum, in or shortly before 1884, and its folios skilfully remounted as single sheets on paper guards, which were then re-bound. Besides the manifest continuity of the text, however, the survival of more than half the original catch-words at the ends of gatherings, and of a collation undertaken by Cotton himself or an amanuensis, readily demonstrate the care with which the codex was reconstructed.

The competence of that repair, and the present condition of the text, make Lumby's assertion that the manuscript was 'sadly damaged' in the Cottonian fire of 1731,<sup>30</sup> and that 'in many places the margins and parts of the text are entirely gone', quite nonsensical.<sup>31</sup> There are only three folios (fos. 237–9; below, pp. 540–52) on which the text is seriously impaired, and there the damage, which may well have been caused by scorching, is confined to the top four lines of each. The margins seem everywhere else to have been damaged only by abrasion, and the marginal headings have very rarely lost letters or

<sup>29</sup> But see below, n. 34, for proof that the MS comes from Leicester Abbey.

<sup>30</sup> On the fire, see E. Miller, *That Noble Cabinet: A History of the British Museum* (London, 1973), pp. 32–6. The most comprehensive account is in *A Report from the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library* (London, 1732), of which there are copies annotated by Sir Frederic Madden in the BL: BL Add. MSS 62572–3.

<sup>31</sup> Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, p. xxiv.

syllables. There has been, however, some shrinkage of the uppermost part of the leaves throughout the volume, which was probably caused by heat. The only conceivable explanation of Lumby's belief is that he had inspected the volume cursorily, in its unrepaired state, some years before he undertook the edition, and did not examine it again until he had committed himself, perhaps through an amanuensis, to Claudius E. III.

The gatherings are lettered B to Z,<sup>32</sup> amalgamating I and J, and U and V, then Aa to Ff, and the collation runs thus:

B<sup>9</sup> (fos. 3–11, fo. 7 being an inserted leaf), C–E<sup>8</sup> (fos. 12–35), F–G<sup>10</sup> (fos. 36–55), H<sup>12</sup> (fos. 56–67, presumably with one cancellation, fo. 61 being an inserted slip), I–K<sup>8</sup> (fos. 68–83), L<sup>9</sup> (fos. 84–92, fo. 86 being an inserted slip), M–S<sup>8</sup> (fos. 93–148), T<sup>6</sup> (fos. 149–54), V<sup>9</sup> (fos. 155–63),<sup>33</sup> W<sup>6</sup> (fos. 164–9), X–Ee<sup>8</sup> (fos. 170–233), Ff<sup>6</sup> (fos. 234–9, leaving fo. 240 unassigned).

#### THE TEXT

The text of the chronicle begins<sup>34</sup> on fo. 3<sup>r</sup>, with a short chapter (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 1–4) explaining the nature and moral purpose of the work, which is intended to run from the time of William I to the writer's own day, after a preliminary account of England before the Conquest. The first section, which is chiefly interesting for an excursus on the mythical figure of Guy of Warwick, and his duel with the African giant Colibrand (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 19–27), comprises sixteen chapters, the initial letters of which, rubricated and flourished, spell Henricvs Cnitthon (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 4–53), a form partly determined by the difficulty of beginning a Latin sentence with K.

<sup>32</sup> The fact that the collation begins with B suggests that Cotton had some preliminary short tract bound in the volume, which was subsequently removed. He was given to binding and re-binding, probably matching texts by size. Cotton MS Claudius E. III now contains the other text of *Knighton*, a tidy but undistinguished copy made c. 1420, most probably at Leicester. It is bound with six other items, including a fine 12th-cent. MS from St Paul's which subsequently belonged to Winchester cathedral priory: see *Radulfi de Diceto Decani Landoniensis Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs (2 vols., RS lxviii, London, 1876), i, pp. xc–xci.

<sup>33</sup> V is probably a gathering of 10 fos. (5 sheets) of which one has been excised, leaving fo. 161 as a single leaf: see the Appendix by R. A. B. Mynors to V. H. Galbraith, 'Chronicle of Henry Knighton', p. 146.

<sup>34</sup> It is clear from the fact that fo. 4<sup>r</sup> begins with the phrase '*et dicentes pax*', which appears in the abbey's library catalogue as the *dictio probatoria* said to be found on fo. 2 of *Knighton* (*Cronica Leycestr'*), that the present fo. 3 is truly the first folio of the original volume. See M. V. Clarke, 'Henry Knighton and the library catalogue of Leicester Abbey', *EHR* xlv (1930), 103–7, reprinted in Clarke, *Fourteenth Century Studies* (Oxford, 1937).

Thereafter there are, or will be, for Knighton is speaking of what he plans as well as what has been done, four parts (a figure subsequently altered to five, and probably not by the author), the first two similarly divided and adorned (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 54–268, 269–479), but the third and fourth of which have to take a simpler shape, because of the intractability of their material and the uncertainty of the work being completed.

It is clear that the preliminary note, like a modern preface, was written at a late stage of the work, though it also shows that work was still in progress. That impression is borne out by the arrangement of the text, which has bred some confusion.

Knighton explains in his introductory note that he has drawn upon the seventh book of Higden's *Polychronicon*, which he cites as *Cistrensis*, 'the Cestrian', but he then also introduces, almost at once (fo. 19<sup>v</sup>; Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 58), the source which he calls *Leycestrensis*. Subsequent references make it clear that *Leycestrensis* was substantially a version of Guisborough's chronicle. Its contents included, however, an account of the Beaumont earls of Leicester, and of the foundation of the abbey, which may also have survived in another text in the abbey library until the Dissolution.<sup>35</sup>

Thereafter *Leycestrensis* is invoked as regularly as *Cistrensis*, but down to the fourteenth century its contributions are mainly concerned with national history, and include only a modicum of local material. A reference to Pope Boniface VIII's bull of arbitration between Edward I and Philippe IV in 1298 shows that the Leicester text belonged to what Guisborough's latest editor has categorized as the A family of manuscripts, and that the principal part of Guisborough's chronicle ended at that point.<sup>36</sup>

*Leycestrensis* then continued with more local material, however, and under the reign of Edward II it preserved a major item. That is a memorandum of the exchanges in the summer of 1318 between a delegation of bishops representing the king and his ministers, and the dissident Thomas, earl of Lancaster, who was then in a dangerous state of political isolation. The delegation, comprising the archbishop of Dublin and the bishops of Ely and Norwich, met the earl at

<sup>35</sup> See Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 62–6, for an associated text from BL MS Harl. 2386, fo. 30<sup>r</sup>. Knighton earlier refers (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 4) to histories in Leicester Abbey which contain accounts of pre-Conquest England, and he may there be invoking a source other than *Leycestrensis*. See also below, nn. 54, 55.

<sup>36</sup> See H. Rothwell, *Guisborough*, p. xxxiv; and Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 398, and ii, p. xxxiv.

Leicester and Tutbury in June 1318.<sup>37</sup> The original memorandum must have been preserved either in the abbey or at Leicester castle, and its inclusion in *Leycestrensis* suggests an informed interest in political affairs in those years.<sup>38</sup> It also implies the presence in the abbey of a writer with historical interests only a few decades before Knighton himself entered religion.<sup>39</sup>

Knighton's textual notes show that the Leicester chronicle came to an end shortly afterwards, in 1326.<sup>40</sup> He adds that his copy of Higden also ended at that time, but had since been extended, and he was therefore able to copy Higden, with some additions, down to 1340.<sup>41</sup>

At that point, however, Knighton remarks that he now has to go on alone (below, p. 2), and he begins by returning to the formal opening of hostilities between England and France in 1337, and describing Edward III's preparations for his first campaign. That change in the text is also marked by the appearance of 'Book IV' in the surviving running heads. The narrative thereafter is distinctive, though largely impersonal, and quotes from a wide variety of documents.<sup>42</sup>

The chronicle runs continuously from 1337 to an account of the battle of Najera in 1367, followed by some notes which carry the narrative to 1372 and must have been cast in their present form in or soon after 1386 (below, p. 194). The next gathering (fo. 170; below, p. 196), distinguished as 'Book V' in the running heads, opens with a threnody upon the loss of Edward III and of Prince Edward (who died in 1376, a year before his father), which is immediately followed by an

<sup>37</sup> Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 413–21. See further J. A. R. Maddicott, *Thomas of Lancaster, 1307–22: A Study in the Reign of Edward II* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 220–3.

<sup>38</sup> The fact that Knighton cites the source as *Leycestrensis* suggests that he did not find and insert the document himself.

<sup>39</sup> One of the few MSS which we know to have survived from Leicester Abbey is now Bodl. MS Bodley 57. It includes (fos. 176<sup>v</sup>–7<sup>v</sup>) some simple notes on events in 1173–5 and 1216–24 which do not seem to have found their way into *Leycestrensis*, though Knighton refers to one item amongst them, the destruction of the walls of Leicester in 1175, without giving the year (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 155). There are also (fos. 191<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>) some satirical verses on a dispute in 1296 between the abbey and its tenants at Stoughton (discussed by R. H. Hilton, *EHR* lvi (1941), 90–7), which does not figure in the chronicle, and a note of the same date on the use of Arabic numerals (fo. 174<sup>v</sup>), which do.

<sup>40</sup> *Explicit historie Leycestrensis, anno gracie .M.ccc.xxvj.* T, fo. 129<sup>v</sup>; Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 442.

<sup>41</sup> Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 442. The phrases used in the continuation to describe the battle of Sluis (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 479) suggest that Knighton's copy was close to that in use at St Albans, which also ended in 1340: *Chron. Anglie*, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> See below, pp. xxxii–xl, and nn. 50, 51. The account of the northern clergy's resolution at the time of Neville's Cross (p. 72) sounds a personal note, but it would be remarkable if Knighton himself had any such recollection of events in 1346.

account of the death and the many accomplishments of Abbot William Clowne, who had ruled over Leicester Abbey from 1345 to 1378.

Those retrospective passages are succeeded by a narrative which moves through the beginnings of the Great Schism, the Peasants' Revolt, and the rise of Lollardy, to the constitutional crises of the 1380s, Richard II's assertion of authority in 1389, and various national and local events, with some emphasis on London, down to 1396. The last folios (fos. 236–9) include a duplicate version of the immediately preceding text, with some slight variant readings.<sup>43</sup>

The hand-writing of the volume has to be considered in that context. There are several changes of hand in the first ninety folios of the text, but on fo. 93<sup>v</sup>, in the course of the page (the first verso of gathering M) a strong and competent hand begins, which continues to the end of Book IV, on fo. 154<sup>v</sup> (see pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix and below, p. 90 n. b). It is succeeded by two gatherings (V and W, fos. 155–69; below, pp. 90–196) in an inelegant and untidy, though reasonably legible hand (or perhaps two), before reappearing at the beginning of Book V on fo. 170<sup>r</sup> (the first page of gathering X). It then runs through to fo. 236<sup>v</sup>, after which the duplicated passage begins (below, p. 530, and n. 3). That principal hand makes one earlier appearance in the volume, on the inserted slip which is now fo. 86.

The untidy hand (if it is only one) on fos. 155<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>v</sup> is not clearly present elsewhere. It is the least accomplished in the volume, and its singularity and unattractive character raise the possibility that it is Knighton's own. The fact that it appears at the end of the incomplete link between the two parts of the narrative is at least consonant with that idea. On the other hand it is, though extensively revised, by no means an uncontrolled script, and in particular its lines are reasonably distinct and regular. If its writer were *caligine tactus* he was nevertheless able to distinguish rules and margins. His identity must remain uncertain.<sup>44</sup>

The key to the history of the enterprise is, as Galbraith pointed out, in the retrospective account of Edward III and the Black Prince at the beginning of Book V. Although the preceding sections, in both Book IV and the unnumbered passage from fo. 155<sup>v</sup> to fo. 169<sup>v</sup>, refer forward to later events,<sup>45</sup> it is only at that point, in discussing Abbot

<sup>43</sup> See below, pp. 530–46.

<sup>44</sup> See pp. lxxxviii–lxxxix. Throughout the vagaries of the script, the passages in question are distinguished by rendering *exercitus* as *exercitus*, a feature which suggests that only one hand is at work, and perhaps that the writer was allowed some latitude.

<sup>45</sup> See e.g. below, p. 128 and n. 2.

Clowne, and in a glancing reference to Richard Lyons shortly afterwards, that the later narrative looks backwards in time. In doing so it does not refer explicitly to any entry in the chronicle itself.<sup>46</sup> If Book V had actually been written after the account of Nájera and the Anglo-Castilian marriages it would have been quite simple to sketch events from 1372 to 1376. As it was, something prevented the earlier instalment (1337–72) from reaching as far as 1376, though it was compiled later in time.

The hypothesis which accounts best for all the features of the text observed so far is that Knighton began his chronicle soon after 1377, being moved to record the deaths of Prince Edward and Edward III, and of Abbot Clowne, in whose time he had entered religion, and whom he had known and admired for at least fifteen years. He then considered enlarging its scope, and with the aid of Higden and the abbey's copy of Guisborough making a rounded history of England since the Norman Conquest, with as much about pre-Conquest England as would complement his account of William's ancestry. He duly added such other material as he had on the history of Leicester (though he says practically nothing of civic affairs), its abbey, and its earls. In other words, the chronicle began in 1377, made a second start with the Norman Conquest, and then ran not on parallel tracks but consecutively, the strophe never quite reaching the antistrophe.

The section from the eleventh century to 1337, Books I–III, was, despite the problems of annotating and juggling with two other chronicles, probably easier to write than the section from 1337 to 1376, which in the event barely reached 1372. As well as collecting material for that further part, Book IV, from the archives and officials of the duchy, Knighton seems also to have found some particular source, perhaps another household official, of information on the Beauchamps, with which he perhaps associated the story of Guy of Warwick in honour of Earl Thomas (1314–69), and of his eldest son, Guy, who died in France in 1360.<sup>47</sup> The most striking parts of Book IV, however, come from the entourage of Henry of Grosmont, and

<sup>46</sup> It refers, without dates, to Edward III's grants to the abbey of exemption from attendance at parliaments (in 1352), and from occupation by the escheator during vacancies (in 1363: see below, pp. 186, and 200), and to the confirmation by Richard II of the second grant immediately before Clowne's death (see p. 186). Cf. the care with which, in describing the Merciless Parliament in 1388, Knighton directs the reader back to the questions put to the judges at Nottingham in the previous year (pp. 394, 496), or relates Courtenay's visitation of Leicester in 1389 to his previous account of Lollardy there (below, p. 534).

<sup>47</sup> See below, pp. li, 178. On the legend of Guy, see J. Burke Severs, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500* (New Haven, Conn., 1967), pp. 27–31; and I. Short,

the result is a vivid account of many of the campaigns in France, retailed here by a natural reporter whose material had come straight from the front line. There is certainly nothing stinted about the intermediate narrative: it was time, rather than the material, which ran out.

The untidiness of such a plan is by no means a conclusive objection to it, and it is possible to take the argument a little further upon the indications in the text. The presence of a single hand from 1337 to 1348, and then from 1377 to 1393, gives a unity to the greater part of the narrative. We can also say that none of the comments on later events which occur in the section from 1348 to 1372, and which serve to date its composition to a time after 1382, is an insertion in the text as we have it. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Knighton began his work (on fo. 170<sup>r</sup>) with a competent copyist whom he subsequently turned on to the earlier narrative (at fo. 93<sup>v</sup>), which had been through at least three hands by the time that it reached the later thirteenth century. In the event, there may not have been time to make a fair copy of the latest section of the narrative from 1348 onwards (fos. 155–69), which was inked over and rubricized as it stood.<sup>48</sup>

That hypothesis allows no very extravagant time for the work, which cannot have begun much before 1379, and must surely have come to an end before 1397. The intervening years produced in turn a good deal of copy, and probably rather more than the chronicler had bargained for. Clearly the resources of the house and its patrons proved equal to the demands that were made upon them. The longer that one looks at the result, however, the more its intricacy and general competence command respect.

#### THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE CHRONICLE

Henry Knighton was an Augustinian canon, not a monk, but like any other member of a religious order he needed the permission of his superiors to undertake any work outside the immediate provisions of the rule. To compile a chronicle he also required, besides time for writing, reflection, and inquiry, a variety of physical and intellectual

<sup>48</sup> 'Gui de Warewic', *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* (Berlin, 1989), vi. 290–1. One embellishment which Knighton may have added to the story is in the details of the cart-load of hatchets and other weapons which the giant Colibrand kept to hand, like a manic golfer (Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 25).

<sup>48</sup> At the simplest, the fact that fos. 155<sup>r</sup>–69<sup>r</sup> were completed in or after 1385 effectively disposes of Knighton's continuator.

resources: parchment (not fewer than 120 sheepskins), ink, pens, and works of reference, together with stamina, an inquiring mind, and an ear for news. How he came by most of those necessities is a matter only for conjecture, and yet we can ask the work itself some questions which it was probably never in the author's mind to answer.

Knighton spent at least fifteen years, and possibly more than a quarter of a century, in the company of Abbot William Clowne, a man whom his chronicle has made one of the best-known leaders of the religious orders in later medieval England.<sup>49</sup> The abbot evidently talked familiarly with him, and even confided in him. Knighton may have contemplated writing his chronicle before Clowne died, and have been encouraged by him, but he manifestly commanded the support of Clowne's successor for the venture, and it is a pity that Abbot Kereby, a rather colourless character, does not emerge more strongly from its pages.<sup>50</sup>

As it was, the years immediately following proved to be full of drama, notably in the onset of the great schism in the spring of 1378, and the revolt of 1381. There is an indication that the narrative had reached the early 1380s before 1385,<sup>51</sup> but any work then in hand would have been checked by the tumultuous nature of the events of 1381, and the need to gather material on them beyond what was available locally. The expansion of the work to a general history of England since the Conquest can hardly have been undertaken much later, and would greatly have increased the demands on Knighton's time and energy.

#### SOURCES

The obvious need was for a reliable source upon which the earlier narrative could be based, or rather, given the deferential assumptions of the medieval mind, from which it could be copied. In the event Knighton used two, both of which were apparently close to hand. We are fortunate in possessing the catalogue of the library of Leicester

<sup>49</sup> A. H. Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 28–39; M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, ii. *The End of the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 185–6, 365–6.

<sup>50</sup> See below, p. 200 n. 2; and Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 40–1, 52–4, for the generous allowance made to Kereby in his retirement. See also p. 230.

<sup>51</sup> In the references to the expedition undertaken by the earl of Buckingham (Thomas of Woodstock) in 1380–1, and to the marriage of his sister-in-law that year (below, p. 206). Buckingham became duke of Gloucester in 1385, a fact which Knighton noted when he came subsequently to record his birth amongst the events of 1355.



Abbey, which summarizes the intellectual resources of the house at the end of the fifteenth century. We can also use it to identify some of Knighton's authorities, though not all. The first of them, Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*, has disappeared.<sup>52</sup> The second, Walter of Guisborough's chronicle, itself the work of an Augustinian, is not named in the catalogue, though its distinguishing label of *Leycestrensis*, and the extent to which it seems already to have been reinforced with local material, clearly imply that it was available in the house, and was not borrowed for the occasion. It may be covered by the 'Chronicles of Robert, earl of Leicester, our founder'.<sup>53</sup> If so, the hand which continued it beyond 1298 (the earliest date at which it could have been available in Leicester), must also have prefaced it with one of the earlier histories of the house to which Knighton refers.<sup>54</sup> Other works in the library which Knighton quotes include Bede, Claudian, the Koran, and the writings of the Parisian master, Guillaume de Saint-Amour.<sup>55</sup>

With the two chronicles marked up for copying, and other material provided for insertion, Knighton still had to divide his attention between the history of his own times and the compilation of Book IV. It might be expected that beyond the end of Higden and Guisborough he would look for some further text to copy. If he did, he seems not to have found one to suit all purposes, and there are also several indications that he had resolved upon an independent composition. The first is his statement on fo. 139<sup>v</sup> (p. 2, below) that he was now proceeding alone. The second, reinforcing what might otherwise have seemed a conventional protestation, is that although he had already copied the final pages of his extended *Polychronicon*, to 1340, he chose to go back to 1337 and cover the ground again, and in more detail. The third, which is not itself conclusive but gains strength from the others, is that in contrast to the earlier and explicitly derivative part of the chronicle there are no further references to a particular source

<sup>52</sup> The *Polychronicon* in the catalogue (p. 87, item 374) was given to the library by Ralph Seyton, a canon who studied at Oxford in 1440. It was probably one of the versions extended into the 15th cent., and replaced the older text which Knighton used. Cf. F. M. Powicke, *The Medieval Books of Merton College* (Oxford, 1931) p. 209 and n.

<sup>53</sup> *Catalogue*, p. 107 (item 479).

<sup>54</sup> 'Historie tradunt in abbatia Leycestrie ...', Lumby, *Knighton*, i. 4; 'de quo Edmundo [of Lancaster] ... historia prolixius patebit in antedicta abbatia Leycestrensi', Lumby, *ibid.* i. 6. On the significance of 1298, see above, p. xxiv. The man who copied, affixed, and continued *Leycestrensis* down to 1326 must have been as busy as Knighton himself.

<sup>55</sup> See below, pp. 100, 244–50, and 304; and *Catalogue*, pp. 65, 93 (items 217 and 404).

like those to *Cistrensis* or *Leycestrensis*, though many incidental references in the text to the material which is introduced there.

There may, nevertheless, have been one or more simple narratives to hand, and some kind of chronological scheme or aide-mémoire would have been essential to marshalling the material which came in.<sup>56</sup> The indications of such supports are chiefly of two kinds: one is that a number of items taken together seem to imply a common source or derivation, and the other is in echoes of other chronicles, not so much in words and phrases as in the direct association of themes and topics.

An example of the first category is in the relatively frequent references to Carlisle and the western March amongst the passages dealing with the north of England, and Scotland: subjects which were evidently of interest to Knighton, and upon which he was quite widely though not always accurately informed. Carlisle cathedral priory was an Augustinian house, and may well have been a source of information, but so also was Lanercost, which had a chronicle of its own. The Franciscan friary in Carlisle was another conduit of historical and contemporary material.<sup>57</sup>

In the second category there is at least one parallel with the *Brut*,<sup>58</sup> though that is an exceptionally complicated source, and the origins of such correspondences are likely to be hidden by many layers of accretion. There are also some points of resemblance between Knighton and Walsingham in the 1380s, associations that might lead back to the sources of the *Anonimale Chronicle*, and so into London as a source of news, ranging from wild rumour to more or less refined information. The full extent of such connections is probably now beyond our reach, but should be better illuminated as more critical editions of the chronicles become available.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>56</sup> There is an enigmatic but suggestive letter amongst the Cottonian charters (BL MS Cotton Ch. IV, 51) in which an anonymous writer, c. 1390, offers a series of simple annalistic notes, 1349–82, to a correspondent who has asked him for such information. Many such exchanges must lie behind the narrative sources which we have. I am grateful to Dr A. Prescott for the reference.

<sup>57</sup> See below, pp. liii–liv. See further A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, ii. 12–13, 115–17. Guisborough was also an Augustinian house, but there is nothing in the chronicle to suggest any direct connection in Knighton's time.

<sup>58</sup> In the reference to Prince Edward's marriage, below, p. 184. On the *Brut*, see J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 110–32.

<sup>59</sup> V. H. Galbraith's edition of *Anon. Chron.* is now complemented by *The Anonimale Chronicle, 1307 to 1334*, ed. W. R. Childs and J. Taylor (Leeds, 1991). On some resemblances between the narratives of Walsingham and Knighton, see V. H. Galbraith, 'Thoughts about the Peasants' Revolt', in *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F. R. H. du Boulay and C. M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 46–57, at pp. 50–1. Any common narrative is likely to have been at a much lower level than the surviving texts.

Besides such traces there are the texts of many documents embedded in the narrative, some of which probably came to Knighton in other sources, whilst he gathered others directly. The material from the Lancastrian household could often as well have come by way of conversation as in a documentary form. The same may be true of the items concerning the earls of Arundel and Warwick. Where texts of any kind are discernible, however, their significance and interest is by no means confined to the question of whether or not they are accurate copies of some known or putative original. What matters most in this context is what Knighton, his informants, and his intended audience thought important, credible, and worth preserving and repeating.

The following are texts which can be positively or provisionally identified, in the sense that some extraneous wording may be seen or presumed to have been incorporated in the narrative. All are in Latin unless otherwise noted.

1. An account of the meeting between Edward III and the Emperor Ludwig at Koblenz, in September 1338. The details suggest a newsletter, which may have extended to, or have been accompanied by another account of, the king's subsequent movements in the western March of the Empire (pp. 8–12).

2. An account of the English raid on the coast of Normandy in the summer of 1339. Knighton's apparent difficulty with the name Le Tréport implies a text, and again probably a newsletter (pp. 14–16).

3. A brief summary of Edward III's claim to the throne of France through his mother, Isabella, daughter of Philippe IV, of which a more accurate version appears in Murimuth's chronicle.<sup>60</sup> Such texts were probably circulated by the government, which relied upon the religious houses and the higher clergy for historical and other information of political consequence, as well as looking to them to disseminate news and commentaries (p. 16).<sup>61</sup>

4. The text of the king's despatch from Brussels to Prince Edward and the council, 1 November 1339, describing his campaign in Cambrésis and the Thiérache, and the abortive encounter with the French at La Capelle-La Flamengrie, 23 October 1339 (pp. 16–22).

<sup>60</sup> See *Murimuth*, p. 101.

<sup>61</sup> See, e.g. V. H. Galbraith, *Historical Research in Medieval England* (London, 1951), pp. 34–6. There is a half-way stage between Knighton's summary and inaccurate statement and the diagrammatic representation of the claim in *Murimuth*, pp. 100–1 (see also below, p. 16, n. 2), in the family tree at the end of Geoffrey le Baker's *Chroniculum* in Bodl. MS Bodley 761, fo. 157r: *Le Baker*, p. 175.

5. An account of the taxes granted in parliament at Easter 1340 which includes the phrase 'the present King Edward' (p. 24).

6. An account of the battle of Sluis, unremarkable in itself, although it gives the names of the French admirals, but which includes a unique reference to Stephen Lambin or Lambkin, the commander of Edward's ships in Flemish waters (p. 28).

7. An abbreviated version of the treaty of Esplechin, 25 September 1340 (pp. 30–6). In French.

8. An account of Sir Walter Mauny's raid on Trégarantec, in Brittany, in 1342, with a list of prisoners, from a despatch or newsletter (pp. 38–40).

9. An account of the battle of Morlaix, 30 September 1342, from a despatch or newsletter (p. 42).

10. An account of Edward III's short campaign in Brittany in the autumn of 1342, presumably from newsletters (pp. 44–6).

11. A note on the marriages and descendants of the sisters of Gilbert de Clare (1291–1314), ninth earl of Gloucester, and their connections with the houses of Lancaster, Arundel, and Stafford (pp. 50–2).

12. An account of Henry of Grosmont's campaign in Aquitaine in the late summer of 1345, probably from newsletters (pp. 52–4).

13. An account of Edward III's campaign in Normandy and Picardy, down to the battle of Crécy, 26 August 1346, from despatches and newsletters. The material includes the captured French plans for an invasion of England in 1339, with which Edward made great play at home (pp. 54–64).

14. Brief notices of the investment of, and of operations around, Calais in August–September 1346, probably from newsletters (p. 64).

15. A description of the siege of Aiguillon, and of the earl of Lancaster's relief of the town, 20 August 1346, drawn partly from Lancaster's own despatch but also from another source (pp. 64–6).

16. A description of the battle of Neville's Cross, Durham, 17 October 1346, with lists of the Scottish casualties and prisoners, and with a strong emphasis upon the participation of the clergy. One source is shared with the *Anonimale Chronicle*, but there were probably others, and Knighton reports an eye-witness in terms that might imply a conversation (pp. 68–72).

17. Further accounts of Lancaster's campaigns, in Saintonge and Poitou, September–October 1346, probably from newsletters (p. 74).



18. A description of David II's journey through London to the Tower, in January 1347, probably from a London newsletter (pp. 74–6).

19. A brief account of a naval action off Calais in June 1347, probably from a newsletter (p. 78).

20. A shortened text of a letter from the defenders of Calais to the king of France, recovered after the battle at sea, of which a longer version is preserved in Avesbury's chronicle (p. 78). In French.

21. A note of the battle at La Roche Derrien, 20 June 1347, with a list of prisoners, presumably from a newsletter (p. 80).

22. An account of the final stages of the siege of Calais, some details of which probably came from Henry of Lancaster's household, whilst others suggest a newsletter (pp. 78–82).

23. A theatrical account of the surrender of Calais, 4 August 1347, probably based upon an official newsletter (p. 84).

24. An account of the earl of Warwick's unsuccessful raid on St Omer, and of events in Calais during August 1347, probably from newsletters (pp. 86–8).

25. Notes on the deaths from plague in Avignon and the Midi in 1348, apparently from the papal curia (p. 96).

26. Notes of the prices of commodities and the level of wages after the plague in 1348–9, presumably from sources in Leicester (pp. 100, 102).

27. An account of diplomatic discussions with papal envoys on provisors, and on a truce in honour of the Roman jubilee of 1350, likely to derive from a written source (p. 106).

28. Descriptions of operations around Calais by Lancaster and Sir John Beauchamp, in the spring and early summer of 1351, probably from newsletters (p. 110).

29. An account of negotiations over David II's release which appears to confuse events in 1348 and 1352, and may draw upon a newsletter or political poem (p. 112). See also no. 32, below.

30. A letter from the duke of Brunswick challenging Henry, duke of Lancaster, to a duel (p. 114). In French, undated, but 1352.

31. An account of the duel arranged in Paris, December 1352, and the discomfiture of the duke of Brunswick, with a list of the duke of Lancaster's advisers and supporters: probably a mixture of documentary and reminiscential reports (pp. 114–18).

32. A further account of negotiations with the Scots (pp. 120–2). See also no. 29, above.

33. An account of the diplomatic mission undertaken by Lancaster and Arundel in the autumn of 1354, and their subsequent visit to Avignon, December 1354, again probably a mixture of written and oral reports (pp. 126–8).

34. A report of the trial and execution of two or more Spiritual Franciscans at Avignon, in June 1354, with a profession of faith attributed to Giovanni de Castiglione, OFM, presumably from the office of the Inquisition (pp. 132–4).

35. An account of the duke of Lancaster's campaign in Brittany and Normandy in the summer of 1356, probably from newsletters (pp. 138–42).

36. A report of prisoners taken by Prince Edward before the battle of Poitiers, probably from newsletters or a despatch (p. 142).

37. The English order of battle and an account of the action at Poitiers, 19 September 1356 (pp. 142–4).

38. Lists of casualties and prisoners at Poitiers, from newsletters or despatches, characterized by some striking mis-spelling of names (pp. 146–8). In French.

39. An account of Jean II's arrival in London, 24 May 1357, probably from a newsletter (p. 150).

40. An account of fighting at Honfleur, and the intervention of Robert Knollys, probably from a newsletter (p. 154).

41. A brief description of a skirmish outside Paris, probably from a newsletter (p. 160).

42. An account of a Scottish embassy, dated to 1358, and said to have been led by David II, seeking a commercial treaty with England, (p. 162).

43. Stories of Robert Knollys's campaigns in France, probably from newsletters or poems (p. 164).

44. Stories of the winter campaign in eastern France, December 1359–January 1360, with the storming of Autry-en-Dormois, Cernay-en-Dormois, Cormicy, and Manre, at least in part from newsletters (p. 172).

45. An account of a skirmish at Favril, in January 1360, and prisoners taken there, probably from a newsletter (p. 174).

46. An account of Edward III's demonstration before Paris at Easter, 1360, probably from a newsletter (p. 176).

47. A text of the treaty of Brétigny, May–October 1360 (pp. 180–2).

48. A note of the death of Charles de Blois at Auray, 29 September 1364, probably from a newsletter (p. 192).

49. A reference to an engagement at Villedieu, 13 August 1366, probably from a newsletter (p. 192).
50. An account of the campaign and battle of Nájera, 3 April 1367, probably based on newsletters (p. 194).
51. A letter from the college of cardinals, describing the election and enthronement of Urban VI, which Knighton says was displayed in Rome under the emperor's seal (pp. 202–6).
52. An account of events in London during the Peasants' Revolt in June 1381, which Knighton may have edited and augmented rather than composed (pp. 208–20; see also below, p. lxxv).
53. Three letters in English, partly rhymed, ascribed to Jack Miller, Jack Carter, and Jack Trueman, whom Knighton calls leaders of the revolt (p. 222).
54. Two letters in English, in the name of John Ball (pp. 222–4).
55. Extensive extracts from *De periculis nouissimorum temporum*, by Guillaume de Saint-Amour, comprising chapters 4 and 8, and the proem of the work (pp. 244–50).
56. A statement in English on the Eucharist, described by Knighton as Wyclif's first confession (p. 252).
57. A list of Wyclif's opinions condemned at the council at Blackfriars, London, in May 1382, apparently taken from a copy of Archbishop Courtenay's letter of 30 May 1382 (below, no. 60) distributed by the bishop of Lincoln (pp. 254–6).
58. A statement in English on the Eucharist, described by Knighton as Wyclif's second confession (pp. 256–60).
59. An account of a miraculous vision at a celebration of Mass in the Dominican church in London, 32 May 1382, presumably from a clerical newsletter (pp. 260–2).
60. A letter from the bishop of Lincoln, dated 12 July 1382, reciting a letter from the bishop of London, dated 5 June 1382, publishing Archbishop Courtenay's commission of 30 May 1382 for the repression of heresy (pp. 264–70; see also above, no. 57).
61. A decree by William Barton, chancellor of the university of Oxford, against the dissemination of heresy in the university (pp. 270–6). Undated, but February–March 1381.
62. A statement of belief, in English, by Nicholas Hereford, DD, and Philip Repingdon, OSA, DD, 19 June 1382 (pp. 276–8).
63. A statement of belief, in English, by John Aston, MA, 19 June 1382 (pp. 278–80).

64. A list of opinions expressed by [Philip Repingdon] at Leicester and elsewhere (pp. 282–4).
65. Material from two sermons attributed to John Aston, probably 1382 (pp. 286–90).
66. Opinions from a sermon preached by John Purvey at Bristol (pp. 290–2).
67. Material from sermons preached by William Swinderby (p. 310).
68. Letters commissary from the bishop of Lincoln to the official of the archdeaconry of Leicester, 11 July 1382, recounting William Swinderby's trial for heresy, and prescribing his recantation at Lincoln and elsewhere (pp. 314–22).
69. An account of Bishop Despenser's campaign in Flanders, May–September, 1383, probably from newsletters, though not from the bishop's own (pp. 326–8).
70. The financial and administrative ordinances for Despenser's crusade. In French (pp. 330–2).
71. An account of operations around Calais in May 1386, perhaps from a newsletter (p. 346).
72. An account of the exchanges between Richard II and Bishop Arundel and the duke of Gloucester at Eltham, November 1386 (pp. 354–60).
73. An account of the process against Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, in parliament, November 1386. In French (pp. 362–8).
74. Richard II's letters patent, of 19 November 1386, appointing a commission to review and reform the royal administration. In French (pp. 372–80).
75. Richard II's letters patent, of 28 November 1386, securing the authority of the reforming commission, and reciting (in French) the terms of the conditional subsidy granted by parliament (pp. 382–8).
76. An account of prizes taken at sea by Sir William Beauchamp, December 1386–January 1387, perhaps from newsletters (p. 388).
77. An account of the earl of Arundel's exploits as admiral in the spring of 1387, probably from newsletters (pp. 388–90).
78. A memorandum of the nine questions put by the king to the judges assembled at Nottingham in August 1387, with the judges' answers, apparently extracted from the record of the Merciless Parliament (pp. 394–8).

79. An account of Henry Percy's expedition to Brest in September 1387, perhaps from a newsletter (p. 400).

80. The substance of a proclamation, cried in London on 12 November 1387, against supplying the earl of Arundel with provisions or weapons (p. 402).

81. An account of the Appellants' proceedings which probably derives from statements issued by them, and edited by Knighton (pp. 402-4). There follows an item about William Beauchamp at Calais, probably an interpolation, and a series of conversations between the king and various lords at court which seems extraneous to the Appellants' purpose, and may literally represent an oral report (pp. 406-8).

82. The text of a letter sent by the Appellants to the mayor and citizens of London, in French, apparently unique (pp. 410-12). Undated, but November-December 1387.<sup>62</sup>

83. A further account of exchanges between the Appellants and the court, probably a continuation of no. 81, above (pp. 412-14).

84. The text of a proclamation, cried in London, notifying the king's protection of all parties to the lords' appeal. Undated, but December 1387 (pp. 414-16).

85. An account of the flight from court of the king's friends, including a description of the earl of Suffolk's detection in disguise, in Calais, which occurs in other chronicles, and may derive from no. 81, above. A further account of the Appellants' actions follows (pp. 416-20).

86. An account of the battle of Radcot Bridge, 20 December 1387, and its aftermath, with references to *nostrum domini*, and an emphasis upon the role of Henry of Derby. The account of events in the Tower, when the Appellants finally confronted the king in January 1388 has a similar bent, and both may have come to Knighton from Derby's household (pp. 422-6).

87. A list of those arrested or expelled from court in January 1388, at the Appellants' behest (pp. 426-8).

88. An account of the opening of the Merciless Parliament, 3 February 1388, including the arrest of the judges at Westminster, and the formal outlawry of four of the principal defendants on their default (pp. 430-2).

<sup>62</sup> The argument of the letter is specifically addressed to the Londoners, whose sympathy was important to the Appellants, but a reference in *Westm. Chron.*, p. 220, suggests that the Appellants distributed similarly exculpatory texts in other places.

89. An account of an Anglo-French tournament at St-Ingelvert, by Calais, in the spring of 1388, probably from a newsletter (p. 432).

90. A list of twenty-five Lollard opinions and beliefs (pp. 434-8).

91. Letters patent of 23 May 1388, for the confiscation of Lollard books and texts, addressed to commissioners in Leicestershire; probably copied from an original (pp. 438-42).

92. The text of a Commons' petition, in French, apparently addressed to the king and lords in parliament in the spring of 1388, and preserved only by Knighton (pp. 442-50).

93. A reference to an embassy sent by the duke of Guelders to do homage to the king in parliament, which is not recorded on the parliament roll (p. 452).

94. The thirty-nine articles of appeal against the king's principal counsellors, February 1388, in a form derived from the parliament roll. In French (pp. 452-96). The questions addressed to the judges at Nottingham (above, no. 78) may have been similarly displaced in the document which Knighton used (pp. 394-8). Cf. *Westm. Chron.*, 196-202, 258.

95. A summary reference to the process against Sir Nicholas Brembre, which repeats a phrase used earlier in the account of the judicial proceedings in parliament, and is probably copied from no. 81, or a similar source (p. 498).

96. A note on Sir Simon Burley's ostentation in the days of his authority, presumably from an Appellant source (pp. 500).

97. An account of the sentence pronounced against the judges indicted in the Merciless Parliament, including their allowances in exile (pp. 502-4).

98. An account of the battle of Otterburn, 5-6 August 1388, probably from a newsletter (pp. 504-6).

99. A note on the translation of bishops in England during 1388 (p. 506).

100. A text of the statute of 12 Richard II, caps 1-16, enacted at Cambridge in September 1388. In French (pp. 508-26).

101. An account of a Scottish raid in the western March and the English retaliation, March-April 1389, probably from newsletters (pp. 526-8).

102. A report of Richard II's speech to the council when he asserted his authority in May 1389 (p. 530).

103. An extract from the proem to the treaty of Leulinghem, 18 June 1389 (p. 530–2).

104. An account of precautions taken against famine in London in 1391, perhaps from a London newsletter: the first reference to the internal affairs of the city, except for some incidental to the crisis of 1387–8 (p. 538; see also above, no. 18).

105. An account of the statute of 15 Richard II, c. 5, in the autumn of 1391, against enfeoffments to uses as a means of circumventing the law of mortmain (pp. 538–40).

106. A story of a woman who incited her daughter to celebrate Mass, perhaps from a London newsletter (p. 540).

107. The text of a letter from the duke of Guelders to Richard II, urging the king to make war upon the French (p. 542).

108. An account of the duke of Lancaster's reception at Amiens by the king of France, March 1392, probably from a newsletter (pp. 542–4).

109. An account of Richard II's triumph in London, 20 August 1392, upon his reconciliation with the city, probably from a newsletter (pp. 546–8).

110. A perfunctory account of an exchange of views on the Schism between the universities of Paris and Oxford, through the medium of the governments of France and England, August 1395–March 1396 (pp. 550–2).

The three principal categories of texts revealed by that analysis, so far as it goes, are official and public documents, semi-official documents of various kinds, and the sources referred to here as newsletters. Of the first the obvious examples are royal letters patent, issued under the great seal, and the substance of treaties, though even treaties were published in forms that might defy the notion of an agreed and inviolate text. The second category ranges from official documents in versions which were intended for public consumption of some kind rather than for official or administrative use, to polemical tracts and manifestos. It also embraces private memoranda of various kinds, including archival material not primarily intended for publication. The third category, newsletters, might be described as letters which, whether public or private in form, were intended to be read by (or to) more than a single addressee, or which have come by some process to be included in a chronicle. The age had a normal appetite for news,

and chronicles were a significant means, though obviously not the first means, of satisfying it.<sup>63</sup>

Each of those divisions runs in some fashion into the others. The more closely official texts are studied the more difficult it becomes to discern an authoritative original.<sup>64</sup> The widespread circulation of official acts and memoranda often makes it difficult to say whether the variants in such a text as that of the statute of Cambridge which Knighton used (pp. 508–26), or between his own and the registered versions of various episcopal letters (pp. 264–70), derive from their origination, transmission, or final editing and copying. Accounts of parliamentary business were sent out to sheriffs, not always in a final form,<sup>65</sup> and probably came either regularly or intermittently to monastic houses. Abbot Clowne secured Leicester's exemption from the burdens of attending parliament, but there were other ways in which the house, and incidentally its chronicler, could be kept informed. In the process, the precise status of a particular text might become impossible to define.

At the other extreme of semi-official documents was the newsletter, which could on the one hand be an instrument of calculated policy and on the other a sketch for the delectation of friends or family. We may have lost more fourteenth-century letters than have survived, but there are still many to identify and investigate.

#### METHODS

There are two particular points in the chronicle, in the sections dealing with the rise of Lollardy, and with the political crisis of 1387–8, at which it is possible to study Knighton's methods in some detail. In the first instance, he creates his story with a wide variety of documents, chosen and arranged with some deliberation, whilst in the second he appears to insert additional material into an external narrative. His account of the Lollards was certainly conditioned by his relationship with his fellow-canon, Philip Repingdon. His access to

<sup>63</sup> Newsletters are a comparatively neglected source of historical material. For some recent references, see J. Taylor, *English Historical Literature*, pp. 229–30. On the letter as a literary form, see G. Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, *Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age occidental*, fasc. xvii (Turnhout, 1976).

<sup>64</sup> See, further, the editor's remarks in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. the example in 1392 in *Westm. Chron.*, p. 482; and cf. the piecemeal recording of the highly-charged instruments of reform in the autumn of 1386 (below, pp. 372–8).

Henry, earl of Derby, Gaunt's heir, probably played an important part in his approach to the Merciless Parliament.

(i) *Lollardy*

Knighton's treatment of Lollardy raises many considerations. He was a prime witness of the movement, but his account of it is densely compressed and in places deliberately obscure. Lollardy was a manifestation of religious dissent which began in the university with academic debates on the nature of the consecrated elements in the Mass, and the inherent character of authority, both temporal and spiritual.<sup>66</sup> The conclusions to which John Wyclif and his followers were drawn were radical and alarming. By rejecting the doctrine of transubstantiation—the entire transformation at the altar of the consecrated bread and wine into the literal body and blood of Christ—Wyclif subverted the supremacy of the priestly caste, which alone could perform that miracle. By maintaining that all authority depended upon the holder enjoying God's grace, he also raised a threat to secular lordship.<sup>67</sup>

What caused the greatest alarm, however, was the fact that Wyclif came to seek an audience for his teachings outside the university, and that some of his younger disciples preached in the vernacular to the laity. They found a ready response, especially in the East Midlands: it was a process that Knighton was particularly well placed to observe.

On the face of it nothing could be simpler. Knighton was in touch with events in Oxford, through a talented and energetic member of his house. He was also a close and dismayed observer of the rise of Lollardy in Leicester, which was very probably the first, and indisputably the most prominent, of its emplacements outside Oxford. The church had achieved marvels of organization over the previous two centuries, but its whole authority was now imperilled by the combination of Wyclif's philosophical assault with the puritanical extremism of popular dissent. The academic dispute also promised divisions in the university that could greatly impair, and might even destroy, the church's professional cadres.

The mischief lay in the fact that the connecting link between the

<sup>66</sup> The literature on Wyclif's teachings and Lollardy is very extensive. The most useful and cogent guide to the field is now Hudson, *Premature Reformation*. On Wyclif as a philosopher, see A. Kenny, *Wyclif* (Oxford, 1985).

<sup>67</sup> On the progression of Wyclif's thought, see M. Keen, 'Wyclif, the Bible, and transubstantiation', in *Wyclif in his Times*, ed. A. Kenny (Oxford, 1986), pp. 1–16, at pp. 13–16.

two movements was none other than Knighton's principal informant, his fellow-canon Philip Repingdon.<sup>68</sup> Having tempered his early enthusiasm both for Wyclif's philosophy and for the social radicalism of Lollardy, Repingdon lived to become abbot of Leicester in 1393, and in 1404, when Knighton was presumably dead, bishop of Lincoln. As he was robustly pleased with himself as a young man, and did not become a notable persecutor of his former associates as he rose in the church,<sup>69</sup> it may be that he was less embarrassed by the irony of his position than was Knighton. He was evidently satisfied with Knighton's elementary precautions to keep his name out of the narrative,<sup>70</sup> and he did not forbid work on the chronicle, which he certainly had the power to do. The immediate difficulty was rather in Knighton's own uncompromising opinions, upon heresy on the one hand, and on the fame and reputation of the house on the other.

Those considerations certainly affected the way in which Knighton handled the documentary evidence. Repingdon appears to have supplied him with a good deal of material, including one of the few surviving copies of the first formal proscription of Wyclif's teaching (above, no. 61). The period is not one in which the university's administration is regularly documented, because its records were compiled and saved only casually.<sup>71</sup> It is nevertheless clear that the authorities in Oxford were slow to act against heresy in the schools, and indeed were deeply divided on the issue, until the chancellor William Barton moved against Wyclif early in the winter of 1380–1.

Knighton preserves one of three known copies of Barton's decree, but he records it out of sequence. In fact, although he appears to discuss the growth of opposition to Wyclif's thought he does so from the standpoint of, and mainly with material derived from, Archbishop Courtenay's proceedings in 1382, which came almost a year later than

<sup>68</sup> It may only be that we know most about popular Lollardy in Leicester because Knighton wrote there, but Philip Repingdon, although not the most persistent of the academic Lollards, does seem to have been a prime mover in the programme of popular instruction. His energy, and the anomalies of his career, make him a figure of exceptional interest; see further below, n. 69.

<sup>69</sup> On Repingdon's career, see *BRUO* 1565–7. On his treatment of Lollards, see particularly *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor, 1406, and the Testimony of William Thorpe, 1407*, ed. A. Hudson (EETS Orig. Ser., ccc, Oxford, 1993), pp. 42, 88–9; and the commentary *ibid.* pp. 112–13. Repingdon's conference with Margery Kempe, the mystic, is another indication of a relatively open mind (*BRUO* 1567).

<sup>70</sup> See below, pp. 276 n. 3, 282 n. 5.

<sup>71</sup> See e.g. the observations in *Munimenta Academica*, ed. H. Anstey (RS I, London, 1868), i, pp. xiv, xix–xx; and *HUO* i. 53 n. 4.

Barton's decree and Wyclif's withdrawal from the university.<sup>72</sup> Even so it must have seemed to him that what he did was bold enough, for he actually copied the fly-sheets in which Repingdon and his friends, Nicholas Hereford and John Aston, sought popular support for their defiance of the university authorities and the archbishop.<sup>73</sup> He suppressed Repingdon's name, however, and turned to describe Nicholas Hereford's journey to Rome and his condemnation there.

When he came to describe the activities of Wyclif's other early disciples, he also listed a series of heretical opinions which he seems to have heard from Repingdon in Leicester (below, pp. 282-4). The chronicler and his future abbot, between them, could scarcely have gone further in preserving the truth.

In describing popular Lollardy in Leicestershire, and in particular the career of William Swinderby, Knighton again based his narrative on texts, including some from the bishop's chancery at Lincoln. Bishop Buckingham was moved to act against the Lollards in Leicester even before the archbishop of Canterbury took action against heresy over the whole province. He began the process against William Swinderby early in March 1382, when he sent out inhibitions and summoned Swinderby to appear before him. He then invited further denunciations of Swinderby's teaching, and eventually secured his condemnation and proscription. In the meantime there was great excitement in Leicester, where Swinderby's own popularity, and his evident gift for securing publicity, were strongly reinforced by popular curiosity. The suspect heretic preached to larger congregations than ever before.<sup>74</sup>

Swinderby, however, although an interesting and significant figure, was by this time a symptom as well as a cause of unrest. Knighton sets his opinions beside others which had been heard in the town and elsewhere: those of Repingdon, decently disguised, those preached by John Aston, a visitor from Oxford and a close associate of Repingdon's, whom Knighton describes as a busy traveller, and those of Wyclif's closest companion at Lutterworth, John Purvey (above, nos. 64-6). Various reports went to Lincoln, where the bishop's clerks drew up a preliminary list of suspect opinions attributed to

Swinderby, some of which Knighton had ascribed to Aston. In the meantime Archbishop Courtenay assembled the celebrated council, at the Black Friars' house in London, which before it was brought to a sudden end by an earthquake condemned a long list of Wyclif's conclusions. The council's findings were duly published (above, nos. 57 and 60) in every diocese in the province.

By the time that Swinderby was brought to book there was therefore plenty of evidence to attest the prevalence and dangers of Lollardy, and a strong sense of urgency amongst the orthodox. At a greater distance from Lincoln than Knighton, Thomas Walsingham, at St Albans, also gathered or received material from the bishop's chancery, including the preliminary list of Swinderby's opinions, and wrote an account of two sermons preached by Swinderby, one on Palm Sunday and one on Good Friday 1382, both replete with doctrinal error, but closely related to Aston's sermon as reported by Knighton.<sup>75</sup>

There is therefore a conflict of evidence between Knighton and Walsingham, which Knighton's proximity to the events might appear to resolve in his favour. When K. B. McFarlane examined Buckingham's register, however, and found that Walsingham's account of the sermons largely matched the list of Swinderby's teachings (which are not there said to have been preached on any particular occasion), he concluded that Knighton was in blind or wilful error. He accepted Walsingham's version of events, and pointed out with lugubrious relish that the only result of his uncovering new evidence was to undermine what had previously been regarded as a well-informed source.<sup>76</sup>

There is, however, no good ground for supposing that Knighton was mistaken in saying that Aston had preached in Leicester, and on a Palm Sunday. In the first place the points upon which Swinderby was condemned were different in several respects from the assertions of which he was accused. In particular the statement about the appearance and nature of the consecrated host, which Knighton attributes to Aston, sounds more like a popular exposition of the academic debate

<sup>72</sup> See A. Hudson, 'Wycliffism in Oxford, 1381-1411', in *Wyclif in his Times*, ed. A. Kenny, pp. 67-84; and below, pp. 264-76.

<sup>73</sup> See above, nos. 62-3, and below, pp. 276-80. See also M. Aston, 'Wyclif and the vernacular', *SCH Subsidia*, v (1987), pp. 281-330, at pp. 297-300, 328-30. I differ from Dr Aston in reading one phrase in the texts, but not at all in her assessment of their purpose.

<sup>74</sup> See below, pp. 310, 312.

<sup>75</sup> The assertion in the Good Friday sermon (*Chron. Anglie*, p. 341) that tithes should be withheld from sinful priests, which is echoed but not precisely repeated in Swinderby's condemnation, is said to have been attested by the vicar of Frisby, the rural dean of Goscote, a detail not attributable to the bishop's register. It therefore seems that Walsingham had access to some circumstantial material, though it does not follow that it was all correctly ascribed, or that he did not himself edit it.

<sup>76</sup> See *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 140-1.



upon transubstantiation than like the other views to which Swinderby was brought to admit. It was certainly dropped from the process against him. Beyond that, however, is the fact that several of Swinderby's admitted errors coincide with the list of Wyclif's teachings condemned at the Blackfriars council. Knighton himself points out the remarkable homogeneity of the opinions which the Lollards expressed, and it is evident that the academic and the popular movements, so far as they can be distinguished, had much in common at an early date. It may also be, nevertheless, that contemporaries did not always distinguish accurately between one heretic and another.

If we add to those considerations the fact that Knighton says particularly that he had heard Aston preach 'one Palm Sunday', it would seem that we need not add to the difficulties of resolving the chronology and development of early Lollardy by rejecting one of our principal sources out of hand. Repingdon, who took his doctorate in Trinity term 1382, must have been in the Oxford schools for more than a decade. There would have been many occasions, and even several Palm Sundays, on which Aston could have visited Leicester. The clergy of the diocese were invited to denounce Swinderby, as some evidently did, but they were also urged to repress heresy at large, and some may have confused occasions, or improved upon them. In the excitement, they seem to have done both.

(ii) *The crisis of 1387-8*

The account of the Lords Appellants' assault on the king's friends is another substantial ingredient of the chronicle, and is based in part on a version of the parliament roll. It is difficult to determine the full extent of the external material which Knighton was using. It may be, for example, that both he and the Westminster chronicler decided, separately and coincidentally, to extract the judges' fatal answers to the king's questions from the parliament roll (or whatever version of the proceedings they used), and put them in their proper chronological place in the narrative of 1387, but it is evidently also possible that that decision had already been made by whosoever prepared the text.<sup>77</sup>

<sup>77</sup> There are obvious resemblances between Knighton's narrative in 1387-8 and the Westminster chronicle (see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. li-liv), but they are not close enough to define a common source. On the other hand the fact that both chroniclers seem to have inserted details of the arrests in and expulsions from the royal household in January 1388, again in similar but not identical forms, suggests that they had much the same material to hand.

At all events, Knighton seems to be drawing on at least one other narrative. There may be a clue to it in the term 'the king's seducers' which he uses to describe Archbishop Neville, the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, Sir Robert Tresilian, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, and applies to them, during the preliminaries to the Merciless Parliament, almost as remorselessly as the articles of the appeal refer to them as traitors and evil-doers. The expression appears first in a brief reference to the council at Shrewsbury, which preceded the meeting at Nottingham in August 1387, where they suddenly figure as 'the aforesaid seducers'. They then appear again as seducers at Nottingham, but the three in attendance on the king as he passed through Leicester in October, on his way to London, are referred to in conventional terms. On their arrival in London, however, they become 'intimates', seducers again, and finally traitors.

It may be that Knighton has accidentally omitted some part of his own narrative, but it seems more likely that he had before him quite a lengthy text justifying the Appellants' proceedings, which used the expression *seductores*. He inserted into it an account of the king's journey northward through Leicester at the beginning of the year, and his subsequent visit to Coventry. He then made a further interpolation noting the king's return and sojourn in the abbey, an occasion which he did not wish to mar by reflections on other members of the company. In the process some prior reference to the seducers was lost.

Further questions arise over the relationship between the Appellants' manifesto and the account of the parliamentary process against the seducers, evil-doers, and traitors. The preparation of the indictment, which was read in full on the first day of the parliament, must have been in hand for some time, and there are even indications that part of it was drawn up before the Appellants were aware of the full extent of the judges' determinations at Nottingham.<sup>78</sup> By the same reckoning, Gloucester and his colleagues, amongst whom Arundel was probably the most purposeful, could not have afforded to wait for parliament to meet before declaring their cause, and it is clear that they had addressed some particular audiences before they secured their position by routing the duke of Ireland and occupying London.<sup>79</sup> They may have circulated a series of bulletins, perhaps in successive recensions, both to their sympathizers and to the uncommitted.

<sup>78</sup> See below, p. 476 and n. 1.

<sup>79</sup> See the proclamation, above, no. 82, and below, pp. 410-12.

There were probably also many poems and songs in circulation, but only fragments of the narratives have survived.<sup>80</sup>

Meanwhile a chronicler who was both an historian and a political commentator had to use what was to hand, and Knighton, having described the preliminaries to the session and outlined its principal business, returned to the theme of Lollardy partly because it concerned and fascinated him, and partly, perhaps, because a full account of the principal business of the parliament was not immediately available. He did, however, acquire and copy the text of a petition (above, no. 92) that was eloquent of popular discontent with the Appellants' rule, before he eventually turned to the indictment which was meant to be their grand and final justification.

#### THEMES AND TOPICS

Besides being a conscientious collector and editor of material, anxious to acknowledge but also to improve upon his sources, Knighton dearly liked a good story. As there are some direct and many implied references to conversations in the work it is reasonable to think that it was not entirely a labour of solitary research. It has, nevertheless, an unmistakable literary base.

Down to 1337 the text is full of ascriptions and references to its two major sources, Higden and Guisborough. Thereafter they give place to a steady fire of anecdotes, connecting narrative, and reflections. It is noticeable that the one substantial item in the second part of the chronicle which is, unlike the archival material, attributable to another author, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, is scrupulously noted, and its chapter numbers cited. It is also quoted with a minimum of interpolation, whereas the putative narrative of the Appellants' proceedings, (above, no 81), seems to have been extensively annotated. The only other authors explicitly noted, apart from such figures as Wyclif and others to whom statements or opinions are ascribed, are Bede and Mahomet, writings of both of whom were available in the library at Leicester.<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> On political verse, see J. R. Maddicott, 'Poems of social protest in fourteenth-century England', *England in the Fourteenth Century* ed. W. M. Ormrod (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 130-44. Specimens from the 15th cent. are more abundant, and not different in kind: see V. J. Scattergood, *Politics and Poetry in the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1971); and E. Meneghetti, 'La Guerra delle Due Rose nella poesia politica del XV secolo', Dott. Litt. dissertation (Università degli Studi di Milano, 1992).

<sup>81</sup> See above, p. xxx. The Koran may have been bound with Guillaume de Saint-Amour's *Summa*.

As an Augustinian Knighton lived under the rule of his order, with a daily obligation to discharge his priestly duties and accept his abbot's authority, but not bound, as was a monk, to continuous residence in the abbey. Any expectation that Austin canons would be able to discharge parochial duties in the churches with which their houses were endowed had proved impossible to sustain. Leicester Abbey itself was given more than fifty churches, in half-a-dozen counties,<sup>82</sup> but its landed estate was also extensive, and the senior canons would have had many occasions to travel, in Leicestershire and farther afield. As we know almost nothing of the internal administration of the house throughout its long history, we cannot tell whether Knighton ever acted as an obedientiary, an officer with departmental responsibilities. However, his frequent attention to prices, wages, and the value of commodities might suggest some such experience, perhaps as cellarer or bursar.<sup>83</sup>

The chronicle is also informed by a number of other themes, some of which no doubt are products of the times, whilst others might argue a particular curiosity or preoccupation, which in turn could reveal something of the author himself. He was by definition a man of some education, and apparently also of some practical experience. The age in which he lived was one of distinguished artistic, literary, and other intellectual accomplishments, offset by the accidental and induced catastrophes of pestilence and war. His chronicle is by no means narrowly focused.

(i) *The King and the Court*. The monarchy was a natural object of interest, and a constant subject of news. Knighton saw both Edward III and Richard II at Leicester, and Richard on several occasions. Both kings are prominent in the chronicle, which covers roughly the same proportions of their respective reigns. Edward's is unmistakably the larger figure, from his early determination to secure his rights in France to his later dazzling, though politically unproductive, triumphs in battle.

Knighton has no occasion to criticize Edward, and the idea was probably alien to him. Richard's is a more enigmatic character, but he emerges as intelligent and formidable, with no suggestion of his ultimate fate. Knighton's references to the court, except during the

<sup>82</sup> See Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 92-203.

<sup>83</sup> See below, p. lxi n. 102, and pp. 100, 102.



last weeks of 1387, are to a theatre of pageantry rather than a political casino (see also below, (iii) *Thomas Woodstock*).

(ii) *The House of Lancaster*. Although Knighton would have admitted the primacy of the monarchy, and admired and respected Edward III and Prince Edward, his foremost interest is in the house of Lancaster, personified by Henry of Grosmont and John of Gaunt. Henry is a hero from his first appearance, in his father's lifetime (a passage written not earlier than 1351), and Gaunt, *pius* where Henry is *nobilis*, is a figure of equal consequence. The chronicle relates the accomplishments, activities, public concerns, and connections of both dukes. Members of the Lancastrian retinue make relatively sparing but significant appearances in the narrative. They are more prominent than any of the canons of Leicester, and they were presumably an important source of information even where they were not avowed.

Knighton is exceptional in taking a consistently favourable view of Gaunt, but his admiration for Duke Henry is constant and unclouded, and except for one extended essay on Gaunt's presence of mind and self-possession, in 1381, the long tale of Henry's triumphs bulks larger in the text. It is not clear that Knighton ever met Henry. He does not say that he did, though he is careful to say that he had seen Edward III, and he speaks familiarly of Gaunt. If he had newly entered the abbey in 1363, the earliest date which we can assign to him, it might be that he missed Henry by two years.<sup>84</sup>

(iii) *Thomas Woodstock, Duke of Gloucester*. Gloucester's birth in 1355 is noted in terms that date the entry to 1385 or later. His prominence in 1387–8 as an Appellant speaks for itself, but Knighton shows other signs of interest in him. He does not emerge anywhere as a warm-hearted man, but he was undeniably energetic. He also belongs, with the very different figure of Henry of Lancaster, to the select company of medieval noblemen who seem to have written a book.<sup>85</sup> He certainly owned books, and although he is not now renowned for his literary interests, they probably gave him some

<sup>84</sup> But see below, p. lxxv.

<sup>85</sup> *L'Ordinance d'Angleterre, pour le camp à l'outrance ou gage de bataille*: see F. Grose, *Antiquarian Repertory*, 2nd edn., ii (1808), 209–19; and *The Black Book of the Admiralty*, ed. T. Twiss (RS iv, 4 vols., London, 1871–6), i. 300–29. Gloucester had some influence in Oxford, and there are indications that he was interested in the Lollards (see below, pp. 294, n. 1). On his literacy, and his library at Pleshey, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 77–8, 80–1. For Lancaster, see *Le Livre de Seyntz Medicines: The Unpublished Devotional Treatise of Henry of Lancaster*, ed. E. J. Arnould (Anglo-Norman Texts, ii, Oxford, 1940).

reputation in scholarly circles (see also below, (xv) *The University of Oxford*).

(iv) *The Earls of Warwick*, and other members of the Beauchamp family. There were dynastic connections between Lancaster and Warwick, but Knighton's interest seems to go beyond them. In particular the young Guy of Warwick, who died in France in 1360, is a significant figure, perhaps as the male heir whom Duke Henry was denied, but who was in turn cut off in his prime (see also below, (vi) *War*).

(v) *Other noble houses*. The Staffords are prominent, and again were connected with Lancaster, as was the earl of Arundel. There is a curious glancing reference to Archbishop Courtenay's lineage during his visitation of the diocese of Lincoln in 1389, as though it were not enough that he was primate.

(vi) *War*. Whatsoever audience Knighton had in mind for his work, it could be presumed to enjoy descriptions of campaigns, battles, sieges, pursuits, the procurement of supplies, and the earthly joys of plunder. The activities of the noble families might seem a sufficient source of such copy in themselves, but Knighton also knew that expeditions had to be planned and paid for, and he most evidently relished a good story and a good fight. The mythical Guy of Warwick's combat with Colibrand (which also relates to (iv) *The Earls of Warwick*, above) is a striking example, but it was not thrown in for want of copy from the battle-fields of the day. Lists of enemy casualties and prisoners (important for their ransoms) occupy some two full folios of the fourteenth-century section of the chronicle, and details of the battles themselves, and of marches and encampments, and of tournaments and duels, a great deal more. Tournaments are noticed quite frequently, though there were obviously many more at the time. In referring to them Knighton is usually, though not invariably, concerned with some individual participant.

(vii) *Diplomacy*. The business of diplomacy is a major interest, from Edward's ventures in the Empire, and Flanders, in the 1330s to the negotiations with France in the 1390s. The chronicle includes the texts of two treaties, Esplechin (1340) and Brétigny (1360), with the draft of another inadvertently omitted in 1358, and many references

to the course and outcome of embassies and negotiations (see also below, (viii) *The Church*).

(viii) *The Church*. The church was an unforced object of attention for a clerical writer, but whilst Knighton's attitudes were orthodox and hierarchic he was neither a clerical zealot nor a strident partisan of his order. The papal curia features largely in terms of diplomacy and the war, but also as a financial drain. Knighton expresses well the ambivalence of English attitudes, on the one hand loyal to the institution, and to the pope as the head of the church, whilst on the other suspicious and contemptuous of Avignon's prevalent French sympathies, and resentful of its insatiable needs. He shows no concern with the king's constant need to drive diplomatic and administrative bargains with the pope. He is not particularly interested in other religious orders, though he sympathizes with the clerics endangered in 1381, and exults in the prowess of the bishop of Norwich on that occasion.

The diocese of Lincoln appears only occasionally, but except for the unfeeling comments on the mendicants in 1348, which are extraordinary in themselves, Knighton expresses neither animus against, nor any particular concern with, anyone of orthodox views. He is neutral in his account of Archbishop FitzRalph's dispute with the mendicant orders, and certainly does not distinguish between the Lollards' assault on the friars and their criticism of the endowed orders (see also above, (vii) *Diplomacy*; and below, (xi) *Leicester Abbey*, and (xviii) *Lollardy*).

(ix) *Parliament, and taxation*. Meetings of parliament are regularly noted, as are some great councils, but before 1386 they are reported almost entirely in terms of taxation, noting both the lay subsidies and customs duties granted by parliament, and the matching subsidies from the clergy. The abbot of Leicester was not summoned to parliament after 1352, but the change does not affect Knighton's view of events. The coverage of the Merciless Parliament, in 1388, reflects its exceptional nature as a manifestation of political conflict close to civil war.

(x) *Prices, commodities, and trade*. Knighton seems to have had records of local prices from the beginning of the century, and he frequently notes conditions in the Leicester markets, where the abbey probably

sold rather than bought. As landlords the canons had a natural interest in wages, and in labour legislation. They were also much concerned with the trade in wool, which was both a major resource of their estates and a constant object of taxation.

(xi) *Leicester Abbey and its estates*. The abbey was not an obsessive interest, though Knighton shows it vigilant in defending its rights. Apart from the encomium upon Abbot Clowne, whose election in the autumn of 1345 is not mentioned, and some references to lawsuits, the house does not figure prominently, though its concerns and connections were a useful source of news on other topics (see also below, (xiii) *Scotland*, and (xiv) *Flanders*).

(xii) *Other local affairs*. Even without his specific references to Leicester it would be plain that Knighton wrote in the Midlands. His reports of local events are mainly of a sensational kind: a murder, epidemics, meteorological and other natural and supernatural phenomena, and though they often emanate from Leicestershire they also touch Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, and Warwickshire (see also above, (iv) *The Earls of Warwick*). Apart from the account of William Swinderby's trial, Lincoln appears only because a gang of thieves included the cathedral in a series of sacrilegious raids in 1363-4, and another gang, of counterfeiters, was brought to trial there in 1386. The occasional references to Cheshire, a breeding-ground of troublesome men, might owe something to a source in the prince's household, but local and regional news would have come chiefly from merchants and other travellers (see also (xiii) *Scotland*).

(xiii) *Scotland and Anglo-Scottish affairs*. Events in Scotland are not always accurately reported, but they are kept in view over the whole length of the chronicle. Professor A. A. M. Duncan has pointed out that in discussing Scotland Knighton excels in persistence rather than precision,<sup>86</sup> but the persistence is eloquent. The house probably had a network of informants in the north, and knew something of both sides of the Pennines. The abbey's cell at Cockerham was one channel of information, but Carlisle and Guisborough would have been more substantial sources,<sup>87</sup> and so again would the Lancastrian household.

<sup>86</sup> 'David II and Edward III', pp. 132-4.

<sup>87</sup> The abbot had a house at Cockerham, and there seem to have been canons in residence there: see *VCH Lancs*, ii. 152-3; and *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 7, 25-6. On Carlisle and Guisborough, see above, p. xxxi.

The view of the Scots is on the whole a borderer's view, except perhaps that their generosity to Gaunt in 1381 is warmly praised.

(xiv) *Flanders and the Netherlands.* The Low Countries are another area of consistent interest. As with Scotland, their affairs are not always accurately reported, but the stories about them are generally lively, and quite wide-ranging. The wool trade presumably provided the conduit.<sup>88</sup>

(xv) *The University of Oxford.* Oxford appears late in the chronicle, but not exclusively as the fount of Lollardy. The references to the affairs of the university, which include the duke of Gloucester's intervention in a crisis in 1389, can largely be attributed to Philip Repingdon's residence and connections there (see also OMISSIONS, below, p. lviii).

(xvi) *London.* Like Oxford, London is a relatively late feature of the narrative. There are not many references before Richard II's reign, though they include the spectacle of two kings, David II of Scotland and Jean II of France, committed to the Tower as prisoners of war, and the later housing of Jean in the Savoy. From the Peasants' Revolt onwards, however, there are more, and they are emphasized at the end by the story of the king's quarrel with the citizens, and the pageantry of their reconciliation.

(xvii) *Women, and sexual mores.* As a cleric, and a social commentator, Knighton could be expected to pay some attention to public and private morality, but his interests ranged quite widely over the spectrum of relations between men and women. Some of his items are banal enough: a domestic murder, perhaps two, if the enigmatic reference to Sir Walter Bentley's fate is taken at face value, and three if John Walsh and Martigo de Villeneuve fought in 1384 over Martigo's wife. He speaks with abhorrence of the abduction and rape of women by the French at Winchelsea, though it never occurs to him to condemn the ravages of the English in France. There are two divorces, a relatively high score for the time, and naturally many marriages: Richard II's own (an important source of stability while Queen Anne lived), Earl Henry's daughters', the 'Oswestry' connection, Gaunt's marriages, his daughters' marriages, the Bohun

<sup>88</sup> See further below, pp. 56, 452.

connection, Prince Edward's marriage to Joan of Kent, and Edmund of Cambridge's to Doña Isabella of Castile.

The tally is largely Lancastrian, sometimes a matter of diplomacy, and very much a matter of property, although Knighton does not dwell on those aspects, and other passions were also involved. He has nothing to say on the earl of Arundel's affair with Henry of Grosmont's sister<sup>89</sup>, but he speaks freely and edifyingly of John of Gaunt's with Katharine Swynford. If the chronicle was read aloud, and it was apparently intended to be (p. 238, below), then Gaunt was either a truly long-suffering man, as Knighton believed him to be, or perhaps exceptionally self-intent.

Knighton is conventionally mistrustful of women. He acknowledges the soundness of William Swinderby's strictures upon their waywardness, though he observes that Swinderby himself had no notion of moderation. He is also alarmed to see that 'that hidden treasure of the kingdom which is in women's hands', in plate and jewellery, as well as cash, could be put in jeopardy by their impulsive piety. He is outraged, but also fascinated, by a story of a band of women attending tournaments in men's clothes, and reports it as something of an epidemic, which, however exciting it was, it can hardly have been.<sup>90</sup> He notices women amongst the Lollards, including the anchoress Matilda, and he feared the worst from the fact that women might read the scriptures in English. It is not clear whether he saw the woman who dressed her daughter as a priest, and incited her to read the mass, as a Lollard, or as merely deranged (see also below, (xviii) *Lollardy*).

(xviii) *Lollardy.* Knighton's treatment of Lollardy (for which see also above, pp. xlii–xlv), is of exceptional interest, and almost in a category of its own. The manifest embarrassments of the subject to a Leicester canon made its presentation a nervous affair, but he had an unrivalled view of the movement in its earliest stages, and was deeply distressed by it. All that he says about it deserves close attention.

It is interesting that although Knighton had direct connections with the academic Lollards in Oxford, and deprecated their views, he

<sup>89</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 46; and below, p. 47 n. 5.

<sup>90</sup> Real or imagined, the episode has obvious affinities with an earlier story, in which, in turn, the reversal of men's and women's roles is probably more significant than its setting. See S. Westphal-Wihl, 'The ladies' tournament: marriage, sex, and honor in thirteenth-century Germany', *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. J. M. Bennett and others (Chicago, 1989), pp. 162–89.

presented Lollardy mainly as a local and popular phenomenon. It seemed to him none the less dangerous on that account, and he thought it likely, both by its beliefs and the attitudes which they engendered, to disrupt the whole fabric of the church. He collected all the material that he could find, little as he liked it, and set it down as a warning to the faithful. His observation that new recruits were swiftly absorbed into the movement, and expressed the beliefs which they acquired in a manner indistinguishable from that of other and longer-established members, is particularly interesting. If he had been told before he died that his then abbot would be the next bishop of Lincoln but one, he would, though mistakenly, have been even more apprehensive.

(xix) *Disease, and public health.* There are several references to diseases in the chronicle, including two enigmatic epidemics, in 1340 and 1355, and an unusually precise account of the first onset of the bubonic plague in Leicester in 1349, which gives the totals of deaths in individual parishes. There is also a note that eleven canons of the house died in the outbreak of 1361, which killed Henry of Lancaster and probably also his daughter Maud. Other medical items are passing references to the provisions for nursing in the new Trinity Hospital in Leicester in 1354, to the fame of John of Gaunt's physician, William Appleton, OFM, who was murdered at the Tower in 1381, and to the ravages of dysentery and other diseases amongst the English army after the battle of Najera. The efforts enjoined by the Statute of Cambridge, 1388, to improve the sanitation of towns deserve notice in the same context.

(xx) *Prodigies.* All chroniclers noted prodigies of various kinds, which, except when they concern such phenomena as storms and earthquakes, are not readily referable from one source to another. Knighton has quite frequent notes on the weather, and his prodigies are mainly atmospheric phenomena: some of them, like the fiery dragon in the spring of 1388, which was seen over a wide area, probably referring to meteorites,<sup>91</sup> or to displays of the *aurora borealis*. They also include two mysterious diseases (see (xix) *Disease*, above), and the utterances of a magical head at Oxford, in 1388.

<sup>91</sup> Cf. the meteorite seen in Buckinghamshire in 1668, by Anthony Wood, who described it as a *draco volans* falling from the sky: *Life and Times of Anthony Wood*, ed. A. Clark, ii. 133-4.

## OMISSIONS

The range of Knighton's concerns makes the question of what he did not include, amongst those matters of which he might reasonably have been expected to have some opinion, one of some interest. The following seem to be the most substantial.

a. The parliamentary crisis of 1340-41. It is unlikely, though not impossible, that Knighton had any personal experience of the 1340s to recall, but he deals in some detail with Edward III's preliminary campaigns in France. It seems odd that he has nothing to say about one of the most rousing parliamentary and constitutional episodes of Edward's reign, although he refers incidentally to the king's dissatisfaction with his ministers in the autumn of 1340 (See below, pp. 24, and 30).

b. The death of Jakob van Artevelde, in 1345. Knighton mentions van Artevelde's part in Edward's plans for Flanders in 1340, but not his fall and death in 1345, nor the parallel of his son's career, and his death in 1382 (see below, *i*). First and last, the Flemish material in the chronicle seems to come from English travellers rather than a native source.<sup>92</sup>

c. Earl Henry of Lancaster's funeral at Leicester, in 1345. The fact that Knighton has nothing to say about Henry of Lancaster's funeral, which was attended by Edward III and Philippa, and many courtiers, suggests that he was, for whatsoever reason, not in Leicester at that time.

d. Abbot Clowne's election, in 1345, and the general chapter of the Augustinian Order held at Leicester in 1346. Again, and especially given his admiration for Clowne, and the importance of a provincial chapter of the order, it seems likely that Knighton did not witness those events.

e. The details of Henry of Lancaster's capture of Bergerac in 1345. Knighton's reticence over Bergerac is a relative matter, because he does briefly mention its capture, but there are more elaborate accounts of other episodes – Lancaster's mission to Avignon in 1354, for example, or his campaign in Normandy in 1356 – and the seizure of Bergerac was a striking and well-documented coup. There is also a later reference to Lancaster's building the Savoy with the profits (below, p. 188).

<sup>92</sup> See above, (xiv) *Flanders*; and below, p. 352 n. 2.

f. The foundation of the Order of the Garter, in 1348. The Garter is a subject which might have been expected particularly to attract Knighton's attention, not least because Henry of Lancaster was one of the original knights. Its absence is at least a minor anomaly.

g. The riots in Oxford which began on St Scholastica's day (10 February) 1355. The St Scholastica's Day riots were an event of lasting consequence for the university (and in another sense for the city) of Oxford.<sup>93</sup> It would seem that when they occurred no one from Leicester or, more exactly, no informant of Knighton's, was in residence at the university.

h. Events at Leicester castle, which appears only briefly, in 1381. The appearance of only a single explicit reference to Leicester castle in the narrative is remarkable, and not readily explained. It was a favoured Lancastrian residence, and must have been at all times, from the duke's private apartments to the wood-yard, a prime source of material for Knighton.<sup>94</sup>

i. Filip van Artevelde's attempt to revive the English alliance with Ghent in 1382. Although Knighton was aware of the shortcomings of English policy in Flanders, and collected some sensational stories of events there (below, pp. 56, 452) he seems to have had no direct knowledge of the affairs of Ghent, nor of van Artevelde's death at Roosebek in November 1382. See also above, b.

j. The murder of a Carmelite friar by members of the royal household at Salisbury in 1384. The death of the Carmelite friar<sup>95</sup> is a different matter. It was not only scandalous in itself, but followed an accusation which the friar had made against the duke of Lancaster, and some of Gaunt's retainers were parties to the murder. Gaunt's knowledge of the incident was a matter of dispute, and Knighton probably thought it distastefully embarrassing, and better left alone.

k. The death of Urban VI, 15 October 1389, and the election of Boniface IX. The absence of any reference to Urban's death stands out only because a passing reference in the account of Despenser's crusade might be taken to imply the death of Clement VII, an event

<sup>93</sup> See R. Fasnacht, *A History of the City of Oxford* (Oxford, 1954), pp. 65–70.

<sup>94</sup> Knighton refers expressly to two such conversations, the first with the keeper of the wardrobe after the attack on the Savoy in 1381, and the other with an unidentified officer when Gaunt returned from Castile in November 1389 (below, pp. 214, 342). There were no doubt many others: one early topic may have been Earl Henry's expenses at the siege of Calais (below, p. 88).

<sup>95</sup> John Latimer, OC, BD; the fullest account of the crime is in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 68–80. See also Tout's comments in *Chapters*, iii. 392–3.

which did not occur until 1394. It should perhaps also be noted, however, that the year of Urban's death, 1389, marks the point from which the last leaves of the chronicle were copied in a second draft, after which the work may have passed out of the author's control.<sup>96</sup>

l. Archbishop Courtenay's appointment of an administrative council for Leicester Abbey in 1389. Knighton's account of the archbishop's visitation is wholly concerned with its denunciations of Lollardy, and ignores the internal affairs of the house.

m. Philip Repingdon's election as abbot of Leicester in 1393. The omission of Repingdon's appointment seems, like the treatment of the visitation, rather a matter of choice than of inadvertence.

#### THE VALUE OF THE CHRONICLE

The text on fos. 139<sup>v</sup>–239<sup>r</sup> extends over a period of fifty-nine years, and covers the greater part of two reigns, each in its own way highly charged. It is primarily concerned with public, and especially with what we might call national events and concerns, for the author's consciousness of English interests is distinct and consistent. Although it is the work of a cleric, a member of the priesthood of the universal church, whose professional language was Latin, the chronicle views the world from a country marked by an unusual degree of political cohesion, articulately self-intent, and, for most of its author's lifetime, at war.<sup>97</sup>

Knighton has generally been recognized, despite the editorial fog which long surrounded him, as a lively and well-informed commentator upon events. His taste for concentrating upon a particular subject, the width of his interests, and the variety of his sources all make for engaging reading. Though he wrote at a distance from London his Lancastrian connections ensured a flow of information on political and other life at home and abroad, and he enjoyed some other resources, which included a substantial library. That there

<sup>96</sup> It is notable that the last sentences of the narrative, speaking of events in 1395–6, refer to the Roman pope not as Boniface, but Urban, a lapse which adds to the impression that the work had run down.

<sup>97</sup> The nature of Englishness, the significance of language, and the emergence of a sense of common identity have been widely debated, especially in the context of a certain cultural homogeneity in medieval Europe. For a discussion with some useful references, see J. Barnie, *War in Medieval Society: Social Values and the Hundred Years' War* (London, 1974), 'The popular response', pp. 33–55, and 'Patriots and patriotism', pp. 97–116'.

are shortcomings in his work is not surprising, and in considering them we should note that beside all the other exigencies of authorship he may have relied upon amanuenses almost from the beginning.<sup>98</sup> The result does not depend on such considerations for its merits.

Even though we can now accept a single mind at work on the whole, the extended chronicle does still fall into two parts, for the earliest point at which Knighton identifies himself as an eye-witness is in 1363, and what might be called his connecting narrative, which was aimed at closing the gap to 1376, tails off shortly after that time. However the reference under 1340 to the fact that the young earl of Derby was later made duke of Lancaster, identifies a significant theme (effectively the principal theme) of Book IV, and brings that part of the narrative in its finished state forward to 1351. It may only be that Knighton looked back from the 1380s to invest Earl Henry with the splendour of the duchy, but it might also be that he was connecting events from the 1340s with times which he himself remembered.

The particularity of Knighton's account of the meeting at Koblenz in 1338, and the suggestive detail in his report of the battle of Sluis, have already been noticed (above, pp. xxxii, xxxiii). He then covers the successive stages of the war with some flourishes, chiefly but not entirely concerned with the campaigns and other activities of Henry of Grosmont. He does not dwell on the siege of Tournai, in the aftermath of Sluis, but points out that Edward yielded to the countess of Hainault's pleas not because he was moved by them, but because he mistrusted his allies' intentions and was disappointed in his supplies. What follows, however, is not an account of the king's subsequent campaign against his ministers at home, but a text of the treaty of Espiechin, the bulk of which may have deterred him from pursuing the issue.

In general, Knighton describes the war from despatches and newsletters, which were probably reinforced by personal reminiscences, especially from the Lancastrian household. It is in that way that, after some brief items covering 1340-41, including the end of Edward's imperial vicariate and an epidemic in Leicestershire, he turns to the campaigns in Brittany and Gascony, which decisively widened operations against the French. It is also in that period, how-

<sup>98</sup> The *lamentum compilatoris* at the foot of fo. 3<sup>r</sup> is of uncertain date, but there were problems with the copyist by fo. 86 at the latest. It is conceivable that Knighton was able to select the material which he wanted from Higden and Guisborough, but then found himself unable to write it out (see Lumby, *Knighton*, ii, p. xxiv, and below, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv).

ever, that his interest in the earl of Warwick appears. One instance is the emphasis on Warwick's part in the campaign through Normandy, before the battle of Crécy, where Knighton seems to have inserted additional material in the official or semi-official despatches which were used by Murimuth and Avesbury. Here again the important time of contact was most probably in the 1350s, during the boyhood and youth of Guy of Warwick.<sup>99</sup>

After Crécy, and the investment of Calais, again with particular attention to Warwick's part, Knighton describes the battle of Neville's Cross, with a strong emphasis on the rôle of the clergy.<sup>100</sup> From that time onwards Lancaster was almost continuously in the field, or engaged in diplomacy, or both at once, as he was in Spain in 1344 and in Gascony in 1349-50, and his activities were an unfailing source of copy. Nevertheless the narrative keeps a balance between the war, in both the north and the south of France, and domestic and other affairs, and has time to reflect on the moral state of society as the bubonic plague swept down upon Europe.

Knighton's account of the plague draws upon several sources, including the figures from Avignon bizarrely annotated with gibes at the expense of the friars, and a list of deaths in Leicester which stands almost alone as a record of the effect of the epidemic upon a particular locality.<sup>101</sup> So do his reflections upon the economic effects of the plague, when he comments both on the decline in the value of commodities during the first trauma of the epidemic, and then the rise in costs of manufacture, itself an unusual point, as a result of the shortage of labour.<sup>102</sup>

Knighton sees those events with a landlord's eye, and his view of the church is also that of an employer of clerical labour. His observations upon the high expectations of the surviving parish

<sup>99</sup> See above, pp. xxvii, li, and below, p. 178. The young Guy is unlikely to have become an object of interest at any long time after his death. It is more probable that Knighton sought to honour the memory and compliment the family of someone whom he had actually known.

<sup>100</sup> He does not seem to have used the newsletters which are preserved in *Historical papers and letters relating to England and Scotland, from the Northern Registers*, ed J. Raine (RS lxi, London, 1873), pp. 387-9, but clerical correspondence, whether directly or only incidentally concerned with public events, was a substantial source of general information.

<sup>101</sup> See below, p. 98, *Avesbury*, p. 407, refers to the high daily rate of burials in the new cemetery by East Smithfield, London, subsequently the site of St Mary Graces, or Eastminster.

<sup>102</sup> Below, pp. 100, 102. Knighton's observations are borne out closely by the indices of prices in T. H. Lloyd, *The Movement of Wool Prices in Medieval England, Economic History Review Supplement* vi (Cambridge, 1973), p. 46.



clergy, and then their dilution by a wave of indifferently qualified candidates, are particularly interesting.<sup>103</sup> He does not, however, return to that theme when he comes to discuss Lollardy, regarding the clergy then as a privileged class, of which some members had chosen perversely and recklessly to share the advantages of literacy with the laity.

In his comprehensive review of the results of the plague, followed by the resumption of the war, the routines of diplomacy, and more ordinary incidents of life, Knighton depicts a society shaken but not maimed by catastrophe, and still intent for good or ill upon its own concerns. Amongst the texts which he has preserved, his description of Lancaster's encounter with Otto of Brunswick is a compilation of much interest, and his notice of the trial and execution of two Spiritual Franciscans at Avignon, and the profession of faith by one of them, Giovanni di Castiglione, again shows him busy as an editor.<sup>104</sup>

Of those texts, Otto's challenge also survives, with a commentary, in a register of Ramsey Abbey,<sup>105</sup> but the account of the scene in the lists seems mainly Knighton's own. In referring to Otto's demeanour before and after the oath he shows that he is not writing as an eye-witness, but he did not have to look far for his material, and his list of Henry of Lancaster's supporters is doubtless a document from the duke's own entourage.

The friar's confession is remarkable, because it seems that chance may have preserved the document from which Knighton worked.<sup>106</sup> His account of the episode has no parallel in other English chronicles, and his material could as readily come to him direct from the papal court as from an English Franciscan house. Three passages of the chronicle seem to have emanated from Avignon: the account of the incidence of the plague in the south of France in 1348, the report of the interrogation and condemnation of the Spiritual Franciscans in 1354, and the account of Lancaster's embassy at Christmas that same year. It might not seem very likely that Lancaster brought home a bulletin from the Inquisition for Knighton's or anyone else's information, but one of his chaplains may have done so.

<sup>103</sup> See below, p. 102.

<sup>104</sup> See above, pp. xxxiv-xxxv, and below, pp. 132-4.

<sup>105</sup> In BL MS Cotton Galba E. X, fo. 65<sup>v</sup>. See Trautz, *Königen von England*, pp. 358-9.

<sup>106</sup> See D. W. Whitfield, 'A Bedford fragment and the burning of two *Fratelli* at Avignon in 1354', *Publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Society*, xxxviii (1958), 1-11. An account of the friars' trial has been preserved in the binding of a later probate register, and it is clear that Knighton's summary derives from the same or a closely-related text. The Midland provenance of the MS makes a direct connection with Leicester at least plausible.

It must remain uncertain whether the confession which Knighton has abbreviated is literally Castiglione's, as adduced against him, or whether it was fabricated from the freely-acknowledged beliefs of the accused. In either instance it would have been circulated to the same end. Knighton shows no particular interest in the substance of the Spirituals' doctrine, being entirely concerned with, and scandalized by, their defiance of the pope and the rest of their order.

Lancaster's embassy in 1354 was partly concerned with the continuing, and regularly abortive, negotiations for peace, and partly to maintain his connection with Charles II of Navarre. Knighton does not develop that theme at length, but it leads him on to the diplomatic and military frustrations of 1355, when the summer campaigning season was lost. The chronology of the years is confused by the misplacement of the friars' trial from 1354 to 1355, which was probably caused by the number of domestic items which had to be accommodated.

Edward III's designs in France were further distracted by a Franco-Scottish coup against Berwick in November 1355, which provoked the campaign of the Burnt Candlemas in January-February 1356, when Lancaster accompanied him to the Forth, and went beyond in search of battle. Lancaster's summer campaign in Normandy, and the prince's victory at Poitiers, followed. Knighton's account of Poitiers gives the earl of Warwick his due, and perhaps something more. Thereafter Lancaster's siege of Rennes provides a background to the negotiations opened by the cardinals in London. The account of the dinner-table conversation which led to the surrender of Rennes clearly derives from someone close to the duke. The campaign of 1359-60, when Edward tried and failed to force the issue by attacks on Rheims and Paris, produces some of the most vivid reporting of the entire war, and raises particular questions about Knighton's connections, both with the prince's and with the duke's households.<sup>107</sup>

The account of that campaign, culminating in the destructive storm of Black Monday, 13 April 1360, in which Guy of Warwick and others died, and of the peace negotiations and treaty which followed, is sandwiched between reports of the activities of Robert Knollys and other freebooters in France. The references to the companies appear more or less in chronological order. They are of a familiar kind, but they suggest close connections with the Lancastrian retainers in

<sup>107</sup> See below, pp. 152-4, 170-2.

Normandy and elsewhere north of the Loire, who acted in concert with Charles of Navarre, even though they range over the whole, and by now often disorderly, field of operations.

The conclusion of peace was followed by Duke Henry's death in 1361, an event reported, like his funeral, in a more summary fashion than the tenor of the chronicle might have led us to expect. The rest of that decade is covered in a number of anecdotal and, chronology aside, largely unsystematic items, and on a diminishing scale. An excursus on Prince Edward's striking but wholly wasted victory at Najera in 1367, and some of its consequences, includes details that firmly link the unfinished section to the later part of the chronicle.<sup>108</sup>

There is then a striking change in tempo, with the obituaries of Edward III and Prince Edward, and Abbot Clowne, which seem to constitute Knighton's original starting point.<sup>109</sup> From that time, down to its final pages, the narrative is characterized by an extended discussion of three major themes: the revolt of 1381, the rise and progress of Lollardy, and the crisis of 1386-8 and the Merciless Parliament.

The last instalment of the chronicle contains a striking series of English texts. Their nature, and the manner in which they are presented, make Shirley's conclusion that Knighton was an alien as mysterious as any of the attributes that have been visited upon him.<sup>110</sup> The explanation is probably to be found in the language of the chronicle as a whole. Knighton wrote a fluent Latin which, although it was unsatisfactory to nineteenth-century (and perhaps even to some later) classicists, served his own purposes well. He can be presumed to have spoken French, and may indeed have been obliged to use it in the cloister, though Leicester may not have been rigorous in that regard.<sup>111</sup> On the face of it the chronicle is a Latin and French text, and the English passages are intrusions.

French was still the daily language of the nobility, and except for most matters of record, the language of administration and business, as the chronicle's extracts from parliamentary proceedings show. However, the overwhelming majority of the population thought in English, and in the later fourteenth century English, its vocabulary vastly enriched, and its grammatical structure substantially simplified,

<sup>108</sup> See below, pp. 194-6 and nn.

<sup>109</sup> See above, p. xxvii.

<sup>110</sup> Above, p. xix.

<sup>111</sup> See M. D. Legge, 'The French language and the English cloister', *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp. 146-62.

by its long subordination to Latin and French, was by way of becoming a literary language again, for the first time since the Conquest.<sup>112</sup>

Although English has no place in the narrative of the chronicle, the evidence of the texts strongly suggests that Knighton and his scribes were rather better practised in English than in French.<sup>113</sup> His comments on Lollard speech are in a special category, but Knighton's asides upon the word 'dagger', or upon Harry Hotspur's nickname, can be read rather as those of a man conscious of the importance of English than of one who has come by some exotic expression and wishes others to be aware of it. As for the translation of the scriptures, his objection was precisely that it made the text too readily and widely available. It is interesting that he saw the likelihood of women reading them as one of the mischiefs that would result.

The first English texts come in the course of Knighton's description of the Peasants' Revolt, the chronology of which plainly gave him trouble. His difficulties might confirm the notion that that section was written at an early stage of his work, being the first at which he had to separate and insert passages of text. The muddle arises at once, over the the first stages of the revolt, and especially with the attack on London, in considering which anyone who has ever supposed that so unfortunate a Friday must have been the thirteenth rather than the fourteenth day of June should be moved to sympathy rather than scorn.

The difficulty, whatever it was, was soon overcome. Knighton incorporated his additional material, mainly relating to the Savoy, but with some preliminary matter on the poll-taxes and the unlovable assiduity of John Legg, and then added the enigmatic English letters after describing the rout of the commons at Smithfield. He seems to have had more distinctive texts than Walsingham, whose versions read like a conflation, and it is unlikely that Knighton added anything to them on his own account, because although they are coherent their purpose remains substantially obscure. They are, however, unmistakable evidence of English literacy, and point too to the manage-

<sup>112</sup> On the complex interplay of the three languages even at an earlier date, see T. Hunt, *Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England* (3 vols., Woodbridge, 1991).

<sup>113</sup> The text of the treaty of Esplechin, and the material from parliamentary sources, are copied more carelessly than the transcripts of the Wycliffite documents, which have preserved specific features of dialect: see A. Hudson, *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 141-2. The casualty rolls from Poitiers show only that Anglo-Norman orthography was inclined to looseness.



ment of the revolt. Their preservation is a matter of exceptional interest and importance.

After a brief reference to events in East Anglia and, uniquely, at Peterborough, Knighton goes on to describe events in Leicester when news of the carnage in London came to the town. The result is a lively piece of reporting, uncoloured by anything like Walsingham's dislike of the townsmen at St Albans. The narrative leads, not unsympathetically, to a double anticlimax, leaving the reader to reflect upon how the deceitful scouts were received by their fellow townsmen when they eventually made their way home, and what Abbot Kereby found to say to John of Gaunt when the good duke came to retrieve his rejected furniture.

The passages describing the revolt, which culminate in an essay on the sufferings and ultimate vindication of the duke of Lancaster, therefore prove an effective start to the chronicle, and it may be that his success encouraged Knighton to undertake an even more ambitious plan. At the same time, however, he was committed to the second and in many ways the most exacting part of the work, in discussing the dramatic growth of religious dissent in Leicester in the previous few years, and the part played in it by his gifted colleague Philip Repingdon, who had been spreading word of the ferment in the schools at Oxford to a receptive provincial audience.

The compression of the complex narrative under the heading of a single year, 1382, has been an object of suspicion to many commentators.<sup>114</sup> It is, however, a consequence of the relatively sudden rise of the movement, and of the fact that his own recent start gave Knighton no opportunity to introduce the subject over a period of time, even though he had witnessed its earliest manifestations. As it was – and he was writing only shortly after Wyclif's death in 1384<sup>115</sup> – he joined what he knew of Wyclif's teachings to a cautious account of Repingdon and his friends, and a more outspoken attack on the popular movement in Leicester itself.

In the process he collected and copied a dozen more texts, four of them in English. Repingdon's part in this stage of the work is striking.

<sup>114</sup> To K. B. McFarlane, e.g., *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 149 n. 3.

<sup>115</sup> Although the narrative may have been, and probably was, revised before it was copied, nothing of substance has been inserted into the text which we have, and we know that the passage relating to the summer of 1386 was written no later than November 1389. If we suppose that he was accumulating material for and probably already writing on the 1330s and 1340s, and had both Courtenay's actions in London and Oxford, and Buckingham's proceedings against Swinderby to fit under 1382, Knighton cannot have been writing very far behind events.

He evidently had no objection, after his own return to orthodoxy, to seeing the substance of his Lollard professions preserved, and he is the only likely source of Knighton's information on Aston and Hereford, and of the copy of the chancellor's decree against Wycliffite teachings in the university, which in his time he had himself defied. Knighton's position as an observer and a reporter may not have been enviable, but it was certainly privileged, and he seems to have avoided the pitfalls about him with some skill. The results clearly must have satisfied his successive abbots, one of whom probably had to approve the binding of the manuscript after Knighton's death, whilst another, within Repingdon's lifetime though probably after his removal to Lincoln, sanctioned its copying, and by implication its wider use.<sup>116</sup> Our perception of the rise of Lollardy may be clouded, but it would be much less well informed without Knighton.

Having mentioned Despenser's crusade as a venture condemned by the Lollards, Knighton goes on to describe it in reasonably neutral terms. He had sceptical reservations about the fervour with which it was preached, but he does not pursue the bishop's trial and disgrace after his return, although the expedition was an alternative to the Castilian policy which Gaunt wished to pursue, and its failure was advantageous to the Lancastrians. Knighton's moderation may be attributable partly to the fact that he rather approved of Sir Thomas Trivet,<sup>117</sup> as of some other swashbucklers of the time, even though Trivet was briefly committed to the Tower as a result of the parliamentary inquiry into the campaign. However, Knighton was also interested in administration, and he preserved a copy of the regulations under which the venture was preached and recruited.

Although he says nothing directly about the strategic debate of the 1380s, Knighton moves from the sterility of the crusade to direct criticism of de la Pole's policies as chancellor, and so prepares the way for an account of the parliamentary attack on de la Pole in 1386. His strictures on the chancellor's failure to help Ghent are unlikely to have been written before the end of 1386, but the theme is also deflected by the king's imposing but wholly unproductive expedition

<sup>116</sup> Claudius E. III(=C), though not a very intelligently-copied text, is a well-finished manuscript, in a legible clerkly hand, on large parchment folios of good quality. It therefore represents a positive investment by the house. The only medieval writer known to have quoted Knighton was John Rous of Warwick (see above, p. xviii n. 11). C does not appear to be listed in the Leicester library catalogue, and may even have been lent to Rous or another reader.

<sup>117</sup> In that respect he differs from the Westminster chronicler: see e.g. *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 44, 46.

to Scotland in 1385, which brought the court and the army through Leicester, and provided copy of a different kind.

There is, unremarkably, no reference to Richard's dispute with Gaunt over tactics in Scotland. However, parliament's willingness, after the manifest failure of other policies, to support Gaunt's designs on Castile affords scope for another set piece of pageantry in Gaunt's departure for Spain in July 1386, and a description of a successful landing at Brest on the way.

Although Knighton's account of those years hides the sharpness of the concurrent political debate, Gaunt's power and consequence hold the narrative at the centre of the kingdom's affairs. Richard II was probably, though ill-advisedly, glad to see the back of his uncle for a season, and the fleet's departure from Plymouth cleared the ground at home for the most savage political conflict in England since the Conquest.<sup>118</sup> The summer of 1386 was troubled by the alarm of a French invasion, which was countered by a general muster which itself caused widespread disturbances.<sup>119</sup> That nervous and irritable episode was followed in the autumn parliament by the attack on the chancellor, and an attempt at administrative reform, which bred the crisis of 1387 and its bloody resolution in the Merciless Parliament.

It may be that the remarkable account of the meeting in 1386 at Eltham, when Bishop Arundel and the duke of Gloucester confronted the king,<sup>120</sup> should be distinguished from what Knighton later received from the Appellants. The exchanges which it records are credible enough, and they adequately explain both the Appellants' later apprehensions and Richard's deep resentment of the movement for reform.

However, from the fact that the text is not mirrored in any other chronicle, it seems unlikely that it was simply part of the Appellants' later campaign of self-justification. It more probably belongs to the occasion which it describes, reflecting the excitement over the removal of Suffolk from the chancellorship, and the programme of administrative reform. In particular its reference to the possibility of

<sup>118</sup> More blood had been shed in rebellions and civil war in the preceding centuries, and at Boroughbridge in 1322 and in its aftermath, but the use of a civil process to wipe out the whole company of the king's closest friends and advisers had no parallel at the time. It was a sinister marker for the future.

<sup>119</sup> See below, pp. 348–50. Knighton's story of the oath which the French were supposed to have sworn, though a commonplace of such occasions, is another instance of the rumours which alarmed the south of England. See further J. Barnie, *War in Medieval Society*, pp. 43–5.

<sup>120</sup> See above, no. 72, and below, pp. 354–60.

deposing Richard and replacing him with another member of the royal family is unlikely to have been published by Gloucester after January 1388, and the more so after his explicit disavowal at the opening of the Merciless Parliament of any such intention, an incident to which Knighton does not refer.<sup>121</sup> On balance, and in view of his other references to Gloucester, it may be that Knighton owed the document to him, and at an early stage in the crisis.

The account of de la Pole's impeachment which follows is close to the text on the parliament roll. Knighton goes on to summarize the other main business of the parliament, the appointment of a council to review and reform the administration, and he illustrates the making of 'the new statute, ordinance, and commission', to which the king took such bitter objection, by reciting its instruments as they emerged from the parliamentary debate.<sup>122</sup>

Knighton turns immediately from the reforming parliament to the activities of Sir William Beauchamp at Calais. After some domestic items, without noting that the king restored de la Pole to favour as soon as he was free to do so, he then begins an account of Richard's travels in 1387 out of which the full shape of the political and constitutional conflict gradually emerges. As the crisis deepened the lords in opposition seem to have produced justificatory accounts of their proceedings, some of which came to Knighton. One such source may be marked in the narrative by the expression 'seductores' applied to the king's friends.<sup>123</sup> The narrative might have taken an altogether different form if Richard had not called at Leicester on his way both north and south in 1387. As it is we have a benign picture of the court on progress in the Midlands, with a sinister note sounded at Shrewsbury,<sup>124</sup> and an account of the proceedings at Nottingham given in greater detail than was known at the time to anyone but the participants.<sup>125</sup>

Knighton was always a gratified reporter of the court as a public spectacle, and he may have had an informant there from whom he learned something of its mood in November 1387. He certainly had information and some documents from the Appellants at that time, most probably from Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Derby, who subsequently deposed Richard and made himself king in 1399. Derby was a

<sup>121</sup> See *Westm. Chron.*, p. 234 and n. 3; and *RP* iii. 229.

<sup>122</sup> See below, pp. 372–88 and nn.

<sup>123</sup> See above, p. xlvi.

<sup>124</sup> See above, p. xlvi.

<sup>125</sup> See above, pp. xlvi–xlvi; and below, 394–8.

late recruit to the Appellants' camp, but Knighton's emphasis upon his contribution to their cause is not misplaced, for he was influential as Lancaster's heir, and does seem to have played a decisive part at Radcot Bridge.<sup>126</sup> He may also, in his own family's interests, subsequently have protected Richard in the Tower, as Knighton delicately suggests. If so, he duly sought his reward.

With the king back in London, Knighton's narrative becomes closely involved with the Appellants, though the account of the conversations at court, and the brief picture of the city suddenly still and waiting for the courtiers' enemies to make their next move, seems to look outwards from the household, rather than inwards from Gloucester and the earls. On the whole, however, and at least from the point at which Henry of Derby and the earl of Nottingham joined the Appellants in mid-December, Knighton stands with them. There is nevertheless a relative mildness about his tone, and especially in describing Richard's actions and reactions, that may reflect something of Derby's reservations as well as Knighton's own respect for the king.

As the crisis sharpens, the contrast between its evident severity and the king's apparent innocence – his reception of the lords at the Tower, upon what was manifestly not a social call, and his polite surprise at the size of their following – becomes almost comical. Yet the ambivalence is not altogether unreal, for the Appellants were by that time divided amongst themselves, and Richard was still king, or at the worst was king again, when he emerged.

The price of his deliverance was his friends' destruction, and when parliament assembled there was no hope for any of the courtiers who had not contrived to escape. The narrative of the crisis is broken, or perhaps accented, by a reference to events in Oxford, including a necromantic prophecy. The seizure of the judges on the first day of the session then restores the pace, but after a summary account of the further proceedings, and the formal outlawry of the four principal defendants who were not in custody, Knighton begins an excursus which takes him into the early summer of 1388 before he returns to the business of the appeal.

The break is signalled by an account of a tournament held near Boulogne, and the appearance of a further prodigy in the form of a

<sup>126</sup> See the editorial discussion in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. lxiv–lxv, of the conflict between the Westminster chronicler's account (*ibid.*, pp. 220–4), which accords credit to the earl of Warwick, and Knighton, who on this occasion, not unjustly, put Warwick into the background.

fiery dragon in the sky. The narrative then turns to Lollardy again, a subject with which the Westminster chronicler deals more lightly,<sup>127</sup> but which may have been raised in parliament. There follows a list of opinions drawn from a Lollard source, and an account of the king's orders to local commissioners to seek out and confiscate Lollard books.

That passage is immediately followed by the text of a commons petition which, if it is correctly assigned to the Merciless parliament, as it seems to be,<sup>128</sup> reveals substantial discontent in the spring of 1388, when the reformers had achieved an imposing tally of executions, but nothing in the way of administrative reform. How Knighton came by the document, which has nothing factitious about it, but equally does nothing at all for the Appellants' cause, is a mystery, unless it were another of Henry of Derby's services. It appears in the narrative immediately before a report of a Flemish mission, which Knighton dates to June, and of one from Guelders which tendered homage to Richard in the duke's name.<sup>129</sup>

The narrative then returns to February 1388, and the principal business of the parliament, which is reintroduced by a phrase about Nicholas Brembre which suggests the presence of one of the Appellants' texts. The articles of the appeal which follow, however, have clearly been extracted from a parliamentary record with minimal editing. The text is close to that used by the Westminster chronicler, but the displacement of articles 22–5 appears to be a consequence of detaching the questions put to the judges to recite them elsewhere. It is peculiar to Knighton's text, but may not be directly attributable to him.<sup>130</sup>

At the end of the main appeal, Knighton returns briefly to his other narrative of the process, repeating the phrase about Brembre, but then produces a thumbnail sketch of the discovery and disposal of Tresilian which seems to be largely his own. What he goes on to say about Brembre's behaviour in office is evidently London gossip, but he is alone and apparently wrong in saying that Brembre was beheaded. He also describes the trial and sentencing of Burley and

<sup>127</sup> See *Westm. Chron.*, p. 318–20.

<sup>128</sup> See below, pp. 442–50 and nn.

<sup>129</sup> See below, pp. 450–2, and Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 124–5, on the negotiations.

<sup>130</sup> See below, p. 478 and n. 3. The version copied by Knighton would hardly have conformed so closely to the physical form of the parliament roll as to duplicate its arrangement of the text upon the same number of membranes.

the household knights in a summary fashion, without reference to Burley's prolonged ordeal at the bar of the house.

Knighton then dilates not on the process against the judges, but upon the details of their sentence of exile, a point at which he is closer to Favent and the parliament roll than to the Westminster chronicler. He seems in fact to have resorted at that point to material from another source or sources, having exhausted, or tired of, his putative material from the Appellants. Whether, again, his change of mood in any way reflects Derby's own attitudes is a matter of speculation.

With the judges sentenced, and William Skipwith's lucky escape noted, Knighton turns to the battle of Otterburn, 5-6 August 1388. He also describes the general post amongst the bishops during the year, which was occasioned mainly by the removal of Archbishop Neville and of Bishop Rushook of Chichester, the king's confessor, to whose trial he does not refer. For the rest of the year his attention is given to the parliament held at Cambridge at Michaelmas. No parliament roll survives for that session, but Knighton recites its enactments from a text which, though complete, differs in some details and in the numbering of the clauses from that on the statute roll (12 Richard II, cc. 1-16).

Once again it seems that he is using a version which was circulated by officials. The administrative clauses of the statute echo some of the grievances raised in the commons' petition which Knighton preserved, but it is chiefly concerned with elaborating the provisions of the Statute of Labourers, especially in fixing wage rates, and with a forlorn endeavour to restrict the mobility of labour. The provisions relating to the health of towns are the first of a long but intermittent series.<sup>131</sup>

After the Statute of Cambridge there are no more substantial texts in the chronicle, though Knighton's account of the king's address to the council in May 1389, which is in direct speech, is a little fuller than some others. The nature and provenance of the source which he, the Westminster chronicler, and Thomas Walsingham have each paraphrased is uncertain.

An item from the court, about a plague of flies at Sheen, and a mangled notice of the treaty of Leulinghem foreshadow the principal content of the rest of the chronicle, in which the king and his policies at home and abroad are prominent. Before that theme finally emerges, however, there are more items from Leicester, including Archbishop

<sup>131</sup> See below, pp. 508-26.

Courtenay's visitation of the diocese and his proceedings against the Lollards, though without reference to his providing an advisory council for the abbot.<sup>132</sup> The penances imposed upon the Leicester Lollards are followed by another Lancastrian occasion, in the summer of 1390, when Gaunt used a hunting party to display the unity of the court, and Henry of Derby left for a crusade in Lithuania.

Thereafter, except by implication in a description of the dearth of 1390-91, and the deaths of the Duchess Constance and her daughter-in-law in 1394, there is nothing else from Leicester, and the narrative dwells upon matters of diplomacy, legislation in successive parliaments, the affairs of London, and the king's expeditions to Ireland. London appears first on its own account, and then in the context of Richard's quarrel with the citizens, culminating in the spectacle of his progress through the city from Southwark to Westminster in August 1392.

Like the rest of Knighton's references to London, his account of its dispute with the king is essentially external. The citizens are said to have offended the king: they are called to account at a distance, deprived of their own officers and civic privileges, and left to make their peace as best they can through intermediaries. The politics of the city were arcane, but Knighton shows no interest in them, just as he has nothing to say about the anomalous relationship in the 1380s between John of Gaunt and John Northampton, mayor in 1381-3 and a populist opponent of the greater companies.<sup>133</sup> When the citizens eventually buy their way back into favour the pageantry of the occasion is carefully described, but the account of the whole episode seems to depend upon general reports and newsletters, rather than on a particular source in the city.

The themes of Richard's last years are foreshadowed by final entries in the chronicle reporting the continuing negotiations with France, the death of Queen Anne in 1394, the problems of Ireland, and the efforts of the theologians of Paris to end the schism. The presence of the duplicated passage at the end of the volume, extended into 1396 by the correspondence on the schism, but without any reference to Richard's second and ill-starred marriage in that year, suggests some loss of control at that point, and may mark a decision to bind up all the text that was to hand on Knighton's death. There may well have been other material accumulated for those years, though it is

<sup>132</sup> See Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 51-2.

<sup>133</sup> See Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 97-8.

also possible that the university of Oxford's answer to the university of Paris was added to the narrative by someone who happened to know of it, as Repingdon might, to round off the tale. With the middle section also under way, but still some few years short of 1377, the work had become a race against time.

Time can only be raced in relays, and though there may have been a hand to add a sentence, there was none to take the story forward. What Knighton had achieved was substantial enough, and certainly deserves a place amongst the major chronicles of the century. Its strengths lie partly in its point of view, one close to the centre of affairs, and yet not committed to the court, but chiefly in the vigour and solid merits of its author's interests and style. Like many other chroniclers Knighton was a man of consistent principles rather of consistent judgement. He could sympathize with those oppressed by incompetent and rapacious administrators in the 1370s, but not with rebellion as a relief from their ills. He deplored the aggressive style and self-righteousness of the Lollards, but would have had no hesitation in committing the irritating Swinderby to the flames. What claims attention and admiration is the zest with which he observed, formed his impressions, and offered them to those who would read them, either to themselves or to others. At every turn he found matter for comment, which sometimes led him on, and sometimes took him into some by-way, remembering, reflecting, but eventually recalling himself and his reader to the work in hand.

Although Knighton lives in his chronicle, a substantial part of his experience is hidden from us. He learned his Latin and his doctrine somewhere, and they would not reflect badly on Leicester if he learned them there. He expresses himself fluently, but there is nothing in his style, except perhaps for his careful citation of sources, to suggest that he had spent any time in the university's schools. He was interested in the prices of things, and knew something of the business of supply.<sup>134</sup> Such experience could have come from the affairs of the abbey itself. At the same time there is an awareness of a wider world about him, not as though he had necessarily been a part of it, but as though he had seen it.

If there were a clue to such an experience, it would not be unfitting if it were embedded in the middle section of the history. Knighton was not alone in his liking for tales of action, and there are other chronicles in which clerics wrote of campaigns and battles of which

<sup>134</sup> See e.g. below, pp. 6, 54.

they had only heard.<sup>135</sup> Yet one particular passage in the chronicle stands out, in the story of the campaign of 1359–60, with the domestic comforts of Christmas in the siege-lines, and the extraordinary series of operations undertaken before and after the festival, in what can only be described as a holiday spirit, with night-rides and dawn surprises, and swift improvisation, bringing heady rewards, all greatly enjoyed by everyone except the victims. If Knighton saw anything of that world himself, that campaign, with its nemesis in Black Monday and the death of Guy of Warwick, all only three years before we find him close to Edward III in Leicester, would seem able to provide the time, and the place.

#### PREVIOUS EDITIONS

Knighton's chronicle was published from British Library MS Cotton Tiberius C. VII by Sir Roger Twysden in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores Decem* (London, 1652), cols 2311–742 (Wing 2094), and from British Library MS Cotton Claudius E. III, in the Rolls Series, as *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnithon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, RS xcii, 2 vols. (London, 1889–95).

#### PSEUDEPIGRAPHA

J. Dallaway, in 'Observations on the first common seal used by the burgesses of Bristol', *Archaeologia*, xxiv (1827), 79–87, speaks at p. 80 n. of 'illuminations of a manuscript of Henry Knighton', for which he gives the reference Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS D 4, fo. 5. The picture to which he refers is in fact in CCC Oxon. MS D 4.5, an early twelfth-century copy of John of Worcester's chronicle (CCC. Oxon. MS CLVII in *Catalogus Codicum MSS in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus*, ed. H. O. Coxe (Oxford, 1852); see also *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. 2: The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk (OMT, 1955), pp. xxi–xxxv).

Thomas Duffus Hardy's notes on Knighton in the unpublished continuation of his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the*

<sup>135</sup> See e.g. Dr Gransden's account of the Franciscan of Carlisle, in *Historical Writing in England*, ii. 115–17. The most famous of such bellicose clerks was Jean Froissart: see *Froissart: Historian*, ed. J. J. N. Palmer (Woodbridge, 1981).

*History of Great Britain and Ireland to the end of the reign of Henry VII*, RS xxvi (London, 1862–71) (Public Record Office, PRO 37/78, pp. 248–50) includes a note asking ‘has the Duke of Devonshire a MS of Knighton?’ (ibid., p. 250). It seems to refer to a sixteenth-century history of the Cavendish family compiled by S. Knyveton (*Catalogue of the Library at Chatsworth*, ed. G. F. Lacaïta (4 vols., London, 1879), iv. 325).

#### EDITORIAL CONVENTIONS

The original text has been transcribed in full, with the following conventions. The use of capital letters and punctuation has been modernized, j has been rendered as i, and minuscule v as u throughout, except in Roman numerals, which, like the Arabic numerals when they occur, have been set between full points, with j preserved as a final minim, hence .vj., .vij., and so on. The original marginal headings and marginal numerals have been printed, both in the Latin text and in the translation, in italics, as paragraph markers, but not later marginalia, and not the surviving running heads, which name the book and sometimes the calendar year.

All interlineations, interpolations, and corrections have been noted. Idiosyncratic spellings both of Latin and of French words have been preserved, usually without comment, but abbreviations have been extended in accordance with the scribes’ perceived conventions. Substantial blank spaces and breaks in the text are marked by a row of asterisks. Passages which can be shown or reasonably presumed to derive from other texts have been printed indented. Where it has been possible to collate them with other versions, only such variations have been noted as affect the sense of the text, or which might help to establish connections between families of manuscripts.

Knighton reckoned the year of grace to start on 25 March, but the translation and notes follow the modern calendar, treating 1 January as New Year’s Day throughout.

## APPENDIX

### The Topography of Medieval Leicester

Knighton viewed Leicester with some detachment. St Mary’s Abbey lay on the left bank of the Soar, more than half-a-mile, and across several channels of the river, from the north gate of the town.<sup>1</sup> The abbot and canons had a certain standing in Leicester, and were the patrons of all but one of its parish churches, but their principal estates were elsewhere, and they were not closely identified with its communal life. The abbey was part of a larger world, in which the town, though close by, was not a major constituent.

Medieval Leicester as Knighton knew it was a walled town lying in an angle of the river, which flowed northward under the western wall, and then turned east and north-east, its channels crossed there by the road out of the north gate, which led towards Loughborough and Nottingham. The walls, and the principal gates, were reminders that the town was the successor of the Romano-British tribal capital of *Ratae Coritanorum*, but except for them, and for the churches, both public and private buildings, from the castle hall to cottages and workshops, were largely timber-framed, and tiled or thatched like country houses.

Though a market and administrative centre for its shire, Leicester was as much a community of small-holders as of merchants and craftsmen. On the southern side of the town there were three large open fields,<sup>2</sup> the easternmost of which constituted a separate estate commonly known as the Bishop’s Fee, from the lordship of the prebendal church of St Margaret, at its northern end. In the south field, which lay between the south wall and the parish and manor of Knighton, an enclave called the Newarke, immediately below the castle, had been taken in by the earl in the thirteenth century, and in the fourteenth was largely occupied by the buildings and close of Duke Henry’s college of the Annunciation. The west field, across the river, contained two small manors, Danet’s Hall and Bromkinsthorpe, and gave on to Leicester forest, which came down to the Soar to enclose the town and its water meadows, on the north-west and north.

Within the walls the main streets between the four gates intersected at the High Cross, the site of the Saturday market, which Knighton names as the

<sup>1</sup> Leicester’s meridional alignment is roughly north-north-west and south-south-east, but the principal gates and walls were named for the cardinal points, and that convention is used here.

<sup>2</sup> On the fields, and their role in the town’s economy and society, see C. A. Bilson, ‘The open fields of Leicester’, *TLAS* xiv (1925–6), 3–29.



place of the mayor's proclamation in 1381, and of the Lollards' penance in 1389. The castle, which housed the sheriff's offices, and was the meeting place of the shire-court, lay in the south-western corner of the walls, commanding the road from Northampton, which had formerly been the chief road from London and the south, and the west gate and bridge.

The earlier focus of the town, and most of its parish churches, lay in the northern half of the walled space, and the first town hall was in Northgate Street.<sup>3</sup> By the fourteenth century, however, the chief commercial area had apparently moved to the south and east of the High Cross, beyond the civic church of St Martin's, and the meeting hall of the Corpus Christi guild, which came to replace the older town hall. What is now called the Wednesday market is the remnant of a much larger space in the south-eastern angle of the walls, which began to fill in the later Middle Ages. That intra-mural movement may have been associated with the development of the London road through Market Harborough, which made for the east rather than the south gate of the town, and so determined the site of the muster in 1381. Of Leicester's three friaries, which were markers of urban development in the thirteenth century, two, the Dominican and the Franciscan, lay inside the walls, with the Grey Friars near the new market, whilst the Augustinians were outside, on an island in the Soar, to the west.<sup>4</sup>

The abbey of St Mary of the Meadows was founded, c. 1140, on the earl's demesne land, but on the opposite side of the town from the castle.<sup>5</sup> The abbey's predecessor, the college of St Mary de Castro, lay within the castle bailey, and Earl Henry's foundation of Trinity Hospital (1343), and its imposing successor, the college of the Annunciation of St Mary (1356), stood just outside the south wall, in the walled close of the Newarke.

The river and the meadows served further to isolate the abbey, as what extra-mural development there was in Leicester seems to have been on the southern and eastern sides, on the fringes of the open fields there. There is a matching remoteness in Knighton's references to the town, except during the excitement of the revolt of 1381, when the mayor seems to have unburdened himself either to Knighton or to some other member of the house. For the rest, the chronicle refers mainly to prices in the markets, in which the abbey may have been a supplier rather than a buyer, taking relatively little interest in the burgesses' other affairs. Even John Allintheworld's murder in 1344 might not have been noticed if his body had not been stranded in the abbey's grounds.

<sup>3</sup> On the development of the walled town, see G. H. Martin, 'The evolution of Leicester, 1066-1835: (i) Norman to Tudor', *Leicester and its Region*, ed. N. Pye (Leicester, 1972), pp. 264-79.

<sup>4</sup> On the sites of the friaries, and the history of the Augustinians' house, the only one to have been excavated, see *The Austin Friars, Leicester*, ed. J. E. Mellor and T. Pearce, Council for British Archaeology, Research Report xxxv (Leicester, 1981), pp. 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. xv n. 1. On the earl's grant of an extra-mural liberty to the abbey, see D. Crouch, 'The foundation of Leicester Abbey', p. 7.

Leicester castle, with its resident officers and widely-travelled household, was evidently an important source of information, but it appears directly in the narrative only in 1381, whereas Leicester Forest appears four times. There are more-or-less incidental references to eight of the town's eleven churches - to St Leonard's, over the north bridge, to the prebendal church of St Margaret, outside the north-eastern angle of the walls, to St Martin's, also called Holy Cross, by the Wednesday market-place (now the cathedral), to the collegiate and parochial church of St Mary de Castro, to the church of St Michael, in the northern part of the walled town, and the neighbouring church of St Peter's, with its talkative anchoress, and to the wayside chapel of St Sepulchre or St James, by the road to Welford and Northampton. The collegiate church of St Mary in the Newarke appears as the Lancastrians' burial place, and when in 1388 its dean is commissioned to repress Lollard books.

The Trinity Hospital is noted as an object of Duke Henry's benevolence, and the chapel of St John's Hospital as the place where the Lollards gathered in Belgrave Gate. There is, however, no reference to All Saints', St Clement's, St Nicholas's, to the intra-mural site of St John's hospital, in Northgate Street, nor directly to any of the three houses of friars.<sup>6</sup>

The view of Leicester which emerges is therefore in a manner partial and incidental. There was neither much overt friction between the abbey and the town, nor any striking community of interest. Their restrained relations derive from the earliest times: Leicester abbey was handsomely endowed by its founder, Robert le Bossu,<sup>7</sup> but was not one of the Augustinian houses upon which, like St Botolph's, Colchester, or Barnwell at Cambridge, the local townsmen pressed many gifts.<sup>8</sup> Its interests, therefore, lay rather beyond than within the town. Some sense of its detachment emerges from references to the king and queen coming to the abbey in 1386 through the Bishop's Fee, that is to say without entering the town, and to the abbey's problems with the township of Belgrave, which arose in part from the canons' desire to improve the road around Leicester as a by-pass, allowing easier access to their demesne manors to the east and south.

In the same way news and information evidently came from the wider county, and no doubt often from travellers. Many of the topics noted in the

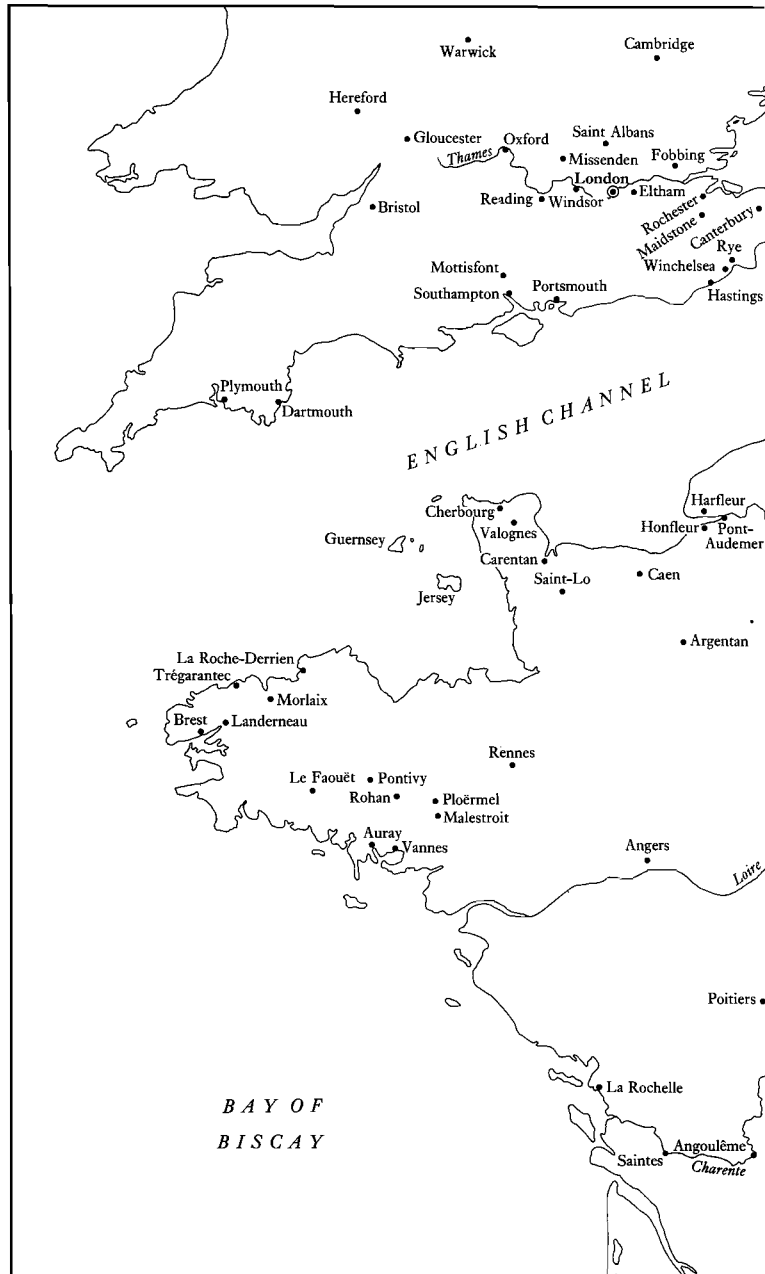
<sup>6</sup> On St John's Hospital, and the chapel in Belgrave gate which seems to be the only recorded item of its endowment, see *VCH Leics*, ii. 40-1. The friaries may appear by implication in the account of William Swinderby's trial (below, p. 316 n. 1).

<sup>7</sup> See A. H. Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 5-9; *VCH Leics*, ii. 13-14; and above, p. xv and n.

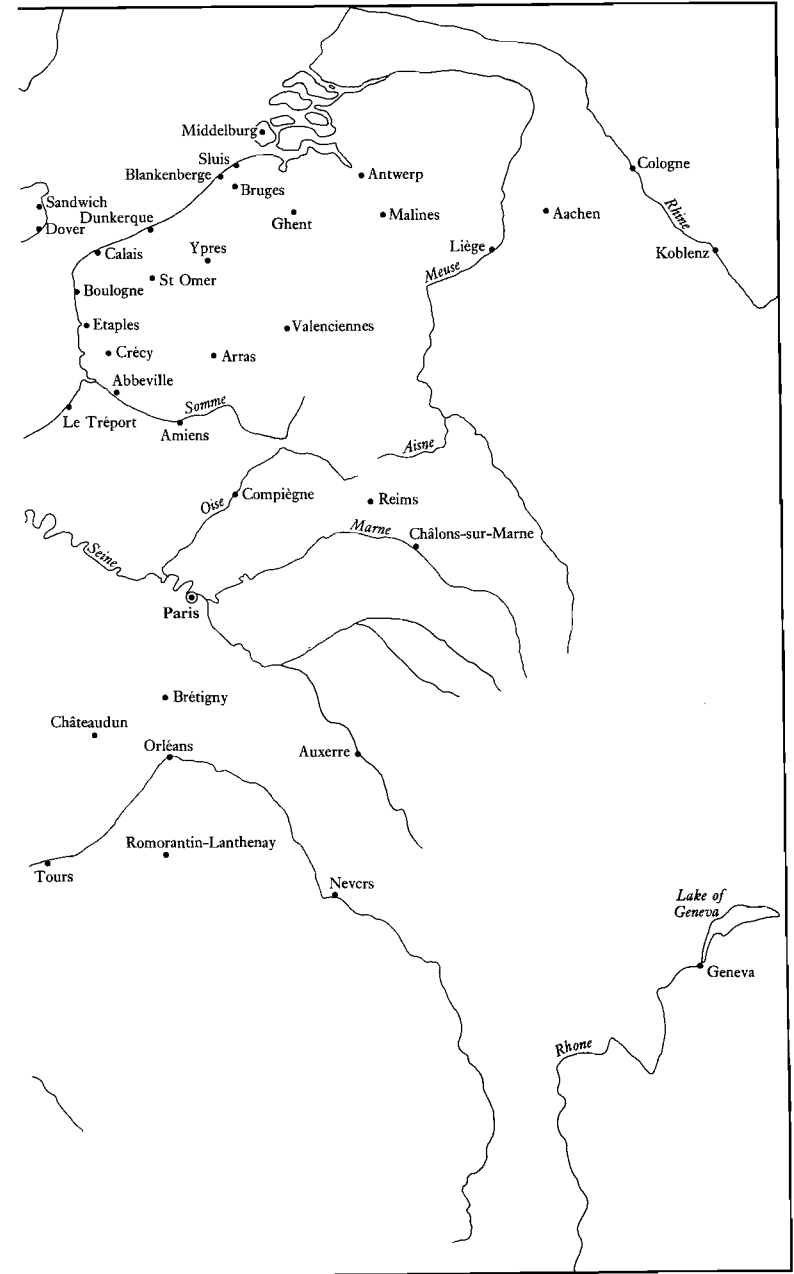
<sup>8</sup> On St Botolph's, Colchester, see the remarks in J. H. Round, 'The sphere of an archaeological society', *EAST* xiv (1915-17), 193-218, at pp. 201-4; and on Barnwell, F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), pp. 61-2. The churches in Leicester were given first to the college of St Mary de Castro and then to the abbey, together with the college, by the earls, who had gathered them in since the Conquest, probably by simple expropriation: G.H. Martin. 'The evolution of Leicester', pp. 268-9.

Introduction (above, p. liii), ranging from mysterious lights at night, to the depredations of the Cheshire men as they passed up Watling Street in 1386, must have arrived in that way. The wool trade was a consistent interest, with many agents at home and abroad. The abbey's concerns spread in all directions, but the roads to the east coast, and the crossings to Flanders, were probably as busy, and as productive of gossip, as those southward to London and the Channel.

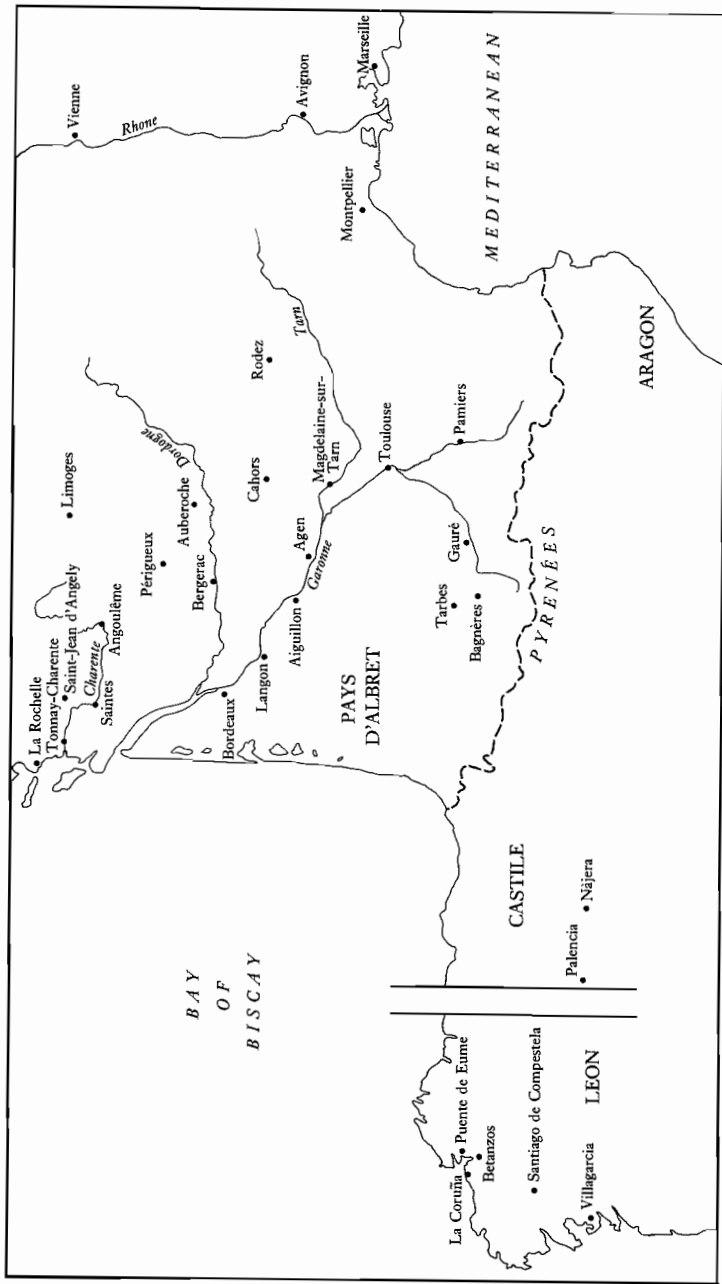




Map 1. Southern England, the Low Countries, and Northern France



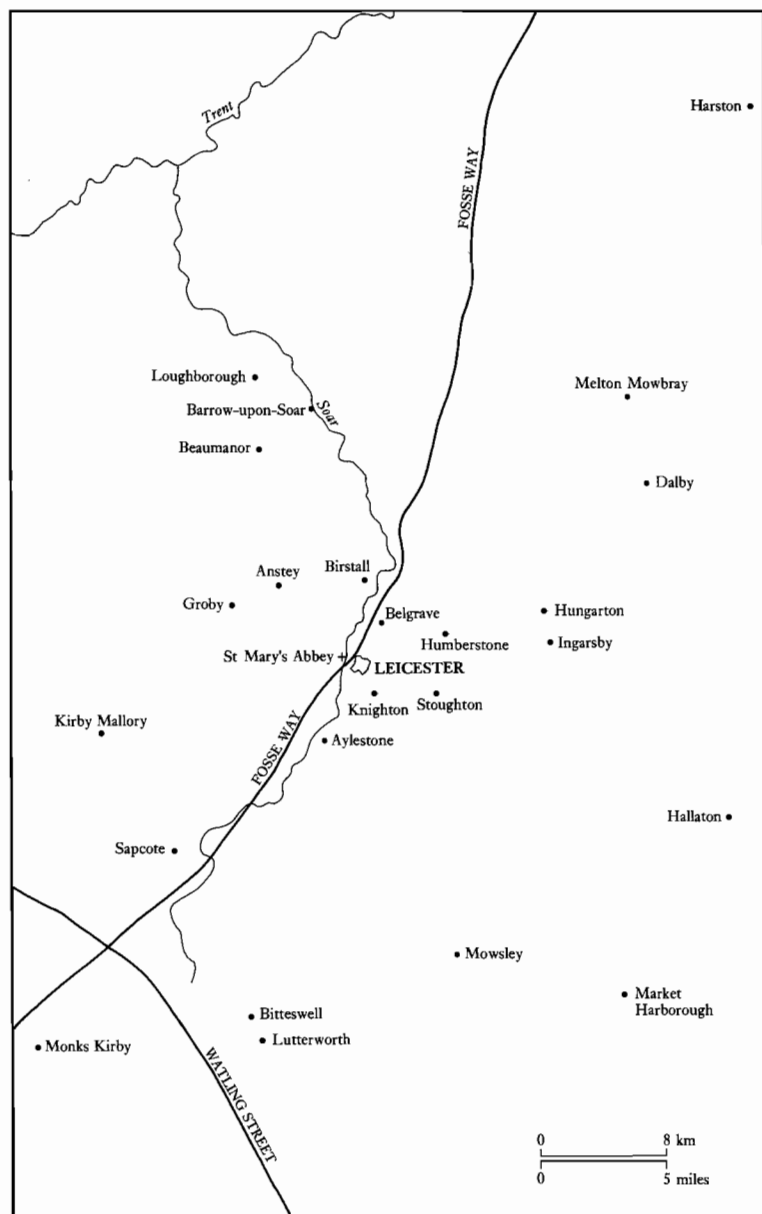
Map 2. The Chronicle and Its Author



Map 2. Southern France and Northern Spain



Map 3. The Midlands, Northern England, and Southern Scotland



Map 4. Leicester and its Surroundings

## LIST OF SIGLA

- B Bodleian Library MS Bodl. 647.  
 C British Library Cotton MS Claudius E. III.  
 H British Library Harleian MS 200.  
 L Lincolnshire Archives, Bishop's Register XII.  
 S Lambeth Palace Library, Archbishops' Registers, Sudbury.  
 T British Library Cotton MS Tiberius C. VII.

KNIGHTON'S CHRONICLE,  
1337-1396

(being fos. 139<sup>v</sup>-239<sup>r</sup> of British Library  
Cotton MS Tiberius C. VII)

1337 Finito .vij. et sic ultimo libro Cistrensis, solus procedit Leycestrensis prosequens inceptam materiam.<sup>1</sup>

*De guerra Vasconie et Francie.* Cum rex Francie ut supradictum est<sup>2</sup> occuparet terras regis Anglie in Vasconia, rex Edwardus misit nuncios ad regem Francie, petens ab eo terras suas in Vasconia que sibi iure hereditario incumbabant, et quas progenitores sui de generacione in generacionem iuste occupabant, et pro quibus, ut supra patet, ipse homagium regi Francie eidem fecerat. Breui responso accepto, nuncii nichil in hiis profuerunt. Nam rex Francie Philippus iurauerat et uotum<sup>a</sup> uouerat, quod aut regem Anglie penitus destrueret, aut ipsum ditissimum regem Cristianitatis efficeret, aut pauperimum redderet. Et hoc totum pro causa quod rex Edwardus tantum insudauerat ad humiliacionem Scotorum.<sup>3</sup>

Et ideo miserat rex Francie gentem robustam in Vasconiam, et destruxit et occupauit quasi totam terram, paucis castellis exceptis. Set idem rex Francie multos perdidit de populo suo. Tunc fuerat senescallus Vasconie dominus Olyuerus de Dygham, probus miles, elegans et audax, et secundum suum posse bene se habens erga Francos.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex habet lanam.* In estate sequenti rex cepit lanas de tota terra Anglie per tallias corulinas<sup>5</sup> et paruula breuia scripta, imposito precio .ix. marcarum ad saccum per manus mercatorum in quolibet comitatu. Et de domo nostra Leycestrie habuit .xviii. saccos. Et circa festum Omnium Sanctorum rex misit Henricum de Borugwas, episcopum Lyncolniensem, et comitem de Northamptona et comitem de Suthfolk cum .x. milia saccis lane in Brabaniam, pro retencione facianda de alta Almaniam. Et uendiderunt ibidem quemlibet saccum pro .xx. libris.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> There is an emphatic cruciform sign in T between uotum and uouerat which may be only a cancelled upright stroke

<sup>1</sup> This sentence, at the head of fo. 139<sup>v</sup> of Tiberius C. VII (= T), opens Knighton's own continuous narrative.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton's last quotation from Higden, on the previous page of the MS (fo. 139<sup>r</sup>), begins with the French confiscation of Gascony, and goes on to summarize the war to 1340.

<sup>3</sup> The most detailed account of the first decade of the war is now Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, which is also a useful guide to sources. On the events of the 1330s and the outbreak of war, see M. Vale, 'England, France, and the origins of the Hundred Years' War', in *England and her Neighbours, 1066-1453*, ed. M. C. E. Jones and M. Vale (London, 1989), pp. 199-216. See also M. C. E. Jones, 'Relations with France, 1337-9', *ibid.*, pp. 239-58. For Flanders, see Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 167-239.

The seventh and so the last book of Chester's having come to an end, 1337 Leicester goes on alone, pursuing the work that he has begun.<sup>1</sup>

*The war in Gascony and France.* When, as we have already said,<sup>2</sup> the French king seized the English king's lands in Gascony, King Edward sent envoys to the king of France asking him for those lands in Gascony which were his by right of inheritance, and which his ancestors had justly held from generation to generation, and for which, as appears above, he had himself done homage to the king of France. Having received a short answer, the ambassadors made no further progress. For King Philippe of France had sworn, and made a vow, that he would utterly destroy the king of England, whether in so doing he made himself the richest or the poorest king in Christendom. And all that because King Edward had been at such pains to humiliate the Scots.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore the king of France had sent a strong force into Gascony, and ravaged and occupied almost the whole land except for a few castles, but it cost him many of his men. At that time the seneschal of Gascony was Sir Oliver Ingham, a worthy knight, accomplished and intrepid, who bore himself well towards the French to the best of his abilities.<sup>4</sup>

*The king gets wool.* In the following summer the king took wool from the whole of England, through the hands of merchants in each county, against hazelwood tallies<sup>5</sup> and little written receipts, at a fixed price of nine marks a sack. And from our house of Leicester he had eighteen sacks. And about the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1337] the king sent Henry Burghersh, the bishop of Lincoln, and the earl of Northampton and the earl of Suffolk, into Brabant with 10,000 sacks to secure the support of Upper Germany. And they sold each sack there for £20.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Ingham made distinguished amends for his disservices to Edward's father, Edward II: see Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 34; and Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 201, 420-1.

<sup>5</sup> Tallies were the commonest form of receipt in the Middle Ages and for long after. The tally stick was notched to show the sum in question, annotated if one or other party were literate, and then split into two pieces which could be retained, by the debtor and creditor, or the payer and payee. The matching edges of the two parts put the transaction beyond dispute. See further C. H. Jenkinson, 'Exchequer tallies', *Archaeologia*, lxii (1911), 367-80, and 'Medieval tallies, public and private', *ibid.*, lxxiv (1925), 289-351.

<sup>6</sup> Knighton simplifies a tangled story (cf. E. B. Fryde, *William de la Pole, Merchant and King's Banker* (London, 1988), pp. 52-5, 70-9), but he was well informed about the value of the wool: see Lucas, *Low Countries*, p. 244.

1337 *Duo cardinales in Anglia, et habent .l. marcas in die.* Quinto die ante Natale Domini uenerunt duo cardinales in Angliam, pro concordia facienda inter reges Anglie et Francie. Et quolibet die ceperunt de ecclesia Anglicana .l. marcas pro suis expensis.<sup>1</sup> Vnde leuata est summa .iiij.<sup>a</sup> denariorum de qualibet marca tocius ecclesie Anglicane, 1338 tam exempte quam non exempte. Post Epiphaniam fecit rex obsidere castellum de Dounbarre per comites de Arundelle et Salusbury. Set post longam moram in obsidione ibidem factam, relicta obsidione recesserunt ab inde, in eorum opprobrium non modicum.<sup>2</sup>

In eodem tempore episcopus de Glascoue uenit de Francia cum apparatu multo de armis, equis, auro, et argento in auxilium guerre Scocie ex prouidencia regis Francie, ad ualorem .xv. milia librarum. Et captum est totum super mare per dominum Iohannem Ros, et ductum ad portum de Sandewyche, et idem episcopus cito post mortuus est pre dolore.<sup>3</sup>

1337 Eodem anno rex cepit omnes thesauros per totam terram de alienigenis religiosis, et similiter de secularibus, et fecit attachiare bona eorum terras et tenementa donec facerent gratum regis. Itaque terras<sup>b</sup> eorum fecit extendas ad ualorem, et ipsi dederunt regi certam summam de anno in annum prout potuerunt concordare.<sup>4</sup>

*Omnis habens .xl. solidos in bonis, contribuit regi.* Rex rogauit de auxilio ex toto regno de quolibet qui habebat .xl. solidos in bonis et catallis, et quesitum est a singulis per ministros regis, prestito sacramento quantum possent bene dare. Et cum rex multa in hunc modum recepisset, tam de ecclesiasticis personis quam de secularibus, rex celebrauit parliamentum apud Londonias.<sup>5</sup> Et tractauerunt de aduentu cardinalium pro pace habenda et de aliis negociis regni. 1338 Sicque responsum est cardinalibus in principio .xl. quod rex non se concordaret cum rege Francie, nisi sub condicione quod redderet ei terras suas quas ultra mare nequiter / et iniuste ei detinuerat et adhuc occupauerat.

fo. 140<sup>r</sup>

*Portusmuth incenditur per Normannos.* Vnde cito post Normanni

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by scribe from .iiij.      <sup>b</sup> terre T

<sup>1</sup> Pedro Gomez de Barroso and Bertrand de Montfaucon: *Murimuth*, pp. 81–2. On their presence in Parliament in Feb. 1338, see H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, 'Parliamentary documents from formularies', *BIHR* xi (1934), 147–62, at pp. 150–52. The mark was not a coin, but a unit of account worth two-thirds of a pound sterling: 13s.4d.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 136–7.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Ross was admiral to the north in 1337; *CPR* 1334–8, p. 407. J. Dowden, 'The bishops of Glasgow, 1316–46', *SHR* v (1907–8), 203–13, at pp. 205–6, identifies the bishop

*Two cardinals in England draw 50 marks a day.* On the fifth day before Our Lord's Nativity [20 Dec. 1337] two cardinals came to 1337 England to make peace between the kings of England and France, and they took fifty marks a day from the English church for their expenses.<sup>1</sup> The money was raised by a rate of 4d. in the mark from the whole English church, from exempt livings as well as from the non-exempt. After the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1338], the king made the earls of 1338 Arundel and Salisbury lay siege to the castle of Dunbar, but after spending a long time there they raised the siege and withdrew, to their no small discredit.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time the bishop of Glasgow came from France with a great hoard of arms, horses, gold, and silver, to the value of £15,000, provided by the king of France in support of the Scottish war. And it was all taken at sea by Sir John Ross, and brought into the port of Sandwich, and the bishop died not long afterwards, of grief.<sup>3</sup>

In the same year [1337] the king seized all the treasures of the 1337 foreign religious and secular clergy throughout the land, and had their goods and lands attached until they bought his goodwill. And the king had the lands surveyed and valued, and they gave him an agreed sum every year to be reconciled.<sup>4</sup>

*Everyone with 40s. in goods pays the king.* The king asked for an aid from the whole realm from everyone with 40s. in goods and chattels, and it was sought out by his officials, with individuals taking an oath as to what they could afford. And when the king had received a great deal in that way, from the clergy as well as from the laity, he held a parliament in London.<sup>5</sup> And they discussed the cardinals' coming to make peace, and other affairs of the realm. At the beginning of Lent 1338 [25 Feb. 1338] the cardinals were told that the king would not be reconciled unless the king of France restored the lands overseas which 1338 he had wickedly and unjustly kept from him, and still occupied.

*Portsmouth burned by the Normans.* And therefore soon afterwards

as John Lindsay, and the year as 1335. However, the bishop was John Wishart, and the date 1337. The Lanercost chronicle places it in Aug. 1337: H. Maxwell, *The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272–1346* (Glasgow, 1913), p. 305. The Whitesand at which Dowden says the bishop was buried was undoubtedly Wissant, which suggests that he had not been brought to Sandwich. On the Scots' dependence upon French supplies, see Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 189–91.

<sup>4</sup> The king raised the valuations by threatening to allow his own clerks to farm the estates: see D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 90–7.

<sup>5</sup> 3 Feb. 1338: *HBC* 520. On the negotiations, see Harris, *King, Parliament*, pp. 233–8, 242–4.

intrauerunt cum magna potencia in Portusmuth, et miserunt in flammam ignis totam uillam, et multos Anglorum<sup>a</sup> interfecerunt, et ceperunt quicquid inuenire potuerunt, et subito sine mora abierunt. Nam intrauerunt sub armis Anglie, et sic deceperunt illos de uilla. Set tamen superuenerunt quidam Angli et in recessu eorum multos ex eis occiderunt.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex capit blada et ornamenta ecclesie.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xxxviii. rex Edwardus fecit capere de quolibet comitatu certam summam quarteriorum frumenti, auenarum, et baconum, in qualibet uilla prout extiterat maior uel minor, deinde de abbathiis uestimenta, uasa argentea, et alia ornamenta, in auxilium passegii sui ultra mare, ex qua re ortus est ingens clamor in populo, et maius malum exinde prouenisset, si sanius consilium rex non accepisset.<sup>2</sup>

Citra festum Pentecostes, misit rex Iohannem episcopum Cantuariensem et episcopum Dunelnie, cum cardinalibus, ad regem Francie, pro pace habenda si bene posset adipiscere. Eo tempore capta est treuga inter Angliam et Scociam per unum annum duratura. Et tunc soluta est obsidio de Dunbarre, et rex Edwardus medio tempore misit ultra mare dominum Willelmum Bowne, comitem Northampton, et dominum Galfridum Schorpe, iusticiarium capitalem Anglie, et plures alios, et applicuerunt apud Andewerp in Brabania.<sup>3</sup>

*Rex transit mare.* Et die translacionis Sancti Thome cunctis rebus dispositis et prouisis que ad passagium pertinent, rex se misit in mare cum grandi potencia, habens secum comites et magnates regni, scilicet comites Derbeye, de Salyburie, de Northfolk, et multos proceres cum eis, et copiosam multitudinem sagittariorum et Walensium, et applicuit apud Andewerp ad uxorem suam et filios in festo Sancti Kenelmi.<sup>4</sup> Flandrenses, leti de eius aduentu, promiserunt ei auxilium suum. Nam satisfecerat eis pro quibusdam nauibus quas Angli ceperant de eis et destruxerant.<sup>5</sup>

*Parliamentum apud Northamptonam.* In crastino Sancti Iacobi dux Cornubie tenuit parliamentum apud Northamptonam pro commissione regis, cum ceteris magnatibus regni, ubi ordinatum est quod

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by reviser from Anglos

<sup>1</sup> The raiders escaped unharmed: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 226.

<sup>2</sup> Purveyance was always the most inflammatory of the king's expedients for raising supplies, but it was also too valuable to be abandoned: see Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 247–52. On the standardized lay and clerical subsidies, see below, p. 24 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Scrope came to enjoy the diplomatic life: Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 88.

the Normans came with a great force to Portsmouth, and put the whole town to flames of fire, and killed many Englishmen and seized all that they could find, and then swiftly withdrew. For they had come in under English colours, and so tricked the townsmen. But soon other Englishmen came upon them, and killed many of them as they retreated.<sup>1</sup>

*The king takes grain, and the church's ornaments.* In the year of grace 1338 King Edward caused a certain sum to be taken from every county, in quarters of wheat and oats, and sides of bacon, from every township, large and small. And then he took vestments and silver vessels and other ornaments from the monasteries in aid of his expedition across the sea, and there arose a great outcry from the people, and much evil would have come of it if the king had not listened to more wholesome counsel.<sup>2</sup>

Just before Whitsun [31 May 1338] the king sent John, the [arch]bishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Durham, to the king of France with the cardinals, to make peace if peace could be had. At that time a truce was arranged between England and Scotland, to last for a year, and therefore the siege of Dunbar was raised. Meanwhile the king sent Sir William Bohun, the earl of Northampton, overseas, and Sir Geoffrey Scrope, chief justice of England, and many others, and they landed at Antwerp, in Brabant.<sup>3</sup>

*The king crosses the sea.* And at the Translation of St Thomas [7 July 1338], when everything needed for the voyage had been procured and loaded, the king put to sea with a great force, having with him the earls and magnates of the realm, namely the earls of Derby, Salisbury, and Norfolk, and many lords with them, and an abundant host of archers and Welshmen. He landed at Antwerp to join his wife and children on St Kenelm's Day [17 July 1338].<sup>4</sup> The Flemings rejoiced at his coming, and promised him their help, for he had compensated them for certain ships which the English had taken from them and burned.<sup>5</sup>

*Parliament at Northampton.* On the morrow of St James [26 July 1338] the duke of Cornwall held a parliament at Northampton on the king's commission, with the other magnates of the realm, and there it

<sup>4</sup> Local sources agree that Edward arrived at Antwerp on 22 (not 17) July: J. de Sturler, *Les Relations politiques et les échanges commerciaux entre le duché de Brabant et l'Angleterre au moyen âge* (Paris, 1936), p. 337 and n. 87.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Walter Mauny made a destructive raid on Cadzand, near Sluis, in Nov. 1337, for which Edward was still making diplomatic restitution in the 1340s: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 216; and Lucas, *Low Countries*, p. 359.



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rex in subsidium guerre sue haberet de qualibet uilla ubi taxa se extendebat de uicesima ad .xx. solidos, rex haberet .x.<sup>a</sup> petras lane. Et sic per totum regnum, de qualibet uilla secundum suum posse.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex habet lanam.* Et sic rex habuit de comitatu Leycestrie .ccc. et .xj. saccos, de comitatu Lincolnie .vj.c. saccos, de comitatu Northampton .ccc. saccos, summa totalis saccorum trium comitatum, mille .cc.xj. sacci. Et preter hoc rex habuit auxilium de episcopis, abbatibus, prioribus, rectoribus, uicariis, iusticiariis, et aliis magnatibus qui non poterant proficisci cum eo in guerra sua, de quibusdam .c. libras, de aliis .ij.c. libras, prout poterant effundere. Ad festum Sancti Michaelis sequens<sup>b</sup> concessa est regi decima biennalis a clero, ad lanas tercii anni, donec se extenderet ad decimam unius anni ultra, scilicet ubi ante non ceperat lanas.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 140<sup>v</sup>

*Rex Edwardus tendit in Alemaniam.* Et cum rex uenisset in illas partes, non inuenit in quo confidere posset, excepto duce de Gerle solo, et exinde<sup>c</sup> dixit Lyncolniensi episcopo, et / aliis secretis suis, non sibi bene consultum fuisse. Et capitose cepit iter uersus ducem Bauarie qui se imperatorem fecerat qui habitauit<sup>d</sup> in alta Almania per .vij. dietas a Colonia. Et cum imperator intellexisset de aduentu regis Edwardi, mouit se de loco suo rediens in occursum regis, per .iiij. dietas occurrens ei, et ad quandam uillam nomine Colonence, et ibi recepit regem cum magno honore.<sup>3</sup> Vbi parata est una cathedra imperatori, et alia regi, et ditissime strata in communi foro extra omne domicilium.

*Imperator et rex simul sedent in foro.* Vbi imperator sedebat et rex Edwardus iuxta eum. Et assistebant eis .iiij. duces, tres archiepiscopi, et .vj. episcopi et .xxxvij. comites, de baronibus et baronettis et militibus et aliis aduenientibus, bene ad estimacionem dez heroudes .xvij. milia. Imperator tenuit in manu sua dextra septrum imperiale, et in sinistra manu pilam auream rotundam que tocius mundi denotat gubernaculum. Quidam miles ultra capud suum unum gladium euaginatam.<sup>4</sup> Et ibidem imperator coram omni populo congregato ostendit et notificauit omnibus innaturalitatem et inobedienciam ac improbitatem quam rex Francie ei fecerat, et ibidem regem Francie

<sup>a</sup> lanas deleted by scribe    <sup>b</sup> sequent' T    <sup>c</sup> inde added by reviser over erasure  
<sup>d</sup> taut superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The assembly was in fact a great council: *HBC* 559; and Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 152–4. On lay taxation, see further below, p. 24 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The ecclesiastical council met at St Paul's on 1 Oct. 1338: *HBC* 595; for the tenth, see *CFR* 1337–47, pp. 105–9. On the arrangements for collecting the wool, see *Treaty Rolls*

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was ordered that the king should have in support of his war ten stone of wool from every township rated at 20s. for a twentieth, and so throughout the realm, from every place according to its means.<sup>1</sup>

*The king gets wool.* And so the king had 311 sacks from Leicestershire, 600 sacks from Lincolnshire, and 300 sacks from Northamptonshire: a total for the three counties of 1,211 sacks. And in addition the king had an aid from the bishops, abbots, priors, rectors, vicars, judges, and other magnates who could not go with him to the war, from some £100 and from others £200, according to what they could afford. At Michaelmas following [29 Sept. 1338] the king was granted a tenth for two years from the clergy, and as much wool in the third year as would make up a tenth from those places in which he had not already taken wool.<sup>2</sup>

*King Edward moves into Germany.* And when the king came into those parts he found no one whom he could trust except the duke of Guelders, and he told the bishop of Lincoln and others close to him that he had not been well advised. Then suddenly he set out towards the duke of Bavaria who had made himself emperor, and who dwelt in Upper Germany about seven days' journey from Cologne. And when the emperor heard of King Edward's coming he set out to meet him, and travelled for four days to a town called Koblenz, and there he received him with great honour.<sup>3</sup> A throne was set up there for the emperor, most richly decked, and another for the king, in front of all the houses in the market-place.

*The emperor and the king sit together in the market-place.* And there the emperor sat with the king beside him. And there were in attendance there four dukes, three archbishops, and thirty-seven counts, and of barons and bannerets, and others who came, a good 17,000 by the heralds' reckoning. The emperor held the imperial sceptre in his right hand, and in his left a golden orb signifying his authority over the whole world. And above his head a knight held an unsheathed sword.<sup>4</sup> And before all the people gathered there the emperor showed and told everyone of the perversity and disobedience and wickedness with which the king of France had treated him, and he disowned

1337–39, pp. 193–200, 205–13; and E. B. Fryde, *William de la Pole*, p. 105. The rating of 20s. was for a fifteenth, not a twentieth.

<sup>3</sup> See further Trautz, *Könige von England*, pp. 271–3. Knighton's account of the meeting has some interesting detail, and is presumably based upon a contemporary newsletter. *Heroudes* is a relatively early use of the term.

<sup>4</sup> One MS (N) of Murimuth names the knight as [Otto], lord of Cuyk: *Murimuth*, p. 84 n.

1338 diffidebat, et in forisfactura<sup>a</sup> ipsum et omnes suos adherentes promulgavit.

*Imperator faciet regem Edwardum suum uicarium.* Deinde imperator fecit regem Edwardum suum uicarium, et dedit ei plenam suam potestatem de Colonia et citra.<sup>1</sup> Et super hoc dedit ei cartam suam uidente omni populo. In crastino uero conuenerunt ad matricem ecclesiam imperator et rex Anglie, cum ceteris magnatibus, et archiepiscopis Colonie celebrarunt missam.<sup>b</sup>

*Imperator iurat regi Anglie.* Et post missam statim iurauerunt, tam imperator et omnes ceteri magnates regi Anglie, quod ipsum iuarent et manutenerent contra regem Francie, ad uiuere et mori, per .vij. annos proxime integraliter sequentes si guerra inter dictos reges tanto tempore duraret. Et similiter fuerunt iurati omnes regi Anglie quod omnes magnates de Colonia et citra cito uenirent ad regem Anglie, et semper debent esse parati uenire ad eum omni tempore quo fuerint premuniti contra regem Francie cum eo, seu in quo loco rex Anglie ipsos uoluerit assignare. Et si contingeret aliquem<sup>c</sup> illorum regi Anglie non obedire in premissis, ceteri omnes de alta Alemania insurgerent contra ipsum, et eum destruerent. Hiis itaque contractis et stabilitis, rex cepit licenciam ab imperatore, et rediit in Brabaniam.

*Rex habet consilium cum magnatibus Alemanie.* Et deinde infra breui rex Edwardus fecit uocare omnes magnates a Colonia et citra ad unum consilium apud Malyns. Vbi conuenerunt dux Brabanie, comes Hunaldie, comes de Gerle, dominus de Facunberge et ceteri magnates omnes excepto episcopo de Legys. Et rex ibi ostendit eis cartam imperatoris quam ei imperator confecerat, et cetera imperatoris in hac parte promissa. Et omnes annuerunt ei obedire, secundum illud quod ligius eorum dominus in hac causa ordinauerat, et eiam eos libenter uelle uacare eius negociis secundum suum posse. Rex Edwardus celebravit aliud consilium in marchia super terras episcopi de Legys, et fecit summonere episcopum de Legys, set noluit uenire.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 141<sup>r</sup> Et sic pro eius inobediencia et aliis negociis, rex Edwardus misit episcopum Lincolnie / ad imperatorem, conquerens de episcopo de Legys, et petens eius auxilium. Et dictum erat quod imperator in

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by reviser from forisfactura <sup>b</sup> The passage is corrupt, but could be improved by referring Colonie to ecclesiam and amending archiepiscopis to archiepiscopi <sup>c</sup> q superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See *Foedera*, 1327-44, pp. 1063-4; and Trautz, *Könige von England*, pp. 274-5.

<sup>2</sup> The meeting at Malines was on 18 Sept., and the second at Herck-la-Ville, Looz, on 12 Oct. 1338. See J. de Sturler, *Relations politiques*, p. 339. The bishop, whose adherence was

1338 the king of France, and proclaimed him and his adherents in forfeiture.

*The emperor makes King Edward his deputy.* Then the emperor made King Edward his deputy, and delegated full power to him over Cologne and the lands on this side of Cologne.<sup>1</sup> And thereupon he gave him a charter, in full view of everyone. The next day the emperor and the king of England and the other magnates [and bishops] assembled at the metropolitan church of Cologne, and the archbishops celebrated mass.

*The emperor swears an oath to the king.* And immediately after the mass both the emperor and the other lords swore to the king of England that they would aid and support him against the king of France, and live and die with him for seven whole years following if the war between the said two kings should last so long. And similarly they all swore to the king that all the lords of Cologne and of the lands on this hither side would at once rally to the king of England, and would always be ready come to him, whenever he called them out against the king of France, at any place that he chose. And if it should happen that any one of them would not obey the king of England in that way, then all the others in Upper Germany would rise against that one, and destroy him. All those things being agreed and established, the king took his leave of the emperor and returned to Brabant.

*The king holds a council with the lords of Germany.* And thereupon, after a short time, King Edward summoned all the lords from Cologne and this hither side to a council at Malines. And there came the duke of Brabant, the count of Hainault, the count of Guelders, the lord of Valkenburg, and all the other magnates except the bishop of Liège. And there the king showed them the charter which the emperor had made for him, and the other things which the emperor had promised. And they all agreed to obey him as their liege lord had commanded, and as they themselves freely wished, to support him in his enterprise according to their powers. King Edward held another council in the March, on the lands of the bishop of Liège, and he caused the bishop to be summoned, but he would not come.<sup>2</sup>

And therefore, on account of the bishop's disobedience and for other reasons, King Edward sent the bishop of Lincoln to the emperor to complain of the bishop of Liège, and ask for his help. And

the first object of French diplomacy after the meeting at Koblenz, was firmly enough committed to France: J. Lejeune, *Liège et son pays* (Liège, 1948), pp. 72-3.

1338 propria persona uoluit uenisse ad regem Anglie in eius auxilium, quia credebatur quod magnum campestre bellum foret futurum inter reges Anglie et Francie circa festum Pentecostes proxime sequens.

1339 *Comes Flandrie fugatus de Flandria.* Eodem tempore Flandrenses fugauerunt dominum suum comitem Flandrie extra terram suam, et plures affines suos et consanguineos acriter peremerunt.<sup>1</sup> Infra breue post rex Edwardus misit archiepiscopum Cantuariensem et episcopum Dunelnie ad parlamentum regis Francie apud Compyn celebratum, et iterum ad aliud parlamentum apud Aras pro pace habenda. Set rex Francie pacem renuit. Set cum intellexisset contractum inter imperatorem et regem Edwardum, statim uiis et modis quibus potuit se dedit imperatori, et clam concordatus est cum eo. Et super hoc congregauit populum multum et adunauit classem undique non modicam, precipiens eis terram Anglie cum omni audacia attingere, et malum quod possent, tam per terram quam per mare, absque ulla pietate exercere.

1338 *Franci incendunt Suthamptonam.* Et sic applicuerunt apud Suthamptonam, et interfecerunt in ea quos repperunt, et rapuerunt et plures de nobilioribus uille in domibus propriis suspenderunt, et in flammam ignis totam uillam in circuitu immani crudelitate dederunt. Set accurrentibus conpatriotis, naues ascenderunt, et altum mare pecierunt.<sup>2</sup>

1339 *.V. portus custodiunt(ur).* Eodem anno post Purificacionem filius regis Edwardi, dux Cornubie, tenuit parlamentum apud Londonias,<sup>3</sup> et ibi ordinatum fuit habere securam custodiam in quinque portibus, scilicet .lx. naues de uiris armatis ad plenum stuffate. Comes de Huntyngdona, constabularius Anglie, factus est gardianus de Suthfolk, et dominus Robertus de Morleya gardianus de Northfolk.<sup>4</sup> Eo anno fuit yemps dura et aspera, grauis et ultra mensuram per longa.<sup>5</sup>

*Iterum redeunt Normanni apud Suthamptonam.* Iterum circa Pascham redierunt Normanni cum .xij. galeys et .viii. spynachiis, cum manu bene armata, circiter .iiij. milia uirorum, et pecierunt uillam de Suthamptona ad opus ducis Normannie. Et cum uidissent audaciam Anglorum sic paratam et defensionem resistibilem, non audebant

<sup>1</sup> Early in Feb. 1339: Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 320–1.

<sup>2</sup> The raid (5 Oct. 1338) was highly destructive, and excited a general alarm. The losses included some of the wool collected by the king's agents. See C. Platt, *Medieval Southampton, 1000–1600* (London, 1973), pp. 109–12; and on the aftermath J. J. Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338–62* (Manchester, 1966), pp. 2–6.

<sup>3</sup> Parliament assembled on 3 Feb. 1339: *HBC* 559.

it was said that the emperor wished to come in person to the king of England's aid, because it was believed that there would be a great encounter between the kings of England and France in the field, about the Whitsun next following [16 May 1339].

1339 *The count of Flanders driven out of Flanders.* At that time the Flemings drove their lord the count of Flanders out of his lands, and cruelly murdered many of his household and his kin.<sup>1</sup> A short while afterwards King Edward sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham to a parliament which the king of France held at Compiègne, and again to another parliament at Arras, to make peace. But the king of France refused to make peace, and when he heard of the agreement between the emperor and King Edward he at once worked upon the emperor in every way and by every means that he could command, and secretly reached an understanding with him. And thereupon he gathered a large force and assembled a substantial fleet from all parts, and ordered them to attack England with great boldness, and to do all the harm they could both by land and by sea, without mercy.

1338 *The French burn Southampton.* And so they landed at Southampton, and killed those they found there, and plundered, and hanged many townsmen of the better sort in their own houses, and set the whole town about with flames of fire, with the greatest cruelty. But when the men of the neighbourhood came upon them, they boarded their ships and sought the open sea.<sup>2</sup>

1339 *The Cinque Ports guarded.* In the same year, after the Purification [2 Feb. 1339], the king's son Edward, duke of Cornwall, held a parliament in London<sup>3</sup> and a strong guard was ordered for the Cinque Ports, namely sixty ships fully charged with fighting men. The earl of Huntingdon, constable of England, was made warden of Suffolk, and Sir Robert de Morley warden of Norfolk.<sup>4</sup> The winter that year was hard and cold, severe and prolonged beyond measure.<sup>5</sup>

*The Normans return to Southampton.* Around Easter [28 Mar. 1339] the Normans came again, with twelve galleys and eight pinnaces, with a strongly-armed force of some 4,000 men, and sought the town of Southampton for the duke of Normandy. And when they saw how boldly the English were arrayed for its defence they did not dare to set

<sup>4</sup> Huntingdon (William de Clinton) was constable of Dover and warden of the Cinque Ports (*CPR 1338–40*, pp. 174, 359–60); Morley was admiral of the fleet northwards from the Thames (*ibid.*, 215). See also Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 264.

<sup>5</sup> On the winter, see Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 139.

1339 terram Anglie pede suo attingere, set altum mare tenuerunt pre timore ne Anglici eos insequerentur.

Nam Anglici proferebant eis oportunum ingressum in terram Anglie ad refocillandum se et suos per duos dies, eo pacto quod post biduum pugnarent decem cum .x. uel .xx. cum uiginti aut aliquo alio modo per assensum parcium; et noluerunt, set absque opere abierunt. Isto anno quarterium frumenti ualuit .xl. denarios et aliquando minus, ordeum .x. denarios, fabe et pise .xij. denarios, auene .x.

*Villa de Hastyngys incenditur.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xxxix., circa festum Trinitatis, uenerunt inimici ad portum de Hastyngys et incenderunt magnam partem uille.<sup>1</sup> Scoti per excitacionem regis Francie remiserunt trewgas et conuenerunt in marchiam Scocie<sup>a</sup> parati intrare terram Anglie, set superuenerunt Angli, et plures illorum ceperunt, cum preda et mille bestiarum. Rex Francie uidens se frustratum de malo sic inferendo in terram Anglie, misit / exercitum in Vasconiam ad destruendum confinia eius, ibique perdidit de suis et ceteri redierunt uacui absque expedicione, sicut Deus uoluit.

fo. 141<sup>v</sup>

*Franci iterum ueniunt, apud Sandewiche.* Citra festum Sancti Iacobi iterum uenerunt Franci cum grandiori potencia ad portum de Sandewyche, scilicet cum .xxxij. galeys et .xx. magnis nauibus, et .xv. minoribus nauibus, set non audebant egredi in terram propter Anglicos paratos, set diuerterunt aciem ad portum de Rye, et ibi multa mala fecerunt. Et Anglici de mare superuenerunt, ac Franci consuluerunt sibi de fuga, et Anglici insequerantur eos usque Boloniam de Nostre Dame. Et posuerunt in flammam ignis magnam partem uille, et suspenderunt laqueo .xij. de capitaniis nauigii, et redierunt in Angliam cum nauibus captis apud Boloniam.

Eodem tempore rex Anglie mouebat se cum exercitu suo uersus Franciam de Hunaldia, et Willelmus de Pole morabatur in hostagio apud Andewerpe medio tempore, pro expensis regis non solutis.<sup>2</sup> Dominus Walterus de Mawnee, cum multis aliis Anglicis ac eciam cum multis Flandrensibus, arripuit iter uersus Picardiam cum magna potencia. Et uillam Morteynye incenderunt et ceperunt unum castellum ad .iij. leucas de Caumbreye. Comes Salysbury intrauit partes de Legys mille stipatus militibus. Rex Edwardus morabatur in Valencia, quasi per .v. leucas de marchia Francie.

*Angli incendunt in Normannia .v. uillas.* Eodem tempore Robertus

<sup>a</sup> e added by reviser

1339 foot on English soil, but kept to the open sea, for fear the English should pursue them.

For the English offered them the chance to come ashore and refresh themselves for two days, on the understanding that on the third day they should fight ten with ten, or twenty with twenty, or in any other manner agreed between them, but they refused, and went away having achieved nothing. That year a quarter of wheat cost 40*d.*, or sometimes less, barley, 10*d.*, beans and peas, 12*d.*, oats, 10[*d.*].

*The town of Hastings burned.* In the year of grace 1339, about the feast of Trinity [23 May], the enemy came to the port of Hastings and burned a large part of the town,<sup>1</sup> and the Scots, stirred up by the king of France, renounced the truce and gathered in the Scottish March ready to invade England, but the English came upon them, and took many of them with their booty, and a thousand head of cattle as well. The king of France, seeing himself thus balked of the evil which he intended in England, sent an army into Gascony to ravage its borders, and there he lost some of his men, and the rest returned empty-handed, as God willed it, with nothing accomplished.

*The French come again, to Sandwiche.* Just before St James's day [25 July 1339] the French came again with a larger force to the port of Sandwiche, namely with thirty-two galleys, and twenty great ships, and fifteen smaller ships, but they did not dare to land as the English were ready for them, and they went instead to the port of Rye, and did much damage there. Then the English came upon them from the sea, and the French resolved to fly, and the English pursued them to Boulogne St Mary. And there they put a large part of the town to flames of fire, and hanged twelve captains of the fleet, and returned to England with the ships which they had taken at Boulogne.

At the same time the king of England moved out of Hainault towards France with his army, while William de la Pole stayed in Antwerp as a pledge for the king's unpaid debts there.<sup>2</sup> Sir Walter Mauny, with many other Englishmen, and many Flemings as well, made his way towards Picardy with a great force, and burned the town of Mortagne, and took a castle three leagues from Cambrai, and the earl of Salisbury entered the lands of Liège with a force of 1,000 knights, while King Edward stayed in Valenciennes, about five leagues from the French border.

*The English burn five towns in Normandy.* At the same time, Robert

<sup>1</sup> See further Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 262-3.

<sup>2</sup> See E. B. Fryde, *William de la Pole*, pp. 119-21.

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de Morleye, marisarcus, perrexit in Normanniam cum classe sua et cum classe .v. portuum, et incenderunt .v. uillas, scilicet tres portus, uidelicet Austre, Rye, Rynele, et alias tres quarum nomina non habeo, scilicet unum portum et duas alias uillas, et incenderunt de classe Normannie ibidem scilicet octoginta naues.<sup>1</sup>

*Et ceperunt uillam in Francia primo.* In festo Sancti Mathei apostoli, rex Edwardus, cum duce Brabanie, cum grandi fortitudine intrauit in Franciam, uendicans ius regni sibi incumbere iure hereditario ex parte matris sue, Isabelle, filie regis Francie qui masculum non habuerat, et ideo de iure consanguinitatis, hereditas corone Francie regi Edwardo debebatur.

*Rex Francie habuit .ij. filias.* Et est notandum quod rex Francie duas habuit filias, quarum seniore rex Nauernie duxit in uxorem, et rex Anglie Edwardus secundus nupsit iuniorem de qua genuit istum Edwardum tercium. Et quia iste Edwardus primo posuit clameum in regno Francie, et tale regnum non debet diuidi inter sorores, ideo totum ius corone Francie cecidit super .2. Edwardum regem Anglie.<sup>2</sup>

Ingressus rex Edwardus<sup>3</sup> in Franciam in festo scilicet Sancti Mathei, eodem die misit in flamma et igne tantam patriam de Chaumbrezyne, et tota ebdomada sequente non cessabat ab incendio et flamma undique in illis partibus, ita quod illa patria fuit omnino destructa, de bladis, bestiis, et aliisquibus similibus bonis. Sabbato sequenti uenit rex Edwardus apud Markonnam que est inter Caumbrezyne et Franciam, et precipit populo<sup>a</sup> suo flamma conburere et dare incendio illas partes Francie. Et datum est intelligi Edwardo quod Philippus rex Francie disponderet se obuiare illi apud Perone antecedens illum. Edwardus tendit iter / rectum uersus eundem locum, semper precedens populum suum, destruendo et inflammando undique patriam ad spacium .xij. ad minus uel .xiiij. leucarum in die.

*Alienigene habent primam aciem.*<sup>4</sup> Et Sabbato ante festum Sancti Luce transierunt aquam de Oyze et hospitati sunt ibidem die

<sup>a</sup> po inserted by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's information is quite detailed, but his arithmetic has probably been confounded by the fact that one of the places attacked was Le Tréport. See Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Philippe IV's daughter Isabella married Edward II. Her niece Jeanne, daughter of Louis X, married Philippe de Valois. Their son was Charles II of Navarre. See further M. C. E. Jones, 'Relations with France'; and above, p. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> The following text, down to 'dominum de Flannyolis', is almost entirely a translation

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de Morley, the admiral, crossed into Normandy with his fleet and the fleet of the Cinque Ports, and they burned five towns, namely three ports, Ault, Rue, and Regnière, and another three of which I have not the names, that is to say one port and two other towns, and they burned eighty ships of the Norman fleet there.<sup>1</sup>

*And first take a town in France.* On the feast of St Matthew the Apostle [21 Sept. 1339] King Edward, with the duke of Brabant, entered France in great strength, seeking that hereditary right to the kingdom that came from his mother Isabella, daughter of that king of France who had no male heir, as therefore by right of kinship the crown of France ought to have descended to King Edward.

*The king of France had two daughters.* And it should be noted that the king of France had two daughters, of whom the king of Navarre took the elder to wife, and Edward II, king of England, married the younger, by whom he begat Edward III. And because Edward made his claim to France first, and such a kingdom ought not to be divided between sisters, therefore the whole right to the crown of France fell to the second [sister's heir] Edward, king of England.<sup>2</sup>

And King Edward,<sup>3</sup> having entered France upon the feast of St Matthew [18 Sept. 1339], that same day put the land of Cambrésis to flame and fire, and for the whole of the following week did not cease to fire those parts, in such manner that the countryside everywhere was wholly bereft of crops, and animals, and other like produce. On the following Saturday [25 Sept. 1339] King Edward came to Marcoing, which lies between Cambrésis and France, and ordered his army to consume with flame and put to fire those parts of France. And Edward was given to understand that Philippe, the king of France, was going before him, planning to encounter him at Péronne. Edward made his way directly towards the same place, always at the head of his army, which burned and wasted the countryside all about, over distances of some twelve to fourteen leagues each day.

*[The foreigners come before the king].*<sup>4</sup> And on the Saturday [16 Oct. 1339] before the feast of St Luke they crossed the water of

and paraphrase of Edward's despatch of 1 Nov. 1339, in French, addressed to Prince Edward and the council, which is printed in *Murimuth*, pp. 304-8, and *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1094.

<sup>4</sup> The French text, 'quelle iour nous auions nos alliez deuant nous, qui nous monstrerent que lour uitailles estoient dependuz' (*Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1094), suggests that Knighton's heading marks a misunderstanding.

Dominica sequenti, semper habentes alienigenas coram eis, scilicet marchiatum de Branburghe, filium imperatoris, et marchiatum de Mysa, filium suum legalem, cum .v.c. armatis, ducemque Brabanie, marescallum de Iulers, et dominum de Facumberge, ducem Gerle, et multi alii. Et hii omnes dixerunt regi Edwardo quod eorum uictualia fuerunt quasi fere consumpta et expensa, et yemps appropinquans esset aspera, nec se posse in tanto frigoris algore demorari. Et ideo eos oportere se retrahere super marchias pro recuperacione uictualium cum forent eorum uictualia expensa. Nam pauciora uictualia secum superant, credentes celerius bellum ingruisse cum Philippo de Valoys qui se pretendebat regem Francie.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex Edwardus mittit ad regem Francie pro pace habenda.* Quia quociens rex Edwardus miserat nuncios ad parliamentum regis Francie pro pace offerenda, aliud responsum reportare non poterant, nisi hoc unum, quod rex Anglie Edwardus nunquam gauderet spacio bipedali de toto regno Francie. Propterea credebant omnes, ipsum Philippum bellum campestre eis uoluisse obicere. Set non ita euenit. Et sepius nunciis iurauerat quod rex Edwardus non moram faceret per spacium unius diei infra terram regni Francie cum suo exercitu, quin ei occurreret in bellum.<sup>2</sup>

*Rex Francie mittit pro bello cum rege Anglie.* Die Lune sequenti, magister albalistarum Francie misit literas domino Hugoni de Geneue, facientes mensionem quod diceret regi Anglie, ex parte regis Francie, quod eligeret sibi talem locum campestre qui non esset uallatus bosco, marisco, aut aqua, et procederet ei in bellum citra diem Iouis proxime sequentem. Deinde uenit nuncius ad dictum Hugonem, ex parte regis Boemnye et ducis Loryngie, habens literas, sigillis eorum pendentibus munitas, et continentes quod quicquid dictus magister albalistarum ei nunciauerat ex parte regis Francie quo ad bellum promissum, ipse rex Francie seruaret<sup>a</sup> conuencionem.<sup>3</sup>

Igitur rex Edwardus uidens dictas literas, statim mane in crastino cepit iter uersus Flenyimgerye, ubi moram traxit tota die Veneris. Et circa uesperam capti sunt tres exploratores Franci, et singillatim

<sup>a</sup> promissione here deleted by scribe

<sup>1</sup> The allies are not named in the French text of Edward's despatch. On supplies, see Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> Edward's offer of peace, and Philippe's reply, in which he referred to 'a hand's-breadth

Oise, and stayed there on the Sunday, having the foreigners there before them, that is to say the margrave of Brandenburg, the emperor's son, and the margrave of Meissen, his illegitimate son, with 500 men-at-arms, and the duke of Brabant, the marshal of Jülich, and the lord of Valkenburg, the duke of Guelders, and many others. And they all told King Edward that their supplies were almost consumed and exhausted, and that the coming winter would be severe, and that they could not stay where they were in such cold. Therefore they proposed to withdraw into the Marches to gather new supplies when what they had was used up, for they had brought little with them, believing that they would soon come to battle with Philippe de Valois, who claimed to be the king of France.<sup>1</sup>

*King Edward sends to the king of France to have peace.* For so often as King Edward had sent envoys to the parliament of the king of France to offer peace, they had brought back no answer but this, that King Edward would never enjoy so much as a square foot of the realm of France: therefore everyone believed that Philippe wished to meet them on the field of battle, but nothing ever came of it. And often he had sworn to the envoys that King Edward and his men should not spend a single day on the soil of France but he would meet them in battle.<sup>2</sup>

*The king of France sends to arrange a battle with the king of England.* On the following Monday [25 Oct. 1339] the master of the royal archers of France sent letters to Sire Hugues de Genève saying that he should, on behalf of the king of France, invite the king of England to choose a battlefield, unobstructed by wood, marsh, or water, and proceed to battle there on the Thursday next following [28 Oct. 1339]. Whereupon a messenger came to the said Hugues from the king of Bohemia and the duke of Lorraine, with letters bearing their seals pendent, confirming that what the master of the royal archers had said on behalf of the king of France about the battle to be offered would be binding upon the king of France.<sup>3</sup>

Therefore King Edward, seeing the said letters, set off at once the next morning for La Flamengrie, where he stayed throughout Friday [29 Oct. 1339]. And in the evening three French scouts

of land' appear earlier in Edward's despatch, and may have been inserted here by Knighton to heighten the challenge which follows (see *Avesbury*, p. 304).

<sup>3</sup> For the text of the letters, see *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1093.

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examinati, dixerunt quod die Sabbati sequenti Philippus rex Francie daret eis bellum in campo, et quod hospitatus est ab eis, nisi per unam leucam et dimidium.

Die Sabbati rex Edwardus eligit locum suum in campo sibi et suis multum habilem, in quo pugnaret<sup>d</sup> et mane eodem die capti sunt quidam discooperatores Francorum qui dixerunt Francos in aciebus dispositos in campo, et ad congregiendum cum Anglis paratos. De quo nuncio multum leti facti sunt Anglici, et immensa uoluntate ad pugnandum exillarati.

fo. 142<sup>v</sup>

Et medio tempore quidam de nostris discooperatoribus capti sunt. Inter quos miles quidam de Almanya, qui arrayamentum, et / concupibilem uoluntatem Anglorum pugnare desiderantium, Francis per ordinem retulit.<sup>1</sup> Qui statim primam aciem se retrahere compulerunt. Et fixerunt tentoria et circumcluserunt exercitum cum fossura, et magnas arbores coram eis succiderunt, ad tollendum uiam Anglicis, ne eis accederent.

Anglici uero tota die in campo steterunt ad pedes semper expectantes, licet frustra, aduentum<sup>b</sup> Francorum in aciebus dispositi. Appropinquante uero uespere, uidebatur sapiencioribus nostris,<sup>c</sup> quod satis de die expectauerunt inimicos et salubrius fore per lumen diei locum hospicii querere. Sicque equos ascenderunt et iter ceperunt uersus Daueneys, ad unam leucam et dimidium a rege Francie Philippo. Et rex Edwardus misit regi Francie nuncios ei quod tota die Dominica sequenti ipsum expectare uellet, moram faciens in eodem loco, quod et fecit.

Et alios rumores Anglici non habuerunt de Francis, quin quod die Sabbati, quando Angli ceperunt equos suos recedentes de loco suo ad petendum nocturnum hospicium, crediderunt Franci ipsos uelle se inuadere, propterea cum tanta festinatione ad securiorem locum, cum ueloci cursu, se dederunt, quod una uice in suo transitu per unum mariscum irrecuperabiliter unam magnam partem exercitus perdidit, altero super alterum irruente. Die Dominica Anglici ceperunt quendam magnum dominum, dominum de Flanyolys.<sup>2</sup>

*Franci redeunt in fugiendo.* Die Lune sequenti nunciatum est regi Edwardo quod Franci dispersi sunt, et recesserunt cum sceleri

<sup>a</sup> *Changed from pugnaret by reviser*    <sup>b</sup> *Anglorum deleted by scribe*    <sup>c</sup> *qil sembloit a noz alliez qe nous auomps assetz demeeorez Avesbury, p. 306*

<sup>1</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 288, refers to 'some German knights'. The French text

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were captured who said, when they were questioned separately, that on the Saturday [30 Oct. 1339] King Philippe of France would give battle in the field, and that he was encamped only a league-and-a-half away.

On Saturday [30 Oct. 1339] King Edward chose a place to fight in the field that suited him and his men very well, and early that day some French scouts were captured who said that the French were drawn up and arrayed, ready to fight the English. Which news made the English rejoice, and excited them with a great will to fight.

And in the mean time some of our own scouts were captured, amongst them a knight from Germany who described to the French in detail how the English were drawn up, and how keenly they wished to fight them.<sup>1</sup> And the French at once drew back their first line, and pitched their tents, and enclosed the army with an earthwork, and cut down the great trees that faced them, to hinder the English if they should come upon them.

And the English spent the whole day in the field drawn up in line of battle, in readiness for the French attack, though in vain. As evening came on it seemed to our more experienced men that they had waited long enough for the enemy that day, and that they would do well to look for quarters while it was still light. So they mounted their horses and made their way towards Davenescourt, a league-and-a-half from King Philippe of France. And King Edward sent to the French king to tell him that he would await him all day on Sunday in that same place, which he did.

And the English heard nothing more of the French except that on the Saturday, when they mounted their horses and withdrew to look for quarters for the night, the French believed that they were about to attack them. Whereupon they rode so furiously in search of a safer place, and with such speed, that a large part of their force perished while crossing a marsh, falling one upon another. On Sunday [31 Oct. 1339] the English captured a great man, the lord of Fagnolle.<sup>2</sup>

*The French withdraw in disorder.* On the Monday [1 Nov. 1339] King Edward was told that the French had dispersed, making their

says 'une chiualer Dalmaigne', who described the English array 'en auenture': *Avesbury*, p. 306.

<sup>2</sup> *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. S. Luce (Société de l'Histoire de France, Paris, 1879) i. pp. ccxli-ccxlii, 175-7.



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transitu singuli ad propria festinando. Tunc marchiatus, filius imperatoris, cum suis sociis, et dux Brabanie cum suis repedare se disponunt ad propria, propter yemis asperitatem. Et rex Edwardus cum suis rediit ad Andewerk.

*Dominus le Bret redeat ad fidem Regis Anglie.* Eodem tempore nunciatum est regi Edwardo de Vasconia, quod dominus de la Bret et alii proceres terre qui se dederant regi Francie, iam pro defectu auxilii redierant ad fidem regis Anglie, et equitauerant super terras regis Francie usque ad (partes Tholose).<sup>1</sup>

Eodem tempore omnes galey de confinibus Francie cum reliqua classe conuenerunt apud Swyne in Flandria, et coram Flandricis ibidem iuramentum prestiterunt cum solempni uoto adiecto, quod ad propria prius non redirent, quam centum naues de Anglicis caperent, et quingentas uillas in Anglia incendio conflagrarent. Set Deo negocium aliter disponente, euanuerunt in cogitationibus suis.<sup>2</sup>

*Nauium Francorum submersum.* Nam die Sabbati proxima post festum Sancti Michaelis arripuerunt alta maris itinera, et superueniente tempestatis molestia, peressi sunt immoderata discrimina, concontractisque nauibus eorum et pro maiori parte populis submersis, reliqua pars reagitata est ad partes terre Flandrie.<sup>3</sup> Et sciendum quod rex Edwardus non habuit secum in illo tempore de Anglicis nisi mille ducentos de uiris armatis, et octingentos uiros armatos, et .ij. milia sagittarios. Deinde post breue, scilicet rex et regina anno domini millesimo .ccc. xxxix. cum ceteris Anglicis uenerunt in Flandriam.

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*Rex Edwardus (capit) arma Francie per assensum (Flan)drorum.* Vbi, propter nobilitatem et audaciam regis, ac ferocitatem, locutum inter Anglos et Flandros, mediante quodam uassallo nomine Iacobo de Artyngfeld / Flandrico, rex Edwardus cepit arma Francie, et cum armis suis Anglie inmiscuit.<sup>4</sup> Et statim post hec Flandri homagium ei fecerunt sicut domino suo recto regi Francie et reddiderunt ei totam terram Flandrie. Et comes Flandrie cum ceteris omnibus suis se dedit regi Edwardo. Sicque regina moram fecit in Flandria apud Gaunt, et rex rediit in Angliam cum suis et celebrauit parlamentum suum post Pascham apud Londonias.

<sup>a</sup> portum Thobse T. I owe the supplied words to Dr Pierre Chaplais

<sup>1</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 330–8. Some suspicions of Albret remained: *Murimuth*, p. 121; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 1: 21.

<sup>3</sup> The subsequent decline of French naval strength probably owed more to the withdrawal of the Genoese galleys from the Channel: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 265–6.

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way each one to his own abode, with shameful haste. Then the emperor's son, the margrave, with his companions, and the duke of Brabant with his men, withdrew to their own estates because of the severity of the winter, and King Edward returned with his men to Antwerp.

*The lord of Albret returns to the King of England's allegiance.* At that time King Edward heard from Gascony that the lord of Albret and other great men of the land who had joined the French king, now for want of support had returned to the English king's allegiance, and had ridden upon the lands of the French king as far as the lands of Toulouse.<sup>1</sup>

And at the same time all the ships of France's neighbours gathered in the Zwin in Flanders, with the rest of the fleet, and swore an oath before the Flemings, adding a solemn vow that they would not go home until they had taken a hundred ships from the English, and set fire to 500 towns in England; but God arranged things otherwise, and their scheming was in vain.<sup>2</sup>

*The French fleet wrecked.* For on the Saturday after Michaelmas [2 Oct. 1339] they put out to sea, and a storm broke upon them which put them in the extremest danger, wrecking their ships and drowning the greater number of them, and casting the rest back upon the shores of Flanders.<sup>3</sup> And it should be known that the only Englishmen that King Edward had with him at that time were 1,200 men-at-arms, and eight hundred infantry and 2,000 archers. Shortly afterwards, namely in AD 1339, the king and queen came into Flanders with the rest of the English.

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*King Edward takes the arms of France with the Flemings' assent.* And there, because of the king's nobility and boldness, and his bravery, there were discussions between the English and the Flemings through the agency of a Flemish vassal called Jacob van Artevelde, and King Edward took the arms of France and quartered them with his arms of England.<sup>4</sup> And at once the Flemings did homage to him as their lord and true king of France, and rendered to him the whole land of Flanders. And the count of Flanders with all his men gave himself to King Edward. So the queen stayed in Flanders at Ghent, and the king returned with his men to England, and held his parliament in London after Easter [16 April 1340].

<sup>4</sup> *Foedera*, 1327–44, pp. 1108–9. See further Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 293–303; and Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 365–6.

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Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xl. ubi in subsidium guerre regis concessa est taxa per .ij. annos duratura, scilicet nonus agniculus,<sup>a</sup> nonum uellus, nona garba, de ciuibus et burgensibus uera nona de omnibus bonis<sup>b</sup> suis et catallis. Et uerisimiliter de mercatoribus forinsecis, qui non morantur in ciuitatibus et burgis, eciam de hiis qui morantur in forestis et uastis, et omnibus aliis qui non uiuunt sub labore agriculture quintadecima, solum exceptis mendicis et cottariis, et laborariis ad predictam quintadecimam non taxatis.<sup>1</sup> Proceres regni rogauerunt regem annuere et stabilire quod deinceps non caperetur de custuma pro .j. sacco lane nisi dimidia marca, nec de plumbo, stanno, coreis, pellibus lanis, nisi antiqua consuetudo.

*Rex habet de <sac>co .xl. solidos.* Verumptamen non obstante eorum rogatu, ad instanciam regis ex unanimi consensu parlamenti concesserunt regi de quolibet sacco .xl. solidos, et de quolibet tricentenario numero pellium lanearum .xl. solidos, et de qualibet lasta coreorum .iiij. libras, et de aliis mercacionibus que mare transferebantur secundum suam mensuram proporcionacionis, incipiendo ad festum Pasche, in anno regni regis Edwardi .iiij. presentis .xiiij., et usque ad festum Pentecostes anni sequentis duratura.<sup>2</sup> Et sic rex concessit quod a predicto festo et deinceps nec ipse nec heredes sui peterent, sumerent, nec sumi permetterent de custuma maius quam duas marcas ad saccum lane de Angligenis. Et de pellibus coriis et aliis mercacionibus secundum antiquam consuetudinem.

*Saccus lane continet <.xxvj. petras> in pondere.* Et saccus lane continere debet in pondere .xxvj. petras, petra uero .xiiij. libras. Et quod quilibet Angligena, uel alienigena, egrediens Anglie fines in transmarinas partes, inueniat bonam et sufficientem securitatem ad custumas soluendas ante eorum egressum, scilicet secum reportare platam argenti uel auri, ad ualorem duarum marcarum pro quolibet sacco lane, et sic pro reliquis pretactis in suo primo reddito. Et eandem platam ferre deberet ad escambium regis, et ibi recipere suos denarios. Pro hac autem concessione rex uicissitudinaliter ad eysiammentum communis populi multa concessit, scilicet delicta

<sup>a</sup> nicul superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> Added in margin by scribe

<sup>1</sup> The ninth was an exceptional levy based, like the tith, on incremental values, the principle being that on this occasion the king would take the ninth sheaf, and so on, after the church had had the tenth. On the standard assessment upon which the levies of lay tenths and fifteenths were normally based, see *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. R. E. Glasscock, Records of Social and Economic History, British Academy, ns ii (London, 1975),

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In the year of grace 1340 the king was granted in support of his war a levy for two years of the ninth lamb, the ninth fleece, and the ninth sheaf, and from citizens and burgesses the ninth part of all their goods and chattels. And similarly from itinerant merchants who do not live in cities and boroughs, and from dwellers in forests and wastes, and from all those who do not live by agricultural work he had a fifteenth, excepting only beggars, and cottagers, and labourers, who were not subject to the fifteenth.<sup>1</sup> The lords of the realm asked the king to agree and confirm that in future he would not take by way of customs more than half-a-mark upon the sack of wool, nor more than the ancient custom from lead, tin, hides, and wool-fells.

*The king has 40s. [on each sack].* Nevertheless, and notwithstanding their request, at the king's instance parliament with one accord granted him 40s. on every wool sack, and 40s. on every 300 wool-fells, and £4 on every last of hides, and so from other goods sent overseas according to their value, beginning at Easter in the fourteenth year of the reign of the present King Edward, to last until Whitsun in the year following [27 May 1341].<sup>2</sup> And thereupon the king granted that, from that said feast and thereafter, neither he nor his heirs would seek to levy nor allow to be levied upon Englishmen any greater custom than two marks on the sack of wool, and upon wool-fells, hides, and other merchandise according to the ancient custom.

*The sack of wool contains [26 stone] in weight.* And the sack of wool ought to contain by weight 26 stone, the stone being 14 pounds. And every Englishman and every foreigner going out of England to places overseas should find before their departure good and sufficient security for the payment of the customs, namely to bring back with them gold or silver plate to the value of two marks for every sack of wool, and so on for the other items referred to, on their first return. And the plate should be taken to the king's exchange, and there they would receive the coin due to them. And in return for that grant the king remitted many things for the relief of the commons, namely

pp. xiii-xxxii. On clerical assessments, see D. B. Weske, *Convocation of the Clergy* (London, 1937). Parliament met on 20 Jan. and 29 Mar. 1340 (*RP* ii. 112-13), and nominated merchants were also called before the council on the same occasions: *HBC* 559. See further E. B. Fryde, 'Parliament and the French war', *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 250-69. For the appointment of receivers to hold the proceeds of the grants, see *CFR* 1337-47, p. 178. There was also a clerical tenth: *ibid.*, pp. 173-4.

<sup>2</sup> The reference to 'the present king' suggests that Knighton is using a contemporary memorandum at this point. See also above, p. lvii, and below, p. 30.

1340 forestarum, et catalla felonum, et multa alia que in hac carta ibidem de hiis facta continentur condonando.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex Francie parat se prope regem Anglie uersus Flandriam tendere.* Rex Francie medio tempore ymaginatus est, quomodo regem Edwardum prepediret et refrenaret, et a suo proposito ueniendi in Flandriam finitus defalcaret. Insuper uenire fecit maximam et nobilissimam copiam nauium, qualem nemo superstes uiderat retroactis diebus. Et nobiliter instuffauit de uiris armatis et albalistis, et applicuerunt in Flandriam in portu de Swyn, ut regem Edwardum aduentantem ad uxorem suam reginam tunc degentem / apud Gaunt, absque ulla impedicione raperent.

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Super quo idem rex Francie Philippus miserat pape, certificans ei quod rex Anglie Edwardus mare non transmearet, nisi occideretur uel saltem a suis caperetur. Insuper eciam ex alia parte excitauit Scotos surgere et bellare in Anglia. Similiter in Flandriam circiter .xxx. milia uirorum armatorum et .xl. milia peditum nobiliter arraiatorum destruere insulam Flandrie, quia nobiles Flandrie iurauerant fidelitatem regi Edwardo.

*Comes de Salusburgh et comes de Suthfolk capti sunt.* Eodem tempore comes de Salusburghe et comes de Suthfolc fuerunt custodes Flandrie nomine regis. Qui se propter nimiam strenuitatem suam et audacie nobilitatem, in tantum se ultro interposuerunt super inimicos, quod pedem cum honore retrahere <sup>a</sup>non poterant. <sup>a</sup>Iccirco ambo capti sunt, et Parisius abducti, in magnam desolacionem regis Anglie.<sup>2</sup>

Interim Flandrenses mandauerunt regi Anglie quod cum omni celeritate subuenerit eis cum forti auxilio, sin autem oporteret eos se reddere regi Philippo et comiti Flandrie, et sic caperetur regina Anglie Philippa, cum liberis suis que moram (traxit)<sup>b</sup> illis diebus apud uillam de Gaunt. Medio tempore Scoti uenientes in Angliam, uicti sunt, capti et plures occisi.

Igitur rex Edwardus intellecto proposito regis Francie, sub omni festinacione fecit accelerare classem in expeditionem itineris sui uersus Flandriam. Sicque congregato nauigio, rex iter maris arripuit cum Henrico de Borugwas, episcopo Lincolniensi, uiro utique nobili

<sup>a</sup> inserted by reviser    <sup>b</sup> no sign of omission in T, except a caret added by Twysden

<sup>1</sup> The king's concessions, made not by charter but by statute (14 Edw. III Stat. 1: SR i. 281-9), looked back to the *grauamina* of 1338, and especially to the long-standing hatred of purveyance: see Harriss, *King, Parliament*, p. 236; J. R. Maddicott, *The English Peasantry and the Demands of the Crown, 1294-1341, Past and Present* Supplement i (1975), pp. 53-61; and above, p. 6, n. 2. On the 26-stone sack, see R. E. Zupko, *British Weights and Measures:*

1340 forest offences, and felons' chattels, and many other things in the charter which he then made to acquit them.<sup>1</sup>

*The king of France prepares to intercept the king of England off Flanders.* In the meantime the king of France was devising schemes to hinder and check King Edward, and to prevent his planned return to Flanders. Moreover he assembled a large and splendid fleet, such as none living had ever before seen, and nobly equipped with men-at-arms and crossbowmen. And they assembled in the haven of the Zwin in Flanders, where they could readily seize King Edward when he came to join his wife, who was staying in Ghent.

Whereupon King Philippe sent to the pope assuring him that King Edward could not cross the sea without being slain, or at least captured, and moreover he urged the Scots to rise and fight in England, and similarly [sent] some 30,000 men-at-arms and 40,000 foot, splendidly arrayed, to ravage the Isle of Flanders because the Flemish nobility had sworn fealty to King Edward.

*The earls of Salisbury and Suffolk captured.* At that time the earl of Salisbury and the earl of Suffolk were the keepers of Flanders in the king's name, and because of their great zeal and manifest boldness they attacked the enemy upon their own initiative, and having ventured so far that they could not withdraw with honour they were both captured, and taken off to Paris, to the great sorrow of the king of England.<sup>2</sup>

Meanwhile the Flemings warned the king that he should come with all speed and with a strong force to their aid, or they would be forced to submit themselves to King Philippe and the count of Flanders, and therefore Queen Philippa of England, who was then staying in Ghent, would be captured together with her children. In the meantime the Scots who came into England were beaten and captured, and many of them were slain.

So King Edward, having perceived the French king's plan, made haste to gather his ships and advance his crossing to Flanders, and thus having assembled the fleet, the king put to sea with Henry Burghersh, the bishop of Lincoln, a man of great distinction, wise

*a History from Antiquity to the Seventeenth Century* (Madison, Wisc., 1977), pp. 32, 55. See also below, p. 150 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> William Montague was a friend of Edward's youth; Robert Ufford a friend of the earl of Huntingdon's: they were created earls, of Salisbury and Suffolk respectively, 16 Mar. 1337 (CP xi. 387; xii (1). 430). The French threatened to kill them both: *Murimuth*, pp. 104-5; and Sumpton, *Trial by Battle*, p. 581.

et sapienti consilio, eleganti audacia, prepotenti uiribus, et retencione uirorum forcium perspicuus.

(*Iste fuit postea primus dux Lancastrie.* Aderat quoque nobilis Henricus, iuuenis comes Derbeye, qui postea factus est primus dux Lancastrie,<sup>1</sup> comes Northampton, comes Gloucestrie, comes Huntyngdone, cum multis magnatibus regni. Et in uigilia Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, circa horam terciam,<sup>2</sup> die scilicet Veneris, rex<sup>a</sup> Edwardus cum suis applicuit super oras Flandrie, apud Blancburghe, et ibi uiderunt omnes naues classis Francie in portu de Swyn quiescentes.

Et rex Edwardus misit dominum Reginaldum de Cobham, dominum Iohannem de Cundy, et dominum Stephanum de Laburkyn,<sup>3</sup> ad explorandum et uidendum de arraiamento dicti nauigii. Qui per terram equitantes ita prope uenerunt ad dictas naues, quod de earum apparatu discernere bene ad uisum possent. Et uiderunt ibi prestanciores naues, et grandiores, quales non prius uiderant, circiter .xix., quarum una Cristofora uocabatur pre sua excellencia.<sup>4</sup> Similiter uiderunt .cc. naues de guerra prope terram in aqua, in tribus aciebus distentibus cum aliis minoribus nauibus et bargiis. Et in crastino, scilicet in die Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, predictum nauigium diuertit se de portu de Swyne apud Grongne per acies dispositum, ut supradictum est.

*Bellum apud Grongne.*<sup>5</sup> Et rex Edwardus, captato oportuno tempore eodem die Sancti Iohannis, circa horam nonam, cum suo nauigio cepit sulcare maris ardua, tendens uersus dictum nauigium Francie, non ueritus eorum ferocitatem aut popularem nimietatem, commissoque nauali bello, et hinc inde egregie et fortiter pugnato, tandem Cristus concessit uictoriam Edwardo regi.<sup>6</sup>

*Franci uicti sunt ab Anglicis.* Sicque Franci protriti sunt quod fugerunt in magnas naues uocatas Sanctus Dionisius / et Sanctus Georgius, cum domino Hugone Cyret, qui fuerat marisarcus nauigii, et domino Nicholao Bychet, eodem die facto milite et occiso cum

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> On 6 June 1351: CP vii. 402.

<sup>2</sup> There is considerable confusion over the times of Edward's landfall and of the battle the next day. High tide would have been between 10 and 11 am on 23 June, and 11 and midday on 24 June: see Lucas, *Low Countries*, p. 397 and n. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Cobham and Chandos (a distinguished commander and later Edward's vice-chamberlain) were household knights and close associates of the king (Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 89, 225). Lambkin was styled admiral of the king's fleet in Flanders; the presence of his

in counsel, urbanely bold, of outstanding powers, and a shrewd manager of fighting men.

*He who was later the first duke of Lancaster.* There were also with him the noble Henry, the young earl of Derby, who was later made the first duke of Lancaster,<sup>1</sup> the earl of Northampton, the earl of Gloucester, and the earl of Huntingdon, with many great men of the realm; and on the eve of St John the Baptist's day, that is to say on Friday [23 June 1340], in the later morning,<sup>2</sup> King Edward and his men landed on the shores of Flanders, at Blankenberghe, and there they saw all the ships of the French fleet lying in the Zwin haven.

And King Edward sent Sir Reginald Cobham, Sir John Chandos, and Sir Stephen Lambkin<sup>3</sup> to reconnoitre and see how the fleet lay, and they rode on the land so close to the ships that they could well see how they were equipped; and they saw some nineteen ships of such splendour and size as they had never seen before, of which one was called the Christopher because of its pre-eminence.<sup>4</sup> In the same way they found 200 ships-of-war drawn up close to the shore in three regular lines, with other lesser ships and barges; and on the morrow, that is to say St John the Baptist's day [24 June 1340], the fleet left the haven of the Zwin for the Grogne, arrayed in lines, as has been said.

*The battle [of Sluis].*<sup>5</sup> And King Edward seized the right moment, that Baptist's day in the morning, to take out his fleet and plough the open sea, bearing down upon the French fleet, undaunted by their arrogance and their great numbers. And the battle on the sea being joined and illustriously and bravely fought, at last Christ gave the victory to King Edward.<sup>6</sup>

*The French beaten by the English.* And the French were so broken that they fled in the great ships called St Denis and St George, with Sire Hugues Quieret, who was the admiral of the fleet, and Sire Nicolas Béhuchet, who was both made a knight and was killed on that

name shows that Knighton's brief account of the battle is based on a well-informed source (see M. Lyon and B. Lyon, *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell* (Brussels, 1983), p. 269). Lambkin may have been from Winchelsea: *ibid.*, p. 428.

<sup>4</sup> Though the details of the reconnaissance party are peculiar to Knighton, his comment on the Christopher suggests that he was not aware that it was Edward's own ship, captured by the Genoese in Sept. 1338: Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 289–90.

<sup>5</sup> The expression 'apud Grongne' appears to be another local detail peculiar to Knighton: it may refer to the long sea-bank on the west side of the estuary: see Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 325; and A. A. Beekman, 'De Heidensee', *Tijdschrift van het koninklijk Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 2nd ser., xli (1924), 359–68.

<sup>6</sup> The fullest and best-documented account of the battle is still that in Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 395–402.

1340 predicto Hugone. Et, ut dicebatur, interierunt de Francis cum suis complicitibus, inimicis nostris, circiter .xxv. milia. Et circa mediam noctem sequentem euaserunt .xxiiij. naues a nostris gentibus et bargie de classe Normandorum que nondum uicte fuerunt a nostris.

*Rex Edwardus obsedit uillam de Turney.* Interea rex Edwardus cum Flandricis et toto exercitu suo diuertit se ad uillam de Turney, et uiriliter eam obsedit. Et tam diu in obsidione laborauit, quod in magnam penuriam omnes inhabitantes uillam pre defectu uictualium quasi penitus adduxit.

*Comitissa (Hu)naldie tractat de pace.* Et Philippus rex Francie cum exercitu suo approximauit quasi per .iiij. leucas ab obsidione. Et cum rex Edwardus cum suis se disponeret ad pugnam cum rege Francie et exercitu suo, uenit comitissa Hunaldie ad regem Anglie, genuflexo rogans, quatinus uellet ad sui instanciam sustinere tractatum de concordia et pace inter ipsum et regem Francie. Set durum erat reuocare animum eius ab inceptis ad pretacta.

Veruptamen, quia plenam fiduciam erga ducem Brabanie, qui se fidelem amicum regi Edwardo finxerat, eo tenus non gerebat, cum idem dux quasi medius staret inclinatus ad partem Francorum, ac eciam non esset ei ministratum de pecunia de communibus regni Anglie illi hactenus concessa pre defectu ministrorum suorum in sua absencia,<sup>1</sup> tandem cum magna difficultate concessit trewgas usque ad festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste proxime sequens, sub forma que sequitur.<sup>2</sup>

*Rex Edwardus cedit trewgas.*<sup>3</sup>

A touz ceux qe cestez presentez lettres uerront oue oyerount, Iohan par la grace de Dieu roy de Beawme et conte de Lexenburge,<sup>a</sup> Adulf, eueske de Leges, Roynels, duc de Loreyne, Annis, counte de Sauueye, Iohan, Conte de Ermyngnat, saluz.<sup>b</sup>

Sauoire facoms a touz qe lez trewes sont donez et outroyez entre lez halx princes et puysances lez roys de France et de<sup>c</sup> Engleterre pur eous et lour amys totez, par assent dez lez haltez hommez et

<sup>a</sup> H; Lexen.berghes T    <sup>b</sup> salutz et coniseance de uerite H    <sup>c</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> For the duke of Brabant, see J. de Sturler, *Relations politiques*, pp. 347–8. On the failure of supplies, see Tout, *Chronicles*, iii. 114, and Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 281–3. It is remarkable that Knighton makes no reference to the intense political and constitutional crisis which followed Edward's return: see Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 270–312; and R. M. Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford, c.1275–1348* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 278–327.

<sup>2</sup> The document which follows is a version of the Treaty of Espléchin (25 Sept. 1340). There is a fuller text in the Harley MS of *Avesbury*, pp. 317–20, (BL Harley MS 200: = H),

1340 same day with the said Hugues. And it was said that there were slain of the French and their accomplices, our enemies, some 25,000. And in the middle of the following night twenty-three ships escaped us, with some barges from the Norman fleet that had not been engaged by our people.

*King Edward besieges the town of Tournai.* Meanwhile King Edward, with the Flemings and his whole army, made for the town of Tournai and besieged it vigorously. And they laboured so long at the siege that the inhabitants of the town were reduced almost to destitution for want of supplies.

*The countess of Hainault treats for peace.* And King Philippe of France came with his army within four leagues of the siege lines, and when King Edward and his men prepared to give them battle the countess of Hainault came to the king of England on bended knee, begging him for her sake to agree to negotiate a treaty of friendship and peace with the king of France. But she found it hard to turn his mind from what he had begun to what she proposed.

Nevertheless, because King Edward did not altogether trust the duke of Brabant, who professed himself a faithful friend, whilst being half inclined to the side of the French, and also because, through the fault of his ministers while he was away, he was not supplied with the money which he had been granted by the commons of the realm of England,<sup>1</sup> eventually with great reluctance he granted a truce until the feast of St John the Baptist next [24 June 1341], in the following form.<sup>2</sup>

*King Edward grants a truce.*<sup>3</sup>

To all those who shall see or hear these present letters, Jean, by the grace of God king of Bohemia and count of Luxemburg, Adolphe, bishop of Liège, Renaud, duke of Lorraine, Amédée, count of Savoy, and Jean, count of Armagnac, send greeting.

We make it known to all that a truce is made and established between those high and mighty princes the kings of France and of England, for them and for all their friends, by the agreement of

a document which is in a later hand than T, but which seems closer to a French original than either Knighton's text, or that which is printed in *Foedera, 1327–44*, pp. 1135–6, and attributed there to BL Cotton MS Otto D.II. The variants in H noted here are only those which affect the sense of the text or the substance of the treaty.

<sup>3</sup> For all its high-sounding style, the Treaty of Espléchin (23 Sept. 1340) was a disappointment to Edward, bringing him no return for his campaign, despite his brilliant victory at Sluis. It undoubtedly sharpened the anger which he visited upon his officials when he returned to London: see e.g. Packer, *Edward III*, pp. 98–101; and above, n. 1.

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puissancez le duc de Brabane, le duc de Gelure, le marchis de Iulhere, e my syre Iohan de Henaude, Sir de Beawmont, dune parte, et nous et chescune desuz dys daltre parte, par pouare a nous, et a eoux desouth nomez, done par lez dys roys. Issynt qe nous attrouames, affyantasmes par noz, <sup>a</sup>feis de main en aultre,<sup>a</sup> de par lez deux roys, lour amys, et le lour allyes queux qils soyent, chescune de sa partye, de iour de huye dekes la Natyuite Seynt Iohan le Baptistre procheyne enuenant, et le iour tote lendemayne ieskes a solayl leuant, en ceste manere.

Cest assauoyre primerment qe durant la dyte trewe nule nouelte<sup>b</sup> ne mespressure se face dun parte, ne de aultre, en preiudice de dit trewe et respyte. Ensy lez ditz seigniours, leurs aherdanz, coadiutours, et leurs allyez queux qils soyent, demouront en tiele possession et seysyne qils soyent al dit iour de huye dez / touz lez bienz, terrez, et possessiones qils teignent et ount conquis, en quecunque manere qe se soyt, lez trewes durantz.

fo. 144<sup>v</sup>

Ensy accorde est qe, lez trewez duranz, lez ditz seigniours, leurs coadiutours, et allyez purront alere saufement del un pays en lautre, et tous marchantz oue touz lour marchandes, et tote manere de leurs genez oue lour bienz et puruyancez, tant par terre come par mere, et par ewe, franchement come ils soleynt uenir a temps dez auantiers de diz royz, <sup>c</sup>empayant lez paiage et wynages qomme ad acustume<sup>c</sup> auncienement, hor pris les bayns qe sont baynz dez diz realmes, oue ascune de eux, pur altre cause qe pur la guerre de diz roys. Mes lez barons de Gascoyne, de la duchee de Gyenne, et altrez personez de Gascoyne et de la dite duchee, qe sont bannys ou autres, soyent compris en lez diz trewes, et purront alere et uenir del une pays en lautre durantz lez ditez trewez.

Ensy accorde est qe lez deux rois ne procuront, ne ferront procurer, par eoux ne par altrez, qe nul nouealte ne greuance se facent par leglyse de Rome, oue par autres de seynt esglyse, queux qil soyent, sur ascunez dez diz roys, coadiutours, oue allyez, ne sour lour terrez, oue de lour sugettez, pur laccacion de la dit guerre, oue par altre cause. Ne pur seruyez qe lez ditz allyez oue coadiutours eyent faitez al ditz Rois, oue a ascune de yceux. Et si nostre seynt piere la<sup>d</sup> pape, oue altre, le uoet faire, lez deux rois lour destourbront a lour pouare, sanz male engyne, lez ditz trewez endurantz.

<sup>a-c</sup> H; par noz fors de mayne et T <sup>b</sup> H; mauuealte T <sup>c-c</sup> H; en payant le passage de uiage au coustemes T <sup>d</sup> Superimposed by reviser, or a later hand

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those high and mighty men the duke of Brabant, the duke of Guelders, the margrave of Jülich, and messire Jean de Hainault, lord of Beaumont, on the one part, and of us and each of us named above on the other part, by the power granted to us by the said kings. Wherefore we have agreed, and pledged our faith, hand in hand, and on behalf of the two kings, their friends, and their allies whomsoever, on either side, from this day until the Nativity of St John the Baptist next coming [24 June 1341], and the next day until sunrise, in this wise:

That is to say, firstly that during the said truce no innovation shall be made nor wrong done on either side, to the prejudice of the said truce and respite. Also that the said lords, their followers and associates, and their allies, whosoever they be, shall remain in occupation and seisin of all the goods, lands, and possessions that they this day hold or have won, in whatsoever manner, while the truce lasts.

Also it is agreed that during the truce the said lords, their associates, and allies, shall go safely from one land to another, and all merchants with all their goods, and all manner of their people with their goods and supplies, both by land and by sea, and by inland waters, as freely as they used in the time of the said kings' predecessors, paying tolls, and dues for wine, as formerly they were accustomed, except those who have been banished from the said kingdoms, or either of them, for other cause than the war between the said kings. But the barons of Gascony, of the duchy of Guienne, and others from Gascony and the said duchy who are banished, and others, shall be included in the said truce, and may come and go from one land to another during the truce.

Also it is agreed that the two kings shall not procure, nor cause to be procured, either by themselves or by others, any innovation or harm to be visited by the church of Rome, or by others of Holy Church whomsoever, upon either of the kings, their associates, or allies, nor upon their lands or their subjects, on account of the said war, nor for other cause, nor for the services which the said allies or associates have performed for the said kings, or for either of them. And if our holy father the pope, or anyone else, shall seek so to do, the two kings shall hinder them to the best of their powers, and without bad faith, while the truce shall last.



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Ensi mayntenant soient criez <sup>a</sup>es .ij. ostz<sup>a</sup> touz qe lez sauoire purront oue oyront, serront tenuz de lez tenyr et gardere. Ensi accorde est qe dedeinz lez uynt iours, de acomencere le iour de huy, chescune dez rois lez fra criere en <sup>b</sup>Gascoyne, en la duche Dacquitaigne,<sup>b</sup> en la terre qils tiegent. Et issy soient sieux et conuz.

Ensy accorde est, qe si par ascune dez rois, par leurs gentz, oue leurs alliez oue coadiutours, ascunes 'sieges soit mys<sup>c</sup> en Gascoyne, en la <sup>d</sup>duchee de Guyene,<sup>d</sup> oue en altres yles de miere, en Gerneseye et en Geneseye, oue ayllours, lez segez se leueront si tost come lez trewez uendront a lour conysance. Et quatusze persones, cest assauoyre, seopt par 'chescune dez dits rois, entrent es<sup>e</sup> ditz uyles entront en uiles, chasteles, oue forcelettes oue lez sieges serront, et uerront lez garnisours, taunz dez gentz come dez uitailles qe deenz serront, al fyn qe le iour de ceo trewes fayle, issy qe ditz uiles, chasteaux, oue forcelettes qe serront assigneez demorrent et soyent myses en tiele nombre et quantite dez uyuers, et dez personnes, come ils serront trouez par lez ditez quatorse personez.

fo. 145<sup>r</sup>

/ Ensi est accorde qe lez bannys<sup>f</sup> et futyfs del pays du Flandrez qe ont este de la partye le roye de France <sup>g</sup>ne purront durantz lez treues entrier ne uenir en Flandrez. Et sils fount gascuns de tieux alast encountre lez treues de<sup>g</sup> deinz le realme et sone <sup>h</sup>poar, homme ferroit<sup>h</sup> de luy iustice,<sup>i</sup> serront forfetz touz cez biens qil auera en Flandrez.<sup>j</sup>

Ensi accorde est qe durantz lez ditez trewees touz les prisons pris en cest guerre serront relessez de lour prisons, a reuenire en yceoles sour lour foith et sermencz. Si ensi ne fuist qils fusent rechatez deuant la date dez cestez presentez trewez. Sauue ensi qe lez ditez prisons reneunt pur leurs foitz recreauncer de reuenyr en lour prisone, lez ditz trewes faylance. Et sil auynt qe ascunez dez prisonnez fuist rebelle de uenir in lour prisone, <sup>k</sup>le sire de soutz qil serroit<sup>k</sup> luy constreynderont de uener al prisone.<sup>1</sup>

Ensy qe lez leues qels qils soient faitz deuant lez ditez trewes en temps de guerre, tut soyent ils dez benez spirituels, oue autrement, demourent sanz faire restitucion, la trewe durant.

Ensy accorde est qe une trewe se pregne meyntenant entre lez Engleys et lez Escozs, leurs aerdauncz et allyez, tanqe a la feste

<sup>a-a</sup> H; en lez deux citees T      <sup>b-b</sup> Gascoigne et en la Duchee de Guyene H  
<sup>c-c</sup> H; ascunes soient misez T      <sup>d-d</sup> duche Dacquitayne H      <sup>e-e</sup> H; chescune de ditz  
vyles T      <sup>f</sup> larouns H      <sup>g-g</sup> H; om. T      <sup>h-h</sup> H; pierre en affray T

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Also let it now be cried through the two hosts that all shall know and hear that they are bound to hold to and keep these provisions. And it is agreed that within twenty days, beginning this day, each of the kings shall cause it to be cried in Gascony, and in the duchy of Aquitaine, in those lands which they hold, and thus it shall be known and understood.

Also it is agreed that if there should be any sieges undertaken by either of the kings, or by their allies or associates, in Gascony, in the duchy of Aquitaine, or in the isles of the sea, in Guernsey or Jersey or elsewhere, they shall be raised as soon as news of the truce come to them. And fourteen persons, that is to say seven on behalf of either king, shall enter the towns, castles, or fortalices where there are sieges, and shall review the garrisons, both the men and the supplies which are there, so that when the truce ends the garrisons of the said towns, castles, or fortalices, shall keep and have the same numbers and supplies as the said fourteen persons shall have found in them.

Also it is agreed that those who are banished or fugitive from the land of Flanders, having supported the king of France, shall not enter or come to Flanders during the truce, and if any of them act against the truce within his realm or power let justice be done upon them and let them forfeit all the goods which they have in Flanders.

Also it is agreed that during the said truce all the prisoners taken in the war shall be released from prison, to return there upon their faith and oath, if they have not been ransomed before the date of the present truce. Provided too that the said prisoners shall promise to return to their prisons if the truce fail, and that if it should happen that any of the prisoners should refuse to return, the lord under whom they serve shall compel them to return to prison.<sup>1</sup>

Also that any levies taken before the said truce in time of war, whether of spiritualities or other, shall remain without restitution being made, during the truce.

Also it is agreed that a truce shall be made now between the English and the Scots, and their associates and allies, until the

<sup>i</sup> H; om. T      <sup>j</sup> H has a clause here holding over debts due in Arras and elsewhere in France  
<sup>k-k</sup> H; le sir de Southfolc T

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that Knighton's copyist or, more probably, the writer of the English-nuanced text which Knighton used, read *de Southfolc* for *de soutz*, accepting the earl of Suffolk as a suitable guarantor for this provision: see app. crit., n. k-k.



1340 Seynt Iohan susdite. Et qe certeynes persones soyent deputez par lez ditz parties destre al certeyne iour sour lez marches Dengleterre et dez Scozse, pur lez trewes affermere. Issynt qe durant la trewe, ils ne serront enforcez en nule manere par lez Fraunceys. Ensy accorde est qe cestez trewes serront notyfiés en Engleterre et en Escoce deinz lez .xxvj. iours apres la date <sup>a</sup>dez cestez lettres.<sup>a</sup>

Ensy accorde est qe cestez trewees soyent compris ly Espaynol, ly Chastelyne, ly Geneuoyse, ly Prouncial, lesueke et le<sup>b</sup> chapitre de Caumbreye, le uille de Cambray,<sup>c</sup> luy chastels en Caumbresyne, et auxi ly sire de la Brette, le uysconte de Fronesake, Gascon de Lyle. Et le seignour de Trieuleoun, Iohan de Vernylle, le seignour de Rye.<sup>d</sup>

1341 *Rex Francie concordatus est cum imperatore.* Eodem tempore facta est concordia inter imperatorem et regem Francie, quam ob rem imperator misit regi Anglie petens ab eo, et rogans, quatinus faceret sibi sufficientem commissionem cum plenaria potestate inire concordiam inter ipsum et regem Francie. Quod rex Edwardus renuens, rescripsit imperatori dicens se nolle ius suum tanta efficacia ueracis claritatis effulgens, sub dubio aliene arbitracionis supponere, pluraque imperatori de conuencionibus superfactis et effractis opposuit.<sup>1</sup>

*Scoti intrant in Angliam.* Eodem tempore Daudid le Bruz cum .xl. mille Scotorum intrauit in Angliam prope Nouum Castrum et eciam Dunelnum, et exercuerunt multa mala, et in regressu eorum perdidit sex milites et .xj. alios ualentes.<sup>2</sup>

*Imperator renuit uicariam.* Eodemque tempore imperator reuocauit potestatem quam contulerat regi Anglie ut esset uicarius imperatoris, prout superius patet anno Domini millesimo .ccc.xxxviiiij.<sup>3</sup>

1340 fo. 145<sup>v</sup> *Homines latrant ut canes.* In estate scilicet anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xl. accidit quedam execrabilis et enormis infirmitas in Anglia, quasi communis et precipue in comitatu Leycestrie, adeo quod durante passione homines emiserunt uocem latrabilem acsi esset latratus canum. / Et fuit quasi intollerabilis pena durante passione. Exinde fuit magna pestilencia hominum.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> de cest treuses H. The clause has been summarized in T without loss of sense H; du T <sup>c</sup> H; om. T <sup>d</sup> H adds en lesglise de Espletelyn, le Lundy le .xxv. iour en Septembre lan du grace .m.cccxl.

<sup>1</sup> For the exchange, see *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1166 (the emperor's letter, 25 June 1341), and pp. 1167-8 (Edward's reply, which is also in *Avesbury*, pp. 337-9). Edward's letter to the duke of Austria on 25 June shows that he was aware of the Emperor's change of front: *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1164.

1340 aforesaid feast of St John [24 June 1341]. And that certain persons shall be appointed by the said parties to be on a certain day upon the Marches of England and Scotland to affirm the truce, and that during the truce [the Scots] shall not be reinforced in any way by the French. Also it is agreed that the said truce be proclaimed in England and Scotland within twenty-six days of the date of these letters.

Also it is agreed that this truce shall cover the Spanish, the Catalans, the Genoese, the Provençals, the bishop and chapter of Cambrai, the town of Cambrai, the castles in Cambrèsis, and also the lord of Albret, the vicomte of Fronsac, Bertrand de l'Isle, and the lord of Triculeon, Jean de Verville, and the lord of Roye.

1341 *The king of France reconciled with the emperor.* At the same time an agreement was made between the emperor and the king of France, whereupon the emperor sent to the king of England, seeking and asking for a sufficient commission to empower him to effect a reconciliation between the king and the king of France. And King Edward refused, and wrote to the emperor saying that he did not wish his right, the truth of which was well and so clearly attested, clouded by submission to an alien tribunal, and he reminded the emperor of many agreements that had been made and broken.<sup>1</sup>

*The Scots invade England.* At the same time David Bruce came into England with 40,000 Scots, as far as Newcastle upon Tyne and even Durham, and did much harm, and on his way back he lost six knights and eleven other soldiers.<sup>2</sup>

*The emperor revokes the vicariate.* At the same time the emperor revoked the power which he had conferred upon King Edward to act as his deputy, as appears above under AD 1338.<sup>3</sup>

1340 *Men barking like dogs.* In the summer, that is, in the year of grace 1340, there occurred a repugnant and widespread sickness almost everywhere in England, and especially in Leicestershire, during which men emitted a sound like dogs barking, and suffered almost unbearable pain while it lasted. And a great many people were infected.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 191-3.

<sup>3</sup> The emperor wasted no time on courtesies: he had annulled the vicariate in the same breath as he offered mediation: *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1166, and above, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The barking voice might suggest diphtheria, or a streptococcal throat infection, but it has previously been regarded as, if not hysterical in origin, a manifestation of ergotism, which is unlikely: C. Creighton, *A History of Epidemics in Britain* (2nd ed., 2 vols, London, 1965), i. 59-62. See further below, p. 132, n. 2.

1341 *Rex in Scocia.* Rex Edwardus transiuit in Scociam circa festum Sancti Andree, et celebravit Natale Domini apud Meurose, et Henricus nobilis comes Derbeye apud Rokesburghe. Interea uenit Willelmus Duglas, cum tribus aliis Scotis militibus, ad hastyludyandum sub foro guerre<sup>1</sup> cum comite Henrico predicto et suis, qui letali uulnere attriti in Scociam sine honore redierunt.

Interim capta est trewga inter regem Anglie et regem Scocie. Post trewgam captam statim uenerunt .xij. optimi milites de Scocia electi ad hastiludiandum apud Berwycum, quorum duo occisi sunt, et similiter unus miles comitis Derbeye, Iohannes Twyforde nomine.<sup>2</sup> Comes Derbeye ita graciose in omnibus operibus humanitatis se gerebat, quod omnes de eo audientes, gloriam et honorem defferebant.

[1336-9] Anno isto<sup>a</sup> papa Benedictus edidit nouas constitutiones de statu religiosorum, scilicet canonicorum regularium et monachorum quas constitutiones Benedictinas uocant.<sup>3</sup>

1342 *.M.ccc.xliij.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xliij. data est regi decima ecclesie.<sup>4</sup> Mortuus est papa Benedictus. Robertus Bruz rediit in Scociam, qui subductus fuerat in Franciam. Papa Clemens papa creatus est, qui fuerat episcopus Rotomagensis.<sup>5</sup>

Eodem anno rex Edwardus misit Walterum de Moun in Britanniam cum centum .xx. armatis et mille sagittariis, in auxilium Britonum contra regem Francie qui eos oppresserat.<sup>6</sup>

Cumque dictus Walterus uenisset in Britanniam, audiuit quod dominus de Lyons qui post ducem Britannie maior extiterat tocius terre, manebat in quodam forciletto paruo nomine Tresgalentenk, et distat a uilla de Brest quasi per .xxiiij. leucas. Idemque Walterus equitauit tota nocte, et circa solis ortum applicuit cum suis ante dictum forcelettum, quasi omnibus inibi in lecto dormientibus

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> That is to say, with unrebated lances: see J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270-1350* (Woodbridge, 1982), p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 143-4; and Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 34. Twyford may have been a son of Sir John Twyford sen., of Derby, a commissioner of array in 1341, and a taxer for the ninth: *CCR 1341-3*, p. 370; *CPR 1340-43*, p. 26.

<sup>3</sup> The decrees for the Benedictines were published in 1336, those for the Augustinians in 1339. There is a full text of the Augustinian constitutions in *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H. E. Salter (OHS lxxiv, 1922), pp. 214-67. See further M. D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, ii. 3-8.

*The king in Scotland.* King Edward crossed into Scotland about the feast of St Andrew [30 Nov. 1341], and celebrated Christmas at Melrose, and Henry, the noble earl of Derby, was at Roxburgh. Meanwhile William Douglas came with three other Scottish knights for a tournament with the said Earl Henry and his men, under the rules of war.<sup>1</sup> And, gravely wounded, they returned into Scotland without honour.

In the mean time a truce was made between the king of England and the king of Scotland. After the truce began there came twelve of the best knights in Scotland, chosen to joust at Berwick, and two of them were killed, and also one of the earl of Derby's knights, called John Twyford.<sup>2</sup> The earl of Derby bore himself in all humane works so graciously that all who heard of him accorded him honour and glory.

In this year Pope Benedict XII published new constitutions for the religious orders, namely for canons regular and for monks, which are known as the Benedictine constitutions.<sup>3</sup>

1342. In the year of grace 1342 the king was granted a tenth by the clergy.<sup>4</sup> Pope Benedict XII died. Robert Bruce, who had been carried off to France, returned to Scotland. Pope Clement VI was made pope, who had been bishop of Rouen.<sup>5</sup>

In the same year King Edward sent Sir Walter Mauny into Brittany, with 120 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers, to help the Bretons, who were oppressed by the king of France.<sup>6</sup>

And when the said Walter arrived in Brittany he heard that the lord of Lyonesse, who next after the duke was the greatest man in the land, was staying in a little fortalice called Trégarantec, about twenty-four leagues from Brest. And Walter rode all night with his men, and about sunrise arrived before the fortalice, where almost

<sup>4</sup> See *CFR 1337-47*, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> Benedict XII (Jacques Fournier), who began to build the popes' palace at Avignon, died on 25 April 1342, and Clement VI (Pierre Roger), who had been archbishop of Rouen since 1330, and chancellor of France, was elected on 7 May: *ODP 217-19*. Robert the Steward, later King Robert II (1371-90), acted as lieutenant before David's return to Scotland in June 1341: Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 138-9.

<sup>6</sup> On the course of the war in Brittany, where a disputed succession allowed Edward to enter as the champion of Jean de Montfort, the half-brother of Duke Jean III, see M. C. E. Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: a Late Medieval State* (London, 1988), pp. 197-218. On the opening campaign, see also M. Prestwich, *The Three Edwards: War and State in England, 1272-1377* (London, 1980), p. 174; and Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 390-4. The following details of the raid on Trégarantec, and the use of the term *nostris*, suggest a newsletter.

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preter duos uel tres, et fuerunt .l. uiri armati in predicto forciletto.

Statimque Anglici insultum fecerunt, et alii se fortiter defend-  
erunt et ignem ad portam miserunt. Et cum una porta combusta  
esset, quidam Anglici introgressi per medium ignis in castrum, eos  
omnes bene armatos, cum elegantibus dextrariis bene coopertis,  
(opprimerunt),<sup>a</sup> qui capere proponebant iter per medium ignis  
opprimere nostros qui pedibus laborabant sub conculcacione  
pedum equorum suorum.

Interim dictus Walterus cum ceteris suis intrauit et cepit pre-  
dictum dominum de Lyons, et fratrem eius, et plures milites et  
.xxx. armatos uiros cum predicto loco. Interim marescallus Francie  
et Karolus de Bloys, qui se ducem Britanie nominauit, cum .iiij.c.  
uiris armatis obuam se dederunt Anglicis, et in fugam attriti sunt.

Et in toto isto itinere et aliis multis que medio tempore contigerunt,  
que propter breuitatem non<sup>b</sup> <recitentur>,<sup>c</sup> Anglici non perdidierunt  
nisi duos sagittarios et unum pagettum.

Isti fuerunt capti in dicto forciletto: dominus Henricus de  
Lyons, dominus de Lyons; dominus Alardus frater eius; dominus  
Olyuerus consan/guineus; dominus Eymerus de Pownte, dominus  
Eymerus de Charnelles, dominus Eymerus de Plountplanttoy, fo. 146<sup>r</sup>  
dominus Radulfus de Rosemadek, dominus Iohannes de Ioye, et  
multi armigeri et alii pedestres.

Quorum .vij. nobiliores predictus Radulfus Moun secum duxit in  
Angliam, et posuit in turri Londoniensi custodiendos.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem anno orta est discordia in Scocia inter Dauid regem, qui se  
regem prefecerat, et Iohannem de Orgayle et plures alios de regno, set  
rex Dauid se aptauit eorum uoluntati, quod si non fecisset regnum  
perdidisset. Eodem anno ordinati sunt custodes de marchia Scotie,  
comes de Arundelle et comes de Huntyngdone, et capta est trewga per  
annum duratura.<sup>2</sup>

Post festum Sancti Iohannes Baptiste missi sunt in Britanniam,  
mandato regis, comes Northampton, comes de Artoys, comes de  
Deuenschyre, ly Courteneye, dominus Radulphus de Stafforde, qui

<sup>a</sup> There is no gap in T, but the sense requires a verb  
<sup>c</sup> reticenteur T

<sup>b</sup> Interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 395 and n. 47.

<sup>2</sup> Probably a reference to David's agreements in 1343 with John of Islay, son of Angus  
Og, on his lordships in the Western Highlands, and with other lords, which were by no

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everyone save two or three were still asleep, and there were fifty  
men-at-arms in the garrison.

And the English attacked at once, and some protected them-  
selves well and carried fire to the gates. And when one door was  
burnt, some of the English broke through the fire into the castle,  
where they overwhelmed those, all fully armed, and with fine  
chargers, well-caparisoned, who were planning to ride out through  
the fire and crush under their horses' feet those of our men who  
were not mounted.

Meanwhile the said Walter with the rest of his men entered, and  
captured the said lord of Lyonesse, and his brother, and many  
knights, and thirty men-at-arms in that place. In the meantime the  
marshal of France and Charles de Blois, who styled himself the  
duke of Brittany, waylaid the English with 400 men-at-arms but  
were put to flight.

And in all that expedition and many others which they made in the  
mean time, which for the sake of brevity are not described, the  
English lost only two archers and a page.

These were captured in the fort: Sire Hervé de Léon, lord of  
Lyonesse, Sire Alard his brother, Sire Olivier his cousin, Sire  
Aymar de Pounte, Sire Aymar de Charnelles, Sire Aymer de  
Plougenast, Sire Rauf [lord of] Rosemadoc, Sire Jean de Joye, and  
many squires and foot-soldiers.

Of whom the said [Walter] Mauny took seven of the greater men with  
him to England, and put them into the Tower of London for safe-  
keeping.<sup>1</sup>

That same year a dispute arose in Scotland between King David,  
who had made himself king, and John of Islay and others there. But  
King David bowed to their will, for if he had not he would have lost  
the kingdom. In the same year the earl of Arundel and the earl of  
Huntingdon were appointed wardens of the March of Scotland, and a  
year's truce was made.<sup>2</sup>

After the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June 1342] there were sent  
into Brittany, by the king's command, the earl of Northampton, the

means one-sided: Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 140. On the wardenship, see C. H. Hunter Blair,  
'Wardens and deputy wardens of the marches of England towards Scotland, in  
Northumberland', *Archaeologia Æliana*, 4th ser., xxviii (1950), pp. 18-95, at p. 42; and *Rot.  
Scot.*, i. 601, 632.

1342 postea factus est comes de Staffordie,<sup>1</sup> senescallus regis, dominus Iohannes Darcy, camerarius regis, dominus Willelmus de Gaddesby, clericus regis, cum multis aliis magnatibus, et obsiderunt quandam uillam cum castro.<sup>2</sup>

Et nunciatum est ei quod dominus Karolus de Bloys, cum .xx. milia uiris appropinquaret ad remouendum obsidionem, et uidens paucitatem Anglicorum, reliquit obsidionem et tota obscura nocte dedit se in occursum inimicorum suorum, et mane ceperunt locum suum quasi per unam leucam ab inimicis, prope unum boscum, et foderunt foueas et fossas circa eos, et cooperuerunt eos de feno et herbagio, et post solis ortum parauerunt se ad bellum.

Et inimici se parauerunt in tres acies diuisas. In quarum prima fuit dominus Galfridus Charnys, cum multis galettis, qui statim uicti sunt ab Anglicis et missi in fugam, et ceteri inimici in pace steterunt, consulendo quid facere uellent. Tandem uidentes Anglicorum paucitatem et suorum multitudinem, ferocitate animi ducti, opprimere Anglie gentes<sup>a</sup> moliti sunt, et equorum suorum ualidorum pedibus conculcare uolentes, capitate irruerunt in eos, set antris decepti obturatis, ut predictum est, ceciderunt quilibet super alium in foueis abinuicem confusi.

Et predictus dominus Galfridus Charnys captus est cum multis ualentibus. Et occisi sunt ibidem .l. milites cum magna multitudine eiusdem populi. Anglici autem absque mora se receperunt in quendam boscum prope adiacentem, propter metum multitudinis inimicorum qui undique cateruatim accurrebant, et Anglici ibidem aliquamdiu obsessi, magnam penuariam pre defectu uictualium sustinebant.

*Rex tendit in Britanniam.* Cumque predicta ad aures regis Edwardi peruenissent,<sup>b</sup> statim se misit in mare cum suis apud Portusmewe, et applicuit apud portum de Breste in Britannia ante festum Omnium Sanctorum. Medio tempore archiepiscopus Cantuariensis celebravit consilium cum clero apud Londonias in quo concessa est regi una decima de spiritualibus. In quo tempore archiepiscopus Eboracensis

<sup>a</sup> tes inserted by reviser over erasure

<sup>b</sup> peruenisset T

<sup>1</sup> In 1351: *CP* xii (1). 176. See also below, p. 109 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton is describing the battle of Morlaix, 30 Sept. 1342, and appears to be paraphrasing a newsletter: Sumpton, *Trial by Battle*, p. 402; *Murimuth*, pp. 127, 128-9. Sir

1342 count of Artois, the earl of Devonshire, the Courtenay, Sir Ralph Stafford, who afterwards was made earl of Stafford,<sup>1</sup> the king's steward, Sir John Darcy, the king's chamberlain, and Sir William Gaddesby, king's clerk, with many other great men. And they besieged a certain town with a castle.<sup>2</sup>

And it was reported to [the earl of Northampton] that Sire Charles de Blois was approaching with 20,000 men to raise the siege. And as the English were few in number the earl gave up the siege, and in the dead of night prepared to ambush the enemy. And they prepared a place about a league from the enemy, near a wood, and dug pits and ditches round about, and covered them with hay and brushwood, and when the sun rose they prepared for battle.

And the enemy arrayed themselves in three lines. In the first was Sire Geoffroi de Charny with many horsemen, who were at once overcome by the English and put to flight. And the rest of the enemy stood still, debating what to do, but when they considered how many they were, and how few the English, their courage rose, and they spurred their horses on recklessly to ride them down, but the traps having been laid for them, as we have said, they fell into them one upon another in heaps.

And the said Sire Geoffroi de Charny was captured, with many fighting men, and there were killed fifty knights and a large number of their followers. And the English withdrew without delay into a nearby wood because of the great numbers of the enemy, who were swarming all around, and while they were surrounded there they suffered severe privation for want of supplies.

*The king makes for Brittany.* And when the news came to King Edward's ears he at once put to sea with his troops from Portsmouth, and landed, before the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1342], at Brest in Brittany. In the mean time the archbishop of Canterbury held a council of clergy in London, at which the king was granted a tenth from spiritualities, and at that time the archbishop of York and the

William Gaddesby does not appear again in any guise. He was in fact William de Kildesby or Kilsby, a former keeper of the great and privy seals, and one of Edward's most experienced clerks: see Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 84-5; 162-3. Knighton's assimilation of Kildesby to Gaddesby, a Leicestershire village, suggests that he is writing at some distance in time.

1342 et episcopus Lincolniensis uenerunt de curia Romana, consecrati a papa.<sup>1</sup>

Comes de Artoys mortuus est de infirmitate antequam rex applicuisset apud Breste. Dominus Walterus de Mawne uenit ad regem apud Breste, ducens secum episcopum de Cornewayle. Et predictus episcopus fecit fidelitatem regi Edwardo, die Lune sequenti.

fo. 146<sup>v</sup>

Recepit se rex Edwardus in quodam / manerio ducis Britannie situato infra parcum quendam, ad spacium .xv. leucarum muro lapideo in circuitu munitum, et ibi moram traxit .x.<sup>a</sup> dies, feris et damis pro se et suis habundanter affluens.<sup>2</sup> Deinde rex misit dominum Walter Mawne, dominum Iohannem de Striuelyne, dominum Willelmum de Warena, filium, et alios, ad explorandum uillam de Vanys, si esset captibilis per insultum; qui redeuntes, referebant regi dictam uillam esse ualde habilem et multum dispositam ad capiendam per insultum.

Tunc rex disposuit se mittere insultum ad uillam de Vanys. Et eodem tempore comes de Northampton fecit insultum ad uillam de Rowan bene muratum; ciues uero eiusdem uille, cum uidissent eius fortitudinem, et se ei resistere non posse ullatenus crederent, in fugam se ex aduerso direxerunt. Et sic cepit uillam, et spoliata dedit flamme et incendio. Et idem comes cepit aliam uillam que uocatur Pounteneye; que ambe uille fuerunt uicecomitis de Rowham. Eodem tempore reddita sunt regi duo castella fortissima, uidelicet Franc<sup>3</sup> et Richeperone, et due uille, uidelicet Plaronelle et Malegrayte.<sup>3</sup>

1343

*Trewga triennis<sup>b</sup> capta inter reges Anglie et Francie.* Eodem tempore fuit dominus Lodouicus de Peyters gardianus in uilla de Vanys, habens secum .ccc. (uiros armatos).<sup>c</sup> Et rex Edwardus disposuit se insultum dare ad predictam uillam. Et cum preparasset machinas et cetera que in tanto negocio requirebantur, et ipse cum suis presto esset insultum facere ad uillam de Vanys, statim superuenere duo cardinales, missi a latere pape, et tantam instanciam supplicando fecerunt penes regem Edwardum quod concessit eis trewgas triennes, scilicet inter reges Anglie, Francie, et Scocie.<sup>4</sup> Et

<sup>a</sup> .x. superimposed by reviser    <sup>b</sup> tri superimposed by reviser    <sup>c</sup> There is no gap in the text, but uiri armati would be the most likely effectives

<sup>1</sup> Knighton may be referring to the fact that the archbishop convened both a provincial council and a general convocation in Oct. 1342. The tenth was granted by the convocation: see E. W. Kemp, *Counsel and Consent: Aspects of the Government of the Church* (London, 1961), p. 104; and *CFR 1337-47*, p. 312. The archbishop of York was William Zouche (d.

bishop of Lincoln returned from the court of Rome, having been consecrated by the pope.<sup>1</sup>

1342

The count of Artois fell sick and died before the king landed at Brest. Sir Walter Mauny came to the king at Brest, bringing with him the bishop of Quimper. And the said bishop did homage to King Edward the following Monday [4 Nov. 1342].

King Edward moved to one of the duke of Brittany's manors, which stands in a park enclosed for some fifteen leagues by a stone wall, and there he stayed for ten days, richly provided with game and deer for himself and his companions.<sup>2</sup> Then the king sent Sir Walter Mauny, Sir John Stirling, Sir William Warenne the younger, and others, to reconnoitre the town of Vannes and see whether it could be taken by storm. And they came back and told the king that the town was an attractive target, and would be vulnerable to an assault.

So the king decided to attack the town of Vannes, and at the same time the earl of Northampton made a raid upon the town of Rohan, which was well-fortified, but when the townsmen saw his boldness they could not believe that they could resist him, and took themselves off in the opposite direction. And so he took the town and, having sacked it, put it to flame and fire. And the earl took another town, which is called Pontivy, both of them towns of the vicomte of Rohan. At the same time two very strong castles were surrendered to the king, namely Le Faouet and La Roche Periou, and two towns, Ploermel and Malestroit.<sup>3</sup>

*A three-year truce made between the kings of England and France.* At that time Sire Louis de Poitiers was the keeper of the town of Vannes, having with him 300 men. And King Edward placed himself to attack the town, and when he had set up the engines and other things that are needed for such work, and he and his men were ready for the assault on Vannes, there at once appeared two cardinals with a commission from the pope. And they appealed to King Edward with such importunity that he granted them a truce for three years, namely between the kings of England, France, and Scotland.<sup>4</sup> And thereupon

1343

19 July 1352), and the bishop of Lincoln Thomas Bek (d. 2 Feb. 1347), both consecrated at Avignon on 7 July 1342: *HBC* 282.

<sup>2</sup> The manor and park appear to have been La Joyeuse Garde en la Forêt-Landerneau: M. C. E. Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, p. 36. On Edward's movements, see also Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 403-7. Edward's despatch of 5 Dec. 1342 is in *Avesbury*, pp. 340-2.

<sup>3</sup> I owe the identification of *Franc'* as Le Faouet, on topographical grounds, to Professor M. C. E. Jones.

<sup>4</sup> The treaty, which was negotiated over several weeks, was the Treaty of Malestroit, 19 Jan. 1343, for the text of which see *Avesbury*, pp. 344-8.

1343 exinde multi Angligene et Francigene transierunt ad Spruciam ad bellum campestre, assignatum die Parasceues proximo sequenti, inter regem Hyspanie et paganos.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex in periculo in mari in redeundo.* Rex Edwardus redit in Angliam, et paciebatur maris fluctus per quinque septimanas quasi tempestatibus ineuasibilibus circumpulsus, adeo quod solum mortis metas sibi et suis imminere repentino fine prestolabatur. Et multos perdidit de populo suo. Et agitatus est super maritana Hispanie, ibique classis Hispaniensis occurrit obuam regi Edwardo ad rapiendum eum, ignorans quis esset, set uiso eius uexillo, submiserunt se in eius gratiam. Et hoc euenit super fluuium de Vnglancia.<sup>2</sup>

1344 *Rex tenuit parliamentum apud Londonias.* Tandem uero per Dei gratiam per multa pericula et innumera dampna populi sui, armorum atque uictualium, uenit in Angliam, et celebrauit parliamentum apud Londonias .xx. die post Pascham proxime sequentem.<sup>3</sup> Eodem anno .xv. die Februarii quasi in meridie fuit terre motus magnus per uniuersas plagas regni.<sup>4</sup>

1343 *Millesimo .ccc.xliij.* Cum nobilis Henricus comes Derbeye moram traxisset super obsidione de Calgeserz et bis pugnasset cum paganis, et strenuissime se haberet, in Angliam rediit anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xliij., circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, et statim mittit<sup>a</sup> in Scociam pro trewga firmanda inter Anglos et Scotos.<sup>5</sup> Eodem anno rex Francie misit in Britanniam, et magnates terre qui adhererant regi Anglie in sua guerra et ipsum fouerant, fecit distrahi et suspendi, uidelicet dominum de Clyssonnes et alios / plures.<sup>6</sup>

fo. 147<sup>r</sup>

*Papa petit .ij. milia marcarum pro sustentacione .ij. cardinalium.* Eodem anno papa institit habere de prouincia Cantuariensi mille marcas pro sustentacione unius cardinalis, et similem summam de prouincia Eboracensi, in graue preiudicium et oppressionem tocius regni.<sup>7</sup> Vnde de communi consilio regni missum est pape, gentem Anglicanam deinceps nolle talia onera quoquomodo de curia Romana

<sup>a</sup> mittit marked with two vertical lines over the tt by reviser, who may have intended to insert a passive form

<sup>1</sup> The scribe was given to confusing Germany and Spain (cf. below, p. 92). For Derby's mission to Castile, for which the Spanish siege of Algeciras provided a cover, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 45–7; and Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 7–9.

<sup>2</sup> For the storms in the Channel, see Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 140. Villagarcia, on the Ria de Arosa, is the remotest point of Spain to which the fleet might have been driven from the Bay. I am grateful to Dr. P. A. Linehan for the suggestion.

<sup>3</sup> Parliament met on the Quindene of Easter, 28 April 1343: *RP* ii. 135.

many of the English and the French crossed to [Spain] for a battle arranged there for the following Good Friday [11 April 1343], between the king of Spain and the unbelievers.<sup>1</sup>

1343

*The king in peril at sea during his return.* King Edward returned to England, and suffered for five weeks from a great storm at sea, being blown back and forth by irresistible winds, to such an extent that he could only wish that death would come suddenly upon them. And he lost many of his men. And he was driven on to the coast of Spain, where a Spanish fleet came upon him to seize him, not knowing who he was, but when they saw his standard they rendered themselves to his grace, which happened in the [?estuary of Villagarcia].<sup>2</sup>

*The king held a parliament in London.* At last, by God's mercy, surviving many perils and innumerable losses to his force of arms and supplies, he reached England, and celebrated a parliament in London on the twentieth day following Easter [2 May 1343].<sup>3</sup> In that same year, on 15 February, about midday, there was a great earthquake felt in all parts of the kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

1344

1343. When the noble Earl Henry had spent some time at the siege of Algeciras, and had fought twice against the infidel and acquitted himself with distinction, he returned to England in the year of grace 1343, about the feast of All Saints [1 Nov.], and at once went to Scotland to administer the truce between the English and the Scots.<sup>5</sup> In that same year the king of France sent into Brittany and caused the magnates who had sided with King Edward in the war, and supported him, to be drawn and hanged, namely the lord of Clisson and many others.<sup>6</sup>

1343

*The pope seeks 2,000 marks to support two cardinals.* That same year [1343] the pope sought to have 1,000 marks from the province of Canterbury to maintain a cardinal, and a like sum from the province of York, to the great prejudice and oppression of the whole realm.<sup>7</sup> Whereupon, by the common advice of the kingdom, the pope was told that henceforth the English people would in no wise suffer such impositions by the court of Rome, and that if there were anyone who

<sup>4</sup> The earthquake shock was presumably associated with the earthquakes on the Continent at that time: Mallet, 'Earthquakes', p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Derby was continuously engaged in diplomatic and other conciliar business until he went to Gascony in the summer of 1345. Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 46–52.

<sup>6</sup> Olivier III de Clisson was seized in Paris: A. Coville, *Les premiers Valois et la Guerre de Cent Ans*, Histoire de France, iv (Paris, 1904), p. 56. Edward subsequently denounced the proceedings as a breach of the truce: *Foedera*, 1344–61, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Knighton is referring to the pope's claim to benefices worth 2,000 for the cardinals: Pantin, *English Church*, pp. 82–3.



1343 subire, et si quis aliquod beneficium ecclesiasticum auctoritate curie romane possideret in regno Anglie, ad beneficium suum repedaret, et super eo uiueret, cuiuscumque condicionis esset uel gradus, nec thesauros regni extra mare asportaret in depauperacionem, set ubi bona ecclesie perciperet, ibidem eadem expenderet.

*Rex prohibet prouisores habere beneficia.* Super quo rex misit in singulos comitatus regni, ne quis ab eo tempore et deinceps admitteretur per bullam ad aliquod<sup>a</sup> beneficium, nec reciperetur sine licencia speciali regis.<sup>1</sup> Insuper magnates et proceres regni Anglie oblocuti sunt et minati quod si papa conferret beneficia ecclesie talibus prouisoribus, siue indigenis siue alienigenis, que quidem beneficia antecessores sui contulerant uiris religiosis et ecclesiasticis in elemosinam, ut pro ipsis et animabus suis orarent,<sup>b</sup> ipsi ea beneficia in manus proprias repeterent, sicuti antecessores habuerant, et de eis ad placitum disponderent. Vnde papa cum curia multum sibi timuit de tali responsione, et quedam alia grandia que in regno Anglie attemptare proposuerat, absque detencione pretermisit, ueruptamen regem Francie in quantum potuit prout dictum est secreto tamen modo fouebat et auxiliatus est.<sup>2</sup>

1344 *Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xliiij.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xliiij. nobilis Henricus, comes Derbeye, transiuit in Franciam, et comes de Arundelle cum eo. Eo tempore dominus Karolus de Bloys uenit cum fortitudine grandi in Britanniam, et cepit dominum Iohannem de Hardeshille, et duxit eum Parisius. Et occisus est ibidem filius eius Iohannis, et multi de sagittariis nostris ibidem perierunt.<sup>3</sup>

In ebdomada Pasche occisus est Iohannes de Alythewerle, clericus, apud Leycestriam in domo propria, per Emmam, uxorem suam, et famulum suum, et alios de eorum conuencione, et portatus est et positus sub abbathia super ripam Sore, et dicta<sup>c</sup> Emma conbusta est, et famulus suspensus, et ceteri euaserunt.<sup>4</sup>

In festo Sanctorum Prothasii et Geruasii, grandinis habundancia.

<sup>a</sup> uod interlined by reviser  
by reviser

<sup>b</sup> First r superimposed by reviser

<sup>c</sup> icta superimposed

<sup>1</sup> See *CPR* 1343-5, pp. 164-5.

<sup>2</sup> On the legislation relating to provisors, see Pantin, *English Church*, pp. 81-4. The popes were under pressure to find benefices both for their own administrators and for other clergy; Clement VI was faced with some 90,000 petitions for preferment in 1342: G. Barraclough, *Papal Provisions* (Oxford, 1935), p. 106. English relations with the papacy were intricate: his subjects readily perceived the Curia as pro-French, but Edward depended upon the pope for many administrative and political accommodations, and vice versa. See further Lunt,

1343 enjoyed an ecclesiastical benefice in England by the authority of the court of Rome he should at once repair to his benefice and live there, whatsoever his condition or degree. Neither was the treasure of the realm to be carried overseas to its impoverishment, but where the goods of the church were received there should they be spent.

*The king forbids provisors to hold benefices.* And thereupon the king sent into all the counties of the land to say that from that time forward none should be admitted to any benefice by papal bull, nor should anyone be so received without the king's special licence.<sup>1</sup> And the great men and nobles of the kingdom of England interposed and threatened that if the pope conferred ecclesiastical benefices upon any such provisors, whether natives or foreigners, the which benefices their ancestors had conferred in alms upon religious and churchmen that they should pray for them and for their souls, they would recover such benefices into their own hands as their ancestors had held them, and dispose of them as they pleased. And the pope and the curia were much alarmed by such a reply, and he put aside other great policies which he had intended to impose upon England, though he covertly helped and supported the king of France, as we have said, as far as he could.<sup>2</sup>

1344. In the year of grace 1344 the noble Henry, earl of Derby, crossed over to France, and the earl of Arundel with him. At the same time Charles de Blois came into Brittany with a great force, and captured Sir John Hardeshill, and took him to Paris. And John's son was killed then, and many of our bowmen.<sup>3</sup>

In Easter week [4-10 Apr. 1344] John Allintheworld, a clerk, was slain in his own house in Leicester by his wife, Emma, and their servant, and others who conspired with them, and they carried him out and left him on the bank of the Soar, below the abbey. And Emma was burned at the stake, and the servant hanged, but the rest escaped.<sup>4</sup>

On the feast of SS. Protasius and Gervasius [19 June 1344] there

*Financial Relations*, pp. 327-47; and A. D. M. Barrell, 'The ordinance of provisors of 1343', *HR* lxiv (1991), 246-77.

<sup>3</sup> The reference to Hardeshill is unique and interesting, but raises some chronological problems: M. C. E. Jones, 'Edward III's captains in Brittany', *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. W. M. Ormrod, pp. 113-15.

<sup>4</sup> Allintheworld's death seems to have left no mark on the surviving national or local records. A John Allintheworld was implicated in a riot and assault at Conington, Hunts, in 1342, but there is nothing there to connect him with the clerk of Leicester: *CPR* 1340-43, p. 551. Emma's offence ranked as petty treason: cf. a similar episode in *Westm. Chron.*, p. 322 and n. 7; and see J. G. Bellamy, *The Law of Treason in England in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 225-31.



1344 Rex Edwardus tenuit parlamentum apud Londonias,<sup>1</sup> in quo concessa sunt due quintadecime de comunibus, et de ciuitatibus de decimis, et de burgis, ad leuandum modo simili quo ultima decima leuata fuit, et soluendum ad duos annos, uidelicet ad festa Omnium Sanctorum et Pasche pro primo anno. Et in casu quod rex transeat mare, ad soluendum quintasdecimas et decimas ad eosdem<sup>a</sup> terminos in secundo anno et non aliter, ita quod pecunia leuata sit expensa ad profectum regni, per auisiammentum procerum certorum ad hoc parlamentum assignatorum, et quod fortitudo uirorum bellatorum ultra Trentam sit missa in auxilium contra Scotos.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 147<sup>v</sup> *Moneta aurea oritur.* Eodem tempore nobile et obolus et ferthyng de auro ceperunt florere in regno, unde in eodem parlamento ordinatum est quod nullus de comunibus artaretur capere de noua moneta auri quod rex ordinauerat de nouo transire per medium, in quacumque solucione citra solucionem et summam .xx. solidorum. Et quod moneta auri et argenti fiat consimili modo et forma et pondere apud Eboracum et alias ciuitates ubi solet fieri, sicut ad turrim Londoniensem, et quod excambium monete esset in magnis ciuitatibus et uillis. Rex / tenuit consilium apud Londonias circa festum Sancti Laurencii, ubi ordinauit .vj.c. uiros armatos et .ij. milia sagittarios ire in Scociam cum Edwardo de Baliolo ad tuicionem Marchie pro Scotis.<sup>3</sup>

*Hastiludia apud Leycestriam.* Ad festum Sancti Andree fuerunt hastiludia apud Leycestriam per Henricum, comitem Derbeye, pro maritaggio filie sue Matilde quam<sup>b</sup> duxit in<sup>c</sup> uxorem. Nec pretereundum arbitror, quod Gylbertus comes Gloucestrie, qui moriebatur apud bellum de Striuelyn, habuit tres filias hereditatem patris consequentes. Quarum primam Theobaldus de Verdone duxit in uxorem, post cuius mortem comes de Oluestre duxit eandem de qua genuit Edmundum de Oluestre, qui postea duxit uxorem filiam comitis Lancastrie, Isabellam nomine, que genuit unam filiam quam Leonellus filius regis Edwardi duxit in uxorem. Secundam filiam Hugo le Despenser duxit in uxorem. Tercia filia data est domino Petro de Gauyrstone, et post eius mortem Hugo de Audeley accepit eam uxorem, qui postea factus est comes Gloucestrie, de qua genuit

<sup>a</sup> m added by reviser

<sup>b</sup> So T

<sup>c</sup> in interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> On 7 June 1344: *RP* ii. 146–56.

<sup>2</sup> For the grants, see *CFR* 1337–47, pp. 384, 391–3; and for policy, Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 360–5. See also below, n. 3.

1344 was a great hailstorm. King Edward held a parliament in London,<sup>1</sup> at which two fifteenths were granted from the commons, and tenths from the cities and boroughs, to be raised in the same way as the last tenth, and paid for two years, namely at the feasts of All Saints [1 Nov. 1344] and Easter [27 Mar. 1345] in the first year, and then if the king should cross the sea the fifteenths and tenths should be paid at the same feasts in the second year [1 Nov. 1345; 16 Apr. 1346], but not otherwise. And that the money thus raised should be spent to the benefit of the kingdom by the advice of certain lords appointed at that Parliament, and a strong force of soldiers was to be sent beyond Trent to help against the Scots.<sup>2</sup>

*Gold money in use.* At that time the golden noble, halfpenny, and farthing began to glitter in the realm, and it was ordained in the same parliament that none of the commons should be constrained to accept gold coin, which the king had recently ordered to circulate, in any transaction amounting to 20s. or less. And it was ordained that gold and silver should be coined in the same way, and form, and weight at York and in other cities where it used to be made, as in the Tower of London, and that the Exchange should be set up in large towns and cities. The king held a council in London about the feast of St Laurence [9 Aug. 1344], where it was ordered that 600 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers should go into Scotland with Edward de Balliol to protect the March against the Scots.<sup>3</sup>

*A tournament at Leicester.* On the feast of St Andrew [30 Nov. 1344] Henry, earl of Derby, held a tournament at Leicester to celebrate his daughter's marriage [to Ralph Stafford]. And it ought not to be forgotten that Gilbert, earl of Gloucester, who died at the battle of Bannockburn [1314], had three [sisters] to whom his inheritance passed, of whom Theobald Verdun married the [youngest], after the heir of the earl of Ulster took her to wife, and of her was born [William de Burgh], who afterwards married the daughter of the earl of Lancaster, named [Maud], by whom he begot a daughter whom King Edward's son Lionel married. Hugh Despenser married the second daughter. The third was given in marriage to Sir Piers Gaveston, and after his death Hugh Audley, who was later made earl of Gloucester, took her to wife, and begot a daughter who was later

<sup>3</sup> For the new coins, see J. Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), pp. 63–5; and Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 197–8. For policy towards Scotland, see Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 191–3.

unam filiam postea coniugatam baroni de Stafforde, qui genuit ex ea unum filium qui desponsauit comitissam de Arundelle.<sup>1</sup>

*Papa mittit regi Anglie dimittere arma Francie.* In .xl. sequenti papa misit regi Anglie duos episcopos, precipiens ei dimittere arma Francie, et sustineret alienigenas, uidelicet religiosos uiros prebendarios et prouisores promotos a curia romana pacifice gaudere suis beneficiis, nec eos quoquomodo perturbaret qui promoti fuerant per sedem apostolicam et magnates regni Anglie, et peccit a rege mirabilem summam pecunie de regno Anglie, ut dicebat, curie romane ab antiquo debitam. Quibus sub breuitate responsum est, et redierunt ad propria.<sup>2</sup>

Post Pascha dux Britannie euasit de carcere regis Francie, et uenit in Angliam ad regem. Circa festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste idem dux Britannie, et comes Northampton, et comes Oxonie, cum multis aliis transierunt in Britanniam. Similiter comes Derbeye Henricus, et comes de Penbroke cum pluribus aliis, eodem tempore perrexerunt in Vasconiam. Et post festum Sancti Michaelis Iohannes de Monfort, dux Britannie, obiit in Britania.<sup>3</sup>

*Henricus comes Derbeye cepit Briggerak.* Post hec Henricus, comes Derbeye, cepit congregare populum in Vasconiam, et fecit .xl. milites Anglicos et Vasconicos, et uastauit patrias, et cepit uillas, ciuitates, et castella ad summam .liij. Cepit eciam bonam uillam de Briggerake per uim, et infinita preciosa que in ea erant. Dicebatur namque ipsum de dicta<sup>a</sup> uilla unam pipam plenam auro, preter alios innumeros thesauros triumphaliter reportasse.<sup>4</sup>

Cepit eciam per fortitudinem uillam et castellum de Langhon, deinde sequebatur comitem de Armenak usque ad uillam de Paragos, set comes recepit se in castello, et sic euasit. Eodem tempore comes Hunaldie, cum duobus aliis comitibus, et multitudine populi occisus est in Frigelande.<sup>5</sup> Henricus comes Derbeye cum paucis uiris

<sup>a</sup> ipsa cancelled and dicta interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> Maud of Lancaster, who was four, was betrothed to Ralph Stafford: *CP* vii. 410. Knighton's rigmorole muddles the Clare sisters, who were 1. Eleanor [Despenser]; 2. Margaret [Gaveston]; and 3. Elizabeth [de Burgh], and confuses the FitzAlan lordship of Oswestry with the earldom of Ulster. See further *CP* i. 242-4 (Arundel); iii. 335 (Oswestry); v. 715-16 (Gloucester); and vii. 401 (Lancaster). Arundel divorced Isabel Despenser to marry Eleanor of Lancaster. The 'Countess of Arundel' was Philippa Beauchamp.

<sup>2</sup> Benedict XII wrote to Edward in Mar. 1340 exhorting him to abandon his claim to the kingdom of France: *Foedera*, 1327-44, p. 1117. The bull from Clement VI of 1 Feb. 1345 was one urging Christian princes to make peace, and to protect the faith from the Turks: *Foedera*, 1344-61, pp. 28-9. On the papal campaign for annates, which was the backdrop to the dispute over prouisors, see Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 320-80.

married to the Baron Stafford, and her son [Hugh] married the countess of Arundel.<sup>1</sup>

*The pope orders the king of England to renounce the arms of France.* In the following Lent [Feb.-Mar. 1345] the pope sent two bishops to the king of England, ordering him to relinquish the arms of France, and also to allow aliens, that is to say men of religion, prebendaries and prouisors appointed by the papal curia, to enjoy their benefices, and not to disturb those who had been appointed by the apostolic see and the lords of the realm of England. And he asked the king for an astonishing sum of money from the kingdom, which he claimed was anciently owing to the papal curia. And they received a short answer, and went home.<sup>2</sup>

After Easter [27 Mar. 1345] the duke of Brittany escaped from the king of France's prison, and came to England to the king. About the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June 1345] the said duke of Brittany, and the earls of Northampton and Oxford, with many others, crossed into Brittany. And Henry, earl of Derby, and the earl of Pembroke, went at the same time with many others into Gascony, and after Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1345] John de Montfort, duke of Brittany, died in Brittany.<sup>3</sup>

*Henry, earl of Derby, takes Bergerac.* Then Henry, earl of Derby, began to gather a force in Gascony and dubbed forty English and Gascon knights, and wasted the countryside, and captured towns, cities, and castles to the number of fifty-two. He also took the fine town of Bergerac by assault, and the vast riches that were there, for it is said that he carried off in triumph from that same town a whole barrel full of gold, besides other treasures beyond number.<sup>4</sup>

Also he boldly took the town and castle of Langon. He then chased the count of Armagnac as far as the town of Périgueux, but the count took refuge in the castle, and so escaped. At the same time the count of Hainault was killed in Friesland, with two other counts and many men.<sup>5</sup> Henry, earl of Derby, with a few of his men went on to the town

<sup>3</sup> The reference to the Breton succession, with de Montfort's return and his death (on 26 Sept. 1345), suggests that Knighton is using an account of the Gascon expedition which also included those details. On Brittany, see M. C. E. Jones, 'Edward III's captains', pp. 108-16. On Derby, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 49-52; *Murimuth*, pp. 189.

<sup>4</sup> For Bergerac and the campaign in the Agenais, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 54-62. Bergerac fell on 24 Aug. 1345. It is surprising that Knighton, who was aware of the value of Derby's booty, does not have more to say about the expedition.

<sup>5</sup> At the end of Sept. 1345, while seeking to teach the Frisians a lesson: Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 504-9.

1345 perrexit ad uillam de Alberochē, ubi inuenit .xxx. milia Francorum quos debellauit, et per Dei grāciam deuicit, et in ipsa uictoria cepit .iij. comites et .iij. barones, .vij. uiccomites, et .xij. baronettos.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 148<sup>r</sup> Comes Lancastrie obiit.<sup>a</sup> Eodem anno<sup>b</sup> uenerunt / rumores ad comitem de morte patris sui qui apud Leycestriam occubuit.<sup>2</sup>

1346 .Mcccxlvi. Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xlvj. rex Edwardus multauit omnes alienigenas prebendarios, rectores, uicarios, religiosos, et sumpsit de quolibet secundum quod possent dare, et secundum suum statutum.<sup>3</sup> Eodem anno post Pascha rex habuit unam .x. de clero.<sup>4</sup> Eodem tempore rex Edwardus fecit congregare frumentum, brasium, auenas, bacones, et carnes bouinas salsas, uina, equos, et alia guerre necessaria, ad magnam summam.

Et circa translacionem Sancti Thome, rex Edwardus transfretauit in Normanniam cum mille .c. magnis nauibus et .v.c. minoribus nauibus. Medio tempore orta est magna discordia inter magnates Scocie, unde nostri boriales cum magna audacia intrauerunt in Scociam circiter .xv. milia hominum, et cito post dominus de Percy, et dominus de Neuylle, et alii magnates patrie borialis ceperunt treugas usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis. Scoti uero inde sumentes audaciam, intrauerunt per partes Carlisle et deuastauerunt patriam, et miserunt in ignem et flammam ubique in circuitu.<sup>5</sup>

Rex Edwardus applicuit<sup>6</sup> in Normannia in portu de Hogges, uidelicet .xx. anno regni sui, ubi inuenit .xxx. magnas naues et galeas quas cepit et uillas de Hogges et Harflete<sup>c</sup> cepit et de eis fecit quod uoluit. .xij. die Iulii arripuit iter suum uersus Camodum, et transiuit per bonas uillas Valoyens, Carantan, Sancti Leonis, et plures alias uillas.

Et in Camodo erant comes de Eawe, constabularius Francie, camerarius, le Tankuruylle, et multitudo magna militum et uirorum armatorum, ciuium et compatriotarum, qui disposuerant se tenuisse ciuitatem contra regem Edwardum, set quando uiderunt

<sup>a</sup> The double marginal heading, which refers to Lancaster's death in 1345 and the beginning of the New Year on 25 Mar., is at the top of fo. 148  
<sup>b</sup> Interlined by reviser  
<sup>c</sup> Corrected from Barflete by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 60–1.

<sup>2</sup> On 22 Sept. 1346. Earl Henry was buried in the chapel of his new hospital in the Newarke, Leicester, in the presence of the king and queen: *CP* vii. 401; see also below, p. 64 n. 1. The fact that Knighton has nothing to say about the occasion suggests that he was not in Leicester at that time.

<sup>3</sup> Parliament was minded to secure the income of the alien houses to relieve taxation, but

of Auberoche, and there found 30,000 Frenchmen whom he fought, and by the grace of God overcame, and in that victory he captured three counts, and three barons, seven viscounts, and twelve bannerets.<sup>1</sup> 1345

*Death of the earl of Lancaster.* That same year news came to the earl of the death of his father, who had died at Leicester.<sup>2</sup>

1346. In the year of grace 1346 King Edward mulcted all the alien prebendaries, rectors, vicars, and religious, and took from each according to what he could pay, and according to his own decree.<sup>3</sup> 1346 After Easter that same year the king had a tenth from the clergy.<sup>4</sup> At the same time the king caused to be gathered wheat, malt, oats, bacon, salt-beef, wine, and horses, and all the other necessaries of war, to a great value.

And about the Translation of St Thomas [7 July 1346] King Edward crossed to Normandy with 1,100 great ships and 500 smaller ships. In the mean time a serious quarrel broke out amongst the Scottish lords, so that our northerners entered Scotland with great boldness, to the number of 15,000 men, and soon afterwards Lord Percy and Lord Neville and other lords of the north country made a truce until Michaelmas [1346]. The Scots then taking heart invaded the parts of Carlisle, and laid waste the countryside, and put all around to fire and flame.<sup>5</sup>

King Edward landed<sup>6</sup> in Normandy at the port of La Hogue, namely in the twentieth year of his reign, and found there thirty great ships and galleys which he took. And he captured the towns of La Hogue and Barfleur, and did with them what he would. On 12 July he made his way towards Caen, having passed through the fine towns of Valognes, Carentan, St Lo, and many other places.

And at Caen there were the count of Eu, constable of France, Tancarville, the chamberlain, and a great multitude of knights and men-at-arms, citizens, and countryfolk, who arrayed themselves to hold the city against King Edward, but when they saw the king

Edward kept their affairs securely in his own hands: D. Matthew, *Norman Religious Houses*, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> See *CFR* 1337–47, p. 488–9.

<sup>5</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> The following account of the campaign in Normandy and Picardy is clearly related to the widely-circulated newsletters printed in *Murimuth*, pp. 212–13, and *Avesbury*, pp. 205–8, but it is remarkable that it does not refer to the comparison there of Carentan to Leicester (*Murimuth*, p. 213), and it particularly distinguishes Warwick's part in the capture of Caen.

regem cum exercitu suo coram ciuitate, retraxerunt se ultra unum pontem qui est quasi in medio ciuitatis, et ibidem se tenuerunt.

Et cum appropinquarent prope ciuitatem, sagittarii nostri insultum<sup>a</sup> eis fecerunt per terram, et medio tempore quidam de armatis nostris hec uidentes accesserunt ad eos, et sic fortem insultum inimicis ingesserunt, et pontem de eis adquisierunt.

Nam rex credens nullos armatos cum sagittariis esse, et sic infirmiores tantum onus subire, misit comitem Warchie ad reuocandum sagittarios ne detrimentum paterentur. Qui inueniens eos agiliter oppugnantes ciuitatem, et ipse se inmiscuit eis, et uiriliter pugnavit ad barrea cum eis. Tandem Angli pontem adepti super eos, intrauerunt uillam Camodi, et uictoriam de eis optinentes, predati sunt ciuitatem ad placitum.

*Camodum capitur per regem Edwardum.* Antedictus constabularius Francie reddidit se domino Thome de Holande, cum militibus suis, et ceteris suis uiris armatis in grandi numero. Camerarius de Tankerwylle captus est per quendam militem principis Wallie, Edwardi, filii dicti Edwardi regis. Capti sunt ibidem et mortui centum milites et de uiris armatis plures. De burgensibus uero et communibus ac plebeis, capti sunt et mortui circiter .v. millia, absque detrimento Anglorum, excepto uno ualetto scutifero qui uulneratus erat ibidem, et post biduum obiit.

*Discordia inter episcopum de Legys et capitulum et co(m)munes patrie.* Eodem anno modico ante ista facta, orta est grauis discordia inter episcopum de Legys, et capitulum et communes patrie, capta est dies amoris inter eos cum magna fortitudine ex utraque parte, set orta lite inter partes, ceperunt fortiter pugnare, set remansit uictoria cum capitulo<sup>b</sup> et communibus. / Et occisi sunt ex parte episcopi .xl. millia uirorum. Inter quos occisus est unus filius regis Boemie, unus de filiis ducis Brabanie, et frater ducis bastardus, dominusque de Faukemont, et .v. milia de uiris quos rex Francie miserat in auxilium episcopi.<sup>1</sup>

*Flandrenses intrant in Franciam in auxilium regis Anglie.* Primo die Augusti Flandrenses intrauerunt in Franciam in auxilium regis Edwardi, cum .lx. milia uirorum armatorum, set ante eorum

<sup>a</sup> facientes deleted by scribe

<sup>b</sup> capell'o T

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's story is a cheerfully exaggerated account of the bishop's attempt, in July 1346, to overawe the citizens of Liège with the aid of the king of Bohemia: J. Lejeune, *Liège*

with his army before the city they fell back across a bridge which stands almost in the middle of the city, and there stood their ground.

And when our archers approached the city they made a strong attack along the bank, and in the meantime some of our cavalry seeing them joined them, and fell upon the enemy so strongly that they forced their way through and took the bridge from them.

Now the king, believing that the archers had no mounted troops with them, and would not be strong enough to sustain the assault, sent the earl of Warwick to recall the archers lest they should be overwhelmed. He, finding them fighting vigorously with the townsmen, joined in with them, and fought valiantly side by side with them at the barricade, until at last the English cleared the bridge and broke into the town of Caen, where having obtained the victory they pillaged at their will.

*Caen taken by King Edward.* The aforesaid constable of France surrendered to Sir Thomas Holland, with his knights, and the rest of his men-at-arms to a great number. The chamberlain, Tancarville, was captured by one of the prince of Wales's knights, that is of Edward, son of the said King Edward. There were captured and killed there 100 knights, and even more men-at-arms. And truly, of burghers and other townsmen, and of the ordinary sort, there were killed and captured some 5,000 without loss to the English, save for one body-squire, who was wounded there and died two days later.

*A quarrel between the bishop of Liège and the chapter and people of the bishopric.* That same year, a little before those events, a serious dispute arose in Liège, between the bishop and the chapter and the commons there. A love-day was arranged between them, with a great effort on either side, but then a disagreement arose and they fell to fighting violently. The victory went to the chapter and the commons, and there fell on the bishop's side some 40,000 men. Amongst them there were killed a son of the king of Bohemia, a son of the duke of Brabant, an illegitimate brother of the duke, the lord of Valkenburg, and 5,000 of those whom the king of France had sent to help the bishop.<sup>1</sup>

*The Flemings enter France in support of King Edward.* On 1 August the Flemings invaded France in support of King Edward, with 60,000

*et son pays*, pp. 371-5. The casualties were less spectacular than those retailed here, but the townsmen did carry the day.

1346 introitum fecerunt concordiam cum bonis uillis Turonice et Sancti Omeri, ne dampnum Flandris,<sup>a</sup> nec Flandrenses illis uillis, et sic arripientes iter fecerunt mala que potuerunt. Capitanios habuerunt Anglicos assignatos, scilicet dominum Hugonem Hastingys, dominum Iohannem Moleynes, dominum Iohannem Mautrauers.<sup>1</sup>

*Capti in Camodo ducti sunt in Angliam.* Comes Huntyngdone duxit captiuos quos ceperant apud Camodum, in Angliam, positique sunt apud turrim Londoniensem, et in aliis locis regni, sub securo custodia, ad numerum .ccc. uirorum et amplius.

*Franci proponunt uenire in Angliam nisi Edwardus transfretasset in Normanniam.* Nec pretereundum est quod nisi rex Edwardus transfretasset, et meliorem expeditionem in remotis optinisset, Franci proposuerant in Angliam peruenisse, et parati erant aduentasse ad summam .iiii. milia uirorum armatorum, .v. milia peditum, et .v. milia albalistarum, quorum capitaneus Iohannes Francus uocatus, scilicet filius regis Philippi de Valoys, qui ad hoc deputatus fuerat per parlamentum Francie, ac eciam nomen<sup>b</sup> reportasse conquestoris.

Similiter ordinatum est in eodem parlamento quod donaret terras Anglie adquirendas magnatibus qui ituri erant cum eo, cuilibet secundum statum suum, et sic terras Anglie obfirmasse Fransigenis imperpetuum. Set Deus incussit eis tantum tremorem per graciosum regis nostri aduentum in suas partes, quod in toto ab hoc proposito destiterunt, et sic distractum est eorum consilium ipsa uice.<sup>2</sup>

Ab ea hora qua rex Edwardus abiuit de Camodo, cepit castella et uillas ad magnum numerum per fortitudinem, nec ei resistere poterant queque partes. Philippus de Valeys, rex Francie, semper lateraliter approximabat et sequebatur nostrum exercitum, et sepius non distabat per unam leucam Anglicanam a nostro rege et suis, habuit namque grandem et mirabilem fortitudinem exercitus.

*Poisye.* In uigilia Assumpcionis Beate Marie, rex Edwardus uenit per uillam Mellenty, et multos ibidem occidit. Set uillam non cepit, tetenditque iter suum ad uillam Poisye ad .vij. leucas de Parisio.

<sup>a</sup> So T: a verb or clause has been omitted

<sup>b</sup> omen interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> See further Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 498, 539–40.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton is apparently referring to the discovery of the French plan of 1338–9 to

1346 men-at-arms, but before they went in they made an agreement with the good towns of Théroutanne and St Omer, that they should not harm the Flemings, nor they those towns, and then they went on their way and did all the damage that they could. They had English commanders assigned to them, namely Sir Hugh Hastings, Sir John Moleyns, and Sir John Maltravers.<sup>1</sup>

*The prisoners taken at Caen brought to England.* The earl of Huntingdon brought the prisoners who had been taken at Caen over to England, to the number of 300 and more, and lodged them in the Tower of London, and other places in the realm, under a secure guard.

*The French proposed to invade England if King Edward had not crossed to Normandy.* Nor should it be forgotten that had King Edward not crossed the Channel and fought a successful campaign over there, the French would have come to England, for they had made plans, and were ready to invade with a force of 4,000 men-at-arms, 5,000 foot, and 5,000 crossbowmen, of whom the commander was called Jean le Franc, being the son of King Philippe de Valois, who had been appointed by the French parliament, and was expected to earn the name of Conqueror.

Likewise it was ordained in that parliament that he should give the lands which he won in England to the nobles who went with him, to each according to his degree, and that in that way the lands of England would be permanently secured for France. But God struck them with such terror by our king's blessed advent in those parts that they abandoned the whole plan, and so on that occasion their scheme was undone.<sup>2</sup>

From the time that King Edward left Caen he took castles and towns by assault in great numbers, and there were no parts there able to resist him. Philippe de Valois, the king of France, held off on the flank and shadowed our army, often at a distance of no more than an English league from our king and his men, and he had a huge and wonderfully powerful force.

*Poissy.* On the eve [14 Aug. 1346] of the Assumption of St Mary, King Edward came to the town of Meulan, and he killed many there but did not take the town, and then made his way to the town of Poissy, seven leagues from Paris.

invade England from Normandy, with which Edward made great play during the summer: *Avesbury*, pp. 205–8; Hewitt, *Organization of War*, pp. 16 n. 6, and 164–5.

1346

*Rex Francie frangit pontes coram rege Edwardo.* Rex Philippus fecit infringere omnes pontes in circuitu in patria, adeo quod rex Edwardus non potuit ulterius transire uersus Parisium. Rex Edwardus cepit pontem et uillam de Poyse per uim, et interfecit ibidem uiros ad summam .iiij.c. uirorum armatorum, et magnam multitudinem communium, rege Philippo adiacente cum suo exercitu, et abinde fugit apud Parisium. Rex Edwardus fecit pontem ita quod sagittarii nostri cum paucis uiris armatis transierunt, et custodes quos Philippus rex destinauerat ad custodiam passagii interfecerunt ad numerum centum et plurium uirorum armatorum et aliorum.

Cumque Philippus intellexisset passagium Anglorum et ruinam suorum, carpsit iter uersus Amyas. Fecitque elidi omnes pontes in circuitu inter ipsum et regem Edwardum, ita quod non patuit iter Angligenis, nisi inter Crotoye et Abuylle ubi antea incolis dicte terre uel conpatriotis nunquam claruerunt uiam, et sic transierunt per unum whassum maris ad longitudinem unius leuce, in uigilia Sancti Bartholomei.

fo. 149<sup>r</sup>

Et ex altera parte / whassy inimici fuerant parati ad prelium, .iiij. milia uirorum, cum capitaneis Pontiniacis et comitissa de Armarle, in campo cum Angli terram capere debuerant, set Anglici proripuerunt (se in)<sup>a</sup> terram super eos, cum agili fortitudine. Et comes Warwyche, et comes Northampton, et dominus Reginaldus de Cobham exierunt de aqua, et antequam rex Edwardus terram arriperit, deuicerant inimicos, et .ij. milia uirorum armatorum cum plurioribus de communibus occiderant, et reliquos fugauerunt usque ad uillam de Abuylle, Philippo rege in eadem uilla cum suo pleno exercitu existente.<sup>1</sup>

Rex Edwardus mansit ibidem in campo cum exercitu suo toto illo die et nocte, et in crastino usque ad horam completorii.

*Bellum de Cressy.*<sup>2</sup> Et tunc quia Philippus Valoys se mouebat de illo loco cum exercitu, rex Edwardus cum populo suo recepit se in forestam de Cressy. Et circa horam nonam uenerunt noui rumores ad regem Edwardum, quod rex Philippus paratus erat et arraiatus in .iiij. distentibus aciebus. Rex Edwardus, ex hoc letus effectus, parauit populum suum. Et uenit ad pontem de Cressy, et circa horam

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission in T

<sup>1</sup> See further *Avesbury*, pp. 215–17; and Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 523–4. Knighton's version adds Warwick's name to the leaders of the vanguard.

1346

*The king of France destroys the bridges in front of King Edward.* King Philippe caused all the bridges in the region to be broken down, so that King Edward could not cross and come closer to Paris, but King Edward took the town and bridge of Poissy by storm, and killed 400 men-at-arms there, and a great number of the commons, and King Philippe being nearby with his army fled away to Paris. King Edward repaired the bridge so that our archers and a few men-at-arms could cross, and they slew the guards whom King Philippe had posted to secure the crossing, to the number of more than 100 men-at-arms and others.

And when King Philippe heard that the English had crossed, and his men were lost, he made off towards Amiens, and had all the bridges around cast down between himself and King Edward, so that the English were unable to cross [the Somme] except between Le Crotoy and Abbeville. No regular passage there was known to the men of those lands, and so they crossed a wash of the sea about a league wide, on St Bartholomew's Eve [23 Aug. 1346].

And on the other side of the wash the enemy were ready for battle, 3,000 men, with the commanders of Ponthieu and the Countess of Aumarle, drawn up where the English ought to have come ashore, but the English burst upon them with skilful daring, and the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, and Sir Reginald Cobham came up from the water, and before King Edward reached the shore they had defeated the enemy, and killed 2,000 men-at-arms, and more of the commons, and sent the rest fleeing to the town of Abbeville, where King Philippe was, with the whole of his army.<sup>1</sup>

King Edward stayed there in the field with his army all that day and night, and the next day up to the hour of compline.

*The Battle of Crécy.*<sup>2</sup> And then, because Philippe Valois was moving thence with his army, King Edward went with his men into the forest of Crécy. And about midday new reports came to King Edward that King Philippe was ready and arrayed in three lines of battle. King Edward rejoiced at the news, drew up his men, and marched to the bridge at Crécy, and about the hour of vespers or a

<sup>2</sup> For detailed commentaries on the campaign, and the battle which was its climax, see A. H. Burne, *The Crécy War* (London, 1955), and Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 525–32. *Le Baker*, p. 85, also refers to a total of 16 French attacks, but Knighton's description, which errs in including Jaume of Mallorca amongst the dead, is not closely related to any of the standard accounts of Crécy.



1346 uesperarum et parum ante, prospexit Edwardus inimicos appropinquare. Anglici ieiuni adhuc erant pre longa mora Francos expectando, ut semper possent esse parati in eorum aduentu. Statimque clanxerunt clarriones et tube, inundatioque pluuiarum comitabatur, tonutruisque magni horribilitas, et in breui cessauit illa mirabilis tempestas.

In anteriori acie erat Edwardus, princeps Wallie, primogenitus regis Edwardi, comes Northampton, et comes Warwyche cum suis, qui expugnauerunt primam aciem Francorum, diuino adminiculo subfulti. Deinde similiter et secundam, absque pausacione aliquali. In qua erant duo reges et unus dux, uidelicet rex Boemie, rex Malogrie, et dux Loryngie et multi alii proceres. Deinde tercio congressus est princeps Wallie cum tercia acie, in qua rex Philippus Valoys fuit, et rex Almonye, et dominus Iohannes de Hunaldia, et ipsos Dei gracia fretus prostrauit et deiecit.

Rex Francie Philippus percussus est in facie cum una sagitta, dextrariusque eius occisus est, ascenditque alium competem et fugit. Nec quisque Anglicus sciuit unde deuenit. Similiter et multi alii fugierunt.

*Summa occisorum in bello: occisi Franci.* Et interfecti sunt .ij. milia uirorum armatorum, militum, et scutiferorum, et quasi innumerabilis multitudo pedestrium. Numerus uirorum ueniencium cum rege Francie Philippo .xij. milia galliarum, .l. milia uirorum armatorum ad tibias et pedes. De quibus in illis tribus preliis interfecti sunt .ij. millia uirorum armatorum et .xxxij. millia aliorum armatorum. Nam pugnauerant usque ad profundam noctem, in campo de Westglyse iuxta Cressy.

*Occisi .ij. reges, j. dux, .xvj. comites, .ij.c. plures.* Comites .xvj. occisi sunt ibidem. Duo reges, Boemie et rex Malogrie, et dux Loryngie, archiepiscopus Seyensis, et episcopus Neyensis, et magnus magister hospitalis Francie, et abbas de Corbella. Rex Edwardus tota nocte cum exercitu suo stetit in campo, et Franci .xvj. / uicibus dederunt eis insultum antequam dies illucesceret. Nam luna clare lucebat, sicut Deus uoluit, per .iiij. partes noctis. In ortu solis uenit exercitus Francorum uersus Anglos in campum, set sicut Deo placuit congregari non audebant, et cum Angli uersus eos procederent, fugerunt, et Angli eos insequentes, multos eorum occiderunt.

*Anglici occisi .iiij. milites in bello.*<sup>1</sup> De Anglicis occisus est unus scuti-

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's figures are remarkable, but accord with what other evidence there is. The heralds reckoned 15 English men-at-arms missing, amongst some thousands of French

1346 little before he saw the enemy approaching. The English had by now fasted a long time, having stood to so as to be ready for the French. And at once the bugles and trumpets sounded, and there fell a flood of rain, with terrible thunder, but that amazing storm soon passed.

In the first line of battle there was Edward, prince of Wales, King Edward's first-born, and the earl of Northampton and the earl of Warwick with their men, who with divine aid fought off the first line of the French, and then at once withstood the second, in which there were two kings and a duke, namely the king of Bohemia, the king of Mallorca, and the duke of Lorraine, with many other noblemen. And then a third time the prince joined battle, with the third line, in which was the king of France with the king of Germany and Sire Jean de Hainault, and them too by the grace of God he overcame and defeated.

The king of France, King Philippe, was struck in the face by an arrow, and his charger was killed, but he mounted another good horse and fled, and none of the English knew what became of him. And many others fled too.

*The total of the French killed in the battle.* And there were slain 2,000 knights, men-at-arms, and squires, and an innumerable mass of infantry. The number of men coming with the king of France was 12,000 cavalry, and 50,000 men-at-arms on foot, of whom there were slain in those three assaults 2,000 men-at-arms and 32,000 other soldiers, for they fought into the dead of night, in the field of Westglyse outside Crécy.

*Two kings, a duke, sixteen counts, and 200 more killed.* There sixteen counts were killed, two kings, of Bohemia and Mallorca, the duke of Lorraine, the archbishop of Sées and the bishop of Noyon, and the grand master of the Hospitallers of France, and the abbot of Corbie. King Edward stayed all night in the field with his army, and the French attacked them sixteen times before the day broke. For as God willed it, the moon shone brightly for most of the night. As the sun rose the French army came again towards the English in the field, but as it pleased God they did not dare to attack, and as the English moved towards them they fled, and the English, pursuing them, killed many of them.

*Three English knights killed in the battle.*<sup>1</sup> Of the English there were

dead; there are no figures for the infantry, but many of the French fell in front of them, rather than amongst them as at Poitiers: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 529-31; Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 160-1 and n.



fer ante prelium, et in prelio .iiij. milites, reliquos Deus reseruauit. Facti sunt multi milites pauperimi de Anglicis.

*Comes Derbeye uocatus est comes Lancastrie.* Toto isto tempore Henricus comes Lancastrie fuit in Vasconia cum suo exercitu. Nam mortuo patre suo comite Lancastrie, iste Henricus qui antea uocatus est comes Derbeye, iam uocatus est comes Lancastrie.<sup>1</sup> Rex Edwardus diuertit iter suum uersus Calesiam, destruens et deuastans patriam undique in circuitu per .viii. leucas, et suburbia Bolonie usque ad muros, Seynt Rychere, Staples, Chastele Noef, donec ueniret ad Calesiam cum exercitu suo, quasi incolumi et sano, Deo dante, scilicet die louis ante Natiuitatem Beate Marie uirginis.

*Obsidio Calesie.* Rex Edwardus finxit tentoria circa uillam Calesie pro se et exercitu suo, et hospitatus est in modum ciuitatis per terram et posuit nauigium forte in portu maris, ita quod nullum subsidium potuit ciuibus occurrere, nec per mare neque per terram, per Anglicos sic in miseria inclusis. Deinde rex Edwardus fecit afferri machinas et alia instrumenta magistralia de Anglia queque ad talem obsidionem pertinencia, ad infringendum muros.<sup>2</sup>

*Comes Warwyche spoliat nundinas de Tyrwan.* Statim post hec comes Warwyche cum pluribus aliis perrexit ad nundinas de Tyrwan, et inuenerunt multos uiros armatos deputatos ad custodiam fori, uidelicet episcopum de Tyrwan cum suis ad summam .x. milia armatorum, quos Angli deuicerunt et quamplures occiderunt. Episcopus uero, quasi letaliter uulneratus, uix euasit cum uita.

Comes Warwyche cum suis tali modo predatus est forum et spoliauit, et queque preciosa duxit in carrectis et equis usque ad regem apud Calesiam, et ualde ditati sunt omnes diuersis mercymoniis quasi innumeris. Tunc Flandrenses, Brabani, Hunaldi, et multi Almanni et de Francia aliqui ceperunt inclinare et adherere<sup>a</sup> regi Edwardo, propter graciā Dei quam uiderunt in eo.<sup>3</sup>

*Obsidio Awylone per Iohannem de Francia.* Iohannes, primogenitus regis Philippi, ante aduentum regis Edwardi in Normanniam posuerat obsidionem fortem ad uillam Agwylone. Dominus Radulfus, baro Staffordie, qui postea factus comes Staffordie, tunc erat in Agwylona,

<sup>a</sup> h interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> For Lancaster's inheritance, and the augmentation of his estates, see *CP* vii. 401–2; and Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 71–2.

<sup>2</sup> For a narrative of the siege of Calais, see Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 535–6, 576–83. On the defences of the town, see *King's Works*, i. 423–56, especially pp. 433–44 on the water defences, and the impracticality of mounting a direct assault in 1346.

killed one squire before the battle, and during the battle three knights: the rest God preserved. And many of the poorest Englishmen were made knights.

*The earl of Derby is called earl of Lancaster.* All that while Henry, earl of Lancaster, was in Gascony with his army, for by the death of his father, the earl of Lancaster, that Henry who previously was called the earl of Derby was now called earl of Lancaster.<sup>1</sup> King Edward made his way towards Calais, destroying and wasting the countryside all around for eight leagues, and the suburbs of Boulogne up to the walls, and Saint-Riquier, Étapes, and Neufchâtel, until he came to Calais with his army, by God's gift, safe and sound, on Thursday [4 Sept. 1346] before the Nativity of St Mary.

*The siege of Calais.* King Edward laid out a camp around Calais for himself and his army, and was lodged as it were in a city raised in the fields; and he placed a strong fleet in the harbour, so that no succour could come to the citizens either by sea or by land, beset as they were in their misery by the English. Then King Edward brought in from England the engines and other instruments of war used in a siege, to break down the walls.<sup>2</sup>

*The earl of Warwick pillages the fair at Théroutanne.* Immediately afterwards the earl of Warwick with many others rode to the fair at Théroutanne, and they came upon many men-at-arms stationed there to protect the fair, namely the bishop of Théroutanne with his retainers to the number of 10,000, whom the English overcame, and slew many of them. The bishop himself was severely wounded, and barely escaped with his life.

The earl of Warwick with his men then sacked the market and stripped it, carrying its treasures in carts and on packhorses to the king at Calais, and they were all greatly enriched with wares of almost incalculable variety. Then the Flemings, the Brabanters, the Hainaulters and many Germans, and even some of the French, began to incline and cleave to King Edward, for the grace of God which they perceived in him.<sup>3</sup>

*Siege of Aiguillon by Jean de France.* Before King Edward's arrival Jean, King Philippe's first-born, had laid a strong siege to the town of Aiguillon, and Sir Ralph, the Lord Stafford, who later was made earl of Stafford, was there in Aiguillon and defended it. And because one

<sup>3</sup> Warwick's raid was on 19 Sept. 1346. He was joined by the Anglo-Flemish force which was raiding Artois: Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 540, and above, pp. 56–8.

1346 et defendebat. Et quia dicta uilla in una parte nec muro nec palo munita (erat),<sup>a</sup> posuit in tali parte dolia uinacia uacua, set lapidibus impleta, pro palo.

fo. 150<sup>r</sup> Et idem Iohannes habuit secum elecciores, nobiliores, et strenuiores tocius Francie, scilicet ducem Burgonie, ducem Burgoune, multosque proceres electos de regno ad summam .viii. milia uirorum armatorum ad pedes et tibias, et .xl. milia de uiris armatis, sepeque dederunt insultum ad uillam et semper / perdiderunt tocians de suis tam de maioribus quam de minoribus.<sup>1</sup>

Et in tantum angustiatus est, pre pudore<sup>b</sup> et dolore amissionis suorum, quod iureiurando asseruit se nulla causa ab illa obsidione recessurum donec de dicta uilla ad placitum triumpharet, quia iuuenis et elatus erat. Set gracia Dei mediante, tantus inerat robur defensionis et restencie, quod ipsum mentiri oportuit pre necessitate in caput suum.

Nec quisquam potuit de tanto exercitu pro necessariis uictualibus perquirendis patriare, quin esset captus et occisus. Nam Henricus comes Lancastrie illis diebus ibidem compatriota erat. Et in breui tempore in tantam destructionem deuenit pre defectu uictualium et inde corrupcionis alterius ad alterum quod sparsim moriebantur ultra numerum .xv. milia, et summopere cupiebat abinde exilire. Set tam stricta erat custodia super eum per Henricum comitem Lancastrie quod abinde multo tempore exire non potuit quoquomodo.

Tandem tamen, senciens se frustratum a suo proposito de capcione ciuitatis, regemque Anglie fines intrasse Normannie, subtraxit se de exercitu et fugit in Franciam, exercitu suo desolato ductore. Exercitus etenim oportunitatem capiens sequebatur fugiendo. Henricus comes Lancastrie sequebatur fugientes et cepit eorum equos et uictualia, tentoria et queque preciosa multosque<sup>c</sup> fugitando interfecit.

Et sic contigit quod compatriote<sup>d</sup> de marchia<sup>e</sup> Francie ipsos fugientes spoliauerunt in eorum aduentu. Sicque ante per suos proximos ipsos denudantes, et a retro per comitem Lancastrie et suos ipsos acriter insequentes, in nimia miseria positi sunt. Et antequam dictus Iohannes ad patrem suum deuenire potuit, tergum uerterat ab Anglicis.<sup>2</sup>

*Rex Francie hortatur Scotos uenire in Angliam.* Post predictum prelium de Crecy Philippus, rex Francie, nunciauit regi Scocie quod

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission in T    <sup>b</sup> pudolore T, with lo cancelled by reviser    <sup>c</sup> os superimposed by reviser or a later hand    <sup>d</sup> i interlined by scribe    <sup>e</sup> r inserted or superimposed by a later hand

1346 part of the town was unprotected by wall or pale he made a barricade at that point of wine-barrels, drained and filled with stones.

And Jean had with him the most eligible, distinguished, and enterprising knights of all France, namely the duke of Burgundy, the duke of Bourbon, and many of the leading nobles of the realm, to the number of 8,000 foot and 40,000 men-at-arms, and they repeatedly attacked the town, and every time they lost men of both the greater and the lesser sort.<sup>1</sup>

And he was brought to such straits for shame, and with grief at his failure, that he swore an oath that he would not withdraw from the siege for any reason until he had the town at his mercy, for he was young and high-spirited. And yet, by God's grace, the defence and resistance gained such strength that his falsity redounded upon him.

For none could leave his army to seek supplies from the neighbourhood but he was killed or captured; for Henry, earl of Lancaster, was now amongst them. And in a short time they were so reduced for want of supplies, and by sickness passing from one to another, that they died here and there to the number of 15,000. And they would fain have left the place, but Henry, earl of Lancaster, kept so tight a guard upon them that for a long time there was no escape for them.

At last, seeing himself balked of his desire to capture the town, and with the king of England at large in Normandy, Jean left his army and fled into France, leaving his men without a leader. The army at once seized the chance to flee after him, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, pursued the fugitives, and took their horses and supplies, tents, and what valuables there were, and killed many as they ran.

And it so happened that their own countrymen in the marches of France robbed them as they went along, and thus with their own neighbours in front of them, ready to strip them, and Henry, earl of Lancaster, and his men behind in fierce pursuit, they were reduced to extremes of misery. And before the said Jean was able to come to his father he had turned his back upon the English.<sup>2</sup>

*The king of France urges the Scots to enter England.* After the said battle of Crécy, King Philippe of France told the Scots that the whole

<sup>1</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 62-3, 66. *Avesbury*, pp. 372-4, has the text of Lancaster's own despatch, which one might have expected Knighton to have used. Bourbon was the French king's lieutenant in Gascony, and he and Burgundy were Jean's professional minders: Fowler, *Kings Lieutenant*, pp. 59-60; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 484-5.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 66-8.

1346 tota fortitudo Anglicane milicie apud Calesiam conuenerat, et quod non sibi timeret super partes boriales equitare, asserens quempiam non esse qui sibi usquam resistere posset, et hoc ei facere mandauit sub quadam confederacione affinitatis inter eos prius confecta, ut superius patet.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex Scocie uenit in Angliam.* Ob quam rem Dauid, rex Scocie, post plures equitaciones et grauamina que in ausencia regis Edwardi exercuerat super partes aquilonares Anglie, in depredacionibus et occisionibus multorum Anglorum, in graue scandalum magnatum borialium qui, a multis credebantur, complices in hiis malefactis fuisse, et eorum consentaneos extitisse, tandem idem Dauid in orientali marchia uenit in Angliam, anno Domini millesimo .ccc.xlvj., cum grandi exercitu ad summam .xxxvj. milia uirorum, bene in armis arraiatorum ad modum et formam Francorum.

Et iter ceperunt directe uersus Dunolniam, treugamque omnino respuebant, nec uolebant pro quocumque supplicatu aures auditrices ad treugas uel misericordiam apponere, nisi haberent de quolibet capite et quolibet pede unum denarium de singulis compatriotis, usque ad aquam Trente.<sup>2</sup> Nam suggestum erat eis quod non remanserant in Anglia quin omnes forent ad obsidionem Calesie, nisi solum agricole ac pastores, et capellani, imbecilles et decrepiti.

fo. 150<sup>v</sup> Vnde episcopus Eboracensis, dominus Willelmus la / Sowche, dominus de Percy, et ceteri omnes de illis partibus milites armigeri, capellani, et clerici, omnes unanimi assensu parati uiuere et mori pro saluacione regni, conuenerunt in unum diem, die Lune proxima ante festum Sancti Luce, per .iiij. leucas citra Dunolnum, et Scoti fuerunt modico spacio ultra eos, in ingenti fortitudine et elata manu.<sup>3</sup>

Dominus Willelmus Douglas cum suis precesserat exercitum Scocium, et Anglici inopinate superuenerunt super eum, et captus est per unum armigerum domini le Deyncourte, et multi de suis ibidem interfecti sunt. Quod cum rex Scocie intellexisset cum festinacione parauit se ad bellum, distinxitque exercitum per acies, repleuerunt terram in sonitu tubarum et clarionum, et direxerunt aciem in occursum Angligenarum. Anglici uero spem suam totam in Deo ponentes, et iuris titulum morti sue preponentes, et in signo crucis que ante eos cum aliis uexillis ferebatur plenam fiduciam habentes, diuine clemencie a qua nullus fallitur, se totum commendauerunt, et se conflictui cum summa audacia fortiter dederunt. Sicque

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 26, and Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 195-6.

1346 military strength of England was gathered at Calais, and that he should not fear to ride upon the north country, saying that there would be none able to resist him, and he required him to do that under the treaty of friendship that had been made between them, as appears above.<sup>1</sup>

*The king of Scotland enters England.* Whereupon King David of Scotland, after a number of raids and depredations which he had visited upon the northern parts of England in King Edward's absence, to the great scandal of the northern magnates, who were believed by many to have been his accomplices in those evils, and to have consented to them, at last invaded England in AD 1346. He came by the eastern March, with a powerful army to the number of 36,000 men well arrayed in the French style.

And they made straight for Durham, altogether spurning the truce, and they would not listen to any appeal to the truce, or for mercy, unless they should have a penny for the head and the feet of every inhabitant as far as the waters of Trent.<sup>2</sup> For they had been told that there was no-one left in England, everyone having gone to the siege of Calais except for helpless and feeble farmers and shepherds, and clergy.

Whereupon the archbishop of York, Sir William la Zouche, the Lord Percy, and the rest of the knights, chaplains, and clergy of those parts, all and with one assent ready to live and die to save the kingdom, came together on the Monday [16 Oct. 1346] before the feast of St Luke, four leagues on this side of Durham, with the Scots a short distance away in great strength and high feather.<sup>3</sup>

Sir William Douglas and his men were ahead of the Scottish army, and the English came upon them unexpectedly, and he was captured by an esquire of Lord Deincourt's, and many of his men were slain. And when the king of Scotland heard of that he made haste to prepare for battle, drawing his army into line, and they filled the land with the sound of trumpets and bugles, and turned their ranks upon the English. The English, placing all their hope in God, exalting the cause of righteousness above death, and having full faith in the sign of the Cross, which was carried before them with their other standards, commended themselves entirely to that divine mercy which never fails, and with the greatest daring gave themselves bravely to the fight.

<sup>2</sup> The Scots did not in fact go straight to Durham, and would have been better advised to do so: Campbell, 'England, Scotland', p. 194; and Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 550-3.

<sup>3</sup> See further Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 193-6.

1346 miscuerunt se exercitus quasi tercia et pugnaverunt usque ad horam  
\* \* \*.<sup>1</sup>

*Anglici uicunt Scotos apud Dunelnum.* Tandem mediante diuina clemencia, concessa est Anglicis de hostibus tripudialis uictoria, apud Beal Repayr, per tres leucas iuxta Dunelnum, in uigilia Sancti Luce.<sup>2</sup> Monachi existentes in campanili ecclesie sue, et uidentes fugientes Scotos, leuauerunt uocem, nubesque repleuerunt sonitu clamoris, clamantes et Deum laudantes, flebilibusque lacrimis pre gaudio dicentes, 'Te Deum laudamus'. Quam uocem Angli audierunt, acsi a tergo eorum prope adessent, et forciorem audaciam in Deo indumentes, inimicos acrius insecuti sunt, et forcius eos protriuerunt.<sup>3</sup>

Nam monachi Dunelmenses finem fecerant cum Scotis, pro se et maneriis suis, et suis tenentibus in patria, in crastino sequenti pro<sup>a</sup> mille libris soluendis,<sup>b</sup> absque ulteriori mora; et sic liberati sunt ab ipso iugo.<sup>4</sup> Scoti proposuerant iter dirigere ad Beuerlacum et abinde apud Eboracum. Crediderunt namque nullos esse in patria eis resistere ualentes, quin omnes essent ad obsidionem Calesie.

*Capti in bello.* Isti sunt capti in bello:<sup>5</sup>

Dauid rex Scocie, comes de Fyth, comes de Meyntyfe, comes de Wygtona, comes de Carryk, dominus Wilelmus Duglas et frater eiusdem Willelmi, dominus Willelmus de Lemystone, dominus Willelmus de Rameseye et filius, dominus Malcomus Flemyng, dominus Dauid Banaude, dominus Iohannes Seyntclere, dominus Willelmus Moubraye.

*Occisi in bello Dunelnie.* Isti fuerunt occisi in bello Dunelnie:

Comes de Moryf, comes de Suthlande, comes de Straerne, dominus Philippus de Myldrone, dominus Vmfridus de Bloys, dominus Robertus Mantalent et frater eius, dominus Iohannes Styward frater eius, dominus Alanus Styward frater eius, dominus Alanus Styward, dominus Iohannes Styward, dominus Mauricius de Morref, dominus Dauid de la Haye, dominus Edwardus de

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by a later hand

<sup>b</sup> Entered in margin by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> 'About the hour of vespers the Scots were overcome': *Anon. Chron.*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> On the battle, see Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 552–3; Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 146–7.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton's account of the monks' chant from the tower, which was commemorated annually until the 1640s (*VCH Durham*, ii. 98), suggests that he had a local source or informant, perhaps the witness who saw the clergy gathering at Beverley: see below, p. 72.

1346 And the armies came together in the mid-morning, and fought until the hour of \* \* \*.<sup>1</sup>

*The English defeat the Scots at Durham.* At last by the working of the divine mercy the English were granted an auspicious victory over the enemy, on St Luke's Eve [17 Oct. 1346], there at Bear Park, three leagues from Durham.<sup>2</sup> The monks standing on the bell-tower of their church, and seeing the Scots in flight, raised their voices until the clouds were filled with sound as they sang and praised God, weeping tears of joy and crying 'Te Deum laudamus'. And their chant carried to the English as though it were from close behind them, and thereupon taking greater boldness from God they pursued their enemies the more keenly, and trampled them down the more vigorously.<sup>3</sup>

For the monks had promised to pay an indemnity to the Scots the next day for themselves and their estates and tenants, that they should stay no longer; and therefore they were freed from that yoke.<sup>4</sup> The Scots had planned to make their way to Beverley and thence to York, for they believed that there was none in that country able to resist them, because all were at the siege of Calais.

*Taken in the battle.* These were captured in the battle:<sup>5</sup>

David, king of Scotland, the earl of Fife, the earl of Menteith, the earl of Wigtown, the earl of Carrick, Sir William Douglas, and a brother of the same William, Sir William Livingston, Sir William Ramsay and his son, Sir Malcolm Fleming, Sir David Annan, Sir John Sinclair, Sir William Mowbray.

*Slain in the battle.* These were killed in the battle of Durham:

The earl of Moray, the earl of Sutherland, the earl of Strathearn, Sir Philip Meldrum, Sir Humphrey Bloys, Sir Robert Maitland and his brother, Sir John Stewart, Sir Alan Stewart his brother, Sir Maurice Murray, Sir David de la Haye, Sir Edward Keith,

<sup>4</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 551. The Anonimale Chronicle says that two monks were still negotiating with the Scots on the morning of the battle: *Anon. Chron.*, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> The list of prisoners and casualties is unusually full, and presumably comes from a despatch. The repetition of the Stewarts' names amongst the dead suggests that the same source lies behind *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 27–8. For the rest Knighton's text is not derived directly from the material in *Le Baker*, pp. 88–9, and contains more detail than *Murimuth*, pp. 218–19, 252–3.

Keth, dominus Iohannes de Crauforde, dominus Iohannes de Lymesheye, dominus Adam / de Nytfen, dominus Alexander Stragy. Et frater eius.

Item occisi in bello: dominus Willelmus de la Haye, dominus Iohannes de la Morre, dominus Thomas Boyde, frater Edmundus domini de Keth, dominus Willelmus de Rameseye, pater, dominus Iohannes Seynthillere, dominus Adam Moygraue, dominus Dauid Fyth Roberd, dominus Willelmus Moubray, dominus Reginaldus Kirkepatrik, dominus Willelmus de Halyburtone, dominus Patonus Heryng.

Et preter istos ultra centum milites meliores tocius Scocie. Et de communibus plusquam .xx. millia.

*Anglici occisi.* Ex parte Anglorum occisi sunt quatuor milites et .v. armigeri.

*Rex Scocie captus.* Rex Scocie fugit de prelio et uulneratus est de una sagitta in capite, et captus apud Meryngtone per unum ualettum, Iohannis Coupelande,<sup>1</sup> et ductus apud castellum de Bamburgh, ibique aliquamdiu moram traxit sub custodia domini de Percy, pro eo quod non potuit laborare, cum multis aliis magnatibus, quoadusque ex iussu regis ducti sunt Londoniis.

Interim rex Edwardus mandauit omnibus uiccomitibus, et singulis aliis, quod nullus Scotus captus liberaretur pro quacumque redemptione, set omnes Scoti capti detinerentur sub salua custodia, et rex satisfaceret singulis captoribus pro redemptione omnium et singulorum. Et hoc mandatum generaliter exiit, in omnes et singulas partes regni Anglie, sub pena forisfacture uite et membrorum.<sup>2</sup> Deinde statim post bellum intrauerunt Angli in Scociam et ceperunt magnam predam animalium et aliorum bonorum et duxerunt in Angliam.

Referebat quidam<sup>a</sup> se hec uidisse<sup>b</sup> et testatus est, quod cum sacerdotes parcium borialium aduocarentur aduersus Scotos in prelium, uidit magnam turbam eorum apud Beuerlacum congregatam, qui ad finem uille conuenientes discalciauerunt se et, discoopertis capitibus, habentes gladios et sagittas sub femore arcus sub brachio, parati in expeditionem ad quam uocati fuerant; sic procedebant processionaliter, pulsantes Dei aures et sanctorum eius, inclamantes eius misericordiam et gratiam, ad prosperandum negocium itineris sui in liberationem Anglicane gentis de suis inimicis se funditus exterminare cupientibus.

<sup>a</sup> quidam *superimposed on quid by a later hand*      <sup>b</sup> di *interlined by reviser*  
*Interlined by reviser*

Sir John Crawford, Sir John Lymeshaw, Sir Adam de Nicholson, Sir Alexander Strachan and his brother.

Also killed in the battle were Sir William de la Haye, Sir John de la More, Sir Thomas Boyd, Edmund the brother of the lord of Keith, Sir William Ramsay the father, Sir John St Hilary, Sir Adam Mulgrave, Sir David Fyfe-Robert, Sir William Mowbray, Sir Reginald Kirkpatrick, Sir William Haliburton, Sir Patrick Herring.

And in addition to those more than 100 of the better knights in all Scotland, and of commoners more than 20,000.

*The English dead.* On the part of the English there were slain four knights and five esquires.

*The king of Scotland taken.* The king of Scotland fled from the battle, and was wounded in the head by an arrow and captured at Merrington by John Copeland,<sup>1</sup> a yeoman, and taken to Bamburgh castle where, because he was not fit to travel, he stayed some time in the keeping of the Lord Percy, with many other great men, until they were all taken to London on the king's orders.

In the meantime King Edward sent orders to all sheriffs and others that no Scottish prisoner should be released for any ransom, but that all the Scots taken should be held in safe custody, and the king would compensate their individual captors when they were all redeemed together. And that order went to all parts of the kingdom, upon pain of life and limb.<sup>2</sup> And immediately after the battle the English invaded Scotland, and took a great booty of livestock and other goods and brought them into England.

It was reported by one who was there to see, and bore witness, that when the clergy of the north country were called to battle against the Scots, he saw a great company of them assembled at Beverley who, taking off their shoes and their hoods, showed themselves with swords and arrows at their waists and bows under their arms, ready to go in solemn procession on the campaign to which they had been summoned, assailing the ears of God and His saints with prayers that His mercy and grace would prosper the purpose of their expedition, and free the English people from the enemies who wished to destroy them.

<sup>1</sup> For Copeland, see *CPR 1345-8*, pp. 226, 370, and 515; and below, p. 186.

<sup>2</sup> On the delivery of prisoners to the king, see *CPR 1345-8*, pp. 225, 285, and 552.

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Populares uero uidentes eorum inedicibilem deuocionem, in admirabilem contricionem conuersi, cum lacrimabili uultu et eiulatu, flectebant genua Saluatoris pulsantes clemenciam, ut eis in tanta necessitate manus adiutrices afferreret. Nec incassum, nam Deus adiutor eorum eis ad plenum affuit. O mira deuocio, cui mirabilior<sup>a</sup> et inedicibilior toto mundo in perpetua memoria commendabilis, a Deo qui saluos facit sperantes in se subuenit exitus,<sup>1</sup> quod tanta superba elacio proteruorum Scotorum, a paucis armatis<sup>b</sup> rudibus,<sup>c</sup> et ad bellum indoctis, Cristi adminiculo protrita est. Vnde apostolus: 'Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?' Idem dicebatur fieri a sacerdotibus et plebe, tam in Eboraco quam in aliis multis locis.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 151<sup>v</sup>

*Hibernici surgent.* Eodem tempore Hibernici leuauerunt se in Hibernia contra Anglicos, per excitationem et consilium tam Francorum quam Scotorum. Set protriti sunt, et in magno numero occisi ab Anglicis ibidem degentibus.<sup>3</sup> Concessa est regi de clero decima biennalis, de populo .xv. biennalis de feodo militis / .xl. solidi.<sup>4</sup>

Eodem tempore nunciatum est regi, in obsidione Calesie occupato, quod comes Lancastrie Henricus ceperat in Centonia, per fortitudinem, uillam Sancti Iohannis Euangeliste, quam compatriote uocant Seynt Iohan Dangelyn, et uillam Tanchanloyt, et cetera uille de patria reddiderant se ei. Deinde cepit per uim<sup>d</sup> castrum de Lysmay quod quidem castrum reputabatur fortissimum castrum Francie.<sup>5</sup>

*Capta est Peyters.* Deinde cepit ciuitatem de Peyters sub tali modo. In ciuitate erant plusquam mille uiri armati qui processerunt in campum, cum magna multitudine peditum, et inierunt cuneos et mixti intrauerunt portas cum illis. Et cum intrassent, occupauerunt portas apertas, donec uniuersi Anglici intrarent. Deinde ad placitum occiderunt, spoliauerunt, abstulerunt aurum, argentum et queque preciosa innumera.<sup>6</sup>

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Circa Epiphaniam ductus est Daud Bru3, rex Scocie, apud Londonias, et missus in turrim sub custodia. Cum quo de mandato

<sup>a</sup> mirabili T, mirabilior supplied by Twysden      <sup>b</sup> Superimposed upon artis by reviser or a later hand      <sup>c</sup> r superimposed by a later hand      <sup>d</sup> A superfluous contraction mark is entered over m

<sup>1</sup> Ps. 16: 7 (17: 7).      <sup>2</sup> Rom. 8: 31. On local reactions, see above, p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton is probably referring to the earl of Desmond's rising, although Desmond apparently gave himself up during the summer of 1346: J. F. Lydon, *The Lordship of Ireland in the Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1972), pp. 197–9; A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland* (London, 1968), pp. 261–3. Fighting continued in 1347–8, *ibid.*, pp. 265–6.

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And the people perceiving their indescribable devotion were moved to a wonderful contrition, and with tearful face and outcry, on bended knee implored the mercy of their Saviour, that He would extend His hand to sustain them in their need. And not in vain, for God their helper rendered all to them. O wonderful devotion, for what could be of greater or such inexpressible wonder, worthy to be kept in perpetual remembrance by all the world, from God who saves those who put their trust in Him, and protects them,<sup>1</sup> that in their pride and arrogance the Scots should be cast down, with Christ's aid, by so few, but poorly armed, and uninstructed in war? Whence the Apostle: 'If God be for us, then who shall be against us?' For so said many both of the clergy and the people in York, and in many other places.<sup>2</sup>

*The Irish rebel.* At that same time the Irish rose against the English in Ireland, urged on and helped by the French and the Scots. But they were overcome and slain in great numbers by the English living there.<sup>3</sup> The king was granted a biennial tenth by the clergy and a biennial fifteenth by the laity, with 40s. from every knight's fee.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time it was reported to the king at the siege of Calais that Henry, earl of Lancaster, had taken by storm the town of St John-the-Evangelist in Saintonge, known to the people there as Saint-Jean-d'Angély, and the town of Tonnay-Charente, and that the rest of the towns in that region had surrendered to him. Then he took by assault the castle of Lusignan, which was reputed the strongest castle in France.<sup>5</sup>

*Poitiers taken.* Then he captured the city of Poitiers in this wise. There were in the city more than 1,000 men-at-arms who came out in the field with a great number of infantry, and several squads of the English mingled with them, and returned through the gates with them. And when they were within they held the gates open until the rest of the English were inside, and then at their will they killed, and plundered, and carried off gold, and silver, and all manner of treasure beyond reckoning.<sup>6</sup>

Around the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1347] David Bruce, king of Scotland, was brought to London and put into the Tower under guard, for

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<sup>4</sup> Parliament met on 11 Sept. 1346, and orders to collect the subsidies were issued on 5 Oct. See *CFR* 1337–47, p. 482.

<sup>5</sup> For Lancaster at Lusignan and Tonnay-Charente, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 68–70. Saint-Jean-d'Angély fell on 22 Sept. 1346.

<sup>6</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 67–8; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 542–7. Lancaster occupied Poitiers 4–10 Oct. 1346.



1347 regis Edwardi uenerunt .xx. milia Anglorum bene arraiatorum. Ipse uero rex Dauid sedebat super uno nigro dextrario omnibus aliis imminente, ita quod super omnes alios uideri posset a populo, sicque ductus est de strata in stratam cum magno tripudio honoris, postremoque ad turrim procedens subsequente populo, et quolibet artificio per se in propria secta uestitus, honorifice distincto.<sup>1</sup>

1346 Comes Lancastrie redit de Vasconia. In yeme sequenti, Henricus comes Lancastrie et comes de Penbroc redierunt<sup>a</sup> de Vasconia cum populo suo, et in uigilia conceptionis Beate Marie passi sunt mirabile periculum subite tempestatis in mari, set Deus liberauit eos. Eodem anno obiit Eustachius de Foluyle qui Robertum Bellere interfecerat.<sup>2</sup>

1347 Comites Scocie distracti. In .xl. sequenti Iohannes, comes de Meyntyf, fuit distractus et quarterizatus. Eodem die comes de Fyth iudicatus ad mortem apud Londonias de ordinacione regis Edwardi.<sup>b3</sup>

Franci inferunt uictualia in Calesiam. Post Pascham anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xlvij. uenerunt .xxx. naues et galee et acrociter sine impedimento regis Edwardi uel suorum intulerunt uictualia in uillam Calesie, et absque dampno recesserunt, cernente populo Anglicano. Et ab ea hora fecit rex obturare uiam introitus nauium in uillam. Et comes Warwyche cepit custodiam maris cum .iiij.xx. nauibus. Ad festum Pentecostes sequens<sup>c</sup> misit rex Edwardus per totam Angliam ad abbatias et prioratus pro auxilio habendo de lanis sicut idem quod quelibet domus potuit subportare.<sup>4</sup>

Baliolus uendicauit regnum Scocie. Eodem anno ipse Baliolus transiuit in Scociam, cum .ccc. milia hominum, per Carliolum, pro adquirenda hereditate regni Scocie, et dominus de Percy per Berwycum cum .xx. milia uirorum. Et cum uenissent ad mare Scocie Scoti redierunt ad pacem Balioli, et integre se dederunt ei ut regi suo. Deinde Anglici direxerunt iter suum uersus uillam Sancti Iohannis in proposito ulterius progredi in deuastacionem terre Scocie, set Scoti tantum instabant quod concessa est eis trewga usque ad festum Natiuitatis Beate Marie et darent regi Baliolo .ix. milia

<sup>a</sup> i interlined by reviser      <sup>b</sup> The scribe has inadvertently added uel suorum intulerunt after Edwardi, as in the next sentence      <sup>c</sup> sequent' T

<sup>1</sup> CCR 1346-9, p. 178. For the costs of bringing David south, *ibid.*, p. 133. See further below, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Lancaster's return in Dec. 1346 has been separated from his autumn campaign by the reference to David's arrival in London a month later, in Jan. 1347. For the winter storms, see Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 141. On Folville, and his victim Beler, who was a baron of the Exchequer, murdered in 1326, see E. L. G. Stones, 'The Folvilles of Ashby Folville, Leics, and their associates in crime', *TRHS*, 5th ser., vii (1957), 117-36.

1347 which 20,000 well-armed Englishmen were assembled at King Edward's command. King David himself sat upon a black charger larger than all the others, so that all the people could see him, and thus he was led through the streets with every mark of honour, coming at last to the Tower with the people following, and each of the crafts honourably arrayed in its own distinctive livery.<sup>1</sup>

*The earl of Lancaster returns from Gascony.* Later during that winter 1346 Earl Henry of Lancaster and the earl of Pembroke returned from Gascony with their forces, and on the eve [7 Dec. 1346] of the Conception of St Mary they were in amazing danger from a sudden tempest at sea, but God delivered them. In that same year died Eustace de Folville, who slew Robert Beler.<sup>2</sup>

*The Scottish earls drawn.* In the Lent following [Feb.-Mar 1347] the earl of Menteith was drawn and quartered, and on the same day the earl of Fife was condemned to death in London upon King Edward's orders.<sup>3</sup>

*The French carry supplies into Calais.* After Easter [1 Apr.] in the year of grace 1347 there came a fleet of thirty ships and galleys which scandalously, without hindrance from King Edward or his men, brought supplies into the town of Calais and retired without loss while the English looked on. And at once the king ordered the channel into the town to be blocked, and the earl of Warwick took over the keeping of the sea with eighty ships. At Whitsun following [20 May 1347] King Edward asked help of the abbeyes and priories throughout England, that is, as much wool as each house could provide.<sup>4</sup>

*Balliol reclaimed the kingdom of Scotland.* In the same year Balliol crossed into Scotland from Carlisle with 300,000 men to secure the inheritance of the kingdom of Scotland, and Lord Percy from Berwick with 20,000, and when they came to the Firth of Forth the Scots came to Balliol's peace, and wholly gave themselves to him as their king. Then the English made their way towards Perth, intending to lay waste the Scottish lands beyond. But the Scots so resisted them that a truce was agreed until the feast of St Mary's Conception [8 Dec. 1347] and they gave the king, Balliol, £9,000 on that con-

<sup>3</sup> The earl of Fife was later reprieved, as Edward's kinsman: *Foedera*, 1344-61, p. 108. See further, Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 147; A. A. M. Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', pp. 114-15.

<sup>4</sup> On relief for Calais, Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 559-60, 568. On wool for Edward, *CPR* 1345-8, p. 362; and *CFR* 1347-56, pp. 1-5; also G. Unwin, 'The estate of merchants', *Finance and Trade under Edward III*, ed. G. Unwin (Manchester, 1918), pp. 217-18; and Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 200-2.



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librarum sub illa condicione. Ordinatumque est quod ipse Baliolus moram traheret medio tempore apud castellum de Lauerok in Galweya, in salua custodia pro timore Scotorum, ceterique uero Anglorum magnates redirent in auxilium regis Edwardi apud Calesiam.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 152<sup>r</sup>

Modicum ante festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, Iohannes de Francie, primogenitus / Philippi Valoys, uenit prope Calesiam cum fortitudine milicie quasi tocius Francie, et Henricus comes Lancastrie cum retencione uidelicet .viii.c. uirorum armatorum, et .xvii.c. sagittariorum, cum forti manu processit in occursum eius, estimans campestre bellum ingruere, set Franci se retraxerunt et inire congressum renuerunt<sup>a</sup> ad patriam repedantes.

Eodem tempore comes Oxonie, baro Staffordie,<sup>b</sup> factus postea comes Staffordie,<sup>2</sup> et dominus Walterus de Mawne, cum grandi classe, ingressi sunt mare, et sic obuauerunt nauigio Francie cum uictualibus ad instaurandum Calesiam,<sup>c</sup> et ceperunt de dicto nauigio .xx. naues, et multitudinem galearum, cum magna plenitudine uictualium, occiderunt et submerserunt quos uolebant, et que uolebant secum duxerunt ad regem apud Calesiam.<sup>3</sup>

*Litera capitani Calesie ad regem Francie.* Eodem tempore captus est quidam nuncius in mari, habens literas de capiteano Calesie ad regem Francie Philippum sub tali tenore, breuite de tota litera excerpta.<sup>d</sup>

Sachez tresdouce seigneur, qe uous gentz en Caleys ont mange lour chyuals, chens, et ratez, et nest remys rien pur lour uiuere sy non chescune mange altre, par quey treshonorable seignour si nous ne eyms hastif socoure, la uile est perdieu. Et nous sumes tous accordes, si nous ne eyms eyde, de yssir et morir sur nous enmys au honour plus tost qe de deins morire pur defalte. Et Dieu uous doygne grace de rendre alnous et noz heyrez nostre trauayle.<sup>4</sup>

Cum igitur rex Edwardus intellexisset literas, fecit eas muniri suo sigillo et misit eas regi Francie, mandans ei accelerare subsidium populo suo Calesie, pro amore suo fame periclitanti. Eodem tempore eiecti sunt de Calesia de communibus minoribus circiter quingenti uiri qui uenerunt ad regem Anglie querentes graciā, quos rex iussit redire in uillam. Veruptamen qui in uilla erant, introitum ipsis

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by reviser from *remerunt*      <sup>b</sup> i interlined by reviser      <sup>c</sup> Repeated after de dicto nauigio, and cancelled by reviser and rubricator      <sup>d</sup> excerpta T

<sup>1</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 147–8.

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dition. And it was ordered that Balliol should stay in the mean time in Caerlaverock castle in Galloway, under guard from fear of the Scots, and the rest of the English lords went to Calais in aid of King Edward.<sup>1</sup>

Shortly before the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June 1347] Jean de France, the first-born of Philippe de Valois, came close to Calais with almost the whole armed force of France. Earl Henry of Lancaster with his retinue, that is to say 800 men-at-arms and 1,600 archers, moved with bold resolution to intercept him, hoping to bring him to battle, but the French withdrew, refusing the encounter, and retreated into their own country.

At that time the earl of Oxford, the lord Stafford, who was later made earl of Stafford,<sup>2</sup> and Sir Walter Mauny put to sea with a large fleet, and intercepted the French fleet bringing supplies to Calais. And they took twenty ships of the said fleet and many galleys, with a huge quantity of supplies, and slew men and sank ships as they would, and took what plunder they chose to King Edward at Calais.<sup>3</sup>

*A letter from the captain of Calais to the king of France.* At the same time a messenger was taken at sea carrying letters from the captain of Calais to King Philippe to the following effect, this being a short extract from the text of the letter:

Know, most gentle lord, that your people in Calais have eaten their horses, and the dogs and the rats, and there remains nothing to them on which to live unless they eat each other. Wherefore, right honourable lord, if we do not have ready succour, the town will be lost. And we are all agreed, if we do not have aid, to go out upon the enemy and die with honour sooner than perish here by default, and may God give you grace to requite us and our heirs for our labours.<sup>4</sup>

When therefore King Edward learned of those letters he had them affirmed with his own seal, and sent to the king of France telling him to hasten to help his people in Calais who were perishing of hunger for his sake. At the same time some fifty of the lesser townsmen were expelled from Calais, and came to the king of England seeking his grace. The king ordered them back into the town, but those within

<sup>2</sup> On 5 Mar. 1351: see below, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 576–7.

<sup>4</sup> There is a fuller text of the letter in *Avesbury*, p. 386.

1347 negauerunt, et sic moram traxerunt inter exercitum et uillam, et fame ac frigore pereuntes, spissim de die in diem mortui sunt.

Iohannes de Francie filius Philippi cum potestate Francie uenit prope exercitum Anglie diuersis uicibus, quandoque ad duas leucas, quandoque ad tres leucas, set non habentes uictualia unde diu moram trahere<sup>a</sup> ualebant, ac eciam quia patria circumquaue destructa fuerat per Anglos in Flandriam se receperunt, et magnam multitudinem gencium suarum perdiderunt.

*Bellum apud Rochedarrayne in Britannia.* Die Mercurii ante festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste percussus est bellum apud Roderayn in Britannia tali forma.<sup>1</sup> Dominus Karolus de Bloys iacebat in obsidione de Rochedarrayn cum .xxx. milia uiris strenuis. Et Thomas capitanius Britannie nomine regis Anglie capta oportunitate, quod mane subito irruerunt super eos ex una parte, et ciues de ciuitate exierunt ex alia parte, congregiebantur et fortiter pugnabant, tandemque protriti sunt ab Anglicis / et multi capti.

fo. 152<sup>v</sup>

*Carolus de Bloys captus.* Carolus<sup>b</sup> de Bloys qui se ducem Britannie intruserat captus est, et dominus de Rochefordia, dominus Leyhyhak et cum eo .xxxvj. milites, dominus de la Vagien, uiscont de Rowhan, dominus de Duruayl et filius eius, dominus de Castello Bryaunt, dominus de Knyghton, dominus de Maletretter, dominus de Rougy, dominus Radulphus de Montforde. Et occisi sunt plusquam .v.c. de uiris armatis.

*Comes Lancastrie faciet uiagium in Franciam.* Die Mercurii proxime ante festum Sancte Margarete Henricus comes Lancastrie fecit uiagium in Franciam ab obsidione Calesie, ad .x. leucas de terra Francie, et habuit secum in comitiua .viiij.c. uirorum armatorum et .xx. milia sagittariorum et fuit in proposito iuisse ad capitales nundinas prope Amyas die Sancte Margarete et interim nunciatum est ei quod Philippus de Valoys rex Francie erat ueniens uersus Calesiam cum innumerabili populo. Nam illi de Picardia et Artosia nunciauerant regi Philippo nisi cicius ueniret eis succurrere ac eciam Calesie, de necessitate compulsi oporteret eos se dare regi Anglie et auxilium suum ei prestare.

Et comes hiis auditis, cum festinacione ad regem uenit<sup>c</sup> apud Calesiam, set predatus est patriam in circuitu et duxit secum .ij. milia

<sup>a</sup> traherent, with nt erased in T; traheret in C    <sup>b</sup> Captus T    <sup>c</sup> Inserted in margin by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Knighton gives only a bald summary of the action at La Roche Derrien, but he seems to

refused to admit them. And so they stayed between the army and the town, and day by day they died, perishing slowly of cold and hunger.

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Jean de France, the son of Philippe, came close to the English army on several occasions with the power of France, sometimes two and sometimes three leagues off, but they lacked the supplies to stay long. And because the countryside round about had been wasted by the English they took themselves into Flanders, and a great number of their people perished.

*Battle at La Roche Derrien in Brittany.* On the Wednesday before the feast of St John the Baptist [20 June 1347] a battle took place at La Roche Derrien in Brittany in this wise.<sup>1</sup> Sire Charles de Blois was besieging La Roche Derrien with 30,000 fighting men. And Thomas [Dagworth], who was commander in Brittany in the king of England's name, seized the chance to fall upon them from one side while the citizens came out of the city on the other, and they came together and fought fiercely, and at last the enemy were overcome by the English and many were captured.

*Charles de Blois captured.* Charles de Blois who had intruded himself as duke of Brittany was taken, and the lord of Rocheforte. The lord of Lohéac, and thirty-six knights with him, the lord of Laval, the vicomte of Rohan, the lord of Derval and his son, the lord of Châteaubriand, the lord of Quintin, the lord of Malestroit, the lord of Rougé, and Sire Ralph de Montfort [were captured], and 500 men-at-arms were slain.

*The earl of Lancaster makes an expedition into France.* On the Wednesday [18 July 1347] next before the feast of St Margaret Earl Henry of Lancaster made an expedition from the siege of Calais for ten leagues into France, having in company with him 800 men-at-arms and 20,000 archers. His plan was to go to the great fair by Amiens on St Margaret's Day [20 July 1347], but in the meantime he learned that Philippe de Valois, the king of France, was moving towards Calais with an enormous army. For the men of Picardy and Artois had told King Philippe that unless he came soon to relieve them, and also Calais, they would be forced to give themselves up to the king of England, and support him.

And when the earl heard that he came with haste to the king at Calais, but he raided the country all around, and brought with him

have had a full list of casualties and prisoners, and to have conflated the names: cf. Dagworth's own despatch in *Avesbury*, pp. 388-90; and the account in Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 573-6.

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.lx. boues et uaccas et plusquam .v. milia de ouibus que exercitui magnum refrigerium prestiterunt. Et idem comes Lancastrie equitauerat nisi per unum diem et .j. noctem. Et statim narratum est quod rex Philippus uenit uersus Calesiam cum .ij. milia et .lx. de uiris armatis, et de albalistis gentes sine numero et quod cepit locum suum inter Whitesande et Calesiam super sabulum maris paratus ad prelium.<sup>1</sup>

Et eodem tempore uenerunt cardinales ad regem Edwardum tractare de pace inter reges. Et sic data est trewga inter partes per .iiii. dies ad tractandum de pace inter reges. Et inter cetera Franci proferunt regi Edwardo Vasconiam et Pontyfy, et maritadium filii eius<sup>a</sup> Iohannis. Sub alia uia, submitterent regi Edwardo Calesiam et eam sibi reseruarent, saluis ciuium uita et membris. Ad quod breuiter responsum est quod uilla et ea que in ea erant, erant et esse deberent ad uoluntatem regis Anglie, et nichil de dono Philippi de Valoys.

Cotidieque Franci uenerunt ad causeam inire hastiludium cum Anglis cum <fortuna><sup>b</sup> guerre malum suum inutiliter lucentes. Et cum uidissent Franci quod concordia non posset ex tractatu prouenire, pecierunt quod ius utriusque regis per discrimen quinque uel sex ex una parte et totidem ex alia parte discideretur, et locus discriminis per Francos assignaretur. Ad quod respondet comes Lancastrie, locum assignari debere per Edwardum regem Anglie et Francie naturalem et rectum heredem utriusque. Nam ad Philippum de Valoys ius nullum suppetit.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 153<sup>r</sup>

Tandem cum discordia inter eos dispareret, sine spe pacis, abinuicem ad loca sua discedebant, bellum campestre habere sperantes absque impedimento. Rex Edwardus obtulit se sumptibus propriis ad implendum omnes foueas et infringendum omnia obstacula circa obsidionem, ita quod Franci possent habere liberum ingressum / et passagium cum suo exercitu ad bellum congregiendum sine impedimento qualicumque. Et crediderunt Angli bellum habuisse die Iouis uel Veneris proxime sequenti, post festum Ad uincola Sancti Petri. Set Franci nocte ante diem Iouis trussauerunt quecumque sua que cariare uoluerunt, et retraxerunt se loco suo et miserunt incendio et flamme tentoria sua cum magna plenitudine uictualium, surripientes fugam tanquam gentes confutate.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> sui T<sup>b</sup> *Suppl. Lumby; blank in T*<sup>1</sup> Lancaster joined Edward before Calais at the end of May 1347: Fowler, *King's*

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2,060 beef and cows, and more than 5,000 sheep, which were a great relief to the army. And the earl of Lancaster had ridden for no more than a night and a day when he heard that King Philippe had come towards Calais with 2,060 men-at-arms and crossbowmen beyond number, and that he had taken up a position between Calais and Wissant on the sea-shore ready for battle.<sup>1</sup>

And at that moment there came cardinals to King Edward to treat for peace between the kings, and so a truce was declared for four days, to discuss a treaty. And amongst other things the French offered King Edward Gascony and Ponthieu, and a marriage for his son John, or alternatively they proposed to surrender Calais to him for him to keep if the citizens were guaranteed life and limb. To which it was simply retorted that the town and all that was in it were and ought to be at the will of the king of England, and not at all in the gift of Philippe de Valois.

And daily the French came to the parley to propose a tournament with the English that the evil of war might be turned aside. And when the French saw that no agreement could come out of the negotiations, they suggested that the right of either king should be determined by battle between five or six of the one side and so many of the other, and that the place should be chosen by the French, to which the earl of Lancaster replied that the place ought to be assigned by Edward, king of England and France, and the natural and true inheritor of both, for Philippe de Valois had no right to either.<sup>2</sup>

At last there was such animosity between them that each returned without hope of peace to their own side, looking rather to proceed to battle without further delay. King Edward offered to fill in all the ditches and remove all obstacles around the siege lines at his own costs, that the French might have free entry and passage for their army to come to battle, without any impediment. And the English believed that they would have the battle on the Thursday or Friday [2–3 August 1347] next following the feast of St Peter Enchained, but during the Wednesday night [1 Aug.] the French packed everything that they could carry with them and withdrew from their camp, and put their tents and a great quantity of supplies to fire and flame, taking flight like men possessed.<sup>3</sup>

*Lieutenant*, pp. 70–1. There may be a copyist's confusion between the size of the herd brought into Calais by the earl and the identical number of Philippe's cavalry, which seems relatively low. See also Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 578–9.

<sup>2</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 71; and Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 158–9.<sup>3</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 71; Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, p. 580.

<sup>1347</sup> *Calesia capta est.* Igitur cum uidissent ciues Calesie uecordiam Francorum, subtraxerunt de muris uexilla Francie, et uexilla regis Anglie quartilata de armis Anglie et Francie eleuantes. Feceruntque eiulatum magnum, et uoce ligubri clamauerunt ad regem Edwardum, pro misericordia tanquam gentes fame pereuntes sine subsidio.

*Modus reddicionis Calesie.* Et reddiderunt uillam, se et cuncta sua ad gratiam regis Edwardi scilicet, .iiij. die Augusti anno Domini millesimo .ccc.xlvij., sub tali forma. Venerunt de Calesia reddere se et uillam regi Edwardo dominus Iohannes de Vyenna capitanius cum aliis pluribus, milites uille custodes ueniunt distinctim cum discopertis capitibus, habentes gladios transuersos in manibus. Quorum unus gladius significauit, quod rex ui et armis uillam conquisierat, alter uero, quod subiciebant se ad uoluntatem regis mittere eos ad mortem, uel aliter de eis faceret<sup>a</sup> uotum suum.

Burgenses uero procedebant cum simili forma habentes fines singuli in manibus suis in signum quod rex eos laqueo suspenderet uel salueret ad uoluntatem suam, et uoce altissona regi clamabant quod false et prodiciose uillam tenuerant et defenderant contra eum. Rex uero misericordia motus suscepit eos in gratiam suam et graciose eos tractabat.<sup>1</sup>

Statimque misit uictualia in uillam ad recreationem populi. Set illi erant adeo famelici et fame affecti et adnichilati ac debilitati, et tantum sumpserunt de uictu et potu nocte proxima sequenti moriebantur in dicta uilla plusquam .ccc. persone. Eodem tempore uenerunt ad Calesiam de Flandria in auxilium regis Edwardi .lx. milia armatorum credentes bellum futurum inter duos reges. Set quia uilla reddita fuit, nec ea uice opus habuit de eis, regraciabatur illis datis muneribus, et redire fecit ad propria, ea condicione quod si ei opus aliquando instaret, ipsi premuniti parati adessent.<sup>2</sup>

*Obsidio Calesie durat.* Incepta est obsidio Calesie anno Domini millesimo .ccc.xlvj. die <sup>b</sup>septimo Septembris<sup>b</sup> et capta est quarto die Augusti anno gracie etcetera .xlvij. Statim post hec princeps Wallie Edwardus fecit equitacionem in Francia ab exercitu bene ad .xxx. leucas de terra, et misit igni et flamme totam patriam in circuitu, cepitque predam magnam et duxit Calesiam.

<sup>a</sup> de eis repeated after faceret

<sup>b-b</sup> Entered in enlarged script by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 581–2, follows Jean le Bel in taking Edward's ferocity at face value. Knighton, probably like Edward himself, treats it as an exemplary pantomime.

*Calais taken: how Calais surrendered.* Therefore when the citizens of Calais perceived the folly of the French they removed the banners of France from their walls, and raised the banners of the king of England with the arms of England and France quartered. And they made great lamentation, and with mournful voice called upon King Edward for mercy, as men dying of hunger without hope of succour.

*The manner in which Calais was surrendered.* And then they surrendered the town, themselves, and all that was theirs to King Edward's grace, namely upon the fourth day of August AD 1347, in this wise. There came out of Calais to surrender themselves and the town to King Edward the captain, Sire Jean de Vienne, and many others. The knights of the garrison came separately with their heads bared, holding swords reversed in their hands, the one sword signifying that the king had conquered the town by force of arms, and the other that they submitted themselves to the king's will, that he might put them to death, or do with them otherwise as he would.

The townsmen came in a like wise, each having a cord in his hands to signify that the king might hang him in the noose, or spare him, just as he would, and they all called upon the king in a loud voice saying that falsely and traitorously had they held and defended the town against him. And truly the king moved by compassion took them into his grace, and graciously treated them.<sup>1</sup>

And he at once sent food into the town for the relief of the population, but they were so famished and reduced by hunger, and destroyed and enfeebled, and they devoured such quantities of food and drink that in the night that followed more than 300 people died in the town. At that time 60,000 men-at-arms came to Calais out of Flanders to King Edward's aid, believing that there would be a battle between the two kings, but because the town had surrendered and there was no immediate use for them, they were thanked and rewarded and sent home, on the understanding that if need ever arose, they would be ready to come when they were called.<sup>2</sup>

*The length of the siege of Calais.* The siege of Calais began on 7 September AD 1346, and the town was taken on 4 August in the year of grace etc. '47. Immediately afterwards Edward, prince of Wales, made a raid into France with his army over some thirty leagues, and put all the countryside thereabout to fire and flame, and took a great booty and brought it to Calais.

<sup>2</sup> On some problems in co-operating with the Flemings, see T. M. Chotzen, 'De Vlamingen voor Calais', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, vii (1928), 1485–91.

1347 *Rex habet lanam de abbatiiis.* Interim rex misit clericos suos per  
 regnum Anglie ad abbatias et prioratus cum literis regis prelatoriis  
 quantum auxiliari regem de lanis suis uellent de suo dono de saccis  
 lanarum, sicque habuit de domo nostra Leycestrensi .iij. saccos de  
 fo. 153<sup>v</sup> prece et alios .iij. saccos cum communi collectura, ut infra / patet. Isto  
 tempore misit rex in Angliam et habuit lanas ubique uidelicet uiginti  
 mille saccarum. In<sup>a</sup> comitatu Leycestrie, .ccc.xxxij. saccos,  
 in comitatu Derbeye .cclij. saccos. Simili modo fiebat de singulis  
 comitatibus.<sup>1</sup>

Concessa est regi eodem tempore decima biennalis de clero. Et  
 preter hec per breue regis, submoniti sunt uenire Londoniis coram  
 rege et consilio suo omnes mercatores regni et de qualibet ciuitate et  
 burgo .x. aut .xij. potenciores burgenses, et taxati sunt secundum illud  
 quod possent subportare.<sup>2</sup> In Augusto sequenti comes Warwyche fecit  
 uiagium ab exercitu regis ad uillam Sancti Omeri et perdidit multos  
 armatos et sagittarios ad numerum .c.lxxx. uirorum, pro eo quod  
 inconspicue nimis precedebant exercitum.<sup>3</sup>

*Magna caliditas.* Eodem tempore per totum mensem Augusti extitit  
 tanta caliditas quod Anglici super obsidione Calesie pre defectu dulcis  
 aque spissim moriebantur, tam maiores quam minores ad magnam  
 summam.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex ponit thesauros Calesie in custodiam.* Rex Edwardus fecit con-  
 gregare omnes thesauros et alia preciosa uille Calesie in unam securam  
 domum, et ponit super eis custodiam. Dominus Iohannes de Vyenna  
 cum .xij. de maioribus custodibus uille missi sunt Londoniis in turrim  
 ad carcerem.

*Accidit incendium in exercitu Calesie.* In crastino Sancti Laurentii  
 proximo precedenti accidit apud Calesiam in exercitu dolorosum  
 infortunium ignis subitanei et consumpsit tentoria, nullo remedio  
 preualente. Et cum ad tentorium regis ignis excandisset quasi loco  
 parcens transsaltauit ad alia tentoria concremando, regie mansioni non  
 ledens. Set cetera uictualia irremediabiliter consumens cum auro et  
 argento atque aliis iocalibus et necessariis uino arcubus et sagittis,  
 unde oportuit eos facere nouam prouidenciam de uictualibus et aliis  
 necessariis. Quapropter comites et alii magnates redierunt in Angliam  
 ad prouidendum sibi de necessariis, set rex Edwardus semper stabat

<sup>a</sup> I superimposed on i by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See *CFR 1347-56*, pp. 1-15.

*The king has wool from the abbeys.* Meanwhile King Edward sent his  
 clerks to abbeys and priories throughout the kingdom of England,  
 with letters from the king asking what aid they would give him in  
 sacks of wool from their wool-crop, and so he had from our house of  
 Leicester three sacks by that request, and another three sacks from the  
 common collection, as appears below. At the same time the king sent  
 into England and got wool everywhere, namely 20,000 sacks: 333  
 sacks from the county of Leicester, 252 sacks from the county of  
 Derby, and so on from each county.<sup>1</sup>

At that time also the king was granted a biennial tenth from the  
 clergy. And furthermore all the merchants of the kingdom were  
 summoned to London by the king's writ to appear before the king in  
 council, and ten or twelve of the greater townsmen from every city  
 and borough, and they were taxed according to what they could  
 afford.<sup>2</sup> In the August following [Aug. 1347] the earl of Warwick rode  
 out from the king's army to the town of Saint-Omer, and lost many  
 men-at-arms and archers, to the number of 180 men, because they ill-  
 advisedly went too far ahead of the main force.<sup>3</sup>

*A heat-wave.* At that time throughout the month of August it was  
 so hot that the English encamped at Calais died for want of fresh  
 water in great numbers, both the greater and the lesser sort.<sup>4</sup>

*The king puts the treasure of Calais in safe-keeping.* King Edward  
 caused all the treasure and other valuables in Calais to be gathered  
 into one secure building, and set a guard over them. Sire Jean de  
 Vienne and twelve senior officers of the town were sent to London  
 and imprisoned in the Tower.

*A fire in the camp at Calais.* On the morrow [11 Aug. 1347] of St  
 Laurence following, by grievous mischance there was a sudden fire in  
 the camp at Calais, which irresistibly consumed the tents. But when it  
 came to the king's tent it seemed to spare that place, and leapt over it  
 to burn other tents and not to harm the king's dwelling, but the rest of  
 the supplies were utterly consumed, with gold and silver and other  
 jewels, and provisions, wine, and bows and arrows, so that it was  
 necessary to provide new stores of food and other material. Wherefore  
 the earls and other magnates returned to England to recruit supplies,

<sup>2</sup> On the negotiations over wool in the spring of 1347, and the year's wrangling which followed, see *CCR 1346-9*, pp. 290-1; and Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 200-1.

<sup>3</sup> See further Sumption, *Trial by Battle*, pp. 583-5.

<sup>4</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 141.

1347 in obsidione, miles stabilis et immobilis nulla necessitudine uincibilis.<sup>1</sup>

*Caristia bladorum.* Eodem tempore per mensem circa festum Sancti Petri Ad uincula fuit magna caristia bladorum in regno Anglie, set non durauit nisi per mensem, nouis fructibus se emergentibus. Concessa est regi .xv. per regnum.<sup>2</sup>

Post festum Sancti Michaelis facta est trewga inter reges Anglie et Francie usque ad festum Sancti Barnabe proximum sequens.<sup>3</sup> Rex Edwardus ordinauit custodiam super uillam Calesie scilicet trecentos uiros armatos, .vij.c. sagittarios. Comes Derbeyne Henricus habuit de retencione sua .vij.c. armatorum et duo milia sagittariorum usque ad trewgam captam, de quibus .xxx. ad banerium, et tantam tenuit hospitalitatem quod quolibet die fundebat in expensis centum libras et ultra per octo uel .ix. marcas. Et in recessu comitis post trewgam captam, inuentum est per comptum ipsum expendisse plusquam .xvij. milia librarum / sterlingorum de proprio errario, ultra stipendia de rege capta.<sup>4</sup>

*Redeunt Angli de Calesia in Angliam.* Post festum Omnium Sanctorum redeunt omnes magnates de Calesia in Angliam et magnum dispendium passi sunt in mari et multi naufragium. Nam multi milites, armigeri, sagittarii, et mercatores passi sunt ruinam submersionis in mari cum equis et uictualibus et aliis diuiciis.<sup>5</sup>

Post festum Epiphanie rex Edwardus celebrauit parliamentum Londoniis et pretermisit illud usque ad medium Quadragesime.<sup>6</sup>

*Papa prefecit regem Boemie imperatorem.* Toto illo tempore papa procurauit totis nisibus facere filium regis Boemie qui occubauerat in bello de Cressy imperatorem romanum pro uindicta mortis patris sui. Et hoc totum preter et contra uoluntatem eorum qui fuerant ordinati electores ad id implendum. Et misit Carolum de "Hyspania cum bulla papali ad archiepiscopum Colonie ut ipsum consecraret in imperatorem. Et sacrauit eum post festum Purificacionis prope Coloniam per .iiij. leucas.

*Rex Edwardus eligitur in imperatorem.* Quam ob causam<sup>a</sup> plures

<sup>a</sup> Three lines of text on fo. 154 have been erased. The scribe repeated the whole passage from Hyspania to uitam redimerunt on fo. 154, where the wording from Hyspania to Quam ob causam appears to be identical with the passage expunged

<sup>1</sup> The fire did not destroy all the plunder: *Walsingham*, i. 272.

<sup>2</sup> There was no new grant in the autumn, as Parliament did not meet between Mar. 1347 and Jan. 1348: *HBC* 561. See below, n. 6.

1347 but King Edward stayed in camp, a stalwart knight, not to be moved by any compulsion.<sup>1</sup>

*A dearth of grain.* At that time, for a month about the feast of St Peter Enchained [1 Aug. 1347], there was a great dearth of grain in England, but it lasted no more than a month as the new harvest came in. The king was granted a fifteenth by the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

After Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1347] a truce was made between the kings of England and France until the feast of St Barnabas next following [11 June 1348].<sup>3</sup> King Edward ordered a garrison for the town of Calais, of 300 men-at-arms and 700 archers. Earl Henry of Derby had in his retinue 800 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers when the truce was made, of whom thirty were bannerets, and he maintained such hospitality that every day he laid out in expenses £100, and more by eight or nine marks. And on his return after the truce was made it was found by audit that he had spent £17,000 sterling of his own treasure over and above the stipend he received from the king.<sup>4</sup>

*The English return to England from Calais.* After the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1347] all the lords returned from Calais to England and they suffered great losses at sea, and many were shipwrecked. For many knights and esquires, archers, and merchants suffered ruin by being cast into the sea with their horses and supplies and other valuables.<sup>5</sup>

After the feast of the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1348] King Edward held a parliament in London, and adjourned it until the middle of Lent.<sup>6</sup>

*The pope makes the king of Bohemia emperor.* All that while the pope was trying by every means to make the son of that king of Bohemia who fell at Crécy the Roman Emperor, to requite his father's death, and that in despite, and even against the will, of those whose business it was to elect the emperor. And he sent Charles of [Bohemia] to the archbishop of Cologne with a papal bull saying that he should consecrate him as emperor, and the archbishop consecrated him after the feast of the Purification [2 Feb. 1348], about four leagues from Cologne.

*King Edward chosen as emperor.* Whereupon many of the magnates

<sup>3</sup> Lucas, *Low Countries*, pp. 571–2; for the appointment of the English negotiators, who included Lancaster, Huntingdon, and Stafford, see *CPR* 1345–8, p. 562.

<sup>4</sup> On Lancaster's retinue, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, App. iii, pp. 227–9. The term *ad baneriam* appears to be a neologism.

<sup>5</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 141.

<sup>6</sup> The parliament which met in Jan. ended in Feb., and a new parliament assembled on 31 Mar. 1348: *HBC* 561.



1347 magnates de imperio ex comuni assensu miserunt nuncios in Angliam ad regem Edwardum, et ipsum promouere cupiebant in imperatorem uelut dignissimum, strenuissimum, et ualidissimum militem sub Cristianissimo.<sup>1</sup>

*Moneta loysburnes.* Lagena uini uendebatur ad .xvj. denarios. Eodem anno defertur in Angliam per alienigenas et indigenas mercatores falsa moneta que Loysburnes<sup>a</sup> appellata est. Vnde apud Londonias multi mercatores et alii plures tracti sunt et suspensi et quidam magno precio uitam redimerunt.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 155<sup>r</sup> 1348 / Anno<sup>b</sup> gracie millesimo .ccc.xlviii. In parlamento Londoniis concessa est regi Edwardo quintadecima trienalis et decima de burgis soluendi in .ij. annis.<sup>3</sup> Iohanna filia regis maritata est filio regis Hispanie et ibidem deducta.<sup>4</sup> Cito post dominus Thomas de Dagworthe adduxit ad turrim Londoniarum Carolum de Bloys de Britannia prisonarium, qui Carolus usurpauerat ducatum Britannie. Captique sunt cum eo triginta de maioribus Britannie, et circiter .v.c. occisi per dictum Thomam. Rex Edwardus concessit treugas triennes ad instanciam pape et rogatum.<sup>5</sup>

*Hastiludia ubique in regno.* Tunc nobiles regni ceperunt se dare iocis hastiludiorum ex omni parte regni, prisonarii uero Francigene strenue se miscuerunt nostris.<sup>6</sup>

*Rex Edwardus eligitur in imperatorem.* Eodem tempore Almannici elegerunt regem Edwardum in imperatorem, et miserunt solemnes nuncios in Angliam ad regem. Quod cum regina audisset, anxia ex hoc effecta multum lamentabatur. Rex misit consanguineum suum comitem Northamptonam in Hispaniam ad sciscitandum de predictis. Et compertum est procuratum fuisse per inimicos regis, ut sic eum frustrarent ab prosecutione iuris hereditatis sue in regno Francie, ut gwerra Francie postposita occuparetur in guerra contra filium regis Boemie quem papa erexerat in imperatorem, hac de causa, ut credebatur, ut patrem suum occisum apud Cressi uindicaret.

Verumtamen Almannici<sup>c</sup> concionati sunt regem Edwardum meliorem principem sub Cristianissimo. Rex totaliter renuit imperium, dicens se malle prosequi ius suum. Marcheus de Iulers

<sup>a</sup> Lussheburne on fo. 154<sup>r</sup>      <sup>b</sup> The greater part of fo. 154v is blank. The text is resumed at this point on fo. 155<sup>r</sup>, by a new hand      <sup>c</sup> Inserted or superimposed by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> On Knighton's dramatically simplified account of the exchanges between Edward and the German princes, see Trautz, *Könige von England*, pp. 344–9.

<sup>2</sup> See further G. C. Brooke, *English Coins* (3rd edn., London, 1950), p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> See *CFR* 1347–56, pp. 90–2.

of the empire by common assent sent envoys to England to King Edward, and wished to make him emperor as the most worthy, enterprising, and accomplished knight in all Christendom.<sup>1</sup>

*Luxemburger coins.* A firkin of wine sold then for 16s. That same year there were circulated in England by both native and foreign merchants false coins called Lussheburnes, wherefore many merchants and others were drawn and hanged in London, and others bought their lives at a great price.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of grace 1348 in the parliament in London King Edward was granted a triennial fifteenth and a tenth from the boroughs to be paid in two years.<sup>3</sup> Joan the king's daughter was married to the king of Spain's son and taken thither.<sup>4</sup> Shortly afterwards Sir Thomas Dagworth brought Charles de Blois of Brittany a prisoner to the Tower of London, the which Charles had usurped the duchy of Brittany, and there were taken with him thirty of the greater men of Brittany, and some 500 slain by the said Thomas. King Edward granted a truce for three years at the instance and request of the pope.<sup>5</sup>

*Tournaments throughout the realm.* Then the lords of the realm began to devote themselves to the sport of tournaments in every part of the kingdom, and the French prisoners eagerly joined in with our men.<sup>6</sup>

*King Edward chosen as emperor.* At the same time the Germans elected King Edward emperor, and formally sent ambassadors to England to the king, and when the queen heard of it, it caused her anxiety and much distress. The king sent his cousin the earl of Northampton into [Germany] to investigate the matter, and it was found that his enemies had contrived it that they might prevent him from seeking his hereditary right in the kingdom of France, so that he would abandon the war in France to make war upon the son of the king of Bohemia whom the pope had raised to be emperor (to compensate him, as it was thought, for his father's death at Crécy).

However, the Germans truly believed King Edward to be the finest prince in all Christendom, but King Edward wholly refused the empire, saying that he would rather seek his rights. The margrave of

<sup>4</sup> Joan died of the plague at Bordeaux in Aug. 1348: Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 8–9. Her betrothal was one consequence of Lancaster's mission to Spain in 1344: above, p. 46.

<sup>5</sup> See the patent dated 15 May 1348 in *Foedera*, 1344–61, p. 161.

<sup>6</sup> On the celebratory tournaments of 1348 and their connection with the Order of the Garter, see J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, pp. 76–91. See also Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 68, 105.



adhuc expectat responsum a rege et rediit multum delens in Hispaniam, frustratus a suo uelle et proposito.<sup>1</sup>

*Scoti ueniunt redimere regem suum.* Tunc ueniunt Scoti redimere Dauid regem suum. Quibus breuiter responsum se oportere satisfacere pro dampnis que intulerant regi Anglie et regno, toto precedenti tempore, et deinde procedere possent ad redemptionem regis sui. Scoti uero absque mora repatriaerunt, et populum congregantes, uenerunt in Angliam multa (mala)<sup>a</sup> facientes, patrias uastando, incendendo uillas, populum<sup>b</sup> occidendo, et multos in lectis suis dormitantes, in Scociam prisonarios abducendo, et quasi sub importabili redemptione concludendo.

Quam ob causam proclamata sunt hastiludia apud Berwycum, ut Scotos sic prouocarent uenire in Angliam. Et cum Scoti cum solita magna fortitudine ad hastiludia aduentarent, boriales se obuiam eis dederunt, oppugnatisque illis, quamplures occiderunt. Deinde quidam magnates boriales intrauerunt in Scociam et comitatum de Caryk predantes, uastitati dederunt.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem tempore .viii.c. uiri armati de Francia intrauerunt in Vasconiam, et multa mala excercuerunt, gentes sine capite ut dicebatur, uolebant subdere terram suo proprio dominatui. At Thomas Cok senescallus Vasconie nomine regis Anglie, congregatis Vasconicis et Anglicis, se ultro dedit eis obuiam, et repentino insultu, eos compulit in fugam. Et cepit de melioribus .xxxv. et occidit circiter .cc.<sup>3</sup>

*Thomas de Wyndusor natus est.* Eodem tempore natus est regi filius nomine Thomas de Wyndusore.<sup>4</sup>

*Nota de dominabus in hastiludiis.* Illis diebus ortus est rumor et ingens clamor in populo<sup>d</sup> eo quod ubi hastiludia prosequantur, quasi in quolibet loco dominarum cohors affuit, quasi comes interludii in diuerso et mirabili apparatu uirili, ad numerum quandoque quasi .xl. quandoque .l. dominarum, de speciosioribus et pulcioribus, non melioribus tocuis regni, in tunicis partitis scilicet una parte / de una secta, et altera de alia secta, cum capuciis breuibus et liripiis ad modum cordarum circa capud aduolutis, et zonis argento uel auro

<sup>a</sup> There is a caret, but no insertion T      <sup>b</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser  
<sup>c</sup> Written over an erasure      <sup>d</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See further Trautz, *Könige von England*, pp. 351 and n. The repeated use of *Hispania* for *Almania* is a curious aberration: cf. above, p. 46 n.1.

<sup>2</sup> Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 156. On the confusion of Knighton's material on David,

Jülich had always hoped that the king would accept, and he returned to [Germany] much grieved that he had not achieved his wish and his purpose.<sup>1</sup>

*The Scots come to ransom their king.* Then the Scots came to redeem David, their king. They were told abruptly that they would have to provide compensation for the harm that they had done to the king of England and to the kingdom before that time, and that then they could proceed to redeem their king. Thereupon the Scots hastened home, and gathering their forces made many raids on England, devastating the countryside, burning towns, slaying people, and capturing many, sleeping in their beds, whom they carried off to Scotland and held to impossible ransoms.

And therefore a tournament was proclaimed at Berwick, to entice the Scots into England. And when the Scots came to the tournament in great strength the Northerners lay in ambush for them, and attacked them and slew many of them. Then some of the northern lords invaded Scotland and pillaged the county of Carrick, and laid it waste.<sup>2</sup>

At that time 800 men-at-arms invaded Gascony from France and did much harm: leaderless men, it was said, who were seeking to bring the land under their own lordship. And Thomas Cok, the seneschal of Gascony, in the king of England's name gathered Gascons and English on his own initiative and lay in wait for them, and in a surprise attack put them to flight, and captured thirty-five of the better sort and slew some 200.<sup>3</sup>

[*William*] of Windsor born. At that same time the king's son called [William] of Windsor was born.<sup>4</sup>

*A tale of women at tournaments.* In those days a rumour arose and great excitement amongst the people because, when tournaments were held, at almost every place a troop of ladies would appear, as though they were a company of players, dressed in men's clothes of striking richness and variety, to the number of forty or sometimes fifty such damsels, all very eye-catching and beautiful, though hardly of the kingdom's better sort. They were dressed in parti-coloured tunics, of one colour on one side and a different one on the other, with

especially between events in 1348-9 and those of 1352-3, see Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', pp. 132-4.

<sup>3</sup> Cok was Lancaster's own appointee as seneschal of Gascony: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 184.

<sup>4</sup> William's birth, in May 1348, was celebrated by one of the summer tournaments, but he did not survive the year: J. Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, p. 85.

bene circumstipatis in extranverso uentris sub umbilico habentes cultellos quos daggerios wlgaliter dicunt, in powchiis desuper impositis. Et sic procedebant in electis<sup>a</sup> dextrariis uel aliis equis bene comptis de loco ad locum hastiludiorum. Et tali modo expendebant et deuastabant bona sua, et corpora sua ludibriis et scuriosis lasciuiis uexitabant, ut rumor populi<sup>b</sup> personabat.

Et sic nec Deum uerebantur, nec uerecundam populi<sup>c</sup> uocem erubescabant, laxato matrimonialis pudicie freno. Nec hii quos sequebantur animaduertebant quantam graciā et prefulgidam expeditionem Deus, omnium bonorum largitor Anglorum milicie contulerat, contra<sup>d</sup> omnes inimicos undecunque eis aduersantes et quali priuilegio triumphalis uictorie<sup>e</sup> in omni loco illos pretulerat. Sed Deus in hiis sicut in cunctis aliis affuit mirabili remedio, eorum dissipando dissolutionem. Nam loca et tempora ad hec uana assignata, imbrum resolutione tonitruī et fulguris coruscacione, et uariarum tempestatum mirabili uentilacione preocupauit.<sup>1</sup>

*Cardinales habent subsidium.* Eodem tempore duo cardinales qui uenerant apud Calesiam pro concordia facienda habuerunt .viii. denarios ad marcam tam de spiritualibus quam de temporalibus. Episcopus Lyncolniensis ex gracia pape habuit .vj. denarios ad marcam in diocesi sua.<sup>2</sup>

*Mortalitas generalis.* Isto anno et anno sequenti erat generalis mortalitas hominum in uniuerso mundo. Et primo incepit in India, deinde in Tharsis, deinde ad Saracenos postremo ad Cristianos et Iudeos. Ita quod in spacio unius anni, uidelicet a Pascha usque ad Pascham ut rumor in curia Romana procrepauerat, mortui sunt in illis remotis regionibus .viii. millia legiones preter Cristianos quasi subita morte.<sup>3</sup>

*Rex Tharsis proponat se Cristianum fieri.* Rex Tharsis uidens tam subitam et inauditam stragem suorum, iter arripuit cum multitudine copiosa nobilium uersus Auinioniam ad papam disponens se Cristianum fieri et baptizari<sup>f</sup> a papa, credens uindictam Dei

<sup>a</sup> Repeated after dextrariis    <sup>b</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser    <sup>c</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> con superimposed by reviser    <sup>e</sup> t superimposed by reviser  
<sup>f</sup> p superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's informants were probably generalizing from some one spectacular episode, though Britton seems mistaken in locating it in Berwick (Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 141). If it occurred at all, the spectacle is unlikely to have been frequently repeated, nor is it likely that it was repeatedly rained off. See also above, p. lv n. 90. For another instance of chivalry and fancy dress in the rain, at Eglinton Castle in 1839, see I. Anstruther, *The Knight and the Umbrella* (London, 1963).

short hoods, and liripipes wound about their heads like strings, with belts of gold and silver clasped about them, and even with the kind of knives commonly called daggers slung low across their bellies, in pouches. And thus they paraded themselves at tournaments on fine chargers and other well-arrayed horses, and consumed and spent their substance, and wantonly and with disgraceful lubricity displayed their bodies, as the rumour ran.

And thus, neither fearing God nor abashed by the voice of popular outrage, they slipped the traces of matrimonial restraint. Nor did those whom they accompanied consider what grace and outstanding blessings God, the fount of all good things, had bestowed upon English knighthood in all its successful encounters with its enemies, and what exceptional triumphs of victory He had allowed them everywhere. But God in this as in all things had a marvellous remedy to dispel their wantonness, for at the times and places appointed for those vanities He visited cloudbursts, and thunder and flashing lightning, and tempests of astonishing violence upon them.<sup>1</sup>

*Cardinals have a subsidy.* At the same time two cardinals who had come to Calais to make peace had 8*d.* in the mark from both spiritualities and temporalities. The bishop of Lincoln, by the pope's grace, had 6*d.* in the mark from his diocese.<sup>2</sup>

*A universal mortality.* In this year and the next there was a general plague upon mankind throughout the world. It began in India, then spread to Tartary, and then to the Saracens, and finally to the Christians and the Jews, so that in the space of a single year, from one Easter to the next, as the report ran in the papal court, some 8,000 legions of people died suddenly in those distant parts, besides Christians.<sup>3</sup>

*The king of Tartary proposes to turn Christian.* The king of Tartary, seeing the sudden and unparalleled slaughter of his subjects, made his way with a great number of his nobles towards Avignon, proposing to turn Christian and be baptized by the pope, as he thought that God's

<sup>2</sup> On the abortive negotiations, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 77. On bishops' revenues and resources, see R. N. Swanson, 'Episcopal income from spiritualities in later medieval England: the evidence from the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield', *Midland History*, xiii (1988), 1-20.

<sup>3</sup> An authoritative account of the pandemic as a whole is wanting. L. F. Hirst, *The Conquest of Plague* (Oxford, 1953), is a history of epidemiology, scientifically sound but summary in its treatment of the Middle Ages. P. Ziegler, *The Black Death* (3rd edn., London, 1982), is a comprehensive popular survey of the outbreak in Western Europe. See also below, p. 96 n. 3.

1348 *populum*<sup>a</sup> suum eneruasse propter eorum malam incredulitatem. Igitur cum fecisset uiginti dietas itinerando, audiuit quod lues mortaliter inualuit<sup>b</sup> inter Cristianos sicut inter alias naciones, uerso calle ultra non progreditur in illo itinere, set repatriare festinauit. Cristiani uero a tergo eos insequentes, occiderunt de illis quasi .ij. milia.

Mortui sunt Auinonie uno die mille .ccc.xij. persone secundum computacionem factam coram papa. Item alio die .cccc. persone et ultra.<sup>1</sup> De fratribus predicatoribus in regione Prouincie in .xl. mortui sunt .ccc.lvij. Item ad Mounpeleres de centum .xl. non remanserunt nisi .vij. fratres. Apud Magdalene de .viii.xx. remanserunt .vij. fratres, et tamen satis. Apud Marsiliam de .vij.xx. et .x. minoribus, non remansit solus unus qui nunciaret ceteris, bene quidem.<sup>2</sup> De Carmelitis mortui sunt Auinione .lxvj. antequam ciues casum euentus perciperent. Credebat namque quod alter alterum peremisset. De heremitis Augustiniani non remansit unus in Auinonia. Nec cura. Eodem tempore eadem pestis inualuit in Anglia incipiens in autumno in quibusdam locis, et discurrens per patrias finiuit eodem tempore anno sequenti.<sup>3</sup>

fo. 156<sup>r</sup> *Terre motus.* Eodem tempore<sup>c</sup> apud Corinthum et Achaiam plures ciuitates obrute sunt et terra operuit<sup>d</sup> eas. Castella et opida fracta et frustata et absorta sunt. Montes in Cipria in unum coequati sunt, ita quod cursus aquarum impediti fuerunt et sunt, et multe ci/uitates submerse et uille destructe. Similiter cum frater quidam predicaret 1349 apud Napiles, tota ciuitas destructa est terre motu et tempestate, et subito operta est terra, sicuti solet lapis iactus in aqua. Et mortui sunt omnes cum fratre predicante, excepto uno fratre, qui fugiens euasit in unum ortum extra uillam. Et hec omnia operabatur terre motus.<sup>4</sup>

Tunc misit papa literas pro pace reformanda inter regna, ut sic euaderent uindicem Dei dexteram, asseuerans hec omnia propter peccata hominibus euenisse. Quam ob causam rex misit comitem Lancastrie et comitem<sup>e</sup> de Norffolk cum aliis magnatibus apud

<sup>a</sup> pop superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> t added or superimposed by a later hand

<sup>c</sup> Superimposed by reviser

<sup>d</sup> op superimposed by a later hand

<sup>e</sup> omi superimposed

by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> B. Guillemain, *La Cour pontificale d'Avignon, 1309-76: Étude d'une société* (Paris, 1962), pp. 447-9, 556-8. On Clement VI's exemplary response to the crisis in Avignon, see S. Baluzius, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat (Paris, 1914), i. 251-2.

<sup>2</sup> The casual contempt in these asides, which are not manifest interpolations in the text, is at odds with Knighton's general attitude towards the friars.

judgement had been visited upon his people for their unbelief. Therefore when he had travelled for twenty days and heard that the plague was as fatal to Christians as to other people he shrewdly turned about, abandoned his journey, and hastened to his own country; but the Christians pursued him and slew some 2,000 of his people.

There died at Avignon in one day, according to a reckoning made before the pope, 1,312, and on another day 400 and more.<sup>1</sup> Of the Dominicans in Provence 358 died during Lent [March-April 1348], and of 140 friars at Montpellier only seven survived. At Magdelaine only seven friars remained out of eight score [160] (which was enough). At Marseilles of seven score and ten [150] Minorites, truly, only one remained to tell the tale (and just as well).<sup>2</sup> Of the Carmelites sixty-six perished at Avignon before the citizens knew what was happening, for they were believed to have slain one another. Not one of the Augustinian friars, nor yet their order, survived in Avignon. At the same time the pestilence raged in England, beginning at several places in the autumn, and running through the country to end at the same time the next year.<sup>3</sup>

*Earthquakes.* Meanwhile at Corinth and in Achaea several towns were destroyed, and the earth covered them. Castles and towns were rent and shattered, and swallowed up. Mountains in Cyprus were levelled, so that the courses of rivers were blocked, and many cities were flooded, and villages washed away. Similarly when a certain friar was preaching at Naples the whole city was destroyed by earthquake and tempest, and the earth opened suddenly as though a stone were thrown into water, and everyone perished with the friar who was preaching except one other friar, who fled and escaped into a garden outside the town. And all that was the work of the earthquake.<sup>4</sup>

Then the pope sent letters seeking to restore peace between the kingdoms, that they might escape the vengeance of God's right hand, asserting that all those misfortunes had come upon mankind because of their sins. Whereupon the king sent the earl of Lancaster and the

<sup>3</sup> For the outbreak in England, see J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *A History of Bubonic Plague in the British Isles* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 37-44. Shrewsbury's observations are those of a bacteriologist, but they should be read in the light of the cogent reviews by C. Morris, *HJ* xiv (1971), 205-15; and P. A. Slack, *EHR* lxxxvii (1972), 112-15. He seems in particular to have underestimated the incidence of pneumonic plague, especially in the second outbreak, in 1360-1.

<sup>4</sup> The earthquake at Naples, in Sept. 1349, followed violent and extensive shocks in central and eastern Europe in the previous year: Mallett, 'Earthquakes', p. 40.

1348 Calesiam tractare de pace. Proceres Franci morabantur apud Sanctum Omerum.<sup>1</sup>

Sed medio tempore communes Flandrie cum Francis et quibusdam Flandris cum fraude uenerunt apud Brygges et decollauerunt et suspenderunt Flandros quos reppererunt tenuisse cum rege Anglie. Rex Edwardus congregauit populum uolens adire Flandriam, ut destrueret uiros desertores, iterque arripuit. Sed comes Lancastrie occurrit ei dicens uniuersos Flandros ad regem conuersos sub certis conuencionibus,<sup>a</sup> sicut infra patebit. Concordatum est eciam quod certe persone de Anglicis et Francis deberent tractare de pace inter regna ab eo tempore, usque ad mensem Septembris. Quo tempore si concordia non se caperet, corona Francie afferri deberet ad certum locum regni Francie per consensum parcium, et ibi per bellum campestre absque ulteriori<sup>b</sup> rebellacione nancisci.<sup>2</sup>

1349 Tunc pestis dolorosa penetrauit maritima per Southamtonam et uenit Bristollam et moriebantur quasi tota ualitudo uille quasi subita morte preocupati. Nam pauci erant qui lectum occupabant ultra .iij. dies, uel duos dies, aut dimidium diem. Deinde mors ipsa seua prorupit circumquaque secundum (cursum)<sup>c</sup> solis. Et moriebantur apud Leycestriam in parua parochia Sancti Leonardi plus quam .xix.xx. In parochia Sancte Crucis plusquam .cccc. In parochia Sancte Margarete Leycestrie plusquam .vij.c. Et sic in singulis parochiis in magna multitudine.<sup>3</sup>

*Episcopus Lyncolniensis dat potestatem capellanis plenum absoluere.* Tunc episcopus Lyncolniensis misit per totum episcopatum et dedit generalem potestatem omnibus et singulis sacerdotibus, tam regularibus quam secularibus, audire confessiones et quosque absoluere, plena autoritate et integra episcopali, excepto solo casu debiti. In quo casu, si potens esset, per se dum uiueret satisfaceret, aut certe alii de bonis suis post mortem eius id implerent.

*Papa concedit generalem remissionem.* Similiter papa concessit plenam remissionem de cunctis peccatis cui libet in periculo mortis

<sup>a</sup> con superimposed by reviser

<sup>c</sup> Suppl. Twysden; caret in T

<sup>b</sup> ori superimposed by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> On the complex negotiations between the English, the Flemings, and the French, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 77–81. The talks were held in Dunkirk and Boulogne.

<sup>2</sup> It was the intervention of Louis de Male and the French in Flanders, in disregard of the truce, that occasioned the negotiations at Dunkirk and Boulogne in the autumn of 1348 (see above, n. 1). Knighton is probably referring here to Lancaster's preliminary discussions with Raoul de Brienne, count of Eu and Guines: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 77–8.

1348 earl of Suffolk to Calais, with other magnates, to negotiate a peace. The French nobles lodged at Saint-Omer.<sup>1</sup>

However, in the mean time the commons of Flanders, with the French and certain other Flemings, gained Bruges by deceit, and beheaded and hanged those Flemings whom they found to have supported the king of England. King Edward assembled his army, wishing to go to Flanders and destroy those who had turned against him, and took to the road. But the earl of Lancaster intercepted him, to say that all the Flemings had been brought over to the king, on certain terms, as will appear below. Also it was agreed that representatives of England and of France should negotiate a peace between the kingdoms from that time to September when, if they could not agree, the crown of France should be taken to some place within the kingdom of France, with the consent of both parties, and there awarded by formal battle, without further contention.<sup>2</sup>

Then a lamentable plague travelled by sea to Southampton and on to Bristol, where almost the whole population of the town perished, snatched away, as it were, by sudden death, for there were few who kept their beds for more than two or three days, or even half a day. And thence cruel death spread everywhere with the passage of the sun. There died in Leicester, in the little parish of St Leonard's, more than nineteen score [380], 400 in the parish of Holy Cross [St Martin's], and in St Margaret's parish 700, and so on in every parish, in great numbers.<sup>3</sup>

*The bishop of Lincoln gives chaplains power to absolve.* Then the bishop of Lincoln sent word throughout the diocese and gave a general power to all priests, both regular and secular, to hear confessions, and full episcopal authority to absolve, excepting only in matters of debt, in which the debtor should make restitution, if he were able, while he lived, or others should be appointed to do so, with his goods, after his death.

*The pope grants a general remission.* In the same way the pope granted full remission of all sins to any in danger of death, upon a

<sup>3</sup> The infection came to Melcombe Regis in June 1348, in two ships, one Bristol-owned: A. Gransden, 'A fourteenth-century chronicle from the Grey Friars at Lynn', *EHR* lxxii (1957), 270–88, at p. 274. See also J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *Bubonic Plague*, pp. 37–9. The Anonimale chronicle reports Bristol as the original point of entry in 1348: *Anon. Chron.*, p. 30. Knighton's figures for Leicester apparently refer to an outbreak there in 1349. Though they may be exaggerated, they are amongst the most explicit that we have for the local incidence of the plague.

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existenti. Vna sola uice esse absolutus, et concessit hanc potestatem durare usque ad Pascham proxime sequens, et cuilibet liceret eligere sibi confessorem ad placitum.<sup>1</sup>

*Lues ouium.* Eodem anno fuit magna lues ouium ubique in regno, adeo quod in uno loco moriebantur in pastura una plusquam .v. millia ouium. Et in tantum putrescebant, quod nec bestia nec auis tangere uolebat.

*Leue precium omnium rerum.* Et erat leue precium de cunctis rebus, pre mortis timore. Nam ualde pauci erant qui de diuiciis uel quibuslibet rebus curam agerent.<sup>a</sup> Nam homo posset habere unum equum qui ante ualuerat .xl. solidos pro dimidia marca, .j. bouem crassum et pinguem pro .iiij. solidis, .j. uaccam pro .xij. denariis, .j. iuuenam pro .vj. denariis, .j. multonem pinguem pro .iiij. denariis, .j. ouem pro .iiij. denariis, .j. agnum pro .ij. denariis, .j. magnum porcum pro .v. denariis, .j. petram lane pro .ix. denariis. Et oues / et boues per campos et inter segetes uagabant errantes, et non erat qui eas agendo fugaret aut coligeret. Sed in sulcis deuiis et sepibus morte perierunt, numero incomputabili per uniuersas regiones pre defectu custodis. Quia tantus defectus extitit seruorum et famulorum, quod non erat quis qui sciret quid facere deberet.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 156<sup>v</sup>

Nam non occurrit<sup>b</sup> memoria tam rigide mortalitatis et tam seue, a tempore Vortigerni regis Britonum, in cuius tempore, ut testatur Beda de gestis Anglorum, uiui non sufficiebant sepelire mortuos.<sup>3</sup> In autumpno sequenti non potuit quis habere unum messorum minori precio quam .viiij. denariis cum cibo, unum falcatorem, quam .xij. denariis cum cibo. Quam ob causam multe segetes perierunt in campis, pre defectu collectoris. Sed in anno pestilencie ut supra-dictum est de aliis rebus, tanta habundancia erat omnis generis bladorum, quod ullus<sup>c</sup> de eis quasi curauit.

*Scoti deludunt Anglos propter mortalitatem.* Scoti audientes de crudeli peste Anglorum, suspicati sunt de manu Dei uindictam hoc eis euenisse. Et sumpserunt in iuramentum, prout uulgaris rumor aures Anglorum personuit, sub hac forma, quando iurare uolebant: 'Per fedam mortem Anglorum', Anglice, 'be þe foul deth 3 of Engelond'. Et sic Scoti credentes uindictam Dei horribilem Anglos obumbrasse, conuenerunt in foresta de Selfchirche in proposito inuasisse totum

<sup>a</sup> Suspension mark for n inserted by reviser

<sup>c</sup> quasi erased.

<sup>b</sup> rr superimposed by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> For undated papal letters, probably of Mar. 1349, for the clergy and people of the

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single occasion, a power which was to last until the following Easter [28 Mar. 1350], and everyone could choose their own confessors at will.<sup>1</sup>

*Disease amongst sheep.* In the same year there was a great plague amongst sheep everywhere in the realm, so that in one place more than 5,000 died in one pasture, and they so rotted that neither beast nor bird would touch them.

*A fall in the price of goods.* The fear of death caused the price of everything to fall, for there were very few who cared either for wealth or for possessions. A man might have a good horse, which previously would have cost 40s., for half a mark, a heavy, fat ox for 4s., a cow for 12d., a heifer for 6d., a fat sheep for 4d., a ewe for 3d., a lamb for 2d., a great pig for 5d., a stone of wool for 9d. And sheep and cattle wandered through the fields and amongst the crops, and there was none to seek them, or round them up, and they perished in out-of-the-way places amongst the furrows and under hedges, for want of a keeper, in numbers beyond reckoning throughout the land, for there was such a shortage of hands and servants that no one knew what ought to be done.<sup>2</sup>

For there was no memory of so unsparing and savage a plague since the days of Vortigern, king of the Britons, in whose time, as Bede records in his history of the English, there were not enough left alive to bury the dead.<sup>3</sup> In the following autumn no one could hire a mower for less than 8d. with his keep, or a reaper for less than 12d. with his keep. So many crops rotted in the fields for want of harvesting, but in the year of the plague, as has been said already, in another connection, there was such an abundance of grain that almost no one cared for it.

*The Scots mock the English over the plague.* The Scots, hearing of the cruel plague amongst the English, attributed it to the avenging hand of God, and took it up as an oath, as a common report came to English ears, and when they wished to swear they would say 'By the filthy death of England' (or in English: 'Be the foul deth 3 of Engelond'). And thus the Scots, believing God's dreadful judgement to have descended upon the English, gathered in the forest of Selkirk ready to over run the whole kingdom of England. And a fierce pestilence arose,

diocese of Lincoln, see *CPL* 1342-62, p. 289. See also A. H. Thompson, 'The registers of John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, 1347-50', *Archaeological Jnl*, lxxviii (1911), 309-15.

<sup>2</sup> These observations provide further examples of Knighton's close interest in prices, and presumably reflect the experience of the abbey as a substantial landlord.

<sup>3</sup> 'ut ne sepeliendis quidem mortuis uiri sufficerent': *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1969), p. 48.

1349 regnum Anglie. Superuenit seua mortalitas, et uentilauit Scotos subita et immanis mortis crudelitas. Et moriebantur in paruo tempore circiter .v. millia. Reliqui uero quidam debiles, quidam fortes repatriare se disponebant, set Angligene<sup>a</sup> eos preocupauerunt insequentes, et occiderunt ex eis multos nimis.<sup>1</sup>

Magister Thomas de Braywardyn consecratus est <sup>a</sup> papa in archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem. Et cum rediret in Angliam uenit Londoniis et infra biduum mortuus est. Hic erat famosus pre ceteris clericis tocius Cristianitatis in theologia<sup>c</sup> precipue, similiter et in ceteris scienciis liberalibus.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem tempore<sup>d</sup> tanta penuria erat sacerdotum ubique, quod multe ecclesie uiduate erant carentes diuinis<sup>e</sup> officiis, missis, matutinis, uesperis, sacramentis, et sacramentalibus. Vix posset homo habere unum capellanum infra .x. libras uel .x. marcas ministrare alicui ecclesie. Et ubi homo posset habere unum capellanum pro .v. aut .iiij. marcis, uel pro .ij. marcis cum mensa, quando copia extitit sacerdotum ante pestilentiam, uix erat in isto tempore qui acceptare uellet unam uicariam ad .xx. libras aut .xx. marcas. Sed infra breue confluebant ad ordines maxima multitudo, quorum uxores obierant in pestilencia, de quibus multi illiterati et quasi meri laici, nisi quatenus aliquid legere sciebant licet non intelligere.<sup>3</sup>

Coria boum sub uili precio scilicet ad .xij. denarios, et .j. par sotularios ad .x. denarios, .xij. denarios, uel .xiiij. denarios. .j. par ocriarum ad .iiij. solidos et .iiij. solidos. Interim rex misit in singulos comitatus regni quod messores et alii operarii non plus caperent quam capere solebant, sub pena in statuto limitata, et ex hoc innouauit statutum.<sup>4</sup> Operarii tamen adeo elati et contrariosi, non aduertebant regis mandatum. Sed si quis eos habere uellet, oportuit eum eis dare secundum suum uelle, et aut fructus suos et segetes perdere, aut operariorum elatam et cupidam<sup>f</sup> uoluntatem ad uota implere.

Quod cum notum regi fuisset, eo quod mandatum eius non

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<sup>f</sup> pi superimposed by a later hand

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<sup>c</sup> Contraction mark  
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<sup>1</sup> The nature of the infection, with the rat-flea as the vector, means that any Scots who died of plague at Selkirk are more likely to have brought the disease into the forest with them than to have found it there: J. F. D. Shrewsbury, *Bubonic Plague*, pp. 45–6. The plague reached Scotland in 1349: Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 148–9.

<sup>2</sup> Bradwardine, who died on 26 Aug. 1349, was the most distinguished victim of the first epidemic in England. On his scholarship, see e.g. J. A. Weisheipl, 'Ockham and the Mertonians' *HUO* i. 634–7; and G. Leff, *Bradwardine and the Pelagians* (Cambridge, 1957).

and blew a sudden and monstrous death upon the Scots, and some 5,000 of them died in a short time, and the rest of them, some fit and some enfeebled, prepared to make their way home, but the English pursued them and fell upon them, and slew a great many of them.<sup>1</sup>

Master Thomas Bradwardine was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury by the pope, and when he returned to England he came to London, and within two days he was dead. He was celebrated beyond all the scholars of Christendom, in theology pre-eminently, but also in all other liberal learning.<sup>2</sup>

At that time there was such a shortage of priests everywhere that many churches were bereft of the divine office: of masses, matins, and vespers, of sacraments and observances. A man could scarcely retain a chaplain to serve a church for less than £10., or perhaps 10 marks, and where one might have had a chaplain for four or five marks, or two marks and his keep, with such numbers of priests as there were about before the plague, now in those times there was almost no one willing to take a vicarage for £20, or perhaps 20 marks. But within a short time there came into holy orders a great multitude of those whose wives had died in the plague, many of them illiterate, the merest laymen, who if they were able to read at all were unable to understand what they read.<sup>3</sup>

Ox hides fell to a wretched price, namely 12*d.*, and yet a pair of gloves would cost 10*d.*, 12*d.*, or 14*d.*, and a pair of breeches 3*s.* or 4*s.* In the mean time the king sent word into every shire that mowers and other workmen should take no more than they had before, under the penalties laid down in the order, and thereupon made a statute.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless the workmen were so puffed up and contrary-minded that they did not heed the king's decree, and if anyone wanted to hire them he had to pay what they asked: either his fruit and crops rotted, or he had to give in to the workmen's arrogant and greedy demands.

When it came to the king's notice that they had not obeyed his

<sup>3</sup> Knighton's observations are presumably personal, but should be related to the comments of W. A. Pantin, *English Church*, pp. 28–9, and J. C. Dickinson, *The Later Middle Ages from the Norman Conquest to the Eve of the Reformation* (The Ecclesiastical History of England, London, 1979) pp. 272–3 (on the plague) and 273–8 (on clerical education). For a clerical riot in Leicester over stipends, in 1364, which Knighton may have witnessed, and probably had in mind, see *CPR* 1364–7, pp. 67–8.

<sup>4</sup> 23 Edw. III, and 25 Edw. 3, st. 2; see further W. M. Ormrod, 'The English government and the Black Death', *England in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 178–80, and B. H. Putnam, *The Enforcement of the Statute of Labourers, 1349–59* (New York, 1908), pp. 10–15.



1349 obseruassent, et maiora stipendia operariis dedissent, leuauit grauia amerciamenta de abbatibus, prioribus, et de magnis militibus, et minoribus, et aliis tam maioribus quam minoribus de patria, de quibus .c. solidos, de quibusdam .xl. solidos, et de quibusdam .xx. solidos, de quibuslibet secundum quod possent dare. Et cepit de qualibet carucata per totum regnum .xx. solidos, et nec eo minus unam quintamdecimam.

fo. 157<sup>r</sup> / Deinde rex fecit attachiare laborarios quamplures, et misit eos in carcerem, et multi tales retraxerunt se, et abierunt ad siluas et boscos pro tempore. Et qui capti erant, grauitur sunt amerciati. Et maiores sunt iurati, quod ultra antiquam consuetudinem stipendia diurna non caperent et sic sunt liberati de carcere. Simili modo fiebat de aliis artificariis in burgis et uillis.<sup>1</sup>

*Translacio Sancti Thome Herfordie.* Eodem anno fit translacio Sancti Thome Herfordie, .viii. kalendas Nouembris.<sup>2</sup> Post predictam<sup>a</sup> pestilenciam multa edificia tam maiora quam minora in omnibus ciuitatibus, burgis, et uillis collapsa sunt et ad terram penitus diruta, pre defectu habitatoris. Similiter multe uillule et hamillette desolate sunt, nulla in eis relicta domo, sed mortuis<sup>b</sup> omnibus qui in eis habitarent, et uerisimile erat quod multe tales uillule non essent habitande pro perpetuo.<sup>3</sup>

In yeme sequenti tanta erat penuria seruorum, in omnibus agendis, quod uix ut homo credebatur retroactis temporibus tanta carencia fuerat. Nam bestie et uniuersa pecora que homo habebat circumquaque uagabant absque pastore. Et singula queque que homo habebat sine custode. Et sic cuncta necessaria adeo cara deueniunt, quod id quod retroactis temporibus ualuerat unum denarium, iam isto tempore ualuit .iiij. denarios aut .v.<sup>4</sup>

*Magnates relaxant redditus tenencium.* Insuper et magnates regni et alii minores domini qui tenentes habebant pardonarent redditum de redditu, ne tenentes abirent pre defectu seruorum et caristia rerum. Quidam medietatem redditus, quidam magis et quidam minus, quidam per .ij. annos, quidam per tres, et quidam per unum, prout poterant cum eis conuenire.

<sup>a</sup> Repeated

<sup>b</sup> s added by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On the rigour of the government's proceedings, which were substantially successful in maintaining revenue, see Ormrod, 'The English government and the Black Death', pp. 180-4; and on the attitude of the Commons in parliament, see Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 333-4.

<sup>2</sup> St Thomas Cantelupe (c.1218-82) was canonized in 1320, and what was in fact

1349 order, and had given their employees higher wages, he inflicted heavy fines upon abbots and priors, and upon greater and lesser knights, and upon the others, great and small, of the land: from some 100s., from some 20s., and from each according to what he could pay. And he took 20s. from every ploughland in the kingdom, and received not less than a fifteenth would yield.

Then the king caused many labourers to be arrested, and put them in prison. Many ran away, and took to the woods and forests for a time, but those who were caught were grievously fined. And most were sworn that they would not take more than the old established daily rate, and so were freed from prison. And artisans in the boroughs and townships were treated in the same way.<sup>1</sup>

*Translation of St Thomas of Hereford.* In the same year the translation of St Thomas of Hereford took place, on 25 October 1349.<sup>2</sup> After the plague many buildings, both large and small, in all the cities, boroughs, and townships, decayed and were utterly razed to the ground for want of occupants, and similarly many villages and hamlets were deserted, with not a house left in them, for all who had lived there were dead, and it is likely that many of those villages will never be inhabited again.<sup>3</sup>

In the following winter there was such a want of hands, for every kind of work, that people believed that the like shortage had never been known at any time in the past, for cattle and such livestock as a man might have wandered about without a keeper, and there was no one to look after people's possessions. And thus the necessities of life became so dear, that what in previous times was worth 1d. now cost 4d. or 5d.<sup>4</sup>

*Lords remit their tenants' rent.* Whereupon both the magnates of the realm, and also lesser lords who had tenants, remitted the payment of rents lest their tenants should quit for want of labour, and the high cost of living: some half the rent, some more or less, some for two years, some for three, some for one, according to what they could agree.

his fourth burial and second translation was the climax of a long campaign at Hereford to develop his cult. See the study by R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims* (London, 1977), pp. 173-88.

<sup>3</sup> On the depopulation of settlements in Leicestershire, see M. W. Beresford and J. G. Hurst, *Deserted Medieval Villages: Studies* (2nd edn., Gloucester, 1989), pp. 8-10, 192-3.

<sup>4</sup> On the movement of prices, see D. L. Farmer, 'Prices and wages', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, ii. 1042-1350, ed. H. E. Hallam (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 720-1, 725. See also above, p. lxxiv n. 134.



1349 Similiter qui habebant de tenentibus per dietas tocius anni, ut assolet de natiuis, oportebat eos relaxare et remittere talia opera, et aut penitus pardonare, aut sub laxiori modo in paruo redditu ponere ne nimia et irrecuperabilis ruina fieret domorum, et terra ubique totaliter rema(ne)ret<sup>a</sup> inculta. Et omnia uictualia et omnia necessaria deuenerunt nimis cara.<sup>1</sup>

*Generalis absolucio.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.xlix. Incepit generalis absolucio Rome, et multi se parauerunt Romam adire. Sed rex prohibuit passagium eis propter guerram Francie. Quam ob causam papa misit nuncios regi Anglie principaliter pro passagio. Primo uidelicet ne rex impediret sanctum passagium, uisitare sancta loca apostolorum uolencium. Item quod concedere uellet unam treugam ne comes Lancastrie equitaret in Aquitania in perturbacionem uolencium<sup>b</sup> loca sancta adire. Similiter ne rex impediret aut impediri<sup>c</sup> permitteret promotos a curia per bullas acceptare beneficia sibi taliter incumbencia.

Et primo articulo responsum est quod ocupatus est in guerra, et ideo indiget adminiculo sui, ac eciam necesse erat ei preuidere de thesauro regni sui, ne in preiudicium sui et suorum duceretur extra regnum quamdiu guerra duraret. Et super hoc rex fecit proclamare quod omnes Angli, tam Rome quam alio loco ultra mare existentes, repedare festinantur quantocius sub pena forisfature corporis ac omnium bonorum.

Ad .2. articulum quoad prouisores, responsum est quod rex bene acceptaret prouisos clericos qui essent bone condicionis et qui digni essent promoueri, et alios non. Ad .3. articulum de treuga habenda, responsum est quod rex Francie sepius equitauerit sub tali treuga super terras regis Anglie tradiciose in destruccionem populi<sup>d</sup> sui, et contra conuenciones in treuga contentas. / Et cum tali responso repatriaerunt nuncii pape.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 157<sup>v</sup>

1349 Comes Lancastrie Henricus equitauit cum Vasconicis medio tempore ad numerum .xxx. millia super inimicos, decem diebus et amplius, et misit igni et flamme totam patriam in circuitu per .x. leucas ex omni parte, et conquisiuit plusquam .xliij. uillas et castella.

<sup>a</sup> remaret T      <sup>b</sup> Suspension mark for m added by reviser      <sup>c</sup> e superimposed by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Local experience must have varied, but the falls in rents seem to have been neither consistent nor dramatic: E. Miller, 'Introduction: land and people', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, iii. 1340-1500, ed. E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 22-3; J. M. W.

Similarly those who had tenants with day-work throughout the year, such as bondmen, had to relax and remit such works, and either give them up altogether, or manage them in a looser way, at a low rent, lest their tenements should fall into utter and irredeemable decay, and the land everywhere lie wholly unworked. And foodstuffs and necessities of all kinds became vastly dear.<sup>1</sup>

1349

*A general absolucio.* In the year of grace 1349 a general indulgence began at Rome, and many prepared to travel there, but the king forbade their journey because of the war with France. Whereupon the pope sent ambassadors to the king, chiefly to procure the right to travel. And they asked firstly, that the king should not impede the holy travel of those who wished to visit the sacred places of the Apostles; and also that he should grant a truce lest the earl of Lancaster should ride in Aquitaine to the danger of those seeking to visit the holy places. And similarly that the king should neither prevent, nor allow others to prevent, those promoted by papal bull receiving the benefices bestowed upon them.

And to the first article the king answered that he was engaged in a war, and needed supplies, and that while the war lasted he had to look to the treasure of his realm lest it should, to the prejudice of himself and his subjects, be taken out of the realm. Thereupon the king had it proclaimed that all Englishmen, in Rome and elsewhere overseas, should return as speedily as they could, upon pain of forfeiting their persons and all their possessions.

To the second article, touching prouisors, it was answered that the king would readily accept such clergy provided that they were of good repute, and worthy of provision, but otherwise not. To the third article, about a truce, it was answered that the king of France often during such truces would ride treacherously upon the king of England's lands, to the destruction of the people and contrary to the provisions of the truce. And with that answer the pope's envoys went home.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time Earl Henry of Lancaster rode with the Gascons, to the number of 30,000, for ten days and more upon the enemy, and put the countryside to fire and flame for ten leagues around in every

1350

Bean, 'Landlords', *ibid.*, pp. 579-80. See also B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), pp. 244-54.

<sup>2</sup> On the indulgence for the Jubilee, see Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 460-1. Knighton's account of the exchanges seems to conflate Lancaster's meetings with the papal nuncios in Aquitaine with the negotiations to prolong the truce in the spring of 1350: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 86-7, 96-7.

1350 Et uenit Tolosam cum exercitu suo, et petit uillam nomine regis Anglie, uel aliter egrederentur dimicaturi cum eo. Et qui inibi fuerunt promiserunt ei bellum, si expectare uellet per .x. dies.

Ac ille concessit eis inducias .iiij. dierum, et tamdiu moram traxit ibidem coram uilla Tolose. Et cum uidisset quod nollent pugnare, omnia suburbia uille incendit igni, et quecumque potuit uastauit et igne succendit. Et abiit deuastando et depredando cunctas patrias in regressu suo, adeo quod omnibus inimicis suis incussit magnum timorem.<sup>1</sup>

*Bellum apud le Sculse nauale.* Eodem tempore Hispanici redierunt de Estlandia cum forti classe et gente robusta, habentes gazas innumeras et mercimonia infinita, et quieuerunt apud le Sculse in Flandria. Et predati sunt in mari quecumque potuerunt, et multos Anglos occiderunt, et multa mala fecerunt. Et in eorum aduentu apud le Sculse obuiauuerunt Anglicane classi tendenti uersus Vasconiam pro uino querendo, bona eorum rapuerunt et occiderunt de Anglis ad magnam summam, sub maritima Britannie.

Vnde rex Edwardus misit in Flandriam ut eos amouerent a finibus suis ad instanciam suam. Et statim rex Edwardus congregauit populum<sup>a</sup> suum pro eo quod Hispanici tanta mala<sup>b</sup> intulerant Anglicis, incendendo portus Anglie, depredando et occidendo. Rex Edwardus dedit eis obuiam in mari et eis acriter insultum fecit, et ipsi se nobiliter et fortiter defenderunt longo tempore, et tandem subacti sunt et multi submersi. Et tulit rex bona eorum per Dei gratiam, et adduxit secum in Angliam, scilicet Dominica proxima ante festum Assumpcionis.<sup>2</sup>

1351 *Millesimo .ccc.l. Henricus comes Lancastrie factus est dux Lancastrie.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.l., Annus Iubileus Rome. Et incepit in festo Annunciacionis gloriose uirginis Marie. Henricus nobilis comes Lancastrie factus est dux Lancastrie. Hic erat primus dux Lancastrie. Et ante ipsum non occurit fuisse ducem in Anglia, nisi solum in Cornubia. Iohannes de Gaunt filius regis Edwardi factus est comes Richemundie. Dominus Radulfus baro Staffordie, factus est comes Staffordie. Dominus Robertus de Vfforde, factus est comes de Soffolc.<sup>3</sup> Et concessa est regi in parlamento quintadecima. Eodem

<sup>a</sup> Initial p superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> First a interlined by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 87–8.

<sup>2</sup> The battle took place on Monday, 29 Aug. 1350, a fortnight after the Assumption [15 Aug.], and off Winchelsea rather than Sluis. See *Avesbury*, 412; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 92–5; and for a lively account of the action, Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 200–2.

part, and took more than forty-two towns and castles. And he came to Toulouse with his army, and demanded the town in the name of the king of England; or, if they chose, they could come out and fight him. And those within promised battle, if he wished it, in ten days' time.

And he granted them a respite of four days, and waited for that time before the town of Toulouse. And when he saw that they did not wish to fight, he set fire to all the suburbs of the town, and destroyed and burned all else that he could, and then withdrew, wasting and pillaging all the countryside as he went, so that all his enemies were struck with a great fear.<sup>1</sup>

*A naval battle off Sluis.* At that same time the Spanish returned from the Baltic with a strong fleet and a powerful army, having innumerable treasures and endless merchandise, and anchored at Sluis in Flanders. And they raided wheresoever they could at sea, and slew many Englishmen and did much damage, and when they arrived at Sluis they came upon an English fleet sailing to Gascony to fetch wine, and they killed a great number of the English, and took their goods, off the coast of Brittany.

Whereupon King Edward sent into Flanders and ordered them to depart from his territory, and at once he assembled his forces and, because the Spanish had done such harm to the English, in burning English ports, and pillaging and murdering, King Edward intercepted them at sea, and attacked them fiercely, and they defended themselves bravely and strongly for a long time, but at last they were overcome and many were drowned, and by God's grace the king took their goods, and brought them to England, namely upon the [Monday] next after the Assumption [29 Aug. 1350].<sup>2</sup>

1350[–1351]. *Henry, earl of Lancaster, is made duke of Lancaster.* The year of grace 1350 was a Jubilee year at Rome, which began on the feast of the Annunciation of the glorious Virgin Mary [25 Mar. 1350] The noble Earl Henry of Lancaster was made duke of Lancaster. He was the first duke of Lancaster, and there was no duke in England before him except in Cornwall. King Edward's son, John of Gaunt, was made earl of Richmond. Sir Ralph, baron Stafford, was made earl of Stafford. Sir Robert Ufford was made earl of Suffolk.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The honours were conferred on 5–6 Mar. 1351, which was still 1350 by Knighton's reckoning. On Lancaster's elevation, see *CP* vii. 402; and Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 173–5. Stafford's latest services had been at the battle in the Channel: *CP* xii(1). 176; and C. Rawcliffe, *The Staffords: Earls of Stafford and Dukes of Buckingham, 1394–1521* (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 8–11. For Gaunt, see *CP* x. 821. The reference to Suffolk is erroneous: he was made an earl in 1337, but he received the Garter about this time: *CP* ii. App. B.

1350 anno Iohannes de Valoy filius regis Francie coronatus est in regem Francie.<sup>1</sup>

1351 Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lj. concessa est regi decima bienalis. Dominus Thomas de Dagworthe nobilis miles peremptus est per fraudem Francorum. Concessa est regi .xv. trienalis, et decima trienalis.<sup>2</sup> Captum est Gynes per Iohannem de Bancastre. Matildis filia nobilis ducis Lancastrie Henrici desponsata est Willelmo duci de Seland.<sup>3</sup>

Dux Lancastrie transiit de Calesia uersus Boloniam, et succendit igni omnia suburbia uille usque ad muros, et igne cremauit omnes naues in portu, et exinde transiit apud Staples et predatus est uillam, similiter et Aluete predatus est, et cepit multos thesauros et multos prisonarios. Et exinde tendit iter suum uersus Trowan et rapuit que in uilla erant. Villani fugerunt ad ecclesiam et defenderunt eam et wlnauerunt multos de Anglis. Tandem potitus uictoria, rediit cum preda magna de bestiis absque numero.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 158<sup>r</sup> Dominus Iohannes de Beawchaump, capitaneus de Caley, cum .iij.c. uirorum armatorum et .ij. millia<sup>a</sup> sagittariorum perrexit de Calesia in Franciam, et predatus est patriam ad .x. leucas. Et cum / redirent cum preda sua, dominus de Bealren cum .ij. millia uirorum armatorum surrexit de insidiis, et fortiter pugnavit cum Anglis, tandem Iohannes de Bewiaump occidit dominum de Bealren, et ceteros uicisset, set subito superuenit alia fortis acies Francorum in equis, et ceciderunt super Anglos lassos et lesos et debellauerunt eos et ceperunt dominum Iohannem de Beawchaump capitaniam cum .xx. militibus, et ceteros omnes occiderunt. Et cito post redempti sunt et uenerunt in Angliam. Tunc capta est trewga inter reges Anglie et Francie sub tali condicione, quod quandocumque placeret uni regi uel alteri trewgam infringere possent.<sup>5</sup>

*Dux Lancastrie transit in Sprusiam.* Et super hoc Henricus dux Lancastrie transiuit uersus le Sprusiam cum multis uiris in sua comitiua de maioribus regni. Et cum peruenisset in altam Almaniam, arestatus est cum aliis multis de sociis suis. Et fecit redempcionem pro

<sup>a</sup> centum or millia om. T

<sup>1</sup> There is some chronological confusion here. There was no English parliament in 1350. Philippe VI died 23 Aug. 1350, and Jean was crowned 26 Sept: Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 47, 55.

<sup>2</sup> Parliament met in Feb. 1351: *HBC* 561. For the grants, see *CFR* 1347-56, pp. 333-7; and Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 341, 359.

And the king was granted a fifteenth in parliament. In that same year Jean de Valois, the king of France's son, was crowned king of France.<sup>1</sup> 1350

In the year of grace 1351 the king was granted a biennial tenth. The noble knight Sir Thomas Dagworth was treacherously slain by the French. The king was granted a triennial tenth and fifteenth.<sup>2</sup> Guines was captured by John Doncaster. Maud, daughter of the noble duke of Lancaster, was betrothed to Willem, duke of Zeeland.<sup>3</sup> 1351

The duke of Lancaster went from Calais towards Boulogne, and fired all the suburbs up to the walls, and destroyed all the ships in the harbour with fire, and then he went on to Étapes and sacked the town, and also sacked Alette, and took much treasure and many prisoners. He then made his way towards Théroutanne and seized all that there was in the town, and the townsmen retreated to the church and defended it, and wounded many of the English. And having at last gained the victory he withdrew, with a great spoil of beasts beyond number.<sup>4</sup>

Sir John Beauchamp, the captain of Calais, went from Calais into France, with 300 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers, and pillaged the countryside for ten leagues about, and when he returned with his booty the lord of Beuvrequem ambushed him with 2,000 men-at-arms and fought bravely against the English, but at last John Beauchamp slew the lord of Beuvrequem and defeated the others. Then suddenly a strong force of French horsemen came and fell upon the English, who were weary and wounded, and overcame them, and captured Sir John Beauchamp, the captain, with twenty knights, slaying all the rest, but soon afterwards they were ransomed, and came to England. Then a truce was made between the kings of England and France, on condition that either king could break the truce whenever he chose.<sup>5</sup>

*The duke of Lancaster crosses to Prussia.* And thereupon Henry, duke of Lancaster, set out towards Prussia, with many of the greatest men of the realm in his company. And when he came into Upper Germany he was arrested with many of his companions, and ransomed himself

<sup>3</sup> Doncaster made his fortune by a coup-de-main against Guines in Jan 1352: Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 202-3; *King's Works*, i. 423. Maud of Lancaster's second marriage (she was widowed in 1348 at the age of eight), was a product of English diplomacy in the Netherlands: see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 117-19.

<sup>4</sup> Late in April 1351: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 100.

<sup>5</sup> Beauchamp's raid was early in June 1351: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 100. For the treaty, which marked the end of English hopes in Flanders, see *ibid.*, pp. 101-2.

1351 se et suis de .iiij. millia scutis auri. In hoc itinere mortuus est dominus le Ros.<sup>1</sup>

1352 *Anno millesimo .ccc.liij.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.liij. rex Scocie Daud Brus adhuc prisonarius missus est in Scociam sub custodia cum fidelitate iurata ad reuocandum Scotos in fidelitatem regis Anglie sicut solebant esse, et sicut idem rex Daud iuratus fuerat esse legius homo regis Anglie, et sicut reges Scocie solent esse. Scoti uero unanime assensu sub una uoce responderunt se uelle regem suum redimere, set se subdere regi Anglie nequaquam uelle. Vnde rex Daud reuersus est ad turrim Londoniarum.<sup>2</sup>

Post Pascha rex tenuit parliamentum apud Londonias, ubi concessa est regi .xv. trienalis et decima una de ecclesia.<sup>3</sup> Tunc captum est castellum de Gynes. Dum igitur dux Lancastrie tenderet uersus Spruciam, dux Selandie Willelmus uenit in Angliam, et de consilio regine desponsauit Matildam seniore filiam ducis Lancastrie cum magna nobilitate honoris in capella regis apud Westmonasterium, et duxit eam secum in Selandiam.<sup>4</sup>

Cum igitur dux Lancastrie uenisset Coloniam, nunciatum est duci Lancastrie per quendam militem, quod dux de Bronneswyth habuit in mandatis de rege Francie ut caperet ducem Lancastrie sic peregrinantem uersos inimicos Cristi. Ipse tamen tenuit iter suum quo tenderet, et secure ductus fuit per diuersas comitiuas. Sed ante aduentum suum in Spruciam, treuga per plures annos capta est inter Cristianos et paganos, quod multum ei displicuit.<sup>5</sup>

At ille inde reuersus uenit Coloniam, et ibidem narravit coram multis magnatibus qualiter dux Oto de Bronneswyk ymaginatus fuerat capere eum et ipsum impedire de sua sancta peregrinatione, et tam ipsum, quam suos socios, cum non deliquerit uersus eum prout nouerat, nec aliquam noticiam de eo habuit. Et dixit ultra quod non decebat talem ducem usurpare de tali milite extraneo peregrinante, qui nichil male ceperat penes eum. Et si cuperet habere aliquid facere cum eo, reperiret eum paratum in hiis que ad militis gradum pertinent.

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, 105–6; and *CP* xi. 99–100.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 158. Knighton's account of the negotiations for David's release draws on some recollection of events in 1348, 'perhaps a newsletter or political poem', to supplement a confused chronology of events in 1351–2: Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', pp. 132–3.

<sup>3</sup> Parliament met in Jan. and ended in Feb. 1352. There was a council in London in Aug 1352 to which 71 English and 12 alien merchants were summoned: *HBC* 561; *CCR*

and his men for 3,000 gold *écus*. The lord le Ros died on that expedition.<sup>1</sup>

1352. In the year of grace 1352 David Bruce, the king of Scotland, who had been a prisoner until then, was sent into Scotland, under guard, sworn to recall the Scots into fealty to the king of England, as they used to be, and as that same King David had once been the sworn liege man of the king of England, as the Scots kings are accustomed to be. However, the Scots answered with one assent and one voice, that whilst they wished to ransom their king, they would never submit themselves to the king of England, so King David returned to the Tower of London.<sup>2</sup>

After Easter the king held a parliament in London, where he was granted a triennial fifteenth, and a tenth from the church.<sup>3</sup> Then the castle of Guines was taken. And while the duke of Lancaster was travelling towards Prussia, Duke Willem of Zeeland came to England, and with the queen's support married Maud, the elder daughter of the duke of Lancaster, in the king's chapel at Westminster, with notable honours, and took her with him into Zeeland.<sup>4</sup>

Now when the duke of Lancaster came to Cologne, he was told by a certain knight that the duke of Brunswick had instructions from the king of France to seize the duke of Lancaster while he was on pilgrimage against the enemies of Christ. Nevertheless he continued on his journey, as he had planned, and was led safely through various territories; but before he arrived in Prussia a truce was agreed for several years between the Christians and the pagans, which greatly disappointed him.<sup>5</sup>

And then he came back to Cologne, and there before many of the notables he told how Duke Otto of Brunswick had plotted to seize him and impede him in his holy pilgrimage, and that as far as he knew neither he nor his companions had ever offended the duke, or had heard anything from him about the matter. And further he said that it was not proper for such a duke to meddle with a foreign knight on pilgrimage, who had done him no harm, and that if the duke wished to have any dealings with him he would find him ready to do all that it behove a knight to do.

1349–54, p. 506. For the collection of the second instalment of the tenth and fifteenth of 1351, see *CFR* 1347–56, p. 374–7.

<sup>4</sup> For Maud's marriage and settlement, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 119–20.

<sup>5</sup> On Lancaster's itinerary, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 105–6; and L. T. Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby, 1390–91, 1392–3*, Camden Soc., ns lii (1894), p. xvii.

1352

*Dux de Bronneswyk scribit duci Lancastrie pro duello habendo.* Cum igitur ista recitarentur coram duce de Bronneswyht, statim absque mora, quasi capitose misit literas suas in Angliam ad ducem Lancastrie sub hac forma:<sup>1</sup>

fo. 135<sup>v</sup>

Othes par la grace de deu duc de Bronneswyk, seynour de Torynge fitz al grant duc de Bronneswyk, al excellent prince e noble duc de Lancastre. Sachetz qe les paroles qe uous deystes personalment de uostro propre bouche en la souereyne eglise de Coloyne a noum Seynt Pere le Vendredy procheyn apres la Pasche passee, deuaunt / le noble prince markes de Iulers, e moltz des honestes chiualers e esquyers, en presence des citisenez de mesme la citee, malueisment ledment et deshonestment furent mentuz e de nul maner de uoir. Queles choses nous mettroms par nostre corps propre e biens, contre uostre propre cors sicom bon et leal seignur estis tenuz, e obligee de moustrer deuers un malueis e deshoneste e mal homme. Ceste chose ferroms entre le chastel de Gynes e la Seyt Omer, ou la ou nostre seignur le roi de France certeyn leu monstra. Car illeques a uous e les uous seour condist de lauaunt dit seignur ordeynner, ne targeroms. Sour qel chose prioms qe respouns nous soyt escryt, soth uostre seal par le portour de cestez. Donee al Qerougaron, etcetera.

Dux Lancastrie Henricus rescripsit ei quod certo die ad hoc assignato, paratum se fore futurum, et per Dei gratiam, ea que ueritas requirit suo proprio corpore defensurum. Et parauit se et perrexit Calesiam cum .l. militibus et multitudine strenua. Et cum appropinquaret prope Gynes, occurrit ei dominus Iohannes Clermount senescallus<sup>a</sup> Francie, cum pulcra multitudine uirorum armatorum, et recepit eum cum honore, scilicet in quindena ante natale Domini. Et fecit ei conductum cum magno honore usque ad Heddyng, ubi occurrit ei dominus Iacobus de Burbone cum ualida comitiua, et conduxit eum usque Parisius, et exhibuit ei quantum potuit honoris et reuerencie et omnibus suis. Et in aduentu suo Parisius, occurrit ei multitudo magna procerum et magnatum, cum honore eum recipientes. Et tanta affuit multitudo extraneorum, ciuium et communium, quanta nunquam illis diebus uisa fuerat in illa ciuitate. Et omnes ei summum honorem exhibuerunt in suo modo.

<sup>a</sup> Marescallus entered in the margin, in a later hand. Clermont appears as marshal in the text, below, p. 118

1352

*The duke of Brunswick writes to challenge the duke of Lancaster to a duel.* When, therefore, those things were related before the duke of Brunswick he, impetuously and without delay, sent letters into England to the duke of Lancaster, in this wise:<sup>1</sup>

Otto, by the grace of God, duke of Brunswick, lord of Thuringia, son of the grand duke of Brunswick, to the excellent prince and noble duke of Lancaster. Know that the words which you uttered, personally and from your own mouth, in the metropolitan church of St Peter of Cologne, on Friday [13 April 1352] next after Easter last, before the noble prince the margrave of Jülich, and many knights and esquires, in the presence of many of the citizens of that city, wickedly, shamefully, and dishonestly, were lies and in no manner true. The which we will maintain by our own body and strength against your body, as a good and leal lord is bound to do against a wicked and dishonest and evil man, and which we shall do between the castles of Guines and St Omer, or wherever our lord the king of France may appoint a place. And as it is not our concern to secure safe conduct from the aforesaid lord for you and yours, we pray you thereon to let us have your answer written and sealed with your seal, by the bearer of these. Given at Aachen, etc.

Duke Henry of Lancaster replied that on the day appointed he would be ready, and by God's grace would with his own body defend what the truth required of him. And he prepared himself, and crossed to Calais with fifty knights and a seasoned following. And when he came near Guines, Sire Jean Clermont, the marshal of France, came to meet him with a fine host of men-at-arms, and received him with honour, namely a fortnight [11 Dec. 1352] before the Lord's Nativity, and had him taken with great honour to Hesdin, where Sire Jacques de Bourbon met him with a powerful company, and escorted him all the way to Paris, and showed him and his men as much honour and respect as he could. And on his arrival in Paris he was met by a great multitude of nobles and magnates, who received him with honour, and such was the multitude of citizens and commons from outside that the like had never been seen in that city before that time, and they all showed him the greatest honour that they could devise.

<sup>1</sup> The letter was not one which a prudent man would address to the duke of Lancaster, and the Lancastrians naturally made the most of the outcome: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 107-9; cf Trautz, *Könige von England*, p. 359, n. 100. A Latin text of Otto's challenge, with a commentary, was copied into a Ramsey abbey register: BL MS Cotton Galba E. x, fo. 65.

Statimque rex Francie misit pro eo ut ueniret ad ipsum in palacio suo, et recepit eum cum magno honore. Et rex Nauernye, cognatus ducis, super omnes alios grato modo se habuit penes eum, et sapienter pro eo in omnibus agebat. Ante diem prelii proceres tractauerunt inter partes, sed minime profuerunt de concordia.

Venit dies prelii et intrauerunt listas uidente rege Francie et cunctis congregatis. Addicto que sacramento Dominico, sacramentum prestiterunt<sup>a</sup> de ueritate cause sue, ut moris pugnancium.<sup>1</sup> Tunc ascendunt dextrarios quasi parati ad pugnam. Et ut dicebatur non uideres eleganciozem aut ferociorem militem, quam dux de Bronneswyk extitit ante prestitum iuramentum; quo facto, contabuit<sup>b</sup> et inpalluit wltus eius. De quo conuiciati sunt plures querelam suam non esse ueram, aut nimis presumptuosam.

Et equum tulit wltu pallido et tristi. Et ut dicebatur non habuit hillaritatem nec potestatem graciose se habere, in carpendo gladium, scutum, et lanceam, et cetera que ei attinebant, set quasi attonitus et perturbatus defesse cuncta palpitat.<sup>c</sup> Et trina uice scutum suum euertebatur in accipiendo. Tandem<sup>d</sup> de consilio amicorum suorum, remisit querelam suam, et exuit se omnino de causa sua, committens se in alto et imo sub ordinacione regis Francie.

Dux Lancastrie semper astabat in loco suo, hillari wultu et eleganti exspectans congressum, sicuti decet militem, pro ueritate concertantem. Et mirabantur omnes de eius stabili gestu. Et omnino recusauit omittere prelium. Et dixit quod ante ingressum in listas, forte potuit ad concordiam inclinari per tractatum de consilio amicorum suorum. Sed postquam ingressi sunt locum certaminis, equis ascensis, et ceteris paratis, / que tale negocium requirit, rege et magnatibus cunctisque populis congregatis pro ueritate cause discidenda, dedecus et obprobrium esset duci Lancastrie absque re facta de loco recedere in delusionem tocius gentis Anglorum.

Et dixit se nolle locum exire pro quocumque tractatu aut concordia nisi haberet prelium, nec alio modo uelle prelium dimittere, nisi saluo honore suo, et sanguinis sui et legii domini sui regis Anglie et tocius regni Anglorum, in toto in quantum saltem in eo est, ita quod gens

<sup>a</sup> st superimposed by a later hand. <sup>b</sup> i interlined by reviser <sup>c</sup> pitat written by reviser, over an erasure <sup>d</sup> d superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The combat was upon a matter of honour between two knights, and was conducted after the fashion of a *duellum*, or trial by battle upon an appeal of treason: cf. the combat

And at once the king of France sent for the duke to come to him in his palace, where he received him with great honour. And the king of Navarre, the duke's cousin, above all others welcomed him, and acted on his behalf most wisely in all things. Before the day of the battle the lords negotiated between the parties, but they were unable to reach an agreement.

Came the day of battle, and they entered the lists, with the king of France and all who had assembled looking on, and having received the Lord's sacrament they each took oath to the truth of his cause, as is customary for those who fight.<sup>1</sup> Then they mounted their chargers ready for combat. And it was said that you would never see a finer or braver knight than the duke of Brunswick before he took the oath, but when it was done he shrank, and his face whitened. Wherefore many concluded that his cause was not just, or at least was presumptuous.

And he sat upon his horse, with pale and sorrowful face, and it is said that he lacked the cheerfulness and self-command even to take his sword, shield, and lance, and the other equipment which he needed, but as though troubled, and anxious, and weary, he fumbled with everything, and three times dropped his shield when it was handed to him. At last on the advice of his friends he abandoned his quarrel, and altogether withdrew from his cause, committing himself high and low to the direction of the king of France.

The duke of Lancaster remained in his place the whole time, with a cheerful and composed expression, awaiting battle as befitted a knight fighting for the truth. And everyone wondered at the calmness of his demeanour. And he utterly refused to abandon the battle, saying that before he entered the lists he was strongly inclined, upon his friends' urging, to negotiate an agreement. However, after they had come to the appointed place, and mounted their horses, and had done all else that belongs to such a business, the king and the magnates and all the people having assembled to see the truth of the matter determined, it would be unseemly and disgraceful for the duke of Lancaster to quit his place with nothing accomplished, and a disappointment to the whole English people.

And he said that he would not leave the place for any negotiation or agreement until he had had a battle, nor would he abandon the battle unless his honour was assured, and that of his kin, and of his liege lord the king of England, and of all the realm of England so far as it was

between Walsh and Villeneuve, (below, p. 334); and J. G. Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 143-7.

1352 Anglorum per ipsum non incureret crimen pudoris, sed saluus esset honor eius in toto. Vel aliter gratiam expectaret<sup>a</sup> quam ei conferre uellet Deus.

Tandem Oto dux de Bronneswyk, utut<sup>b</sup> homo uictus, se subegit dispositioni et ordinacioni regis Francie, asserens se nolle certamen inire nec insultum duci Lancastrie inferre et clamium suum remittere, absque aliqua condicione honoris sibi reseruata, in summum honorem ducis Lancastrie et suorum.

Consiliarii ducis Lancastrie.<sup>1</sup> Rex Nauernie, dominus Egidius frater eius, comes de Pontyf, comes Flandrie, comes de Tankyrwyle, comes de Salysbyry, dominus de Clermount, marescallus Francie, dominus Lodouicus de Nauernia, dominus Lodouicus de Harecourt, dominus Iohannes de Chasteleyn, Dominus Gauterius filius eius, et plures alii.

Tunc rex Francie fecit conuiuuium<sup>c</sup> et fecit concordiam inter duces. Deinde rex Francie duxit ducem Lancastrie huc atque illuc, demonstrans ei multa delectabilia que ei conferre proposuit, et nil horum uoluit nisi solam spinam que fuerat de corona Iesu Cristi, quam idem dux reliquit in ecclesia sua colegiali quam fundauerat sub castro Leycestrie.<sup>2</sup> Deinde cepit dux Lancastrie licenciam de rege Francie, et uenit in Angliam ad regem apud Sanctam Albanum ubi idem rex tenuit natale Domini, qui congratulatus est nimis de eius aduentu, et graciosa expedicione.

Eodem anno papa reseruauit uacacionem omnium beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum et dignitatum in omni Cristianitate, et mortuus est apud uillam Sancti Nicholai per intoxicacionem, ut dicebatur. Et electus est Innocencius. Hic erat multum fauorabilis regi Francie contra regem Anglie.<sup>3</sup>

Estas erat nimis sicca, adeo quod pro defectu aque, (bestie)<sup>d</sup> multe perierunt in suis pasturis. Et marisci deuenerunt ita sicci, quod uia patuit ubi non occurit uiam patuisse. Et circa festum Omnium Sanctorum contigit magna tempestas uentorum, discooperiens domos, ecclesias, molendinos euertens, arbores eradicans, et multa mala perpetrans.<sup>4</sup> Eodem anno dominus Walterus de Benteleye,

<sup>a</sup> expect *superimposed by a later hand*      <sup>b</sup> *Interlined*      <sup>c</sup> *con superimposed by reviser*      <sup>d</sup> *Suppl. Twysden; caret in T*

<sup>1</sup> On Lancaster's *consiliarii*, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 108, and Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 209–10; his meetings with Charles of Navarre were part of the English diplomatic campaign.

involved, so that the English people should not incur shame through him, but his honour should be altogether secure. Nor did he look for any grace but that which might come to him through the will of God.

At last Duke Otto of Brunswick, like a beaten man, put himself entirely at the will and disposition of the king of France, saying that he did not wish to engage in battle nor to insult the duke of Lancaster, and that he withdrew his claim without any reservation of honour for himself, to the utmost honour of the duke of Lancaster and his line.

The duke of Lancaster's advisers<sup>1</sup> were the king of Navarre, Sire Gilles, his brother, the count of Ponthieu, the count of Flanders, the count of Tancarville, the earl of Salisbury, the lord of Clermont, marshal of France, Sire Louis de Navarre, Sire Louis de Harcourt, Sire Jean de Chasteleyn, Sire Gualtier, his son, and many others.

Then the king of France gave a banquet, and made peace between the dukes. Afterwards the king led the duke of Lancaster here and there, showing him many delights which he wished to bestow upon him, yet nothing would he accept but a single thorn from the crown of Jesus Christ, which the duke bequeathed to the college which he had founded below Leicester castle.<sup>2</sup> Then the duke of Lancaster took his leave of the king of France, and came into England to the king, at St Albans, where the king celebrated Christmas, and congratulated the duke highly upon his return and his distinguished expedition.

In that same year the pope reserved the vacancy of all the ecclesiastical benefices and dignities in Christendom, and then died [on St Nicholas's day, 6 December 1352], of poison, it was said. And Innocent VI was elected, who greatly favoured the king of France against the king of England.<sup>3</sup>

That summer was extremely dry, so much so that the cattle perished in their pastures for want of water, and marshes dried up so that they could be crossed where there never were paths before. And about the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1352] there was a great storm of wind which tore the roofs off houses and churches, overturned windmills, uprooted trees, and did much harm.<sup>4</sup> That same year Sir Walter

<sup>2</sup> A. H. Thompson, *History of the Hospital and the New College of St Mary of the Annunciation in the Newmarke, Leicester* (Leicester, 1937), p. 25. See also below, p. 184 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Clement died at Avignon 6 Dec.; Etienne Aubert, a former judge, and bishop of Noyon, who took the name of Innocent VI, was elected on 18 Dec. 1352: *ODP* 221.

<sup>4</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 142.



1352 gardianus de Britannia, deuicit multos Francos uenientes contra eum. Quosdam occidit, quosdam cepit, et reliquos in fugam uertit. Qui postea ibidem occiditur per fraudem et sedicionem uxoris sue sicud  
 1351 infra plenius patebit.<sup>1</sup> Eodem anno editum est statutum de seruientibus, et ab eo die peius seruierunt magistris suis de die in diem, quam ante fecerant. Sed per iusticiarios et alios ministros<sup>a</sup> emolumentum regi semper accreuit, et dominigerium ad populum.<sup>2</sup>

1352 *Boscum abbatis Leycestrie imparcatur.* Isto anno dux Henricus dedit licenciam abbati et conuentui ad includendum boscum suum et imparkandum. Et idem dux fecit instaurare predictum parcum de feris defense Leycestrensis. Nam fecit de suo mero motu infringere palos tam de parco suo quam de dicto parco abbatis ex utraque parte uie que ducit uersus uillam de Anysty, et claudere uiam predictam  
 fo. 159<sup>v</sup> cum ratibus, et sic fugare / feras de parco ducis in parcum abbatis, feno et auenis in uia ad aliciendum feras proiectis. Fecit eciam idem dux capere feras in dicto parco suo uidelicet defensa Leycestrensi cum retibus, et mittere in parcum abbatis donec ad plenum instauraretur.<sup>3</sup>

*Appropriacio ecclesiarum de Humberston et Hungerton.* Eodem anno appropriate sunt per dictum ducem ecclesie de Humberstone et Hungurton ad abbatiam nostram Leycestrensem, ipso duce penes papam in propria persona mediante.<sup>4</sup> Eodem anno ordinate sunt stapule esse Londoniis ad magnum emolumentum regis, et magnum dampnum alienigenarum et mercatorum. Nam emolumentum regis per tale incrementum, ut dicebatur, continebat summam mille .c.ij. libras ultra quam aliquis rex habuerat ante.<sup>5</sup>

1353 Anno gracia millesimo .ccc.liij. sederunt iusticiarii apud Cestriam super le eyre magno tempore. Et in defensionem eorum, ne compatriote eos nocerent, assistebant prope in patria princeps Wallie, Henricus dux Lancastrie, comes Warwyche, comes Stafford, pro timore patrie. Iusticiarii, dominus Ricardus de Wylughby, dominus Willelmus de Scharshulle.<sup>6</sup>

1352 Daud rex Scocie transit apud Nouum Castrum super Tynam tractare de concordia inter Anglos et Scotos. Scoti uero refutarunt regem suum, nisi se in toto eximeret de consilio Anglorum, et

<sup>a</sup> ele cancelled by scribe

<sup>1</sup> On Bentley, see M. C. E. Jones, 'Edward III's captains in Brittany', p. 100 and n. 8. Knighton does not refer again to his death, which occurred before Dec. 1359.

<sup>2</sup> The statute was enacted in Feb. 1351: 25 Edw. III Stat. 2, c. 1, 2 (SR i. 311-12). See also below, p. 510-20.

Bentley, the keeper of Brittany, overcame many Frenchmen who attacked him, killing some, capturing some, and putting the rest to flight, but later he was killed by the deceit and treachery of his wife, as will appear.<sup>1</sup> In that same year the Statute of Labourers was published, and from that day they served their masters worse than  
 1351 ever before, but the judges and other ministers constantly increased the king's revenue, and lorded it over the people.<sup>2</sup>

*The abbot of Leicester's wood emparked.* In that same year Duke Henry gave the abbot and convent licence to enclose and empark their wood, and the duke caused the wood to be stocked with beasts from Leicester forest. For he himself ordered the fence to be broken down, both of his own and of the abbot's park, on either side of the road that leads towards the village of Anstey, and the roadway to be closed off with nets, and so the beasts moved from the duke's park into the abbot's, hay and oats having been strewn on the road to entice them. And the duke also caused beasts in his said park, namely Leicester forest, to be taken with nets, and put into the abbot's park to stock it more fully.<sup>3</sup>

*The churches of Humberstone and Hungarton impropriated.* In the same year the churches of Humberstone and Hungarton were appropriated to our abbey of Leicester by the said duke, he himself speaking to the pope.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the staple was established in London to the great gain of the king, and the great loss of foreigners and merchants, for the king's revenue was so much increased, it was said, that it was £1,200 higher than it had been before.<sup>5</sup>

In the year of grace 1353 the justices in eyre sat for a long time at Chester, and to protect them, for fear that the men of that county might attack them, the prince of Wales, Duke Henry of Lancaster, and the earl of Stafford, attended upon them there. The justices were Sir Richard Willoughby and Sir William Sharesull.<sup>6</sup>

1352 King David of Scotland went to Newcastle upon Tyne to discuss an agreement between the English and the Scots. However the Scots refused to have their king unless he entirely renounced the influence of the English, and similarly refused to submit themselves to them.

<sup>3</sup> See Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 32-3; and L. Fox and P. Russell, *Leicester Forest* (Leicester, 1948), p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 25, 31. Lancaster performed similar services for other houses: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 188 n. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 205-7.

<sup>6</sup> See H. J. Hewitt, *Medieval Cheshire* (Manchester, 1929), pp. 16-18. The eyre is enrolled in PRO Ches/17/4.

1352 similiter de eorum subieccione. Et minati sunt ei se nolle ipsum redimere, nec redempcionem pro eo facere, nisi pardonaret eis omnes querelas et grauamina per eos facta cunctaque delicta a tempore capcionis eius, et de hoc, eis securitatem facere. Sin aliter, minabantur se uelle alium regem super se erigere.<sup>1</sup>

1353 Iam redeamus ad ea que facta sunt apud Cestriam, priusquam ulterius procedamus de Scotis. Illi de patria Cestrie uidentes enormitatem delictorum suorum, et se non posse pro tempore in iudicio pro fortitudine aduersa contendere, finem fecerunt cum principe Wallie domino suo pro .v. millia marcis et .lx., soluendis infra quatuor annos proximos sequentes. Et fecerunt securitatem, qualem princeps petere uoluit, ea quidem condicione quod le eyre non transiret super eos. Cumque se crederent esse quietos et liberatos in toto, iusticiarii sederunt de nouo super Traylbastons, et leuauerunt pecuniam ultra mensuram, et multe terre et tenementa seisita in manus principis, et fines multas fecerunt<sup>a</sup> quasi sine numero.<sup>2</sup>

Et in redeundo uenit princeps per abbathiam de Dewleucres, et uidit ibi miram structuram fabrice ecclesie quam inceperat rex bonus Edwardus, et contulit eis de mera elemosina sua in subuencionem operis predicti .v.c. marcas. Homo credebat sub tali summa, ipsum decimasse perquisitum suum de comitatu Cestrie.<sup>3</sup>

Tunc ordinatum est de consilio regis Londoniis quod domini de plaga boriali cum comite Northampton, et cum omnibus qui terras clamant in Scocia, intrare deberent cum rege Daud in Scociam, et comes Stafford pergere deberet in Vasconiam.<sup>4</sup> Dux Lancastrie et comes de Arundelle, episcopus Norwyche, dominus Bartholomeus de Borogwas, dominus Michael de Nortborgh, et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cum multis aliis missi sunt apud Calesiam ad tractandum de concordia inter regna Anglie et Francie. Tunc concessa est treuga usque ad Pascham sequentem.<sup>5</sup>

1350 Nec obliuioni tradendum arbitror quod cum comes de Ewe qui captus fuerat apud Camodum, cum diu moram traxisset in Anglia, licenciatus est sub redempcione .xx. millia scutorum adire patriam

<sup>a</sup> *ecc superimposed by a later hand*

<sup>1</sup> See Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', p. 133; and above, p. 112 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On sessions of trailbaston, a judicial commission to repress disorder, see A. Harding, 'Early trailbaston proceedings from the Lincoln roll of 1305', in *Medieval Legal Records edited in Memory of C. A. F. Meekings*, ed. R. F. Hunnisett and J. B. Post (London, 1978), pp. 144-51.

<sup>3</sup> The abbey was not Dieulacres, Staffs, but the Cistercian house of Vale Royal in

And they warned him that they would neither ransom him nor allow him to be ransomed unless he pardoned them for all the acts and injuries that they had done, and all the offences that they had committed during the time of his captivity, and he should give them security for that, or otherwise they threatened to choose another king to rule them.<sup>1</sup>

Now let us return to what was done in Chester, before we go any further with the Scots. The men of Chester, conscious of the enormity of their offences, and unable to face them out while the court was sitting, made fine with their lord, the prince of Wales, for 5,060 marks to be paid within the four years following, and they offered any security the prince might exact, on condition that the eyre might not come upon them again. And then when they believed that they were quit, and altogether free, the justices began a new session of trailbaston, and raised money beyond measure, and took many lands and tenements into the prince's hands, and levied fines almost innumerable.<sup>2</sup>

On his return the prince came to the abbey of [Vale Royal], and saw there the marvellous fabric of the church which good King Edward [I] had begun, and in pure charity he gave the abbey 500 marks in support of the aforesaid work. And it was believed that that sum amounted to one tenth of his whole income from the county of Chester.<sup>3</sup>

It was then ordered by the king's council in London that the lords of the north country, with the earl of Northampton and all who claimed lands in Scotland, should go into Scotland with King David, and that the earl of Stafford should continue in Gascony.<sup>4</sup> The duke of Lancaster and the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Norwich, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Sir Michael Northburgh, and the archbishop of Canterbury, with many others, were sent to Calais to discuss an accord between England and France. Then a truce was granted until the Easter following [13 April 1354].<sup>5</sup>

Nor should it be forgotten that when the count of Eu, who was taken prisoner at Caen, had spent some time in England, he was allowed upon promise of a ransom of 20,000 *écus* to return home to

Delamere Forest, Cheshire, which Edward I had founded with great enthusiasm, but which had languished since: *VCH Cheshire*, iii. 160. See also *King's Works* i. 248-54.

<sup>4</sup> See Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', pp. 132-3.

<sup>5</sup> On the Anglo-French negotiations of 1354, see *Foedera*, 1344-61, pp. 275-6, 283-5; and Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 210-12.

fo. 160<sup>r</sup> 1350

suam pro redempcione / sua querenda. Et cum peruenisset coram magnatibus Francie, commendauit Anglos de tanta humanitate, honore, et urbanitate, que in eis reppererat, quod rex Francie et plures magnatum habuerunt eum suspectum. Et apprehensus est et maliciose interemptus absque alia causa. Et rex Francie dedit terras eius Karolo de Spayne, et fecit illum senescallum Francie, qui antea fuerat miles simplex et pauper.<sup>1</sup>

1353

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.liij. Isto anno fuit yhems<sup>a</sup> longa, dura, et frigida. Incepit ad festum Sancti Nicholai et durauit usque ad festum Sancti Gregorii continue. Et superuenit tempestas magna et ualida uentorum dilapidans cooperturas<sup>b</sup> ecclesiarum, molendinos et magnas arbores et multa mala faciens: talis tempestas diebus nostris uisa non fuerat.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem tempore uiginti milites de Francia 'optulerunt hastiludiarē' contra .xx. de Vasconia, et assignauerunt locum in marchia inter Vasconiam et Franciam. Et fecerunt securitatem altera pars ad alteram, locum non dimittere, dummodo esset unus qui uellet aduersarium hastiludiando occupare. Et tam fortiter et diu officium suum exequi sunt, quod de parte Francorum non remanserunt uiui, nisi tantum<sup>d</sup> tres. Ex altera parte multi wulnerati sunt. Et nobilis miles dominus de Pomers eciam mortuus est.<sup>3</sup>

Dominus Carolus de Bloys, qui captus fuerat in Britannia per dominum Thomam de Dagworthe, transiuit in patriam suam sub hostagiis querere pecuniam redempcionis sue et uenit ad insulam de Tristrem cum securitate facta causa repausacionis, et spatiatu est,<sup>e</sup> et cum uidisset infirmiora patrie postea superuenit cum .iij.c. uiris armatis et clam occiderunt quosque inibi inuenerunt, quasi miles<sup>f</sup> perfidus et infidelis et ibi se tenuit.<sup>4</sup>

1354

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.liiij. filius Rogeri de Mortuo Mari factus est comes de<sup>g</sup> Marchia, et rex redonauit ei terras patris eius,<sup>h</sup> quas contulerat comiti de Salisbyry post forisfacturam Rogeri de Mortuo Mari et eius mortem. Eodem tempore comes de Warwyk clamauit dominium terrarum de Gower in Wallia, quas dominus le

<sup>a</sup> h of yhems imposed by reviser over b<sup>b</sup> cooperturas interlined by scribe<sup>c</sup> optulerunt hastiludiarē written over erasure<sup>d</sup> Superimposed by reviser<sup>e</sup> Interlined by reviser<sup>f</sup> quasi and the m of miles superimposed by reviser<sup>g</sup> Repeated and cancelled by scribe<sup>h</sup> sui T<sup>1</sup> Knighton refers here to the count of Eu's return and death, which happened in the autumn of 1350, to explain the availability of his estates: see Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 67–9.

seek the money, and when he came amongst the magnates of France he so praised the English for the humanity, and sense of honour, and refinement, that he had found in them that the French king and many of the nobles became suspicious of him, and he was arrested and wickedly put to death for no other reason than that. And the king of France gave his lands to Charles d'Espagne and made him, who had been only a poor and simple knight, seneschal of France.<sup>1</sup>

1350

In the year of grace 1353, the winter was long, hard, and cold. It began at the feast of St Nicholas [6 Dec.], and ran unbroken until the feast of St Gregory [12 Mar. 1354], and then there came a violent and destructive storm of wind which tore off the roofs of churches and mills, and cast down great trees, doing much damage: such a storm as had not been seen in our days.<sup>2</sup>

1353

At that same time, twenty French knights arranged a tournament against twenty knights from Gascony, and chose a place in the march between Gascony and France. They made a compact that they would not quit the field as long as there was anyone who wished to continue the fight, and they fought so long and so fiercely that on the French side only three were left alive, and on the other many were wounded, and that noble knight the lord of Pommiers was slain.<sup>3</sup>

Sire Charles de Blois, who was captured in Brittany by Sir Thomas Dagworth, returned to his own country, leaving hostages, to seek money for his ransom, and he came to the island of Tristan under cover of his mission, and looked about him, and when he saw how weakly it was held he returned furtively, with 300 men-at-arms, and slew those he found there, like a treacherous and untrue knight, and there he stayed.<sup>4</sup>

In the year of grace 1354 the son of Roger Mortimer was made earl of March, and the king restored his father's lands to him, which had been made over to the earl of Salisbury after Roger Mortimer's forfeiture and death. At the same time the earl of Warwick claimed the lordship of the lands of Gower in Wales, which Lord Mowbray

1354

Charles d'Espagne's good fortune did not last long, as he was murdered, by Charles of Navarre, on 8 Jan. 1354: *ibid.*, pp. 82–4, and below, p. 130.<sup>2</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 142.<sup>3</sup> See Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 36. The episode has overtones of the Battle of the Thirty at Ploermel, Brittany, two years earlier: Bridge, 'Calveley and Knolles', pp. 115–23; Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 196–7.<sup>4</sup> Charles returned to captivity after his first release in 1353, and remained in England until 1356, when he made an agreement for the payment of his ransom. See Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 229–30, and M. C. E. Jones, *Creation of Brittany*, pp. 165–6.

1354 Moubray possiderat toto tempore a conquestu Wallie. Vnde orta est lis et discordia inter partes. Tandem rex de fauore fecit inquisitionem Londoniis de militibus et serianciis dicte patrie, et per inquisitionem predictam, date sunt terre comiti de Warwyc.<sup>1</sup>

Eo tempore capta est treuga inter Angliam et Franciam, Vasconiam et Britanniam, usque ad Pascha proximo sequens, ad tractandum medio tempore de pace competenti. Et missi sunt apud Auinionem ad papam dux Lancastrie, comes de Arundelle, episcopus Norwycensis, et plures magnati.<sup>a</sup> Cum autem <aduenirent><sup>b</sup> ambassiatores Francie uidelicet dux Burbonie, comes de Armenak, et alii, dedixerunt cunctos<sup>c</sup> articulos ad quos assensum prebuerant et conuenerant apud Calesiam. Et sub breui eloquio, nullam concordiam amplecti uolebant nisi ad suam propriam uoluntatem. Et dixerunt se paratos et satis potentes ad tuendam partem suam contra Anglicos cunctis diebus seculi et sic abinuicem recesserunt.

Nam primo pecierunt Franci quod rex Anglie omitteret arma Francie. Item quod rex Anglie faceret homagium regi Francie pro Vasconia. Respondit dux Lancastrie quod arma Francie que tulerat de consilio hominum suorum legiorum de Francia, non omitteret pro quoquam uiuente. Item rex Anglie non faceret homagium homini de quo clamat superior esse iure heredi / tario, ex parte matris sue. Quod si aliam uiam pacis rationabilem capere uellent, rex Anglie tanquam pacis amator amplecti desiderat.<sup>2</sup>

*Qualis dux Lancastrie intrauit Auinioniam.* Henricus dux Lancastrie et cum eo comes de Arundelle et ceteri uenerunt Auinioniam in uigilia natalis Domini cum .ij.c. equis. De quibus fuerunt .xxxij. cum hernesii cooperti. Et moram traxit ibidem per .vj. septimanas cum pleno honore. Et eo appropinquante ad ciuitatem occurrerunt ei de episcopis, proceribus, ciuibus et communibus, ad numerum .ij. millia equorum. Et tanta extitit turba obuiancium, quod ab hora diei tercia usque ad horam uesperarum uix potuerunt pontem uille pertransire. Et cum intrasset ciuitatem regraciabatur cunctis, et dirrexit iter suum uersus palacium pape. Quo cum peruenisset, extra portam descendit ab equo. Et ingressus ad papam, cum reuerencia debita prout bene

<sup>a</sup> ti written over erasure  
reviser or a later hand

<sup>b</sup> No mark of omission in T

<sup>c</sup> cunc superimposed by

<sup>1</sup> Roger Mortimer's execution in 1330 had marked the beginning of Edward's personal rule (Lumby, *Knighon*, i. 453-8; and *CP* viii. 441. For the restitution of his estates to his grandson Roger, see *ibid.*, pp. 443-4). Warwick won his action against Mowbray in 1354,

had held ever since the conquest of Wales, whereupon a lawsuit and contention arose between the parties. And at last the king out of partiality arranged an inquest in London by the knights and serjeants of the said lands, and the inquest awarded the lands to the earl of Warwick.<sup>1</sup>

At that time a truce was made between England and France, Gascony, and Brittany, until the Easter following [5 April 1355] to discuss a lasting peace in the mean time, and the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Arundel, the bishop of Norwich, and many lords, were sent to Avignon, to the pope. However, when the ambassadors of France, namely the duke of Burgundy, the count of Armagnac, and others arrived, they repudiated the articles to which they had assented and agreed at Calais. And in a word, they refused to proceed to any agreement except on their own terms, and declared that they were ready and well able to maintain their cause against the English until the end of the world, and thus they departed.

For the French asked first, that the English should not display the arms of France, and that the English should do homage to the king of France for Gascony. To which the duke of Lancaster replied that the king bore the arms of France upon the advice of his liege men of France, and that he would not give them up for anyone alive; that the king of England would not do homage to one to whom he claimed superiority by the hereditary right of his mother; and that if the French desired any reasonable way to peace, the king of England, as a lover of peace, would willingly take it.<sup>2</sup>

*How the duke of Lancaster came to Avignon.* Duke Henry of Lancaster came to Avignon, with the earl of Arundel and others, on Christmas Eve [24 Dec. 1354], with 200 horses, of which thirty-two were arrayed in full harness, and stayed there for six weeks with the greatest honour. And when he approached the city there came to meet him bishops, noblemen, citizens, and commons to the number of 2,000 horse, and there was such a crowd in the way that from nine in the morning to the late afternoon they were scarcely able all to cross the bridge. And when he had entered the city he thanked them all, and made his way to the pope's palace. And when he came to the gate he dismounted, and went in to the pope with due reverence, which he well knew how to display, and greeted him. And they had such

but the lordship was later confiscated and regranted to him in 1360: *Glamorgan County History*, ed. T. B. Pugh (Cardiff, 1971), iii., 251-2

<sup>2</sup> On Lancaster's rôle in the negotiations, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 137-44.

1354 sciebat, salutauit eum. Et ut breuitas temporis exigebat, mutuo colloquentes, abbiit ad hospicium suum.

Hillaritas dapium et poculentorum omnibus uenire uolentibus et refici cupientibus semper parata erat quamdiu ibi moram traxit. Et talem prouidenciam ibidem fecerat, quod tota curia mirabatur. Prouidencia uini ante aduentum suum, in cellaria sua, erat .c. doliorum. Et tantam humanitatem omnibus exhibuit, et precipue pape et cardinalibus, quod dicebant non esse ei parem in toto mundo. Post recessum suum de curia Franci circumuenerunt eum insidiis ut eum caperent, sed Deo adiuuante per multas cautelas euasit, et uenit in Angliam cum honore.<sup>1</sup>

1355 Eodem anno natus est regi filius Thomas de Wodstoke qui postea factus est dux Gloucestrie, et duxit uxorem filiam comitis Herefordie seniore; comes uero Derbye, ut infra patebit, duxit alteram sororem iuniorem, inter quas diuisa est hereditas.<sup>2</sup>

*Millesimo .ccc.lv.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lv. rex Francie Iohannes<sup>a</sup> Valoys misit marescallum Dondena cum .viiij.c. uiris armatis in Scociam in nocumentum Anglorum, et subsidium Scotorum. Et ordinati sunt manere certo loco super Marchia. Set nescientes uiuere secundum morem patrie, cito repatriaerunt.<sup>3</sup>

Post Pentecostem rex tenuit consillium apud Londonias, et misit in Vasconiam contra Francos principem Wallie filium suum, comitem de Warwik, comitem Oxonie, comitem de Soffolk, cum .viiij.c. uiris armatis, mille .iiij.c. sagittariis, et applicuerunt in portu de Gerounde. Et magnates terre tam episcopi quam alii occurrerent eis obuam leti de aduentu eorum, et receperunt eos cum honore. Et optulerunt se principi tanquam domino suo legio, cum bonis<sup>b</sup> et catallis, in omnibus suis agendis uiuere et mori cum illo, si tamen moram trahere uellet cum eis ad eorum defensionem. Et erant parati cum<sup>c</sup> eo.<sup>4</sup>

*Duo uexilla aparuerunt in firmamento.* In estate sequenti aparuerunt duo uexilla in firmamento, unum rubium, et aliud azurium, et in multis partibus regni uidebantur a pluribus. Et congregiebantur simul alterum aduersus alterum rebellando. Tandem uexillum rubium debellauit azurium, et prostrauit ad terram sub se, ut uidebatur.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> h interlined by reviser  
later hand

<sup>b</sup> Repeated

<sup>c</sup> cu superimposed by reviser or a

<sup>1</sup> See further Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 136–7; G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon 1307–76* (London, 1963), p. 315.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas was born 7 Jan. 1355, and married Eleanor de Bohun in 1376–7. He was created duke of Gloucester in 1385 (see below, pp. 336–8).

1354 conversation together as the time allowed, and then he withdrew to his lodgings.

The merriment of the feasts and receptions that were provided there for all comers during his stay, and the provision that he made for them, were such that all the court marvelled. The wine brought into his cellars before he arrived amounted to 100 tuns. And he showed such courtesy to all, and especially to the pope and the cardinals, that they said that there was none other like him in the world. After he left the court the French laid ambushes to capture him, but by God's grace he escaped them, by many contrivances, and came with honour back to England.<sup>1</sup>

1355 In that year a son was born to the king, Thomas of Woodstock, who later was made duke of Gloucester, and married the earl of Hereford's elder daughter, and the earl of Derby, as will appear later, married the younger, and the inheritance was divided between them.<sup>2</sup>

*1355.* In the year of grace 1355 Jean Valois the king of France sent the [lord of Garencières] to Scotland with 800 men-at-arms, to harry the English and assist the Scots, and they were ordered to stay at a certain place in the March, but not knowing how to live in the manner of that country they were soon sent home again.<sup>3</sup>

After Whitsun [24 May 1355] the king held a council in London, and sent his son, the prince of Wales, into Gascony against the French, with the earl of Warwick, the earl of Oxford, and the earl of Suffolk, with 800 men-at-arms and 1,400 archers. And they landed in the haven of the Gironde, and the magnates of the land, both bishops and others, came to meet them and rejoiced at their coming, and received them with honour. And they offered themselves to the prince as their liege lord, with their goods and chattels, to live and die with him in all his undertakings, if at last he would stay with them and protect them; and they stood ready with him.<sup>4</sup>

*Two banners seen in the sky.* In the following summer two banners appeared in the sky, one red and the other blue, and they were seen by many in divers parts of the kingdom, and they dashed together, the one contending with the other, and at last the red banner overcame the blue, and threw it down to the ground beneath, as it seemed.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 160–1; Delachenal, *Charles V* i. 108, n. 3. Yon de Garencières (not the Marshal d'Audrechem), described as the king of France's lieutenant in Scotland, arrived with fifty men-at-arms in 1355, and was responsible for taking Berwick, though he withdrew before it was recaptured: see below, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> On Aquitaine, see Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–6*, pp. 7, 10, 14–42.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps a manifestation of the *aurora borealis*: Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 142.

1355 *Rex transit in Franciam.* Ad translacionem Sancti Thome rex Edwardus transiit cum .xxxviii. magnis nauibus de Londoniis per Tamesiam ad les Downes. Dux Lancastrie Henricus erat cum eo. Et habebant secum .xv. millia uirorum armatorum, de sagittariis .ij. millia. Et in eodem loco fecerunt .xxvij. milites, uidelicet .ij. filios regis, Leonellum<sup>a</sup> et Iohannem de Gaunt; .ij. filios comitis Warwyche, Gydonem et Thomam, filium comitis Oxonie, dominum le Mowbray, et alios plures filios dominorum regni. Deinde transierunt in Franciam per maritima Normannie, remigantes in mari, uolentes loqui cum rege Nauernie prout ante promiserant duci Lancastrie obuiare eis in aliquo certo loco et te/nere cum eis.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 161<sup>r</sup>

Nam rex Nauernie ea de causa, uenerat ad castellum suum in Normannia. Et rex Francie explorauerat eum, ut eum caperet, propter mortem Caroli de Hispania.<sup>2</sup> Sed quando rex Francie cognouit quod rex Nauernie percepisset propositum suum, misit ad eum reginam Francie et alios magnos de regno, qui eum excusarent, et promisit regi Nauernie quod nunquam impechiaret eum pro morte dicti Caroli de Hispania, nec de aliqua alia feloniam sibi et suis illata, set gauderet et teneret libere et quiete quicquid haberet in Normannia, siue castella siue quecumque alia, sine impedimento, uel contradiccione regis Francie, uel nocumento suorum. Et ipse fidem adhibens<sup>b</sup> eorum blandis promissis nequiter deceptus est, ut infra patebit.<sup>3</sup>

*Scoti et Hibernici adunati.* Eodem tempore Scoti et Hibernici adunati intrauerunt Anglicam Hiberniam, et ceperunt destruere patriam in circuitu per .x. leucas. Et boriales Hibernici, qui de rege Anglie tenent, congregati dederunt eis prelium et occiderunt de illis .ij. millia .viii.c., et reportauerunt de illis predam magnam et lucrum de hiis que rapuerant de Anglis.<sup>4</sup>

Eodem tempore congregati sunt Scoti in .iiij. aciebus, et proposuerunt intrare quidam per Carlolum, quidam per Berwycum. Anglici parauerunt se obuiare eis in prelium. Et cum percipissent quod Angli disponderent se pugnare cum eis, ceperunt tractare de treuga, et concessa est usque ad festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste

<sup>a</sup> *Second e interlined by reviser*<sup>b</sup> *h interlined by reviser*

<sup>1</sup> Lancaster had been in close touch with Charles since 1354, and probably since 1352 (see above, p. 118 n. 1). He was held by contrary winds in 1355, and in the mean time Charles, who arrived in Cherbourg in Aug., made his peace with Jean. Lancaster and Edward did not cruise together, and Edward eventually went to France in November: Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 139–41, 147–8; Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 106–11; and below, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 124 and n. 1.

*The king crosses to France.* At the translation of St Thomas [7 July 1355] King Edward crossed to France with thirty-eight great ships, down the Thames from London to the Downs. Duke Henry of Lancaster was with him, and they had with them 15,000 men-at-arms and 2,000 archers. And there they made twenty-seven knights, namely two of the king's sons, Lionel, and John of Gaunt, two of the earl of Warwick's sons, Guy and Thomas, the earl of Oxford's son, the Lord Mowbray, and many other sons of lords of the realm. Then they crossed to France to the coast of Normandy, rowing offshore, wishing to speak with the king of Navarre, who had promised the duke of Lancaster that he would meet them at a certain place and join them.<sup>1</sup>

1355

For the king of Navarre had come to his castle in Normandy for that purpose, and the king of France was searching for him, to arrest him for Charles d'Espagne's death.<sup>2</sup> But when the king of France realized that the king of Navarre had discovered his intention, he sent the queen of France to him, with other magnates of the realm, who excused him, and promised the king of Navarre that the king would never impeach him for the death of the said Charles d'Espagne, nor for the other crimes which he and his men had committed, but that he should enjoy and hold freely and peacefully all that he had in Normandy, whether castles, or anything else, without hindrance or challenge from the king of France, or harm to his men. And by putting faith in those bland assurances he was greatly deceived, as will subsequently appear.<sup>3</sup>

*The Scots and the Irish band together.* At that time the Scòts and the Irish joined together and invaded the English zone of Ireland, and laid the countryside waste for ten leagues around. And the northern Irish, who are the king of England's men, gathered and gave them battle, and killed 2,800 of them, and took away the great plunder and riches which they had looted from the English.<sup>4</sup>

At the same time the Scots assembled three armies, and planned to invade, some by way of Carlisle, and some by Berwick. The English prepared to meet them in battle, but when they saw that the English were drawn up to fight them they began to ask for a truce, and it was granted to them until the feast of St John the Baptist next following

<sup>3</sup> Charles was arrested, and his associates executed, in April 1356: Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 144–57, an event to which Knighton refers only in passing. See also above, p. 124 n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> There was continual unrest, especially in Leinster, during these years: what agreements there may have been with the Scots is not clear. See J. Lydon, *Ireland in the later Middle Ages* (Dublin, 1973), pp. 82–3.



1355 proxime sequens.<sup>a</sup> Et plures magnates aliquilonares transierunt cum rege apud Calesiam ad festum Sancti Michelis sequens.<sup>b 1</sup>

*Homines insanierunt.* In ista estate crassauit quedam enormis infirmitas, acsi esset de temptacione malorum spirituum. Nam gentes insanierunt, et facti sunt dementes toto ubique regno, in uillis et campis, et sic amentes cucurrerunt ad siluas et loca densosa abscondere se tanquam fere fugientes consortia hominum, et quidam currebant in campis ad uillas, et de uillis ad campos, nunc hic, nunc illuc, quasi de se non curantes, et uix potuerunt comprehendi. Et quidam se cultellis wnerabant, et dentibus laniabant ipsos capere uolentes. Et multi capti, ducti sunt ad ecclesiam et ibi uincti iacebant, donec a Deo releuacionem acciperent. Et in quibusdam ecclesiis uideres .x. aut .xij. alicubi plures, alicubi pauciores, quod grauis dolor erat intueri passionem eorum.<sup>2</sup>

Nunc redeamus ad regem Francie, qui congregauit grandem exercitum, et disposuit se uenire uersus Calesiam, multum elatus et audacior, eo quod subtraxerat regem Nauernie, et eius potestatem morantem in Normannia.<sup>3</sup>

1354 *De fratribus minoribus succensis igne in curia.* Nec<sup>c</sup> pretereunda arbitror que eodem tempore in curia Romana acciderunt.<sup>4</sup> Erant quidam fratres de ordine Minorum in illis partibus, qui sepius predicabant et pronunciabant papam Iohannem .xxij. hereticum et excommunicatum,<sup>d</sup> et omnes successores suos, et quod nullum ius haberent nec potestatem Sancti Petri edere constitutionem contra ordinem Sancti Francisci aut in preiudicium. Deinde capti sunt et quesitum est ab eis utrum papa posset mutare habitum eorum et transferre eos ad ordinem predicatorum. Responderunt quod non. Item si papa posset dispensare cum eis habere granaria et cellaria, pro stauo reseruando. Responderunt quod non. Item si crederent quod papa Iohannes antedictus capud esset<sup>e</sup> ecclesie Cristi, dixerunt quod non. Item si crederent decretalem quam papa Iohannes edidit, que

<sup>a</sup> sequent' T  
lined by reviser

<sup>b</sup> sequent' T

<sup>c</sup> Superimposed by a later hand

<sup>d</sup> x inter-

<sup>e</sup> Corrected from esse by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish truce was made around Michaelmas 1355: Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 199–200.

<sup>2</sup> The outbreak, whatever its nature, is not noticed in Creighton, *History of Epidemics*. It may have been hysterical in origin, but the manifestations of mania have more in common with ergotism than had the epidemic of 1340 (above, p. 36). See further R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, pp. 91–2, 108–9

<sup>3</sup> Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 109; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 148. See also above, p. 130 n. 3.

[24 June 1356]. And many of the northern magnates crossed with the king to Calais at the Michaelmas following [29 Sept. 1355].<sup>1</sup>

*People run mad.* During that summer there spread a great sickness which was like some torment by evil spirits. For all over the kingdom people went out of their minds, and behaved like madmen in field and township. Some thus deranged fled into woods and dense places, as though they were wild beasts shunning the presence of men, whilst others ran from the fields into the townships, and from the townships into the fields, now here, now there, without regard for themselves, and it was extremely difficult to catch them. And some wounded themselves with knives or tore with their teeth those who tried to capture them. And many were taken and led into church, and left there bound until they received some relief from God, and in some churches you might see ten or a dozen of them, or more or fewer, and it was a great sorrow to behold their suffering.<sup>2</sup>

And now let us return to the king of France, who assembled a large army and prepared to advance on Calais, much cheered and emboldened because he had suborned the king of Navarre and left him with his forces in Normandy.<sup>3</sup>

*Of the Franciscans committed to the fire at the papal court.* Nor should we forget what happened at this time in the Roman curia.<sup>4</sup> There were in those parts certain friars of the Order of Minorites who frequently preached and proclaimed that Pope John XXII, and all his successors, were heretical and excommunicate, and that they had no right nor power from St Peter to enact anything against or to the prejudice of the Order of St Francis. On which account they were arrested, and it was asked of them whether the pope had power to change their habit and transfer them to the Dominican order. And they replied that he had not. Also, whether the pope could grant them dispensation to have garners and stores to keep their supplies. They answered that he could not. Also, whether they believed the aforesaid Pope John to be head of the Church of Christ. They said that they did not. Also,

<sup>4</sup> Four Spiritual Franciscans were burned at Avignon during Innocent VI's reign: Giovanni de Castiglione and Francesco Arquata on 3 June 1354 (S. Baluzius, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, ed. G. Mollat, i. 311, 332), and Mauricius — and Jean de Narbonne either then or on some other occasion (N. Eymericus, *Directorio Inquisitorum* (Rome, 1578), p. 230; and O. Raynaldus, *Annales Ecclesiastici, 1198–1534* (Cologne, 1694), p. 363). On Castiglione and Arquata, see D. W. Whitfield, 'A Bedford fragment', pp. 1–11, and above, p. lxii n. 106. Although they were imprisoned for a time in Carcassonne, it seems likely that both were Italian, and that Castiglione was from Castiglione Fiorentino rather than Castellon de Ampurias: see J. R. H. Moorman, *Medieval Franciscan Houses* (Franciscan Institute Publication, History Series iv, St Bonaventure, NY, 1983).



1354 incipit 'Quorundam etcetera',<sup>1</sup> esse bonam et rationabilem, et fidei orthodoxe conuenientem, dixerunt quod non.

fo. 161<sup>v</sup> Sed dixerunt illam decretalem uoluntarie factam, in destructionem pauperum fratrum, et in condemnationem .iiii. fratrum arsorum apud Marsiliam,<sup>2</sup> et in despectum paupertatis Iesu Christi et Sancti Francisci. Item si crederent quod illi .iiii. fratres meruerunt / per mortem suam. Dixerunt ipsos gloriosos sanctos coram Iesu Christo et Sancto Francisco, et plures tales oppiniones predicabant et asseuerabant contra papalem dignitatem et manutenebant usque ad mortem.

Vnde adiudicati sunt ignis supplicio. Sed ante combustionem, unus eorum palam emisit talem confessionem.<sup>3</sup>

Ego Iohannes, indignus seruus Iesu Christi et Sancti Francisci profiteor et assero papam Iohannem hereticum, et sancte ecclesie inimicum, pro heresibus quas fecit in quatuor constitutionibus et fouebat. Prima incipit, 'Ad conditorem'. .2., 'Cum inter nonnullos'. .3., 'Quia quorundam'. .4., 'Quia uir reprobus'. Que sunt aperte contra sacram scripturam, et sanctam uitam apostolorum. Et ego Iohannes confiteor et assero credere et tenere cunctis Cristianis Benedictum papam .xij. et Clementem .vj. et Innocencium .vj., successores antedicti Iohannis, qui dictas hereses fouerant et pronunciauerant, uixisse hereticos et excommunicatos, et de omni gradu dignitatis priuabiles, et dignos pena, omnibus talibus ordinata. Et idem dico de omnibus terre prelatiis, et omnibus aliis qui ordinati sunt defendere ueritatem sancte matris ecclesie et fidem orthodoxam. Et de omnibus aliis cuiuscumque status gradus, dignitatis, uel condicionis fuerint.

Et in tali confessione uitam finierunt per combustionem ignis ad laudem et honorem sui ordinis ut credebant. Nam illi tenuerunt, et adhuc superstites tenent, quod ullus papa deberet eligi, nisi de ordine fratrum Minorum.

1355 Ad regem Anglie redeamus. Cum igitur rex Edwardus longo tempore alta maris palpitasset, nunciatum est ei quod rex Nauernie concordatus est cum rege Francie, ideoque disposuit se redire ad

<sup>1</sup> *Quorundam exigit caecae*, 7 Oct. 1317: *Bullarium Franciscanum*, ed. J. H. Sbaralea and C. Eubel (Rome, 1898), v. 128–30.

<sup>2</sup> In 1318: J. R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order from its Origins to the Year 1517* (Oxford, 1968), p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> The *confessio* is attributed to Giovanni de Castiglione. It is clear from D. W. Whitfield, 'A Bedford fragment', pp. 5–8, that Knighton has paraphrased the preceding account of the trial and the profession itself from the text now in Bedfordshire Record Office, PLBP/R1,

1354 whether they believed the decretal, issued by Pope John, which began *Certain of whom*, etc.,<sup>1</sup> to be good, and reasonable, and consonant with orthodox belief. And they said that they did not.

And they said that that decretal had been deliberately made to the destruction of the poor friars, and in condemnation of the four friars burned at Marseilles,<sup>2</sup> and in contempt of the poverty of Jesus Christ and St Francis. Also, they were asked whether they believed that those four friars deserved their fate. And they said that they were now saints in glory before Jesus Christ and St Francis. And they preached and asserted many such opinions against the dignity of the pope, and maintained them unto death.

Wherefore they were adjudged to the torment of the fire; but before he was burned one of them publicly uttered this confession.<sup>3</sup>

I, Giovanni, an unworthy slave of Christ and St Francis, declare and assert Pope John to have been an heretic and enemy of Holy Church, for the heresies that he published and maintained in his four constitutions, the first beginning *To the maker*, the second *Whereas amongst some*, the third, *Because of certain*, and the fourth, *Because the wicked man*, which are plainly contrary to Holy Scripture and the holy life of the Apostles. And I, Giovanni, declare and assert for all Christians to believe and hold that Popes Benedict XII, and Clement VI, and Innocent VI, the successors of the aforesaid John, who maintained and promulgated the said heresies, lived heretics and excommunicate, and ought to have been stripped of all dignities, and to have received the punishment appointed for all such as they. And I say the like of all such bishops on earth and others ordained to defend the truth of holy mother Church and the orthodox faith, and of all such others, of whatsoever estate, degree, dignity, or condition they be.

And in that faith they ended their lives by burning in the fire, to the praise and honour of their Order, as they supposed. For they believed, and to this day their successors still maintain, that no pope should be chosen who is not of the Minorite order.

Let us return to the king of England. When King Edward had been a long time tossed on the high seas, he heard that the king of Navarre 1355

or a closely-derived source. The bulls to which the profession refers are *Ad conditorem canonum*, 8 Dec. 1322 (*Bull. Francisc.* v. 233–46); *Cum inter nonnullos*, 12 Nov. 1323 (*ibid.* 256–9); *Quia quorundam mentes*, 7 Oct. 1317 (*ibid.* 271–80); and *Quia uir reprobus*, 16 Nov. 1329 *ibid.* 408–49).

1355 Calesiam. Et ibi fuerunt Franci congregati et iacebant ex omni parte ultra numerum expectantes eum. Et dicebant se uelle inire cum eo bellum quandocunque ueniret et uellet.

Die Animarum rex transiuit cum .iij. millia uiris armatis, et mille sagittariis, et sic de omni genere populi .x. millia, et uenit ad Gynes, et inde ad Sanctum Omerum, deinde ad Hedyn. Rex Francie recessit et fugit Parisius et fecit prosternere omnes pontes post eum. Et uictualia et cetera bona delata sunt ad ciuitates et castella, et ita defuerunt uictualia Anglis. Tunc necesse erat redire ad Calesiam. Quo cum peruenisset nunciatum est regi quod uilla de Berwyk capta esset per Scotos. Sed in redeundo Calesiam dederunt patriam flamme et incendio.<sup>1</sup>

*Berwyk capta.* Qualiter capta sit Berwyk extat narracio. Scoti absconderunt se in uno bosco, et fugare fecerunt unam predam bestiarum prope uillam de Berwyk, et illi de uilla exierunt rapere predam ab illis et sequebantur, et subito uenerunt super Scotos. Qui ex utraque occurrentes, ceperunt eos et occiderunt, paucis de minoribus ualentibus reseruatis. Et in crastino cum custodes murorum sopori se dedissent, miserunt scalas ad muros, et subito introierunt. Et inuenerunt eos improuisos, inuaserunt, et occiderunt quos inuenerunt.<sup>2</sup> Rex igitur festinauit et uenit ad Nouum Castrum.

Princeps Wallie nunc est in Vasconia et peragrat fines Francie cum .l. millia uiris armatis, de pedalibus absque numero, de Anglicis et Vasconis. Et capit uillas et castella ad placitum suum, et patriam sub tributo et subiectione ex omni parte subiecit; Vasconia manet letabunda, quia non est qui eam inquietet.<sup>3</sup>

1356 fo. 162<sup>r</sup> *Berwyc redditur regi Edwardo.* Cum igitur rex Edwardus uenisset Berwycum, tanta potestas Anglorum occurit ei undique / quod hii qui in uilla fuerunt, uidelicet .c.xxx. uiri, rogauerunt regem quod possent reddere uillam, et habere uitam et membra, et rex concessit. Die Epiphanie Edwardus Baliol qui clamauit ius corone Scocie, donauit totum ius suum<sup>a</sup> Leonello filio regis Anglie Edwardi, cunctis qui aderant intuentibus.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex Edwardus in Scotia.* In crastino Conuersionis Sancti Pauli rex Edwardus intrauit in Scociam cum .iij. aciebus. Qui cum uenisset

<sup>a</sup> Superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See Packe, *Edward III*, p. 214; and Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 160–1.

<sup>2</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 160–1; and above, p. 128 n. 3. The garrison of the castle held out: see Colvin, *King's Works*, ii. 567–8, which also describes the subsequent repairs to the town's defences.

1355 had been reconciled with the king of France, and therefore he prepared to return to Calais. And the French were gathered there in great number, and were casting about in all directions in search of him, and said that they were willing to give him battle whenever he came and sought it.

On All Souls' Day [2 Nov. 1355] the king crossed with 3,000 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers, and thus with a total force of 10,000, and he came to Guines, and went on to St Omer, and then to Hesdin. The king of France withdrew and fled to Paris, and caused all the bridges to be broken down behind him. And all foodstuffs and other supplies were taken into the cities and castles, so that there were no victuals for the English, and therefore they had to return to Calais. And when he came there, having put all the countryside to fire and flame on his way, the king was told that the town of Berwick had been captured by the Scots.<sup>1</sup>

*Berwick captured.* This is the story told of the capture of Berwick. The Scots hid themselves in a wood, and drove a herd of stolen cattle near the town, so that those inside came out to recover the herd, and they followed it, but suddenly came upon the Scots, who fell upon them from all sides, took them, and killed them all except for a few of the lesser sort. And the next morning while the guards were asleep the Scots put ladders to the walls, and broke in, and finding the townsmen unprepared they attacked them and killed all they found.<sup>2</sup> The king therefore made haste, and came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

The prince of Wales was now in Gascony, and traversed the confines of France with 50,000 men-at-arms, and an innumerable host of English and Gascon infantry. And he took castles and towns at his will, and laid the land everywhere under tribute and subjection, and Gascony rejoiced, for no-one troubled her.<sup>3</sup>

*Berwick surrenders to King Edward.* When therefore King Edward came to Berwick, he was joined by such a strong force of English, from all around, that those who were in the town, namely 130 men, asked the king whether they might surrender the town, and have life and limb, and the king agreed. At the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1356] Edward Balliol, who claimed the crown of Scotland, gave his whole right to the king's son Lionel, in the presence of all his followers.<sup>4</sup>

*King Edward in Scotland.* On the morrow of the Conversion of

<sup>3</sup> See Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 105–7.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 161. Knighton may be confusing Balliol's renunciation at Roxburgh with a proposal in 1363 to make John of Gaunt the reversionary heir to the Scottish crown: *ibid.*, pp. 134–8.

1356 apud Rokesborge multi de magnatibus Scotorum uenerunt et habuerunt colloquium cum rege Edwardo quasi uellent uenire ad fidem regis, et super hoc assignatus est dies de responso. Et rex cum populo suo quieuit in pace per .viiij. dies. At illi medio tempore cariauerunt bona sua ultra mare Scoticum.

Tunc Willelmus Duglas misit responsum per literas suas regi Edwardo se nolle omnino uenire ad pacem eius. Et super hoc rex carpit iter uersus Ednysborge cum .iiij. aciebus, et destruxerunt patriam per .viiij. leucas in circuitu et succenderunt igni et flamma.<sup>1</sup>

Scoti abstulerunt cuncta uictualia, ita quod Angli non habuerunt potum nisi solum recentem aquam per totum quindenam, et iccirco redierunt. Scoti autem semper affuerunt a latere et tergo capientes et interficientes quotquot de exercitu foriare exibant. Henricus dux Lancastrie preibat ulterius in Scociam, et intellexit Scotos se parare ad prelium et nunciauit regi. Qui regressus est festinanter<sup>a</sup> cum paucis de Mewrose ubi Angli hospitati fuerant. Et ceteri qui Angliam petebant, capti sunt in foresta de Etryk per Willelmum Duglas. Anno gracia millesimo .ccc.lvj. rex habuit consilium Londoniis et petit de clero decimam sexanuaem, ad soluendum in .iiij. annis, sed non concessit ea uice nisi unicum decimam.<sup>2</sup>

*Dux Lancastrie in Britannia et Francia.* Post Pentecostem dux Lancastrie et dux Britannie cum populo grandi perrexerunt in Britanniam. Sed primo transierunt in Normanniam super terras regis Nauernie, quem rex Francie per fraudem carceri mancipauerat, eo quod antea adheserat<sup>b</sup> regi Anglie.<sup>3</sup> Et primo apud Mountebrygge in insula Constantyn, et inde usque ad Carantan, et circuiuit terram undequaue ad placitum, et ad castellum, quod uocatur Pountdoudemer, regis Nauernie quod erat obsessum grandi numero Francorum. Qui cum audissent ducis aduentum, dimissis machinis et multis aliis necessariis, fugerent. Et instaurauit illud<sup>c</sup> uictualibus, et uiris et aliis necessariis. Et inde transiit ad Bretolliam regis eiam Nauernie que erat obsessa a Francis, et amouit obsidionem, et uictualibus ditauit.

Exinde processit ad ciuitatem Vernolliam, que dicitur una clauis

<sup>a</sup> ter superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> h interlined by reviser

<sup>c</sup> Written over erasure

<sup>1</sup> This was the Burnt Candlemas: Campbell, 'England, Scotland', p. 200.

<sup>2</sup> And that to be paid in two instalments; see E. W. Kemp, *Counsel and Consent*, pp. 106-7; *CFR* 1356-8, p. 16.

1356 St Paul [26 Jan. 1356] King Edward invaded Scotland with three battalions, and when he arrived at Roxburgh, many of the Scottish lords came and talked with him as though they wished to do fealty to him, and a day was appointed for an answer. And the king and his army remained still for eight days, during which the Scots carried their goods over the Firth of Forth.

Then William Douglas sent answer by his letters to King Edward saying that he did not wish to come into his peace. And thereupon the king made his way to Edinburgh, with three battalions, and they laid the country waste for eight leagues around, and put it to fire and flame.<sup>1</sup>

The Scots had carried off all the supplies, so that the English had nothing to drink but rain-water for a whole fortnight, and therefore they withdrew. But the Scots were always on either side, and behind them, taking and slaying those who left the army to forage. Duke Henry of Lancaster struck further into Scotland, believing that the Scots were ready to give battle, and so told the king, who came swiftly with a few men from Melrose, where the English had been staying; and the rest, who tried to make their way to England, were taken in the forest of Ettrick by Sir William Douglas.

In the year of grace 1356 the king held a council in London and asked the clergy for a tenth for six years, to be paid within three years, but they would not then grant him more than one tenth.<sup>2</sup>

*The duke of Lancaster in Brittany and France.* After Whitsun [12 June 1356] the duke of Lancaster and the duke of Brittany set out for Brittany with a great army, but they first crossed into Normandy into the lands of the king of Navarre, whom the king of France had cast into prison, by deceit, because he had formerly supported the king of England.<sup>3</sup> First they went to Montebourg in the Ile de Cotentin, and thence to Carentan. And they went everywhere through the land as they pleased, and came to the king of Navarre's castle which is called Pont-Audemer, which was besieged by a great number of Frenchmen who, when they heard that the duke was coming, abandoned their engines and much other equipment, and fled. And he stocked it with food, and men, and other supplies, and then went to Breteuil, which also belonged to the king of Navarre and was besieged by the French, and raised the siege and supplied the place with food.

<sup>3</sup> On the purpose and course of the campaign, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 148, 150-5; Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 175-87; and above, p. 130 n.3.

1356 Normannie, ciuitas robusta et fortis. Cuius una pars est in Normannia, altera in dulci Francia. Et cepit eam per insultum eodem die. Deinde fecit insultum ad castellum eodem die usque ad noctem, et die secundo, et die tercia usque ad terciam et tunc reddiderunt illud, habuit namque unum hordicium forte et bene prouisum, cum quo ad tales insultus operatus est mirabilia in prosternendo muros<sup>a</sup> castrorum.

fo. 162<sup>v</sup> In crastino nunciatum est ei quod rex Francie appropinquauerat et prope erat ad .v. leucas. Et continuo exiuit de uilla in campum et disposuit populum suum in acies, paratus ad prelium. Et moram fecit in campo donec audiret quod rex Francie appropinquare nec pugnare uellet. Interim rex Francie misit ad eum duos clarigarios<sup>b</sup> armorum dicens quod multo tempore / girauerat terras suas deuastando, et multa grauamina populo suo inferendo, uidebatur regi quod idem dux quereret bellum, et libenter impleretur.

Ad hec dux Lancastrie respondit dicens se et suos socios ad illas partes pro quibusdam negociis aduentasse et bene pro parte regracietur Deus prosecutos fuisse, et iam erat regrediens illicubi quo etiam habebat aliqua facere per uiam, et si rex Francie uel aliqui suorum ipsum impedire conarentur, ipse paratus erat ipsos ui repellere, et negocia itineris sui continuare. Et in abscondito nil facere proposuit. Sed ut rex Francie qua uia ipse tenderet scire posset, ipse lucernam post se accenderet.

Et rex quieuit illum persequi, quia consultus est ut eius regressum expectaret et etiam donec uoluntatem suam de principe Wallie adimpleret, credidit namque ambos subpeditasse. Et sic rex regressus<sup>c</sup> tetendit iter suum uersus principem.<sup>1</sup> Dux Lancastrie mouit se uersus Argentan, usque Turri, et usque ad abbathiam Sancti Fremundi, ubi transiuit aquam nimis periculosam, Franci uero pontem destruxerant.

Positique erant uiri qui locum pontis custodirent .lxvij. uiri armati, cum pluribus aliis. Quibus occurrerunt antequam exercitus Anglorum adueniret .xviij. uiri Angli, et occiderunt et wnerauerunt ita quod nullus eorum abire ualuit. Abinde mouit se dux ad Caratan,

<sup>a</sup> mu written over erasure

<sup>c</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>b</sup> Glossed as heroudes in the bottom margin

<sup>1</sup> See Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 105–7. On the information available to Jean,

1356 Then the duke went on to the city of Verneuil, which is called a key to Normandy, a strong and well-defended city, of which one part is in Normandy and the other in the sweet Île-de-France, and took it by assault the same day. And he went on to attack the castle that same day until nightfall, and the next day, and the third day until the middle of the morning, when they surrendered it. For he had a strong and well-equipped siege tower, which in such operations did wonders in throwing down the walls of castles.

The next morning he was told that the king of France had drawn near, and was five leagues away. And at once he came out of the town into the fields, and drew up his men in formation ready for battle. And he stayed in the field until he heard that the king of France did not want to come closer, nor to fight. Meanwhile the king of France sent two messengers-at-arms, or heralds, saying that for a long time the duke had gone about to destroy the king's lands, and had visited many evils upon his people, and that it seemed to the king that the duke was seeking battle, and that he would have it in full measure.

And to that the duke of Lancaster replied, saying that he and his companions had come to those parts to do certain business and, thanks be to God, some of it had been well accomplished. And now they were ready to move elsewhere, and would have other things to do on the way, and that if the king of France or any of his men tried to hinder them, they would thrust them aside and go on with the business of their journey. And that he did not intend to do anything by stealth, and so that the king of France should know in which direction he was travelling, he would leave a light burning behind him.

And the king refrained from following the duke, because he had been advised that he could expect him to return, and even that the duke would keep his promise concerning the prince of Wales, for he believed that the two would join forces. And therefore the king withdrew, and made his way towards the prince.<sup>1</sup> The duke of Lancaster went on towards Argentan, as far as Tours, and the abbey of Saint-Frémond, where he made a hazardous crossing, as the French had destroyed the bridge.

They had posted a force of sixty-seven men-at-arms to hold the crossing, together with many others, and eighteen Englishmen came upon them ahead of the English army, and killed and wounded them so that not one was able to escape. From there the duke went on to

and on the recruitment and movements of the French army, which though much larger was not well matched to the prince's hard-bitten force, see Delachenal, *Charles V.*, i. 184–7.

1356 deinde ad Mountebourgh. Et nullus dies pertransiit in quo non caperent forciletta et prisonarios.<sup>1</sup>

Medio tempore rex Francie diuertit aciem uersus principem Wallie et subito tenuit se cum exercitu suo, quasi per .j. leucam ab exercitu principis. Cardinales uenerant pro concordia, sed rex Francie renuit pacem uel treugam habere, nisi princeps redderet prisonarios quos ceperat itinerando.

Princeps Wallie, Edwardus primogenitus regis Edwardi .iiij., in crastino Decolacionis Sancti Iohannis<sup>a</sup> in autumpno, mouit se de Burdegalo in Vasconia, et equitauit per Ageney, Lymosine, Haluerne, Beryn, et super aquam de Leyre, in Nouereres, que est inter Dalneys ex una parte, et uenit iuxta Peyters, ubi initum est bellum .xix. die Septembris.<sup>2</sup>

Die Sabbati ante bellum isti capti sunt. Comes de Iuny, comes de Vsure, marescallus Burgonie. Et .cc.xl. uiri armati capti et interfecti. Captum est castellum de Romerentyn, .xv. die ante bellum. In quo captus est dominus de Brun, dominus Brussegardus et .iiij.x. uiri armati.

Victualia ceperunt deficere in exercitu principis, in tantum quod oportebat eos congredi in bello, aut pre uecordia tergum inimicis uertere. Et hec inter se uidentes, firmauerunt sibi cor ualidum, ne quis eorum se<sup>b</sup> redderet regi Francie, sed potius elegerunt mori una die, pro iure domini sui regis Anglie, una uoce et unanimi assensu compacti sunt. Et signauerunt se signaculo sancte crucis, Deo se et causam suam commendantes, parati in bellum.

Et diuiserunt se in tres acies. Comes de Warwyche habuit primam aciem. Et ex parte Francorum, duo marescalli Francie<sup>c</sup> habuerunt primam acie. Secundam aciem dominus Dolfynus de Vienna, cum fratre suo duce de Orlyons cum maiori fortitudine. In tercia acie erat rex Francie cum .ij. millia de elleccioribus armatis tocius Francie. Dominus Galfridus Charneys baiulauit uexillum rubium quod erat mortis signiferum. Rex Francie edidit preceptum ne quis Anglicus uite reseruaretur, solo principe excepto.

*Bellum de Peyters.* Cardinales ante prelium ascenderunt in quendam montem prope ut uiderent euentum belli. Iam prima acies Francie

<sup>a</sup> *Suppl. in margin by reviser*

<sup>b</sup> *Interlined by scribe*

<sup>c</sup> *Interlined by scribe*

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> The prince's army left Bordeaux 4 Aug., and by 29 Aug. had reached the valley of the

Carentan, and then to Montebourg, and not a day passed in which he did not take castles and prisoners.<sup>1</sup> 1356

Meanwhile the king of France had led his force off towards the prince of Wales, and suddenly appeared with his army about a league from the prince. The cardinals had come to make peace, but the king of France refused to have either a peace or a truce unless the prince surrendered the prisoners whom he had taken during his campaign.

The prince of Wales, Edward, first-born son of King Edward III, had left Bordeaux in Gascony on the morrow of the Decollation of St John in the autumn [29 Aug. 1356], and rode through the Agenais, the Limousin, Auvergne, and Berri, and came to the river Loire at Nevers, which lies on one side of Dalneys, and went on to Poitiers, where the battle began on 19 September.<sup>2</sup>

On the Saturday before the battle [17 Sept. 1356] there were captured the count of Joigny, the count of Auxerre, and the marshal of Burgundy, and 240 men-at-arms captured or slain. The castle of Romorantin was taken [3 Sept. 1356] a fortnight before the battle, in which there were captured the lord of Craon, the lord Boucicault, and forty men-at-arms.

Supplies were now so short in the prince's army that he had either to come to battle, or shamefully turn his back upon the enemy. And seeing that, they all affirmed with a stout heart that none of them would yield to the king of France, and declared with a single voice and resolution that they would choose rather to die in one day for the rights of their lord, the king of England. And sealing themselves with the sign of the Cross, commending themselves and their cause to God, they prepared for battle.

And they split into three formations. The earl of Warwick had the first line, and two marshals of France had the first line on the French side. In the second line was the lord dauphin of Vienne and his brother the duke of Orléans, with a powerful force. In the third line was the king of France with 2,000 of the best warriors in France. Sire Geoffroi de Charny bore the scarlet standard, which is the token of Death, for the French king had issued an order that the life of no Englishman was to be spared except that of the prince himself.

*The battle of Poitiers.* Before the battle the cardinals went up a nearby hill so that they could see the outcome. At once the first line

Loire, from which it turned back into Poitou. For its movements, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 197-214. For a review of the sources for the campaign, and a discussion of the topography of the battlefield, see A. H. Burne, *The Crécy War*, pp. 275-321.

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fo. 163<sup>r</sup> concreditur cum comite Warwyche, set cito per sagittarios subpeditati sunt. Et marescallus Clermount occisus est, et multi alii, ut infra dicitur. / Comes de Warwyc insequeretur fugientes, et quosdam occidit et quosdam cepit prisonarios. Medio tempore uenit .2. acies Francorum, et miscuerunt cum principe Wallie et pugnaverunt nimis acriter, infra unam sepem, et Anglici deuenerunt multum lassi pre grauedine certaminis, et arma eorum nimis lacerata. Et tam fortis et dura extitit pugna, quod sagittarii pre defectu sagittarum sustulerunt lapides, et cum gladiis et lanceis et quicquid possent arripere, pugnaverunt, et sic se corde sagaci mirabili dictu defenderunt. Sed tandem sicut Deus uoluit, Franci fugam arripuerunt.

Et dum Anglici starent lassi, se refocillantes et sperantes uictoriam reportasse de suis inimicis omnibus, superuenit Iohannes rex Francie cum ingenti fortitudine aciem dirigens uersus principem qui paucos ea hora secum habebat quia laborabant super inimicos fugientes. Dum igitur cepissent Franci aciem miscere, superuenit comes de Warweyche rediens de fugacione inimicorum cum integro exercitu suo. Et opposuit se a latere exercitus regis Francie, et strenue pugnaverunt. Et sic per gratiam Dei et non humana uirtute, uictoria cessit principi, et prelii reportauit principatum.<sup>1</sup> Et rex captus est, et filius eius Philippus iunior comes de Peyters et magnates plurimi.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Regales*

Dominus Iohannes de Valoys rex Francie  
Philippus filius eius adolescens  
Comes de Pountyf  
Dominus Iacobus Burboun  
Comes de Eawe  
Comes de Tankyruille

#### *Comites*

Comes de Aunseruille  
Comes de Ventadurum  
Comes de Baleferoy nagge  
Comes de Vendoyn  
Comes de Russye

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's account of the battle gives prominence to Warwick's part, but the prince was by way of saving himself in the last stage, and Knighton may be attributing the Captal de Buch's flank attack on the French to the earl. See further Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 118-19; and Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 220-1.

<sup>2</sup> It seems that no official roll of the casualties has survived, though there were many newsletters in circulation. There was a rough count on the field, and a well-documented

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fell upon the earl of Warwick, but they were quickly struck down by the archers, and the Marshal Clermont was killed, and many others, as will be shown below. The earl of Warwick chased the fugitives, and killed some and took others prisoner. In the mean time the second line of the French came and engaged the prince of Wales, and they fought bitterly under cover of a hedgerow, and the English were exhausted by the intensity of the battle, and their weapons much worn. And so strong and hard was the fight that the archers ran out of arrows, and picked up stones, and fought with swords and lances, and anything that they could find, and they defended themselves with marvellous courage, and at last as God willed it the French took to flight.

And then as the English stood wearily refreshing themselves, and hoping to hear that they had overcome all their enemies, there came King Jean of France with a huge force, directing his attack towards the prince, who had few men with him at that moment, because the rest were pursuing the defeated enemy. But just as the French line bore down, the earl of Warwick returned from the chase with his whole force, and took the French army in the flank, and fought them fiercely. And so by God's grace rather than by human desert the battle went to the prince, who won a princely victory.<sup>1</sup> And the king was captured, and his younger son, Philippe, and the count of Poitiers, and many great men.<sup>2</sup>

#### *Royal princes*

Sire Jean de Valois, king of France  
Philippe, his younger son  
The count of Ponthieu  
Sire Jacques de Bourbon  
The count of Eu  
The count of Tancarville

#### *Counts*

The count of Auxerre  
The count of Ventadour  
The count of Saarbrücken  
The count of Vendôme  
The count of Rougé

traffic in valuable prisoners: see Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 137, 158-9. Knighton's list is respectably full, although many of the names have been mangled, and though it is closely related to that in *Avesbury*, pp. 469-71, it is probably not derived from it. See also *Archaeologia*, i (1779), 212-14.

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Comes de Waudemount  
 Comes de Aumartyn  
 Comes de Nesowe  
*Clerici*  
 Episcopus de Geyns  
 Chastelle de Enposte  
 Vicecomes de Nerboun  
 Marescallus Dendenam  
 Filius Comitum de Assurer  
 Filius comitis de Wendemer  
 Comes de Bealmount  
 Dominus de Richeflaundes  
 Dominus de Mount Agu  
 Dominus de Seynt Agar  
 Dominus de Auleneye  
 Senescalcus de Seynt Omer  
 Dominus Ricardus Dars  
 Dominus Mauricius de Maynet  
 Capitanius de Peyters  
 Dominus de La Tour  
 Dominus de Bewalle  
 Dominus de Mangeleyre  
 Dominus de Blaunceo  
 Dominus de Alnoye  
 Dominus de Dyuelyn

Et preter istos .ii. millia persone de quibus mille homines armati.

Nomina occisorum in bello.

Dux de Bulloun  
 Dominus Robertus de Aras  
 Dux de Cateney  
 Constabularius Francie  
 Vicecomes de Talouns  
 Marescallus Clermount  
 Vicecomes de Brusse  
 Vicecomes Lychedard  
 Dominus Reginaldus de Pouncz  
 Dominus Galfridus Charneys  
 Dominus Eustachius de Rippelmond  
 Dominus de Lyle

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The count of Vaudemont  
 The count of Dammartin  
 The count of Nassau  
*Clergy*  
 The [arch]bishop of Sens  
 Chastel d'Amposte  
 The vicomte of Narbonne  
 The Marshal d'Audrehem  
 The count of Auxerre's son  
 The count of Vaudemont's son  
 The vicomte of Beaumont  
 The lord of Rochefort  
 The lord of Montaigu  
 The lord of Saint-Dizier  
 The lord of Aulnay  
 The seneschal of Saintonge  
 Sire Guichard d'Angle  
 Sire Maurice de Mauvinet  
 The seneschal of Poitou  
 The lord of La Tour  
 The lord of Ville-Arnoul  
 The lord of Maignelay  
 The lord of la Planche  
 The lord of Aubigny  
 The lord of Derval

And in addition 2,000 men, 1,000 of whom were men-at-arms.

The names of those slain in the battle.

The duke of Bourbon  
 Sire Robert de Duras  
 The duke of Athènes  
 The Constable of France  
 The [bishop] of Châlons  
 The Marshal Clermont  
 The vicomte of Brosse  
 The vicomte of Rochechouart  
 Sire Renaud de Pons  
 Sire Geoffroi de Charny  
 Sire Eustache de Ribemont  
 The lord de l'Isle



1356

Dominus Willelmus Iohare  
 Dominus Robertus Chaungger  
 Dominus Castelli Seylon  
 Dominus de Mounlaon  
 Dominus Argentiou  
 Dominus Iohannes Saunsiuer  
 Dominus Lodowycus Broke  
 Filius domini Mountagu

Et preter istos .ii. millia uirorum armatorum mortui, et de aliis .iiij.c.

Sabbato ante bellum capti  
 Comes de Iuny  
 Comes de Vsure  
 Marascallus de Burgoyn

Et de uiris armatis mortui et capti .ij.c.xl.

Die .xv. ante bellum castellum de Romorentyn captum est:  
 Dominus de Broun, Dominus Bricius Gauth, et .iiij.x. uiri armati.

*Numerus occisorum et prisonariorum.*  
 Summa occisorum in bello .ij. millia .ccc.  
 Summa prisonariorum captorum .ij. millia .v.c.

fo. 163<sup>v</sup>

Anglici se receperunt prope locum in uno bosco et ibi hospitati sunt illa nocte. In crastino numerauerunt mortuos, quos spoliatos et nudos reperierunt. Deinde redierunt cum prisonariis suis uersus Burdegalum, laudantes et glorificantes / Deum, qui tanta miracula operatus est in eis. Concussum est hoc prelium circa festum Sancti Mathei apostoli.<sup>1</sup> In exercitu principis Wallie mille .viiij.c. de uiris armatis, sagittarii mille .iiij.c. In exercitu regis Francie de omni populo .xl. millia.

*Dux Lancastrie obsidet uillam de Reynes.* Post festum Sancti Michaelis uidens dux Lancastrie quod non posset inimicos equitando perturbare, yeme superueniente, descendit cum exercitu suo ad uillam de Reynes, et circa festum Omnium Sanctorum cepit obsidere eam ad magnum detrimentum populi sui. Nam multum dampnum propter yemis algorem ibi perpassi sunt. Tunc cepit papa tractare de concordia inter reges cum effectu.<sup>2</sup>

1357

Anno gracia millesimo .ccc.lvij. Edwardus princeps Wallie uenit in

<sup>1</sup> The date is given above, correctly, as 19 Sept. Knighton is probably collating sources: cf. the duplicated reference to the capture of Romorantin, above, p. 142.

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Sire Guillaume Narbonne  
 Sire Robert de Hangest  
 The lord of Chateau-Vilain  
 The lord of Montjouant  
 The lord of Argenton  
 Sire Jean de Sancerre  
 Sire Louis de Brosse  
 The son of the lord of Montaigu

And in addition 2,000 men-at-arms dead, and 300 others.

Captured on the Saturday before the battle  
 The count of Joigny  
 The count of Auxerre  
 The Marshal of Burgundy

And 240 men-at-arms killed and captured.

A fortnight before the battle the castle of Romorantin was taken: the lord of Craon, the lord Boucicault, and 40 men-at-arms.

*Total of killed and prisoners*  
 Total of those slain in battle: 2,300.  
 Total of prisoners taken: 2,500.

The English went into a nearby wood, and camped there for the night. The next day they counted the dead, whom they found stripped and naked. Then they made their way back with their prisoners towards Bordeaux, praising and glorifying God, who had worked such wonders through them. The battle was fought about the feast of St Matthew the apostle [21 Sept. 1356].<sup>1</sup> The army of the prince of Wales contained 1,800 men-at-arms, and 1,400 archers. The king of France's army comprised 40,000 of all ranks.

*The duke of Lancaster besieges Rennes.* After Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1356] the duke of Lancaster, seeing that, with winter approaching, he could no longer harry his enemies, went with his army to the town of Rennes, and about the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1356] he began to besiege it, at a high cost to his men, for they suffered greatly from the winter cold. Then the pope began to negotiate an agreement between the kings, with some success.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of grace 1357 Edward, prince of Wales, came to

1357

<sup>2</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 161-3, and below, p. 150.

1357 Angliam, ducens secum Iohannem regem Francie. Et applicuit apud Plymmouthe in uigilia Sancti Iohannis ante Portam Latinam.

*Rex Francie uenit Londoniis.* Et exinde ductus est Londoniis per mediam ciuitatem. Et tantus apparatus arcuum et sagittarum, et de omni genere armorum monstratus est in qualibet strata Londoniensi ubi rex Francie aduentare deberet, quod mirum est dictu, nec ab antiquo tale quid uisum aut auditum. Ciuesque obuiauuerunt ei, ultra mille equestres, suo meliori modo, quodlibet artificium simul uestiti, in una secta. Facta sunt hec die Mercurii proxima ante festum Pentecostes.<sup>1</sup> Concessa est regi .xv. biennalis. Et rex relaxauit et condonauit omnes felonias, euasiones, et fugiciones.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem tempore orta est discordia inter clerum et fratres Minores, de quibusdam opinionibus. Et utraque pars appellauit ad curiam Romanam. Vnde magister Ricardus episcopus Armacanus transiuit cum pluribus aliis clericis<sup>a</sup> ad curiam in defensionem cleri. Et idem Ricardus Armachanus habuit subsidium de clero, et abbas Sancti Albani erat procurator eius.<sup>3</sup>

Et quia papa semper fauebat Francis et eos fouebat in quantum potuit contra Anglos, et propter miraculum quod Deus tribuerat uictoriam tam paucis uiris, contra tantam multitudinem Francorum, scriptum erat in pluribus locis in Viennia,<sup>b</sup> et in multis aliis locis,

Ore est ly Pape deueni Fraunceys, e Ihesu deueni Engleys.  
Ore serra ueou qe fra plus, ly pape ou Ihesus.

Et scriptum erat in derisionem.

Die Lune ante festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste uenit unus cardinalis ad regem Londoniis sub magna festinatione, et dixit ad regem, 'Domine, consensum erat apud Burdegalum quod dux Lancastrie amoueret obsidionem de uilla de Reynes, que iam extat in magno periculo, et cuncta que in ea sunt. Nunc autem si tractare debeamus de concordia, faciatis amoueri obsidionem.' Rex igitur misit literas ad ducem Lancastrie quod sub forisfactura uite et membrorum, et quicquid forisfacere posset, ut desisteret ab obsidione et domum

<sup>a</sup> transiuit *repeated and then cancelled by reviser or a later hand*      <sup>b</sup> First i inserted by reviser  
<sup>c</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> See Hewitt, *Black Prince's Expedition*, pp. 148–50; R. R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom* (London, 1894), i. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *CFR* 1356–68, p. 44. The king was not absolving offenders, but assigning judicial amercements to relieve the burden of taxation: see Harriss, *King, Parliament*, pp. 345–6.

<sup>3</sup> See J. R. H. Moorman, *Franciscan Order*, pp. 343–4; and E. W. Kemp, *Counsel and*

England, bringing with him Jean, king of France, and landed at Plymouth on the eve [5 May 1357] of St John before the Latin Gate. 1357

*The king of France comes to London.* And from there he was led to London, and through the city. And what quantities of bows and arrows, and of every kind of arms, there were on display in the streets of the city wherever the French king was to go, it is marvellous to relate, nor had the like been seen or heard of in times past. The citizens went out to meet him with more than 1,000 horse, arrayed in their best style, with every craft in a uniform livery. All that occurred on the Wednesday [24 May 1357] before Whitsun.<sup>1</sup> King Edward was granted a fifteenth for two years, and he remitted and pardoned all felonies, escapes, and flights from justice.<sup>2</sup>

At that time a dispute arose on various subjects between the secular clergy and the Franciscans, and both parties appealed to the Roman curia. Thereupon Master Richard, bishop of Armagh, crossed with many other clerks to defend the clergy at the papal court. And Richard of Armagh had a clerical subsidy, and the abbot of St Albans acted as his proctor.<sup>3</sup>

And because the pope always favoured the French, and supported them as far as he could against the English, and because of the miraculous victory which God had conferred upon so few men against such a multitude of Frenchmen, it was written in Vienne, and many other places:

Now is the pope a Frenchman born, and Christ an Englishman,  
And the world shall see what the pope can do, more than his  
Saviour can.

Which was written derisively, in jest.

On the Monday [20 June 1357] before the feast of St John the Baptist a cardinal came in great haste to the king, in London, and said to the king, 'Sire, it was agreed at Bordeaux that the duke of Lancaster should raise the siege of the town of Rennes, which is now in great peril, and all who dwell in it. And if we are to discuss peace you must raise the siege.' The king therefore sent letters to the duke of Lancaster, ordering him upon pain of life and limb, and the forfeiture of all that he had to forfeit, to end the siege, and return home as soon

*Consent*, p. 106. Knighton's belief that FitzRalph had formal support from the English clergy has been questioned: K. Walsh, *A Fourteenth-Century Scholar and Primate: Richard FitzRalph in Oxford, Avignon, and Armagh* (Oxford, 1981), p. 446. It may be that some subsidy was promised, but not paid.

1357 remearet quam cicius posset. Similiter rex Francie misit ad suos, ut omnia sustinerent in pace.<sup>1</sup>

.iij. cardinales Londiniis. Et dum ista sic tractarentur, uenerunt Londonias duo alii cardinales, scilicet cardinalis Pagorensis, et cardinalis Ronensis, et ille alius cardinalis. Qui cum uenissent ante regem apud Westmonasterium quasi in apparatu imperiali et fero uultu tanquam leonis, adorauerant eum proni in terram, et sic mutuo alterutris salutatis, regeque in cathedra residente, unus eorum sumpto themate cepit predicare. 'Thema, Honor regis iudicium diligit'.<sup>2</sup> Et post sermonem ceperunt loqui de negocio itineris sui, uidelicet quod rex Edwardus haberet "omnes terras" antecessorum suorum, dum tamen pax et concordia inter reges mediaret.

Respondit rex breuiter, quod licet ipse perdiderat terras antecessorum suorum pro tempore, ipse ea recuperaret cum Deus uoluerit. Et dixit eis ut loquerentur de corona Francie quam ipse uendicauit. At illi responderunt commissionem suam ad tam ardua negocia non extendere. Et sic dilatum est negocium usque ad Decolacionem Sancti Iohannis donec mitteretur pape pro dicto negocio. / Et habuerunt .iij. denarios ad marcam tam de fo. 164<sup>r</sup> spiritualibus quam de temporalibus per totum regnum de ecclesia.<sup>3</sup>

Rex Francie et rex Scocie simul prisonarii. Iohannes rex Francie moram traxit apud Wyndusoram, et Daud rex Scocie apud turrin Londoniensem. Iam redeamus ad ducem Lancastrie. Cum igitur Henricus<sup>b</sup> dux Lancastrie .ix. menses<sup>c</sup> fecisset super obsidionem et patriam circumquaque deuastasset, dominus Carolus de Bloys uenit cum .x. millia uiris, et dux parauit se ad pugnam. Sed cum appropinquasset, non audebat accedere, set recessit.

Villa de Reynes redditur duci Lancastrie. Illi uero de uilla hec uidentes magis timuerunt et captauerunt oportunitatem qualiter inirent<sup>d</sup> colloquium cum duce. Et miserunt unum episcopum cum .vj. militibus per conductum ducis reconciliare unam ecclesiam extra muros per mortem unius occisi pollutam. Dux uero compulit eos secum manducare.

Et inter epulas colloquebantur de reddicione uille, eo quod nullus ueniret in eorum auxilium. Dux uero durus erat ad inducendum ad

<sup>a-a</sup> Superimposed by reviser      <sup>b</sup> H superimposed by reviser      <sup>c</sup> me superimposed by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> rent superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On Lancaster's view of his duty at Rennes, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 163-5.

as he could, and the king of France similarly told his men that the fighting should stop.<sup>1</sup>

*Three cardinals in London.* And while that was going on two other cardinals came to London, namely Talleyrand de Périgord and [Nicolo Capocci], and that other cardinal. And when they came to the king at Westminster, arrayed in his imperial state, and with the face of a lion, they lay prone before him, and revered him, and thus they greeted each other, the king sitting upon his throne, and then one of them began to preach upon the text 'The king's strength delights in judgement'.<sup>2</sup> And after the sermon they talked of the purpose of their journey, namely that King Edward should have all the lands of his predecessors, provided that a peace and treaty could be negotiated between the kings.

And the king answered briefly that even though he had lost his ancestors' lands for the moment, he would recover them when God so willed, and that what remained to be discussed was the crown of France, which he claimed. And they replied that their brief did not extend to so weighty a matter. And so the talks were delayed until the Decollation of St John, [29 Aug. 1357] while they sent to the pope for instructions. And they had 4d. in the mark from the spiritualities and the temporalities of the church throughout the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

*The king of France and the king of Scotland prisoners together.* Jean, king of France, stayed at Windsor, and David, king of Scotland, in the Tower of London. Now let us return to the duke of Lancaster. When therefore Duke Henry of Lancaster had spent nine months on the siege, and had laid all the surrounding countryside waste, Sire Charles de Blois came with 10,000 men, and the duke prepared for battle, but when Charles came up he did not dare to close, and withdrew again.

*The town of Rennes surrenders to the duke of Lancaster.* Those in the town, seeing that, were greatly afraid, and sought an opportunity to treat with the duke. And they sent a bishop with six knights, under a safe-conduct from the duke, to re-consecrate a church outside the walls which had been polluted by violent death, and the duke invited them to dine with him.

And during the meal they talked of surrendering the town, because no one had come to their aid. And it was hard to move the duke from

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 97(99): 4.

<sup>3</sup> On the negotiations, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 307-8; ii. 61. The third cardinal was Peter, cardinal priest of the Basilica of the Twelve Apostles. For the procurations, see Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 651-6.

1357 hoc, nisi sub tali condicione quod se et sua cuncta ei redderent in sua gracia. Sed tandem conuenerunt dare duci .c. millia scutorum pro suis costagiis, et redderent ei uillam, sic tamen quod ipsi haberent bona sua.

Et fecerunt securitatem quod quandocumque<sup>a</sup> dux uellet petere uillam ad opus regis Anglie, ipsi redderent ei uillam dare uel assignare cuicumque ei placeret. Et dux ordinauit unum capitaniū quem uoluit. Et quia noluit quod depredaretur uilla, assignauit certos uiros qui ingrederentur et seisinam caperent in ea eius nomine. Et ipse moram traxit extra uillam et noluit intrare.

Eodem tempore die Veneris proxima post festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste delate sunt litere regis Anglie ad ducem ut amoueret obsidionem, post concordiam et reddicionem factam, sicut Deo placuit.<sup>1</sup>

*Honyflet capta.* Eodem tempore erant nonnulli armigeri et sagittarii qui manserant in Britannia et Vasconia ad custodiam castellorum et opidorum. Et hii conuenerunt in unum, ad numerum .vij.c. uirorum et perrexerunt in Normanniam, et per subtilitatem comprehenderunt uillam de Honyflet, et tenuerunt eam. Et superuenit<sup>b</sup> marescallus de Flandria Robertus Clermount cum .viii.c. uiris armatis et .v. millia pedestrium et impecierunt uillam, set Angli strenue defenderunt se ad muros, et occiderunt de illis circiter .v.c. Et dum sic pugnauerunt ad muros, superuenit Robertus Cnolles<sup>c</sup> et Randulfus socius suus cum sua comitiua a tergo, et percusserunt Francos, occiderunt plusquam mille personas et plures ceperunt prisonarios, et marescallum et ceteros miserunt ad fugam.<sup>2</sup>

*De uia que dicitur Fosse iuxta uillam de Belgrauē.* Eodem anno orta est lis inter abbatem nostrum Leycestrensem et Iohannem Larence de Belgrauē, et Laurencium Larence fratrem eius et comunitatem eiusdem uille. Et sic incepit: comines de Belgrauē quadam nocte prostrauerunt furcas libertatis abbatis Leycestrensis in quodam angulo campi qui uocatur le Stokkyng. Tandem per sentencias<sup>d</sup> latas in patria recognouerunt<sup>e</sup> malefactores factum suum.

Similiter fecerunt fossas in quodam uado super aquam Sorē ubi<sup>f</sup> uia de Fosse solet habere cursum suum, ad impediendum cariagium uictualium nostrorum de maneriis nostris cum carectariis, et munierunt

<sup>a</sup> cumque written over erasure  
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<sup>b</sup> it added by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> Suspension marks for n, n, added by reviser  
<sup>f</sup> Inserted by reviser over erasure  
<sup>c</sup> C. added by reviser  
<sup>e</sup> recog superimposed

1357 his opinion that the only terms should be for all to surrender to his mercy. But at last they agreed to pay the duke 100,000 *écus* for his costs, and to surrender the town, but with the right to keep their possessions.

And they gave pledges that whenever the duke called upon them to render the town to the king of England's use, they would give or assign it at his behest. And the duke appointed a captain of his own choice, and as he did not wish the town to be sacked he arranged for certain representatives to enter and take seisin in his name. And he stayed outside the town, and would not enter it.

And just at that time, on the Friday [26 June 1357] after the feast of [the Nativity of] St John the Baptist, the king of England's letters were delivered, ordering the duke to abandon the siege, but, as it pleased God, after the agreement and the surrender had been completed.<sup>1</sup>

*Honfleur captured.* At that time there were some esquires and archers who had been left in Brittany and Gascony to guard the castles and towns, and they gathered together, to the number of 600, and went into Normandy, and captured the town of Honfleur by a strategem, and held it. And the marshal of Flanders, Robert Clermont, came with 800 men-at-arms and 5,000 infantry, and demanded the town, but the English defended the walls vigorously, and killed some 500 of them. And while they were fighting on the walls, Robert Knollys and his colleague, Ralph, came with their company from behind, and fell upon the French, and slew more than 1,000, and took many prisoners, and put the marshal and the rest to flight.<sup>2</sup>

*Of the road called the Fosse by the township of Belgrave.* That same year there was a lawsuit between our abbey of Leicester and John Lawrence of Belgrave, and Lawrence Lawrence his brother, and the community of the township. It began in this way. One night the commons of Belgrave threw down the gallows of the abbot of Leicester's liberty, in a corner of the field called the Stocking. And after a trial in the county court the offenders acknowledged their deed.

They had also dug trenches in a ford across the river Soar where the Fosse Way ought to run, to prevent the carriage of produce from our manors by cart, and they closed the bridge at the other end of the

<sup>1</sup> See Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 164–5. The details of the meeting seem to have come to Knighton from members of the Lancastrian household.

<sup>2</sup> See Packe, *Edward III*, p. 234; and Bridge, 'Calveley and Knollys', pp. 112–231.

1357 pontem ad alteram finem uille cum pessula et serra, ut<sup>a</sup> undique nos graurent. Super quibus abbas noster Leycestrensis habuit breue regis de placito transgressionis ad iusticiarios ad hoc assignatos, scilicet dominum Robertum de Herle et dominum Iohannem de Foluyll milites, et Simonem Pakeman et Laurencium Haubark. Et fuerunt addictati<sup>b</sup>.xxxv. de Belgraue.

fo. 164<sup>v</sup> Et sic oportuit eos finem facere parti.<sup>1</sup> Primo Iohannes Larence in cuius confidencia ceteri hec<sup>c</sup> mala fecerunt. Et idem Iohannes uadiauit abbati .xl. libras in gracia sua, et soluit centum solidos. Reliqui uero de uilla, quia simpliciores erant, ad instanciam magnatum<sup>d</sup> patrie soluerunt tantum .x. libras. Et reliquum / pardonatum est eis, ea condicione quod repararent uiam de Fosse in uado de Coweswath, et prosternerent arbores crescentes in dicta uia uersus pontem. Nam dicta uia extendit se a Cowzewath per pratum et sic inter les Wylwes ad finem pontis usque ad le Penygrene.

Et eciam dictum pontem paratum patere facerent omni transire uolenti. Et antedictus Laurencius frater senior, relaxauit si quid iuris habuerat uel habere uidebatur, in illo loco<sup>e</sup> ubi furce nostre prius erecte fuerant.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem tempore Scoti nauigabant super mare huc atque illuc cum tribus nauibus bene stoffatis cum .ccc. uiris armatis electis. Et explorabant transeuntes<sup>f</sup> Anglicos cum suis mercimoniis, et bona eorum rapuerunt, et eos occiderunt, et sic diu multa mala operati sunt. Et circa festum Sancti Michaelis ortus est uentus ualidus et fugauit eos cum multis aliis nauibus Anglorum in portum de Yarnysmoth, et ibi capti sunt sicut Deo placuit per Anglicos.<sup>3</sup>

Dauid rex Scocie liberatur per redemptionem. Dauid rex Scocie .xj. anno a capcione sua liberatus est et redemptus pro .xxx. millia libris. Et uenit apud Berwycum in die Sancti Michaelis, ubi uenerunt quidam de Scotis cum medietate dicte summe, et cum certis uiris hostiagiis mansuris in Anglia donec<sup>g</sup> altera medietas solueretur. Et facta est proclamacio de una trewga .x. annorum inter Angliam et

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by reviser      <sup>b</sup> de erased      <sup>c</sup> hec inserted by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> na interlined by reviser      <sup>e</sup> 1 superimposed by reviser or a later hand      <sup>f</sup> Repeated after Anglicos, and cancelled by a later hand      <sup>g</sup> nec interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On the township as a community, see H. M. Cam, 'The community of the vill',

1357 village with a bolt and lock, so as to cause us trouble everywhere. Whereupon our abbot brought the king's writ of trespass to the justices assigned to hear the case, namely Sir Robert Harley and Sir John Folville, knights, Simon Packman, and Lawrence Haubark. And thirty-five men from Belgrave were indicted.

And they were allowed to make fine together.<sup>1</sup> First John Lawrence, with whose knowledge they had committed all those offences, pledged £40 to the abbot for grace, and paid 100s. The rest of the township, who were simple men, paid £10 at the request of the great men of the county, and were pardoned the rest upon condition that they repaired the Fosse Way at Cowswade ford, and cut down the trees growing in the roadway there as it runs towards the ford, for the said road runs from Cowswade through the meadow, and on between the willows at the head of the bridge to Penny Green.

And they had also to make the bridge fit to take any traffic that wished to cross it. And the aforesaid Lawrence, the elder brother, released whatever right he might have had or seem to have had in that place where our gallows were first erected.<sup>2</sup>

At that same time there were Scots at sea, sailing here and there with three ships well-equipped with 300 select men-at-arms. And they were searching for Englishmen crossing with merchandise, and taking their goods and killing them, and they did much harm for a long time. And about Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1357] a strong wind arose, and blew them with many English ships into the port of Yarmouth, and there, as it pleased God, they were captured by the English.<sup>3</sup>

*David, king of Scotland, released on ransom.* David, king of Scotland, was released and ransomed for £30,000 in the eleventh year of his captivity, and came to Berwick at Michaelmas, and some Scots met him there with half the money, and with certain men to be sent into England to stay as hostages until the other half was paid. And a truce was proclaimed for ten years between the English and the Scots, upon

*Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A. J. Taylor (Oxford, 1950), pp. 1-14.

<sup>2</sup> See *VCH Leics*, iv. 423. On the abbey's development of the roads at Belgrave to improve access to its demesne lands at Stoughton, and elsewhere in Gartree Hundred, see *VCH Leics*, iii. 71-2.

<sup>3</sup> Pleasing to God, but less so to the king, who had the ships and their contents restored to the Scots under the terms of the recent truce (see below, p. 158 n. 1). For the order to release the ships, which had been driven into Kirklee Roads by a gale on 19 Oct. 1357, see *CCR 1354-60*, pp. 373-4.

1357 Scociam, sub pena forisfacture corporis et catallorum. Et post .x. annos lapsos, eligerent Scoti utrum uellent pacem uel guerram.<sup>1</sup>

*Cardinales habent .iiij. denarios ad marcam.* Ad festum Sancti Michaelis iterum cardinales habuerunt .iiij. denarios ad marcam de clero, tam de spiritualibus quam temporalibus.<sup>2</sup>

*Papa uisit in Anglia.* Et non eo minus papa misit per bullam quod quilibet episcopus faceret uisitare episcopatum suum autoritate pape, et soluerent procuraciones cardinalibus. Et dictum est quod hec summa data est per papam ad sustentacionem regis Francie.<sup>3</sup>

1358 *Et eciam pecit tributum concessum a rege Iohanne.* Et papa eodem tempore peciit de regno Anglie mille marcas per annum per regem Iohannem curie Romane concessam, et ab eius tempore debitam, iam plenarie soluendam. Et hec omnia facta sunt, ut per talem terrorem regis Edwardi animum ad eorum uoluntatem magis inclinarent. Et rex prouidus prouide et breuiter respondit, se nullum tributum uelle cuidam dare, quia regnum suum tenuit, et libere tenere uoluit, absque subieccione cuiuscumque.<sup>4</sup>

*Hastiludia apud Wyndusore.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lvij. rex fecit proclamacionem in omnibus partibus regni, quod omnes alienigene de quibuscumque partibus mundi qui aduenire uellent ad solemnitatem Sancti Gerogii, haberent liberum conductum ingrediendi regnum Anglie et regrediendi ad placitum, per .iiij. septimanas absque impedimento uel nocumento cuiuscumque, ad hastiludia cuilibet uolenti in suo gradu prosequi generalia. Venit ibi dux Brabannie, et multi Vasconii. Regina quoque Scocie affuit, cum multis aliis dominabus. Nobilitas huius<sup>a</sup> solennitatis multa erat nimis, nec est nostre facultatis eius gloriosa facta euoluere.<sup>5</sup>

Post selemnitatem peractam transierunt omnes Londoniis, tractaturi de concordia inter Angliam et Franciam, et multo tempore tractauerunt sine expedicione. Tandem pro eo quod princeps promiserat Francis apud Burdegalium quod pax et concordia se tenerent, in quantum procurare posset patrem suum regem, et rex cupiebat promouere filium suum in honore sicut multum tenebatur,

<sup>a</sup> us superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 162–4; Packe, *Edward III*, p. 227; cf. Duncan, 'David II and Edward III', pp. 135–6.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 152 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> The clergy had not been directly taxed by the pope since the beginning of the war, and were reluctant payers: Knighton's gloss reflects their mood. The pope proposed to reduce

1357 pain of forfeiture of life and goods, and after ten years the Scots could choose between peace and war.<sup>1</sup>

*The cardinals have 4d. in the mark.* At Michaelmas the cardinals again had 4d. in the mark from both spiritualities and temporalities.<sup>2</sup>

*The pope orders a visitation in England.* And none the less the pope sent a bull saying that every bishop was to visit his diocese on the pope's authority, and pay the procurations to the cardinals, and it was said that that sum had been granted by the pope to assist the king of France.<sup>3</sup>

1358 *And also asks for the tribute conceded by King John.* At the same time the pope sought from the kingdom of England the 1,000 marks annually granted to the papal court by King John, and owed since that time, now to be paid in full. And all that was done to frighten King Edward into meeting the pope's wishes, but the wise king replied wisely and briefly that he would pay tribute to no one, because he held his kingdom, and would hold it freely, without subjection to anyone.<sup>4</sup>

*Tournaments at Windsor.* In the year of grace 1358 the king made proclamation in all parts of the kingdom that all aliens, from whatsoever part of the world, who wished to attend the festival of St George would have safe-conduct to enter the kingdom of England, and leave it at their pleasure, for three weeks, without impediment or harm from any, for a tournament that would be open to all wishing to compete within their degree. The duke of Brabant came, and many Gascons. The queen of Scotland also came, with many other ladies. The splendour of the festival was richly varied, and it is not within our powers to do it justice.<sup>5</sup>

After the ceremonies were over the whole company went to London, to discuss a treaty between the English and the French, and they talked for a long time without making any progress. At last, because the prince had promised the French at Bordeaux that he would do his best to persuade his father to make peace and an agreement, and the king, as much as was involved, wished to advance his son in honour, and as far as he could to avoid an inauspicious outcome, he

the risks of transporting the money to Avignon by allowing Edward to retain it, and levying an equal sum upon the French king: Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 95–103.

<sup>4</sup> See Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 68–70.

<sup>5</sup> See Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 65–7. Queen Joan of Scotland was Edward III's sister: *Anglo-Scottish Relations, 1174–1328: Some Selected Documents*, ed. E. L. G. Stones (NMT, 1965), p. 158.



1358 atque eius sinistra pro suo posse deuitare, assensum prebuit concordie, et pacis uiscera amplexatus est.

*Rex Francie redemptus.* Et sic facta est redemptio regis Francie pro .x. millia centennis marcis. Et darent .xiiiij. hostiagos de melioribus tocius regni Francie ad demorandum in Anglia donec tota summa solueretur.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 165<sup>r</sup> Sed dux Lancastrie Henricus quando rediit in Angliam dimiserat gardianos in Normannia, dominum Iacobum de Pype, Robertum de Cnolles, et multos alios qui associauerant eis de melioribus uiris armatis et sagittariis eleccioribus in numero suffi/cienti, et mirabile dictu qui auxiliarentur regi Nauernie.<sup>2</sup> Et creuit tam fortitudo regis Nauernie, quam Anglorum, quod sic adunati deustauerunt cunctas patrias in circuitu. Et diuites facti sunt nimis et locupletati sunt, adeo quod potius uiderentur domini regni quam stipendiarii. Et multi qui egressi sunt illuc garciones uel ualetti, facti sunt milites ualidissimi, ac ditissimi regressi sunt.

Et omnes terre ad .lx. leucas circa Parisius facte sunt eis tributarii, ne in toto exterminarentur. Ipsa quoque ciuitas Parisiensis promisit eis fidem. Et super hac fide dominus Iacobus de Pype cum .xxx. uiris ingressus est Parisius, uidere ciuitatem, spaciandi gracia. Cumque aliquamdiu moram traxisset ibidem, surrexerunt quidam de ciuitate, et interfecerunt omnes illos .xxx. uiros. Dominus Iacobus uero euasit adminiculo unius de ciuitate suffultus, sicut Deus uoluit.<sup>3</sup>

Et superuenit rex Nauernie cum exercitu suo, et stetit coram ciuitate Parisiensi, et dominus dolfinus de Vienna uenit a tergo per .ij. leucas appropinquans. Et cum nostri uiderent quod accedere nollet ad pugnam, direxerunt se uersus illum, et coercuerunt eum ad fugam, et occiderunt plusquam .ccc. uiros de illis, et multos ualentes milites et armigeros, et unum episcopum ceperunt.<sup>4</sup> Tunc cardinales disposuerunt se repatriare, et habuerunt conductum ad Calesiam. Eodem tempore mortua est Isabella regina mater regis Edwardi et sepulta Londoniis apud fratres Minores.<sup>5</sup>

*Prima solucio pro rege Francie.* Post recessum cardinalium quidam de Francia uenerunt Londoniis cum .xij. centenis millia marcis, in

<sup>1</sup> Prolonged negotiations and another campaign still lay ahead: see the passages on the treaty of Brétigny below, pp. 178–80; and J. le Patourel, 'The treaty of Brétigny, 1360', *TRHS* 5th ser., x (1960), 19–39. On the negotiations in 1358 see also Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 233–4; Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 47–88. Delachenal names seventeen hostages, including two of the king's sons, the dukes of Anjou and Berri (ibid. ii. 260).

<sup>2</sup> See Bridge, 'Calveley and Knollys', pp. 124–5. Pipe was styled the king of Navarre's lieutenant: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 23.

1358 gave his assent to a treaty, and embraced the principle of peace and harmony.

*The king of France ransomed.* And thus a ransom of 1,000,000 marks was agreed for the king of France, and they were to give fourteen hostages from among the best men in France to stay in England until the whole sum had been paid.<sup>1</sup>

Now when Duke Henry of Lancaster returned to England he left Sir James Pipe and Robert Knowles in Normandy as his lieutenants, and many others who had joined them from among the best men-at-arms and experienced archers in sufficient numbers, and, astonishingly, they went to the aid of the king of Navarre.<sup>2</sup> And they so grew in strength, with the king of Navarre and still more Englishmen, that together they despoiled the countryside all around, and many of them were made immensely rich and opulent, so that they seemed rather lords of the land than soldiers. And many who went out as mere boys and servants became experienced knights, and came home rich men.

And all the lands for sixty leagues around Paris were tributary to them, else they would have been altogether destroyed. The city of Paris itself promised them fealty, and upon that undertaking Sir James Pipe and thirty men went into Paris to walk about and see the city. And when they had been there for some time some of the citizens rose, and slew all the thirty men, and Sir James himself barely escaped but, as God willed it, he was helped by a citizen.<sup>3</sup>

And the king of Navarre came with his army and stood before Paris, and the lord dauphin of Vienne came behind him, about two leagues away. And when our men saw that he did not wish to come and fight they moved towards him, and put him to flight, and slew more than 300 of his men, including many worthy knights and squires, and captured a bishop.<sup>4</sup> Then the cardinals prepared to return, and had safe-conduct to Calais. At that time Queen Isabella, King Edward's mother, died, and was buried in London at Greyfriars.<sup>5</sup>

*The first payment for the king of France.* After the cardinals left, some Frenchmen came to London with 1,200,000 marks in part-

<sup>3</sup> Pipe's visit to Paris was not to gratify a tourist curiosity, but to advance Charles of Navarre's campaign to control the city: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 23.

<sup>4</sup> On Charles of Navarre's activities in the Ile de France, after the Jacquerie and the death of Etienne Marcel, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 1–31.

<sup>5</sup> Isabella died on 22 Aug. 1358, and was buried in the choir of the Greyfriars' church by Newgate: *King's Works*, i. 486.



1357 partem solucionis pro rege suo. Sed rex noster recusauit pecuniam pro eo quod non adduxerunt secum hostiagios, prout concordia se prehabuit. At illi responderunt magnam partem Francie fore per Anglos destructam, contra formam concordie, adeo quod Franci non audebant ad proprias domos redire. Rex respondit quod Angli qui remanserant in Francia post habitam concordiam, exlegati homines fuerunt, felones,<sup>a</sup> scilicet homicide, fures, et latrones, et tales delinquentes contra iura regni sui, et extra proteccionem suam, nec ipsos potuit iustificare.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem anno post festum Omnium Sanctorum uenit rex Scocie per cominem assensum regni sui ad regem Londoniis, et optulit se pergere cum eo ubicumque sibi placeret in guerra sua, si forte talis oblacio posset cedere in alleuiamen regni sui de tanta summa redemcionis sue soluenda. Et supplicauit regi quod mercatores Scocie possent libere intrare regnum Anglie et exire, et mercatores Anglie simili modo terram Scocie tanquam una gens et unus populus absque detrimento uel calumpnia alterius ad alterum.

Similiter quod moneta eorum posset currere cum moneta nostra, et nostra moneta transire cum moneta sua, et filii eorum uacare uniuersitatibus Anglie discendi gracia, cum facere solebant. Cum igitur rex Edwardus uidisset tantam humilitatem, annuit eius petitioni. Et rex Scocie cum regina moram traxit apud fratres predicatores Londonienses.<sup>2</sup>

1358 Et sciendum est quod rex Anglie concordatus est cum rege Francie in octabis Sancti Hillarii, sicut supra notatum est, sub ista forma \* \* \* .<sup>b 3</sup>

fo. 165<sup>v</sup> / Et forma concordie missa est ad curiam Romanam ad ratificandum et confirmandum. Et dum nuncii essent in redeundo expleto negocio, inuentum est quod rex Francie contra sacramentum suum iuratum miserat literas in Franciam quod nunquam fuit in uoluntate dimittere unum pedem terre regi Anglie, de terra sua Francie. Et captus est nuncius ad mare qui portauit has literas secreto sigillo suo munytas. Quam ob causam rex Francie missus est eciam ad castellum de Somourtun sub custodia domini de Deyncort, et domini de Coluyll, et Philippus filius<sup>c</sup> eius missus est ibidem cum eo.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> cum felones T  
by reviser.

<sup>b</sup> Three blank lines follow, to foot of fo. 165<sup>T</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Interlined

<sup>1</sup> On the ransom, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, i. 335–6, ii. 61; on Edward's view of the companies, *ibid.* ii. 25.

1357 payment of their king's ransom; but our king refused the money, because they did not bring hostages with them, as had been agreed. And they answered that a large part of France had been devastated by the English against the form of the agreement, so that the inhabitants did not dare to return to their own homes. And the king said that the Englishmen remaining in France were outlaws, murderers, robbers, thieves, and the like, offenders against the laws of his own kingdom, and outside his peace, nor could he bring them to justice.<sup>1</sup>

In that same year after the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1357] the king of Scotland, by the common assent of his realm, came to the king in London, and offered to go with him to his wars, anywhere he pleased, if by such an offer his kingdom might be spared the burden of paying his ransom. And he besought the king that the merchants of Scotland might freely enter and leave the kingdom of England, and English merchants Scotland, in the like way, as though they were one people and nation, without detriment or disparagement of the one or the other.

And similarly that their money should circulate with ours, and ours exchange with theirs, and that their sons should be free to study at English universities, as they used to do. When, therefore, King Edward saw such humility, he granted their request. And the king of Scotland stayed, with his queen, at the Black Friars' in London.<sup>2</sup>

And it should be known that the king of England made an agreement with the king of France, on the octave of St Hilary [20 Jan. 1358], in the following form \* \* \* .<sup>3</sup>

1358 And the form of the agreement was sent to the Roman curia to be ratified and confirmed, and when the ambassadors were returning, having completed the business, it was found that the king of France had, against the oath that he had sworn, sent letters into France saying that he would never willingly concede a foot of his land of France to the king of England. And the envoy who carried those letters, sealed with the secret seal, was captured at sea. Wherefore the king of France was sent to the castle of Somerton, to the keeping of Lord Deincourt and Lord Colville, and his son Philippe was sent there with him.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The negotiations were probably conducted by members of Queen Joan's entourage following her husband's release in Nov. 1357 (above, p. 156). David himself did not return to London until 1359; Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 166–7.

<sup>3</sup> On the tenor of the successive treaties drafted before that agreed at Brétigny, see J. le Patourel, 'The treaty of Brétigny', pp. 23–6.

<sup>4</sup> For Jean at Somerton, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 142–3.

1358

*Robertus Cnollys cepit facere mira in Francia.* Post festum Purificacionis quidam tunc ualettus, postea per processum temporis miles magnus et ualidus dominus, capitanius multorum castellorum, opidorum, forcilettorum, atque uillarum in Francia, tam ex assignatione ducis Lancastrie quam ex propria adquisicione, colecta multa fortitudine Anglorum perrexit in Franciam, et uenit ad uillam de Aurilions.<sup>a</sup> Et posuit suburbia ad flammam ignis, et occidit quos uoluit, et tulit secum multa bona et queque preciosa inuenta. Ciues uero non audebant exire contra eum, tanta florebat fama diuine gracie Anglorum.

Exinde perrexit uersus Amisi<sup>b</sup> et per cautelam muros ascendit, portas aperit, omnes Angli intrant et in medio strate se ad bellum parant, et multos ciues necant et ciues in tantum attoniti redduntur, quod multi ad muros fugerunt, saltauerunt et colla frangunt, et multi se submerserunt pre timore. Sicque factum est, quod multo plures occiderunt terrore quam gladio.<sup>1</sup>

Et ipsi abstulerunt, rapuerunt, et asportauerunt bona innumera, et ibi diuites sunt nimis. Et non erat ibi Anglus tam pauper, quin de auro et argento et aliis iocalibus, et preciosis, ad plenum ditatus est. Et inde uenit dictus Robertus Cnollis ad .xij. leugas ab Auinioniam. Et tantam uirtutem secum duxit, quod papa et cardinales non audebant extra palacium moram facere. Et quasi deludentes, intra se dicebant,

‘Roberte Cnollys, per te fit Francia mollis,  
Ense tuo tollis predas, dans wlnera collis.’<sup>c2</sup>

Deinde in redeundo cepit prisonarios, et uillulas multas, et diuicias ad plenum. Et sic uenit ad suum hospicium.

Tunc Robertus Cnollis misit in Angliam ad regem quod quecumque adquisierat in regno Francie, castella, uillas, catalla, et quecumque alia, bene uoluit omnia esse ad uoluntatem legii domini sui regis, disponere de eis ad suum placitum. Et rogauit regem de suo dominio et bona sua uoluntate. Et multum placuit regi cunctisque filiis suis. Sed post festum Sancti Michelis idem Robertus captus est per insidias. Et dum deberet abduci, superuenit Randekyn socius dicti Roberti qui prope erat in illis partibus, et ceperat eodem die circiter .xl. prisonarios de Francis, deuicit hostes, et liberauit socium suum Robertum.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Supplied in margin by scribe      <sup>b</sup> Supplied in margin by scribe      <sup>c</sup> Roberte Cnollys, parte fit francus mollis, Ipsius tollis preda, dans wlnera collis T

<sup>1</sup> Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 31–40; Bridge, ‘Calveley and Knollys’, p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> For the origins of the verse, see Bridge, ‘Calveley and Knollys’, pp. 180–1.

1358

*Robert Knollys begins to work wonders in France.* After the feast of the Purification [2 Feb. 1358], a certain soldier, as he then was, who with the passage of time became a great knight and a powerful lord, the constable of many castles, fortified places, fortalices, and towns in France, both by the duke of Lancaster’s gift and by his own enterprise, having gathered a powerful English force together made his way through France. And he came to the town of Orléans and fired the suburbs, and killed as he chose, and carried away many goods and treasures which he found there. The citizens truly did not dare to come out against him, such was, by divine grace, the reputation of the English.

Then he moved on to Auxerre, and scaled the walls by stealth, and opened the gates. And all the English entered and arrayed themselves for battle in the street, and killed many of the inhabitants, and the citizens were so astonished that many fled to the walls, and leapt over and broke their necks, and many drowned themselves in their fear, so that more were killed by terror than by the sword.<sup>1</sup>

And the English took away, seized and carried off, uncounted goods, and became exceedingly rich. And there was no Englishman there so poor but that with gold, and silver, and jewels, and other precious things he was made a wealthy man. And then the said Robert Knollys came within twelve leagues of Avignon, and he brought such a force with him that the pope and the cardinals did not dare to stir from the palace, and as though mocking themselves they said

Robert Knollys, thou hast laid France low,  
Thy plundering sword brings all the land to woe.<sup>2</sup>

On their return they took prisoners, and many townships, and all the riches they wanted, and so came back to their base.

Then Robert Knollys sent word to the king in England that all that he had taken in France, castles, towns, goods, and everything else, he wished to put freely at the disposal of the king, his liege lord, for him to use at his pleasure. And he asked the king for his lordship and goodwill, and the king and all his sons were greatly pleased with him. After Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1358] Robert Knollys was captured in an ambush, but just as he was about to be led off there came his colleague Hanekin, who was in those parts, and he took forty French prisoners that day, overcame the enemy, and freed his comrade Robert.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Bridge says that Hanekin was originally a butcher, from Cologne: ‘Calveley and Knollys’, pp. 181–2.

1358

*Nuncii redeunt de curia.* Interim redeunt nuncii de curia pape dicentes papam et totam curiam letam fore de concordia et suum assensum prebuisse. Similiter attulerunt secum unam bullam papalem ad absoluendum iusticiarios regis qui fuerant excommunicati ad suggestionem et procuracionem episcopi Heliensis sic:

*Discordia inter episcopum Heliensem et dominam la Wake.* Parum ante hec tempora orta est discordia inter fratrem Thomam de Lyle Heliensem episcopum, et dominam la Wake. Nam homines episcopi succenderant unum manerium domine la Wake et homines eius interfecerant.<sup>1</sup> Et domina conquesta est regi de suo grauamine. Et / iusticiarii missi sunt ad inquirendum in causa, scilicet dominus Henricus Grene, dominus Willelmus de Schardeshul et alii. Et episcopus uenit coram eis, et compertum est quod fuit in toto culpabilis. Vnde attachiatus est per temporalia sua, sicut lex dictat, et traditus est episcopis qui eum custodirent, et pro eo ad legem responderent.

fo. 166<sup>r</sup>

Et ipse statim transiuit ad curiam Romanam et dedit pape intelligere quod rex incarcerationat eum et tulerat ab eo sua temporalia contra iura ecclesie. Quam ob causam missa est sententia per bullam papalem super iusticiarios et omnes suos fautores et eis adherentes,<sup>a</sup> ac coadiutores uel consiliatores, in hac causa, et missa fuit bulla ad Iohannem de Kynwelle, episcopum Lincolnensem, ad puplicandum populo, et exhumare corpora eorum si mortui essent et proiecere extra cimiterium. Qui continuo<sup>b</sup> perrexit ad quendam Simonem de Draythone, et exhumauit eum et fregit parietem ecclesie et extraxit corpus per foramen et eiecit extra cimiterium. Et episcopus Lincolnensis mandauit abbati de Burgo idem faceret<sup>c</sup> de corpore domini Iohannis de Engan, militis. Sed impeditus est per uirtutem a filio dicti militis.<sup>2</sup>

Cum igitur rex ista audisset grauiter tulit, et mandauit pape quod nil actum contra episcopum citra leges et consuetudines regni. Et sic tandem cum difficultate tamen et auxilio cardinalium habuit<sup>d</sup> pro eis absolucionem.<sup>3</sup>

1359

Ad festum Epiphanie quando magis credebatur<sup>e</sup> pacem habuisse

<sup>a</sup> h interlined by reviser      <sup>b</sup> con superimposed by reviser      <sup>c</sup> t added by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> Supplied in margin by reviser      <sup>e</sup> cre superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> For the dispute between Bishop Lisle and Lady Wake, of which Knighton gives an unabashedly Lancastrian summary, see J. Aberth, 'Crime and justice under Edward III: the case of Thomas de Lisle' *EHR* cvii (1992), 283–301. Blanche, Lady Wake, was Duke Henry's sister; the house which the bishop's men burned was not her own, but belonged to a retainer.

1358

*The envoys return from the Curia.* In the mean time envoys came from the Roman curia saying that the pope and the whole court rejoiced at the agreement and gave it their approval. Similarly they brought a papal bull with them, absolving the king's justices who had been excommunicated on the bishop of Ely's representations and contrivances, as follows.

*A dispute between the bishop of Ely and Lady Wake.* For shortly before that time a dispute had arisen between Brother Thomas Lisle, bishop of Ely, and Lady Wake, for the bishop's men had fired a manor of Lady Wake's and slain her men, and the lady had taken her plaint to the king.<sup>1</sup> And justices were sent to inquire into the matter, namely Sir Henry Green, Sir William Sharesull, and others, and the bishop appeared before them, and it was found that he was wholly to blame. And his temporal goods were seized, as the law requires, and he was delivered to his fellow bishops for them to keep him and answer for him at law.

And he at once went to the Roman curia, and gave the pope to understand that the king had imprisoned him and taken his temporalities against the law of the church. Thereupon a papal bull was sent with a judgement against the justices, and all their supporters and associates and assistants and advisers in that cause. And a bull was sent to John Gynwell, the bishop of Lincoln, ordering him to publish it, and to remove the bodies of those offenders who had since died, and cast them out of the churchyard. And the bishop came upon one, Sir Simon Drayton, and exhumed him, and broke through the church wall, and drew his body through the hole and threw it out of the churchyard. And the bishop of Lincoln ordered the abbot of Peterborough to do the same with the body of Sir John Engaine, but he was prevented by the resolution of that knight's son.<sup>2</sup>

When the king heard of those things he was highly indignant, and told the pope that nothing had been done to the bishop that infringed the laws and custom of the kingdom. And thus at last, after some difficulty, and with the help of the cardinals, he gained absolution for the victims.<sup>3</sup>

At the feast of the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1359], when it was generally

1359

<sup>2</sup> Sir Simon Drayton, of Drayton House, Northants, died on 31 May 1357; Sir John Engaine of Dillington, Hunts, on 16 Feb. 1359: *IPM* x. 303–4, 341–3. The reference to breaking the wall of the church to exhume Drayton suggests that his tomb (at Lowick) was in a chancel recess.

<sup>3</sup> The issue was effectively resolved by Lisle's death, at Avignon in June 1361: J. Aberth, 'Crime and justice under Edward III', p. 291.

1359 inter regna Anglie et Francie, ciues Parisienses recusauerunt totaliter, et despectuose omnes unanimi assensu insurrexerunt contra Anglos in ciuitate quorum multi morati fuerant ibidem tota uita sua, et eos omnes occiderunt et bona eorum sibi rapuerunt. Similiter et Flandrenses ex sua parte fugauerunt mercatores nostros in Brabanniam, et mercatores Estyrlingnes tenuerunt extra fines Flandrie, et omnes illos ciues de Brygges qui mercatores fouerant, exlegabant, ceperunt, et multos de mandatu comitis Flandrie detruncauerunt. Et iccirco rex fecit proclamare ubique in regno quod omnes alienigene cuiuscumque condicionis essent, solis firmariis regis exceptis, parati essent ad mare exire regnum citra festum Sancte Margarete proxime sequens<sup>a</sup> sub pena uite et membrorum, absque ulteriori dilacione.<sup>1</sup>

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxx. rex fecit retencionem similiter et ceteri domini regni fecerunt, qualem pre ualetudine non audiimus factam nostris ante actis temporibus pro aliquo<sup>b</sup> passagio ultra mare faciendo. Et preparauit se transire in Franciam ad Natiuitatem Beate Marie. Et medio tempore uenit dominus Walterus le Mawne cum .xv.c. uiris bene arraiatis de Almaniam, et Hunaldia, et aliis locis, in auxilium regis, et uenerunt ad Calesiam. Et cum introissent uillam, tractauerunt uillam ad suum placitum. Acceperunt hospicia et eiecerunt Anglos et quosdam occiderunt, et ultra mensuram multa magistralia exercuerunt. Sicque propter ista<sup>c</sup> et propter alia noua que ad aures regis deueniunt, rex noluit<sup>d</sup> pro tempore in Franciam transire, et sic passagium illud dilatatum est.<sup>2</sup>

*Dux Lancastrie transit in Franciam.* Sed ordinauit Henricum ducem Lancastrie in Franciam pergere. Et applicuit apud Calesiam post festum Sancti Michaelis cum fortitudine grandi. Et hoc contra<sup>e</sup> uoluntatem multorum magnatum de regno, qui secretas inimicicias gerebant erga eum. Et equitauit per Picardiam et Artoys, et destruxit patrias in circuitu.<sup>3</sup>

*Rex Edwardus transit in Franciam.* Et tunc superuenit rex Edwardus cum omnibus aliis magnatibus. Et diuiserunt se in tres turmas et acies. Et abinuicem se diidentes, singule acies ceperunt iter suum. Nesciebat una acies de cetero, ubi altera deuenit usque in diem Iouis ante festum Sancti Andree. Quo casualiter due acies transeuntes occurrerunt regi ad unam uillulam ad .x. leucas de Reynes in

<sup>a</sup> sequent' T

<sup>b</sup> Repeated; cancelled by a later hand, but also repeated in C

<sup>c</sup> Supplied in margin by reviser

<sup>d</sup> it added by reviser over erasure

<sup>e</sup> con super-

imposed by reviser

1359 believed that there was peace between England and France, the citizens of Paris utterly denounced it, and with one assent rose, despicably, against the English in the city, many of whom had lived there all their lives, and slew them and stole their goods. And in the same way the Flemings, on their part, chased our merchants out of Brabant, and kept the Easterling merchants outside Flanders, and all those citizens of Bruges who had received merchants were outlawed, seized, and many of them beheaded, on the orders of the count of Flanders. And thereupon the king had it proclaimed in all parts of the kingdom that all aliens, of whatsoever degree, excepting only those who farmed the king's revenues, should prepare to sail from the country by the feast of St Margaret next following [20 July 1359], upon pain of life and limb, without any further respite.<sup>1</sup>

In the year of grace 1359 the king, and the lords too, assembled such a following as we have never heard was assembled for service overseas before those days, and prepared to cross into France on the Nativity of St Mary [8 Sept. 1359]. And in the mean time Sir Walter Mauny came to help the king with 1,500 well-arrayed men from Germany, and Hainault, and other places, and they came to Calais, but when they entered the town they treated it at their pleasure. They seized lodgings and expelled the English, and slew some of them, and lorded it over the place beyond all measure, so that when that and other news came to the king's ears he decided not to go to France, and so his crossing was delayed.<sup>2</sup>

*The duke of Lancaster crosses over to France.* However, he ordered Duke Henry of Lancaster into France, and the duke landed at Calais with a great force, rather against the will of many of the lords of the land, who bore a secret grudge against him. And he rode through Picardy and Artois, and devastated the countryside all around.<sup>3</sup>

*King Edward crosses over to France.* And then King Edward came with all the other magnates, and divided his force into three, and one after another each force set off. And none of them knew where the others were until the Thursday [28 Nov. 1359] before the feast of St Andrew, when by chance two corps came upon the king in a village ten leagues from Rheims, in Champagne, where the king held a great

<sup>1</sup> Knighton may be referring to Edward's dismissal of members of Jean's entourage: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 143-5.

<sup>2</sup> See Packe, *Edward III*, p. 239; and Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 146-7.

<sup>3</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 201-2; Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 147.

1359 Campania. Vbi rex tenuit unum magnum consilium cum duce Lancastrie et aliis magnatibus suis in uigilia Sancti Andree et die sequenti.<sup>a</sup>

fo. 166<sup>v</sup> Et exinde ceperunt iter suum uersus Reynes, in tribus aciebus sicut prius fecerant. Ita tamen quod singuli possent / scire ubi essent et reliqui. Nec aliquis exercitus eorum aliquam paciebatur aduersitatem aut dispendium. Nec quandoque ab aduersariis acclamatus est in toto hoc itinere, sed omnia prospera eis euenerunt, nisi quod unus Baldewynus Bartyn .xxvj. die Nouembris uenit cum .lx. uiris super comitem Staffordie hospitatum in una parua uillula prope principem et acclamauit eum. At ille exiens in<sup>b</sup> primo insultu unum occidit et alium<sup>c</sup> ad terram iecit. Sicque omnes capti sunt uel occisi nec unus quidem euadit. Et ipse Baldewynus captus est.<sup>1</sup> Et notandum quod in toto illo uiagio non periit quisquam nostrorum, nec dampnum sustinuit. Preter quod dominus Thomas de Morrens percussus est medio de una gunna.<sup>2</sup>

*Rex uenit ad Reynes.* .xviii. die Decembris uenit rex cum omnibus suis ad uillam de Reynes, et recipiebant se hospicio ex omni parte uille, et quieuerunt pacifice, nulli malum aut molestiam inferentes. Et fecerunt conuiuia unusquisque dominus cum alio, acsi in proprio solo fuissent in Anglia.<sup>3</sup>

*Dux Lancastrie cepit uillam de Cerneye cum castello.* Die Sancti Thome Cantuariensis ad noctem dux Lancastrie, comes Richemundie, comes Marche, dominus<sup>d</sup> Iohannes Chaundos qui nominatissimus miles hiis diebus habebatur, exierunt ad inscandalam uillam de Cerney in Dorinoys, que erat uilla fortissima, duplici fossa et ingenti muro munita, plena turribus, et instaurata uiris armatis.<sup>4</sup>

In crastino antequam appropinquarent ad uillam per unam leucam, illi de uilla perceperunt eos, et eos acclamabant. Ac dux et ceteri comites non obstante illo clamore equitauerunt donec uenierent bene prope uillam. Et tunc descendit dux de equo ut uideret fossuras et \* \* \* illarum, et statim ceteri uidentes eum ad pedes, descenderunt de equis, et absque consilio inito aut aliquo proposito inde capto, unanimiter se dederunt ad insultum improuise.

Et sine dilacione unam fossuram adquisierunt, deinde absque

<sup>a</sup> que superimposed by reviser      <sup>b</sup> in inserted by reviser over erasure      <sup>c</sup> Repeated  
<sup>d</sup> us added by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See further Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 152 and n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 202–3, Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 240–41. Morrieux was as probably a victim of some malfunctioning English gun as of an enemy missile. He survived

council with the duke of Lancaster and other lords on St Andrew's Eve and the next day [29–30 Nov. 1359]. 1359

Then they made their way towards Rheims in three formations, as they had done before, but with provision for each to know where the others were, lest any should fall into danger or loss. Nor were they challenged by the enemy during that entire manoeuvre, for all went well with them except that on 26 November one Baudouin d'Annequin came with sixty men upon the earl of Stafford in a little village not far from the prince, and challenged him, but on first coming out the earl slew one of them and threw another to the ground. Thus all were captured or killed, and none escaped, and Baudouin himself was captured.<sup>1</sup> And it is to be noted that in the whole of that expedition none of our men was killed, or suffered any harm, except that Sir Thomas Morrieux was struck down by a gun.<sup>2</sup>

*The king comes to Rheims.* On 18 December the king came with his whole force to Rheims, and they took up their quarters all round the town, and stayed there peacefully without doing harm or injury to anyone. And every lord made merry with others as though he were on his own estates in England.<sup>3</sup>

*The duke of Lancaster takes the town of Cernay, with its castle.* On St Thomas of Canterbury's day [28 Dec. 1359] the duke of Lancaster, the earl of Richmond, the earl of March, and Sir John Chandos, the most celebrated knight of that time, went out in the night to attack the town of Cernay-en-Dormois, which was a very strong town, fortified with a double ditch and huge walls, bristling with turrets, and packed with men-at-arms.<sup>4</sup>

In the morning, before they came to the town they were seen by the townsmen a league off, and challenged. And the duke and the rest of the lords took no notice of the cry, but rode on until they were close to the town, and then the duke dismounted to look at the ditches and their \* \* \*, and at once the others, seeing him on foot, got off their horses, and without conferring or making any particular plan they gave themselves straight away to the attack.

And they immediately secured one of the ditches, and moved on

to lead his company through the campaign, and to hold office in Norfolk: *CPR 1358–61*, p. 525; and *CCR 1360–64*, p. 421.

<sup>3</sup> What Knighton is describing was in fact an unsuccessful and frustrating siege of the town: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 153–61.

<sup>4</sup> Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 203–4. The three raids described here, upon Cernay, Autry, and Cormicy, were evidently in the nature of a Christmas treat for the troops. See further above, p. lxxxv.

1359 mora adepti sunt aliam. Tunc cum graui pena ad muros asscenderunt, et ibi militanter et strenue pugnaverunt, donec aliqui eorum muros acquirerent, et sic ascensis muris, uillam intrauerunt, et miserunt ad mortem qui eis restiterunt, et multi eorum fugientes se submerserunt in aqua et marisco. Deinde dirrexerunt se ad castellum, ut insultum facerent, sed castellani prepediti timore sine dilacione se reddiderunt cum castello duci Lancastrie. Et eodem die antequam inde abierent, posuerunt uillam incendio et flamme, et hospitati sunt eadem nocte in una uillula bene prope comitem de Marche.

1360 Et in crastino die scilicet Circumcisionis, dux Lancastrie et plures alii tetenderunt uiam ad quandam uillam uocatam Autry in Dormoys, que distat per .iij. legas de Cerneye. Et erat hec uilla bene munita, et forcior quam Cerneye, posita super aquam uocatam Dayne. Sed antequam illuc uenirent uillani reliquerunt uillam et fugerunt, pre timore, nec erat qui eis resisteret. Eodem die dux Lancastrie perrexit ad uillam fortem et bene munitam uocatam Meuram in Campania. De qua simili modo uillani ante eorum aduentum fugerant, et uillam flame et incendio subposuerant. Et exinde rediit cum exercitu suo ad regem Edwardum, sanus et incolumis cum omnibus suis laudetur Deus.

1359 *Villa Courmussy.*<sup>a</sup> Et preter hec dominus Bartholomeus de Borgwahs, dominus Baldewynus de Buttore cum multis aliis de familia principis, et familia comitis Richemundie<sup>1</sup> .xx. die Decembris dirrexerunt se ad uillam nomine Courmussy. Que erat munita duplici fossa et bene murata, et fortissima presidio, et uirili audacia inscalauerunt eam eadem nocte, et prendiderunt eam. Et in medio uille erat unum pulcrum castellum cum turri una quasi inexpugnabili.

fo. 167<sup>r</sup> / Et hoc castellum per suffossionem et<sup>b</sup> uarios insultus adepti sunt, in die Epiphanie. Et hii qui fuerunt in castello, fugerunt in turrim indilate. Sed ui coacti, reddiderunt se eodem die scilicet dominus le Clermount et multi ualentes milites, armigeri et burgenses de uilla. Tercia die post Epiphaniam predicta turris dilapidata est ad terram dictaque uilla data incendio combustionis et penitus destructa.

Eodem tempore dalfinus de Vienna filius regis Francie et alii proceres regni congregauerunt multitudinem uirorum forcium et classem magnam nimis ut in Normannia adunati, in Angliam applicarent

<sup>a</sup> The marginal heading is on fo. 167

<sup>b</sup> Repeated, and cancelled by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> Botetourt was master of the prince's war-horses, and Burghersh steward and constable of Wallingford: *Register of the Black Prince* (London, 1933), iv 26-7, 269.

without pausing to the other, then with great difficulty they gained the walls and there fought hard and vigorously until some of them secured the parapet, and thus crossing the walls they entered the town, and put to death those who resisted them, and many of those running away were drowned in the water and the marsh. Then they made their way to the castle, in order to attack it, but the garrison, struck with fear, surrendered themselves and the castle to the duke of Lancaster without delay. And that same day before they withdrew they put the town to fire and flame, and spent the night in a little village close to the earl of March.

And the next day, namely the Circumcision [1 Jan. 1360], the duke of Lancaster and many others made their way towards a town called Autry-en-Dormois, about three leagues from Cernay, which was a well-fortified town even stronger than Cernay, standing upon a river called the Aisne. But before they reached it the townsmen abandoned the town, and fled in fear, nor was there anyone who remained to resist them. That same day the duke of Lancaster went on to a strong and well-defended town called Manre in Champagne, from which the townsmen likewise fled before their coming, and they destroyed the town with fire and flame, and then returned with their army to King Edward, safe and with all their men unharmed, praise be to God.

*The town of Cormicy.* And before that, on 20 December, Sir Bartholomew Burghersh, Sir Baldwin Buttore, and many others of the prince's and the earl of Richmond's households,<sup>1</sup> made their way to a town called Cormicy, which was fortified with a double ditch and well walled, and strongly garrisoned, and with great boldness they scaled the walls that night, and took the town. In the middle there stood a fine castle with a tower, apparently impregnable, and they forced the castle at the Epiphany [6 Jan. 1360], by undermining it and in a series of assaults. Those who were in the castle fled at once into the keep, but were compelled to surrender that same day, that is to say the lord of Clermont and many experienced knights, and squires, and burgesses of the town. On the third day after Epiphany the said tower was razed to the ground, and the town given to consuming fire, and wholly destroyed.

At that same time the dauphin of Vienne, the son of the king of France, and other great men of the kingdom, gathered a great number of experienced soldiers and a huge fleet, which, concentrated in Normandy, could attack various places in England, which would force

1359

1360

1359

1360 in diuersis locis ut sic regem Edwardum reuocarent, ac eciam de Anglicis se uindicarent. Et quidam eorum occurrerunt domino Thome Foggis ad numerum .cc.xl. lanceati. At dictus Thomas "occurit eis" iuxta Honiflet cum .xxvij. lanceatis et circiter .c. sagittariis, et fortiter pugnaverunt. Et capti sunt in eodem congressu .c.xx. persone armate, uidelicet dominus Lodouicus Harecourt, gardianus Normannie, dominus Iohannes Bygot marescallus, dominus Baldewynus de la Huse, cum .ij. fratribus, dominus de Brakemount et frater eius, balliuus de Caux. Et unus baro cognatus eius, dominus Willelmus Marteb.<sup>1</sup>

*Franci applicuerunt apud Winchelse.* Die Sancti Mathei Apostoli in .xl. Franci applicuerunt apud Wynchelse ad summam .xx. millia armatorum uirorum, et interfecerunt .xxxv. homines de uilla. Sed infra breue tempus tanta multitudo Anglorum compatriotarum quod antequam Franci possent nauigio suo se munire, in tantum proripuerunt<sup>b</sup> se ad aquam, quilibet super alium, quod perdiderunt tam necatos quam<sup>c</sup> submersos plusquam .cccc.

Et sumpserunt secum .ix. mulieres speciosas de uilla quas tam turpiter uiolauerunt, quod horribile est recitare. Et dum sic occupati essent Franci ex una parte, quidam marinarij nostri nauigio uenerunt et ceperunt .xiiij. naues cum uino et alijs uictualibus bene onustas, et eas abduxerunt. Eodem tempore missus est Iohannes de Valoys rex Francie de castello de Somurton ad turrin Londoniensem.<sup>2</sup>

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lx. omnes laici cuiuscumque conditionis erant inter .xvj. et .lx. annos arraiati sunt. Et de illis meliores armati, sagittarii, missi sunt ad marisarcos ad mare, in defensionem regni.<sup>3</sup> Vnus marisarcus erat Iohannes Wesnam prior hospitalis, et alij assignati per regem.<sup>4</sup> Nauigium inimicorum super mare dicebatur nimis ualidum. Archiepiscopi et episcopi per episcopatus suos concesserunt grandes indulgencias omnibus transeuntibus ad mare contra inimicos in defensionem regni. Et quod unusquisque posset eligere sibi confessorem ad placitum.

Episcopi quoque, abbates et priores, rectores, uicarii et capellani, et omnes uiri ecclesiastici parati erant prout abiles fuerant. Quidam esse uiri armati, quidam sagittarii, et electi erant per mandatum episcoporum. Et beneficiati qui non potuerunt in propria persona,

<sup>a</sup> Repeated after Honiflet  
<sup>c</sup> Superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> Supplied in margin by a later hand

King Edward to return, and also give them revenge upon the English. And some of them, 240 lances, came upon Sir Thomas Fogg, and the said Thomas met them by Honfleur, with twenty-seven lances and about 100 archers, and fought them vigorously, and there were captured in that encounter 120 men-at-arms, including Sire Louis d'Harcourt, the keeper of Normandy, Sire Jean Bygot, the marshal, Sire Baudrain de la Heuse, with his two brothers, the lord of Bracquemont, with his brother, the bailiff of Caux, and a baron, his cousin, and Sire Guillaume Martel.<sup>1</sup>

*The French land at Winchelsea.* On the feast of St Matthew the Apostle, in Lent [24 Feb. 1360], the French landed at Winchelsea, to the number of 20,000 men-at-arms, and killed thirty-five of the townsmen. But within a short time there came such numbers of Englishmen that, before the French could man their ships they were forced into the sea, one upon another, and they lost as many men drowned as slain, a total of more than 4,000.

And they took away with them nine beautiful women from the town, and violated them in a manner horrible to relate. And while the French were thus preoccupied some of the sailors from our fleet came and took thirteen ships, well laden with wine and other supplies, and carried them off. At that same time Jean de Valois, king of France, was sent from Somerton castle to the Tower of London.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of grace 1360 all laymen, of whatsoever condition, aged between sixteen and sixty, were called to arms; and the better-equipped archers amongst them were sent to the coast, to the admirals, for the defence of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup> One of the admirals was John Wesenam, the prior of the Hospitallers, and others were appointed by the king.<sup>4</sup> The enemy fleet at sea was said to be immensely strong. The archbishops and bishops granted great indulgences to all who crossed the sea to fight the enemy in defence of the kingdom, every one of whom could freely choose his own confessor.

The bishops too, and abbots and priors, rectors, vicars, chaplains, and all ecclesiastics were made ready, according to their capacity: some to be men-at-arms, some archers, and they were chosen on the bishops' orders. And benefited clergy who could not appear in their

<sup>1</sup> At Favril, in Jan. 1360: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 179 and n. 3. See also Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, p. 156 n. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 179 and n. 2, 181-2; Packe, *Edward III*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> See Hewitt, *Organization of War*, pp. 19-20.

<sup>4</sup> Wesenham was captain of the fleet towards the north: *CPR 1358-61*, p. 349.



1360 supplerent per bona sua in aliis personis, si Franci in terram intrarent et necessitas eis occurrere suppetisset.

Tunc marisarcus cum .viii. xx. nauibus de Londoniis per Temisiam mare peciit. Et primo sulcauit maris alta usque Boloniam deinde usque ad Honyflete, ad reprimendum inimicorum audaciam qui terram Anglie infestare proposuerant. Et sic nostri fecerant multa mala Francis in ista peregrinacione.

Cum igitur rex iacuisset apud Reynes .vij. septimanas, transiuit ad Chalounnes, deinde perrexit in Burgoniam.<sup>1</sup> Et uenit dux Burgonie et tractauit cum rege, et rex concessit ei treugas per .iiij. annos pro se et omnibus suis, pro .cc. millia motonis regi soluendis.<sup>2</sup> In .xl. sequenti rex Edwardus habuit tractatum cum Francis, aderantque unus cardinalis et unus legatus, sed non cepit efectum.<sup>3</sup>

fo. 167<sup>v</sup> *Rex Edwardus < mouet se > uersus Parisium.* Vnde rex mouit exercitum usque Parisium, incendio, occidendo, et undique deuastando. Et ibi propter festum Pasche fixit tento/ria ad .ij. leucas de ciuitate. Die Lune post diem Pasche rex disposuit exercitum suum in .iiij. aciebus coram ciuitate, clangentibus tubis et clarionis et aliis instrumentis musicis personantibus. Rex erat in secunda acie cum suis, dux Lancastrie et comites Northamtone et Salisburie cum suis in prima acie. In tercia acie princeps et<sup>a</sup> barones cum reliquo wlgo, expectantes prelium de hiis qui in ciuitate Parisius erant, sicuti eis ante promiserant. Sed nemo exiit de ciuitate occurrere illis.

Vnde rex Edwardus inde grauiter motus, iussit dare incendio magnam partem suburbiorum, ut eos prouocaret ad pugnam. Et tamen non erat qui eis resisteret. Tunc .xxx. milites de nouo ordinati cum lanceis suis perrexerunt ad portam Parisiorum, petentes ab eis opera militaria secundum legem armorum.<sup>4</sup> Et exierunt de ciuitate .lx. cum hastis, et pugnatum est fortiter ex utraque parte sed per gratiam Dei que semper presto erat Anglis in omnibus suis agendis, Angli uicerunt Francos, et refugauerunt eos in ciuitatem, quosdam mortuos, quosdam letaliter wlneros. Sed nostri, laudetur Deus, euaserunt absque graui wlnere.

Tunc mouit se rex in alias partes, et tradidit custodiam castellorum que sunt in partibus de Orlions et Catenesia duci Lancastrie. Eodem

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> See Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 169–71; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 204–6.

<sup>2</sup> Or rather, promised: the French king took over responsibility for the payment in 1361. The *mouton d'or* was worth 4s. sterling. See Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 243–4.

1360 own persons would have supplied others at their own costs, had the French landed and they been called out.

Then the admiral put to sea from London, down the Thames, with eight score [160] ships, and first he crossed the sea to Boulogne, and then went to Honfleur to repress the arrogance of the French in proposing to infest the ground of England. And our men did much harm to the French on that voyage.

Now when the king had spent seven weeks at Rheims he crossed to Châlons, and then campaigned in Burgundy.<sup>1</sup> And the duke of Burgundy came and negotiated with the king, and the king granted him a truce for three years, for him and all his men, for 200,000 *moutons d'or* to be paid to the king.<sup>2</sup> In the following Lent [Feb.–March 1360] the king had discussions with the French, which a cardinal and a legate attended, but nothing was agreed.<sup>3</sup>

*The king moves towards Paris.* And then the king led his army towards Paris, burning, slaying, and laying waste all around him. And then because of Easter he pitched his camp two leagues from the city. On the Monday after Easter [6 April 1360], the king arrayed his army before the city in three battalions, sounding trumpets and bugles, and other instruments. The king was in the second battalion, with his household, the duke of Lancaster and the earls of Northampton and Salisbury, with their men, in the first. In the third was the prince and the barons, and the rest of the force, expecting to do battle with those in the city of Paris, as they had previously promised. But no one came out of the city to encounter them.

Wherefore King Edward, greatly angered, ordered a large part of the suburbs to be fired, to provoke them. And there still was none who resisted them. Then thirty newly-dubbed knights rode with their lances up to the gates of Paris asking for combat under the law of arms.<sup>4</sup> And sixty men came out of the city with lances, and both sides fought hard, but by the grace of God, who is ever ready to support the English in all their undertakings, the English beat the French, and chased them back into the city, some dead, some mortally wounded, though our men, God be praised, escaped without serious wounds.

Then the king moved to other parts, and gave the keeping of the castles around Orléans and Châteaudun to the duke of Lancaster. At

<sup>3</sup> See Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 186–7.

<sup>4</sup> A challenge to an engagement à l'outrance: see Barker, *Tournament in England*, pp. 33–4, and above, p. 38 n. 1.

1360 tempore comes de Armenak in Vasconia pugnavit cum amico regis Anglie comite de Foys, pro eo quod adherebat<sup>a</sup> regi Anglie. Et mortui sunt ex parte dicti comitis .xv. millia uirorum, et ex nostra parte (n)ullus<sup>b</sup> nominatus, laudetur Deus.<sup>1</sup>

*Guydo de Warwyk et alii magnates obiunt in Francia.* In isto uiagio obierunt in Francia multi nobiles Angli, scilicet comes de Marche, marescallus exercitus, Gydo de Warwyk primogenitus comitis miles nominatissimus, dominus Robertus de Morle et filius eius, et multi alii nobiles, milites et armigeri, atque ualetti. Nam in eorum reditu<sup>c</sup> de ciuitate Parisiensi uersus partes de Orlions in Beuosina subito superuenit horribilis tempestas tonitruui, fulguris deinde grandinis, et occidit gentes absque numero, et plusquam .vj. millia equorum. Ita quod cariagium exercitus defecit fere in toto. Et oportuit necessario redire uersus Angliam.<sup>2</sup>

Sed Deus transtulit miseriam necessitatis, in honorem<sup>d</sup> regie maiestatis. Nam papa misit nuncios solempnes cum literis ad regem Anglie, ad tractandum de pace et concordia. Et tractauerunt apud Morens prope Chartres et continuatus est tractatus quinto die Maii quando rex disposuit se redire uersus Angliam, tamen propter necessitatem tum propter formam tractatus, quecunque habebant miserunt flamme et incendio pre defectu cariagii, tentoria, utensilia, currus, sellas, et cetera quasi cuncta. De dicta concordia dicitur infra.<sup>3</sup>

*De libertate Leycestrie.* Eodem anno rex concessit libertates Leycestrie de nundinis et alii ad instanciam ducis Lancastrie et dux obligauit dominium de Wrangell<sup>f</sup> sub waranto dictarum libertatum pro se et heredibus suis.<sup>4</sup>

*De placito de Berewode.* Eodem anno quidam miles, dominus Iohannes de Ardena, implacitauit abbatem nostrum Leycestrie et nos de manerio nostro de Berewod, et aduocacione ecclesie nostre de Crudworthe, quam per multa tempora in proprios usus habueramus.<sup>5</sup> Qui quidem dominus Iohannes per fauorem et auxilium multorum maiorum de patria, et per consilium uiccomitis qui pro eo tempore fuerat, portauit unum breue quod continet 'Faciatis uenire sex tales'.

<sup>a</sup> h interlined by reviser      <sup>b</sup> No mark of omission in T. The intention may have been to write nec ... ullus      <sup>c</sup> re inserted by reviser over erasure      <sup>d</sup> honor written over erasure  
<sup>e</sup> Supplied from the foot of the page, being directed here by a cross in the margin  
<sup>f</sup> Wrangell written over erasure

<sup>1</sup> Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 243–4; Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 189–90. On Armagnac and Gaston-Phoebus de Foix, see *ibid.*, ii. 321.

<sup>2</sup> On 13 April 1360: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 191 and nn. The losses were alarming, but

1360 that time the count of Armagnac fought in Gascony with a friend of King Edward's, the count of Foix, because he supported the English, and there were killed on the count's side 15,000, and on our side, God be praised, none of name.<sup>1</sup>

*Guy of Warwick and many lords perish in France.* On this expedition, however, many English lords died in France, namely the earl of March, the marshal of the army, Guy of Warwick, the earl [of Warwick]'s first-born, and a most famous knight, Sir Robert Morley and his son, and many other noble knights and esquires and grooms. For as they made their way from Paris towards Orléans, through Beauce, a terrible tempest burst upon them, with thunder and hail, and killed men beyond number, and more than 6,000 horses, so that the army's supply train was almost entirely destroyed, and they had to return to England.<sup>2</sup>

Yet God spared the king's majesty the misery of that necessity, for the pope sent a formal embassy with letters to the king of England to negotiate peace and a treaty. And they met at Morancez, near Chartres, and the negotiations continued until 5 May. Then the king prepared to return to England, partly from necessity, and partly because of the progress of the negotiations, and they put all that they had, tents, utensils, carts, saddles, and everything else, to fire and flame for want of transport. The form of the peace will be described below.<sup>3</sup>

*Of Leicester's liberties.* In that same year the king granted liberties to Leicester in the form of fairs, and other things, at the instance of the duke of Lancaster. And the duke pledged the lordship of Wrangle for himself and his heirs as a warrant for the said liberties.<sup>4</sup>

*Of the action over Bearwood.* In the same year a certain knight, John Arden, sued our abbot and us over our manor of Bearwood and the advowson of our church of Curdworth, which had been in our hands for a long time.<sup>5</sup> The which Sir John, by the favour and with the help of many great men of the county, and with the support of the sheriff for the time being, brought a writ beginning 'Cause six such to come',

the army was in fact able to continue its march southwards: Packe, *Edward III*, p. 244; Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 208–9. The particular attention to the death of Guy of Warwick is interesting: see above, p. lxi n. 99.

<sup>3</sup> On the meetings, see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 208–11; and J. Le Patourel, 'Treaty of Brétigny', pp. 31–3.

<sup>4</sup> What the burgesses most wanted, and were still unable to secure, was the fee-farm of the borough: see *VCH Leics*, iv. 21.

<sup>5</sup> See Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 37, 126–7.

1360 Et hii erant gentes incognite nobis, que duxisse debuerant totum negotium ad suum placitum.

Sed cum diuulgatum esset ius nostrum, ac eciam pre timore unius litere per regem ad iusticiarios misse, quod non sinerent abbatem iniuriam pati prout respondere uellent in posterum coram rege et eius consilio, facti sunt<sup>a</sup> nimis dolentes et tristes. Sicque nostra iusticia declarata, transiuit negocium ad nostrum placitum, et recuperauimus manerium cum ecclesia ut prius habuimus. Acta sunt hec die Sabbati proximo ante festum Sancte Margarete apud Warwycum, coram iusticiariis domino Iohanne de Mowbray, et Thoma de Hyngylby.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 168<sup>r</sup> Circa Translacionem Sancti Thome transiit Iohannes de Valoys rex Francie et alii priso/narii ad Calesiam et tractauerunt cum proceribus Francis de concordia et finali pace inter regna Anglie et Francie. Et concordatum est sub tali forma.<sup>2</sup>

Rex Anglie habere debet totam Aquitanniam et Vasconiam pro perpetuo absque reuerso. Ciuitatem quoque de Peyters cum castello cum toto comitatu et patria de Peyters. Item totum feodum de Durward. Item totam terram de Beluille. Item ciuitatem cum castello de Saintona cum tota patria de Sayntonia, tam ultra aquam de Charent quam citra aquam. Item ciuitatem Andegauie cum castello, cum tota patria Andegauie. Item ciuitatem cum castello de Paragors, cum tota patria in circuitu. Item ciuitatem cum castello de Caours cum patria de Caoursina. Item ciuitatem et castellum et terram de Tarke. Item ciuitatem et patriam de Wygornosina. Item ciuitatem et castrum et terram cum patria de Caus. Item ciuitatem et castellum cum patria de Aungelmosina. Item ciuitatem et castellum de Rodesya, et patriam de Vergia. Item homagia, seruicia, et honores comitum de Foy et Armenak et de Paragorensi, et uicecomitis de Lyngesia. Et seruicia de dictis dominis pro terris quas habent in antedictis patriis. Item Mostrellum super Mare cum suis pertinenciis. Item integrum comitatem de Pountif. Item castellum cum uilla de Calesia cum dominiis et castellis Merk, Sandegate, Colne, Hammes, Wald, sex cum terris, mariscis, boscis, riuulis, redditibus, et cum uestituris ecclesiarum et omnibus pertinenciis. Item omnes insulas appendentes antedictis dominiis. Item

<sup>a</sup> Repeated

<sup>1</sup> *Arden v. the Abbot of Leicester* is not recorded in the surviving assize rolls (ex inf. Dr J. B. Post).

and those were persons unknown to us, who would have been able to manage the whole business at their own will. 1360

However, when our right was made known, and also from fear of a letter from the king addressed to the justices, saying that if they allowed the abbot to suffer injury they would have to answer for it later before the king and his council, they became exceedingly cast down and sad. And thus our right being declared, the proceedings turned to our own plea, and we recovered the manor and the church as we had had them before. All that was done on the Saturday [18 July 1360] next before the feast of St Margaret, at Warwick, before the judges Sir John Mowbray and Thomas Ingleby.<sup>1</sup>

About the Translation of St Thomas [7 July 1360] Jean de Valois, king of France, and other prisoners crossed to Calais, and discussed with the magnates of France a treaty and a final peace between the two kingdoms. And agreement was reached in this form.<sup>2</sup>

The king of England should have all Aquitaine and Gascony in perpetuity, without reversion; the city of Poitiers, with the castle, and all the county and territory of Poitiers, also the whole fee of Tabate; also the whole land of Belleville, also the city of Saintes with the whole country of Saintonge on either side of the waters of Charente, also the city of Angers, with the castle and the whole land of Anjou; the city and the castle of Périgueux, with all the country round about; the city and the castle of Cahors, with the country of Cahors; the city and castle and land of Tarbes; the city and territory of Bigorre; the city and country of Gauré; the city and territory of Angoulême, and the city and castle of Rodez and the territory of Aveyron, and also the homage, service, and honors of the counts of Foix, Armagnac, and Périgord, and the vicomte of Limoges. And also the service of the said lords for the lands which they have in the aforesaid territories, and Montreuil-sur-Mer, with its appurtenances, also the whole county of Ponthieu, and the castle and town of Calais, with the lordships and castles of Marck, Sangatte, Coulogne, Hames, Ardres, Oye, with their lands, marshes, woods, streams, rents, and with the patronage of their churches and all their appurtenances; also all the islands belonging to the aforesaid lordships, and the castle with the whole county of

<sup>2</sup> The text here reproduces clauses 1-6 of the treaty. See *Foedera, 1344-61*, pp. 487-94; and J. le Patourel, 'Treaty of Brétigny', p. 31.

castellum cum toto comitatu de Gynes cum suis pertinenciis. Item castellum et uillam de Rochelle cum omnibus suis pertinenciis.

Et ad ista firmiter et inuolabiliter perpetuis temporibus obseruanda, iurauerunt utrique reges super sacramento corporis Iesu Cristi. Simili modo iurauerunt magnates utriusque partis pro se et heredibus atque successoribus suis, coram .iij. archiepiscopis et .viiij. episcopis, cum indenturis<sup>a</sup> per sigilla ambarum parcium munitis, et pro redempcione regis Francie darent \* \* \*.

*Henricus dux Lancastrie obiit apud Leycestriam.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxj. cum igitur reformaretur pax inter regna, in .xl. sequenti obiit eterna memoria dignus Henricus nobilis dux Lancastrie apud Leycestriam.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem tempore creuit quedam societas uirorum forcium uocata societas Fortune, et per quosdam uocata est la grant companye. Et adunati sunt de diuersis partibus, non habentes unde uiuere, nisi de suo labore post initam pacem inter regna. Isti erant uiri fortes et bellicosi, elegantes et strenui et uiuebant de suo perquisito per guerram, in pace nil habentes. Et erant de diuersis nacionibus congregati.

Isti uenerunt de Lumbardia uersus Auinioniam et pecierunt licenciam proficisci per Sauey. Sed comes de Sauey negauit eis progressum. Et congregauit multitudinem populi<sup>b</sup> ad resistendum eis. Et illi captauerunt oportunitatem et noctanter prorupe<sup>r</sup>unt super muros ciuitatis in qua ipse comes manebat, et interfecerunt homines illius et predati sunt ciuitatem et tulerunt quecumque in ea inuenerunt. Et ipse comes cum magna difficultate dimissus per murum uix euasit.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem anno obiit magister Ricardus fitz Rauf episcopus Armacanus qui causam manutenuerat contra fratres mendicantes in curia Romana apud Auinioniam.<sup>3</sup> Eodem anno Matildis filia ducis Lancastrie ducissa de Seland, scilicet uxor Willelmi ducis<sup>c</sup> de Seland uenit in Angliam ad clamandum hereditatem suam. Et tunc diuisa est hereditas inter dictam Matildem et dominam Blanchiam filias ducis Lancastrie. Dominus Iohannes de Gaunt filius regis Edwardi duxerat in uxorem predictam Blanchiam, qui postea factus est dux Lancastrie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> inden written over erasure  
scribe

<sup>b</sup> Second p superimposed by reviser

<sup>c</sup> Interlined by

<sup>1</sup> Ps 111(112): 6. Duke Henry died on 23 March 1361: see Fowler, *King's Lieutenant*, pp. 216–18. The separation of the notice of his death from that of his funeral is a curious feature of the narrative, and may reflect the stresses of this stage of the chronicle's composition: see above, p. lxiv.

Guines and its appurtenances, and the castle of and town of La Rochelle with all its appurtenances.

And both kings swore upon the sacrament of the body of Jesus Christ to hold to all those things firmly and inuolably for all time to come. And the magnates on either side similarly swore for themselves and their heirs and successors, before three archbishops and eight bishops, with indentures validated by the seals of both parties. And for the ransom the French gave \* \* \*.

*Death of Duke Henry of Lancaster at Leicester.* In the year of grace 1361, when peace was made thus between the kingdoms, there died in the following Lent [23 Mar. 1361], at Leicester, the noble Duke Henry of Lancaster, worthy of everlasting remembrance.<sup>1</sup>

At that same time there grew up a certain association of veterans called the Company of Fortune, which some called the Great Company. They came together from all parts, having, once the peace between the kingdoms had begun, no means of livelihood but their own exertions. They were brave and battle-hardened men, experienced and vigorous, who lived on what they could win in war, having no resource in peace, and they were of many nationalities.

They came out of Lombardy towards Avignon, and sought licence to pass through Savoy. But the count of Savoy refused them passage, and assembled his men to resist them. And they seized the initiative and broke at night through the walls of the city [Lanzo] in which the count was dwelling, and slew his men there, and sacked the city, and carried off what they found there. And the count himself barely escaped over the wall, with great difficulty.<sup>2</sup>

In that same year died Master Richard FitzRalph, bishop of Armagh, who argued his case against the mendicant orders in the papal court at Avignon.<sup>3</sup> In the same year Maud, daughter of the duke of Lancaster and duchess of Zeeland, that is to say the wife of Willem, duke of Zeeland, came to England to claim her inheritance. And then the inheritance was divided between the said Maud, and the Lady Blanche, the daughters of the duke of Lancaster. Sir John of Gaunt, son of King Edward, married the said Blanche, and was later made the duke of Lancaster.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See further Delachenal, *Charles V*, iii. 239–47, 294–302; Packe, *Edward III*, p. 261.

<sup>3</sup> In Nov. 1360: K. Walsh, *Richard FitzRalph*, pp. 447–51; and see above, p. 150 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Blanche and John of Gaunt were married 19 May 1359; Maud died 10 April 1362: *CP* vii. 411. Gaunt was created duke of Lancaster 13 Nov. 1362: loc. cit. See further Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 33–5. See also below, p. 184 n. 5, p. 196 n. 1.

1361 Eodem anno nobilis dux Lancastrie Henricus tumultatus est in ecclesia collegiali et hospitali extra portam australem Leycestrie quam ipse construxerat, et quam prefecerat uno decano et .xij. canonicis prebendariis et totidem vicariis ac aliis ministris sufficienter requisitis, fo. 168<sup>v</sup> et centum pauperibus debilibus, et decem fortibus / mulieribus que debilibus deseruirent et procurarent in esculentis et poculentis et aliis corporis necessariis iugiter die ac nocte, dictamque hospitalitatem pauperum cum collegio canonicorum sufficienter dotauit, ubi<sup>a</sup> iacet sepultus.<sup>1</sup>

*Ventus horribilis.* Eodem anno .xvi. kalendas Februarii, scilicet in die et nocte Sancti Antonii, orta est horribilis et nimis ualida tempestas uentorum, qualem nunquam retroactis temporibus non creditur a plebe fuisse uisam. Nam ultra quam dici potest boscos, pomeria, et omne genus arborum prostrauit et multas ultra quam crederet cum radicibus euertit. Ecclesias, molendina, campanilia, muros, domos dilapidauit. Apud Londonias mala innumera de campanilibus et aliis domibus et ecclesiis exercuit.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem anno Edwardus princeps Wallie duxit uxorem filiam Edmundi comitis de Cancia, quam ante comes de Salisburia duxerat in uxorem, et diuorcio inter eos per dictam mulierem facto, dominus Thomas de Holond duxit in uxorem, pro cuius concupiscencia ut dicebatur diuorcium factum est. Tercio duxit eam princeps Wallie antedictus.<sup>3</sup>

*Secunda mortalitas.* Eodem anno mortalitas generalis oppressit populum<sup>b</sup> que dicebatur Pestis Secunda. Et moriebantur tam maiores quam minores, et maxime iuuenes et infantes. Et de congregacione nostra .xj. canonici mortui sunt.<sup>4</sup>

1362 Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxij. obiit Matildis ducissa de Selond et comitissa Leycestrie, quam wlgaris opinio dicebat ueneno<sup>c</sup> intoxicatam propter hereditatem reintegrandam.<sup>5</sup> Eodem anno sederunt

<sup>a</sup> Inserted by reviser over erasure  
<sup>c</sup> o interlined by reviser

<sup>b</sup> po inserted by reviser over erasure

<sup>1</sup> Leicester Abbey had absorbed the older college of St Mary de Castro, but the Newarke college, which transformed the hospital founded by Duke Henry's father in 1331, was a serious competitor for Lancastrian patronage, and Knighton's references to it are commendably moderate in tone. The college was established in 1356: see *VCH Leics*, ii. 45-6, 48-51; and A. H. Thompson, *Hospital and College of St Mary in the Newarke*, pp. 29-35. Constance, Gaunt's second wife, was also buried in the chapel there: see below, p. 000.

<sup>2</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>3</sup> This item is mirrored by an entry in the the English Brut, in which it is also associated with the death of Lancaster: *The Brut, or the Chronicles of England*, ii (EETS, OS cxxxvi,

In that year the noble Duke Henry of Lancaster was buried in the collegiate church and hospital outside the south gate of Leicester, which he himself had built, and in which he had established a dean and twelve prebendary canons, and as many vicars and other officers as were required. And he provided for 100 sick and poor inmates, with ten able-bodied women who were to nurse the sick, and prepare food and drink for them, and minister to their other bodily needs by day and by night, and he adequately endowed the said hospital for the poor, and the college of canons wherein he lies buried.<sup>1</sup>

*A fearsome wind.* In that year on 16 Kal. February [15 Jan. 1361] there arose a terrible and most violent storm of wind, namely upon the day and night of the feast of St Anthony, such as it was thought had never been seen in any earlier times, for beyond anything that I can tell it flattened woods, orchards, and all kinds of trees, and tore up by their roots many more than could be believed, and destroyed churches, mills, bell-towers, walls, and houses. In London it did incalculable damage to towers, and to churches and houses.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year Edward, prince of Wales, took to wife the daughter of Edmund, earl of Kent, who had previously been married to the earl of Salisbury, and having secured a divorce from him had married Sir Thomas Holland, for whose desire for her it was said the divorce had been made. Thirdly she married the aforesaid Prince of Wales.<sup>3</sup>

*The second plague.* In the same year the people were afflicted by a great mortality, which was called the Second Plague. Both greater and lesser folk died, and especially young people and children. And of our congregation eleven canons died.<sup>4</sup>

In the year of grace 1362 Maud, duchess of Zeeland and countess of Leicester, died, and vulgar repute had it that she had been poisoned to reunite the inheritance.<sup>5</sup> In the same year the justices of trailbaston

1908), p. 314. Joan, daughter of Edmund of Woodstock, earl of Kent, was a woman of resource and formidable character: Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 113-16; 260. Her marriage to the earl of Salisbury c.1346 was annulled by Clement VI in 1349 on the grounds of a previous marriage, in 1339, to Sir Thomas Holand, who became earl of Kent in her right. He died in Dec. 1360, and she married Prince Edward on 10 Oct. 1361: see *CP*, vii. 150-51, 153.

<sup>4</sup> J. F. D. Shrewsbury suggests that the epidemic was influenza, but his own account is not incompatible with either bubonic or the more deadly pneumonic plague: *Bubonic Plague*, pp. 127-30. Both Duke Henry and his daughter Maud seem to have been victims of the outbreak. Eleven canons represented perhaps one third to one half of the chapter at Leicester; there were 22 in residence, with 6 others unprofessed, in 1377: *Clerical Poll-Taxes of the Diocese of Lincoln*, ed. A. K. McHardy, p. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Maud died on 10 Apr. 1362, apparently of plague: *CP* vii. 411. Knighton's audience was presumably unperturbed by vulgar repute.

1362 iusticiarii de traylbastons apud Eboracum. Eodem anno quidam ualens homo de boriali plaga scutifer elegans et audax, nomine Iohanes de Coupeland, occisus est. Iste cepit Dauid regem Scocie in bello Dunolmie.<sup>1</sup>

1363 *Stapule apud Calesiam et mercatores habent custodiam.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxiiij. Ad festum Michaelis rex ordinauit stapulas lanarum esse apud Calesiam, et ordinauit .xxvj. mercatores de ualencioribus regni habere custodiam uille et eam manutene cum stapulis per .iiij. annos. Et cum quolibet mercatore .vj. uiros armatos, et .iiij. sagittarios, de sumptibus regis. Ordinauit eciam ibidem duos maiores uidelicet unum pro uilla, et alium pro stapulis. Et rex caperet pro mala captura que wlgaliter dicitur Maletozth, .xx. solidos, et predicti mercatores gardiani de uilla .xl. denarios de quolibet sacco lane. Princeps Wallie et comes Warwyche transierunt in Vasconiam.<sup>2</sup>

*De uacacione abbatie Leycestriensis.* Eodem anno Willelmus de Clowne humanissimus abbas Leycestrie adquisiuit uacacionem abbatie Leycestrensis. Quando aliquis abbas ibi obierit, escaetor regis intrabit in abbatiam et capiet ibi simplicem seisinam in nomine regis. Et tenebit se ibi per unum diem et unam noctem, non tamen faciet ibi aliquod magisterium, et in crastino exibit. Et si forte sponte exire noluerit, licitum eis est eum ui expellere.<sup>3</sup>

Nec quisquam escaetor se intromittet ulterius in aliis maneriis, terris, uel tenementis dicte abbatie nisi solum ut dictum est in abbatia tantum. Et pro isto priuilegio et pro primis quatuor uacacionis mensibus pro eleccione priuilegiatis, dabunt regi .iiij. marcas. Et si contingat ulterius uacare, pro quolibet mense quamdiu uacauerit dabunt regi unam marcam. Hoc priuilegium rex Ricardus .ij. in suo primo anno confirmauit.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex Ciprie uenit in Angliam.* Eodem anno uenit in Angliam (rex Ciprie)<sup>a</sup> qui in reliquis regnis laborauerat pro auxilio petendo. Et peciit a rege auxilium contra paganos, qui ei tulerant et detinuerant regnum et hereditatem suam Ierosolymam. Et rex noster ualde regaliter eum munerauit, et ceteri domini magnum honorem ei exhibuerunt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Suppl. Twysden; caret in T, but no insertion*

<sup>1</sup> Copeland was alive in October 1361, but dead before the summer of 1363: *IPM* xi. no 115; *CPR* 1361-4, p. 417. See also above, p. 72, and for trailbaston, p. 122 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> On the staple, see Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, pp. 210-12. For the grant of Aquitaine to

sat at York, and a certain gallant and brave knight of the north country, John Copeland by name, was slain. It was he who captured David, king of Scotland, at the battle of Durham.<sup>1</sup>

*The staple established at Calais, and the merchants have its keeping.* In the year of grace 1363, at Michaelmas [29 Sept.], the king ordered that the staple for wool should be at Calais, and appointed twenty-six of the leading merchants in the country to have the custody of the town, and to keep the staple there for three years. And for every merchant there were six men-at-arms and four archers, at the king's costs. He also established two mayors there, one for the town, and one for the staple. And the king would take, for that wicked tax called maltolt, 20s., and the merchants 40d. from each sack of wool. The prince of Wales and the earl of Warwick crossed into Gascony.<sup>2</sup>

*Of the vacancy of Leicester Abbey.* In the same year William Clowne, that most humane abbot, acquired custody of the vacancy of Leicester Abbey: when an abbot died there, the king's escheator could enter the abbey and take simple seisin in the king's name, and stay there for a day and a night, but he should exercise no authority there, and in the morning must depart. And if he would not leave of his own accord, it would be lawful for them to eject him.<sup>3</sup>

Nor may any escheator meddle further with the other manors, lands, or tenements of the said abbey, but only, as has been said, with the abbey itself. And for that privilege, and for the first four months of any vacancy for the privileges of election, [the canons] will give the king four marks. And if it should happen to be vacant for longer, then for every additional month they should give the king one mark. That privilege King Richard II confirmed, in the first year of his reign.<sup>4</sup>

*The king of Cyprus comes to England.* In the same year the king of Cyprus came to England, who had been labouring to secure help from other kingdoms. And he asked the king for help against the unbelievers who had taken from him and still held his kingdom and inheritance of Jerusalem. And our king received him most royally, and the rest of the lords showed him great honour.<sup>5</sup>

the prince, and associated documents, see *Foedera*, 1361-77, pp. 667-70. Edward sailed for Gascony in Feb. 1363

<sup>3</sup> For the grant, see *CPR* 1361-4, p. 415; and below, p. 201, n. 6.

<sup>4</sup> As Knighton also notes on f.170<sup>v</sup> (below, p. 202): see *CPR* 1377-81, p. 110.

<sup>5</sup> Pierre de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, who took Adana from the Turks in 1361, toured Europe from 1362 to 1365 in search of support: A Luttrell, 'The crusade in the fourteenth century', *Europe in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley (London, 1965), pp. 122-54.

1363 *Rex Scocie uenit<sup>a</sup> in Angliam.* Eodem tempore rex Scocie uenit in Angliam pro abbreviacione pecunie quam debuit regi Anglie de redempcione sua, sed rediit negocio non expedito.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 169<sup>r</sup> *Rex Francie uenit in Angliam.* Rex Francie uenit Londonias post Purificacionem et moram traxit apud Saueye scilicet in manerio ducis Lancastrie tunc pulcherrimo manerio Anglie ut dicebatur.<sup>2</sup> Hoc quidem manerium Henricus dux Lancastrie construxerat de sumptibus .liij. millia marcarum quas adquisierat apud uillam de Bryggerake. Rex Francie attulit secum medietatem millenarii in partem solucionis redempcionis sue. Et rogauit regem pro liberatione hostiagiorum Fran / cie. Sed rex noluit annuere petitioni eius.<sup>3</sup>

*.iiij. reges conuenerunt Londoniis simul.* Sicque euenit uno eodemque tempore quatuor reges conuenire Londoniis, scilicet regem Anglie, regem Francie, regem Scocie, et regem Ciprie.

1362 *Rex facit solennem fugacionem ferarum.* Eodem anno rex congregauit comites et barones et ceteros proceres Anglie et habuit secum omnes hostiagios Francos. Et fecit solennem fugacionem ferarum in forestis de Rogingam, Clyue, Schyrewod, et pluribus aliis forestis et siluis et parcis. Et hoc fecit pro anno .l. etatis sue.<sup>4</sup> Et ut dicebatur effundebat expensas diurnales uicissim uno die .c. libras, secundo die .c. marcas, toto illo tempore fugacionis.

1363 *Quidam suspensus Leycestria reuixit.* Et multas gracias fecit Angligenis illo anno, et condonauit multa delicta. Eodem anno quidam Walterus Wynkeburne suspensus in furcis Leycestrie per insequacionem fratris Iohannis Dingleye magistri de Dalby de ordine Hospitalium.<sup>5</sup> Et cum dimissus a furcis duceretur ut mortuus ad cimiterium Sancti Sepulcri Leycestrie sepeliendus, cepit reuiuiscere in carecta et ductus est in ecclesiam Sancti Sepulcri per clerum, et ibi diligenter custodiebatur a clero Leycestrensi, ne forte raperetur iterum suspendendus. Cui rex Edwardus in abbathia Leycestrie fecit

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On David's difficulties over the ransom, see Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 167–9.

<sup>2</sup> For the liberty and palace of the Savoy, see R. Somerville, *The Savoy: Manor, Hospital, Chapel* (London, 1960), pp. 1–6.

<sup>3</sup> Jean returned to captivity because his son Louis of Anjou had broken his parole: Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 350–2; Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 256–7.

<sup>4</sup> Edward was 50 on 13 Nov. 1362, but Knighton seems to be referring to the summer and autumn of 1362, when the King stayed in the East Midlands for some weeks: see *CPR 1361–4*, pp. 384, 386–7, and 418. King's Cliffe was a bailiwick of Rockingham Forest. On accommodation in the forests, see Colvin, *King's Works*, ii. 901, 918–21. Rockingham castle,

*The king of Scotland comes to England.* At the same time the king of Scotland came to England to seek some reduction in the moneys he owed to the king of England for his ransom, but went home without achieving his purpose.<sup>1</sup>

*The king of France comes to England.* The king of France came to London after the Purification [2 Feb. 1364] and was lodged in the Savoy, that is to say in that mansion of the duke of Lancaster which was said to be the most beautiful dwelling in England.<sup>2</sup> Duke Henry of Lancaster had built the mansion with the 52,000 marks which he had acquired at the town of Bergerac. The king of France brought half-a-million with him in part-payment of his ransom, and he asked the king to release the French hostages, but the king would not grant his request.<sup>3</sup>

*Four kings together in London.* And thus it happened that four kings gathered in London at one and the same time, namely the kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus.

*The king holds a ceremonial hunt.* That same year the king gathered the earls and barons and other great men of England, and had all the French hostages in his company. And he held a ceremonial hunt of beasts in the forests of Rockingham, Cliffe, Sherwood, and many other forests, woods, and parks, which was done to celebrate his fiftieth birthday.<sup>4</sup> And it was said that he laid out in daily expenses successively on one day £100, and on the next 100 marks, for the whole period of the hunt.

*A man hanged at Leicester recovers.* And he did many acts of grace to the English that year, and pardoned many offences. In that same year one Walter Winkburn was hanged on the gallows in Leicester at the suit of Brother John Dingley, the preceptor of Dalby of the Order of Hospitallers.<sup>5</sup> And when he was taken down from the gallows as dead and taken to be buried in St Sepulchre's churchyard in Leicester, he began to revive in the cart, and was taken into the church, and there carefully guarded by the clergy of Leicester lest he should be seized and hanged again. And at Leicester Abbey King Edward pardoned

which probably served as a hunting lodge, was in Queen Philippa's hands at that time: *ibid.*, p. 818.

<sup>5</sup> On the preceptory of Dalby and Heather, see *VCH Leics*, ii. 32–3. Dingley, who presumably came from Dingley, Northants, where the Hospitallers also had a house (*VCH Northants*, ii. 142–4), was still preceptor in 1371 (J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester*, iii (London, 1816), 245. Leicester Abbey owned property in Dalby: see below, p. 200.



1363 graciam, et concessit cartam ita inquiring me audiente, 'Deus tibi dedit uitam, et nos dabimus tibi cartam'.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem anno mortua est ducissa de Clara uxor Leonelli ducis Clarenensis.<sup>2</sup> Eodem anno Iohannes de Bokyngham episcopus Lyncolniensis de nouo creatus, habuit .viiij. denarios ad marcam de clero per totum episcopatum Lincolniensem.<sup>3</sup> Et gelu magnum et frigiditas insolita isto anno fuit et durauit usque ad festum Sancti Gregorii et ultra. Et obiit Edwardus de Baliolo quondam rex Scocie iuxta Dancastriam.<sup>4</sup>

1364 *Rex Francie obiit Londoniis.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc. lxxiiij. Iohannes de Valoys rex Francie obiit Londoniis apud Sauey, .vj. idus Aprilis, et ductus est in Franciam et tumulatus apud Sanctum Dionisium.<sup>5</sup> Hic a primo suo aduentu in Angliam habuit homines suos secretos apud Londonias, et in aliis locis, qui secretiori modo congregauerunt electum aurum regni et fecerunt in platas, et miserunt in banellos ferratos ad abducendum in Franciam. Et emerunt arcus et sagittas et posuerunt in saccis lanarum ad summam mille arcuum, et congregauit magnam plenitudinem armorum ad ducendum in Franciam. Et eciam rogauit regem Edwardum condonare sibi de redempcione sua. Sed noluit.

Cum igitur egrotaret, et mortem approximare intelligeret, misit pro Edwardo rege et recognouit coram eo omnes prodiciones antedictas et causas pro quibus attemptate fuerunt. Ac eciam quod iniuste regnum Francie occupauerat, usque ad concordiam initam apud Calesiam. Et peciit ab eo ueniam de omnibus. Rex Edwardo benigne condonauit ei omnia predicta. Et rex Edwardus fecit arrestare cuncta que sic collegerat, et Anglicos quosque huius rei consentaneos, rex grauitur puniuit.

Eodem tempore inualuerunt fures et latrones in regno et spoliauerunt ecclesias, feretra sanctorum, et reliquias asportauerunt, scilicet abbathiam de Thornthoun, ymaginem de Domina apud Miriwale, in capella sua, et ymaginem de Domina apud Monkyskirkeby, et plurius aliis locis, et multi eorum capti sunt et suspensi.

*Capud Sancti Hugonis furatum est.* Capud quoque Sancti Hugonis Lincolniensis furati sunt, et captis argento et auro lapidibusque

<sup>1</sup> 'Walter Winkburn' was Walter Poynant of Hambleton, who was imperfectly hanged at Leicester in the autumn of 1363 for a robbery at Twyford, but had committed other offences at Winkburn and elsewhere. He received letters of protection from the King, dated 10 Nov. 1363, which were probably the charter to which Knighton refers. His pardon took longer to complete. It was enrolled in Jan. 1365, and covered offences dating back to 1352. See *CPR 1361-4*, p. 422, and *CPR 1364-7*, pp. 60-1.

him and gave him a charter, saying to him, as I heard for myself, 'God gave you life, and we shall give you a charter'.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year there died the duchess of Clarence, wife of Lionel, duke of Clarence;<sup>2</sup> and John Buckingham, the recently consecrated bishop of Lincoln, had 8*d.* in the mark from the clergy of the whole diocese.<sup>3</sup> And there was a great frost and unusual cold that year, which lasted to the feast of St Gregory [12 March 1364] and beyond. And Edward Balliol, sometime king of Scotland, died near Doncaster.<sup>4</sup>

*The French king died in London.* In the year of grace 1364 Jean de Valois, king of France, died in London, at the Savoy, on the sixth of the Ides of April [8 April 1364], and was taken to France to be buried at Saint-Denis.<sup>5</sup> From his first coming he had secret agents in London, and in other places, who clandestinely gathered the kingdom's finest gold, and made it into ingots, and put it into iron cases to be taken to France. And they bought bows and arrows, and put them into sacks of wool, to the number of 1,000 bows, and collected a great quantity of arms to take into France. And he asked King Edward to remit his ransom, but he would not.

Therefore when he fell sick, and realized that death was approaching, he sent to King Edward and confessed to all the said treasons and their causes, and also that he had wickedly and unjustly held the kingdom of France up to the peace begun at Calais. And he asked forgiveness for all the said things, and King Edward benignly forgave him. And King Edward had all the things seized which had been collected, and the Englishmen who were implicated the king punished severely.

At that time robbers and thieves flourished in the kingdom, and robbed churches, and the shrines of saints, and carried off relics, namely from Thornton Abbey, the image of Our Lady from her chapel at Merivale, and the image of Our Lady at Monks Kirby, and things from many other places, and many of them were captured and hanged.

*The head of St Hugh is stolen.* They also stole the head of St Hugh of Lincoln, and having taken the silver and gold and precious stones

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, married Lionel in Aug.-Sept. 1342, and died at Dublin in 1363: *CP* xii (1). 180.

<sup>3</sup> John Buckingham was elected bishop of Lincoln 20 Oct. 1362, in succession to John Gynwell (d. 5 Aug. 1362), but was not consecrated until 25 June 1363: *HBC* 255-6.

<sup>4</sup> For the cold weather, see Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 145. Balliol died at Doncaster, Jan. 1364: Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 161 and n. 221.

<sup>5</sup> Packe, *Edward III*, p. 257; Delachenal, *Charles V*, ii. 361-2; iii. 17-23.

1364 preciosis, capud proiecerunt in quodam campo. Et quod mirum est dictu, quidam coruus prout fama laborauit, custodiuit illud donec cognitum esset per eosdem latrones, et Lincolniam deportatum. Latrones predicti abierunt Londoniis ad uendendum sua predicta latrocinia, et uendiderunt ut dicebatur pro .xx. marcis. Et redeuntes in patriam suam, spoliati sunt de dicta pecunia. Postea de dicto scelere prodientes se ipsos, capti sunt, et apud Lincolniam suspensi.<sup>1</sup> Ecclesiam quoque abbatie nostre Leycestrensis per quandam fenestram super altare Sancti Iohannis Ewangeliste intrauerunt fures, set cito post per sacristam percepti sunt, et absque dampno illato fugerunt.

fo. 169<sup>v</sup> Eodem anno dum dux Britannie uacaret obsidioni de Orroy in Britannia, prope Vanes, superuenit Carolus / de Bloys qui uendicauit ducatum Britannie cum .xx. millia uirorum armatorum et pugnavit cum eo. Et occisi sunt ex parte eius .ix.c. persone. Et ipse Carolus ibidem occubuit. Et ceciderunt de parte nostra miles unus, armigeri .v. In crastino castellani reddiderunt castellum duci Britannie. Dominus Bertrannus de Cleykyn, famosissimus guerrator Francus, captus est ibidem per dominum Iohannem Chandos, qui habebat primam aciem in dicto bello.<sup>2</sup>

1365 Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxv. Isabella filia regis desponsata est domino de Counsy de Francia apud Wyndosoram. Et rex fecit eum comitem de Aumarle, si forte genuissent filium masculum, sibi et heredibus suis in perpetuum habere dictum comitatum.<sup>3</sup>

Eodem anno fecit rex arrestare iusticiarios, scilicet dominum Henricum de Grene, et dominum Willelmum Schypwyth et plures alios, propter eorum enormes infidelitates etcetera. Nota tu. Et se redimentes, fecerunt finem regi.<sup>4</sup>

1366 Mille .ccc.lxvj. *Nicholaus Dagworthe cepit et occidit Francos.* Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxvj. Nicholaus Dagworthe cum sua societate pugnavit cum Francis in ducatu Andegaue et deuicit eos, erant enim Franci .xv. millia uicti et occisi. Et capti sunt de Francis ibidem .v.c. Capitani Francorum fuerunt dux de Orlions, et dux de Aungeres, et plures magnates.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There was evidently a gang, which included at least one Londoner, and a man from Beverley: for a pardon for a local receiver of the proceeds, see *CPR 1364-7*, p. 117. For the formal restitution of St Hugh's skull to the dean and chapter of Lincoln by the coroner, in Feb. 1364, see *CPR 1361-4*, p. 468.

<sup>2</sup> Delachenal, *Charles V*, iii. 149-60; Packe, *Edward III*, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> Coucy was created earl not of Aumarle but of Bedford, in 1366, the year after his marriage to Isabella: *CP ii, s.t. Bedford*.

1364 from it, the thieves threw it into a field. And what is marvellous to relate, a certain crow, as it was reported, looked after it until it was revealed by the thieves, and it was taken back to Lincoln. The said thieves went to London to sell their spoil, and it is said that they sold it for 20 marks, and on coming back to the county they were robbed of the money, and then having betrayed themselves they were taken and hanged at Lincoln.<sup>1</sup> The church of our abbey of Leicester was also entered by thieves, through the window above the altar of St John the Evangelist, but they were soon discovered by the sacrist, and fled without doing any harm.

In the same year, while the duke of Brittany was besieging Auray, near Vannes, Charles de Blois, who claimed the duchy, came with 20,000 men-at-arms and fought with him. And 900 persons were killed on his side, and Charles himself fell, and on our side only one knight and five squires. The next day the garrison surrendered the castle to the duke of Brittany. Sire Bertrand du Guesclin, the celebrated French warrior, was captured there by Sir John Chandos, who led the first formation in the said battle.<sup>2</sup>

1365 In the year of grace 1365 Isabella the king's daughter was married at Windsor to the lord of Coucy, in France. And the king made him earl of Aumarle, and if he should beget a male heir, he and his heirs would hold the said earldom in perpetuity.<sup>3</sup>

In the same year the king caused some judges to be arrested, namely Sir Henry Green and Sir William Skipwith, and many others, for their enormous derelictions, etc. Take note. And they redeemed themselves with fines to the king.<sup>4</sup>

1366 *1366. Nicholas Dagworth slays and captures Frenchmen.* In the year of grace 1366 Nicholas Dagworth and his company fought with the French in the duchy of Anjou, and defeated them, and 15,000 of the French were beaten and slain. And the 500 French commanders taken there included the duke of Orléans, and the Duke of Anjou, and many magnates.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Both judges appear to have remained in, or to have been swiftly restored to, royal favour: E. Foss, *Judges of England* (London, 1851), iii. 433-4 (Green); iv. 88-94 (Skipwith). Skipwith also escaped condemnation with his colleagues in 1388: see below, p. 504. Green's expenses included the acquisition of Drayton House, Northants, from the Draytons: N. Pevsner, *Northamptonshire* (The Buildings of England, London, 2nd edn. 1973), pp. 189-94; and *VCH Northants*, iii. 237.

<sup>5</sup> Knighton appears to have conflated an engagement at Villedieu, 14 Aug. 1366 (which cost the duke of Anjou 3,000,000 francs in ransoms, besides his casualties) with a raid on the duchy of Anjou by the companies in July 1368: see Delachenal, *Charles V*, iii. 362-3, 450-51. See also Packe, *Edward III*, p. 259.

1367

Eodem anno princeps Wallie et frater eius Iohannes de Gaunt iam dux Lancastrie perrexerunt in Hispaniam ad instanciam Henrici regis Hispanie, contra Petrum fratrem suum bastardum.<sup>1</sup> Nam idem bastardus per potenciam et consilium et auxilium pape fecit se coronari in regem, et expulit fratrem suum regem a regno suo, seipsum intrudens.<sup>2</sup> Iohannes dux Lancastrie semper precessit itinerando cum exercitu suo, et princeps sequebatur eum cum suo exercitu. In prima acie erat dux Lancastrie et dominus Iohannes Chaundos capitanius de exercitu suo. Dominus Stephanus de Cosynton constabularius. Dominus Gychardus Dangyl marescallus cum mille .d.ccc. lanceis, sagittariis quasi sine numero. Princeps Wallie cum suis habuit mediam aciem. Rex Malogrie et comes Deerne<sup>2</sup> cum suis habuerunt terciam aciem. Rex Hispanie et rex Nauernie cum duabus aciebus a latere principis semper prosequendo.

*Bellum de Nazarys.* Et .xx. die Aprilis uenit bastardus cum sua potencia que grandis erat nimis et bene arraiata in quodam pulcro campo prope Nazaris in regno Castille. Et statim congregientes pugnaverunt fortiter. Et cessit uictoria principi Wallie et suis. Et mortui sunt ex parte bastardi in prelio de uiris nominatis preter inferiores et minores .v. millia. Deinde in fugacione de eisdem .iij. millia. Ipse bastardus et unus de fratribus eius fugerunt, et ceteri capitani mortui sunt aut capti. Post hec periit plebs Anglicanus in Hispania de fluxu uentris et aliis infirmitatibus, quod uix quintus homo rediit in Angliam. Istud erat maximum bellum quod in diebus nostris actum est.<sup>3</sup>

1369

Ex parte bastardi uenit magna multitudo paganorum et Saracenorum et incredulorum. Et antequam princeps Wallie rediret, ille bastardus fuerat in Vasconia et destruxerat magnam partem terre, quo princeps perrexit. Sed ipse abiuit, et rediit in Hispaniam. Et cepit dolose tractare cum rege Hispanie de concordia donec conueniret eum in certo loco cum dolo, et nacta oportunitate, scidit guttur eius et occidit eum. Et sic inuasit potius quam rexit regnum Hispanie pacifice et quiete, donec Iohannes dux Lancastrie in .xix. anno sequenti posuit clamium in regno Hispanie pro iure hereditatis uxoris sue. Nam idem Iohannes dux, post mortem prime uxoris sue, duxit

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<sup>a</sup> tru inserted by reviser over erasure

<sup>1</sup> See further Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 59–69.

<sup>2</sup> The count of Deerne is a mysterious figure. Don Alfonso de Villena, count of Denia, fought on the Castilian side, and was taken prisoner. A dispute about his ransom later occasioned a notorious act of sacrilege at Westminster: *Anon. Chron.*, 121–2, 190. Professor

1367

In the same year the prince of Wales and his brother John of Gaunt, now duke of Lancaster, went into Spain at the request of [Pedro] the king of Spain against [Enrique], his illegitimate brother.<sup>1</sup> For the same Bastard by the power and counsel and support of the pope had had himself crowned king, and expelled his brother from the kingdom, intruding himself there. John, duke of Lancaster, led the expedition with his army, and the prince followed him with his army. In the first formation there was the duke of Lancaster, and Sir John Chandos, the captain of the host. Sir Stephen Cossington was marshal. Sire Guichard d'Angle was marshal, with 1,800 lances, and archers without number. The prince of Wales with his men had the middle formation, and the king of Mallorca and the count of Deerne<sup>2</sup> with their men had the third. The king of Spain and the king of Navarre always rode on the prince's flank with two battalions.

*The battle of Nájera.* And on 20 April [1367] the Bastard came with his army, which was of great size and well arrayed, to a fair field near Nájera in the kingdom of Castile. And at once coming together they fought fiercely, and the victory fell to the prince of Wales and his men. And on the Bastard's part there fell in battle of men of name, and excluding the inferior and lesser sort 5,000, and then in the pursuit 3,000. The Bastard himself and one of his brothers fled, and the rest of the commanders were either killed or captured. Afterwards so many of the English died in Spain of dysentery and other diseases that scarce one man in five returned to England. That was the greatest battle to be fought in our days.<sup>3</sup>

On the Bastard's side there were a great number of heathens, and Saracens and unbelievers. And before the prince of Wales returned the Bastard was in Gascony and destroyed a great part of the land, so the prince went there, but he withdrew and returned to Spain. And shamefully he began to negotiate with the king of Spain to make peace, and when they met together he seized the chance to slit his throat and kill him. And thus he invaded, rather than peacefully and quietly ruled, the kingdom of Spain. Wherefore nineteen years later Duke John of Lancaster laid claim to Spain in his wife's right, for after the death of his first wife Duke John married Constance, the

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1386

P. E. Russell suggests that Knighton may have confused Denia with another Catalan nobleman, the count of Osona, who accompanied the king of Mallorca (pers. inf).

<sup>3</sup> Nájera, from which the English derived no political benefit whatever, was nevertheless a decisive demonstration of Prince Edward's military skills. Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 266–9; Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 99–107.

1371 Constanciam filiam regis Hispanie seniore, et frater eius Edmundus  
1372 duxit iuniorem ut infra eodem loco patebit.<sup>1</sup>

Eodem tempore uenit le grant companie in Franciam et fecit multa mala predando et destruendo patrias, et ceperunt castella multa et ciuitates. Postremo cum multa audacia presumpserunt obsidere ciuitatem Parisiensem.<sup>2</sup> Eodem tempore Leonellus dux Clarensis filius regis desponsauit filiam Golie domini de Meleto. Et ibi aliquandiu moram trahens, intoxicatus ueneno interiit.<sup>3</sup> Eodem tempore Edmundus filius regis transiit in Vasconiam cum .v.c. uiris armatis et sagittariis multis ad fratrem suum principem Wallie Edwardum.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 170<sup>r</sup> 1377 Anno Domini millesimo .ccc.lxxvij. obiit illustrissimus rex Edwardus .iiij., anno scilicet regni sui .lj., .xj. kalendas Iulii, et .iiij. nonas eiusdem, apud Westmonasterium, regaliter cum honorificencia est sepultus.<sup>5</sup> Isto enim regi Edwardo regina sua Philippa peperit Edwardum filium suum primogenitum, scilicet in festo Sanctorum Viti et Modesti regni sui anno .iiij. Hic flos mundane milicie, sub quo militare erat regnare, conflagere triumphare, cui iure maternali linea<sup>a</sup> recta descendente regnum cum corona Francie debebatur.

Pro cuius regni adipiscenda corona, que maris euasit pericula, quos bellorum deuicit impetus, quas belligerorum terruit audacitas, scriptor enarrare desistit, sue relacionis ueritatem adulacionis timens obumbrare uelamine. Hic uero Edwardus quamuis in hostes terribilis extiterat, in subditos tamen mitissimus fuerat et graciosus, pietate et misericordia omnes pene suos antecessores precellens.

*Edwardus princeps Wallie.* Iste uero Edwardus primogenitus princeps Wallie, fortunatissimus et miles in bello audacissimus, inter

<sup>a</sup> Corrected from *linia* by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Pedro was murdered in March 1369; Gaunt married Doña Constanza in 1371: Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 147–8, 167–9. Edmund married Doña Isabella in 1372. That brings this part of the narrative within four years of the last section, which begins with Edward III's death in 1377, and refers back to Prince Edward's death in the previous year. It also dates its composition to 1386, or later. See above, p. lxiv.

<sup>2</sup> On the companies after Nájera, see Delachenal, *Charles V*, iii. 441–51.

<sup>3</sup> Lionel married Violante Visconti 28 May, and died at Alba, probably of dysentery, 17 Oct. 1368: *CP* iii. 258.

<sup>4</sup> Edmund went to Gascony for the first time in 1369, but his marriage, referred to here,

elder daughter of the king of Spain, and his brother Edmund married the younger, as will appear below, in the same place.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time the Great Company came into France, and did great damage, pillaging and destroying the countryside, and they took many castles and cities. Later, with great boldness they even presumed to besiege the city of Paris.<sup>2</sup> At the same time Lionel, duke of Clarence, the king's son, married the daughter of Galeazzo [Visconti], the duke of Milan. And there after a short time he was poisoned.<sup>3</sup> At the same time the king's son Edmund crossed to Gascony with 500 men-at-arms and many archers, to join his brother Edward, the prince of Wales.<sup>4</sup>

In AD 1377 there died the most illustrious King Edward III, namely in the fifty-first year of his reign, upon the eleventh of the Kalends of July [21 June 1377]; and on the third of the Nones of that month [5 July 1377] he was buried at Westminster, with royal honours.<sup>5</sup> To that King Edward, his queen, Philippa, bore his first-born son Edward, upon the feast of SS. Vitus and Modestus, in the third year of his reign [15 June 1330]. He was the flower of this world's knighthood, for whom to do battle was to reign, to contend was to triumph, and to him by right of the female line the kingdom and crown of France ought to have descended.

To secure the crown of that kingdom, what perils he survived upon the sea, what shocks of battle he withstood, what valiant warriors he subdued, the writer forebears to relate, fearing that he might obscure the truth with a veil of mere adulation. Yet that Edward, whilst he was terrible amongst his enemies, was most mild and gracious to his subjects, excelling almost all his predecessors in goodness and mercy.

*Edward, prince of Wales.* And truly, Edward his first-born, the prince of Wales, was most favoured by fortune, and the boldest of knights in battle. Outstandingly amongst the feats of arms which he

took place in the spring of 1372. See Packe, *Edward III*, pp. 271–2; *CP* xii (2). 898; see above, n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> The interval was used to prepare, amongst other things, Edward's funeral effigy, the oldest now surviving in the Abbey, which incorporates the king's death-mask. See Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England, *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in London: i. Westminster Abbey* (London, 1924), pp. 30, 82; and *The Funeral Effigies of Westminster Abbey*, ed. A. Harvey and R. Mortimer (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 31–5.

1346 ualidissima gesta militaria magnifice ab eodem peracta apud Cressy<sup>1</sup> in Francia bellum habuit contra Philippum regem Francie, qui Philippus associauerat sibi duos reges scilicet Boemie et Malogrie. Et isti duo reges ambo in eodem bello a predicto principe Edwardo interfecti sunt, regem uero Francie Philippum in fugam uertit, magnamque stragem inimicorum fecit, captiuosque plurimos de magnatibus Francie in Angliam secum adduxit.

1356 Iohannem quoque regem Francie similiter apud Peyters<sup>2</sup> debellauit, et pluribus tam nobilibus quam aliis de regno Francie captis et aliis interfectis eundem regem Iohannem captiuauit, et ipsum potenter in Angliam patri suo Edwardo ductum presentauit. 1367 Henricum eciam Hispanie intrusorem potentissime in bello deuicit, et Petrum Hispanie regem dudum a regno suo per dictum Henricum expulsum,<sup>3</sup> potencie uirtute in regnum suum restituit, unde propter ingenitam sibi probitatem et actus ipsius triumphales memoratum principem inter regales regum memorias dignum duximus commendandum. 1376 Hic enim ante patrem suum moriens apud Cantuariam in ecclesia Cristi est sepultus.<sup>4</sup>

1377 *Ricardus .ij.* Anno Domini millesimo .ccc.lxxvij., .xvij. kalendas Augusti apud Westmonasterium coronacio Ricardi .ij. regis filii Edwardi principis memorati. Hic auo suo regi Edwardo iure hereditario ac eciam uoto communi singulorum in regnum successit Anglorum, anno etatis sue .xj.<sup>5</sup> Hic duxit uxorem Annam sororem regis Boemie imperatoris.<sup>6</sup>

.xj. kalendas Februarii Willelmus de Clowne, abbas, mortuus est, qui monasterium Beate Marie de Pratis Leycestrie luculenter circiter per .xxxiiij. annos cum laude uirtutum et incrementum temporalium bonorum tramite inuolabili gubernauit. Hic quante pietatis et paciencie, quanteque discrecionis et moderaminis erga subditos suos, suoque auxilio et consilio indigentes seu eius subsidium in causa uerisimili petentes, lingua tabescit euoluere, mens ebet aduertere, manus pigrescit scribendo memorie commendare. Voluntas tepescit excogitare timens / relacionis ueritatem apud audiencium aures sub adulacionis obumbrasse uelamine me forte posse.

fo. 170<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On 26 Aug. 1346: see above, pp. 60–4.

<sup>2</sup> On 19 Oct. 1355: see above, pp. 142–8.

<sup>3</sup> For Pedro's expulsion in May 1366, and the battle of Nájera, 3 April 1367, see above, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> The Prince died (8 June 1376) in the last days of the Good Parliament: *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 94–5; G. Holmes, *The Good Parliament* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 68, 106. He was not buried

magnificently performed, did he give battle at Crécy,<sup>1</sup> in France, to Philippe, king of France, who had drawn to his side two other kings, namely from Bohemia and Mallorca. And those two kings were both slain in that battle by the said prince Edward, and he put King Philippe to flight, and he did great slaughter amongst the enemy, and carried many of the magnates of France with him into England as prisoners. 1346

King Jean of France he likewise overcame, at Poitiers,<sup>2</sup> and captured many, both nobles and others, of the kingdom of France, and slew others, and captured that King Jean, and doughtily brought him to England and presented him to his father, Edward. Also in battle he overwhelmingly defeated Enrique, the intruder of Spain, and by virtue of his prowess restored to his kingdom King Pedro of Spain, formerly expelled by the said Enrique<sup>3</sup>. Wherefore by reason of his native worth, and his triumphant acts, we consider that prince as one deserving to be remembered amongst kings. Dying before his father, he was entombed in Christ Church, at Canterbury.<sup>4</sup> 1367 1376

*Richard II.* In the year of grace 1377 was the coronation, at Westminster, on the seventeenth of the Kalends of August [16 July 1377], of King Richard II, son of the said Prince Edward. He succeeded his grandfather, King Edward, in the English kingdom by hereditary right, and by the people's choice, in his eleventh year.<sup>5</sup> He took to wife Anne, the sister of the king of Bohemia who was emperor.<sup>6</sup> 1377

On the eleventh of the Kalends of February [22 Jan. 1378] there died Abbot William Clowne, who ruled in exemplary and unchallenged splendour over the abbey of St Mary of the Meadows in Leicester for thirty-three years, honoured for his virtues, and for augmenting the temporal wealth of the house. Only to tell of such long-suffering goodness, of such wisdom and moderation in his dealings with those subject to him, of his help and advice to the poor, of his support to any who sought his aid in a likely cause, the tongue falters, the spirit fails, the hand tires of writing, the will to command memory weakens, fearing that in the ears of those who heard my relation the truth might seem obscured by uncritical praise.

until 5 Oct.: *Anon Chron.*, pp. 95, 183. For his funeral and monument at Canterbury, see J. Mann, *The Tomb and Funeral Achievements of Edward, the Black Prince* (Canterbury, 1972).

<sup>5</sup> Knighton refers particularly to the congregation's formal acceptance of the king at his coronation, although the ritual had been revised to diminish its importance: P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 169–73.

<sup>6</sup> In 1382, see below, p. 240.

1378

Hic pacis et tranquillitatis<sup>a</sup> amator erat. Hic discordiarum et iniuriarum in patria sua et ubique reformator fuit quas suis temporibus ubique motas pro suo posse pro labore uel expensis non omittens reformare et pacificare totis uiribus elaborare studuit, sanguinis semper abhorrens<sup>b</sup> et pertimescens effusionem.<sup>1</sup> Hic bonorum operum sectator incessabilis, subditis et minoribus mitis et affabilis maioribus et magnatibus regni inedicibiliter amabilis. Vultus eius eciam presencia diuitibus et pauperibus omnibus inenarrabiliter desiderabilis.

Hic pie memorie piissimus abbas in euidenciam et signum quod totus Dei seruus fuerit, et pacis atque quietis amator, pacis tempore et hora quietis, scilicet media nocte diei Dominice, inter brachia et manus confratrum suorum eius decessum plangencium et animam eius Deo commendancium, ab hac luce migravit, ad Dominum qui ut uerisimile erat in omnibus operibus eius dilexit eum.<sup>2</sup>

Quid plura? In temporibus illius de eiusdem laudabili collegio talem pastorem commendabilem imitante, duo postulati sunt in abbates scilicet ad abbatias de Myssydena et Wellowe iuxta Grymmysby, et duo in priores scilicet apud Tortyngtone et Motsonde.<sup>3</sup> Duo conuolarunt<sup>c</sup> ad anacriticam uitam scilicet apud Cestriam, et Leycestriam in ecclesia Sancti Michaelis,<sup>4</sup> et duo migrauerunt ad beneficia ecclesiastica curata. Eius eciam temporibus due ecclesie sunt appropriate, scilicet ecclesie de Hungurton et Humberstone, duoque maneria adquisita, Yngwardeby et Kyrkeby Maleorre. Similiter quoque redditus et possessiones in Hertysborne, Mouseleye, Bymeswelle, Leycestria, Humberstone, Belgrave, Dalby, Burstalle.<sup>5</sup>

Cartam quoque de non ueniendo ad parlamentum pro se et successoribus suis de rege adquisiuit.<sup>6</sup> Vacacionem quoque abbatie

<sup>a</sup> *Suppl. Twysden*; tranquillitas T  
superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> h interlined by reviser

<sup>c</sup> *Second o*

<sup>1</sup> The abbey's relations with its neighbours were not all tranquil – see the episodes at Belgrave in 1357 (above, p. 154), and the complaint against the abbot and two canons made by Sir Thomas Walsh in 1376, *CPR 1374-7*, p. 322 – but as a leading figure in Leicestershire the abbot may well have been busy there as an arbitrator: cf. E. Powell, 'Arbitration and the law in the late Middle Ages', *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxxiii (1983), 49–67; and S. Payling, *Political Society in Lancastrian England: the Greater Gentry of Nottinghamshire* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 186–215.

<sup>2</sup> 22 Jan. was a Friday: Sun. would have been IX Kal. Feb. Clowne was consecrated on 27 Nov. 1345: Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 28–9. His successor was William Kereby, approved by the king on 24 Feb. 1378: *CPR 1377-81*, p. 124.

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He was one who loved peace and tranquillity, and in his country as everywhere beyond was ever a composer of dispute and contention, which, wherever they arose in his time, he laboured diligently, and to the utmost of his powers, to redress and pacify, sparing neither trouble nor expense, having always an abhorrence and fear of the shedding of blood.<sup>1</sup> A tireless practitioner of good works, he was mild and affable with subordinate and lesser men, marvellously amiable to the great ones of the realm, his visage and presence most welcome to rich and poor alike.

This most excellent abbot, of pious memory, in sign and token that he was entirely the servant of God, and a lover of peace and concord, in a time of peace and a quiet hour, namely in the watches of the night of the Lord's day, in the arms and hands of his brethren, who bewailed his decease and commended his soul to God, passed from this world to his Lord, Whom he might expect to have delighted in all his works.<sup>2</sup>

What more? In his time from this praiseworthy house, and in emulation of so exemplary a pastor, two of the canons were sought as abbots, namely by the abbeys of Missenden, and of Wellow by Grimsby, and two as priors, at Tortington and Mottisfont.<sup>3</sup> Two took up the life of an anchorite, at Chester, and in the church of St Michael in Leicester,<sup>4</sup> and two departed to benefices with the cure of souls. Also in his time two churches were impropriated, namely the churches of Hungarton and Humberstone, and two manors acquired, Ingarsby and Kirkby Malory, as also were rents and properties in Harston, Mowsley, Bitteswell, Leicester, Humberstone, Belgrave, Dalby, and Birstall.<sup>5</sup>

He acquired from the king a charter exempting him and his successors from attendance in parliament.<sup>6</sup> He likewise acquired the

<sup>3</sup> William Bradley at Missenden, 1348; John Thorpe at Wellow, 1374; John — at Tortington, c.1376; Ralph Thurston, at Mottisfont, 1352: Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 35, 36.

<sup>4</sup> On St Michael's, which was in decline at that time, see J. D. Martin, 'St Michael's church and parish, Leicester', *TLAHS*, lxiv (1990), 21–5.

<sup>5</sup> On the properties, and the development of the demesne, of which Ingarsby in particular became an important constituent, see Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 35, 86–7; and R. H. Hilton, *The Economic Development of some Leicestershire Estates in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1947), pp. 30, 79–105. It was intended to impropriate Kirby Mallory to support two canons at the university, but the plan was not carried through: Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 35–6; and *CPR 1361-4*, pp. 99, 413. Nevertheless Philip Repingdon studied at Oxford in the 1370s: see below, p. 276 nn. 2, 3.

<sup>6</sup> In 1352: see *CPR 1350-54*, p. 230; and Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 31–2.

1378 post mortem cuiuscumque abbatis eiusdem similiter adquisiuit, ita ut cum contingerit aliquem abbatem ab hac luce discedere escaetor domini regis solum in abbathiam intrabit et ibi simplicem seysinam pro omnibus possessionibus abbathie capiet nomine regis. Sicque ibidem moram faciet per unum diem et noctem tantum, non tamen intra uel extra in aliquo grauando uel se intromittendo, et tunc exiet, et si noluerit bene licebit eum inde expellere licet inuitum, per cartam regis Edwardi .iij. que quidem carta fuit ratificata per regem Ricardum proximo sequentem. Sic quod nullus escaetor regis in aliquo manerio uel loco dicte abbathie se intromittet, nisi solum in abbathia tantum.<sup>1</sup>

Isti beningno abbati Willelmo Deus tantam gratiam in oculis omnium tam dominorum quam aliorum contulit, quod uix erat aliquis qui ei quod petebat negaret. In tantum enim affabilis erat domino regi, quod burdando petebat a rege nundinas sibi concedi pro leparariis et aliis canibus cuiuscumque condicionis essent emendis et uendendis. Rex uero credens ipsum nundinas affectuose petisse ei concessit quod petebat, abbas uero noluit / instare circa negotium. In uenacione leporum inter omnes regni dominos famosissimus et nominatissimus habebatur, ita ut ipse rex, et princeps filius eius Edwardus et plures domini de regno cum eo retenti erant sub annua pensione leporare. Ipse tamen sepius uoluit asserere in secretis se non delectasse in huiusmodi friuolis uenacionibus, nisi solum pro obsequiis dominis regni prestandis et affabilitate eorum captanda, et gratiam in suis negociis adipiscenda.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 17r

.viii. die mensis Aprilis eleccio Urbani pape .vj. anno Domini millesimo .ccc.lxxviii. Exemplum epistole quam cetus cardinalium transmisit imperatori de electione Urbani pape sexti, et quam idem imperator fecit sigillari sigillo suo cum aliis .xv. sigillis aliorum dominorum et transfigi fecit Rome ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri in testimonium et fidem premissorum omnibus intuentibus.<sup>3</sup>

Serenissime princeps, quia plerumque immo plurimum presertim in rebus arduis fame loquacitas ueritatem quibusdam coloribus adulterinis obnubulat, ideo quod hiis diebus in Romana ecclesia gestum sit uobis presenti scripcione nunciamus, et ut hiis qui uobis rem aliter factam narrauerint, seu scripserint non credatis et mens

<sup>1</sup> For the grant of vacancy see above, p. 186. It was confirmed 20 Jan. 1378, only two days before Clowne's death: *CPR 1377-81*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> Hunting was forbidden by c. 34 of Benedict XII's constitutions for the Augustinian Order: see above, p. 38; and *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, ed. H. E. Salter, pp.

keeping of the vacancy of the abbey upon the death of an abbot, so that when any abbot departs this world, the king's escheator may only enter the abbey to take simple seisin of all its possession in the king's name. And he may stay there only for one day and one night, though not to trouble the house nor to meddle with any matter within or without, and then he must leave, and if he will not leave of his own accord he may be expelled against his will, under a charter of Edward III, which was ratified by his successor King Richard, so that no escheator of the king may intrude himself into any manor or other except the Abbey itself.<sup>1</sup>

1378

To this amiable Abbot William, God gave such grace in the eyes not only of lords but of others, that there was scarcely anybody who would refuse a request from him. He was so courteous with the lord king, that when he once jestingly asked him whether he might have a fair to buy and sell hounds, and all manner of other dogs, the king supposed him in earnest, and granted his request, which the abbot in truth did not wish. In hunting the hare he was most renowned and celebrated amongst all the lords of the kingdom, so that the king, and the prince, his son Edward, and many lords were bound for an annual fee to join him in the pursuit. However, in private he would often say that he did not rejoice in such frivolities for their own sake, but simply to secure the goodwill of the lords of the land, and ensure their friendship and support in his concerns.<sup>2</sup>

On 8 April 1378 there fell the election of Pope Urban VI. This is a copy of the letter which the college of cardinals sent to the emperor about the election of Pope Urban VI, and which the emperor had sealed with his own seal, together with the seals of fifteen other lords, and had posted in Rome at St Peter's church, that all might know the testimony and truth of the matter.<sup>3</sup>

Most exalted lord, because on many, and indeed most occasions, and especially in difficult matters, the loquacity of Fame obscures the truth in unworthy colours, we therefore send to you in this present document an account of what has been done in the church of Rome in recent days. And so that you might not believe what

263-4. In 1346 Abbot Clowne had (not uncharacteristically) presided over a general chapter of the Order which merely forbade hounds to feed daily in the kitchen: *ibid.*, pp. xxiii-xxiv, 56.

<sup>3</sup> See further Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 51-3. A fuller text of the cardinals' letter, dated 19 April 1378, and addressed in that version to the cardinals then resident in Avignon, is published in *HUP* (Paris, 1668), iv. 465, from which some readings are noted below.



uestra hac nostra insinuacione clarificata, in tranquillo et sereno ueritatis liquore conquiescat. Regia igitur celsitudo cognoscat quod sancte felicisque recordacionis domino et patre nostro Gregorio papa .x.<sup>a</sup> .xxvij. die mensis Marcii nuper elapsi uiam uniuerse carnis ingresso, et sicut de largissima Dei pietate confidimus post labores ad premia euocato, tantique patris prout iuris et moris est cum debitis honore et reuerencia exequiis celebratis, die .vij. mensis Aprilis nuper preteriti conclauis palatii apostolici in quo prefatus dominus noster abierat,<sup>b</sup> ne dicamus obierat,<sup>b</sup> iuxta sanctiones canonicas decreuimus introire. Set ex certis causis ad id nostrum inducentibus animum huiusmodi nostrum introitum ad diem immedietate sequentem<sup>c</sup> duximus defferendum.

Qua quidem die, uidelicet .vij. dicte mensis Aprilis primitus gracia Spiritus Sancti inuocata, conclauem intrauimus de eleccione et substitutione futuri pontificis tractaturi. Sequentique die luciferi nescientis occasum ut pie credimus illustrati, circa illam diei horam qua Spiritus Sanctus, ille paraclitus est, sanctorum discipulorum corda descendit, ad personam reuerendi in Cristo patris domini Bartholomei archiepiscopi Barrenni, uiri utique meritorum claritate conspicui et multiplicium uirtutum lampade refulgentis, libere et unanimiter dirreximus, uota nostra eum ad celsitudinis apostolice speculam<sup>d</sup> concorditer euocantes, et hanc nostram euocationem seu eleccionem in conspectu maxime Cristiane plene multitudinis nunciauimus.

Ceterum die nona eiusdem mensis Aprilis idem dominus noster electus in trono dignitatis apostolice sublimatus sibi Urbani .vj. nomen assciuit. Ac die qua Christus Iesus summus pontifex uitam nostram resurgendo reparauit coram turba fidelium copiosa, sicut in Romana ecclesia consuetudinis est in basilica principis apostolorum / de urbe cum ingenti tripudio et leticia innumerabilis populi Cristiani, pontificali regno magnifice et solempniter extitit coronatus.

Que quidem serenitati uestre ideo nunciamus, ut sicut obitus memorati domini Gregorii uobis amaritudinis et tristicie calicem propinauit, ita in presentis patris concessione nobis celitus facta gaudii et exultacionis spiritum assumatis. In illo enim cuius uicem

<sup>a</sup> Superscript o by reviser, over erasure  
<sup>b</sup> obierat and abierat transposed in HUP  
<sup>c</sup> Suppl. HUP; om. T  
<sup>d</sup> HUP; specula T

otherwise is reported and written to you about the matter, and your mind in this our relation may bathe refreshed in the serene and peaceful stream of the truth, let your royal highness know, therefore, that on the twenty-seventh day of the month of March last past our lord and father of holy and happy memory, Pope Gregory, having entered upon the way of all flesh, and thus, as we confide in God's great goodness, was called from his labours to his reward, and we having, as was right and proper, with due honour and reverence celebrated the exequies of such a father, on the seventh day of the month of April last, in accordance with the canonical sanctions, we decreed that we should enter the chamber of the apostolic palace in which our said lord had departed from us, not to say died, yet for certain reasons which then moved our minds, we were led to postpone our entry to the day immediately following.

Upon which day, namely the eighth of the month of April, having first invoked the grace of the Holy Spirit, we entered the chamber to discuss the choice and appointment of a new pontiff. And on the following day [9 April], before the sun had set, and, as we piously believe illumined [by the light of Heaven], about that hour of day when the Holy Spirit, which is the comforter, descended upon the hearts of the apostles, we freely and with one mind directed our choice to the person of the reverend father in Christ the lord Bartolomeo, archbishop of Bari, a man outstanding especially in the brightness of his merits, and a shining beacon in the multiplicity of his virtues, together summoning him to the apostolic heights of the watch tower, and this our summons or election we now proclaim before the greatest and fullest multitude of Christians.

Later, upon the ninth day of the month of April, our sublime lord, elected to the throne of the apostolic dignity, took to himself the name of Urban VI, and upon the day on which our supreme pontiff Christ Jesus rose to restore our life, before a great company of the faithful, as is the custom in the Roman church, in the basilica of [St Peter] the prince of the apostles, amid the greatest triumph and rejoicing of an innumerable company of Christians, was splendidly and solemnly crowned to the pontifical kingdom.

The which things we therefore relate to your serenity, that just as the death of the well-remembered lord Gregory presented you with a bitter cup, your spirit might now exult and rejoice in the heavenly gift of our new father, for in Him Whose authority our

1378 idem dominus noster gerit in terris firmam spem fiduciamque tenemus, quod sub eius felici regimine status Romane ac uniuersalis ecclesie reflorabit et orthodoxa fides felix optatumque suscipiet incrementum.

Datum Rome die .viii. mensis Maii.

Eodem anno quidam de cardinalibus prima<sup>a</sup> induccione Vrbanum papam reliquerunt et abierunt Auinioniam, ibique crexerunt Robertum episcopum Cibbonensem in summum pontificem quem uocauerunt Clementem papam, unde scisma maxima orta est in ecclesia Cristi, quibusdam regibus et regnis uni aderentibus, quibusdam uero alteri.<sup>1</sup>

1379 *Millesimo .ccc.lxxxix.* Concessa est regi una grossa que continet .iiij. denarios de quolibet uiro et muliere, religiosis, mendicantibus, et pauperibus solum exceptis.<sup>2</sup>

Dominus Thomas de Wodestoke, comes de Bokyngham, perrexit in Britanniam in auxilium ducis Britannie contra Fransigenas. Henricus, comes Derbeye, desponsauit filiam minorem comitis Herfordie. Dominus Thomas de Wodestoke desponsauerat sororem seniore[m] et diuisa est comitatus le Bowne cognomine.<sup>3</sup>

1380 *Millesimo .ccc.lxxx.* Concessa est domino regi de episcopis, de abbatibus, de mercatoribus certa<sup>b</sup> taxa de quolibet uiro cum uxore .ij. solidorum, de aliis non coniugatis singulis .xij. denariorum, de religiosis possessionatis .vj. solidorum .viiij. denariorum, de singulis beneficiatis .vj. solidorum .viiij. denariorum. Et tamen ista taxa non se extendebat in scaccario regis per magnam summam ad taxam precedentis anni, scilicet .iiij. denariorum. De quo ministri regis, admirantes, multum conquesti sunt, dicentes rem in colleccione non se habere bene gestam, nec fideliter taxam fore collectam.<sup>4</sup>

Vnde quidam Iohannes Leg, cum tribus aliis sibi associatis, impetrauit a rege commissionem ad inquirendum de collectoribus huius taxe in Cancia, Northfolc, et aliis patrie<sup>c</sup> confinibus, et pacti

<sup>a</sup> Marked with a pilcrow in T      <sup>b</sup> e superimposed by reviser      <sup>c</sup> e supplied by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Clement VII was elected at Fondi, 20 Sept. 1378, and moved to Avignon from Naples on 22 May 1379: *ODP* 229. See further W. Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (2nd edn., Hamden, CT., 1972), pp. 63, 69–79.

<sup>2</sup> The first poll tax was levied in 1377, at a flat rate of one groat, and proved so unpopular that the second, in 1379, levied higher charges upon the rich and great, though the basic tax remained at 4d., as Knighton says. The tax was meant to be collected by 1 Aug. 1379, and it

same lord bears on earth, we hold to the firm hope and faith that, under his happy rule, the state of the Roman and universal church will again flourish, and the fertile orthodox faith begin an auspicious growth. 1378

Given at Rome, 8 May [1378].

In that same year some of the cardinals abandoned Pope Urban, of the first choice, and departed to Avignon, where they raised Robert, bishop of Cambrai, to the supreme pontificate, whom they called Pope Clement, whereupon a great schism arose in Christ's church, with some kings and kingdoms supporting the one, and others indeed the other.<sup>1</sup>

1379. The king was granted a groat, of 4d., from every man and woman, excepting only monks, mendicant friars, and the poor.<sup>2</sup> 1379

Sir Thomas Woodstock, earl of Buckingham, went into Brittany in support of the duke of Brittany against the French. Earl Henry of Derby married the younger daughter of the earl of Hereford, Sir Thomas Woodstock having married the elder, and the earldom of the Bohuns was divided.<sup>3</sup>

1380. The lord king was granted certain taxes from the bishops, abbots, and merchants: 2s. from every man with a wife, and from others unmarried, 12d., from the endowed religious, 6s.8d., from individual benefices, 6s.8d., And yet that tax did not yield as much to the king's exchequer as did the tax in the previous year, of 4d. And the king's ministers were astonished, and complained greatly, saying that the tax had not been well administered, nor honestly collected.<sup>4</sup> 1380

And therefore one, John Legg, sought a commission from the king to investigate, with three colleagues, the collectors of the tax in Kent, Norfolk, and other counties, and promised a great sum of money to

was evident by the end of the year that it had been widely evaded. See *RP* iii. 57–8; Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 316, 348–50; the differential rates are also given at length in *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 126–7.

<sup>3</sup> Buckingham was abroad from July 1380 to April 1381, and Derby's marriage to Mary Bohun took place within that time, before 10 Feb. 1381 (*CP* v. 722; vii. 417–18). It was a blow to Buckingham, who seems to have had plans to bestow Mary upon a convent, and her portion upon himself: see G. Holmes, *The Estates of the Higher Nobility in Fourteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 24–5; and Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 8–9. It appears that this passage was written between 1381 and 1385, when Buckingham was created duke of Gloucester: see below, pp. 336–8.

<sup>4</sup> On the poll-tax of 1380, and the council's ill-starred efforts to increase the yield, see further Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 355; *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 37–8, 203–5; and *The Peasants' Revolt of 1381*, ed. R. B. Dobson (2nd edn., London, 1983), pp. xxxiv–xxxv, 101–49. See also below, p. 1080, n. 2.

1380 sunt magnam summam pecunie domino regi pro sua adquisicione se duros, consiliumque regi ad suam perniciem prohdolor sponndit.<sup>a1</sup> Vnus eorum cum esset ad aliquam uillam ad faciendum inquisitionem de dicta taxa, conuocari fecit tam uiros quam mulieres et puellulas quod dictu horribile est, esursum impudice eleuauit, ut sic experiretur utrum corrupte essent et cognite a uiris, ut sic more artaret amicos et parentes pro eis soluere taxam. Et plures pocius elegerunt soluere pro suis filiabus quam uidere eas tam turpiter attractari. Hec et huiusmodi dicti inquisitores facientes, maxime prouocauerunt populum.

1381 Cumque uidissent communes<sup>b</sup> de Cancia et finitimis locis erga<sup>c</sup> eos rem sic grauiter peragi et noua ac noua quasi importabilia onera eis indesiniter absque remedio imponi, istiusmodi oppressionis grauamen ulterius ferre non ualentes, conferebant adinuicem quam remedii uel subsidii cautelam inde reperire ualerent. Cumque hec et huiusmodi unusquisque in animo reuolueret nec manum inceptricem apponere auderet, ne sui dampni irre/medial<sup>d</sup> detrimentum pateretur, tandem quidam Thomas Baker de Fobhyngges, ab artificio sic uocatus, animum forcio<sup>e</sup>rem sibi assumens cepit hortari et associare sibi quosdam de uilla sua, et sic alios ac alios sibi associauerunt et sic miserunt unusquisque ad amicos et cognatos<sup>f</sup> suos, et sic ulterius de uilla in uillam, et de patria in patriam rogantes et petentes consilium eorum et auxilium ad ea que communis utilitatis et necessitatis eos tam grauiter urgentis erant, eis ferre indilate.<sup>2</sup> Qui maximo tripudio suo more gaudentes cateruatim ruere ceperunt leti ad modum effecti quod diem uiderint quo sibi inuicem succurrere possent in tanta ac tali necessitate.

Anno Domini millesimo .ccc. octogesimo primo et regni regis Ricardi .ij.<sup>f</sup> sequenti igitur anno supradicto mense Maii feria .iij. quarto post festum Trinitatis cepit conuenire plebs ista nephanda de Cancia de Sothereye et de multis aliis locis scilicet confinibus,<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> spo inserted by reviser      <sup>b</sup> com inserted by reviser over erasure      <sup>c</sup> a superimposed by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> irre repeated at head of fo. 172      <sup>e</sup> n added by reviser over erasure  
<sup>f</sup> Caret inserted by Twysden in text; the regnal year is wanting

<sup>1</sup> See Tout, *Chronicles*, iii. 359–63. The zealous Legg was a sergeant-at-arms under Edward III, who held various commissions from the beginning of the reign (*CPR 1377–81*, pp. 186, 361, 418), and had been deputy to Robert Hales (prior of the Hospital, and treasurer in 1381), when Hales was admiral in 1376–7 (*ibid.*, p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Baker, who was arraigned and executed at Chelmsford on 4 July 1381, played a significant part in the revolt, but it is not clear that Knighton was aware that Fobbing is in

the king for granting it to them, and the king, alas, accepted that pernicious proposal.<sup>1</sup> When one of them came to a village to inquire into the tax, he would assemble the men and women before him, and horrible to relate, would shamelessly raise the young girls' skirts, to discover whether they were corrupted by intercourse with men, and thus he would compel their friends and parents to pay the tax for them, for many would rather choose to pay than to see their daughters shamefully mistreated. Those and other such actions of the investigators greatly provoked the people.

And when the commons of Kent and neighbouring parts found themselves so gravely harassed, and ever new and all but intolerable burdens incessantly laid upon them, without hope of redress, unable longer to bear the injury of such oppression, they conferred amongst themselves to discover what remedy or support they could devise. And when they had each considered those things, and none cared to be the first to act, lest he should bring irredeemable retribution upon himself, at last one, Thomas Baker, of Fobbing, who was named for his trade, taking a bolder spirit to himself, began to exhort and gather together some of his township, and then others and still others joined them, and each sent word to his friends and kin, and so from town to town, and county to county, asking and requiring them without delay to lend their counsel and aid to those endeavours that the common good and necessity urgently demanded.<sup>2</sup> Who, rejoicing in their fashion, began with with the greatest triumph to assemble in their multitudes, glad that the day was come in which they could look to each other for relief from such oppressive need.

AD 1381, and the [fourth] year of the reign of King Richard II. In the following year [1381], therefore, in the month of May, on the Wednesday following the fourth Sunday after Trinity, the wicked commons of Kent, and Surrey, and of many other neighbouring parts, began to gather together.<sup>3</sup> And apprentices left their masters and ran

Essex. On Baker, see H. Grieve, *The Sleepers and the Shadows: Chelmsford*, i. *The Medieval and Tudor Story* (Chelmsford, 1988), pp. 37–8, 41–4; and below, p. 221 n. (1).

<sup>3</sup> There are several dislocations in Knighton's account of the revolt, and his preliminary dating suggests some confusion with the previous year, 1380, when Trinity Sunday fell in the fourth week of May. The general chronology is conveniently summarized in *The Peasants' Revolt*, ed. R. B. Dobson, pp. 36–44. Disturbances in Essex from the middle of May were focused at Fobbing at the end of the month (*Essex and the Great Revolt of 1381*, ed. W. H. Liddell and R. G. Wood, Essex Record Office Publication lxxxiv (Chelmsford, 1982) pp. 27, 50); others followed in Kent early in June. On the nature of the revolt, see further M. Aston, 'Corpus Christi and corpus regni: heresy and the Peasant's Revolt', *Past and Present*, cxliii (1994), 1–47. On the efficiency of the rebels' concerted movements, see

1381 *apprenticii quoque relictis magistris suis illis accurrebant. Sicque congregati sunt super le Blakeheth, ubi pre multitudine seipsos obliti et causa pristina non contenti, neque minoribus sceleribus pacati, maiora in exquisita mala meditati sunt in misericorditer, nec a suo nephando proposito desistere disposuerunt, quoadusque omnes proceres regni et magnates funditus extirparent.<sup>a</sup>*

*Sicque primo direxerunt aciem sue nequicie ad quandam uillam archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, uocatam Maydestoke, in qua erat carcer dicti archiepiscopi, et in predicto carcere erat quidam Iohannes Balle, capellanus, qui<sup>b</sup> predicator famosissimus habebatur apud laycos. Qui per plura retroacta tempora uerbum Dei insipienter sparserat lolium cum tritico inmiscendo,<sup>1</sup> laicis nimis placens et libertati iuris ecclesiastici et status quam maxime derogans atque multos<sup>c</sup> errores in ecclesiam Cristi inter clerum et laycos execrabiliter introducens multis annis<sup>d</sup> prouinciam sic obnubilauit. Ob quam causam a clero fuerat auditus et de iure conuictus atque in eodem carcere pro suo perpetuo mancipatus et adiudicatus. Dicti uero populares carcerem fregerunt, et eum extraxerunt, atque abire eum secum fecerunt, nam in archiepiscopum eum sublimare proposuerunt.<sup>2</sup>*

*Die Mercurii.<sup>3</sup> Die uero Mercurii ante festum Consecrationis uenerunt in Sowthrerne ad carcerem regis de Marchelsya et carcerem absque mora fregerunt, et omnes incarceratos in eorum auxilium secum abire coegerunt,<sup>e</sup> et quoscumque inuenerunt siue peregrinos seu alios cuiuscumque condicionis secum ire compulerunt.*

*Die Veneris. Die Veneris in crastino Consecrationis intrauerunt per pontem in ciuitatem Londoniensem, nec erat qui eis resisteret, et tamen ut dicebatur ciues Londonienses de eorum aduentu longo<sup>f</sup> ante tempore intellexerunt. Sicque ad Turrim iter direxerunt ubi rex erat cum grandi cetu militum, armigerorum, ualettorum, et aliorum hominum stipatus. Erant ibidem in Turri ut dicebatur circiter .cl. milites, secundum quosdam centum octoginta, cum matre / regis*

fo. 172<sup>v</sup>

<sup>a</sup> *Inserted by reviser over erasure*      <sup>b</sup> *Inserted by reviser over erasure*      <sup>c</sup> *s superimposed by reviser*  
<sup>d</sup> *sic cancelled by scribe*      <sup>e</sup> *First e interlined by reviser*  
<sup>f</sup> *o inserted by reviser*

N. Brooks, 'The organization and achievements of the peasants of Kent and Essex in 1381', *Studies in Medieval History presented to R. H. C. Davis*, ed. H. Mayr-Harting and R. I. Moore (London, 1985), pp. 247-70. It seems likely that some of the participants had recent military experience.

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 13: 25. See also below, pp. 286n.; 295n.

<sup>2</sup> See *Peasants' Revolt*, ed. R. B. Dobson, pp. 372-81. Wat Tyler's demands at Smithfield, according to *Anon. Chron.*, p. 147, included one that there should be but one

to join them. And thus they assembled on Blackheath, where amidst so many they forgot themselves, and no longer content with their first purpose, nor satisfied merely by minor crimes, they ruthlessly contemplated greater and unspeakable evils, nor would they be ready to desist from their wicked plans until all the lords and the great men of the kingdom had been utterly destroyed.

1381

Thus they first directed their attack upon a certain town of the archbishop of Canterbury's, called Maidstone, in which the archbishop had a prison, and the prison contained a certain chaplain, named John Ball, who was highly renowned amongst the laity as a preacher. He had for a long time unprofitably spread the word of the Lord, mixing tares with the wheat<sup>1</sup> in a manner greatly pleasing to the lay mind, bitterly denouncing the law and the free estate of the church, execrably dividing the clergy and the laity by his errors, and casting a cloud of darkness over the province for many years, for which reasons he had been tried by the church and duly convicted, and adjudged and committed to that prison in perpetuity. And the said commons broke open the prison, and carried him off with them, for they intended to make him their archbishop.<sup>2</sup>

*Wednesday.<sup>3</sup> And on Wednesday, the [eve] of Corpus Christi [12 June 1381], they came to Southwark, to the king's prison of the Marshalsea, and at once broke open the prison, and compelled all the prisoners to go with them and help them, and all those they came upon, whether travellers or others, of whatever sort, they forced to join them.*

*Friday. On Friday, the morrow of Corpus Christi [14 June 1381], they entered the city of London over the bridge; nor was there anyone to resist them, and it was even said that the citizens had long known that they were coming. Thus they made their way towards the Tower, where the king had with him a great company of knights, esquires, attendants, and other armed men. It was said that there were some 150 knights in the Tower, and some said 180, with the king's mother,*

bishop and one 'prelate' for all England. Ball was released from prison on 11 June, before, not as Knighton implies after, the first assembly at Blackheath.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton's effort to distinguish events day-by-day fails almost at once by confusing Wed. and Thurs., and suppressing Thurs. 13 June. On that day there was a parley with the king at Greenwich, which was followed by the attacks on Southwark and Lambeth, the forcing of London Bridge, and the sack of the Savoy, the Temple, and St John's Clerkenwell. On Fri., 14 June, the king gained time by meeting the rebels at Mile End, but at the cost of the lives of Sudbury, Hales, and others in the Tower. On Sat. 15 June, the crisis in London ended with the assembly at Smithfield and Tyler's death, news of which spread into the Home Counties and beyond in the following days.

1381 et ducissa de Britania et multis aliis dominabus, et Henricus comes Derbeye filius Iohannis ducis Lancastrie adhuc iuuenis ibidem erat.<sup>1</sup>

*Turris.* Symon quoque de Sutbyry archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et cancellarius Anglie, et frater Robertus de Halys prior Hospitalis Anglie et thesaurarius regis, Iohannes quoque Leg, et quidam Iohannes de ordine minorum<sup>2</sup> in armis bellicis strenuus in phisica peritissimus, domino Iohanni duci Lancastrie familiarissimus, cum aliis tribus ad turrim cucurrerent causa refugii sub alis regis lactaturi.

Communes uero disposuerunt se interficere archiepiscopum et ceteros prenomatos cum eo, et ad hoc ibidem uenerunt et postea uotum suum impleuerunt. Volens igitur rex archiepiscopum et socios suos de ore luporum liberare, misit ad communes mandans eis ut ad locum qui Mylcros uocatur extra ciuitatem conuenirent cum rege locuturi et de eorum proposito tractaturi. Milites uero qui ituri erant cordis strenuitatem quasi tabescentes uecorditer amiserunt, et mentis audaciam quod dolendum est sub calle dederunt, nec egredi quasi timore femineo percussi ullatenus audebant, set se in Turri continebant.<sup>3</sup> Rex uero perrexit ad locum assignatum et multi de nephanda plebe sequebantur eum. Plures uero remanserunt in eodem loco.

Vbi cum uenissent conquesti sunt regi se multiplici et intollerabili seruitute et uexacione grauitate oppressos, nec posse nec uelle ulterius sustinere. Vnde rex pro bono pacis et temporis ingruencia ad petitionem eorum concessit eis cartam sub magno sigillo quod omnes homines in regno Anglie liberi essent et libere condicionis et ab omni iugo seruitutis et uillenagii exuti pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum permanerent.<sup>4</sup> Que quidem carta eodem anno post festum Sancti Michaelis in parlamento apud Westmonasterium per regem et magnates regni quassata fuit et adnullata et irrita et inanis iudicata.<sup>5</sup>

Dum hec sic agerentur, ecce degeneres filii remanentes patrem suum archiepiscopum cum sociis antedictis absque ui uel impetu, absque gladio uel sagitta uel quacumque alia oppressione set solum

<sup>1</sup> Derby was left in the Tower by Richard on Fri. 14 June, and seems to have owed his life, when the ministers were seized and murdered, to the intervention of John Ferrpour of Southwark, though he did not advertise the fact for twenty years: Barron, *Revolt in London*, p. 6; McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 17-19.

<sup>2</sup> Appleton's Christian name has been confused with Legg's. On his identity, see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 6 n. 3, where he is described as a surgeon.

<sup>3</sup> These strictures upon the knights, who did not all remain in the Tower, may owe something to reports of the advice urging caution which the king received from various members of his household: see *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 139-40, 195.

<sup>4</sup> Richard's initiative at Mile End does seem to have dispersed the bands from Essex:

and the duchess of Brittany, and many other ladies. And Henry, earl of Derby, the son of Duke John of Lancaster, and still only a youth, was also there.<sup>1</sup>

*The Tower.* And Simon Sudbury, the archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor of England, Brother Robert Hales, prior of the Hospital in England and the king's treasurer, John Legg, and [William Appleton] OFM,<sup>2</sup> an experienced knight, and a learned physician, who was a trusted member of the household of Duke John of Lancaster, had also fled with three others to the Tower to seek refuge under the outspread wings of the king.

The commons intended to kill the archbishop and the other notables with him, and came there to do it, and subsequently achieved their purpose. The king, seeking to deliver the archbishop and his colleagues from the jaws of the wolf, sent to the commons, telling them to assemble at Mile End Cross to meet him and discuss their plans. The knights who were to accompany him foolishly allowed their ardour to cool, lamentably hiding the boldness of their spirit, and as though struck by some womanish fear, not daring go go out, stayed in the Tower.<sup>3</sup> The king therefore rode out to the meeting place, and many of the wicked commons with him, though many others remained behind.

And when they had all assembled they complained to the king of the many exactions and the intolerable servitude with which they were gravely burdened, and which they could no longer sustain. Wherefore the king, for the sake of peace, and at a dangerous moment, granted them at their request a charter under the great seal, that all men in England should be free, and of free condition, and they and their heirs released from every yoke of servitude and villeinage, to remain free for ever.<sup>4</sup> The which charter was quashed and annulled by the king and the magnates, and adjudged void and groundless, in the parliament held at Westminster after Michaelmas that same year [29 September 1381].<sup>5</sup>

And while those things were happening, the wothless sons of who had remained behind had called forth their father the archbishop and his aforesaid colleagues, and summoned them to their deaths, not by force or assault, not with the sword or the arrow, or by any other com-

*Chron Angl.*, p. 294; Barron, *Revolt in London*, p. 5; Liddell and Wood, *Essex and the Great Revolt*, pp. 46, 64.

<sup>5</sup> By 5 Ric. II, Stat. i, c. 6: *SR* ii. 20. Parliament met at Westminster on 3 Nov. 1381, and was prorogued in Feb. 1382: *HBC* 564.

1381 uerbis minacibus et clamore turbido euocauerunt,<sup>1</sup> et ad mortem inuitauerunt; qui sponte non reclamantes, non reluctantes tanquam agni coram tondente se nudipedes, capite discooperto, cingulis abiectis, acsi homicidio uel furto rei, et sic uindictam meriti essent, libere se morti indebite optulerunt. Et sic heu prodolor duo luciferi regni, indigni cum dignis, antequam rex reueneret super le Tourehylle decollati sunt septem in numero. Nam Iohannes Leg et .iij. socii eius ut antedictum est, causa fuerunt istius irrecuperabilis dampni. Capita uero illorum in lanceis et baculis transfixerunt, ut a reliquis sic dinoscerentur.

fo. 173<sup>r</sup> Inde autem progredientes et inexquisita malicia inualescente iterum uiam direxerunt usque ad manerium ducis Lancastrie uocatum Sawey, miro structure tabulatu paulo ante edificatum quod quidem nobilissimus Henricus Lancastrie dux primus, cuius filiam dominam Blanchiam Iohannes de Gaunt desponsauerat et sic in hereditatem successerat, de fundamento construxit. In regno Anglie ut credebatur non habens sibi simile. Quod / quidem manerium isti serui diaboli subuerterunt, conbusserunt et in cinere redigerunt cum omnibus in eo inuentis preter unum lectum et pauca alia que fuerunt per custodem abstracta quasi in eorum aduentu.

In illo namque manerio erant omnes thesauri dicti Iohannis ducis, cum lectualibus et aliis ornamentis, cum gazis innumerabilibus, et ferencia bona sua que possent careri a communi cotidiano usu, cum cartis et munimentis que omnia quod dolendum est eorum fuerunt simul perierunt.<sup>2</sup> Et sciendum quod custos dicti gardropie<sup>a</sup> asseruit, oreque suo retulit et iurauit, quod credidit quod non esset aliquis rex Cristianus habens meliorem gardropiam, nec aliquis uix talem. Nam ut dixit tanta copia erat uasorum et iocalium de argento, absque aliis deauratis et de auro puro quod uix .v. carrecte ea uehere sufficerent.<sup>3</sup>

Vnus autem illorum nephandorum sumpsit unam pulcram peciam argenteam, in gremioque abscondit, quod uidens alius et sociis referens, ipsum cum pecia in ignem proiecerunt, dicentes se zelatores ueritatis et iusticie, non fures aut latrones. Fertur quosdam intrasse sellariam uini ibidem, et tantum de dulci uino bibisse quod egredi

<sup>a</sup> i inserted by an early modern hand

<sup>1</sup> The fullest account of Sudbury's death is in *Walsingham*, i. 459–62, which may share a source with *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 144–5. *Westm. Chron.*, p. 4, is much like Knighton.

<sup>2</sup> The Savoy was attacked in the late afternoon of Thurs. 13 June: *Westm. Chron.*, p. 4; *CPR 1381–5*, p. 23. On the destruction of records, see *CPR 1381–5*, p. 124. There is,

1381 pulsion, but by threatening words and the clamour of the crowd.<sup>1</sup> And they, unprotesting and unhesitating, like the lamb before the shearer, their feet bare and their heads uncovered, with their belts loosed, like men taken for murder or robbery and meriting their fate, freely submitted themselves to an undeserved death. And thus, alas and alack, two luminaries of the kingdom, and the worthy with the unworthy, seven in all, were beheaded on Tower Hill before the king returned. For John Legg and his three colleagues were, as has been said, the cause of that irretrievable doom. And their heads were fixed on lances and staves, that they might be known from the rest.

Then going forth, drawing strength from unheard-of evils on their way, [the insurgents] made their way towards the mansion of the duke of Lancaster which is called the Savoy, a marvellous structure raised not long before, which the most noble Duke Henry of Lancaster (whose daughter Blanche John of Gaunt had married, and so gained hereditary succession) had entirely rebuilt, and which was believed to be unmatched in the kingdom. And that mansion those servants of Satan cast down, burned, and reduced to ashes, with all its contents, except for one bed and a few other things which its keeper gathered up while they were on their way.

For in that house there were all the treasures of the said Duke John, with bed-hangings and other ornaments, with innumerable jewels, and those furnishings which were not required for his daily use, and with deeds and other muniments, all the which lamentably perished together.<sup>2</sup> And it ought to be known that the keeper of the said wardrobe himself said, on more than one occasion, and swore to it, that he believed that no prince in Christendom had a finer wardrobe, and scarcely any could even match it. For, as he said, there were such quantities of vessels and silver plate, without counting the parcel-gilt and solid gold, that five carts would hardly suffice to carry them.<sup>3</sup>

One scoundrel seized a fine piece of silver, and ran out with it in his bosom, but when someone saw it, and told the others they threw him and the plate together into the fire, crying that they were zealots for truth and justice, not thieves or robbers. It is said that some broke into the wine cellars there, and drank so much of the delicious wine

however, also evidence that some of the archives were rescued: R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster to 1603* (London, 1953), p. 117. For estimates of the duke's other losses, £550 in the chapel, and £10,000 overall, see S. Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 96 n. 90.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton gives fewer details of the pillage than e.g. *Walsingham (Hist. Angl., i, 457)*, perhaps because the keeper of the wardrobe did not stay to watch it (but see below, p. 216 n. 1).



1381 quidam non sufficiebant. Set iocis et canticis, ac aliis illecebris ebrietatibus uacantes, donec hostium obturatum fuit igne et lapidibus, quod egrediendi facultas denegata fuisset licet sobrii essent usque ad mortem. Per septem dies post hec clamor eorum a multis ad locum accedentibus et de enormitate sceleris dolentibus auditus est, nec erat qui eos adiuaret uel consolaretur ex omnibus caris suis. Et sic se de uino inebriauerunt, uinumque consumere uenerunt, et in uino perierunt. Numerus eorum ut postea dicebatur .xxxij. ferme erat.<sup>1</sup>

*Nouum Templum.* Cum hec et alia mala fecissent, redierunt ad Nouum Templum quod erat prioris de Clerkunwelle, et ibi plures domos subuerterunt. Cistas in<sup>a</sup> ecclesia siue in cameris apprenticiorum inuentas fregerunt, et libros quoscunque inuentos siue ecclesiasticos, siue<sup>b</sup> cartas<sup>c</sup> et munimenta<sup>d</sup> in cistis apprenticiorum securibus scindebant et in cibum ignis dederunt.<sup>2</sup> Domos quoque iuratorum in ciuitate subuerterunt quas senes et quasi decrepiti, quod dictu mirum est, tanta agilitate ascenderunt acsi essent ratones uel spiritu aliquo uecti. Quod quidem credibile esse potest quia spiritus malignus quem sequebantur et seruiebant, ipse gressus eorum dirigebat.

Eodem die processerunt inde ad Clerkunwelle, ubi preter ecclesiam pauca reliquerunt non destructa de mansione prioris. Manerium quoque de Hybery, extra Londonias distans per .ij. leucas, quod predictus Robertus de Halys, prior, de nouo quasi alterum paradysum delicate construxerat,<sup>3</sup> funditus destruxerunt. Iuratos quoque ciuitatis et iuris regni apprenticios quoscumque inuenerunt, sine mora interfecerunt. Si quis ante aliquem haberet exosum uel inimicum, tales maxime requirebant et indilate decollabant.

Plures quoque apprenticii ciuitatis, decollatis magistris suis, abierunt cum illis, nec aliter quosque interficiebant, nisi solum capitis obtruncacione. Ricardum quoque Lyonnes, famosum burgensem, de domo sua extraxerunt et in sepe decapitauerunt. Qui tempore regis Edwardi / .iiij., in quodam parlamento, conuictus fuit multiplici fraude regi et regine, ac aliis dominis et dominabus regni, facta in

<sup>a</sup> Final s of cistas, and in, by reviser over erasure  
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<sup>b</sup> Over erasure

<sup>c</sup> s added by

<sup>d</sup> muni superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Other chroniclers say that the rebels threatened looters with death (see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 4 and n. 2), but the wake in the cellar is peculiar to Knighton, and probably comes from a Lancastrian source. The drinking may echo Isa. 28: 7.

<sup>2</sup> For the animus against lawyers, see also *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 141, 143–4; and A. Harding, 'The revolt against the justices', *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H.

1381 that they could not crawl out, but passed their time with songs and catches, and other drunken inanities, until the door was blocked by fire and fallen stones, so that they could not have escaped if they had been sober, and there they remained until they died. For seven days afterwards their cries, and lamentations for the enormity of their sins, were heard by many who went to that place, but there was none among their friends who helped or consoled them. And so they fuddled themselves with wine, having come to drink wine, and in wine they perished. It was reckoned afterwards that there were some thirty-two of them.<sup>1</sup>

*The New Temple.* While those and other evils were being perpetrated, the rest went to the New Temple, which was the prior of Clerkenwell's, and threw down many houses. They broke open the chests which they found in the church, and in the students' chambers, and tore up all the documents that they could find, whether service-books, or deeds and muniments in the students' safes, and put them on the fire.<sup>2</sup> They also destroyed the houses of officials in the city, which, marvellous to relate, even the old and decrepit clambered over as agilely as if they had been rats, or were borne aloft by spirits. And indeed one can well believe that the Evil One, whom they followed and served, was guiding their steps.

The same day they went on to Clerkenwell, where except for the church itself they left little of the prior's mansion behind them. They also entirely destroyed the manor of Highbury, some two leagues outside London, which the said prior, Robert Hales, had recently rebuilt, and which was a second paradise of elegance.<sup>3</sup> They looked particularly for lawyers in the city, and students of the common law, and wherever they found them they at once put them to death. Personal enemies, and people they had reason to hate, they hunted down diligently, and beheaded them out of hand.

Many apprentices from the city whose masters they had beheaded joined them, nor did they kill anyone by any means except by beheading. They dragged Richard Lyons, a famous citizen, from his house and beheaded him in the courtyard. It was he who in the time of Edward III had been convicted, in a certain parliament [April–July 1376], of many frauds committed against the king and the queen, and

Aston (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 165–93. On records, see *Essex and the Great Revolt*, ed. W. H. Liddell and R. G. Wood, pp. 67–84.

<sup>3</sup> Highbury was attacked on the morning of Fri. 14 June, by men from Essex, before the meeting at Mile End: *Anon. Chron.*, p. 140; Barron, *Revolt in London*, pp. 4–5.



1381 lapidibus preciosis et aliis iocalibus,<sup>1</sup> unde iudicio parlamenti perpetuo carceri adiudicatus est, stipendio diurno .xij. denariorum ex curialitate regis ei concesso, sed postea, graciam consecutus, liberatus est; sicque peremptus.

Hec et alia quam plura enormia faciebant nullo gradui uel ordini parcentes, tam in ecclesiis quam in cimiteriis, tam in plateis et stratis quam in domibus et campis, in quem ante dirigebant clamoribus sonitum mox accurrebant ceteri scientes eum decollandum, nec Deum timentes, nec honorem matris ecclesie uerentes. Cum igitur hec et alia quam plura execrabilia per totum illum diem perpetrassent, tandem tanto labore fatigati et inmoderamine uini insoliti inebriati die quoque aduersperascente, uires eorum iacentes sparsim in plateis, et sub muris soporatos ueluti porcos interemptos. Nocteque illa plures illorum sumptis uiribus ebriosi, socios suos occulte interfecerunt quos ab antea in odio habuerunt. Sicque in illa nocte strages magna, tam abinuicem quam ab aliis facta est.

Die uero sequenti, scilicet Sabbato, iterum adunati sunt in Smythfeld, ubi rex uenit mane ad eos, qui licet etate iuuenis, tamen animi sapientia prudenter doctus. Cui appropinquauit ductor eorum proprio nomine Watte Tylere, set iam nomine mutato uocatus est lakke Strawe.<sup>2</sup> Hic regi adherens et ipsum pro aliis unus alloquens, et cultellum euaginatam, quem 'dagger' uulgo uocant, in manu gerens de manu in manum iecit quasi pueriliter ludens,<sup>a</sup> et oportunitatem capiens si rex ei petita negaret, quod ipsum subito ut credebatur percuteret, unde maxime timuerunt qui regi assistebant quid<sup>b</sup> in facto euenerit. Petunt a rege ut omnes warrenne tam in aquis quam in parco et boscis communes fierent omnibus, ita ut libere posset tam pauper quam diues ubicumque in regno in aquis et stagnis piscariis et boscis et forestis feras capere, in campis lepores fugare et sic hec et huiusmodi alia multa sine contradiccione exercere.<sup>3</sup>

Cumque rex de huiusmodi concessione cum deliberacione tardaret,

<sup>a</sup> gerens cancelled by scribe

<sup>b</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>c</sup> No mark of omission T

<sup>1</sup> On Lyons, see Barron, *Revolt in London*, pp. 6, 14–16; Holmes, *Good Parliament*, pp. 108–14, 193–4; and A. R. Myers, 'The wealth of Richard Lyons', in *Essays in Medieval History*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), pp. 301–29.

<sup>2</sup> At this point Knighton wears the air of a man desperately doing his best. Jack Straw, who also seems to stand for Wat Tyler in the Nun's Priest's Tale (ll. 628–30) may have been real, or an echo of John Rackstraw, or of John Wrawe, a leader of the revolt in Suffolk: see

1381 against many other lords and ladies of the kingdom, in a matter of precious stones and other jewels.<sup>1</sup> And by the judgement of parliament he had been committed to prison for life, with an allowance of 12*d.* a day from the king's court, but later he was released as an act of grace; and thus he was slain.

Those and other atrocities they committed, sparing none of any degree or order, whether in churches and churchyards, or streets and public places, or in houses or the fields, and wherever they raised a clamour against anyone, the rest quickly gathered, knowing that he would be beheaded, without either fear of God, or reverence for Holy Church. And when they had spent the whole day in those and many other execrable deeds, at last they wearied of such work, and being flown with unaccustomed and immoderate quantities of wine, and the night approaching, they might have been seen lying scattered in open places, or under walls, like so many slaughtered swine. And indeed during the night, many of them, in their drunken state, secretly slew companions against whom they had grudges, so that there was much bloodshed that night, amongst their own number as well as other people.

The next day, which was Saturday [15 June 1381], they all came together again in Smithfield, where the king came early to meet them, and showed that although he was young in years he was possessed of a shrewd mind. He was approached by their leader, Wat Tyler, who had now changed his name to Jack Straw.<sup>2</sup> He stood close to the king, speaking for the others, and carrying an unsheathed knife, of the kind people call a dagger, which he tossed from hand to hand as a child might play with it, and looked as though he might suddenly seize the opportunity to stab the king if he should refuse their requests, and those accompanying the king therefore greatly feared what might come to pass. The commons asked of the king that all game, whether in waters or in parks and woods should become common to all, so that everywhere in the realm, in rivers and fishponds, and woods and forests, they might take the wild beasts, and hunt the hare in the fields, and do many other such things without restraint.<sup>3</sup>

And when the king wanted time to consider such a concession, Jack

*Anon. Chron.*, pp. 150, 195; and R. W. D. Brie, 'Wat Tyler and Jack Straw', *EHR*, xxi (1906), 106–11, which accepts their identity. The name evidently had some currency.

<sup>3</sup> These demands, which sound quite plausible, were presumably part of the charter which Tyler hoped to win from the king: *Anon. Chron.*, p. 147.

1381 Iakke Strawe propius accedens et regem (uerbis)<sup>a</sup> minacioribus alloquens, frenum equi regis, quo ausu nescio, manu arripuit. Quod Iohannes de Walworthe, burgensis Londoniensis, intuens et mortem regi iminere pertimescens, arrepto basillardo transfixit Iakke Strawe in gutture. Vidensque hoc alius armiger nomine Radulfus Standyche cum alio basillardo penetrauit latera eius. Et sic corruit resuppinus, aliquamdiu manibus et pedibus desiliens interiit.<sup>1</sup>

*Prima dispersio.* Inde clamor ingens et ululatus factus est multus, 'Ductor noster mortuus est'. Igitur sic mortuo et in ecclesiam Sancti Bartholomei que prope erat manibus et pedibus uiliter tracto, multi de illis se subtraxerunt et quasi euanescentes in fugam se subito dederunt numero ut credebant circiter .x. millia.

fo. 174<sup>r</sup> *Rex fecit milites.*<sup>b</sup> Tunc rex dicto Iohanni de Walworth et Radulfo de Standyche uicem rependens / ipsos cum aliis .iiiij. burgensibus de ciuitate, militari cingulo sublimauit, scilicet dominos Iohannem Philipote, Nicholaum de Brembre et Iohannem Launde, Nicholaum Twyford.<sup>2</sup> His militibus sic a rege ordinatis, iussit rex ut ceteri qui remanserant de nephanda turba se cederent, et abirent in campum, et ibi conuenirent ut ibidem posset cum illis de concordia tractare.

*Robertus Knollys.* Illis ibidem constitutis, ecce processit interim de ciuitate multitudo armatorum, duce domino Roberto Knollys,<sup>3</sup> cum aliis militibus, et circumuallabant cohortem miseram in campo quasi oues desolatas sine pastore.<sup>4</sup> Tunc rex pius qualis fuissent \* \* \* misericordia motus noluit miseros interire parcens<sup>d</sup> stulte multitudini, iussit eos abire unumquemque in domum suam, multis tamen interim recedente rege dampna mortis perpepissis. In illa misera (multitudine)<sup>e</sup> recensebantur .xx. milia.

*Ductores.* Isti fuerunt ductores eorum. Thomas Baker primus motor, sed postea principalis ductor, Iakke Strawe, Iakke Mylner, Iakke Carter, Iakke Trewman.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Suppl. Lumby    <sup>b</sup> The marginal heading is on fo. 174    <sup>c</sup> Inserted by reviser  
<sup>d</sup> cens superimposed by reviser    <sup>e</sup> Blank space, with a later caret

<sup>1</sup> Of the various accounts of Wat Tyler's death that in *Anon. Chron.* pp. 148-9 has inspired most confidence, but that is in turn because the chronicle's whole London narrative is exceptionally direct and lively. Some witnesses reported what they saw, or remembered, others what they had been told (Barron, *Revolt in London*, pp. 7-8, 20-1). Knighton's reference to Tyler's spasms is vivid, but whether his death resulted from a gesture, as Knighton heard, or an altercation, such as the Anonimale account describes, is probably beyond recovery.

1381 Straw drew closer to him, with menacing words, and though I know not how he dared, took the reins of the king's horse in his hand. Seeing that, [William] Walworth, a citizen of London, fearing that he was about to kill the king, drew his basilard and ran Jack Straw through the neck. Thereupon another esquire, called Ralph Standish, stabbed him in the side with his basilard. And he fell to the ground on his back, and after rising to his hands and knees, he died.<sup>1</sup>

*The first dispersal.* Thereupon a great wailing arose from the crowd, and a cry of 'Our leader is dead'. And with him dead, and dragged roughly by his arms and legs into St Bartholomew's church, which was close by, many of the crowd slipped away, and as though seeking to disappear, suddenly gave themselves to flight, to the number of some 10,000, it was reckoned.

*The king makes knights.* Then the king rewarded the said [William] Walworth and Ralph Standish by raising them to knighthood, together with four other citizens, namely John Philipot, Nicholas Brembre, [Robert] Launde, and Nicholas Twyford.<sup>2</sup> Those knights having been dubbed by the king, he ordered those of the wicked company who remained to surrender, and to assemble on the field so that he could discuss an agreement with them.

*Robert Knollys.* Those things being done, in the mean time a multitude of armed men came out of the city, led by Sir Robert Knollys<sup>3</sup> and other knights, and surrounded the wretched crowd in the field, who were as sheep without a shepherd.<sup>4</sup> Then the good king, moved by their condition, and not willing that they should perish in their misery, sparing the foolish multitude, ordered them every one to return to their homes, although when the king had left many of them suffered the pains of death. There were reckoned to be 20,000 in that wretched throng.

*The leaders.* These were their leaders: Thomas Baker, the first mover, although later the principal leader was Jack Straw, Jack Miller, Jack Carter, Jack Trueman.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>2</sup> The king was attended by the leading citizens. Brembre, whose fate as one of Richard's closest advisers is a major theme of the chronicle, Launde, Philipot, Twyford, and Walworth all served as lord mayor, and Launde, Philipot, and Walworth were MPs for the city. See further, *DNB*; and Bird, *Turbulent London*.

<sup>3</sup> Knollys had been urging a fight at least since 14 June: Barron, *Revolt in London*, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 9: 36.

<sup>5</sup> Knighton's notion of the leadership is a rationalization of his interesting English texts: cf. the list of the leaders in *Walsingham* ii. 11, and of those subsequently executed in London *ibid.*, ii. 14-15.

Iakke Mylner alloquitur socios sic:<sup>1</sup>

Iakke Mylner asket help to turne hys mylne aright. He hath gronden smal smal, þe kingus sone of heuen he schal pay for alle. Loke þi mylne go a ryȝt, wiþ þe foure sayles, and þe post stande in stedfastnesse. Wiþ ryȝt and wiþ myȝt, wiþ skyl and wiþ wylle, lat myȝt helpe ryȝt, and skyl go before wille, and ryȝt befor myȝt, þan goth oure mylne aryght, and if myȝt go before ryght, and wylle before skylle, þan is oure mylne mys a dyȝt.

Iak Carter.

Iakke Carter preyes ȝowe alle, þat ȝe make a gode ende of þat ȝe have begunnen, and doþ wele and ay bettur and bettur, for at þe euen men heryth þe day. For if þe ende be wele, þan is alle wele. Lat Peres þe Plowman my broþer duelle at home and dyȝt us corne, and I will go wiþ ȝowe and helpe þat y may to dyȝte ȝoure mete and ȝoure drynke, þat ȝe none fayle. Lokke þat Hobbe robbery-oure be wele chastysede for lesyng of ȝoure grace, for ȝe<sup>d</sup> have gret nede to take God wiþ ȝowe in alle ȝoure dedes. For nowe is tyme to be war.

Iak Trewman.

Iakke Trewman doþ ȝow to understande þat falsnes and gyle hauiþ regned to longe, and<sup>b</sup> trowþe hat bene sette under a lokke, and falnes<sup>c</sup> regneth in euerylk flokke. No man may come trowþe to, but he<sup>d</sup> syng si dederō. Speke spende and spede, quoth Ion of Banthon,<sup>2</sup> and þerfore synne fareth as wylde flode, trow love is away, þat was so gode, and clerkus for welthe worche hem wo. God do bote, for / nowe is tyme.

Exemplar epistole Iohannis Balle.

Ion Balle gretyþ ȝow wele alle and doþ ȝowe to understande, he haþ rungen oure belle. Nowe ryȝt and myȝt, wylle and skylle. God spede every y dele. Nowe is tyme lady helpe to Iesu þi sone, and þi sone to his fadur, to mak a gode ende, in þe name of þe Trinite, of þat is be gunne. Amen, Amen, pur charite, Amen.

<sup>a</sup> ȝe inserted by reviser over erasure    <sup>b</sup> & inserted by reviser    <sup>c</sup> Corrected from falnet by reviser    <sup>d</sup> h superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On the following texts, see R. F. Green, 'John Ball's letters', *Chaucer's England: Literature in Historical Context*, ed. B. Hanawalt (Minneapolis, 1992), pp. 176–200. The *Exemplar* of John Ball has an affinity with the letter preserved in *Walsingham* ii. 33–40, but Knighton produces others in the names of those (Carter, Miller, and Trueman) to whom Walsingham's version only refers in passing. Whether they were coded instructions, as

Jack Miller addresses his companions thus:<sup>1</sup>

Jack Miller asks for help, to turn his mill aright. He has ground things small, and small, The King's Son of Heaven shall pay for all. Take care that your mill turns well, with its four sails, and that the post stands steadfast. With might and with right, with skill and with will; let might help right, and skill go before will, and right before might, and then our mill will go aright. For if might go before right, and will before skill, then our mill will not go well.

Jack Carter.

Jack Carter prays you all that you make a good end of what you have begun, and do well, and ever better, for in the evening a man reckons the day. For if the end be well, then all is well. Let Piers Ploughman my brother stay at home and get us corn, and I will go with you, and help as I can to prepare your meat and drink, so that you lack not. See that Hob the robber be well punished for losing your grace, for you have great need to take God with you in all that you do. For now is the time to take care.

Jack Trueman.

Jack Trueman would have you know that falseness and guile have reigned too long, and that truth has been put under a lock, and falseness reigns in every flock. No man may come to truth, unless he sing 'I'll pay, I'll pay'. Speak, spend, and speed your way, says John of Banthon,<sup>2</sup> and therefore sin spreads like the wild flood; true love, that was so good, is fled, and the clergy work us woe for gain. God make the reckoning, for now is the time.

A version of John Ball's letter.

John Ball greets you all well, and would have you know that he has rung your bell. Now for right and might, and will and skill, and God speed all. Now is the time: Lady help Jesus, thy Son, and thy Son his Father, to make a good end, in the name of the Trinity, to that which is begun. Amen, amen, for love, amen.

Walsingham suspected, mere exhortations couched in the commonplaces of pulpit oratory, or something between is difficult to decide. They have their place, nevertheless, in any consideration of lay literacy and of popular discontents. See also J. R. Maddicott, 'Poems of social protest in early fourteenth-century England', *England in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. M. Ormrod, esp. pp. 130–44, at 138–40.

<sup>2</sup> On John of Banthon, see R. F. Green, 'John Ball's letters', pp. 186–7. Dr Green has suggested to me that Banthon might be a reference to John of Bridlington (see T. Wright, *Political Songs and Poems*, (2 vols., RS xiv, London, 1859–61) i. 120), on the grounds that his prophecies were current, and might have served as well as any (pers. inf.).

## Prima epistola Iohannis Balle.

Iohan Balle, Seynte Marye prist, grete<sup>3</sup> wele alle maner men and byddes hem in þe name of þe trinite, fadur, and sone and holy gost, stonde manlyche to gedyr in trewþe, and helpe<sup>3</sup> trewþe, and trewþe schal helpe 3owe. Nowe regneþ pride in pris, and covetys is hold wys, and leccherye wiþ(uten shame)<sup>a</sup> and glotonye wiþ ouden blame. Envye regniþ wiþ tresone, and slouthe is take in grete sesone. God do bote, for nowe is tyme. Amen.

Northfolk.<sup>b1</sup> In Essex, Southfolc, and<sup>c</sup> Northfolc similiter surrexerunt communes in quibusdam locis in magna multitudine et multa mala fecerunt, et plures probos homines decollauerunt. Et sciendum quod in omnibus locis habebat eundem modum iugulandi. Dominum Iohannem de Candyche, iusticiarum regis capitanium, trucidauerunt. Dominum quoque Robertum Salle militem in armis strenuitate famosum decollauerunt. Sicque inaudita et enormia mala a seculo non audita, non solum in una patria set in multis partibus regni irrecuperabiliter perpetrata sunt.<sup>2</sup>

*Peturburgh.* Similiter apud Peturburgh compatriote et tenentes abbatis eiusdem surrexerunt contra eandem domum, scilicet abbathiam, et eam exterminare cupiebant atque proposuerunt, quod et irremediabiliter fecissent, nisi Deus manum resistricem eis inopinately inmisisset.

*Episcopus Northwycensis.* Nam auxilium eorum a domino Henrico le Spenser episcopo Northwycensi diuina mediante superna clemencia. Qui cum forti manu armata superuenit, ipsosque malefactores ab incepto proposito perturbauit et ipsosque persecutus, turbam eorum dispersit, et eis reddens prout meruerunt, scilicet aliis mortem, aliis carcerem et uincula nemini parcens, et dum plures eorum fugam caperent ad ecclesiam pro presidio, in foueam perdicionis ceciderunt,<sup>3</sup> quam ecclesie parauerant. Nam ecclesie immunitatem non meruerant, qui ualles ecclesie destruxere non metuebant. Nam quidam eorum iuxta altare et ad parietes ecclesie tam intra ecclesiam quam extra, lanceis et gladiis confossi sunt.

Et sicut illi in sua ferocitate positi nemini<sup>d</sup> parcebant, set ulcionem

<sup>a</sup> Caret in T, but no insertion      <sup>b</sup> Rubricated and marked with a pilcrow, follows Northfolk in text  
<sup>c</sup> An intrusion that may echo the English texts which the writer has just transcribed      <sup>d</sup> First e superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The heading *Norfolk* introduces only a summary account of the wider revolt, and an encomium upon Bishop Despenser. Knighton has little to say about events in East Anglia, but is the only chronicler to refer to those in Peterborough.

## John Ball's first letter.

John Ball, St Mary's priest, greets well all manner of men, and bids them in the name of the Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to stand manfully together in truth, and help truth, and truth shall help you. Now pride is prized, and covetousness thought wise, and lechery has no shame, and gluttony no blame. Envy reigns with treason, and sloth is in high season. God make the reckoning, for now is the time. Amen.

Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> In Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk likewise the commons rose in great numbers in various places, and did great mischief, and beheaded many worthy men. And it should be noted that everywhere they used that same manner of killing. They slaughtered Sir John Cavendish, the king's chief justice. They also beheaded Sir Robert Salle, a knight famous for feats of arms, and so untold and immense evils were perpetrated, irreparable, never before heard of in the world, not just in one county but in many parts of the realm.<sup>2</sup>

*Peterborough.* In the same way at Peterborough the abbot's neighbours and tenants rose against that house, that is to say, the abbey, and sought and proposed to destroy it, and would have done so, unhindered, if God had not unexpectedly interposed his restraining hand between them.

*The bishop of Norwich.* For the abbey's help was in Sir Henry Despenser, the bishop of Norwich, sent by the divine mercy upon high, who appeared with a strong armed force, and disturbed the evil-doers at their work, and pursuing them, dispersed them, and then dealt with them as they deserved, some being put to death, some committed to prison and fetters, none being spared. And when numbers of them fled to the church for shelter, they found themselves fallen into the pit of destruction<sup>3</sup> which had been prepared for them there, for they who had not feared to ravage the church's pastures did not deserve the church's protection, and some of them were struck down with lances and swords by the altar, and against the walls of the church, both within and without.

And so they, who in their fury had spared none, found no mercy in

<sup>2</sup> Cavendish was murdered in Suffolk in the first stage of the revolt, on 14 June; Salle at Norwich on 17 June. See *The Peasants' Revolt*, ed. R. B. Dobson, pp. 16, 41, 236, 261-4. The widespread disturbances in Norfolk paralyzed the local community, and Despenser's vigorous reaction to them made his reputation as a man of action. See also E. Powell, *The Rising in East Anglia in 1381* (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 37-9, 55-6; and below, p. 226 n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. 54: 24 (55: 23).

1381 furiosam exercebant, sic nec oculus episcopi cuiquam eorum pepercit, set digna pro dignis rependens et eadem mensura qua mensi fuerunt, remeciebatur illis.<sup>1</sup> Nam ecclesiam et uiros ecclesie destruere uenerunt, et in ecclesia et ab ecclesia, ut ita dicam, immo quia ita dicere audeo, quia ab ecclesiastica persona perire meruerunt.

fo. 175<sup>r</sup> Nam manus eius in ulcionem / eorum ualde letanter erat extensa et absolucionem gladialem episcopalis dignitas eis impendere in extremis non dedignabatur pro suis delictis, ut adimpleretur quod dictum est per prophetam: 'Reges eos in uirga ferrea, et tanquam uas figuli confringes eos'.<sup>2</sup> Similiter faciebat iste ualens episcopus in diuersis locis in comitatibus Cantibrigie et Hontyngdone, et in quibuscumque locis de talibus audiebat sine mora eis occurrebat illos disperdens superbiam eorum funditus quassauit.<sup>3</sup>

*Apud Sanctam Albanum.* Apud Sanctum Albanum<sup>4</sup> communes de uilla et multi a finibus illis egressi obliti bonorum ad abbathiam confluebant, abbatemque et conuentum petitionibus eorum adquiescere et eis petita concedere atque de multis libertatibus in non modicum dispendium domus et grauamen. Et hec tenentes abbatis sibi fecerunt pro suo perpetuo habituri, set rex infra breue superueniens, cartam frangi fecit, et malefactores puniri.

Similiter in multis locis coeperunt tenentes contra suos dominos inualescere, unde scriptum est: 'Asperius nichil humili cum surgit in altum'.<sup>5</sup> Nam seipsos ignorabant, suam conditionem non attendebant nec de fine perpendebant, set facti sunt uelud stulti, sicuti qui prius saltant quam lapsum suum considerant. Sicque in illis nephariis impletum est quod de sanctis apostolis scriptum est, 'In omnem terram exiuit' et cetera.<sup>6</sup> Nam corda hominum tam in remotis et extremis partibus quam in propinquis et uicinis, ubicumque in regno a timore eorum contremuerunt, et ubique tremuli et conterriti credebant eos statim absque mora<sup>a</sup> inopinante singuli in suis partibus affuturos.

*Leycestria.* In Leycestria<sup>7</sup> uenit nuncius uespere ad maiorem uille asserens eos prope esse apud Harberoughe approximantes cum<sup>b</sup> idem

<sup>a</sup> in crastino circa horam primam fore cancelled by scribe

<sup>b</sup> Over erasure

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 7: 2.      <sup>2</sup> Ps. 2: 9.

<sup>3</sup> For a sober view of Despenser's activities, see A. Tuck, 'Nobles, commons, and the Great Revolt of 1381', *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Aston, pp. 194-7. The bishop may have been led by events to overrate his abilities: see below, pp. 326-8.

<sup>4</sup> Knighton does not dwell on events in St Albans (cf. *Chron. Anglie*, pp. 467-84), but the

the bishop's eye, but were weighed as they themselves had weighed, and repaid in that same measure as they had used,<sup>1</sup> for they had come to destroy the church, and the men of the church, and in the church, and by the church, and I might say, for that reason, nay, rather, as I dare to say, for that very reason it was fitting that they should die at the hands of a churchman.

For his avenging hand reached out upon them with great joy, and the absolution of the bishop's sword was not unworthily visited upon them for their misdeeds, in fulfilment of that which the psalmist said: 'Thou shalt rule over them with a rod of iron, and thou shalt break them like the potter's vessel.'<sup>2</sup> And the valiant bishop did likewise in various places in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, and wherever he heard of them, there he hastened, and dispersed them, and crushed them in their pride.<sup>3</sup>

*At St Albans.* At St Albans<sup>4</sup> the commons of the town, and many from the neighbourhood, unmindful of past blessings, descended upon the abbey, where the abbot and convent acceded to their demands, and granted them many liberties to the detriment and no small harm of the house. And the tenants of the abbey sought to keep those concessions in perpetuity, but within a short time the king came and caused the charter to be abrogated, and the evildoers punished.

And in many places tenants likewise tried to prevail over their lords, wherefore it is written, 'None is harsher than the lowly man when he is exalted.'<sup>5</sup> For, ignorant of themselves, they neither gave thought to their own condition, nor looked to the end of what they had begun, but acted like fools who do not look before they leap. And thus in those evil deeds it came to pass as it is written of the holy apostles: 'Their voice shall go out into all lands', etc.<sup>6</sup> For the hearts of men everywhere in the kingdom, both in remote and distant places, and in those neighbouring and close to hand, were shaken by their terror, and everywhere men believed, in fear and trembling, that at any moment and without delay the rebels would descend upon them.

*Leicester.* At Leicester<sup>7</sup> a messenger came to the mayor of the town in the evening, saying that the mob was approaching Market

town may have been the immediate source of the reports which came to Leicester: see below, n. 7, and p. 228 n. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Claudian, *In Eutropium*, i. 181.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. 18: 5.

<sup>7</sup> Whosoever came to Leicester had presumably left London before Saturday evening, or came from some intermediate place, perhaps St Albans, which had not then had news of Smithfield.

1381 prophani essent Londoniis et in crastino circa horam primam diei in uillam Leycestrie fore uenturos ad destruendum manerium ducis Lancastrie ibidem et omnia bona eius ibidem inuenta dilaceranda et euertenda atque comburenda. Nam quedam habebant ibidem de cotidianis suis necessariis, quia sepius ibi fouebat familiam suam tamen in tempore istius modi conflictus in marchia erat cum Scotis de negociis regni tractaturus.<sup>1</sup>

Quid plura? Maior inde maxime conturbatus et conteritus et quid in tali casu sibi ipsi contrario faceret contremescens: Si eis resistere disponderet, forte deficeret et sic cum suis occumberet. Si eos cum pace reciperet, postea eorum consentaneus diiudicaretur. Salubri usus consilio conuocauit uicinos suos iuratos et alios periciores, quorum consilio eadem nocte fecit proclamacionem ad altem crucem uille et ad .iiii. portas sub nomine regis quod unusquisque paratus esset mane se ipsum et proximos defensurus.

fo. 175<sup>v</sup> Similiter sub certa pena regi danda quod omnes et singuli de uilla tam diuites quam pauperes, tam magistri quam seruietes, meliori modo quo se armari / possent et se defendere scirent, omni excusacione postposita extra uillam super montem uocatum Galtrehill armis suis taliter stipati mane conuenirent, si forte possent diuina eos adiuuante gracia, et patria eis similiter succurrere contra inimicos tam subito superuenientes occurrere resistendo.<sup>2</sup>

Quo in loco cum conuenissent, numerati sunt circiter mille ducenti tam de bonis et aliis. Altera quoque die fecerunt similiter ostendentes se in eodem loco et euentum rei cum magno timore exspectantes, nam exploratores emiserant et ad explorandum de operibus eorum et eos certificandum ubi essent et quando ad istas partes diuerterent et qualiter se disponderent ad recipiendum eos siue cum pace siue cum pugna, nec erat aliquis eorum qui rediret nunciare eis siue bonum siue malum. Propterea maius timuerunt.

Interim custos gardropie domini ducis rediit de Londoniis<sup>3</sup> similiter metuens ne superuenirent ad destruendum si quid inuenirent in castello Leycestrie ducis, unde cum festinacione qua potuit ea que inuenit in castello, onustis carrectis, fecit deduci ad

<sup>1</sup> Gaunt had negotiated a truce as lieutenant in the Marches in Nov. 1380, and his commission was renewed on 2 May 1381: see R. L. Storey, 'The wardens of the Marches of England towards Scotland, 1377-1489', *EHR* lxxii (1957), 595-6. He stayed at Leicester on his way north on 19-20 May: S. Armitage Smith, *John of Gaunt* (London, 1904), p. 251 n. 1, and was still in Scotland when the revolt broke out. See below, p. 230 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The company assembled where the Evington Footpath now joins London Road, Leicester, by Victoria Park Gates: *VCH Leics* iv. 352. On the development of what is now

1381 Harborough, not far away, that they had come from London, and that they would be in Leicester in the morning at first light to destroy the duke of Lancaster's dwelling there, and destroy and overturn and burn all the goods that they found there. For the duke kept many of his things for daily use there, where he especially loved to be with his household, although at the time of that tumult he was in the March of Scotland, discussing the affairs of the realm with the Scots.<sup>1</sup>

What more? The mayor was greatly disturbed and alarmed, and feared that whatever he chose to do would be thought wrong. If he prepared to resist them his force might be too weak, and thus he would be overcome; if he received them in peace, he would subsequently be condemned for supporting them. Upon wise reflection he called in his neighbours, the jurats and other experienced townsmen, and on their advice he made proclamation that night, at the High Cross and the four gates of the town, in the king's name, that everyone should be ready the next morning to defend himself and his neighbours.

And likewise, upon pain of forfeiting a certain sum to the king, everyone in the town, rich and poor alike, and masters and servants, should arm themselves to fight as best they could, notwithstanding any excuse, and assemble in the morning outside the town, on the hill called Gartree Hill, thus armed, and with the divine grace to aid them, and the support of those from the neighbouring countryside, prepared to fight the enemies who were about to descend upon them.<sup>2</sup>

And there gathered there some 1,200, both of the better sort and others. And the next day they appeared in the same place, and awaited the outcome with the greatest misgivings, for they had sent out scouts to see what the enemy was doing, and to tell them where the rebels might be, and when they might arrive in those parts, and how they should stand ready to receive them, whether in peace or in war, and not one of them came back either with good news or with bad. And therefore they were the more afraid.

In the meantime the keeper of the lord duke's wardrobe came back from London,<sup>3</sup> also in fear that they might come to destroy what they could find in Leicester castle, wherefore he had gathered up as quickly as possible what he could in the castle, and having packed it

the A6 as the main road to London, and therefore the rebels' most likely line of approach, see W. G. Hoskins, 'The origin and rise of Market Harborough' *TLAS* xxv (1949), 56-68.

<sup>3</sup> The keeper was presumably in Leicester by Monday morning, and possibly on Sunday evening. He seems, however, to be distinguished from the bearer of bad news on Sunday.



1381 abbathiam Leycestrie pro salua tuicione habenda a predictis inimicis. Cumque ibidem uenissent die Martis sequenti circa meridiem, abbas nimio terrore percussus sicut et ceteri regni non audebat ea hospicio recipere, ne forte huiusmodi rei occasione tota abbathia detrimentum intollerabile exterminii pateretur. Quia idem communes pacificum ducem Lancastrie super omnes mortales in illo conflictu magis exosum habebant. Et si ipsum inuenissent absque mora ab eis periclitaretur. Sicque redierunt carrecte onuste prout uenerant, et in area ecclesie Sancte Marie de Castro bona illa exposita sunt, diuinam gubernacionem sine cuius adminiculo nichil superest expectando.<sup>1</sup>

In illis diebus, ut iam ante dictum est, erat prefatus pius dux Lancastrie Iohannes in Marchia Scocie ad tractandum cum Scotis de negociis regni.<sup>2</sup> Quod ut credibile fieri potuit ex diuina dispositione ei accidit quod procul ab illis partibus absens esset, ne in manus nephandorum caderet sine materia<sup>4</sup> occidendus.

Domina Constancia, ducissa Lancastrie, talibus auditis, timore magno percussa cordis est, malignorumque rabiem declinare uolens et pro refugio sub alas domini sui uolare desiderans, cum festinatione qua potuit iter arripuit, uenitque ad Pontefractum ad castellum suum pro subsidio habendo quasi in domo propria segura. Et qui inibi erant, ipsam hospicio et saluo custodire nullatenus uoluerunt, set recusauerunt ipsam cum castello sub securitate custodire, dicebant namque se non audere.

fo. 176<sup>r</sup> Sicque desolata, et quasi a propria domo cum pudore in lassitudine repulsa, eadem nocte cum lumine cere antequam diesceret uiam septem leucarum peregit, et absque quietis refocillatione apud Knares /burgh peruenit et ibi moram fecit, donec cessante procellosa<sup>b</sup> tempestate rabidi cursus, serenitas tranquillitatis et pacis superluxit, et pius dux pacis et misericordie de Scocia cum honore reuerteretur.<sup>3</sup>

Iam precesserunt detrimensosa cum lamentacione dolorosa, nunc succedent lacrimosa cum diligenti amaritudine compassiosa. Igitur pio duce non sui scilicet, sed regni negociis sic se in remotis habente, rumor huiusmodi rapacitatis ad aures eius peruenit, quo subito

<sup>a</sup> C; natura T

<sup>b</sup> Second o superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Knighton is not critical of Abbot Kereby, but Abbot Clowne might have shown more regard for the house of Lancaster, and more spirit.

<sup>2</sup> The March Day began on 11 June at Ebchester, Ayton: Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 195:

1381 into carts, had it taken to Leicester Abbey for safe-keeping from the enemy. And when they came there, about midday on the following Tuesday, the abbot was stricken with great fear, like everyone else in the kingdom, and did not dare to take them in, lest the result should be the total destruction of the abbey itself. For in all those troubles the commons had the greatest hatred for the peaceable duke of Lancaster, above all mortal men, and if they had come upon him they would have destroyed him without hesitation. And so the carts returned, laden as they had set out, and the goods stood outside in the churchyard of St Mary de Castro, in the hope of divine protection, without which support nothing can be accomplished.<sup>1</sup>

At that time, as has already been said, the good duke of Lancaster, the aforesaid John, was in the Scottish March to negotiate the business of the kingdom with the Scots.<sup>2</sup> And thus it came about, which can readily be attributed to divine providence, that he was far from the places in which he might have fallen into the hands of those wicked wretches, and have been wantonly slain.

The lady Constance, the duchess of Lancaster, hearing of those events was smitten in her heart with great fear, and wishing to flee the rage of the wicked, and to find safety under the wing of her lord, she made her way towards him as swiftly as she could, and came to the castle of Pontefract to seek the security of her own house. And those within would on no account admit her to remain in safety with them, and refused to allow her sanctuary in the castle, for they said that they did not dare to do so.

And therefore, desolate as she was, and shamefully repelled in her weariness from her own house, that same night she made her way by torchlight for seven leagues before daybreak, and without the refreshment of rest came to Knaresborough, and there stayed until the stormy tempest of rage should cease, the serenity of tranquillity and peace should shine, and the good duke of peace and mercy return with honour from Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

Loss and bitter lamentation had gone before, now there was tearful suffering, with bitter and diligent reflection. Then the news of that wickedness came to the ears of the good duke, who was absent at that time not on his own business but for the affairs of the kingdom. He,

Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 250-1. On Gaunt's standing during and after the revolt, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 78-91.

<sup>3</sup> *Anon. Chron.*, p. 153. Knaresborough castle was in the keeping of Richard Brennand: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 236.



1381 turbatus, et licet perturbatus, mirum non<sup>a</sup> esset et inde non ex arrepto set cum summa deliberacione sapientissime usus consilio, non motus ira quia non proderet, non concussus uecordia, quia in aliquo delicto non reus, set qualis fuerit in omnibus actibus suis ostensus scilicet pius et mitis, hillari uultu audita quasi motus non esset secrete conseruauit, et usque ad tempus aptum, occultum absque reuelacione quacumque silenter conseruari mandauit, nec cuidam reuelari permisit.<sup>1</sup>

Set finem negocii sui pro quo ibidem uenerat cum festinacione qua potuit totis<sup>b</sup> nisibus accelerauit.<sup>b</sup> Nam prope finem erant ex utraque parte de tractu suo. Fine igitur habito, et hinc inde indenturis sigillatis, tunc primo peciit a Scotis licenciam in Scociam intrare, et ibidem pro certo tempore si uellet moram facere atque quando ei placeret absque impedimento sui uel alicuius suorum licenter redire et abire. Nondum enim innotuit Scotis necessitatis causa. Hiis itaque ad uotum patris, tunc demum conuocauit consilium suum atque familiam, et intimauit eis calamitatem gentis Anglorum australis plage.

Et ecce ploratus et ululatus multus lacrimancium atque plangencium. Tunc ille cum omni mansuetudine et pietate dedit licenciam suis omnibus et rogauit ut unusquisque rediret ad propria, ne detrimentum paterentur de bonis suis. At illi ab eo ueluti discipuli a Cristo relicto<sup>2</sup> eo omnes fugerent paucis admodum cum eo remanentibus.<sup>3</sup>

Similiter ei relatum est quod due turme nephandorum luporum discurrerant per duas partes regni et quelibet turba continebat decem milia electorum ad rapiendum eum, una turma per orientalem<sup>c</sup> partem, et alia turma per occidentalem partem. Similiter quoque omnia que habebat Leycestrie destructa erant, et castellum de Tuttebery euerberatum et multa alia perpetrata, que de facto falsa erant. Vnde non mirum esset licet cor eius hec horrida<sup>d</sup> frangerent.

Comes quoque de Northambria inuitauerat eum ad cenam et cum eo pernoctandum, cumque accessisset<sup>e</sup> ad locum, ecce quadam miles dicti comitis cum aliis armigeris uenit ei obuiam in medio itineris, nuncians ei, dictum comitem dominum suum nec audere nec uelle ipsum ducem hospicio recipere, nec aliquid humanitatis ei impendere,

<sup>a</sup> Inserted in margin by reviser      <sup>b</sup> Inserted in margin by reviser      <sup>c</sup> Inserted in margin by reviser  
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<sup>1</sup> He nevertheless sent orders to close and defend his castles in Yorkshire and the Welsh March: Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 250 n. 1.

1381 though roused by its suddenness, not to say perturbed, was not astonished by it, acted not precipitately but with careful consideration, and wisely took advice. Not moved by anger, because he had betrayed no one, not struck by frenzy, because he was conscious of no fault, but as he showed himself in all his actions, that is to say good and gentle, he heard the tidings with a cheerful countenance, as though he were unmoved by them, and kept them to himself. And he ordered that the news should be kept a secret until a suitable time came to declare it, not would he allow it to be disclosed to anyone.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile he did all that he could to bring to a conclusion the business for which he had come, for the two sides were close to an agreement. The business done, and indentures drawn up and sealed, he first asked the Scots for permission to return to Scotland, and to spend some time there if he should wish to do so, and to come and go with his retinue as he wished, for the Scots had not yet learned the reasons for his requests. Those matters arranged as he wished, he then assembled his council and household, and told them of the calamity that had befallen the south of England.

Then there was lamentation, and much wailing, with tears and the beating of breasts. And then, with all goodness and kindness, he gave leave to all his people, and asked them each to go to their own homes, lest they should suffer loss there. And they, just as the disciples abandoned Christ,<sup>2</sup> left him, and all fled away, leaving only a few with him.<sup>3</sup>

And he was told that two packs of the wicked wolves were ranging through the kingdom, one on the eastern side and the other on the west, and that either pack contained 10,000 men chosen to seize him, and that all that he had in Leicester had been destroyed, and that Tutbury castle had been attacked, and many other things done, which was all untrue. Wherefore it is not to be wondered at that those terrible tidings should break his heart.

Also the earl of Northumberland had invited him to dine with him and stay the night, but when he came near to the place, behold one of the earl's knights with some esquires came to meet him on the road, to announce that his lord the said earl did not dare and did not wish to show the duke hospitality, nor to do him any kindly service, nor to

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 26: 56.

<sup>3</sup> See further Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 250-2; and Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 158-9.

1381 nec in aliquo castello seu uilla sue custodie deputatis intrare permittere, donec sciret utrum dominus rex ei beneuolus esset an non.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 176<sup>v</sup> O casus super omni parte supra modum dolendus, pacis amator et<sup>a</sup> reformator, a pace sine delicto deicitur<sup>b</sup> et perturbatur. Quo se diuertat, quo capud suum inclinet?<sup>2</sup> Si ad castrum de Banburgh gressum dirigat ubi familiam suam pro tempore quo in marchiam moram facere disposuerat, dictus comes eum preuenit, ingressumque pro/hibuit, uictualia quoque que pro se et familia sua ibidem parauerat secum abducere denegauit. Vnde orta est magna discordia (nec inmerito) inter eos.<sup>3</sup>

Videns igitur pius dux innocentissimus quomodo predictus comes super ceteros rumores aduersabatur, maius sibi timuit, ne rex ab aliquibus emulis eius sub sinistro consilio ductus ad istius modi luporum rabiem inconsulte preberet assensum.<sup>c</sup> Et ut uerum fatear in multis locis regni diuulgatum fuerat, regium assensum interuenisse in hiis que contra eum fiebant, quod quidem a nonnullis credebatur licet uane. Qui tamen forte ut assolet lingue habenas a cordis radice laxabant, cupientes quod ore fatebantur, in effectu durius euenisse.

Nam plures habuit emulos et inimicos, diuites simul ac pauperes, qui pocius sinistra quam bona de eo loquebantur, male de eo sencientes iniusta contra eum cum non esset eorum meritis sepe meditabantur. Set Deus semper adiutor eius uersucias omnium inimicorum uertebat in bonum, et omni tempore compescuit maliciam eorum et ipsum eripuit de manibus eorum.<sup>4</sup>

Spretus igitur sic pius dux a dicto comite, et ex omni parte sic agonizatus et ab hospicio suo atque uictualibus tam horribiliter seclusus, recessit nec mirum corde merore repletus. Gressumque suum sub conductu prehabito in Scociam direxit ab amicis et cognatis repulsus, inter inimicos et ignotos hospiciam quesiturus.

Ad uillam de Endnsburgh, Domino eum protegente in omnibus uis suis,<sup>5</sup> cum peruenisset, quos antea habuerat aduersarios et inimicos tunc inuenit eos amicos familiarissimos. Nam Scoti humanissime eum receperunt, et donis magnificenciis exenniis honorificenciori modo quo sciebant ipsum glorificauerunt et uictualia ad plenum ei

<sup>a</sup> et interlined by reviser

<sup>b</sup> d interlined by reviser

<sup>c</sup> Inserted in margin by reviser

<sup>1</sup> See *Anon. Chron.*, pp. 152–3, where the knight is identified as Sir John Hotham. Gaunt left Bamburgh to return to Scotland on 22 June: Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 251 n.; and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 81–3. For the background to Northumberland's wariness towards Gaunt, see R. L. Storey, 'Wardens of the Marches', pp. 596–8.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 8: 20.

1381 allow him to enter any castle or place in his keeping, until he knew whether or not he had the king's good will.<sup>1</sup>

O, what lamentable misfortunes press on every side: the lover of peace and maker of peace is cast down from peace and harried, without fault on his part! Whither should he turn, where should he rest his head?<sup>2</sup> If he were to make his way to the castle of Bamburgh, where he had arranged for his household to stay while he was in the March, the said earl would prevent him, and had forbidden him entry, and refused to allow him to remove the supplies which he had prepared there for himself and his household, which caused a great dispute, and not unreasonably, between them.<sup>3</sup>

Then the good and most innocent duke, seeing how rumour had turned the earl against him, feared greatly for himself lest the king, under the influence of evil counsel from those who were jealous of him, should have been rashly moved to give his support to the rabid wolves. And in truth, it was said in many parts of the kingdom that what had been done against him had been done with royal approval. And that, although untrue, was believed by some, who as often happens, unbridled their tongues, in the hope that what they said, and worse, had come to pass.

For he had many who were jealous of him, and were his enemies, both rich and poor, who would rather speak evil of him than good, thinking evil of him, and meditating injustice towards him when he had not observed it of them. Yet God always sustained him, and turned his enemies' deceits to his advantage, and at all times repressed their malice, and delivered him from their hands.<sup>4</sup>

And so the good duke, spurned by the said earl, and opposed on every side, horribly repelled from his own hearth and provender, withdrew, and small wonder, his heart full of sorrow, and made his way into Scotland, under the protection which he had secured, repelled by his friends and kin to seek hospitality from his enemies, and amongst strangers.

And so he came to Edinburgh, the Lord protecting him in all his ways,<sup>5</sup> and there where he previously had had enemies and adversaries he found familiar friends, for the Scots received him most kindly, with gifts, splendid presents, and all the marks of respect that they could devise, and gave him supplies in plenty, and plied him

<sup>3</sup> On the subsequent contention between Gaunt and Northumberland before the king, see Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 254–8, and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 89–91.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. 17(18): 1.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. 45: 13.

1381 ministraverunt, et quicquid posset honoris uel solacii excogitari ei impendere sollicitè curabant. Comes de Douglas et comes de Dunbarre cum aliis duobus comitibus uenerunt ad eandem uillam in eius solacium et confortacionem, ibique expensis propriis moram<sup>a</sup> fecerunt aliquamdiu ad eius consolacionem.<sup>1</sup>

Quid plura? Similiter ex alia parte ad memoriam deduxit<sup>b</sup> actus suos precedentis<sup>c</sup> uite sue et de singulis operibus suis, si in aliquo delicto transgressus fuerat clam uel palam erga regem uel regnum, quo tale quid mereretur ex sua culpa. Sicque librata consciencia cum animo suo, et in se non reperiens modicum uel grande quo posset iuste accusari uel quid contra eum iuste obici. Hiis et hiis similibus cum sapienti deliberacione excogitatis in seipsum rediens confortacionem aliqualem inde sumpsit in transacta iusticia sua fiduciam habens, et in Deo fixit cor suum, cui se et causam suam cum omni attentione commendauit, animaduertens quod scriptum est: 'Multe tribulaciones iustorum et de hiis omnibus liberabit eos / Deus.'<sup>2</sup>

fo. 177'

Inter cetera tamen in memoriam retorquebat quomodo sepius ac sepius audierat, tam a uiris ecclesiasticis quam a suis domesticis, qualiter fama eius quasi in omnibus partibus regni multo tempore denigrata fuerat, et qualiter ipse pro nullo duxerat quicquid ei dictum fuerat concupiscencia excecatus, nec Deum timens nec homines erubescens. Habebat namque quandam dominam Katerinam de Swynforde, alienigenam, in familia cum uxore sua, unde suspicio sinistra maxima de eo oriebatur. Et hiis excogitatis in seipsum Deo gratiam sibi inspirante, statim reuersus est, et se totum diuine misericordie committens, et emendacionem uite Deo promittens, uotum uouit Deo quod quam cicius posset dictam dominam a familia sua amoueret cum effectu ulterius non offensurus. Cumque ad propria redisset oportunitate nocte, ipsam a domo sua statim amouit ulterius in familia sua non mansuram.<sup>3</sup>

Quid plura? Cumque ad aures boni regis Anglee perstrepisset de tanta angustia eius et calamitate inaudita atque tristicia intollerabili piii ducis auunculi sui, atque opprobriosa eius repulsione minus iuste ei obiecta, maxime condoluit, et mox indilate literas consolatorias quam cicius potuit ei transmittere festinauit. Et sic literis nouis ac

<sup>a</sup> Inserted in margin in a later hand; caret in text  
<sup>c</sup> s added by reviser

<sup>b</sup> de interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> Gaunt stayed in Holyrood Abbey from 25 June to 10 July: Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 252, 254; Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 195.

with everything that they could think of that would honour and console him. The earl of Douglas, and the earl of Dunbar, with two other earls, came to the town for his solace and comfort, and they met the costs of his stay there from their own resources for his consolation.<sup>1</sup>

1381

What more need be said? He considered on every side the past events of his life, and everything that he had done, to see whether he had offended, either privately or publicly, the king or the realm, in such wise that he might deserve the fate that had fallen upon him. And weighing all justly in his mind, and finding nothing, neither great nor small, of which he could justly be accused, or which might be urged against him, he pondered upon those things with sage deliberation, coming to himself again, and drawing comfort from them, that in all his actions he had been just and true; and he fastened his mind upon God, to Whom he most earnestly commended himself and his cause, remembering how it is written: 'Many are the tribulations of the righteous, and God shall deliver them from all'.<sup>2</sup>

Amongst other matters one which he often turned in his mind was that he frequently had heard, both from churchmen and from members of his own household, that his reputation was greatly tarnished in all parts of the realm, and that he had paid no attention to what was said to him because he was blinded by desire, fearing neither God, nor shame amongst men. For in his wife's household there was a certain foreign lady, Katharine Swinford, whose relations with him were greatly suspect. And considering those things, and inspired by the grace of God, he turned about and, committing himself wholly to the divine mercy, and promising that he would reform his life, he vowed to God that he would, as soon as he was able, remove that lady from his household, so that there could be no further offence. And when he returned to his own estates he at once took occasion to send her away, so that she should no longer dwell with him.<sup>3</sup>

Why say more? When the good king came to hear of the hardships and the unparalleled calamities and the intolerable sorrows which had befallen his uncle, and the disgraceful manner in which he had been unjustly driven away, he was moved to great pity, and without delay he despatched consolatory messages to him with all the speed that he

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 33 (34): 20.

<sup>3</sup> It seems likely that this passage was written before Gaunt married Katharine (who was Flemish by birth) in 1396, two years after Constance died: *CP* vii. 415; Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 156-7; K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 15.

1381 nouis superuenientibus animum regis ei beneuolum cognoscens, ad plenum consolatus est et quasi pro nichilo duxit tantam iniuriam et irrecuperabilia dampna bonorum suorum. Similiter et fratres sui in quantum potuerunt eum consolari nisi sunt.

O euentus quam uariabilis! Nam unde maximum opprobrium illi oriebatur inde leticia primi honoris prouenit, et ideo cum redeunt consolacionis mirabilia rediit pio duci et eius dilectoribus leticia. Igitur hiis ita transactis, rex beneuolus mandat comiti Northambrie regias literas ut querat ducem Lancastrie ubicumque fuerit cum omni honoris alacritate, et ipsum saluo pro suo posse ab inimicis custodiat et fortitudine qua potuit armata ipsum adducat, et per partes suas saluo transducatur ne detrimentum paciatur.<sup>1</sup>

Sicque accidit quod qui primo repulsionis opprobrium ei intulit, prime reduccionis honorem illi impendebat. Cumque idem comes cum fortitudine armatorum ei obuiam fecit et ei obsequium honoris optulit, pius dux regi gracias egit set ipsum cum comitiua sua repulit, dicens se non indigere eius obsequio. Sicque abinuicem recesserunt absque pluri. Pius dux uiam suam graditur; comes uero in domum suam reuertitur.

Mandauit eciam rex omnibus et singulis dominis borialis plage, ac eciam uiccomitibus et burgensibus omnibus et singulis, precipiens quod quilibet eorum ipsum cum fortitudine sufficienti secundum uires suas ipsum saluo transducant per partes suas.<sup>2</sup> Sicque factum est quod aliis recedentibus in suo comitatu, aliisque succedentibus in alio comitatu cum honoris tripudio uenit per Eboracum, Notyngamyam, Leycestriam, aliquando mille comitatus lanceatis, ut dicebatur, et quandoque numero maiori stipatus quandoque minori, exceptis sagittariis et aliis. Tandem uero uenit ad regem apud Redynges. Rex /uero in eius aduentu admodum letus effectus cum magno honore eum suscepit, atque cum omni diligencia eum confortabat donisque largifluis prout decuit regiam magnificenciam ad suum auunculum hillariter honorificauit.

*Pietas ducis.* Ne cuidam cedat in mirum quare ipsum tociens pium ducem uocitauit, diligens lector attendat et auditor ueritatis amicus intelligat quod iste pius dux pietatis tanto<sup>a</sup> robore fundatus extitit quod in omnibus tribulacionibus suis, et in omnibus angustiis atque

<sup>a</sup> *Superimposed by reviser*

<sup>1</sup> 3 July 1381: *CPR 1381-5*, pp. 25-6; *Foedera*, 1377-83, p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *CPR*, 1381-5, p. 30.

could command. And as letter upon letter came to assure him of the king's goodwill, he was greatly comforted, and thought but lightly of the injury and the irreparable losses of goods which he had suffered. And his brothers likewise strove to comfort him, in all the ways that they could.

O, the vagaries of life! For the source of his deepest disgrace brought him with joy to the greatest honour, and as those marvels of consolation returned, joy came to the duke and to those who were dear to him. Those things done, the benevolent king sent royal letters to the earl of Northumberland, saying that he should, with alacrity, seek out the duke of Lancaster wherever he might be, and with every display of respect, and with all his power, secure him from his enemies, and with the strongest escort that he could afford him, conduct him safely through his lands, so that he might suffer no harm.<sup>1</sup>

And so it happened that he who first shamefully repelled the duke, was the first to show him honour again. And when the earl met him, with a strong force, and respectfully tendered him his service, the good duke expressed his thanks to the king, but refused the earl's company, saying that he did not need his assistance. And so they took their leave of each other without ceremony, and the good duke continued on his way, and the earl returned home.

The king had ordered all and singular the lords of the north country, and the sheriffs and the burgesses there, to turn out in strength, each according to his power, to lead the duke safely through their territories.<sup>2</sup> And so it was done, the men of each county giving place to those of the next, as he came with all ceremony through York, and Nottingham, and Leicester, sometimes with an escort of 1,000 lances, it was said, sometimes with a larger or a smaller attendance, not counting the archers and others. And at last he came to the king at Reading. And the king rejoiced greatly at his coming, and showed him the greatest respect, and did all that he could for his comfort, and with copious presents, such as royal magnificence might owe to his uncle, joyfully honoured him.

*The duke's goodness.* And lest any wonder that I should always refer to him as the good duke, let the careful reader consider, and he who hears me remember, as a friend of truth, that that good duke drew such strength from his virtues, that in all his misfortunes, and in all the hardship and injuries that had been spitefully visited upon him, he sought no revenge, and ordered no reprisals by his followers, but

1381 iniuriis sibi maliciose illatis, non uindictam quesuit, non ulcionem per suos mandauit. Sed equanimiter tollerans cuicumque petenti delicta condonauit.

Cum autem thesaurus argenteorum uasorum eius per quosdam de familiaribus suis sepius ad magnam summam furtiue ablati fuisset, et ministri eius per iuris rigorem contra eos captos tandem uellent procedere eos suspendendo, tante pietatis spiritu repletus erat quod ipsos prohibuit, dicens se nolle aliquem hominem perire pro bonis suis, precipiens semper tales dimitti sub abiuracione quod se abstinent a familia et domo regis et domo sua et domo fratrum suorum.

*Vlcio de communibus.* Hiis itaque gestis et quietis tempore succedente, aderat tempus quo rex puniri faceret delinquentes. Missus est igitur dominus Robertus Treslyon iusticiarius precepto regis ad inquirendum de surgentibus contra pacem et puniendum.<sup>1</sup> Qui ubique discurrens et nulli parcens fecit stragem magnam. Et <quia><sup>a</sup> illi malefactores inimicabiliter insidebantur aduersus iusticiarios, scilicet dominum Iohannem de Candyche et alios quos inuenire potuerunt, mortem eis inferendo capitalem, atque contra omnes legis regni peritos quos inuenire poterant, nec cuidam eorum pepercerunt capitali sententia puniendo, sic nec ipse cuiquam pepercit, uicem pro uice rependens.

Nam quicumque accusatus fuerat coram eo in causa supradicta, siue iuste siue ex odio, statim ipsum mortis sententia plectebat. Et alios quidem decapitari precepit, alios autem suspendi, alios uero trahi per ciuitates et suspendi per quatuor partes ciuitatum, alios autem euiscerari, uisceraque concremari coram ipsis uiuentibus, posteaque decollari et in .iiij. partes diuidi ac suspendi per .iiij. partes ciuitatum, secundum delicti et meriti quantitatem.<sup>b,2</sup>

*Iohannes Balle.* Dominus Iohannes Balle uero captus fuit apud Couentre<sup>b</sup> et ductus apud Sanctam Albanum, ibique precepto regis tractus fuit et suspensus atque in quatuor partes diuisus que ad .iiij. loca sunt misse et suspense.<sup>3</sup>

1382 *Rex Ricardus desponsauit.* Eodem anno apud Westmonasterium rex Ricardus desponsauit Annam<sup>4</sup> filiam regis Boemi, sororem imperatoris, et dedit imperatori ut dicebatur pro maritagio decem millia

<sup>a</sup> Conjunction omitted in text

<sup>b</sup> quantitatem written below, and cancelled by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Tresilian's commission was issued on 20 June 1381: *CPR 1381-5*, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> There is a fuller, though hardly more endearing account of his proceedings in *Chron. Anglie*, 322-4. See also Foss, *Judges* iv. 102-7.

impartially and patiently forgave the offences of anyone who sought forgiveness. 1381

Once when when some of his servants had stolen on many occasions silver vessels of great value from his treasury, and his officials had caught them and wished to apply the full rigour of the law to them, and hang them, he was so charged with the spirit of mercy that he forbade it, saying that he would not set his possessions above any man's life, and he ordered only that they should be dismissed his service, and that they should swear never to enter the household or palace of the king, or his own house, or those of his brothers.

*Vengeance upon the commons.* Those events over, and a quiet time following, the king came to punish the offenders. Sir Robert Tresilian, the judge, was therefore sent out with a royal mandate to inquire after those who had broken the peace, and to punish them.<sup>1</sup> And he went everywhere, and did great slaughter, sparing none. And as the malefactors had vented their hatred upon judges, such as Sir John Cavendish, and such others as they could find, and had put them to death, and all the other lawyers upon whom they came, and never spared them the capital penalty, so he spared none, but repaid like with like.

For anyone who appeared before him on that charge, whether justly or upon some accusation moved by hatred, was at once sentenced to death. And of others he ordered some to be beheaded, others to be hanged, others to be dragged through the cities and [hanged and] their quarters exposed in four places in the cities, still others to be disembowelled, and their bowels burned before them alive, and afterwards to be beheaded, and hacked into quarters, and their quarters exposed in four parts of the cities, according to their offences and deserts.<sup>2</sup>

*John Ball.* Sir John Ball, indeed, was taken at Coventry and brought to St Albans, and there upon the king's orders he was drawn and hanged, and cut into four pieces, which were sent to different places to be displayed.<sup>3</sup>

*King Richard married.* In that same year at Westminster King Richard married Anne,<sup>4</sup> the daughter of the king of Bohemia and sister of the emperor, and it was said that he gave the emperor 1382

<sup>3</sup> For a purported confession by Ball linking him to Wycliffe see *FZ* pp. 273-4; and Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 168-9. See also the discussion in R. F. Green, 'John Ball's letters', pp. 190-3.

<sup>4</sup> On 20 Jan. 1382; *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 22-4.

1382 libras preter alias expensas in querendo eam et adducendo eam sumptibus suis propriis.

fo. 178<sup>r</sup> *Millesimo .ccc.lxxxij.* Anno proximo sequenti, millesimo .ccc.lxxxij., regis Ricardi .v., dominus rex ad specialem rogatum Anne regine et aliorum magnatum regni, et specialiter pii dux Lancastrie, condonavit generaliter omnibus antedictis insurgentibus malefactoribus / unitentibus et adherentibus et consencientibus eisdem, et concessit cartas eisdem prosequi uolentibus, et mediante diuina clemencia dicta rabies sic sopita est.<sup>1</sup>

.xii. kalendas Iunii terre motus generalis mala multa faciens in regno quasi prima hora post nonam feria quarta. Item die Veneris sequenti quasi in ortu solis, terre motus non multum nocens. Sabbato sequenti aque motus quasi hora tertia mane. Naues uacillabant in portibus ab aque motu.<sup>2</sup>

*Wyclif.* In istis temporibus floruit magister Iohannes Wyclif rector ecclesie de Lutterworthe in comitatu Leycestrie, doctor in theologia eminentissimus in diebus illis,<sup>3</sup> in philosophia nulli reputabatur secundus, in scolasticis disciplinis incomparabilis. Hic maxime nitebatur aliorum ingenia subtilitate sciencie et profunditate ingenii sui transcendere, et ab opinionibus eorum uariare.

Hic multas dicitur introducere in ecclesia opiniones que a catholicis ecclesie doctoribus reprobantur que in suo loco pro parte patebunt. Hic habuit precursorem Iohannem Balle ueluti Cristi Iohannem Baptistam qui uias suas in talibus opinionibus preparauit<sup>4</sup> et plurimos quoque doctrina sua ut dicitur perturbauit de quo superius mentionem feci.<sup>5</sup>

Hic magister Iohannes Wyclif euangelium quod Cristus contulit clericis et ecclesie doctoribus, ut ipsi laycis et infirmioribus personis secundum temporis exigenciam et personarum indigenciam cum mentis eorum esurie dulciter ministrarent, transtulit de latino in Anglicam linguam non angelicam.<sup>6</sup> Vnde per ipsum fit uulgare et

<sup>a</sup> illis interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> For the general pardon, see *CPR 1381-5*, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> See Mallet, 'Earthquakes', p. 44. Knighton is unusual in not connecting the shocks with the Blackfriars Council, which met to condemn Lollardy 17-21 May, and was cut short by the first earthquake: see Workman, *Wyclif*, ii. 266-7; and below, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> Wyclif withdrew to the rectory of Lutterworth, to which he had been presented in 1374, soon after the condemnation of his views in Oxford in the spring of 1381: Workman, *Wyclif*, i. 209; McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 84-6.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 3: 3.

£10,000 for the marriage, besides other expenses in going to fetch her, which he met himself.

1382

1382. In the following year, 1382, King Richard's fifth year, the lord king, at the special request of Queen Anne and of other magnates of the realm, and particularly of the good duke of Lancaster, pardoned in general all the aforesaid rebels and malefactors, and those who joined, and supported, and condoned them, and granted charters to all who wished to seek them, and thus by the workings of divine mercy that rage was subdued.<sup>1</sup>

On the twelfth of the Kalends of June [21 May 1382] there was an earthquake which did widespread damage in the kingdom, around the first hour after noon, on Wednesday. Then on the following Friday [23 May 1382] there was a shock around sunrise, which did no great harm, and on Saturday [24 May 1382] a disturbance in the sea, about three o'clock in the morning, and ships in harbour were tossed by the shock.<sup>2</sup>

*Wyclif.* In those days there flourished Master John Wyclif, rector of Lutterworth in Leicestershire, and the most eminent theologian of that time.<sup>3</sup> He was reckoned second to none in philosophy, and incomparable in scholastic learning. He strove to outshine the ability of others in the subtlety of learning, and the profundity of his reasoning, and to change their opinions.

It is said that he introduced into the church many opinions which had been condemned by the doctors of the catholic faith, which will appear in their place. He had John Ball as his precursor, as Christ had John the Baptist, who prepared the way for him in people's minds,<sup>4</sup> and it is said that he subverted the beliefs of many with his teaching: of him I have made mention above.<sup>5</sup>

The Gospel, which Christ gave to the clergy and the doctors of the church, that they might administer it to the laity and to weaker brethren, according to the demands of the time and the needs of the individual, as a sweet food for the mind, that Master John Wyclif translated from Latin into the language not of angels but of Englishmen,<sup>6</sup> so that he made that common and open to the laity, and

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 210 n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> An invocation of *Bede's Eccles. Hist.*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, i. 134-5. For the general setting and execution of the Wycliffite translations, see M. Deanesley, *The Lollard Bible* (Cambridge, 1920), pp. 225-51. On the translations themselves and their organisation, see A. Hudson, 'Wycliffism in Oxford' and 'Wyclif and the English Language' in *Wycliffe in his Times*, ed. A. Kenny (Oxford, 1986), esp. pp. 78-82, and 91-9; and below, p. 290 n. 2.

1382 magis apertum laicis et mulieribus legere scientibus,<sup>1</sup> quam solet esse clericis admodum literatis et bene intelligentibus, et sic euangelica margarita spargitur et a porcis conculcatur.<sup>2</sup> Et sic quod solet esse carum clericis et laicis iam redditur quasi iocositas communis utriusque, et gemma clericorum uertitur in ludum laicorum, ut laicis sit commune eternum quod ante fuerat clericis et ecclesie doctoribus talentum supernum. Sicque sponsus ecclesie conqueritur et cum propheta potest clamare: 'Sedebit honor ecclesie solitarius et tacebit, quia leuauit se super se.'<sup>3</sup>

Et sic adimpletum est, quod predixit Willelmus de Sancto Amore longo ante tempore, et potest applicari congrue de eodem populo. Sic inquires: 'Aliqui laborant ad mutandum euangelium Cristi in aliud euangelium quod dicunt fore perfectius et melius et dignius, quod appellant<sup>a</sup> euangelium eternum siue euangelium Spiritus Sancti.' Eternum congrue dici potest, quia iam uulgare et commune in materna lingua, et sic in eterna memoria. Hic predictus Willelmus composuit libellum de aduentu talis populi de conuersacione, de uita et moribus eorum satis expresse, et<sup>b</sup> incipit sic.<sup>4</sup>

Willelmus de Sancto Amore anno Domini millesimo .cc.lv., capitulo octauo: Nos sumus in quos fines seculorum deuenerunt scilicet, in ultima etate seculi. Post istam uero .6. etatem que est pugnancium, cum qua currit .7. etas, que est quiescencium, non est uentura alia, nisi .8. que est resurgencium. Igitur nos sumus in ultima etate huius mundi, et ista etas iam plus durauit quam aliqua aliarum que curreunt per millenarium numerum annorum, quia ista durauit per mille .cc.55. annos. Verisimile est igitur quod nos sumus prope finem igitur propinquo sumus periculis nouissimorum temporum que uentura sunt ante aduentum Anticristi.

fo. 178<sup>v</sup> Ista probat / ibidem per plures auctoritates sacre scripture.

Relinquitur igitur quod in nouissimis temporibus sumus aut illis ualde propinqui quod ostendemus per octo signa quod iam pericula instant.

<sup>a</sup> Il superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> et interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> On women and Lollardy, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 99, 186–7 and nn. See also below, pp. 532–4.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 7: 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lam. 3: 28.

<sup>4</sup> Knighton's text is taken from *De periculis nouissimorum temporum*, which is printed in

1382 to women who were able to read,<sup>1</sup> which used to be for literate and perceptive clerks, and spread the Evangelists' pearls to be trampled by swine.<sup>2</sup> And thus that which was dear to the clergy and the laity alike became as it were a jest common to both, and the clerks' jewels became the playthings of laymen, that the laity might enjoy now forever what had once been the clergy's talent from on high. And therefore might the Church's Bridegroom complain, and cry with the prophet: 'The honour of the church will be seated alone, and will be silent because he hath raised himself against her.'<sup>3</sup>

And thus was fulfilled what Guillaume de Saint-Amour had long since predicted, and can fittingly be applied to that people, saying thus: 'Some there are who labour to change the Gospel of Christ into another which they claim to be more perfect, and better, and more worthy, and which they call the eternal Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Spirit.' Eternal it might well be called, which now is common and in the vulgar tongue, and thus remembered for ever. The afore-said Guillaume wrote a tract on the coming of such people, which said all that need be said of them, their converse, life, manners, and begins thus.<sup>4</sup>

Guillaume de Saint-Amour, in the year of our Lord 1255, chapter 8: We are now in that end to which the centuries have come, that is to say in the latter age of the world. Truly after this sixth age, which is the age of conflict, and with which there runs a seventh, which is the age of repose, there is none to come save the eighth, which is the age of resurrection. Therefore are we in the last age of this world, and this age has now lasted longer than any of the other ages which have run through thousands of years, because this one has endured for 1,255 years. Therefore we are probably close to the end, and therefore we are closer to the perils of the latest times, which are to come before the coming of Antichrist.

Those things he proves by many citations from Holy Scripture.

It remains therefore that we are in those latest times, or very close to them, and we shall show by eight signs that the perils are now upon us.

*Magistri Guillelmi de Sancto Amore Opera Omnia*, ed. 'Alitophilus' (Coutances [recte Paris], 1632), pp. 17–72 (*bis*), cited here as *GSA*. On the circumstances in which Guillaume wrote, see M.-M. Dufeil, *Guillaume de Saint-Amour et la polémique universitaire parisienne, 1250–59* (Paris, 1972), pp. 212–16, 220–4, 252–6; and M. Reeves, *The Influence of Prophecy in the later Middle Ages: a study in Joachimism* (Oxford, 1969), pp. 59–70.



Primum enim est quod aliqui laborant ad mutandum euangelium Christi in aliud euangelium quod fore dicunt perfectius et melius et dignius quod appellant euangelium eternum, siue euangelium Spiritus Sancti, quo adueniente, euacuabitur ut dicunt euangelium Christi ut parati sumus ostendere in illo euangelio maledicto. Hoc signum manifestum est quod prope est tempus Anticristi, de quo in psalmo:<sup>1</sup> 'Constitu domine legem latorem super eos', glossa: Antichristum prae legis latorem.

.2. signum est quod illa doctrina que predicabitur tempore Anticristi, uidelicet, euangelium eternum predictum ubi uiget scripture sacre studium iam publice positum fuit exemplandum, unde certum est quod iam predicaretur, nisi esset aliquid quod eam detineret. Quid autem detineat scitis scilicet, imperium Petri et eorum qui tenent<sup>a</sup> loca apostolorum scilicet episcoporum. Nisi enim uenerit dissencio primum, non reuelabitur filius perditionis uel iniquitatis. Vnde caueant episcopi ne predicti predicatorum pseudo procurent eorum percussorem id est ablacionem potestatis eorum. Sicut significatur in euangelio eterno.

Tercium signum est, quod sicut in Babilone reproba postquam uisa est manus scribens, 'Mane Techel Phares', cito secuta est subuersio eius (Danielis .5.).<sup>2</sup> Sic in Babilone dilecta Domini (Ysaia .21.),<sup>3</sup> id est in ecclesia cum iam uisa sit dicta scriptura, constat quod prope sint pericula eius. Set ista .3. uerba iam uisa sunt scripta in ecclesia. Scripta sunt enim in illo maledicto libro quem<sup>b</sup> appellant euangelium eternum quod in ecclesia iam propalatum est, propter quod timendum est de subuersione ecclesie.

*Mane*, ut exponitur Danielis .5., numeratur regnum ecclesie scilicet, euangelium Christi, et concluditur in certo numero annorum. *Techel* inuentum est minus habens perfeccionis et dignitatis quam euangelium eternum. Quanto minus lucet luna quam sol, quanto minus ualet testa quam nucleus, et multe tales scripture sunt ibi comparaciones quibus probatur minus ualere euangelium Christi, quam euangelium eternum. *Phares* ibi inuenitur quod regnum ecclesie diuidetur post predictum tempus ab illis, qui tenent euangelium Christi, et dabitur illis qui tenent euangelium eternum.

Quantum signum est quod propinquante fine seculi et aduentu Antichristi, quidam qui apparebunt in ecclesia Christi sanctiores et

<sup>a</sup> GSA; om. T<sup>b</sup> GSA; que T<sup>1</sup> Ps. 9: 21<sup>2</sup> Dan. 5: 25-8.<sup>3</sup> Isa. 21: 9. See also Isa. 62: 4.

The first is that some labour to change Christ's Gospel into another which they claim to be more perfect, and better, and more worthy, which they call the eternal Gospel, or the Gospel of the Holy Spirit, which, they say, when it comes will displace Christ's Gospel, and we are ready to show that that Gospel is accursed. That is a manifest sign that the time of Antichrist is nigh, whence in the Psalm: 'Appoint, O Lord, the bearer of thy laws over them',<sup>1</sup> the gloss being, that Antichrist is the bearer of the law of wickedness.

The second sign is that the doctrine which is to be preached in the time of Antichrist, namely the aforesaid eternal Gospel, has already been appointed to be expounded where the study of Holy Scripture flourishes, wherefore it is certain that it will now be preached, unless anything occur to prevent it. And whom do you know who might prevent it, but the authority of St Peter, and of those who occupy the apostles' places, namely the bishops? For unless there first comes some opposition the son of perdition and wickedness will not be revealed, wherefore let the bishops beware lest the aforesaid pseudo-preachers contrive to drive them out, that is to say, usurp their power, for thus is it signified in the eternal Gospel.

The third sign is that as in false Babylon, after a hand was seen to write 'Mane, techel, phares', the city was overthrown (Daniel 5),<sup>2</sup> so as in Babylon that in which is the Lord's delight (Isaiah 21),<sup>3</sup> that is to say those in the church, when they shall see the writing shall know that its peril is nigh. But those three words have already been seen written in the church, for they are written in that accursed book which they call the eternal Gospel, which is already published in the church, and which makes us fear that the church will be overthrown.

*Mane*, as expounded by Daniel 5: the kingdom of the Church, that is to say the Gospel of Christ, is numbered, and it will end in a certain number of years. *Techel*: it is found to be less perfect and worthy than the eternal Gospel, as the moon shines less brightly than the sun, as the shell is less worthy than the yolk, and many comparisons are thus written to prove that the Gospel of Christ is less worthy than the eternal Gospel. *Phares*: it is found that the kingdom of the Church shall be taken after that time from those who hold to the Gospel of Christ, and given to those who hold to the eternal Gospel.

The fourth sign is that when the end of the world and the coming of Antichrist draw near, those in the Church of Christ who appear more holy but who nevertheless do that which is displeasing

1382 tamen facient quod displicet Cristo, corrigentur per aliquos iuxta uisionem Beati Iohannis de correctione ecclesiarum: Apocalypse .2. et .3.<sup>1</sup> Ipsi autem correccionem sustinere nolentes, suos correctores tradent in tribulacionem et procurabunt ut ab omnibus odiantur uel odio habeantur et ut eciam aliqui ex eis occidantur.

Quintum signum est quando propinquante consummacione seculi illi qui uidentur in ecclesia sancciores reprehenduntur de falsa sanctitate et de sua presumpcionem, propter quod multi tam ipsi quam scilicet eorum fautores scandalizabuntur.

fo. 179<sup>r</sup> .6. signum est quod propinquante consummacione seculi surgent quidam in ecclesia predicatorum commendantes semetipsos ultra mensuratum / a Deo sibi populum quia gloriabuntur in predicando plebibus uel populis non suis. Et isti sub specie pietatis multos seducent, id est a consiliis prelatorum ad consilia sua<sup>a</sup> ducent.

.7. signum est quod propinquante consummacione seculi quidam qui uidentur in ecclesia magni zelatores fidei et maxime amare Cristum, dimittent euangelium Cristi et adhibebunt euangelio eterno, quod ex toto obsorbet fidem Cristi. Vnde refrigescet caritas qua sermo Dei custoditur.<sup>2</sup>

.8. signum est quod propinquante consummacione seculi, annunciabuntur in ecclesia signa propinqua consummacionis, ut sic intelligant metuentes Cristum prope consummacionem seculi et dolorem qui erit tempore Anticristi.

Hec ibi in .8. capitulo et multa alia cum allegacionibus sacre scripture que quidam applicant ad fratres mendicantes, magis tamen congruunt istis nouis populis lollardis qui mutauerunt euangelium Cristi in euangelium eternum, id est uulgarem linguam et communem maternam et sic eternam, quia laicis reputatur melior et dignior quam lingua Latina. Idemque Willelmus ostendit capitulatim in libro suo de uerbo ad uerbum, quod in ecclesia Cristi multa et magna pericula sunt futura.<sup>3</sup>

.2. capitulo et per cuiusmodi homines sunt futura. .3. quam habiles et ydonei erunt ad pericula inducenda. .4. cuiusmodi erunt illa pericula. .5. qualiter procedent in periculis producendis. .6.

<sup>a</sup> *GSA*; *om. T*

<sup>1</sup> Rev. 2: 17–29, and 3: 9–13.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. 24: 12.

<sup>3</sup> Having used the eighth chapter of *De periculis* (*GSA*, pp. 37–41) to give the substance of Saint-Amour's argument, which is the matter closest to his own concerns, Knighton sets it

1382 to Christ shall be chastised according to St John's vision of the correction of the churches (Apocalypse 2 and 3).<sup>1</sup> And those who will not accept correction will deliver their correctors into tribulation, and will cause them to be hated by all, and to suffer hatred, and some of them even shall be slain.

The fifth sign is that when the end of the world approaches, those in the church who seem more holy shall be reproached for false holiness and for their presumption, wherefore many, both those and their supporters, shall be reviled.

The sixth sign is that when the end of the world is nigh there shall rise preachers in the church who will esteem themselves above the people marked out by God for Himself, because they will glory in preaching to a populace and to peoples not their own. And in the guise of piety they will seduce many, that is to say, they will lead them from the authority of the bishops to their own.

The seventh sign is that when the end of the world is nigh, those in the church who seem most zealous for the faith, and who most love Christ, shall dismiss the Gospel of Christ and adhere to the eternal Gospel, which shall wholly replace the Gospel of Christ. And the love that keeps the word of God shall wax cold.<sup>2</sup>

The eighth sign is that when the end of the world is nigh the signs of the coming end will be displayed in the church, that those who understand them, fearing Christ, shall know that the end is nigh, and also the grief which shall be the time of Antichrist.

Those things are there in the eighth chapter, and many others, with citations from Holy Scripture, which some have applied to the mendicant friars, but which better apply to those new people, the Lollards, who have changed the Gospel of Christ into the eternal Gospel, that is into the vulgar and common mother tongue, which laymen believe to be better and more worthy than the Latin tongue. And that Guillaume shows chapter by chapter in his book, and word by word, that in the Church of Christ there are many and great dangers to come.<sup>3</sup>

In the second chapter, by what manner of men they are to come. Thirdly, how able and likely are those men to bring those dangers. Fourthly, what manner of dangers there will be. Fifthly, how they will bring about those dangers. Sixthly, how those who have not

in the context of the prologue to the work (*GSA*, p. 19), which capitulates the text. The tract is, as he observes, a compact mass of biblical citations.

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quod qui non preuiderent illa pericula aut preuisa non precauerint peribunt in illis. .7. quoniam "et ipsi parantes" aliis pericula in multis periculis seipsos constituerunt. Similiter in quibus periculis erunt constituti. .8. ne dicat quis de predictis periculis non dum esse curandum utpote adhuc remotis, ostendit per quedam signa, illa non esse remota longe, set satis propinqua. .9. ostendit, quorum est illa pericula preuidere et prenunciare et a fidelibus repellere. .10. ostendit quam penam incurrent hii qui pericula tenentur preuidere et prenunciare et ab ecclesia repellere si non fecerint. .11. ne uideatur impossibile illa repelli eo quod sunt propheticæ predicta, ostendit quod repelli potuerunt ad tempus. .12. ostendit qualiter sunt repellenda<sup>b</sup> et possunt repelli. (.13.)<sup>c</sup> quia repelli non possent predicta pericula, nisi cognoscerentur illi qui pericula procurabant, ostendit ubi possunt predicti periculosi uiri inueniri. .14. ostendit, plurima signa quedam infallibilia, quedam uero probabilia per que possunt dicti homines cognosci.

Ista ostendit cum auctoritatibus sacre scripture luculenter. Et incipit liber.

Predictus magister Iohannes Wyclif tenuit ut predictum est singulares opiniones et conclusiones, et in tantum in eis delectatus<sup>d</sup> est et sedens quod sepius<sup>e</sup> asserebat se uelle et paratum esse ire in carcerem et ignem atque mortem subire pro defensione earum, si necessitas temporis illud ab eo postulasset. Similiter et ceteri sui heresiste discipuli et complices atque fautores arridente sibi in prosperitate quiete, omnes se esse paratos affirmabant.

Interim occidit eis lux audacie, et tenebre eos uecordie comprehenderunt. Nam idem magister Iohannes citatus fuit et uocatus mandato domini pape ad comparandum coram archiepiscopo Cantuariensi et multis aliis ecclesie doctoribus in ecclesia fratrum predicatorum Londoniensium,<sup>1</sup> ad respondendum super heretica prauitate, ubi habuit precipuum adiutorem pium ducem Lancastrie qui semper ei / et suis in omnibus necessitatibus inuincibili presidio affuit,<sup>2</sup> et aliter ipse et sui in foueam interitus uiliter cecidissent.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 179<sup>v</sup><sup>a-a</sup> Over erasure<sup>b</sup> Il superimposed by reviser<sup>c</sup> C (terciodecimo); 10 T<sup>d</sup> lec inserted by reviser<sup>e</sup> se cancelled by scribe<sup>f</sup> Interlined by reviser<sup>g</sup> Interlined by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Although the council met to condemn his teachings and his disciples, Wycliffe was not cited to appear before it. At this point Knighton appears to be conflating the Blackfriars council of May 1382 and the synod held in Oxford in Nov. 1382, and probably the proscrip-

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foreseen those dangers, or having foreseen them have taken no heed of them, shall perish by them. Seventhly, since those who are preparing dangers for others will bring themselves into many dangers, in what manner of dangers they will find themselves. Eighthly, lest anyone should say that there is no need to be mindful of the aforesaid dangers because they seem remote, he shows them, by certain signs, not to be far remote but close enough. Ninthly he shows whose part it is to foresee and to foretell the aforesaid dangers, and to repel them from the faithful. Tenthly, he shows what penalty they will incur who are bound to foresee and foretell them, and to repel them from the church, if they fail to do so. Eleventhly, lest it should seem impossible to repel them because they have been foretold by the prophecy, he shows how they can be repelled at the time. Twelfthly, he shows how they ought to be repelled, and can be repelled. Thirteenthly, because those dangers cannot be repelled unless they who shall bring them about are known, he shows how such dangerous men are to be recognized. Fourteenthly, he shows, by certain unmistakable signs, and by others very probable, how those men are to be known.

Those things he shows clearly by the authority of Holy Scripture. And thus begins the book.

The aforesaid Master John Wyclif held, as has been said, to extraordinary opinions and conclusions, and he so delighted and trusted in them, that he often asserted that he was willing and ready to go to prison in their defence, and even to undergo death by fire if the needs of the time required it, and likewise the rest of his heretical disciples and accomplices and supporters, while peace and prosperity smiled upon them, all affirmed that they too were so prepared.

In the mean time the sun of their audacity set, and they were taken into the shadows of madness. For that Master John Wyclif was cited and summoned by mandate of the lord pope to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, and many other doctors of the church, in the church of the friars preachers in London,<sup>1</sup> to answer for the wickedness of heresy, where he had the notable support of the good duke of Lancaster, who was an invincible guardian to him and his followers in all their needs, for otherwise they would have fallen into the pit of destruction.<sup>2</sup>

tion of Wycliffe's opinions by the chancellor's commission in Oxford in the spring of 1381: see Workman, *Wyclif*, ii. 141-5, 294-6; and below, p. 256 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. 54: 24 (55: 23).

Cumque die statuto ad obiecta respondere deberet omnem preiactitatum cordis audaciam sine mora dimisit, et induit uecordie loricam, fantasticosque errores, dedicere suos esse molitus est atque oppiniones et conclusiones suas esse uel fuisse firmiter negare conatus est. Et eas ab aliis inuentas et nomine eius predicatas et doctas et illi ascriptas fuisse protestatus est. Cum tamen ipse et sui eas omni nisu fouerant retroacto tempore et puplicauerant ueras fuisse et antiquos libros de solida fide ecclesie scriptos raserant, literalique doctrina noue oppinionis in pluribus locis rescripserant. Thomamque Alquinum in suis scriptis nouis oppinionibus eorum contrariant et quia frater erat, concludebant igitur mendax est. Sicque deiectis armis tocious non diuinitatis, ymmo uanitatis affugit, idem magister Iohannes Wyclif sub alas materne discipline pro refugio mortem euadendi quam a matre didicerat a cunis<sup>a</sup> sub forma que sequitur.<sup>1</sup>

*Prima confessio Wyclif de Sacramento.*

I knowleche þat þe sacrament of þe auter is uerrey Goddus body in fourme of brede, but it is in a noþer maner godusbody, þan it is in heuene. For in heuen it is seue fote in fourme and figure of fleshe and blode. But in þe sacrament Goddus body is be myracle of God in fourme of brede, and is he nouþer of seue fote, ne in mannes figure, but as a man leeuës for to þenk þe kynde of an ymage, wheþer it be of oke or of asshe, and settys his þouþt in him of whom is þe ymage, so myche more schuld a man leue to þenk on þe kynde of brede, but þenk upon Crist, for his body is þe same brede þat is þe sacrament of þe autere, and wiþ alle clenness, alle deuocion, and alle charite þat God wolde gif him, worschippe he Crist, and þan he receyues God gostly more medefully þan þe prist þat syngus þe masse in lesse charite. For þe bodely etyng ne profites nouth to soule. But in als mykul as þe soule is fedde wiþ charite, þis sentence is prouyde by Crist þat may nouþt lye. For as þe gospel says, Crist þat nyght þat he was betrayede of Iudas Scarioth, he tok brede in hise hondes, and blesside it, brak it, and gaf it to hyse disciplus to ete. For he says and may not lye, 'þis is my body'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Caret, but no insertion

<sup>1</sup> The following document, of which Knighton has preserved the only known copy, was printed in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. T. Arnold (Oxford, 1871), iii. 500, and has since been edited, together with the Second Confession (below, pp. 000-0) in *Selections from English Wycliffite Writings*, ed. A. Hudson (Cambridge, 1978), pp. 17-18, with

When therefore on the appointed day he ought to have made answer to all laid before him, his boldness at once vanished and he put on the breastplate of folly, and set about to disown his fantastic errors, and tried to deny that such were or had been his opinions and conclusions, and protested that they had been invented by others, and preached and taught in his name, and had been attributed to him. Nevertheless he and his followers had cherished those beliefs in times past in every way, and had erased ancient books of the solid faith of the church, and in many places imposed the literal doctrine of their new opinions. And they dismissed the writings of Thomas Aquinas for their own opinions, and decided that because he was a friar, he must have lied. And thus having thrown down the weapons not of divinity, but of vanity, Master John Wyclif fled to shelter under the wings of his mother discipline, to find a refuge for escaping death, as he had been taught in his cradle by his mother in this wise:<sup>1</sup>

*Wyclif's first confession of the sacrament.*

I acknowledge that the sacrament of the altar is truly God's body in the form of bread, but it is God's body in a form other than it is in heaven. For in heaven it is seven foot tall and a figure of flesh and blood, but in the sacrament God's body is by a miracle of God in the form of bread, and is neither seven foot tall, nor in the figure of a man. But just as a man does not think of an image as being of oak or of ash, but sets his thoughts on Him whom the image represents, so much more should a man not reflect upon the kind of the bread, but think upon Christ, for His body is the same bread as the sacrament of the altar; and so with all cleanness, and all devotion, and all the charity that God will give him, let him worship Christ, and then he receives God spiritually more effectively than the priest who sings the mass with less love. For the bodily eating profits the soul not at all, but only as much as the soul is fed with love. This belief is proved by Christ, that cannot lie. For as the Gospel says, in the night that He was betrayed by Judas Iscariot Christ took bread in His hands, and blessed and broke it, and gave it to his disciples to eat. For He says, and cannot lie, 'This is My body'.<sup>2</sup>

admirable critical notes: *ibid.*, pp. 141-4. It states the argument for the doctrine of consubstantiation, but is not directly derived from any of Wycliffe's known works, and is most likely to be a Lollard work which came to Knighton through Repingdon or one of his friends. See also above, p. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> Matt., 26: 26.

Opiniones et conclusiones Magistri Iohannis Wyclif:<sup>1</sup> <1> Quod substantia panis materialis aut uini, manet post consecrationem in sacramento altaris. Heresis.<sup>2</sup> a.2.<sup>a</sup> .a. Quod accidentia non manent sine subiecto post consecrationem in eodem<sup>b</sup> sacramento. Heresis. b.3. Quod Christus non est in sacramento altaris ydemptice uere et realiter in propria persona corporali. Heresis. .4. Quod episcopus uel sacerdos si<sup>c</sup> existat in mortali peccato, non / ordinat conficit nec baptizat. Heresis. .5. Quod si homo fuerit debite contritus, omnis confessio exterior est sibi superflua uel inutilis. Heresis. .6. Quod pertinaciter asserere non est fundatum in euangelio quod Christus missam ordinauerit. Heresis. .7. Quod Deus debet quod diabolo. Heresis.<sup>3</sup> .8. Quod si Papa sit prescitus et malus, ac per consequens membrum diaboli, non habet potestatem supra fideles Christi ab aliquo sibi datam nisi forte a Cesare. Heresis. .9. Quod post Vrbanum Sextum non est aliquis recipiendus in papam set uiuendum est more Grecorum sub propriis legibus. Heresis. .j. Quod nullus prelati debet aliquem excommunicare nisi prius sciat ipsum excommunicatum a Deo. Error.<sup>4</sup> .ij. Quod sic excommunicans ex hoc sit hereticus uel excommunicatus. Error. .iij. Quod prelati excommunicans clericum qui appellauit ad regem et consilium regni eo ipso traditor Dei est et regis et regni. Error. .iiij. Quod illi qui dimittunt predicare seu audire uerbum Dei seu euangelium predicatum propter excommunicationem hominum, sunt excommunicati et in die iudicii traditores Dei habebuntur. Error. <.v.><sup>d</sup> Asserere quod est contra sacram scripturam quod uiri ecclesiastici habeant possessiones temporales. Error <.vi.> Asserere quod liceat alicui eciam diacono uel presbitero predicare uerbum Dei absque auctoritate sedis apostolice uel episcopi catholici, seu alia de qua sufficienter constat. Error. <.vii.> Asserere quod nullus est dominus ciuilis, nullus est episcopus, nullus est prelati dum est in

<sup>a</sup> .2. follows .3. in text, corrected with superscript a and b by scribe. The marginal numbering follows the corrected sequence <sup>b</sup> subiecto cancelled by scribe <sup>c</sup> Interlined by reviser <sup>d</sup> iv in margin. The marginal numbers are erroneous (one behind the text) from this point

<sup>1</sup> The following list of opinions condemned is taken from the letters which Courtenay issued after the Blackfriars Council. Knighton almost certainly took them from the bishop of Lincoln's letters patent of 11 July 1382 of which he reproduces the rest of the text below

The opinions and conclusions of Master John Wyclif.<sup>1</sup>

1: That the material substance of bread or of wine remains in the sacrament of the altar after consecration: Heresy.<sup>2</sup> 2. That after consecration the accidents do not remain in the sacrament without the substance: Heresy. 3. That Christ is not present in the sacrament of the altar identically, truly, and really, in His own bodily person: Heresy. 4. That a bishop or a priest who is in mortal sin cannot ordain, consecrate the Host, nor baptize: Heresy. 5. That if a man be duly contrite all external confession is superfluous and useless: Heresy. 6. That it should be pertinaciously asserted that the Gospel does not say that Christ ordained the mass: Heresy. 7. That God has to obey the devil: Heresy.<sup>3</sup> 8. That if the pope be evil and prescient, and therefore a limb of the devil, he has no power over Christ's faithful, beyond what may be granted to him by Caesar: Heresy. 9. That after Pope Urban VI no more popes should be elected, but that all churches should live, as do the Greeks, under their own laws: Heresy. 1. That no prelate should excommunicate anyone unless he knows him to be excommunicate of God: Error.<sup>4</sup> 2. That anyone who excommunicates otherwise is an heretic and excommunicate: Error. 3. That a prelate who excommunicates a priest who has appealed to the king and his council is thereby a traitor to God, the king, and the realm: Error. 4. That those who fail to preach, or to hear the word of God, or to preach the Gospel because of men's excommunication, are themselves excommunicate, and on the day of judgement God will deem them traitors: Error. 5. To assert that it is against Holy Writ for ecclesiastics to have temporal goods: Error. 6. To assert that it is lawful for anyone, whether deacon or priest, to preach the word of God without the licence of the Holy See, or of a catholic bishop, or to do other things which he is sufficiently able to do: Error. 7. To assert that none can be a secular lord, or a bishop, or a prelate, while he is in

(pp. 264–70). The continuously numbered version in *FZ*, pp. 272–82, lists the fifth error here as the tenth heresy.

<sup>2</sup> A heresy in canon law is the obdurate denial, by a professed Christian, of a fundamental tenet of the Christian faith: *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. R. Naz (Paris, 1953), v. 1106–10.

<sup>3</sup> On the nuances of this assertion, which was widely invoked to discredit Wycliffite teaching, see Workman, *Wyclif*, ii. 268.

<sup>4</sup> In canon law an error is a false judgement, not attributable to ignorance: *Dict. de droit canonique*, ed. R. Naz, v. 429–42.

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mortali peccato. Error. ⟨.viii.⟩ Quod domini temporales possunt ad arbitrium auferre bona temporalia sibi ab ecclesia habitualiter delinquente, uel quod populares possunt ad eorum arbitrium dominos delinquentes corrigere. Error. ⟨.ix.⟩ Quod decime sunt pure elemosyne et quod parochiani possunt propter peccata suorum curatorum eas detinere et ad libitum eas aliis conferre. Error. ⟨.x.⟩ Quod speciales oraciones applicate uni persone per prelatos uel religiosos non plus prosunt eidem persone quam generales oraciones eidem persone ceteris paribus. Error. ⟨.xi.⟩ Quod eo ipso quod aliquis ingreditur religionem priuatam quamcumque redditur inepior et inhabilior ad obseruanciam mandatorum Dei. Error. ⟨.xij.⟩ Quod sancti instituentes religiones quascumque priuatas tam possessionatorum quam mendicantium, in sic instituendo peccauerunt. Error. ⟨.xiiij.⟩ Quod religiosi uiuentes in religionibus priuatis non sunt de religione Cristiana. Error. ⟨.xiiij.⟩ Quod fratres mendicantes teneantur per laborem manuum suarum et non per mendicacionem uictum suum acquirere. Error. ⟨.xv.⟩ Quod fratres mendicantes post sermones suos, eo ipso sunt simoniaci uel quod conferentes eis elemosinam sunt excommunicati et dans et recipiens. Error.

Istis et aliis ab archiepiscopo et consilio eius consideratis, noluit archiepiscopus ea uice plenarie procedere in causa donec deliberaret plenarius cum consilio coepiscoporum suorum. Et tunc assignauit dicto magistro Iohanni Wyclif alium diem ad comparendum coram eo apud Oxoniam, ut cum consilio cleri uniuersitatis posset luculencius procedere et finem imponere / in premissis. Igitur die statuto conuenit apud Oxoniam archiepiscopus cum coepiscopis, Lincolnensi, Northwycensi, Vigornensi, Londoniensi, Salysbyriensi, Herforensi, cum cancellario uniuersitatis cum multis doctoribus et pluribus aliis de clero et de populo ibidem congregato. Similiter affuit magister Iohannes Wyclif ad respondendum super heretica prauitate ut prius de predictis conclusionibus siue opinionibus,<sup>1</sup> qui eis omnino renunciatis, nec eas tenuisse neque tenere se uelle protestans, ad maternalis uirge documentum quod ei antea pro refugio presto fuerat aduolauit iterum sub forma que sequitur.

fo. 180<sup>v</sup>

*Secunda confessio Wyclif.*<sup>2</sup>

We beleue as Crist and his apostolus han tauȝt us þat þe sacrament of þe autere, white and ronde and lyke tyl oure brede or ost

<sup>1</sup> He was not: see above, p. 250 n. 1.

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mortal sin: Error. 8. That temporal lords can by their own judgement take the temporal goods of a church which is habitually delinquent, or that the people can by their own judgement correct delinquent lords: Error. 9. That tithes are merely alms, and that parishioners can withhold them if their priests sin, and bestow them where they choose: Error. 10. That special prayers offered for one person by a bishop or religious do no more for that person, other things being equal, than do general prayers: Error. 11. That anyone who enters a religious order is thereby rendered less apt and able to observe God's laws: Error. 12. That saints who establish religious orders, whether of possessioners or mendicants, have sinned in so doing: Error. 13. That religious who live in an order are not Christians: Error. 14. That mendicant friars are bound to make their living by the work of their hands, and not by begging: Error. 15. That friars who beg after their sermons are thereby simoniacal, and that those who give them alms are excommunicate, both givers and recipients: Error.

Those and other matters having been considered by the archbishop and the council, the archbishop did not wish to proceed further on that occasion, until he had discussed the matter more fully with his fellow bishops, and therefore he assigned another day to Master John Wyclif for him to appear before him at Oxford, that he might proceed further in the light of the university's counsel, and bring the business to an end. Therefore on the appointed day the archbishop met at Oxford with his fellow bishops of Lincoln, Norwich, Worcester, London, Salisbury, and Hereford, and with the chancellor of the university, many doctors and others of the clergy and populace being assembled there. And Master John Wyclif was also there to answer to the depravity of heresy, as aforesaid, in the said conclusions and opinions.<sup>1</sup> And renouncing them all, protesting that he neither had held them, nor wished to hold them, he again flew to his maternal discipline, in which he had previously sought refuge, for a text in the form which follows:

*Wyclif's second confession.*<sup>2</sup>

We believe, as Christ and His apostles have taught us, that the sacrament of the altar, white and round, and like unto our own

<sup>2</sup> Another copy of the *secunda confessio* survives in Bodleian MS Bodley 647 (=B), and was compared with Knighton's version by T. Arnold (*Select English Works of John Wyclif*, pp. 502-3). The two have since been collated by A. Hudson, *Selections from English*



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unsacrede, is uerray Goddus body in fourme of brede, and if it be broken in þre parties os þe kirke uses or elles in a þousand, everylk one of þese parties is þe same Godus body. And right so as þe persone of Crist is uerray God and uerray man, uerray Godhede and uerray manhede, ryth so as holy kirke many hundrith wyntur has trowyde, þe same sacrament is uerray Godus body and ueraye brede, os it is forme of Goddus body and forme of brede, as techith Crist and his apostolus. And þerfore Seynt Poule nemyth it neuer but whan he callus it brede.<sup>1</sup> And he be oure beleue tok his wit of God in þis. And þe argument of heretykus agayne þis sentens, is<sup>a</sup> lyth to a Cristene man for to assolue.

And right as it is heresie for to trowe<sup>b</sup> þat Crist is a spirynt and no body, so it is heresy to trowe<sup>b</sup> þat þis sacrament is goddus body and no brede, for it is bothe togedur. But þe most heresie þat God sufferide come tyl his kirke, is to trowe þat þis sacrament is an accident wip<sup>c</sup>(outen) a substance and may on no wyse be Goddus body, for Crist sayde, be witnesse of Iohan, yat 'þis brede is my body'.<sup>2</sup> And if ye say þat be þis skylle þat holy Kirke hat bene in heresie many hundred wyntur, sothe it is, specially sythen þe fende was lousede þat was be witnes of angele to Iohan Euaungeliste aftur a þousande wyntur þat Crist was steuenyde to heven,<sup>3</sup> but it is to suppose þat many seyntes þat dyede in þe mene time before her det<sup>3</sup> were purede of þis erreure.

Owe howe grete diuersite is betwene us þat trowes þat þis sacrament is uerray brede in his kynde, and betuene heretykus þat tellus þat þis is<sup>d</sup> an accident wip<sup>c</sup> outen a subiecte. For before þat þe fende, fader of lesyngus, was lowside, was neuer þis gabbyng contryuede.

fo. 181r

And howe grete diuersite is betwene us þat trowes þat þis sacrament þat in his kynde is verray brede and sacramentaly Goddus body, and betwe heretykes þat trowes and telles þat þis sacrament may on none wyse be Goddus body. For I dar sewrly say þat 3if þis were soth, Crist and his seyntes dyede heretykus, and þe more partye of holy kirke be levyth nowe heresy, / and herfore<sup>e</sup> deuoute men supposene þat þis consayle of Freres at<sup>f</sup> London was wip þe erþdyn.<sup>g</sup> For þei put an heresy up on Crist and seyntes in heuene. Wherefore þe erthe tremblide, fayland maynnus uoys

<sup>a</sup> B; om. T      <sup>b-b</sup> B; om. T      <sup>c</sup> wip T      <sup>d</sup> B; om. T  
<sup>e</sup> B; before T      <sup>f</sup> B; and T      <sup>g</sup> B; hery dene T

Wycliffite Writings, pp. 17-18, whose critical notes upon them (ibid., pp. 143-4) should be

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bread or host unconsecrate, is truly God's body in the form of bread, and if it be broken in three parts, as the Church uses, or in a thousand, every one of those parts is likewise God's body, and just as the person of Christ is truly God and truly man, truly Godhead and truly manhood, just as Holy Church has believed for many hundred winters, the same sacrament is truly God's body and truly bread, as it is both the form of God's body and the form of bread, as Christ and His apostles teach. And therefore St Paul denies it not when he calls it bread,<sup>1</sup> and he, as we believe, took his understanding of the matter from God, and the argument of heretics against that statement does not fall to a Christian man to resolve.

And just as it is heresy to believe that Christ is a spirit without a body, so it is heresy to believe that the sacrament is God's body and not bread, for it is both together. But the greatest heresy that God suffered to come to His Church is to believe that the sacrament is an accident without a substance and may in no respect be God's body, for Christ said, by John's testimony,<sup>2</sup> that this bread is My body, and if they say that by such construction Holy Church has been in heresy for many hundreds of years, then truth it is, especially since the fiend was loosed, by the testimony of the angel to St John the Evangelist, a thousand years after Christ was taken up into heaven.<sup>3</sup> But that is to suppose that many saints who died in the mean time were purged of that error before their deaths.

O how great is the difference between those of us who believe that the sacrament is truly bread in its nature, and those heretics who tell us that it is an accident without a subject! For that prattle was not heard of before the fiend, the father of lies, was loosed.

And how great is the difference between us who believe that the sacrament is in its nature truly bread, and spiritually God's body, and heretics who believe and tell us that the sacrament can in no wise be God's body. For I dare assuredly say that if that were so, Christ and His saints died heretics, and the greater part of Holy Church now believes a heresy. And therefore devout men suppose that the council at the Friars in London was stopped by the earthquake, for they put a heresy upon Christ and His saints in heaven, wherefore the earth trembled, failing man's voice, and answered

consulted. The text here has been compared with B only to note elucidatory variants. The *Secunda confessio* is a stronger and more closely-argued statement than the first: on its putative audience, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 201 and n. 44.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 10: 16; 11: 28.

<sup>2</sup> John 7: 48.

<sup>3</sup> Rev. 20: 1-3.



ansueride for God als it dide in tyme of his passione, whan he was dampnyde to bodely deth.<sup>1</sup>

Crist and his modur, þat in gronde had destroyde alle heresyas, kepe his kyrke in ryght beleue of þis sacrament, and meue þe kyng and his rewme to aske scharpely of his clerkus þis offys: þat alle his possessioneres on payne of lesyng of alle her temporaltes telle þe kyng and his rewme wip suffycient growndyng, what is þis sacrament, and alle þe ordres of Freres on payne of lesyng of her legyauns telle þe king and his rewme wip gode groundyng what is þe sacrament. For y am certayne of þe thridde partye of clergye þat defendus þise doutes þat is here sayde, þat þei will defende it on payne of her lyf.

Cumque hec et huiusmodi sic agerentur, archiepiscopus cum consilio coepiscoporum ac doctorum et aliorum clericorum sibi assistencium fecit deliberacionem de antedictis opinionibus seu conclusionibus, libratisque singulis decisis atque discussis, cum assensu atque consensu tocius consilii, publicauit eas falsas esse et pronunciauit eas dampnandas et dampnatas quasdam scilicet ut hereses, quasdam uero ut errores, sicut patet de singulis in suo loco, et omnes et singulos defensores earum in posterum, sententia excommunicacionis innodatos fore publice declarauit.

*Puplicacio apud Londonias.* Et in euidencia huius rei feria sexta in ebdomada Pentecostes proximo sequenti facta fuit processio generalis per ciuitatem Londoniensem, et omnes tam clerus quam ceteri laici cuiuscumque gradus essent nudis pedibus incedebant pro statu.<sup>2</sup> Et presens ecclesie fuit episcopus Londoniensis cum pluribus aliis ualentibus. Et post processionem predicauit unus frater et doctor in theologia de ordine Carmelitarum qui uocabatur Kynygham. In qua predicacione ex precepto et commissione archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ibi ostensa pronunciauit puplice omni populo conclusiones illas falsas fore et dampnatas quasdam ut hereses, et quasdam ut errores, et ex preostensa commissione denunciauit omnes illos excommunicatos qui eas in posterum docent et tenent ac predicant, uel fauent et eis aderent, et omnes audientes in posterum illas predicatas uel doctas.

Et in isto sermone presens fuit unus uenerabilis miles nomine Cornelius Cloune<sup>3</sup> qui istis conclusionibus et eas tenentibus ac docen-

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 27: 51-3; Mark 15: 38; Luke 23: 44-5.

<sup>2</sup> The attitudes of the Londoners are uncertain. Gaunt was fiercely unpopular there when he protected Wyclif in 1377 (Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 60-1), but Aston, Hereford, and

for God, as it did in the time of Christ's passion, when He was condemned to bodily death.<sup>1</sup>

Christ and His mother, who on earth destroyed all heresies, keep His church in the right belief of the sacrament, and move the king and his realm to ask sharply of his clerks this office: that all his possessioners, upon pain of losing all their temporalities, tell the king and his realm, with sufficient proof, what this sacrament is, and all the orders of friars, upon pain of losing their allegiance, tell the king and his realm, with sufficient proof, what the sacrament is. For I am certain of the third part of the clergy, who defend the doubts that are set out here, that they will defend their belief upon pain of their lives.

While those matters were going forward, the archbishop, with the advice of his fellow bishops, and of the doctors and the other clergy sitting with him, discussed the aforesaid opinions and conclusions, weighed and considered them one by one, and with the advice and assent of the whole council declared them to be false, and pronounced them damnable and condemned, some as heresies, and some as errors, as each one is marked in its place, and publicly declared all and singular their defenders thereafter to be bound by sentence of excommunication.

*Publication in London.* And in witness thereof, on the sixth day of Whitsun week [30 May 1382] next following there was a general procession through the city of London, and all, both clergy and laity, of whatever degree, went barefoot to testify.<sup>2</sup> And the bishop of London presided, with many other distinguished men, and after the procession a friar called Cunningham, a doctor of divinity, of the Carmelite order, preached, and in his sermon, upon the archbishop of Canterbury's order and commission which he showed there, publicly pronounced all those conclusions false and condemned, some as heresies and some as errors, and by the commission which he had shown denounced as excommunicate all those who thereafter taught, and held, and preached, or nurtured or adhered to those conclusions, and all those thereafter who heard them preached or taught.

And there was present at that sermon a venerable knight, called Cornelius Cloyne,<sup>3</sup> who was a great upholder of those conclusions and

Repington seem to have expected to rouse some sympathy in the city: see below, pp. 276-80; Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 63-6; and Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup> For John Cunningham, OC, DD, later John of Gaunt's confessor, see *BRUO* 1077. Sir

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fo. 181<sup>v</sup> tibus maximus fautor fuerat, nec uoluit pro quocumque aliter credere de sacramento altaris nisi quod ibi / esset uerus panis materialis secundum opinionem Wycliffe. In crastino scilicet in uigilia Sancte Trinitatis iste miles iuit ad conuentum fratrum predicatorum in ciuitate Londoniensi pro missa audienda, et accidit quod audiuit missam unius studentis de conuentu illo, et in eleuacione corporis Cristi nichil uidit nisi sicut prius uidere solebat, ita quod firmiter credidit quod ibi fuit uerus panis materialis.

In fracione uero hostie miles respexit et uidit oculo suo corporali in manibus fratris celebrantis ueram carnem crudam et sanguinolentam diuisam in tres partes. Admirans uero et stupefactus uocauit armigerum suum ut ipse uideret, qui tamen nichil uidit nisi sicut prius solebat. Miles uero in tercia particula similiter que in calicem mitti debuit uidit eundem colorem albedinis que prius erat, set tamen uidit in medio eiusdem particule hoc nomen Iesus scriptum literis carnis crudis et sanguineis quod admirabile<sup>a</sup> erat aspectu.

Et in crastino in festo Sancte Trinitatis idem frater predicans in cruce Pauli Sancti pronunciauit istud toti populo, et in fine sermonis idem miles ibidem presens narrauit oretenus totum processum, puplice et aperte ad confirmationem fidei nostre, et promisit se ibi pugnaturum et moriturum in causa ista quod in sacramento altaris est uerum corpus Cristi, et non panis materialis solum ut ipsemet prius credidit.

Hereses supradicte et errores que ascribuntur magistro Iohanni Wyclif dampnate in domo fratrum predicatorum Londoniis feria quarta ante festum Pentecostes a decem episcopis et .xvij. doctoribus in theologia, et .xvj. doctoribus iuris, et pluribus aliis bachulariis, tam theologie quam eciam iuris, et in precedenti patent.<sup>1</sup>

Sequitur copia commissionis, qualiter archiepiscopus scribit coepiscopis de dampnacione heresum, missa aliis episcopis prout episcopus Lincolniensis recitat sub hac forma.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> ad interlined by scribe

Cornelius Cloyne, *alias* Ireland, was a former esquire of Edward III's, visiting London on business before the Council: *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 274, 409, 481; *CCR 1381-5*, p. 154. See also Workman, *Wyclif*, ii. 272-3, who takes a severe view of the fact that Cloyne was Irish.

<sup>1</sup> McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 98. The bishops and doctors are named in *FZ*, p. 291.

<sup>2</sup> William Courtenay succeeded Simon Sudbury in the autumn of 1381, and died 31 July 1396 (*HBC* 233). As a matter of administrative convenience the archbishop addressed his suffragans through the bishop of London, who was designated dean of the province of

1382 of those who held and taught them, nor did he wish to believe anything of the sacrament of the altar but that it was truly material bread, according to Wyclif's opinion. The next day, namely on the vigil of Holy Trinity [31 May 1382], that knight went to the church of the friars preachers in London to hear the mass, and as it happened he heard the mass celebrated by one of the students of that convent, and on the elevation of Christ's body he saw nothing but what he had always seen, so that he firmly believed that it truly was material bread.

But on the breaking of the bread the knight looked again, and saw with his own eyes, in the hands of the celebrant friar, true flesh, raw and bloody, divided into three parts. Greatly wondering, and astonished, he called his squire, that he too might see it, but he saw nothing but what he was accustomed to see. The knight, however, looking at the third part, which was to be dipped into the cup, likewise first saw it white as it had been before, but then saw in the middle of that piece the name of Jesus written in letters of flesh, raw and bloody, which was wonderful to behold.

And the next day, on the feast of the Trinity [1 June 1382], the same friar, preaching at St Paul's Cross, declared all that to the people. And after the sermon the knight, who was present there, told the whole story in his own words, publicly and openly, in confirmation of our faith, and promised there that he would fight and die in that cause, that in the sacrament of the altar is the true body of Christ, and not material bread alone, as he had previously believed.

The aforesaid heresies and errors which are ascribed to Master John Wyclif, were condemned in the church of the friars preachers in London, on the fourth day before the feast of Pentecost [21 May 1382] by ten bishops and seventeen doctors of divinity, and sixteen doctors of law, and many bachelors both of divinity and of law, as appears above.<sup>1</sup>

There follows a copy of the commission concerning the suppression of heresies, which the archbishop sent to his fellow bishops, and which was sent to other bishops in the form which the bishop of Lincoln quotes here.<sup>2</sup>

Canterbury (I. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration* (London, 1933), i. 355-9), and whose populous see commanded the best means of communication in the kingdom. Knighton's source for the following letter was a version addressed to the clergy of the archdeaconry of Leicester, of which the abbey presumably had its own copy. The text here has been collated with the entry in Buckingham's register (LA Bishop's Register XII, fos. 239<sup>v</sup>-40<sup>r</sup> = L), without regard to minor variations which may well have been features of the Leicester text.

Iohannes, permissione diuina Lincolniensis episcopus, dilectis in Cristo filis uniuersis et singulis abbatibus, prioribus archidiaconatus Leycestrie, et eiusdem loci archidiaconi nostri officiali seu commissario cuicumque, necnon decanis ecclesiarum, rectoribus, et uicariis perpetuis ac eorum capellanis parochialibus, et aliis quibuscumque diuina celebrantibus per ipsum archidiaconatum ubilibet constitutis: salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

Literas reuerendi in Cristo patris domini Roberti,<sup>1</sup> Dei gracia Londoniensis episcopi, <sup>a</sup>nuper recepimus in hec uerba:

Reuerendo in Cristo patri domino Iohanni, Dei gracia Lincolniensi episcopo, Robertus, permissione diuina Londoniensis episcopus: <sup>a</sup>salutem, et sinceram in Domino caritatem.

Mandatum uenerabilis in Cristo patris et domini, domini Willelmi, Dei gracia Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, tocius Anglie primatis et apostolice sedis <sup>b</sup>legati, tercio die presentis mensis Iunii Londoniis in nostro palacio recepimus in hec uerba:

Willelmus, permissione diuina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, tocius Anglie primatus et apostolice sedis <sup>b</sup>legatus, uenerabili fratri nostro domino Roberto, Dei gracia Londoniensi episcopo: salutem, et fraternam in Domino caritatem.

Ecclesiarum prelati circa gregis dominici sibi commissi custodiam eo uigilancius intendere debent, quo lupos intrinsecus, ouium uestimentis indutos,<sup>2</sup> ad rapiendum et dispergendum oues nouerint fraudilencius circuire. Sane frequenti clamore et diuulgata fama quod dolentes referimus ad nostrum peruenit auditum quod licet secundum canonicas sanctiones nemo prohibitus uel non missus absque sedis apostolice uel episcopi loci auctoritate sibi officium predicacionis usurpare debeat, publice uel occulte, quidam / tamen eterne dampnacionis filii in insaniam mentis producti sub magne sanctitatis uelamine auctoritatem sibi uendicant predicandi, ac nonnullas propositiones et conclusiones infrascriptas hereticas erroneas<sup>c</sup> atque falsas, ab ecclesia Dei dampnatas et determinationibus sancte ecclesie repugnantes, statumque tocius ecclesie nostreque prouincie Cantuariensis et tranquillitatem regni <sup>d</sup>subuertere et <sup>d</sup>eneruare nituntur, tam in ecclesiis quam in plateis, et quam pluribus aliis locis prophanis dicte nostre prouincie non

<sup>a-a</sup> L; om T<sup>b-b</sup> L; om. T<sup>c</sup> L; om. T<sup>d-d</sup> L; om. T<sup>1</sup> Robert Braybrooke, bishop of London 5 Jan. 1382–28 Aug. 1404 (*HBC* 258).<sup>2</sup> Matt. 7: 15.

John, by divine permission bishop of Lincoln, to his beloved in Christ, all and singular the abbots and priors of the archdeaconry of Leicester, the archdeacon of that place, our official or commissary whomsoever, and the deans of churches, the rectors and perpetual vicars, their parochial chaplains, and others whomsoever appointed wheresoever within the said archdeaconry to celebrate divine service: greeting, grace, and benediction.

We have lately received letters of the reverend father in Christ the Lord Robert,<sup>1</sup> by the grace of God bishop of London, in these words:

To the reverend father in Christ, the Lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln, Robert, by divine permission bishop of London, greeting and sincere love in the Lord.

We have received, in our palace in London, upon the third day of this present month of June, the mandate of the venerable father and lord in Christ, the Lord William, by the grace of God archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, in these words:

William, by divine permission archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, and legate of the apostolic see, to our venerable brother the Lord Robert, by the grace of God bishop of London: greeting, and fraternal love in the Lord.

The prelates of churches, in keeping the Lord's flock committed to them, ought to be most watchful for those who, clad in sheep's clothing but wolves within,<sup>2</sup> go about to seize and disperse the sheep by deceit. And assuredly it has come to our ears, by frequent clamour and widespread report, to which we sorrowfully refer, that notwithstanding the canonical sanction that none who is prohibited or is not appointed should take it upon himself to usurp the office of preaching, in public or in private, without the authority of the apostolic see or the bishop of the diocese, certain sons of eternal damnation, their minds deranged behind a veil of sanctity, have taken upon themselves the authority to preach, and do not fear to assert, express, and publicly to preach, both in churches and in other places, certain propositions and conclusions written below, which are heretical, erroneous, and false, condemned by the church of God, and repugnant to the judgements of Holy Church, and which threaten to subvert and weaken the good estate of the whole church, and of our province of Canterbury, and the tranquillity of the kingdom, infecting many of Christ's faithful, and lamentably

uerentur asserere, dogmatizare, et puplice predicare illis nonnullos Cristi fideles inficientes, et a fide catholica, sine qua non est salus facientes flebiliter deuiare.

Nos itaque attendentes quod tam perniciosum malum quod in<sup>a</sup> plurimos serpere poterit eorum animas letali<sup>b</sup> contagione necando, non debeamus sicuti nec debemus sub dissimulatione transire ne sanguis eorum de nostris manibus requiratur, set illud quantum nobis ex alto permittitur extirpare, uolentes de quamplurium fratrum et<sup>c</sup> suffraganeorum nostrorum consilio et assensu, conuocauimus plures sacre theologie doctores, ac iuris canonice et ciuilibus professores, et alios clericos quos famosiores et periciores de regno credidimus, ut super dictis conclusionibus uota sua dicerent et sentirent.

Verum quia premissis conclusionibus et assercionibus in nostra et eorundem confratrum nostrorum ac dictorum conuocatorum presencia patentibus expositis et diligenter examinatis, finaliter est compertum nostroque et eorum omnium communicato consilio declarato, quasdam conclusionum illarum hereticas esse, quasdam uero erroneas atque determinacionibus ecclesie repugnantes prout inferius describuntur, fraternitati uestre committimus et mandamus in uirtute sancte obediencie firmiter iniungentes quatenus omnibus et singulis fratribus nostris coepiscopis nostris et ecclesie nostre Cantuariensis suffraganeis cum ea celeritate qua poteritis iniungetis, prout eis et eorum singulis ac uobis iniungimus, ut eorum singulis in ecclesiis suis et aliis ciuitatum suarum et diocesum, uosque in uestra et ceteris uestre ciuitatis et diocesis ecclesiis<sup>d</sup> moneant et inhibeat, moneatis et inhibeat prout nos tenore presencium monemus primo, secundo et tercio, et districcius inhibemus pro prima monicione unum diem, pro secunda alium, et pro tercia monicione canonica et peremptoria unum alium diem assignando, ne quis de cetero cuiuscumque status aut condicionis existat hereses seu errores predictos uel eorum aliquem teneat, doceat, predicet, seu defendat, aut aliquem prohibitum non missum uel alium de cuius potestate non constiterit ad predicandum admittat, aut hereses seu errores huiusmodi uel eorum aliquem predicantem audiat uel auscultet, seu ei faueat uel adhereat, puplice uel occulte, set statim qui tanquam serpentem uenenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et euitet, sub pena excommunicacionis maioris quam in omnes et

<sup>a</sup> L; om. T<sup>b</sup> letabili L<sup>c</sup> L; om. T<sup>d</sup> L; om. T

pervverting them from the catholic faith, without which none can be saved.

We therefore, aware of so pernicious an evil, which can creep upon many and by its lethal contagion slay their souls, and that we may and must not pass over it with dissimulation, lest the blood of its victims be required of our hands, but rather wishing to extirpate it with the power allowed to us from on high, have, with the advice and assent of many of our brethren and suffragans, summoned many doctors of diuinity, professors of canon and civil law, and other clerics, whom we believe to be of the most renowned and learned in the kingdom, to utter and pronounce their judgements upon the said conclusions.

And truly, the aforegoing conclusions and assertions having been shown, expounded, and diligently examined in the presence of us, and of our said brethren, and of those whom we called together, because it was finally determined, and declared by all to whom it had been shown, that some of those conclusions, as they are described below, were heretical, and some erroneous and repugnant to the judgements of the Church, we commit and command to your fraternity, enjoining you firmly by the virtue of holy obedience, with all and singular our brethren, our fellow bishops and suffragans of our church of Canterbury, that with all the speed that can be enjoined, as to them and every of them and to you we do enjoin it, they shall each in their own churches and in others of their cities and diocese, and you in your own church and the others of your city and diocese, warn and forbid, as we by the tenor of these presents do warn you, firstly, secondly, and thirdly, and do straitly forbid, assigning for the first warning one day, and for the second warning another, and for the third warning, canonically and peremptorily, another day, that henceforth none, of whatsoever estate and condition he be, shall hold, teach, preach, or defend the aforesaid heresies and errors, or any of them, nor admit to preach anyone prohibited, or not duly appointed, or anyone else not authorized by that power, or hear or give heed to such heresies or errors, or any of them, or support or maintain them, in public or in private, but shall at once avoid and fly from them as from a serpent emitting a baleful venom, under pain of the greater excommunication, which sentence we order to be fulminated upon all and singular those rebellious in those matters and disobedient to our injunctions, the three days assigned for canonical admonition

singulos in hac parte rebelles et nostris monicionibus / non parentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monicione canonica assignatis, mora culpa et offensa suis precedentibus et id fieri merito exigentibus,<sup>a</sup> exnunc prout extunc ferimus in hiis scriptis, et per singulos confratres nostros et suffraganeos nostros in suis ciuitatibus et diocesibus ac per uos in uestra ciuitate et diocesi quatinus ad eos et ad uos pertinet ex habundanti precipimus fulminari.<sup>1</sup>

Dictos insuper<sup>b</sup> nostros confratres insuper omnes et singulos 'nostri ex parte'<sup>c</sup> per uos hortari uolumus et mandamus per aspersionem sanguinis<sup>d</sup> Iesu Cristi, et similiter uos hortamur quod cum iuxta sacrorum canonum instituta quilibet eorum in suis ciuitatibus et diocesibus heretice prauitatis inquisitor existat, ac uos<sup>e</sup> in uestris similiter existatis de huiusmodi presumptoribus sollicitate et diligenter inquiratis et inquiratis. Ac contra eos et iuxta officii sui<sup>f</sup> debitum cum effectu procedant. Similiter procedatis ad laudem et honorem crucifixi nominis et saluacionem fidei orthodoxe.

Conclusiones<sup>g</sup> heretice et determinacionibus ecclesie repugnantes de quibus fit mencio de uerbo ad uerbum supra que uocantur conclusiones Wyclif. Similiter et conclusiones erronee recitantur ibidem.

Datum in manerio nostro de Otteforde penultimo die mensis Maii anno Domini millesimo .ccc.lxxxij., et nostre<sup>h</sup> translacionis anno<sup>h</sup> primo.

Cuius auctoritate mandati uobis, reuerende pater, cum ea que decet reuerencia firmiter iniungendo mandamus quatinus omnia et singula in mandato prelibato<sup>i</sup> contenta, quatinus uos in ciuitate<sup>j</sup> et diocesi uestra aut personas earundem concernunt iuxta formam et tenorem eiusdem, execucioni plenarie demandetis et faciatis effectualiter demandari. Vos eiam eadem quatenus personam uestram contingunt curetis diligencius adimplere.

Et insuper ex parte dicti uenerabilis patris uos hortamur per aspersionem sanguinis Iesu Cristi quod cum iuxta sacrorum canonum instituta in uestris ciuitate et diocesi inquisitor existatis heretice prauitatis, de premissis presumptionibus diligenter et sollicitate inquiratis ac contra eos iuxta officii uestri debitum procedatis effectualiter ad laudem et honorem nominis crucifixi et saluacionem fidei orthodoxe.

<sup>a</sup> ibus interlined by reviser      <sup>b</sup> L; om. T      <sup>c</sup> L; om. T      <sup>d</sup> L; om. T  
<sup>e</sup> L; om. T      <sup>f</sup> Interlined by scribe      <sup>g</sup> s superimposed by a later hand  
<sup>h-h</sup> L; om. T      <sup>i</sup> 1 superimposed by reviser      <sup>j</sup> Repeated

having passed, their guilt and offence in the foregoing, and their deserts, duly established, by the authority which we now convey in these writings, by each of our brethren and our suffragans in their cities and dioceses, and by you in your city and diocese, so far as to them and to you it belongs, as abundantly it does.<sup>1</sup>

We wish further to exhort through you on our behalf our said brethren, all and singular, enjoining it by the aspersion of Christ's blood, as we do likewise exhort you, that whereas according to the institutes of the holy canons they each of them stand in their cities and dioceses as an inquisitor into the depravity of heresy, as you likewise stand in yours, they and you should carefully and diligently investigate those who thus presume, and proceed against them, as according to your colleagues' office and to yours they and you ought to do, to the laud and honour of the name of the Crucified, and the salvation of the orthodox faith.

The heretical conclusions, repugnant to the judgements of the Church, which are mentioned word by word above, and which are called the conclusions of Wyclif, are there recited, as are the erroneous conclusions.

Given in our manor of Otford upon the penultimate day of May [30 May] AD 1382, and the first year of our translation.

By authority of which mandate, reverend father, with due regard, we do firmly enjoin and order you in respect of all and singular the matters contained in the foregoing mandate, so far as they concern you in your city and diocese, or the people thereof, according to the form and tenor of the same, to demand due and effective performance, and cause it to be so demanded, and you yourself, so far as it concerns you, to take care to see it diligently fulfilled.

And further on behalf of the said venerable father we exhort you, by the aspersion of Christ's blood, that as by the institutions of the sacred canons you stand in your city and diocese as inquisitor into the depravity of heresy, you shall diligently and carefully inquire into the aforesaid presumptions, and duly and effectively proceed against them as your office requires, to the laud and honour of the name of the Crucified, and the salvation of the orthodox faith.

<sup>1</sup> On the procedures for enforcing sentence of excommunication, see F. D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: a Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Toronto, 1968), pp. 13-24.

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Datum Londoniis die quinta mensis<sup>a</sup> Iunii anno Domini etcetera et nostre consecracionis primo.

Volentes igitur premissa<sup>b</sup> omnia et singula in dictis scriptis<sup>c</sup> contenta quatenus nos et ciuitatem et diocesim nostras ac personas earundem concernunt execucionem debite demandare, uobis firmiter precipiendo mandamus quatinus in singulis monasteriorum uestrorum ecclesiis, ac in singulis parochialibus ecclesiis dicti<sup>d</sup> archidiaconatus prout ad quemlibet uestrum pertinet uos abbates, priores, archidiaconi officiales singulique quibus presentes nostre litere diriguntur, publice mandatum reuerendi patris et domini, domini Cantuariensis archiepiscopi predicti, omniaque et singula contenta in eodem cum omni celeritate clero ac populo archidiaconatus et ecclesiarum earundem fideliter exponatis et exponi faciatis, et eis ac eorum cuilibet inhibeatis et moneatis eosdem prout et tenore presencium nos eciam inhibemus et monemus, quod mandato huiusmodi et omnibus que in eodem mandato eis iniunguntur pareatis et pareant cum effectu. Ceteraque faciatis et faciant et ab hiis que mandato huiusmodi prohibenter / absteineatis et absteineant iuxta eiusdem mandati exigenciam et tenorem sub penis et censuris in eodem latis quas monicione supra dicta premissas<sup>e</sup> in omnes et singulos in hac parte rebelles et monicionibus huiusmodi non parentes presencium serie fulminamus et per uos precipimus solempniter fulminari.

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Et ut nulli pateat ignorancia premissorum uobis precipimus et mandamus quatinus post pupplicationem et execucionem predictorum per uos fiendas presencium literarum seriem sub uera copia ualuis ecclesiarum predictarum affigi faciatis et dimittatis affixam, ad extirpacionem heresum et errorum predictorum et exaltacionem fidei orthodoxe.

Datum apud parcum Stowe sub sigillo nostro, .xij. die mensis Iulii anno Domini millesimo .ccc.lxxxij. Et nostre consecracionis uicesimo.

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*Dampnacio heresum per Cancellarium Oxoniensem.*<sup>1</sup>

Willelmus de Bertone<sup>2</sup> cancellarius uniuersitatis Oxonie omni-

<sup>a</sup> L; om. T  
<sup>c</sup> L; om. T

<sup>b</sup> L; om. T

<sup>e</sup> L: fr'is T

<sup>d</sup> L; domini T

<sup>1</sup> There are two other texts of the following document. The more coherent of them is the transcript in Archbishop Sudbury's register (Lambeth Palace, Reg. Sudbury, fo. 76: = S)

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Given at London on the fifth day of June, etc., in the first year of our consecration.

Wishing therefore to demand the due execution of all and singular the provisions contained in the said letters, so far as they concern us, our city and diocese, and the people thereof, we firmly admonish and order you, in respect of each of the churches of your monasteries, and in each of the parish churches of the said archdeaconry, so far as it concerns you the abbots, priors, and each of the officials of the archdeacon to whom these our present letters are directed, with all speed faithfully to publish and cause to be published the mandate of the reverend father and lord, the lord archbishop of Canterbury aforesaid, and all and singular the contents of the same, to the clergy and people of the archdeaconry and of the churches of the same, and to warn and admonish them and every of them, as we by the tenor of these presents do warn and admonish, that they and you be obedient to that mandate and to all the matters enjoined upon them by it, and do the things therein enjoined, and abstain from those things that are forbidden, according to the requirement and tenor of the said mandate, under the penalties and censure prescribed therein, and we earnestly fulminate, and do order you solemnly to fulminate, in due order, sentence against all and singular those rebellious against and disobedient to such admonition.

And that none shall be suffered to be ignorant of the foregoing, we enjoin and order you, after the publication and performance of the foregoing which are yours to do, you shall cause true copies of these letters in sequence to be affixed to the doors of the said churches, and shall leave them affixed, to the extirpation of the aforesaid heresies and errors, and the exaltation of the orthodox faith.

Given under our seal at the park of Stowe, on the twelfth day of the month of July 1382, in the twentieth year of our consecration.

*The condemnation of heresies by the Chancellor of Oxford.*<sup>1</sup>

William Barton,<sup>2</sup> chancellor of the university of Oxford, to all

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which was used by Henry Spelman in his *Concilia, Decreta, Leges, Constitutiones in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* (London, 1664), ii. 627-8. It has been preferred here to that in Bodleian MS e Mus. 86, which was printed in *FZ*, pp. 110-13. Minor variations of spelling, and inversions of words and phrases, have not been noted.

<sup>2</sup> Barton's decree, placed here by Knighton, is a year earlier than Courtenay's letter, and was published in Oxford in the spring of 1381. Barton, a vigorous academic opponent of

bus dicte uniuersitatis filiis<sup>a</sup> ad quos presens nostrum mandatum peruenerit: salutem et mandatis nostris firmiter obedire.

Ad nostrum non sine grandi displicencia peruenerit auditum quod cum omnium heresum inuectores, defensores seu fautores eorum perniciosis dogmatibus sint per sacros canones sententia maioris excommunicacionis dampnabiliter inuoluti, et sic a cunctis catholicis racionabiliter euitandi, nonnulli tamen maligni spiritus repleti consilio, in insaniam mentis producti molientesque tunicam Domini, uidelicet sancte matris ecclesie, scindere unitatem, quasdam hereses<sup>b</sup> sufficienter ab antiquis patribus reprobatas et per ecclesiam solempniter condempnatas,<sup>b</sup> hiis diebus, proth dolor, innouant, et tam in ista uniuersitate, quam extra, puplice dogmatizant.

Duo inter alia sua documenta pestifera asserentes. Primo, in sacramento altaris substanciam panis materialis et uini post consecracionem<sup>c</sup> realiter remanere. Secundo, quod execrabilis est auditu, in illo uenerabili sacramento non esse corpus Cristi et sanguinem essencialiter<sup>d</sup> nec substancialiter, nec eciam corporaliter.<sup>e</sup> Sic quod Cristus non<sup>f</sup> sit ibi ueraciter<sup>g</sup> in sua propria persona<sup>h</sup> corporali, ex quibus documentis fides catholica periclitatur, deuocio populi minoratur, et hec uniuersitas mater nostra non mediocriter diffamatur.

Nos igitur aduertentes quod asserciones huiusmodi partis<sup>i</sup> se deteriores haberent, si diucius in hec uniuersitate sic<sup>j</sup> conniuentibus oculis<sup>i</sup> tollerentur, conuocauimus omnes<sup>k</sup> sacre theologie doctores et iuris canonici professores quos ad hoc apciores<sup>l</sup> credidimus,<sup>m</sup> et in uniuersitate presentes reperimus,<sup>m</sup> et premissis assercionibus in eorum presencia patenter expositis ac diligenter discussis, tandem finaliter est compertum<sup>n</sup> atque iudicio omnium declaratum,<sup>n</sup> ipsas esse erroneas, fidei orthodoxe contrarias,<sup>o</sup> et determinacionibus ecclesie repungnantes, contradictoriasque<sup>b</sup> earundem esse ueritates catholicas<sup>d</sup> determinacionibus ecclesie et dictis sanctorum consonas, firmiterque credendas,<sup>d</sup> uidelicet quod per<sup>r</sup> uerba sacramentalia a

<sup>a</sup> S; filii T      <sup>b-h</sup> olim ab ecclesia solenniter condempnatas S      <sup>c-e</sup> que prius fuit ante consecracionem post confectionem S      <sup>d</sup> S; equaliter T      <sup>e</sup> S adds set figuratiue seu tropice      <sup>f</sup> S; om. T      <sup>g</sup> S; om. T      <sup>h</sup> presencia T  
<sup>i</sup> S; per t'us T      <sup>j</sup> S; om. T      <sup>k</sup> plures S      <sup>l</sup> periciores S      <sup>m-n</sup> om. S      <sup>o</sup> et eorum iudicio declaratum S      <sup>p</sup> S; contradictoriamque T      <sup>q</sup> et ex dictis sanctorum et determinationibus ecclesie manifeste sequentes S      <sup>r</sup> S; om. T

Wycif, was appointed chancellor of the university in 1379, and set up his committee to

sons of the said university to whom our present mandate shall come: greeting, and due obedience to our commands.

It has come to our notice, and not without the greatest displeasure, that whereas all devisers, defenders, and fomenters of heresies, together with their pernicious beliefs, are by the sacred canons damnably committed to the sentence of greater excommunication, and therefore ought reasonably by all catholics to be avoided, some nevertheless, charged with the counsel of the evil spirit, cast into unsoundness of mind, and labouring to rend the unity of the seamless tunic of Our Lord, namely, of Holy Mother Church, have in these days, alas, revived certain heresies, which had been sufficiently reprov'd by the ancient fathers, and solemnly condemned by the church, and do publicly proclaim them both within this university and without.

Amongst other their pestiferous texts they assert two, firstly, that in the sacrament of the altar after its consecration there really remains the substance of material bread and wine, and secondly, even more execrable to hear, that in that venerable sacrament the body and blood of Christ are not present essentially, substantially, nor even corporally, as they would be if Christ were there in his own corporal presence, by which texts the catholic faith is endangered, the devotion of the people diminished, and our mother this university not mildly defamed.

We therefore, perceiving that assertions of that kind will worsen if they be any longer thus tolerated in the university by conniving eyes, have called together all the doctors of divinity, and of canon law, those professors whom we believe to be most apt and whom we can at present find in the university, and the foregoing assertions having been openly expounded and diligently discussed in their presence, it was at last discovered and in accordance with the judgement of all declared, that they were erroneous, contrary to the orthodox faith, and repugnant to the judgements of the Church, and that their opposites are catholic truths consonant with the judgements of the Church and the pronouncements of the saints, and firmly to be believed, namely, that by the sacramental words

consider and condemn Wyclif's views on the eucharist in the winter of 1380-81. In the event the voting appears to have gone only narrowly in favour of condemnation, a measure of the high technicality of the problems, and the strength of Wyclif's following. See McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 84-5; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 87 and n. 169, 110-11. On Barton's career, see *BRUO* 123-4.



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sacerdote rite prolata, panis et uinum in altari in uerum corpus Christi et sanguinem transubstanciantur seu substancialiter conuertuntur. Sic quod post consecracionem non / remanent in illo uenerabili sacramento panis materialis et uinum<sup>a</sup> secundum suas substancias et naturas, set secundum species eorundum. Sub quibus speciebus uerum corpus Christi et sanguis<sup>b</sup> continentur, non solum uirtualiter seu figuraliter,<sup>c</sup> set essentialiter, substancialiter, et corporaliter.<sup>d</sup> Sic quod in illo uenerabili sacramento est Christus, licet indiuisissime,<sup>d</sup> in sua propria presencia corporali. Hoc credendum, hoc docendum, hoc contra omnes homines<sup>e</sup> uiriliter defendendum.

<sup>f</sup>Auctoritate igitur nostra<sup>f</sup> monemus primo, secundo, et tercio, ac districtius inhiemus, pro prima monicione assignando unum diem, pro secunda alium diem, pro tercia monicione canonica et peremptoria unum alium diem, ne quis<sup>g</sup> cuiuscumque gradus, status, aut condicionis existat, premissas<sup>h</sup> asserciones erroneas, uel earum alteram<sup>i</sup> puplice tenentem, docentem, seu defendentem quouismodo audiat uel auscultet. Set statim cum perciperit tanquam serpentem uenenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et abscedat sub penis in iure expressatis et sub penis<sup>j</sup> incarcerationis et suspensionis ab omni actu scolastico, ac<sup>k</sup> etiam sub pena excommunicationis maioris, quam in omnes et singulos in hac parte rebelles, et nostris monicionibus non parentes, lapsis ipsis tribus diebus pro monicione canonica assignatis, mora, culpa, et offensa precedentibus, et id fieri merito exigentibus ferimus in his scriptis, quorum omnium<sup>l</sup> et singulorum<sup>l</sup> absoluconem et absoluendi potestatem, preterquam in mortis articulo, nobis et successoribus nostris specialiter reseruamus.<sup>1</sup>

Insuper ut homines quamuis non per timorem late sentencie, saltem propter defectum audiencie a<sup>m</sup> talibus doctrinis illicitis retrahantur, et eorum opiniones erronee sopiantur, auctoritate eadem qua prius monemus primo, secundo, et tercio, ac districtius inhiemus, ne quis de cetero aliquem puplice docentem, tenentem, seu defendentem premissas<sup>n</sup> asserciones erroneas<sup>o</sup> in scolis uel extra scolas<sup>p</sup> quouismodo audiat uel auscultet, set statim sic docentem

<sup>a</sup> S adds que prius    <sup>b</sup> S adds realiter    <sup>c</sup> figuratiue seu tropice S    <sup>d-d</sup> sic quod Christus est ibi ueraciter in sua propria presencia corporali S    <sup>e</sup> contradicentes S  
<sup>f-f</sup> Hortamur igitur in domino et S    <sup>g</sup> S adds decetero    <sup>h</sup> S adds duas  
<sup>i</sup> S adds in scolis uel extra scolis, in hac uniuersitate    <sup>j-j</sup> Appears to have been acquired from the last paragraph of the text, and edited into this section. S reads in hac uniuersitate puplice teneat, doceat, aut defendat, sub pena    <sup>k</sup> S; om. T    <sup>l-l</sup> om. S  
<sup>m</sup> S; et T    <sup>n</sup> S adds duas    <sup>o</sup> S adds aut earum altera    <sup>p</sup> S adds in hac uniuersitate

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duly pronounced by the priest the bread and wine upon the altar is transubstantiated, and is substantially converted, into the true body and blood of Christ, so that after the consecration the material bread and the wine do not remain in that venerable sacrament according to their substances and natures, but according to the appearance of the same. Under which appearance the true body and blood of Christ are not only virtually, or figuratively, but essentially, substantially, and corporally present, so that in that venerable sacrament Christ is, though indivisibly, present in his own body. That is to be believed, that is to be taught, that against all men is resolutely to be defended.

Therefore by our authority we admonish firstly, secondly, and thirdly, assigning one day for the first admonition, for the second, another day, for the third admonition, canonical and peremptory, another day, and do straitly forbid anyone, of whatsoever degree, status, or condition he be, to listen or pay heed to any who hold, teach, or defend in any wise the foregoing erroneous assertions, or any of them, but at once when he perceives them let him fly and remove himself as from a serpent emitting a noxious venom, under the penalty appointed by law, and upon pain of incarceration and of suspension from every scholastic act, and also upon pain of the greater excommunication, which we visit in these writings upon all and singular those who rebel in those matters and who disobey our admonition, the three days for canonical admonition having elapsed, their guilt and offence in the preceding, and their desert, being duly sought and established, the absolution of and the power of absolving whom, except in the jaws of death, we particularly reserve to ourselves and our successors.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover that all men, if not for fear of the sentence thus laid down, then at least for want of countenance, might draw back from illicit doctrines of that kind and subdue their erroneous opinions, by that same authority by which we first admonished firstly, secondly, and thirdly, we straitly forbid any one henceforth to hear or pay heed in any wise to anyone publicly teaching, holding, or defending the foregoing erroneous assertions, within the schools or without, but let him at once fly and withdraw from anyone so teach-

<sup>1</sup> On the chancellor's power to signify excommunication, see F. D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*, pp. 34-5.

1381 tanquam serpentem uenenum pestiferum emittentem fugiat et abscedat, sub pena excommunicationis maioris in omnes "in hac parte rebelles" non inmerito fulminande, et sub penis aliis superius annotatis.

Hic magister Iohannes Wyclif in suo aduentu habuit Iohannem Balle sue pestifere inuencionis premeditorem ecclesiastice unitatis uallidum cissorem discordiarum inter clerum et laicos suscitorem, illicitorum dogmatum indefessum satorem et Cristicole ecclesie perturbatorem de quo plenius infra patebit.<sup>1</sup>

1382 *Confessio sectatorum Magistri Iohannis Wyclif in suis opinionibus.*<sup>2</sup>

fo. 184<sup>r</sup> In þe<sup>b</sup> name of God, amen. Wytes<sup>c</sup> alle cristen men þat we Nichol of Herforde and my felowe pristus<sup>d3</sup> unworthy, in presence<sup>e4</sup> of oure gostely fader þe erchebisshop of Canturbery, þe nyngtende day of Iuny 3e er of grace<sup>f</sup> a þousand þre undred fourescore and tuo, in þe hous of þe Frere prechoures at London, whan we weren required to sayne what we felyde of diuerse conclusiones, we mayden þis protestacion, and 3it we maken, þat oure entent was and is to be trewe sones and meke of holy chirche, and 3if happe, as God schilde, þat we erren agaynes þis / entent in wordus or in werkus we submytten us mekelyche to þe correccion of oure forsayde fadur þe erchebyschop<sup>g</sup> of Canturbery<sup>g</sup> and of alle oþer to whom it longyth to redresse þem þat erren, and afturwarde<sup>h</sup> to wam<sup>h</sup> were requirede to say oure beleue of þe sacrament of þe autere as to 3oure understondyng<sup>i</sup> outhur þe peple,<sup>i</sup> we knowle- chene fyrst þat<sup>j</sup> þo bred þat<sup>j</sup> þe prist takus in his hondes þorowe þe uertue of þe sacramentale wordus is made and turnyde ueralyche into Cristus body þo same þat was taken and ben of þe mayden Marye, and þat sufferide deth on þe crosse for man kynde. And þat lay in þe sepulcre, and þat ros fro deth to lyue þe þridde day and stey up into hevene, and syttes in ioye in þe blysse of þe fadur, and

<sup>a-a</sup> et singulos contraueniens S

<sup>c</sup> wittyng B <sup>d-d</sup> Philip Repindone B  
<sup>f</sup> our lord B  
<sup>i-i</sup> to þo puple B <sup>j-j</sup> B; om. T

<sup>b</sup> B reads þo for þe throughout

<sup>e</sup> unworthy (altered to unworthily) in  
<sup>g-g</sup> Om. B <sup>h-h</sup> when we B

<sup>1</sup> The studied vagueness of this further and redundant reference to John Ball probably reflects Knighton's embarrassment in approaching the subject of his fellow-canon Philip Repingdon: see below, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton returns here to the chronology of 1382, when Courtenay moved immediately after the Blackfriars council to suppress Lollardy in Oxford. Those who defied the his injunctions were suspended from academic work, and then browbeaten by the archbishop.

1381 ing as from a serpent emitting a noxious venom, upon pain of the greater excommunication to be fulminated as it be merited against all rebellious in that matter, and upon the other pains noted above.

That Master John Wyclif, in his coming, had as the precursor of his pestiferous contrivings John Ball, a powerful enemy of the Church's unity, a fomenter of discord between the clergy and the laity, a tireless disseminator of illicit beliefs, and a disturber of the church of Christians, as will appear more fully below.<sup>1</sup>

*The confession of Master John Wyclif's sectaries to their opinions.*<sup>2</sup>

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In the name of God, Amen. Let all Christian men know that we, Nicholas Hereford and my fellow priests,<sup>3</sup> unworthy, in the presence<sup>4</sup> of our ghostly father the archbishop of Canterbury, on the nineteenth day of June 1382, in the house of the Friars Preachers in London, when we were required to say what we felt of various conclusions, we made this protestation, and do make it yet: that our intent was, and is, to be true and obedient sons of Holy Church, and if it should happen, which God forbid, that we err against that intent in word or deed, we submit ourselves meekly to the correction of our aforesaid father, the archbishop of Canterbury and of all others to whom it belongs to correct them that err, and afterwards to whom we were required to confess our belief in the sacrament of the altar, as to our understanding before the people we acknowledge first that the bread which the priest takes in his hands is by virtue of the sacramental words made and turned truly into Christ's body, the same that was taken and born of the maiden Mary, and that suffered death upon the Cross for mankind, and that lay in the sepulchre, and that rose from death to life the third day, and went up into heaven, and doth sit in joy in the bliss of the Father, and shall come upon the day of judgement to judge the

The most pertinacious of them made the following bid for popular support. There are other copies of Knighton's texts in Bodleian MS Bodl. 647 (= B), and a Latin version of Aston's confession in Bodleian MS e Mus. 86 which is printed in *FZ*, pp. 329-30. See further McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 91-8, and on the texts as a group, M. Aston, 'Wyclif and the Vernacular', *SCH Subsidia*, v (1987), 281-330.

<sup>3</sup> On Hereford, see *BRUO* 913-15. The text of B reveals that 'fellow priests' comprised Philip Repingdon OSA, Knighton's fellow-canon, and subsequently abbot of Leicester and bishop of Lincoln: see *BRUO* 1565-7; A. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 43 and n. 198; and above, pp. xlii-lxiv.

<sup>4</sup> It is by no means clear from a comparison of the readings (see app. crit., n. e) that Aston, Hereford, and Repingdon, although undoubtedly under constraint, were referring to themselves as prisoners of the archbishop, and the reading 'in presence of' is used here.

þat schal come at þe day of dome to deme þe quikke and þe dede. And þe wyne is also turnyde uerrayliche into his blode, <sup>a</sup>so þat leues aftur þe consecracion of brede and wyne non oþer substance þan þat ilk þat is Cristus flesshe and his blode.<sup>c</sup> And furþermore we beleue þat þe hole body of Crist is hole in þe sacrament, and hole in eueryche partye of þe sacrament of þe autere.

And also we beleue þat Crist is uerayliche in þe same sacrament in his bodely presence to sauacion of alle hem þat worthelyche receyuen þat same sacrament,<sup>b</sup> to hem þat unworthelyche receyuen to her dampnacion.<sup>1</sup> And þis is<sup>c</sup> oure beleue, and in þis beleue<sup>d</sup> þorou grace of God, we wille dye in remissione of oure synnes.

And þerfore we prey alle Cristen men to whom þis confessioun schal come to þat 3e bere us witnes of þis beleue at þe day of dome before þe heyest iuge, Iesu Crist, and prey for us for charite.

*Confessio Magistri Johannis Ast(on).*

In þe name of God amen. Y Iohan Aston<sup>2</sup> prist unworth<sup>e</sup> required of my lord þe erchebyschop of Canturbery þe nyntene day of Iune in þe er of grace<sup>f</sup> etcetera, ut supra,<sup>f</sup> in þe hous etcetera,<sup>g</sup> to say what y felyde in þe matyr of þe sacrament of þe auter, y have knowelechyde and<sup>h</sup> 3it I do<sup>h</sup> þat þe selfe bred þat þe priste holdes in his hondes is made þorou þe uertue of þe sacramental wordus uerely þe self Cristus body, þat was borne of þe mayden Marye, and taken and souffrede deth on þe crosse, and þre dayes lay in 3e sepulcre, and þe þridde day ros fro deth to þe<sup>i</sup> lyue and steyede up in to heuen, and syttes on þe ryght honde of God, and in þe day of dome schal come to deme þe quikke and þe dede. And over þis I beleue generally alle þat holy writte<sup>j</sup> determynet in worde and in understandyng, or what euer / holy kyrke of God determynes<sup>k</sup> of alle þis.<sup>k</sup>

Whan I was requirede specyaly to say what I felde of þis proposi-  
cion, 'Material brede leues in þe sacrament aftur þe consecracion,' I  
make þis protestacion, þat I neuer 'þou 3t ne tau 3t' ne prechide þat  
proposiacione. For I wote wele þat þe mater and 3e speculacion  
Yerof passes in heyte myn understandyng, and Yerfore als mykele  
<sup>m</sup>as holy kirke<sup>m</sup> tellys openly for to leue in þis mater I beleue, and of

<sup>a-c</sup> Om. B      <sup>b</sup> in his bodely presence cancelled by scribe      <sup>c</sup> is B; om. T  
<sup>d</sup> B; we beue T      <sup>e</sup> unworthely T      <sup>f</sup> a thousande thre hundrid foure score  
and twoo B      <sup>g</sup> of þo frere prechoures of Loundon B      <sup>h-k</sup> 3itte I knowleche B  
<sup>i</sup> þe interlined by scribe      <sup>j</sup> Om. B      <sup>k-k</sup> The first words of the next sentence in B  
<sup>l-l</sup> putt ne taught B      <sup>m-m</sup> B; om. T

quick and the dead; and the wine is also turned truly into His blood, so that there remains after the consecration of the bread and the wine no other substance than that same which is Christ's flesh and His blood. And furthermore we believe that the whole body of Christ is whole in the sacrament, and whole in every part of the sacrament of the altar.

And also we believe that Christ is truly in the same sacrament in his bodily presence to the salvation of all them that worthily receive that same sacrament, to them that unworthily receive it to their damnation,<sup>1</sup> and this is our belief, and in this belief through God's grace we shall die in remission of our sins.

And therefore we pray all Christian men to whom this confession shall come, that you bear us witness of this belief on the day of judgement before the highest judge, Jesus Christ, and pray for us for love.

*The confession of Master John Aston.*

In the name of God, Amen. I, John Aston,<sup>2</sup> an unworthy priest, required of my lord the archbishop of Canterbury the nineteenth day of June etc., as above, in the house etc., to say what I felt in the matter of the sacrament of the altar, I have acknowledged, and I do yet, that the bread itself which the priest holds in his hands is made, by virtue of the sacramental words, truly the selfsame Christ's body that was born of the maiden Mary, and taken and suffered death upon the Cross, and three days lay in the sepulchre, and the third day rose from death to life, and went up to heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, and on the day of judgement shall come to judge the quick and the dead, and beyond that I believe generally all that Holy Writ determines in word and in understanding, or whatever the Holy Church of God determines of all this.

When I was specially required to say what I felt of this proposition: 'Material bread remains in the sacrament after the consecration', I make this protestation, that I never thought, nor taught, nor preached that proposition. For I know well that the matter and the speculation thereof passes in height my understanding, and therefore may I as well say openly that in this matter, as in any other touching the right belief of Holy Church that is not expressed in

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. 11: 27-9.

<sup>2</sup> On Aston, see BRUO 67; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 73, 77-8, 201 and n. 145; and M. Aston, 'Wyclif and the vernacular', pp. 297-9.

þis mater, or of any oþer touchyng þe ryght beleue of holy kyrke þat is nout expresside in holy writte, I beleue as oure modur holy kirke beleues. And in þis beleue I wil dye. And of þis þing I beseke alle men and alle wymmen to whom þis confessione come to<sup>a</sup> to bere me witesse before þe hyest iuge at þe day of dome.<sup>b</sup>

Cumque hec ita agerentur, uidens predictus Nicholaus Herford sic se mortis acerbiter cum Lancastrensis ducis iuuamine et uerborum subtilitate euasisse, et ulterius in suis supersticiosiis predicacionibus et doctrinis inanibus se non posse proficere, uiditque quod non posset opiniones siue conclusiones pretactas in Anglicana ecclesia cum honore suo defendere, cum archiepiscopus Cantuariensis cum consensu et assensu coepiscoporum suorum et cleri sui eas pro falsis dampnauerit, atque omnes eas fauentes excommunicationis uinculo innodauerit, pedem erigit, gressum dirigit, Romamque petere disposuit, et sic tandem uiam arripuit.<sup>1</sup>

Cum igitur uenisset Romam in consistorio coram papa conclusiones antedictas proposuit, et se ab itinere longinioris terre fatigatum asserebat, ut eas ueras et irreprehensibiles contra quoscumque cum protestacione prehabita, ut usque ad mortis periclitacionem defenderet. Igitur Papa fecit conuocacionem de cetu cardinalium et de clero, et cum consilio eorum in tam arduo negocio fecit plenam deliberacionem et crebram discussionem et summam diligenciam ut ueritatem inuestigaret in negocio tam sublimi.

Discussis omnibus et articulatim discisis inuenit eas a sanctis patribus dampnatas et in presenti dignas dampnari. Et sic cum consensu consistorii fecit eas dampnandas et dampnatas promulgari, et quasdam ut hereses, quasdam uero ut errores omni populo puplicari.

Et quia gens Anglicana dicto Urbano pape fauebat, et ipsum ut uerum papam amplectebatur et colebat, papa quasi uicem rependens in hac parte noluit Angligenam licet heresis defensorem ignis flamine consumere. Set quasi aliquo modo indulgens ob reuerenciam quam genti Anglorum gerebat remissius cum eo licet merito agere uoluit perpetuo carceri, tamen irremissibiliter ipso adiudicato et puplico coram omni populo condempnato.

Nam Clemens papa scismaticus illis diebus adhuc florebat.<sup>2</sup> Cumque plures magnates in processu temporis penes papam instarent

<sup>a</sup> comes here B

<sup>b</sup> B adds And prays for me pur charite, Amen

<sup>1</sup> Hereford appears to have left England in July 1382: McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 98.

<sup>2</sup> Clement VII died 16 Sept. 1394: *ODP* 230.

Holy Writ, I believe as our mother Church believes, and in that belief will I die, and thereto I beseech all men and women to whom this confession may come to bear me witness before the highest judge on the day of judgement.

When those things were done, the said Nicholas Hereford, seeing that he had escaped the bitterness of death with the aid of the duke of Lancaster and the subtlety of words, and that he could not continue his superstitious preaching and empty doctrines, and could not with honour defend the foregoing opinions or conclusions in the English church, as the archbishop of Canterbury with the consent and assent of his fellow bishops and their clergy had condemned them as false, and had bound all those who supported them with the fetters of excommunication, he set out, directed his course, and disposed himself to seek Rome, and thus at last made his way there.<sup>1</sup>

And when he came to Rome he set out the aforesaid conclusions before the pope in consistory, and claimed that he was fatigued by his long journey overland, but that upon due notice he would defend them as true and incontrovertible unto the peril of death. Therefore the pope summoned a convocation from the college of cardinals and the clergy, and with their advice in that difficult business he conducted a full deliberation and exhaustive discussion, and took the greatest care to discover the truth in so exalted a contention.

All matters having been discussed and analysed point by point, they were found to be condemned by the holy fathers and fit now to be condemned. And so with the consent of the consistory they were adjudged damnable, and pronounced condemned, and published to all people, some as heresies, and some as errors.

And because the English people supported the said Pope Urban, and embraced and nurtured him as the true pope, the pope, as though making some return to them, did not wish to commit an Englishman, even one who defended heresy, to be consumed by flames of fire, but as though indulging mildness in some measure, for the reverence that he bore towards the English people, he sought to do some kindness, even though it was not deserved, and publicly adjudged and condemned him before all the people to perpetual and irremissible imprisonment.

For the schismatic Pope Clement was flourishing in those days;<sup>2</sup> but when after a time many magnates sought from the pope the grace

1382 pro misericordia remissionis et liberacionis pro dicto Nicholao, papa fertur taliter respondisse: 'Sufficit ei uitam habere, ut animum suum penitens reuocet ab errore.'<sup>1</sup>

fo. 185<sup>r</sup> / Aliquantulo temporis pertransiit, et papa proposuit Romam exire et uersus Naples natale solum uisitandi gracia Romanis inde non consultis tendere. Cumque proficiscens ad quandam uillam in suo progressu ueniret et ibi moram aliquam diu traheret, obsidiones a rege detrimentum de Naples perpessus est.<sup>2</sup> Romani igitur uidentes quod papa sine concensu eorum ab eis recesserat, et sic in domigerio positus esset, ira moti et in sedicionem uersi palacium pape inuaserunt, carcerem pape confregerunt et inibi incarceratos liberos abire fecerunt, inter quos Nicholaus de Herdforde a dampno carceris solutus est et in Angliam reuersus est.<sup>3</sup> Set infra breue post per archiepiscopum Cantuariensem perpetuo carceri mancipatus ut infra patebit.<sup>4</sup>

*Opiniones unius alterius quas audiui predicatas.*<sup>5</sup> Quod si persona ecclesiastica deliquerit et se non emendauerit, licitum est dominis secularibus huiusmodi radere per scapulas scilicet caput auferre licet corona eius de noua rasa sit et larga. Similiter quod si dominus temporalis deliquerit et non se emendauerit, licitum est popularibus ipsum corrigere.

Die quadam palmarum predicauit quod multiplicare uoces labiorum in oracione, scilicet 'blaber wiþ yi lypus' Anglice, nichil est. Quod dare denarios pro psalteriis dicendis nichil est. Quod dare denarios pro missis celebrandis nisi bene uixerit nichil est: quod si bene uixerit semper orat, et quod sufficit ad oracionem bene uiuere. Similiter ibidem predicauit quod pena Cristi quam sustinuit in passione fuit maior quam tota pena inferni. In eodem sermone quod Cristus nunquam mandauit aliquem mendicare.

Item quod predicauit in aliis locis. Item quod Cristus nunquam expressit in sacra scriptura quod uoluit quod homo relinqueret omnia sua temporalia nichil sibi retinendo. Item omne Cristi consilium est preceptum. Item nullus debet dare elemosinam alicui qui habet

<sup>1</sup> The magnates who interuened on Hereford's behalf are not identified, but they are unlikely to have been other than English. Gaunt's goodwill towards the Lollards extended at least to Wyclif's death: McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 102. On his general orthodoxy, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 241–71. See also below, p. 294 n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Urban left Rome for Naples in April 1383, moved to Nocera the next year, and was besieged there by Charles of Durazzo, king of Naples, in the summer of 1385: M. Creighton, *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (2nd edn., London, 1897), i. 86–94.

<sup>3</sup> In the summer of 1385: H. B. Workman, *John Wyclif*, ii. 134.

of remission and release for that Nicholas, the pope is said to have replied: 'It is enough that he have his life, that he may penitently recall his soul from error'.<sup>1</sup>

A little time passed, and the pope decided to leave Rome and visit Naples, where he had been born, though he did not tell the Romans of his intention. Having set out, he came to a certain town on his route, where he stayed for some time, and was besieged by the king of Naples.<sup>2</sup> Thereupon the Romans, seeing that the pope had departed from them without their consent, and had put himself into danger, were moved to wrath and rebellion, and invaded the pope's palace, and broke open his prison, and set free the prisoners they found there, amongst them Nicholas Hereford, who was thus released from durance and returned to England.<sup>3</sup> But shortly afterwards the archbishop of Canterbury committed him to imprisonment for life, as will be shown below.<sup>4</sup>

*Opinions of another whom I heard preach.*<sup>5</sup> That if a cleric offends, and will not mend his ways, the secular power may lawfully shave his shoulders: that is to say, take off his head, even though his crown has been shaved for the tonsure. Likewise, if a temporal lord offend and does not mend his ways, the commons may lawfully correct him.

One Palm Sunday, he preached that to raise many voices in prayer, that is to say, in English, 'to blabber with thy lips', is as nothing. That to pay money to have the psalter read avails nothing. That to pay money to have masses celebrated, if one has not lived virtuously, avails nothing, and that to live virtuously is to pray, and that to live virtuously is prayer enough. He also preached on that occasion that the torment which Christ suffered in His passion was greater than all the pains of Hell, and in the same sermon, that Christ never ordered any man to beg.

He also preached in other places, that Christ never said in Holy Scripture that a man should give away all his earthly goods and keep nothing for himself. That all Christ's precepts are commands. That no one ought to give alms to anyone who is better clothed and better

<sup>4</sup> Early in 1387: Hereford disappears from the narrative from this point. For his return and later career, see McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 112–14. The tone of this entry, and the fact of Hereford's subsequent release and reconciliation, make it likely that it was written before his rehabilitation in 1392.

<sup>5</sup> Beside the studied anonymity of the following opinions the reference to the preacher's status in the churches of Leicester (of which the abbey was the corporate patron and rector), and to what he had heard said in Oxford, makes it highly probable that he was Philip Repingdon. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 43–4 and n. 199. On McFarlane's contrary view (see also below, p. 294 n. 1), see above p. xlv n. 76.

1382 meliores pannos et meliores domos quam sic conferens. Item nullus est uere prelatus nec habilis ad prelaciam nisi sit doctor et predicator.<sup>1</sup> Item quilibet absolutus a peccato est in gracia, et in tanta gracia quod non est capax maioris.

Item quod iste habuit auctoritatem confessandi et communicandi parochianos ecclesiarum Leycestrie sine licencia uicariorum racione rectorie dictarum ecclesiarum. Item denarius confessionum est maledictus et tam conferens quam recipiens excommunicatus. Item nullus debet dare elemosinam alicui quem nouerit esset malum. Item nulli uiri ecclesiastici plus habere debent quam nudum uictum et uestitum. Item propter peccatum nouiter commissum omnia peccata primo dimisa redeunt. Item predicatores saculos portantes sunt falsi predicatores cum Cristus in euangelio opositum precipiat, nec ueri predicatores Cristi discipuli hoc fecerunt. Item mendicitas ualencium laborare est reprobata in iure ciuili et non inuenitur a lege euangelica approbata.

Item Cristus multos de diuersis statibus conuertit ad fidem set non inuenitur in scriptura sacra quod umquam conuertit sacerdotem. Similiter frequenter asseruit in predicacionibus suis quod populus fuit deceptus istis ducentis annis, postquam iste noue secte intrauerunt per falsos predicatores adultores, Anticristi discipulos. Set ipse eundem populum reformaret per suam ueram predicacionem.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 185<sup>v</sup> Similiter frequenter dixit in suis predicacionibus quod isti predicatores nituntur falsificare sacram scripturam, / dicentes et concedentes ut ipsemet sepius audiuit puplice Oxonie quod ipsa est plena de heresibus. Et causa istius false assercionis ut dixit, quia sacra scriptura fuit contra uitam illorum et ideo ad defendendum uitam illorum malam hoc asseruerunt. Item solet quoque idem frequenter asserere, quod uix quilibet decimus homo saluus erit.

Item Magister Iohannes de Aston<sup>3</sup> nominatissimus qui refocillamen corporis postponens uehiculum equorum non requisiiuit, set pedestris effectus cum baculo incedens ubique ecclesias regni cum ueneni ampulla indefesse cursitando uisitauit, ne equi paracio aut tempus pastus impedimentum itineris, aut tardacionem incepte uoluntatis quandoque ei ministraret. Set sicut canis de accubitu resiliens paratus sub paruo sonitu ad latrandum, sic expedite ipse uiam carperet uelut apus argumentosus prompte ad dogmatizandum.

<sup>1</sup> It seems that Bishop Buckingham, though a vigorous administrator, was neither. See below p. 534 n. 1, and also Shirley's strictures in *FZ*, p. 334, n. 4, though Shirley seems to think that bishops wrote their own registers.

1382 housed than he who gives. That no one can be a bishop, or be fit to be a bishop, unless he is learned and a preacher.<sup>1</sup> That anyone absolved is in a state of grace, and in such grace that he cannot experience more.

That he himself had authority to confess and to administer communion to the parishioners of the churches in Leicester, without licence from their vicars, because of the rectory of the said churches. That payment for confession is accursed, and both he who gives and he who receives is excommunicate. That no one should give alms to anyone whom he knows to be evil. That no clergy ought to have more than the barest food and clothing. That a new sin committed calls back all those previously forgiven. That preachers carrying money-bags are false preachers, such as Christ denounced in the Gospels, nor would Christ's preachers and disciples behave thus. That for the able-bodied to beg is against the civil law, and will not be found approved in the law of the Gospel.

Also, that Christ converted many kinds of people to the faith, but it will not be found in Holy Scripture that He ever converted a priest. Likewise he often asserted in his preaching that the people had been deceived these two hundred years, since those of the new sect appeared, by false preachers, flatterers, disciples of Antichrist, but that he would reform the people by his own true preaching.<sup>2</sup>

Likewise he often said in his preaching that those preachers laboured to falsify Holy Scripture, saying and asserting, as he had often heard said publicly in Oxford, that it was full of heresies. And the reason for that false assertion, as he put it, was that Holy Scripture was opposed to the life that they led, and therefore they spoke thus to defend their evil life. Also, he used often to assert that hardly one man in ten would be saved.

The renowned Master John Aston,<sup>3</sup> disregarding bodily ease, rejected the use of a horse, and went about on foot, walking with a staff, tirelessly visiting churches all over the kingdom with his phial of poison, lest harnessing a horse, or taking time to feed it, should delay his journey or distract his mind from the work that he had undertaken. Thus rather, like a dog springing up from rest, ready to bark at the slightest sound, he sped upon his way, a busy and contentious bee always ready for argument.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the friars, who had established themselves in England in the thirteenth century, and who had recently emerged as vigorous opponents of Wyclif in Oxford: see, e.g., A. Gwynn, *English Austin Friars in the Time of Wyclif* (Oxford, 1940). See also the denunciation of 'the new sects' attributed to Aston below, pp. 286-8.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 278 n. 2.



Opiniones quoque magistri sui Wyclife modo audaci pro suo posse ad mensam simplicium cordium dedit, ut cum usuris insane doctrine et incrementis secte sue postea exigere posset tali blandicie etiam seductos. Nec de magistri sui conclusionibus talibus seductiuis contentus, immo utique de sua noua subtili adinuencione quamplures alias adicere non erubuit, et ubique in ecclesiis regni predicans lollium cum tritico seminavit.<sup>1</sup>

Hic seipsum et secte sue fautores frequenter et sepius ueros predicatores nominando maxime commendavit, et omnes quoscumque alios predicatores, falsos predicatores tociens recitavit. Et quascumque opiniones aliquis huius secte adinuenit, reliqui huius secte illas approbauerunt et pro ueris predicauerunt et lacius diuulgauerunt.

Idemque magister Iohannes quadam die Palmarum<sup>2</sup> apud Leycestriam predicavit multas opiniones magistri Iohannis Wyclife, et inter ceteras istas.<sup>3</sup>

Quod nullus debet aliquem excommunicare nisi ex caritate et pro salute anime sue.<sup>4</sup> Item excommunicacio que datur ad impediendum homines audire uerbum Dei, est excommunicacio Anticristi et non boni Cristiani. Item quod prelati ecclesie adquirent beneficia sua per aurum et sic sunt simoniaci et heretici.<sup>5</sup> Item nunquam est<sup>6</sup> bona pax et plenaria in regno isto quousque ista temporalia auferantur ab ecclesiasticis, et ideo rogabat populum manibus extensis ut unusquisque adiuuaret quantum posset in ista materia.<sup>6</sup> Item uiri ecclesiastici dummodo uixerint in diuiciis et uoluptatibus sicut iam uiuunt sunt inhabiles ad orandum pro populo pro quo fine fuerunt principaliter instituti.<sup>7</sup> Item si rex haberet in manu sua temporalia uirorum ecclesiasticorum non oporteret eum tunc accipere tallagia nec communitatem regni spoliare.<sup>7</sup>

Item quod iste noue secte que<sup>c</sup> quasi hesterno die uenerunt

<sup>a</sup> erit L

<sup>b</sup> ordinati L

<sup>c</sup> L; om. T

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 13: 25. The spelling *lollium*, for *lolium*, accentuates the pun which characterizes the Wycliffites as sowers of tares.

<sup>2</sup> On the attribution, see below, n. 3. The date may be no later than 1381, as Buckingham had his eye upon Leicester before Easter 1382. See further below, p. 321 n.; and Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 7 and n. 104.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. xliv–xlvi, on the following text, which Knighton attributes to Aston, Walsingham (*Chron. Anglie*, pp. 338–41) renders as the substance of two sermons by William Swinderby (see below, pp. 306–24), and of which another version in Buckingham's register (LA Bishop's Reg. XII, fo. 243) is described as a summary of the opinions which Swinderby disavowed on oath. There are several anomalies in the various versions, and it is

He maintained the opinions of his master Wyclif in a bold manner, and to the utmost of his powers, at table with simple people, so that by breeding false doctrines and promoting his sect he might claim and seduce them with such flattery. Nor yet content with his master's seductive conclusions, he did not blush to add many others, always ready with some new ingenuity, and preaching in churches everywhere in the kingdom, he sowed tares with the wheat.<sup>1</sup>

He himself and the supporters of his sect frequently commended those whom they called true preachers, and as often condemned all others whatsoever as false preachers. And whatsoever opinions any member of that sect expressed, the rest of the sect approved and preached as truth, and disseminated them more widely.

And that Master John, at Leicester one Palm Sunday,<sup>2</sup> preached many of the opinions of Master John Wyclif, and these amongst others.<sup>3</sup>

That none should excommunicate another except with love, and for the salvation of his soul.<sup>4</sup> That excommunication pronounced to prevent men from hearing the word of God is Antichrist's excommunication, not the act of a good Christian. That prelates acquire their benefices with gold, and thus are simoniacs and heretics.<sup>5</sup> That there will never be peace and plenty in the kingdom until the clergy's temporalities be taken from them, and therefore he implored the people, with outstretched hands, to swear to do what they could to accomplish that.<sup>6</sup> That the clergy, while they live in riches and luxury, as they now live, are unfit to preach to the people, which is the chief end to which they were instituted. That if the king had the wealth of the clergy in his hands he would not need to take tallage or despoil the commonalty of the kingdom.<sup>7</sup>

That those new sects, which arose as it were yesterday, declare

by no means clear that, as McFarlane assumed, Knighton is simply in error. Aston, like Hereford, was a close associate of Repingdon's (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 70, 73, 77). Repingdon took his doctorate in Trinity term 1382, and must have been studying in Oxford at least since 1374. He had probably invited various friends to preach in the intervening years.

<sup>4</sup> The text has been compared with the list of charges made against William Swinderby in Buckingham's register (see above, n. 3), which are cited here as L.

<sup>5</sup> This assertion occurs also in Walsingham's text (*Chron. Anglie*, p. 338), but not in Buckingham's register (L, fo. 243).

<sup>6</sup> The reference to the speaker's gesture certainly suggests a report of a sermon, who-soever may have preached it.

<sup>7</sup> The same point was made by Nicholas Hereford in his sermon on Ascension Day [15 May] 1382 in Oxford: Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 72, 77 and nn.



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asserunt uitam suam et religionem perfeccioem, quam religionem Christi communem et apostolorum.<sup>a1</sup> Item beatus Paulus adquisiuit manibus suis uictum pro se et discipulis suis, et sic deberent religiosi manibus suis laborare et non puplice mendicare.<sup>2</sup> Item quod sacramento<sup>b</sup> altaris post consecracionem est uerus panis et uerum corpus Christi, et illa rotunditas que / uidetur et albedo et huiusmodi sunt panis, et hec est sententia apostoli et doctorum antiquorum et sanctorum. Et in ista materia doctores nouelli uel contradicunt inter se, uel non dant sufficientem istius sacramenti descripcionem.<sup>3</sup>

fo. 186<sup>r</sup>

Item religiosi predicantes qui nolunt dicere populo et scribere ueram descripcionem istius sacramenti et fidem fundatum in euangelio et in sacra scriptura sunt excommunicati et heretici. Et si quis talibus elemosinam suam dederit, ipse est fautor illorum et cum ipsis excommunicatus. Item<sup>d</sup> fratres uerecundantur dicere fidem suam de sacramento altaris. Et pro confirmatione omnium dictorum suorum dixit quod hec est fides quam deberet habere ex euangelio et dictis apostolorum. Et si quis oppositum predicatorum diceret uel predicaret, quod nullo modo esset ei credendum. Hec et multa alia<sup>e</sup> erronea dixit puplice et predicauit<sup>f</sup> in detrimentum ecclesie et subuersionem fidei orthodoxe.<sup>4</sup>

Item quod predicauit in Gloucestria in festo Sancti Mathei apostoli,<sup>5</sup> quod episcopi accipientes pecuniam pro peccatis sunt filii diaboli. Item quod inter omnia facta que umquam fuerunt reputat statum cruciate malignissimum. Nam illis diebus episcopus Norwycensis habuit cruciatam in Flandriam contra antipapam. Item promouentes causam cruciate sunt fures. Item promouentes cruciatam inducunt Cristianos ad conferendum bona ad occidendum homines. Nam illis temporibus episcopus Norwycensis habuit cruciatam concessam sibi a papa Urbano in regnum Francie contra antipapam Clementem. Nam Franci eidem Clementi aderebant, et duxit cruciatam in Flandriam et non ulterius set rediit.<sup>6</sup>

Item idem in eodem loco et tempore quod concedentes participa-

<sup>a</sup> L adds et uolunt sic facere Cristum fatuum      <sup>b</sup> sacramentum L      <sup>c</sup> Om. L  
<sup>d</sup> et quod fratres L      <sup>e</sup> Om. L      <sup>f</sup> L adds predictus sacerdos

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be another attack on the friars: cf. Repingdon's observations above, p. 284 n. 2. The text in L, fo. 243, adds 'and seek to mock Christ': see app. crit., n. 4.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. 4: 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> This assertion sounds more like a speaker familiar with recent academic debate than like Swinderby, who was not condemned for any eucharistic heresy: see also above, p. 258.

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their life and religion to be more perfect than the common religion of Christ and the apostles.<sup>1</sup> That St Paul gathered sustenance for himself and his disciples with his own hands, and so ought the religious to work with their hands, and not beg in public.<sup>2</sup> That the sacrament of the altar after its consecration is true bread and the true body of Christ, and its roundness and whiteness and its other visible qualities are those of bread, and that that was the opinion of the apostle and the ancient doctors and the saints, and that in those matters the doctors of today either dispute amongst themselves, or have not adequately described that sacrament.<sup>3</sup>

Also that the religious who preach, and will not declare to the people, or write, a true description of the sacrament, and of the faith founded in the Gospel and in Holy Scripture, are excommunicate and heretics, and if anyone give them his alms he abets them and is excommunicate with them. Also that the friars are ashamed to declare their faith in the sacrament of the altar. And in support of all his own assertions he said that that was the faith which they ought to derive from the Gospel and the teachings of the apostles, and that no one who spoke or taught against such preaching was in any way worthy to be believed. Those and many other errors he declared publicly and preached, to the detriment of the church, and the subversion of the orthodox faith.<sup>4</sup>

Also he preached in Gloucester on the feast of St Matthias the apostle [24 Feb.]<sup>5</sup> that bishops who accept money for sins are sons of the devil, and that of all the things ever done he held the conduct of a crusade the most evil, for in those days the bishop of Norwich was crusading in Flanders against the Antipope. That those who further the cause of a crusade are thieves. That those who promote a crusade induce Christians to give their goods to kill men. For at that time the bishop of Norwich had granted to him by Pope Urban a crusade in the kingdom of France against the Antipope Clement, for the French supported that same Clement, and he led the crusade into Flanders, but no further, and then came home.<sup>6</sup>

Also at the same place and time, that those who consent to the

<sup>4</sup> The articles in L, f. 243, continue with three further items which subsequently appear in the renunciation enjoined upon William Swinderby: see below, pp. 318–22.

<sup>5</sup> Probably in 1382, when Despenser's expedition was being prepared, rather than in the following year after his return. The crusade lasted from May to Sept. 1383: see Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 175–80; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 78; and below, pp. 324–8.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 326–8.

cionem omnium bonorum suorum spiritualium sunt blasphemii. Item quod Cristus natus fuit in stabulo et mortuus in cruce ad reprobandum castra Cayni, scilicet ecclesias et domos altas religiosorum et ecclesiasticorum.<sup>1</sup>

.iiij. *heresiarchus*. Quartus heresiarchus, dominus Iohannes Purueye<sup>2</sup> capellanus simplex in gestu, uultuque maturus, et formam sanctitatis pretendens pre ceteris suis in uestitu et habitu homo communis, corporis quietem excuciens ad itineris laborem operam dabat, ut secte sue populorum corda predicacionibus deceptoriiis uisque et modis quibus potuit adduceret indefesse studuit. Et similiter in quantum ualuit moribus et uita, exempla reliquorum de sua secta imitatus se conformauit magistri sui dogmatibus inuincibilis discipulus. Doctrinamque magistri sui Iohannis Wyclif per omnia et in omnibus executor perualidus intrepide roborauit. Nam magistri sui dum adhuc uiueret commensalis extiterat, et sic maius de eius documentis debriatis, copiosius mente hauserat, atque usque ad mortis metas<sup>3</sup> comes indiuiduus ipsum cum doctrinis et opinionibus suis concomitabatur indefesse laborans.

Iste Iohannes Purueye sicut ceteri sectatores suos semper in omnibus predicacionibus suis permaxime commendauit, alienos uero semper et ubique et precipue mendicantes perniciosis detractacionibus palam aspernabatur. Et quasi in qualibet tercia proposicione cuiuscumque predicacionis sue emulatores secte sue insinuans ueros predicatores commendauit, / et tam uiros ecclesiasticos quam mendicantes ceteros predicatores subintelligens falsos predicatores latranter comemorauit. Similiter et ceteri de secta illa frequenter et absque taciturnitate in suis sermonibus et sermocinacionibus inquisite clamauerunt, 'Trewe prechours, false prechours'. Opinionesque mutuas et communes sicut unus, ita et omnes. Et ita connexe erant et concathenate opiniones eorum, quod qui istas habuit, habuit et alterius, et qui alterius opiniones habuit, habuit et opiniones istius.<sup>4</sup>

*Opiniones*. Iste dominus Iohannes Purueye predicauit in Brystowe,<sup>5</sup> et puplice docuit, quod celebracio misse est tradicio humana et non

<sup>1</sup> For notes on Cain's castles, see *Select English Works of John Wycliffe*, ed. T. Arnold, iii. 348 n.; and M. Aston, 'Caim's castles: poverty, politics, and disendowment', *The Church, Politics, and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 45-81.

<sup>2</sup> See A. Hudson, 'John Purvey: a reconsideration of the evidence for his life and writings', *Viator*, xii (1981), 355-80, reprinted in A. Hudson, *Lollards and their Books* (London, 1985), pp. 85-110. The extent of Purvey's own writings has been exaggerated

material uses of spiritualities are blasphemers. That Christ was born in a stable and died upon the Cross in reprobation of the fortresses of Cain, namely the churches and lofty houses of the religious and clergy.<sup>1</sup>

*The fourth heretic*. The fourth heresiarch was Sir John Purvey,<sup>2</sup> a simple chaplain, mature in his bearing and appearance, and affecting a sanctity beyond others of his kind; unassuming in dress and manner, he gave himself no rest in pursuit of the work that he had undertaken, and applied himself constantly to win the hearts of his sectaries by artful sermons and whatsoever ways he could. And as far as he could in his behaviour and daily life he behaved like the rest of his sect, conforming to his master's beliefs like an invincible disciple and, as a powerful and dauntless follower, furthered the teaching of his master John Wyclif in every way and by all means. For in his master's lifetime he sat daily at his table, and was intoxicated with his writings, having drunk deeply of them, and was his inseparable companion to the very confines of death,<sup>3</sup> tireless in preserving his doctrines and opinions.

That John Purvey, like the rest, always greatly commended his fellows in all his preaching, and openly disparaged others with pernicious slanders, always and everwhere, but particularly the mendicant friars, and as it were at every third point of his sermon, whatever his theme, would introduce his associates, and commend them as true preachers, and, barking, would condemn others, both secular clergy and mendicants, understanding them but little, as false preachers. Likewise the others of his sect, often and without restraint, during his sermons and addresses, would coarsely chant 'True preachers, false preachers', being ever of one opinion and mind amongst themselves. And so closely connected and linked were their opinions that what one believed, another would believe, and if the other had other opinions, this one would share them.<sup>4</sup>

*Opinions*. That Sir John preached in Bristol,<sup>5</sup> and taught publicly,

because the complex processes of the Wycliffite translations have not been well understood. He remains a central figure in the movement.

<sup>3</sup> Wyclif died at Lutterworth, 31 Dec. 1384: Workman, *Wyclif*, ii. 316.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 302). It is also clear from the accusations against Swinburne (below, p. 312 n. 1), the account of the Wycliffite views condemned at the Blackfriars council (above, pp. 254-6), and the reports of Hereford's sermon in Oxford (Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 70-1), that, even if they can usefully be distinguished, there was considerable common ground between the academic and the popular Lollard movements by the spring of 1382.

<sup>5</sup> On Lollardy in Bristol, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 78.

euangelica, nec Cristus eam ordinavit. Similiter quod Cristus paciebatur in apercione lateris et cordis. Item quilibet sacerdos magis debet dimittere matutinas missas et vespers et ceteras horas canonicas quam predicacionem uerbum Dei, eo quod solum tradicionem humana ordinantur. Item quilibet sacerdos potest ex lege diuina predicare uerbi Dei, alia licencia non optenta. Item episcopi<sup>a</sup> et alii qui impediunt predicacionem uerbi Dei, faciunt hoc ne peccata eorum uideantur.

Item ingredienti religionem priuatam quamcumque, ex hoc reddunt inhabiliores ad obseruanciam mandatorum Dei. Item conferens elemosynam fratri predicanti euangelium propter eius sermonem est symoniacus et excommunicatus et dans et recipiens. Item fratres, non sub hoc nomine set sub nomine phariseorum tenentur uictum suum non per mendicacionem set aliunde per laborem manuum acquirere. Item nullus sacerdos debet dimittere predicare euangelium, nec aliquis debet dimittere audire euangelium predicatum propter excommunicacionem cuiuscumque.<sup>1</sup> Item nulle religiones priuate sunt in aliquo ita perfecte sicut estimant quod sunt. Item quilibet curatus est perfeccioris status quam quicumque religiosus cuiuscumque religionis priuate.

Item episcopi literati et bone uite hortantur nos ad predicandum uerbum Dei ne eorum peccata uideantur.<sup>2</sup> Item episcopus nolens consecrare ecclesiam pauperime parochie absque .xl. solidis, ubi tota parochia non sufficit soluere et si .xl. denarii sufficiant, per .xl. dies eandem ecclesiam suspendat, et sic parochiani per tantum tempus a missa et omni sacramento sunt suspensi, est symoniacus et excommunicatus.<sup>3</sup>

*(Her)esis col(atores) principales.* Willelmus Smit<sup>4</sup> principalis colator ab artificio sic uocatus persona despicibilis et deformis. Qui cupiens ducere in uxorem iuuentulam quandam set ab ea spretus, in tantam prorupit sanctitatis ostentacionem quod omnia mundi concupiscibilia despexit, muliebrem amplexum perpetuo abdicauit, lineis renunciauit, carnes et carnea, pisces et piscina nullatenus admisit, uinum et ceruisiam quasi uenenum recusauit, nudis pedibus per plures annos incedens, medio tempore abcedarium didicit et manu sua scribere fecit.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Repeated

<sup>1</sup> See the views ascribed to Aston and Swinderby, above, p. 286.

<sup>2</sup> The sentiment seems irrational without a negative, though the Latin could only be amended by inserting a phrase such as *qui non sunt*.

that the celebration of the mass is a human and not an evangelical tradition, nor did Christ ordain it. Likewise that Christ suffered in the piercing of his side and heart. That any priest would do better to omit to celebrate matins, the mass, and vespers, and the other canonical hours, than to omit preaching the word of God, because they were ordained only by human tradition. That every priest is enabled to preach by the divine law, without obtaining any other licence. That bishops and others who inhibit the preaching of the word of God do so to conceal their own sins.

That those who enter a religious order render themselves unable to observe God's commandments. That to give alms for his sermon to a friar who preaches the Gospel makes both giver and receiver simoniac and excommunicate. That friars ought to be known not by that name, but as Pharisees, and should seek their livelihood not by begging but in some other way by the work of their hands. That no priest should fail to preach the Gospel, nor should anyone omit to hear the Gospel preached because of some ban of excommunication.<sup>1</sup> That none of the religious orders is in as perfect a state as they believe themselves to be. That any priest with cure of souls is more perfect than any member of a religious order.

That bishops who are [not] literate and of good lives exhort us to preach the word of God so that their sins should not be seen.<sup>2</sup> And that a bishop who refuses to consecrate a church in a poor parish unless he is paid 40s., which the whole parish can scarcely afford to pay, and who if 40d. be wanting will suspend the church for 40 days, so that the parishioners are deprived of the mass and of all the sacraments for that time, is simoniacal and excommunicate.<sup>3</sup>

*The chief [sustainers] of heresy.* William Smith,<sup>4</sup> so called from his craft, was a leading promoter of that sect. Despicable and deformed in his person, he had once sought to marry a young woman, and when she spurned him he affected the outward forms of sanctity so extravagantly that he despised all earthly desires, renounced the embraces of women for ever, abandoned the use of linen, shunned meat and fish of all kinds, refused wine and beer as though they were poison, went barefoot for many years, and in the meantime taught himself the alphabet and the skill of writing.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> The explicit reference to the fee for consecration suggests a particular episode, perhaps in Bristol at that time.

<sup>4</sup> 'The first layman of many associated with the Lollard movement': McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 90, 124-5. A literate layman, too.

<sup>5</sup> For Smith's writings, see further below, p. 534.

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Erant eciam milites: dominus Thomas Latymere, dominus Iohannes Trussell, dominus Lodewycus Clyfforde, dominus Iohannes Pecche, dominus Ricardus Story, dominus Reginaldus de Hylton, cum ducibus et comitibus.<sup>1</sup> Isti erant precipue eis adherentes et in omnibus eos fauentes. Isti erant huius secte promotores strenuissimi et propugnatores fortissimi, erantque defensatores ualidissimi et inuincibiles protractatores. / Qui militari cingulo ambiebant, ne a recte credentibus aliquid opprobrii aut dampni propter eorum prophanium doctrinam sortirentur. Nam zelum Dei habuerunt, set non secundum scienciam, crediderunt namque uera fuisse que a pseudo-doctoribus audiebant. Et sic uani facti sunt in cogitacionibus suis<sup>2</sup> et eis similes in uoluntatibus suis, factique sunt ciues et domestici eorum.

fo. 187<sup>r</sup>

Cumque aliquis pseudopredicator ad partes alicuius istorum militum se diuerteret predicacionis causa, incontinenti cum omni promptitudine populum patrie conuocare, et ad certum locum uel ecclesiam cum ingenti sollicitudine congregare satagebat ad audiendum uoces eorum, licet inuitos resistere tamen uel contradicere non audientes acsi cum propheta clamaret et diceret, 'Si eum audire nolueritis,<sup>3</sup> et me ad iracundiam prouocaueritis, gladius deuorabit uos'.<sup>3</sup> Nam assistere solent iuxta sic inepte predicantes gladio et pelta stipati ad eorum defensionem, ne quis contra eos aut eorum doctrinam blasphemam aliquid temptare uel contradicere quandocumque auderet. Et sic deiecto humilitatis flore, quos non potuerunt ratione, gladii timore sepissime adquisierunt.

O Cristi doctrina mitis humilis et mansueta! O repugnans nephandorum disciplina superba gladiata inuidie et detractionis plena! Cristi namque doctrina est si quis uos non audierit, exeuntes excutite puluerem pedum uestrorum in testimonium illis.<sup>4</sup> Istorum Lollardorum siue Wycluyyanorum<sup>5</sup> disciplina longe aliter se habet. Si quis uos non audiet uel contra uos aliquid dixerit, eximite gladium et eum percutite, aut lingua mordaci famam eius uulnerate. Nam solent isti nephandi huius secte doctores dicere quod nulli eis contradicunt, nisi solum peccatores et maligni seu uiciati.

Quidam dominus Ricardus Waytestathe capellanus, (et)<sup>b</sup> Willelmus

<sup>a</sup> no superimposed by reviser

<sup>b</sup> No mark of omission

<sup>1</sup> See McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 148–76, 221–6; and further, Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 59, 110–14. Although McFarlane is excessively suspicious of Knighton (cf. above, p. xlv n. 76), he challenges only the name of Hilton, and that on the grounds that

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There were also some knights: Sir Thomas Latimer, Sir John Trussel, Sir Lewis Clifford, Sir John Peachey, Sir Richard Storey, Sir Reginald Hilton, and some dukes and earls.<sup>1</sup> They were especially close to them, and supported them in all things. They were the strongest promoters and most powerful protectors of the sect, and its most effective defenders, and invincible champions. They went about armed, lest they should suffer abuse or harm at the hands of true believers because of their profane convictions. The zeal of God they had, but not by learning. For they believed as true all that they heard from their sham doctors, and they became so vain in their beliefs, and like them in their will, that they made themselves their agents and servants.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore whenever one of the sham preachers came into the neighbourhood of those knights to preach, they at once and without delay called all the people of the district together, and bustled about to assemble them to hear him in some place, or a in particular church, and however unwillingly they did not dare to refuse or argue, as though the prophet should cry and say 'If you will not hear him, and provoke me to wrath, the sword shall devour you'.<sup>3</sup> For they used to attend upon those wretched preachers armed with sword and shield to defend them, that none might dare to go against them, or contradict their blasphemous doctrine. And thus the flower of humility was trampled, and those whom they could not convince by the power of reason, they unfailingly bought over by fear of the sword.

O gentle, humble, and mild teaching of Christ! O vile teaching of the wicked: proud, armed, and full of hatred and reproach! For the doctrine of Christ is, that if they will not hear you, you should shake the dust of the place from your feet in witness of them.<sup>4</sup> With the Lollards, or Wycliffites,<sup>5</sup> it was different by far: if any will not hear you, or speak in any wise against you, take out your sword and smite them, or injure their name with biting words. For the wicked doctors of that sect are accustomed to say that none speaks against them save sinners, and the wicked and vicious.

Richard Waytestathe, a chaplain, and the aforesaid William Smith

although a reasonable suspect, Hilton was not a knight, but a clerk. Knighton's reference to dukes is interesting, in the light of Gloucester's ownership of at least one Lollard text: Hudson, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 112 and n. 312.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 10: 2; 1: 21.

<sup>3</sup> Jer. 7: 19; 12: 12.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 10: 14.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Knighton's earlier reference to John Ball as a sower of tares (*lolia*, above, p. 210).

1382 Smyth antedictus, moram adinuicem traxerunt in quadam capella Sancti Iohannis Baptiste extra Leycestriam<sup>1</sup> prope mansionem lepro-  
sorum, ubi ceteri de illa secta sepe conuenerunt, conuenticulaque  
fecerunt, et consilia de suis nephariis cogitacionibus communi-  
cauerunt. Ibi enim erat hospicium et diuersorium omnium talium  
aduentancium et ibi habuerunt gingnasium malignorum dogmatum et  
opinionum et errorum hereticorumque comunicacionem. Capella  
que olim Deo dedicata est, iam blasphemis et ecclesie Cristi inimicis  
atque hereticis receptorium et sedes facta est.

Hii duo Ricardus capellanus et Willelmus Smyth quadam uice  
olerum esurieri passi sunt. Cumque caules adessent, set focale ad  
coquendum olera non haberent, prospiciens alter eorum in quendam  
angulum capelle, uidensque quandam ymaginem uetustam, quondam  
in honore Sancte Katerine formatam et depictam ibi stantem, 'En',  
inquit, 'mi karissime socie, iam Deus nobis prouidit de focali pro  
caulibus nostris coquendis ut esurieri nostram siciemus. Hec sancta  
ymago certe iam erit nobis focale sanctum. Et sic per securim et ignem  
nouum paciatur martirium, si forte per inmanitatem nouorum  
tormentorum, uenire aliquando poterit ad regnum celorum.'

fo. 187<sup>r</sup> Hec erat condicio Lollardis huius / secte quod ymagines oderunt  
et insidiabantur eis, et eas ydola predicabant et uelut simulacra  
aspernabantur. Cumque quis nominasset Sanctam Mariam de  
Lincolnia uel Sanctam Mariam de Walsyngham, uocabant eas  
epialtes. Hoc est in materna lingua 'Wiche of Lincolle', and 'Wyche of  
Walsyngham', et huiusmodi.

Sicque alter eorum securim arripuit, alter autem ymaginem tenuit.  
'Sine', inquit, 'experiamur certe utrum hec uera sancta sit. Nam si  
capite percussa sanguinem emittat, amodo a nobis ut sancta adoranda  
erit. Sin autem sanguinem non eliciat, cibus erit ignis nostris  
coquendis oleribus ut tanta saturetur nostra esuries.' Sicque cum  
exissent propriam uerecundiam celare non ualuerunt, set quasi deluso  
de hoc iactando seipsos, nec impune pluribus detegerunt. Nam cito  
post de hospicio sue eiecti sunt. <sup>a</sup>De quibus quidam metricus sic canit  
dicens:<sup>a</sup>

*Versus de predictis sceleribus.*<sup>2</sup>

Olim quippe uiri fuerant duo ualde nephandi,  
Facta modum sciri quorum fero carmina fandi,  
Que fecerant triste, cancella geste Iohannis

<sup>a</sup> <sup>a</sup> Supplied from the foot of fo. 187<sup>r</sup>, where it precedes Sicque a uulgo (see below, p. 298)

1382 lived together in a certain chapel, dedicated to St John the Baptist,  
near the leper hospital outside Leicester.<sup>1</sup> There other members of  
their sect would congregate and hold their services, and retail their  
wicked thoughts one to another, and offer hospitality and entertain-  
ment to all who came by, so that they had there a kind of academy of  
evil beliefs and opinions, in which heretical error was taught. The  
chapel once dedicated to God was now become a shelter and seat of  
heretics and blasphemers and the enemies of the church of Christ.

Those two, Richard the chaplain and William Smith, found them-  
selves one day hungry for a vegetable stew. They had cabbage, but no  
firing with which to cook it, until one of them hunting in a corner of  
the chapel saw an old statue, carved and painted in honour of St  
Catherine, standing there. 'Aha', he cried, 'my dear chap, now God  
has sent us fuel to cook our cabbage and appease our hunger. This  
holy image will make a holy bonfire for us. By axe and fire she will  
undergo a new martyrdom, and perhaps through the cruelty of those  
new torments she will come at last to the kingdom of Heaven'.

It was a characteristic of that sect of Lollards that they hated and  
inveighed against images, and preached that they were idols, and  
spurned them as a deceit, so that when one of them referred to St  
Mary of Lincoln, or St Mary of Walsingham, he would call them sor-  
ceresses, that is, in the mother tongue: 'The witch of Lincoln, and the  
witch of Walsingham' and the like.

And so one of them took an axe, and the other held the image.  
'Now', he said, 'we shall know for certain whether or not she is holy,  
for if her head should bleed when we strike it, then we shall worship  
her as a saint. On the other hand if no blood flows, she will make fire  
to cook our stew, and thus our hunger will be abated'. And so banish-  
ing shame they did not bother to conceal the deed, but boasted about  
it in jest. But they did not go unpunished, for many heard of it, and  
not long afterwards they were expelled from the chapel. And a certain  
rhymester sang of them thus:

*A song about those scoundrels.*<sup>2</sup>

Once there were two scallywags – I set my verses down  
To tell you what I know of them – they lived outside the town,  
In a desecrated chapel that was once the Baptist's fane,

<sup>1</sup> See McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 90; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 76. St John's chapel stood at the north end of Belgrave Gate: *VCH Leics*, iv. 359, and above, p. lxxi n. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The verses are presumably Knighton's own. The phrase introducing them looks on the page like an afterthought.

Sancti Baptiste nostris uoluentibus annis.  
 Esuriem passi caularum corde maligni  
 Ambo dolent cassi quod priuarentur et igni.  
 Cum decimarent<sup>a</sup> simul olera cumque fidissent  
 Nec patet unde parent, ignem sibi set doliuissent.  
 Angula cancellé tuitur mox unus eorum;  
 'En', inquit, 'uelle, nostrum plet scriba deorum.  
 Hic super altare Katerine restat ymago,  
 Absque uetusta pare, que putret ut Eua uirago.  
 Cur ita pensamus, scindatur inepta figura.  
 In cineres flamus frustra, lassi prece pura,  
 Preuidit caris, sanctis Deus ipse focale,  
 Olera quo laris, coquemus ea speciale,  
 Nostri post finem quibus esuriam saciemus  
 Hec noua martiria dolabro pacietur et igne  
 Per que suspiria, capiet regnum sine fine.'  
 Tunc unus cepit, securim presto figuram  
 Alter eo clepit<sup>b</sup> penam eiulans sibi duram.  
 'Tam sine dicentes, utrum fuit experiamur  
 Vera per arses hec alma uel ea uiolamur  
 Sanguis percussa si manat uera uocetur  
 Si non, per iussa, nobis cibus ignis habetur,  
 Caule quo cicius mendici scruda coquentur  
 Esuries satius, et eis fames cito<sup>c</sup> fugit.

Creuit populus credencium in ista doctrina et quasi germinantes multiplicati sunt nimis et impleuerunt ubique orbem regni, et adeo domestici facti sunt acsi essent de uno die procreati, audacesque ad plenum facti sunt, nec in aliquo erubuerunt. Set quasi inuerecundi tam in occultis quam in puppulis locis inpudice latrantes ueluti canes indefessis uocibus.

fo. 188<sup>r</sup> Sicque a uulgo Wyclif discipuli et Wycluyani siue Lolardi uocati / sunt, ad sectam suam plures ac plures lucrifacerent sic inaniter deceptos. Principales pseudo-Lollardi prima introduccione huius secte nephande, uestibus de russeto utebantur pro maiore parte illorum quasi simplicitatem cordis ostendentes exterius, ut sic mentes<sup>d</sup> intuencium se subtiliter sibi attraherent, et laborem docendi atque

<sup>a</sup> a blade interlined by scribe above decimarent  
 above clepit

<sup>c</sup> C; om. T

<sup>b</sup> hykide interlined by scribe  
<sup>d</sup> se cancelled by scribe

Where they spent some years in preaching, though their piety was vain.

One evening at supertime they scoured the land around,  
 But firing for their cooking pot was nowhere to be found.  
 They chopped their cabbage finely, and they heaped it in the pot,  
 And ruefully reflected that they couldn't serve it hot.  
 But rooting through the chancel, very soon one cried 'Look here:

There's a statue on the altar, where it's lain for many a year.  
 It may have been St Catherine's: it's very hard to tell,  
 But it's been decaying long enough to have a saintly smell.  
 We hoped and prayed for firing, and the saints have taken heed,  
 For Kate has very kindly come to satisfy our need.  
 We can split her with the hatchet, and feed her to the fire,  
 And cook our blessed supper on a truly holy pyre.  
 Then we shall have our bellies full, and she'll return on high,  
 To the saints who neither thirst nor hunger, up there in the sky'.  
 So one tormenter held her, while the other one took aim,  
 And blithely said 'This martyrdom will bring her double fame.  
 If she bleeds we'll kneel in worship: it will be her saintly due.  
 If she's dry and kindles nicely, she'll be famous for our stew.  
 We'll very soon be satisfied, but Kate will come off best,  
 For she'll either reign in glory, or enjoy an earthly rest'.  
 And as he spoke, he plied the axe, then laid the fire with care,  
 And the incense of the cabbage wafted through the evening air.  
 It was not a lordly supper, but their appetites were keen,  
 And they ate their fill in harmony, and scraped the cauldron clean.

The numbers believing in those doctrines increased, and as it were bred and multiplied greatly, and they filled the land, and peopled it as though they were begotten in a single day, and they became so bold that they blushed at nothing, and shamelessly barked in public as well as in private places, with the voices of tireless dogs.

And so Wyclif's disciples were commonly called Wycliffites or Lollards, and the sect won more and more supporters, all foolishly led astray. At the first coming in of that wicked sect, the sham leaders for the most part wore clothes of plain russet, as though to show the simplicity of their hearts to the world, and so cunningly draw to themselves the minds of those who beheld them, and labour the more



seminandi insanam doctrinam securius aggredierentur. De talibus enim loquitur Dominus in euangelio docens suos cauere ab eis, ait enim, 'Attendite a falsis prophetis qui ad uos ueniunt in uestimentis ouium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces; a fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos'.<sup>1</sup>

Ac si diceret caute a talibus qui sub quodam pietatis tegumento tecti uenient. Speciem sanctitatis sub simplici uestimento pretendentes uenenato animo nocendi, et intencione seducendi lupi uobis erunt rapaces. Exterius ostensione simplicis uestis, et interius corumpendo suauitate seductiue doctrine. Vestimentum ouium congrue dici potest, quod ab oue tonditur et sub alio colore non intingitur. Vnde uestimentum ouium, similitudo innocencie et iusticie quam pretendebant dici potest, set a fructibus, hoc est operibus manifestis doctrinis scilicet errorum et inuidiosis detractionibus. Sanctitatis dulcedinem et ueritatis suauitatem exterius superinduunt, et detraccionum acerbitate eis non adherentes indesinenter lacerant et cruentant,<sup>2</sup> simulare quidem potuerunt, set fructum bonitatis non attulerunt. Finxeruntque se integre fidei et doctrine, cum tamen eorum doctrina erroribus plena turpiter repungnaret fidei catholice.

In tantum namque in suis laboriosis dogmatibus preualuerunt quod mediam partem populi aut maiorem partem sue secte adquisierunt. "Quosdam autem ex corde, quosdam uero pre timore et uerecundia eis" adherere compulerunt. Nam adherentes eis et secte sue omni laude dignos et bonitate perspicuos magnificabant, asserentes eos bonos et immaculatos omni honore conspicuos licet essent tam occultis quam publicis uiciis, pluribus hominibus notandi. Et in contrarium opinio multorum bonorum uirorum perstrepebat quod tales uiciati pro parte maiori et quasi ubique et pauci alii eis aderebant.

Ex alia parte non eis adherentes uel eis non fauentes, set antiquam ecclesie solidam et firmam doctrinam obseruantes, impios, prauos, malignos, atque peruersos et omni uituperio dignos, atque legi Dei contrarios affirmabant ubique. Docebantque et predicabant quod boni homines et Deo digni omnes eis adherebant, et doctrinam eorum acceptabant secundum legem Dei quam docebant et predicabant. Solum autem eos moribus eorum et doctrine rebellare qui maligni

<sup>a-a</sup> Repeated after compulerunt

<sup>1</sup> Matt. 7: 15.

successfully to teach and spread their foolish beliefs. Of such indeed our Lord speaks in the Gospel when He teaches His followers to keep watch for them, saying 'Beware of false prophets who come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are as ravening wolves, for by their fruits shall ye know them'.<sup>1</sup>

As though He were to say, 'Beware of those who come to you under the cover of a pious habit, pretending in the simplicity of their dress to a kind of sanctity, but who shall be voracious wolves, seeking with envenomed minds to harm and seduce you, displaying a simple dress, but inwardly corrupt with the charms of a seductive doctrine.' Of the sheep's clothing one might say that it is shorn from the sheep, and not tinged with any other colour. Therefore their pretences are like the fleece of the sheep, the image of innocence and justice, but they are to be judged by their fruits, that is to say by their works, their manifest doctrines, the errors and wicked disparagement which they induce outwardly with a sweet holiness and the charms of truth, and yet by the bitterness of their denunciations rend and devour those who do not cleave to them.<sup>2</sup> Pretend as they may, they cannot attain the fruits of goodness; they affect a whole faith and doctrine, but their teaching, replete with error, is shamefully repugnant to the Catholic faith.

They so far prevailed with their laborious dogmas that a half or even the greater part of the populace supported their sect: for some they persuaded in their hearts, but others they compelled to join them from fear and shame. For they greatly lauded those who supported them and their sect, as worthy and outstandingly good, asserting that they were virtuous, and spotless, and notable for every kind of honour, even when they were men notorious both in private and in public for their vices. And against them the opinion of many good men resounded, for almost everywhere the greater number of them were vicious, and few others adhered to them.

On the other side they called those who did not support or favour them, but followed the solid and true doctrine of the ancient church, impious, depraved, malign, and perverse, worthy of every kind of abuse, and opposed to the law of God. And they taught and preached that good men and such as God found worthy all adhered to them, and accepted their doctrine as according to the law of God as they taught and preached it. Only those who were malign and sinners of

<sup>2</sup> On the russet gown, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 145. Knighton, beyond his scriptural commentary, was also an early and irritable observer of the manifestations of Lollardy as a cult: see also below, p. 302 n. 2.



1382 erant et peccatores pessimi, et nullum esse iustum et Deo dignum, qui non custodiret legem Dei quam predicabant. Talem enim habebant terminum in omnibus suis dictis semper pretendendo 'Legem Dei: goddislawe'.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 188<sup>v</sup> Et sic quamplures simplices peruertebant, et secte eorum aderere compellebant et hoc ne uiderentur a lege Dei et diuinis preceptis alieni. Et multi / infirmiores sic seducti sunt. Alii timore, alii uerecundia ne ab eis per opprobriosa uerba peterentur. Sicque mellis suauitatem in capite eloquii gerebant, in cauda uenenum. Nam doctrina eorum in quibuscumque loquelis in sui principio dulcedine plena apparuit et deuota, in fine quoque inuidia subtili et detractioe plena defloruit.

Et licet de nouo conuersi uel subito et recenter hanc sectam imitantes, unum modum statim loquele et formam concordem sue doctrine mirabiliter habuerunt, et doctores euangelice doctrine, tam uiri quam mulieres, materno ydiomate subito mutati effecti sunt. Et hoc acsi essent de uno gignasio educati et doctrinati, ac eciam de unius magistri scola simul referti et nutriti.<sup>2</sup>

Quod credibile haberi potest. Nam credi absque ambiguitate potest quod qui eos sibi in seruos et malorum dolorum iniciatores et inuidiarum inter Cristicolos propinatores adoptauit, idem ipse eos eadem ydemptate spiritus sui simul aptauit, et conformitate unius loquele cum feruore desiderii in suum obsequium inspirauit. Et sic a diebus ingressionis eorum in regnum Anglie uim discensionis patitur, quia ipsi uiolenti intoxicauerunt illud. Et incitauerunt filium aduersus patrem, et patrem aduersus filium, et socrum aduersus nurum suam, et domesticos familie aduersus dominum suum,<sup>3</sup> et quod dolendum est, quasi quemlibet hominem contra proximum suum.

Et uix inuenires quemquam fiduciam habentem in quoquam, eciam in fratre suo uterino, quin crederent alterutros mutuo se decepturos. Et uerisimile est quod post stabilitam ecclesiam, tanta diffidencia, discordia, et dissencio in illis partibus nunquam audita uel uisa est.

Sicque Wyclif discipuli ubique a ceteris uocati sunt. Et nomen non incongrue sibi ascuerunt. Nam sicut magister eorum Wycliffe potens erat et ualidus in disputacionibus super ceteros, et in argumentis nulli credebatur secundus, sic isti licet recenter ad sectam

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 378.

<sup>2</sup> On the importance of this observation, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 179. The community in St John's chapel was evidently one such school, not improbably the first: *ibid.*, pp. 76-8.

1382 the worst kind rejected their practices and doctrine, and none was just or worthy of God who did not observe the law of God as they preached it. For at the end of all their teaching was always that pretence of the law of God: God's Law.<sup>1</sup>

And thus they subverted many simple minds, and compelled them to join their sect, lest they should be thought strangers to the law of God and the divine precepts, and many weaker brethren were thus seduced, some by shame, and some by fear, that they might not be assailed by them with abusive words. For they carried an eloquent and mellifluous charm in their head, and venom in their tail. For in all their teaching their doctrine seemed at first devout and full of sweetness, and in its end withered in hateful cunning and disparagement.

And even the newly-converted, or those most suddenly or briefly initiated into their sect at once began to speak in the same way, and to display a marvellous familiarity with their doctrines. And both men and women instantly became learned exponents of evangelical teaching in their mother tongue, as though they had been trained and taught in one school, and indeed instructed and raised up by a single master.<sup>2</sup>

What must be believed, and can be believed without ambiguity, is that he who recruited them as his servants, and as the instigators of evil and pain, and promoters of hatred amongst Christians, filled them with that spirit that drove him, and inspired them with a single style of speech, and a fervent desire to serve him. And so from the days of their appearance in the kingdom of England dissension was abroad, for they savagely poisoned the realm, and they incited the son against the father, and the father against the son, and the mother against her daughter-in-law, and the servants against their master,<sup>3</sup> and what is to be lamented, almost every man against his neighbour.

And you would find scarcely anyone who had faith in another, even a brother and his sibling, but either would believe that the other would deceive him. And it is very likely that from the earliest days of the church such mistrust, discord, and disagreement had not been seen or heard in those parts.

And such people were everywhere called by others 'Wyclif's disciples', and it was not inappropriately that they adopted that name. For just as their master Wyclif was powerful and effective in disputation over everyone, and was believed to be second to none in such debates, so even those most recently drawn into their sect showed

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Matt. 10: 35 and Luke 12: 53.

illam attracti nimis efficiebantur eloquentes in omnibus uersuciis atque uerbosis colluctacionibus ceteris preuallentes, ualidi in uerbis, in garulis fortes, in sermocinacionibus prepotentes, in litigiosis deceptionibus omnes superclamantes.

Et sic quod non poterant recta ratione, quasi pugnanti impetuositate cum uoce clamosa et turbida et altissonis uerbis supplebant. Adeo ut non Cristi serui humiles, mansueti, mites et patientes, immo potius Machumeti suspicarentur discipuli qui legem suam discutere prohibuit suis sequacibus, set certius bellaci fortitudine eam defendere precepit et pro ea pugnare: Alcorani, azoara quarta.<sup>1</sup>

Isti Wycluyani sectam suam maxime commendabilem puplicabant, et omnem populum ubilibet tam uirorum quam mulierum adortabantur ad eam, doctrinasque et predicaciones ceterorum omnium ut respuerent incitabant, nec predicacionibus fratrum mendicancium quos falsos predicatores nominabant quoquomodo interessent, tam puplice quam occulte feruenti studio indesinenter edocebant. Semper eis insidiabantur falsos fratres uocantes seipsos ueros predicatores, / et euangelicos eo quod euangelium in Anglicam linguam habebant translatum uociferabant.

Et sic per puplicam detractionem et inuidiosam reprehensionem seipsos commendabant hominibus, licet non Deo et fratrum mendicancium statum in multis maxime denigrabant. Nam fratres per istorum doctrinam et exortacionem illis diebus, exosi multis habebantur. Et Wycluyani ex eo audaciores inde effecti, innitebantur auertere magis animos populorum ab eis et ipsos impedire ne predicarent et ne mendicarent, asserentes tam dantes quam accipientes esse excommunicatos. Set eos debere manuum labore more apostoli Pauli uictum et uestitum adquirere.<sup>2</sup>

Plebs ista inepta et reprobata adeo callida erat et perniciosa, adeo perfida et erumpnosa, adeo retrograda et spurciosa, quod si eius condiciones describi deberent, uel forte posset scribere adesse mens tamen satisfacere uoluntati, nec excogitare ad plenum sufficeret, et licet omnium hominum lingue uerterentur in unam, eius peruersitatem retexere non ualeret et malignitatem promere. Et nisi Deus cicius abbreviasset dies asperitatis illorum, et cum tanta nequicia eorum prouentum faceret, ipsum regnum Anglie non arbitror posse supportare uersucias eorum atque maliciam.

Vnde uersus:<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The precepts which Knighton had in mind were most probably those of Sura 4, verses

themselves decisively eloquent, superior to all others in verbal plays and quibbles, pungent in speech, formidably articulate, pre-eminent in disputation, overbearing in disputatious evasion.

And so what they could not achieve by true reason they sought by aggressive bluster, with clamant voice and pompous and high-sounding words. And thus they were not as Christ's servants, humble, gentle, meek, and patient, but rather as the disciples of Mahomet, who forbade his followers to discuss his law, but commanded them to defend it in battle and to fight to maintain it: The Koran, Sura 4.<sup>1</sup>

The Wycliffites proclaimed their sect to be most commendable, and exhorted both men and women everywhere to join it, and incited them to reject the doctrines and preaching of all others, and not to attend the sermons of the mendicant friars, whom they labelled false preachers. And they strove against them fervently and unceasingly, in public and in private, calling them false brethren, and asserting themselves to be the true preachers and evangelists, because they had translated the Gospels into the English tongue.

And so by public disparagement and hateful condemnation of others they commended themselves to men, though not to God, and they greatly condemned the condition of the mendicant friars in many ways, for the friars by their teaching and exhortation in those days had become hateful to many. And the Wycliffites, made bolder thereby, worked the more to move the minds of the people against them, and to prevent them from preaching and from begging, asserting both givers and receivers to be excommunicate, and that friars ought to labour with their hands, like the apostle Paul, to acquire food and clothing.<sup>2</sup>

They are a people so foolish and unprincipled, so crafty and pernicious, so treacherous and wretched, so degenerate and foul, that if their condition had to be described, even if the mind could be steeled to write, neither the will nor reflection would be equal to the task, and even if all the languages of mankind were made one, it would not suffice to reveal their perversity and wickedness. And unless God soon shorten the days of their asperity, and provide some antidote to their evil, I testify that this realm of England will be unable to sustain their deceits and their malice. Hence the verses:<sup>3</sup>

83-4, on repeating unsubstantiated stories, and some associated references (v. 77) to the duty of resisting attacks upon the faith.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. 4: 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently another of Knighton's own works.

Si totum membrana solum, calamus nemus omne  
Et Tetis incaustum, scriptor et omnis homo,  
Istorum facinus scribere non poterunt.

Maledictus conuentus eorum quoniam pertinax. Propterea Deus destruat eos, in finem euellat et emigrare faciat de tabernaculis fidelium suorum, et radicem eorum de terra regni. Et hoc uideant iusti et letentur, ut dicere possint, 'Ecce populus qui se exaltauit super electos doctores Dei, et sperauit in multitudine uanitatis sue. Confundantur et pereant cum doctrina eorum in eternum.'<sup>1</sup>

Erat quoque illis diebus apud Leycestriam quidam sacerdos, Willelmus de Swyndurby,<sup>2</sup> quem Willelmum heremitam uulgus uocabant, eo quod heremiticam uitam aliquamdiu ibidem colebat. Hic unde uenerit, aut ubi originem duxerit non occurrit. Set hoc unum notabile, quia inconstans uita et moribus repertus est. Nam multos gradus uiuendi temptauit, et de gradu in gradum saltauit.<sup>4</sup> Nullusque ei placabilis repertus est status. In primo aduentu suo uitam communem in uilla ducens inter homines conuersatus est. Cepitque predicare et inicium predicacionis sue de mulierum defectibus et superbia sumere.

Nam ornatum mulierum multum despiciebat, superbiamque et actus earum aspernabatur, lasciuiasque earum detestabatur. Et quamuis bene agebant, tamen nimis importune de hac materia tractabat, quia finem facere nesciebat, sicuti nec in quacumque alia materia quam in predicacione tangebatur. In tantum namque mulieres uille tam bonas et graues quam alias per improbitatem predicacionis et reprehensionis in iram prouocauerat, ut ipsum lapidibus impetere, et de uilla lapidare proposuerunt.

fo. 189<sup>v</sup>

Videns igitur quod sic predicando nichil profecit nec grates reportabat, set magis sedicionem excitabat, cessit materie, et ad mercatores et diuites stilum predicacionis uertit, frequenter asserens in suis predicacionibus neminem posse habere diuicias huius seculi, et affluentiam temporalium bonorum, et consequi posse regnum celorum. Sicque frequencius materiam istam librauit, quod quosdam probos uiros de uilla nisi mediasset diuina clemencia in errorem desperacionis demisisset.

<sup>a</sup> *Later hand, in margin; salutauit in T*

<sup>1</sup> It seems likely that this passage was written before Courtenay's visitation of Leicester in 1380 (below, pp. 532-4).

<sup>2</sup> Swinderby, who was evidently a man of some ability and address, was irritating and

If all the world were parchment, and the trees one reed,  
The seas a pool of ink, and all mankind a mighty scribe,  
They would not serve to tell the wicked tale.

Accursed be their pertinacious assembly! May God destroy them, and tear them out, and drive them from their tabernacles and uproot them from the land of the kingdom! And let the just see those things and rejoice, that they may say 'Behold the people who exalted themselves above the doctors of the Lord, and trusted in their teeming vanity: confound them, and let them perish with their doctrine into eternity.'<sup>1</sup>

In those days also there was a priest in Leicester, William Swinderby,<sup>2</sup> who was popularly known as William the hermit, because he had long followed the life of a hermit there. Where he came from, or what his origins were no one knew, but it was a remarkable business, because he proved to be of inconstant life and morals, having tried many styles of life, and he fidgeted from one to another, never finding one satisfactory to himself. On first coming to the town he lived ordinarily, mixing amongst other people. Then he began to preach, and began by denouncing the shortcomings of women, and their pride.

He greatly despised women's adornments, and he disdained their pride and their general behaviour, and detested their lewdness. And even when they behaved decently, he nevertheless treated the subject most unsuitably, for he had no notion of moderation, whether in preaching or in anything else. So much so, in fact, that the women of the town, both the good and grave sort, and others, were moved to wrath by the violence of his preaching and his denunciations, and they proposed to gather stones, and stone him out of the town.

Seeing, therefore, that such preaching did him no good, and far from gaining approval excited great discord, he abandoned the subject, and turned to address his sermons to merchants and the rich, often asserting that no one could enjoy riches in this world, and an abundance of material things, and still hope to enter the kingdom of heaven. And he so dwelt on the topic that some worthy men of the town, but for the workings of divine mercy, would have fallen into the error of despair.

probably something of an embarrassment to Knighton (see below, p. 308 nn. 2 and 3), who is conventionally dismissive of him. For a more considered view, cf. Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 74-8. He presumably took his name, at whatever remove, from Swinderby, Lincs. Buckingham's clerks seem to have had no record of his ordination, but although they began by calling him a self-styled priest (L, fo. 236v), they soon gave him the benefit of the doubt.

Tunc uitam communem uoluit mutare in uitam sollitariam, quia predicacio eius nichil ei profuit ad laudem, heremitorumque in bosco domini ducis peciit, ibique domum hanc aliquanto tempore coluit, discurrendo quandoque in uillam quandoque in patriam.<sup>1</sup> Cumque deuoti Leycestrie, sperantes eius sanctitatem, uictualia ei ex more transmittersse curauerunt, ipse sanctitatem pretendens, et quasi de suo proprio si quid sibi in seculo reseruauerat contentus, huiusmodi exennia et dona recusauit et remisit, et dixit sibi sufficere ad sustentacionem pauca que habebat cum iuuamine domini ducis.

Nam dominus dux eum iuuabat ad sustentacionem. Cumque ibidem moram per modicum tempus traheret et panis alimonia<sup>a</sup> in sistarchiis deficere cepisset, similiter et ipse de tali uita insolita de die in diem tepesceret, de uita sua eum fastidiuit,<sup>b</sup> et ad uillam unde uenerat pre pudore redire non ualuit.

Medio tempore honestiori modo quo potuit procurauit ut in abbatia ibidem pro tempore susciperetur. Quod et factum est. Nam canonici, ipsum cristum Domini credentes, in quadam camera infra ecclesiam ipsum receperunt propter sanctitatem quam sperabant in eo, et ei ex more aliorum sacerdotum procurauerunt uictum cum pensione.<sup>2</sup> Illo tempore ecclesias in patria ubique non in uilla predicando uisitauit. Sicque inconstanciam mentis ostendens de mora sua lassus, uix calefactis lateribus abire ut aliam uitam ducere posset cupiebat.

Associatit sibi quendam Willelmum Smyth, de quo superius sit mencio, cum quo ad quandam capellam Sancti Iohannis Baptiste prope mansionem leprosororum abiit et ibi alios de secta Wyclif sibi associauerunt.<sup>3</sup> Nam secta illa in maximo honore illis diebus habebatur, et in tantum multiplicata fuit quod uix duos uideres in uia, quin alter eorum discipulus Wycliffe fuerit.<sup>4</sup> Videns predictus Willelmus, quia ex solito modo predicandi grates populi non habuit,

<sup>a</sup> *Interlined, by scribe, after cancelling elemosina in text*

<sup>b</sup> *Later hand, in margin, blank*

<sup>1</sup> The chronology of Swinderby's career is obscure, but however fitful his enthusiasms he can hardly have spent less than two years in Leicester, and may have been there longer. It seems from this account that it was his time under the patronage of Gaunt (who had been duke since 1362, and presumably did not inherit him) that earned him the name of hermit. See also below, p. 312 n. 5.

<sup>2</sup> The abbey's patronage of Swinderby is no less remarkable than Gaunt's: perhaps Repingdon had a hand in it. There was evidently no doubt there that he was a priest. The

Then he wished to exchange the common life for the solitary life, because again his preaching brought him no praise, and he asked the duke for the hermitage in the woods, and lived there for a time, sometimes running into the town, and sometimes into the country.<sup>1</sup> And when pious people in Leicester, believing in his sanctity, tried to send food to him, as was their wont, he would pretend to austerity, as though content with his lot in the world, and would refuse and return those offerings and gifts, and say that the little allowance which the duke made to him sufficed for his needs.

For the lord duke was glad to provide for him. But when he had spent some time there, and began to find that he had not bread enough in his wallet, his enthusiasm for such a life cooled from day to day, and he became disgusted with it, and yet could not for shame return to the town which he had left.

In the mean time, he sought a more seemly way of life, as best he could, and undertook to enter the abbey for a while. Which was done, for the canons thought him the Lord's anointed, and they gave him a chamber in the church for the sanctity which they hoped to find in him, and provided him with food and an allowance like the other priests.<sup>2</sup> During that time he visited churches all around the county, though not in the town, to preach, and then, showing the inconstancy of his mind, he wearied of that life, having scarcely warmed the hearth, and wished to leave, and try another style.

He then fell in with that William Smith, who has been mentioned above, when he went to the chapel of St John the Baptist, by the leper hospital, and there they attracted other members of the Wycliffite sect.<sup>3</sup> For that sect was highly regarded in those days, and it grew so rapidly that you might hardly see two people in the street, but one of them would be a follower of Wyclif.<sup>4</sup> The said William Swinderby, seeing that his usual style of preaching earned small thanks from the

country churches in which he was allowed to preach presumably were, or included, those subsequently appointed for his penance (see below, p. 318).

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 296–8. The group must have assembled by the winter of 1381–2 at the latest, but this reference suggests that Swinderby may have been a founder-member. Knighton clearly regards Swinderby as a Lollard from that time onwards, but leaves open the questions of when and from whom he learned his Lollardy, and what he had learned while he was in the abbey.

<sup>4</sup> Although Archbishop Courtenay's visitation in 1389 (below, pp. 532–4), and Knighton's commination above (p. 306), show that Lollardy remained a force in Leicester after Swinderby's departure, it does appear, not only from this testimony but also from the popular support which Swinderby enjoyed during his trial, that the movement was well grown by the winter of 1381–2.

1382 nec laicis et secularibus non placuit neque fructum augmentacionis ad sectam suam adduxit, direxit sermonem contra libertates ecclesie, et contra ecclesiasticas personas, et innitebatur quantum potuit uel ymaginare potuit, uiros ecclesie et eorum famam denigrare.

fo. 190<sup>r</sup> *Opiniones Willelmi heremiti.*<sup>1</sup> Asserens eos impudice uiuere et bona ecclesie male sumere, et peius expendere, et frequenter predicabat sicuti et ceteri de secta sua faciebant ut superius patet quod parochiani non tenentur dare decimas suas et oblaciones suis / curatis si caste non uiuerent, cum aliis moribus compositis sicut decet Dei sacerdotes, ac eciam si in parochia moram non trahant, et ibi bona ecclesie expandant ubi ea assumunt.<sup>2</sup> Similiter si insufficientes essent in sciencia uel lingua impediociores quod predicarent uel parochianos competenter docere non possent, set possent parochiani decimas et oblaciones retinere et quibuscumque ad libitum dare.<sup>3</sup>

Docebant enim ceteri dicipuli Wyclif quod decime sunt mere elemosine et ideo possent dare elemosinam cuicumque uellent. Et si non subtraxerint decimas ab huiusmodi male uiuentibus, eciam fautores criminis essent et consencientes eorum malis operibus.

Item predicabat quod homines possunt debita sua cum caritate petere a suis debitoribus, set nullo modo aliquem propter debita inplacitare (uel)<sup>a</sup> incarcerare.<sup>4</sup> Item quod curatus malus subditos excommunicans pro decimarum detencione, pecuniam ab eis indebite et male extorquet.<sup>5</sup> Item nullus uiuens contra legem Dei est sacerdos qualitercumque fuerit ab episcopo ordinatus.<sup>6</sup>

Hec et huiusmodi quamplura erronea predicans et docens atque heretica, quorum quedam infra patebunt, affabilitatem uulgi captauit et eorum familiaritatem sibi adquisiuit in tantum ut dicerent nunquam uidisse aut audisse talem qui ueritatem eis exponeret et sic colebatur ab eis ut alter deus.

Cumque rumor huiusmodi ad aures Iohannis Bukkyngham,<sup>7</sup> episcopi Lincolniensis, personuisset, mox absque dilacione misit, et eum ab omni predicacione in<sup>b</sup> dicta capella seu alia ecclesia uel cimeterio

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission

<sup>b</sup> ne T; corrected by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> The opinions which follow are clearly associated with, but not entirely derived from, those which were formally condemned after Swinburn's trial. They probably represent the general tenor of his teaching, which seems to have been more concerned with the doctrine of grace, and concomitant abuses of clerical power, than with the eucharistic controversy (see below, pp. 320-2, and cf. below, p. 320 n. 9).

<sup>2</sup> Tithes were vital to the medieval church, but were a matter of particular importance and sensitivity in Augustinian houses: see J. C. Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, pp. 207-23, 229-41. See further below, p. 320 n. 5.

1382 people, neither pleasing the laity nor secular clergy nor drawing many into his affinity, turned his preaching against the liberties of the church, and the clergy, and he sought as much as he could, or could contrive, to denigrate churchmen and their reputation.

*Opinions of William the hermit.*<sup>1</sup> Claiming that the clergy lived shamelessly, and misappropriated the church's goods, and spent them ill, he often preached, like the rest of his sect, as appears above, that parishioners were not obliged to give tithes and offerings if their priests did not live chastely, with others of like character, as befitted God's priests, or even if they did not live in their parishes, and spend the church's wealth where they gathered it.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, that if they were deficient in learning, or in address, so that they could not preach or instruct their parishioners adequately, the parishioners could withhold their tithes and offerings, and give them to whomsoever they chose.<sup>3</sup>

For the rest of Wyclif's followers taught that tithes were merely alms, and that therefore they could bestow them where they liked. And, indeed, that if they did not withdraw their tithes from such evil-livers, they became abettors of the offence, and consentors to their evil deeds.

Also he preached that men could with charity seek the payment of debts by their debtors, but that no one should be sued, or imprisoned, for debt.<sup>4</sup> And that a wicked priest who excommunicated his parishioners for withholding tithe extorted money from them unjustly and wrongfully.<sup>5</sup> That no one who lived contrary to the law of God could be a priest, even though he was ordained by a bishop.<sup>6</sup>

Preaching those and other errors and heresies, some of which will appear below, he attracted the approval of the crowd, and he so far gained their esteem that they said that no-one had ever been seen or heard to teach the truth like him, and he was revered by them as though he had been another god.

When such reports came to the ears of John Buckingham,<sup>7</sup> the bishop of Lincoln, he immediately sent word suspending him from preaching in the said chapel, or in any other church or churchyard in

<sup>3</sup> See the second and third errors condemned at Lincoln, which are however concerned with sinful rather than incompetent priests (below, p. 320).

<sup>4</sup> See the first error below, p. 320.

<sup>5</sup> See the fourth error below, p. 320.

<sup>6</sup> See the second heresy below, p. 320.

<sup>7</sup> On Buckingham's proceedings, see A. McHardy, 'Bishop Buckingham and the Lollards of Lincoln diocese', in *Schism, Heresy, and Religious Protest*, SCH ix (1972), 131-45.

1382 sue diocesis de cetero suspendit. Et populo inhibuit ne quis eum predicantem presumere auderet, uel ei predicanti faueret, sub pena excommunicationis maioris quam in scriptis ferebat, et lacius fieri mandauerat ab aliis in diuersis ecclesiis.<sup>1</sup>

Stabat autem unum par molarum ad uendendum extra capellam in alta strata, et dictus Willelmus ibidem inter illos lapides parauit sibi pulpitem et conuocauit populum, atque ibi pluries in contemptum episcopi predicauit, dicens se posse et uelle in strata regia inuitis dentibus episcopi predicare dum tamen beneuolenciam populi obtineret.

Tunc uideres populorum turbas ex omni parte, tam de uilla quam de patria, copiosus solito quasi in duplo, ad eius predicacionem ruere post talem inhibitionem et sentencie excommunicationis fulminacionem, quam ante solebant quam magis licite poterant. Nam fulminata erat sentencia excommunicationis tam in abbatia quam in multis aliis ecclesiis.<sup>2</sup>

Interim dominus episcopus Lincolniensis eum citauit ad comparendum in ecclesia cathedrali Lincolniensi, qui die statuto ibidem comparuit, et obiectis ei conclusionibus quas predicauerat, dies plures habuit ad deliberandum et ad obiecta respondendum. Tandem super diuersis heresibus et erroribus publice conuictus, pabulum ignis digne effici meruit.<sup>3</sup>

fo. 190<sup>v</sup> Tunc flebant sui et palmas et capita ad parietes cum uoce lacrimosa iecerunt. Nam plures de uilla Leycestrie qualibet uice comitabantur / eum ad ferendum ei auxilium licet incassum. Nam in illo casu nichil proficere potuerunt.<sup>4</sup>

Set casu affuit Lincolnie eodem die pius dux Lancastrie, qui Lollardis omnibus semper affuerat cum subsidio.<sup>5</sup> Credidit namque eos sanctos Dei propter blandiciem sermonis et uultus, tamen deceptus sicut et multi alii. Hic interuenit apud episcopum pro predicto Willelmo ut penam eius transferret in aliam penatenciam.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> penatenciam (for penitenciam) superimposed by reviser over potenciam

<sup>1</sup> There is an inhibition dated 5 March 1382 in Buckingham's register (L, fo. 236<sup>v</sup>), addressed to the archdeacon's official, and the deans of the parochial clergy of the archdeaconry. It cites Swinderby to appear within ten days before the bishop's commissioners at Lyddington, and is followed (fo. 242<sup>v</sup>) by another version, addressed to the abbot of St Mary's and the deans of the collegiate churches on the same day, by two further citations, and by an invitation to the clergy to object, by raising further charges, to Swinderby's compurgation (fos. 242<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>). The list of articles which Swinderby forswore (see below, p. 316 n. 1) probably represents an intermediate stage of the process against him, which the

1382 the diocese. And he forbade the populace to listen to any such preaching, or to further it under pain of the greater excommunication, all which the bishop sent in letters, with instructions to publish them in various other churches.<sup>1</sup>

However, there was a pair of millstones for sale, standing in the street outside the chapel, and William made his pulpit there, between the stones, and assembled the people, and preached there many times in defiance of the bishop, saying that he could and would preach in the king's highway, in spite of the bishop, for as long as he had the goodwill of the public.

Then would you have seen crowds of people from all parts, both from the town and the county, not only in greater numbers than usual, but even twice as many as when they had been free to listen to him, hastening to hear him preaching after that prohibition and sentence of excommunication, which had been pronounced both in the abbey and in many other churches.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time the lord bishop of Lincoln cited him to appear in the cathedral church of Lincoln. And on the appointed day he appeared, and having heard the charges against his preaching, he had several days to consider them, and to reply to the objections. At last, however, he was publicly convicted of various heresies and errors, and adjudged fuel for the flames.<sup>3</sup>

Then there was weeping, and the beating of heads and hands against the walls, and loud lamentation. For many had come with him each time from the town of Leicester to lend him support, though in vain, for in such a cause they could not prevail.<sup>4</sup>

As it happened, however, the good duke of Lancaster, who was always ready to help the Lollards, was in Lincoln that same day. He believed them to be God's saints, because of their bland words and expressions, though he was deceived in them, as were many others. He intervened with the bishop on William's behalf, seeking to have his punishment commuted to some other.<sup>5</sup>

bishop may have expected to be more straightforward than it proved to be. See also Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> See above, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> This observation, made c. 1390, seems not to have been noted in discussions of the death penalty for heresy in England: Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 15-16; McFarlane, *Wyckliffe*, pp. 71. Swinderby himself, however, observed subsequently that he did not know by what law he was condemned (McFarlane, *ibid.*, p. 109).

<sup>4</sup> Swinderby produced a testimonial under seal from the mayor and burgesses of Leicester by way of compurgation: McFarlane, *Wyckliffe*, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup> At his later trial, Swinderby referred to the presence of Gaunt and his son Bolingbroke



Et concessit episcopus sub forma que sequitur. Quod ipse in quibuscumque ecclesiis tales conclusiones predicauerat puplice diebus festis inter missarum solempnia, eleuata uoce, recognosceret se falsa predicasse et docuisse, et hereses atque errores quas predicauerat et super eis conuictus fuerat reuocaret, asserens determinacionibus sancte matris (ecclesie)<sup>a</sup> et sanctorum doctorum repugnare. Et quod in posterum non predicaret in diocesi Lincolniensi nisi prius habita licencia diocesani.

Et hec omnia postea infra breue adimpleuit, et in ecclesia cathedrali Lincolnie primo, postea Leycestria in ecclesiis Sancte Crucis, Sancte Margarete, et Noue Hospitalis, deinde in ecclesiis de Meltone, Loughtborowe, et multis aliis comitante semper eum magistro Stephano de Syresham, uicario de Barowe, sequestratore tunc episcopi, et ad hoc opus superuidendum specialiter ab episcopo deputato.

*Copia reuocacionis Willelmi de (S)wyndurby<sup>b</sup> per commissionem episcopi.<sup>1</sup>*

Iohannes, permissione diuina Lincolniensis episcopus, dilectis filiis<sup>c</sup> officiali archidiaconi nostri Leycestrensis, magistro Stephano Syresham, perpetuo uicario ecclesie de Barowe, sequestratori nostro in archidiaconatu predicto, singulis decanis ecclesiarum parochialium, rectoribus, uicariis perpetuis, et eorum capellanis parochialibus, et aliis quibuscumque, diuina celebrantibus per dictum archidiaconatum, uilibet constitutis: salutem, gratiam, et benedictionem.

Ad extirpandam perfidiam<sup>d</sup> in uarios errores prorumpendum temporibus modernis qui molientes scindere tunicam Domini inconsutilem, ecclesie uidelicet sancte et fidei catholice ueritatem,<sup>e</sup> predicacionis quin uerius preuaricacionis officium temere usurpantes per loca uaria nostre diocesis discurrendo nonnulla heretica, erronea<sup>f</sup> blasphemica, scismatica, sacrisque canonibus et decretis repugnancia, docere et puplice predicare nequiter pre-

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission of the bishop's letters in T sempiternam L, fo. 243

<sup>b</sup> Wyndurby is a consistent aberration of the following text  
<sup>c</sup> uniuersis sancte matris filiis salutem in domino  
<sup>d</sup> L, om. T  
<sup>e</sup> unitatem L  
<sup>f</sup> L, om. T

at his final appearance before Buckingham: McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 109. The author of FZ says that Swinderby appealed to the king and to John of Gaunt, and that the matter was referred to parliament, which prolonged the trial (FZ, p. 340). Parliament was not in session between 22 May and 6 Oct. 1382, but Gaunt's presence in Lincoln may have been a result of Swinderby's application. The first of the opinions attributed above (p. 286) to John Aston appears in the list of charges against Swinderby (L, fo. 243', where it is fourth), with the

And the bishop agreed, on the terms which follow: that in the churches in which he had preached his beliefs, he should publicly, and between solemn masses upon feast days, acknowledge with raised voice that he had preached and taught falsely, and renounce the heresies and errors which he had preached, and of which he had been convicted, declaring them repugnant to the teaching of Holy Church and her doctors, and that in future he would not preach within the diocese of Lincoln unless he first had the diocesan's licence.

And within a short time all that was done, first in the cathedral church of Lincoln, and afterwards at Leicester in the churches of Holy Cross [St Martin's], St Margaret, and the New Hospital, and then in the churches of Melton Mowbray, Loughborough, and many others, always in the company of Master Stephen Syresham, the vicar of Barrow and the bishop's sequestrator, who was specially appointed by the bishop to supervise the task.

*A copy of William Swinderby's recantation made upon the bishop's commission.<sup>1</sup>*

John, by divine permission bishop of Lincoln, to our beloved sons the official of our archdeacon of Leicester, Master Stephen Syresham, perpetual vicar of the church of Barrow-upon-Soar and our sequestrator in the aforesaid archdeaconry, the rural deans, rectors, perpetual vicars, and their parochial chaplains, and others whomsoever appointed to celebrate divine service within the said archdeaconry: greeting, grace, and benediction.

To crush the perfidy of the divers errors of those who, flourishing in our time, labour to rend the seamless robe of Our Lord, which is to say the truth of Holy Church and the catholic faith, presumptuously usurping the office of preaching, or rather of perverting the truth, and, running through various places in our diocese, wickedly presume to teach and publicly to preach heresies, errors, blasphemies, and schismatic opinions repugnant to the sacred canons and decrees, rending by their dissent and contumely the

addition that a bishop who excommunicates a clerk who has appealed to the king and council is excommunicate and heretical (see also above, p. 291). On Gaunt's patronage of Lollards and of other, more orthodox clerics, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 241-71.

<sup>1</sup> Knighton's source is the letter addressed to the bishop's commissary, the text of which was registered at Lincoln only in a shortened form, undated, with a general greeting: 'uniuersis filiis sancte matris ecclesie' (L, fos. 243<sup>v</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>). The registered copy, cited in the notes as L, has been used here to clarify the text, without reference to minor differences such as inversions of pairs of words, and variant spellings.



1382 sumpserunt, status et gradus ecclesiasticos a sanctis patribus institutos conficta materia quia ueritate non poterant suis conuiciis et contumeliis lacerantes, cura nostri regiminis perurgente spiritualiter insurgentes nuper Willelmum de (S)wyndurby dicte nostre diocesis se presbiterum pretendentem<sup>a</sup> super premissis et ceteris conclusionibus infrascriptis hereticis, erroneis atque falsis grauiter nobis suspectum, et clamosa insinuacione ac fama puplica referentibus denunciatum et delatum, fecimus coram certis nostris commissariis certis die et loco ad iudicium legitime euocari.

fo. 191<sup>r</sup> Quibus obiectis eidem Willelmo<sup>b</sup> per eosdem commissarios<sup>b</sup> coram eis comparanti, conclusionibus et articulis memoratis, petitoque termino per eundem Willelmum ad deliberandum super conclusionibus et huiusmodi articulis et ad respondendum eisdem, iidem commissarii terminum huiusmodi sibi<sup>c</sup> prefixerunt competentem, in quo comparante dicto Willelmo coram eis, ac medio suo iuramento responso / conclusionibus et articulis antedictis, eis que per eum omnino negatis, cum contra eum uehemens fama super hiis laboraret, commissarii nostri antedicti eidem Willelmo canonicam super hiis purgacionem induxerunt, certum ad hoc diem statuentes et locum, saluo iure prosequi uolencium super premissis, et se opponere intendencium contra purgacionem sic inductam.

Quibus in genere uocatis et premunitis comparuerunt iudicialiter coram commissariis antedictis, reuerendi discrecionis uiri fratres Rogerus de Frysby, de ordine Minorum, Iohannes de Hynkeleye, de ordine Augustiniensi, et Thomas de Blacston, de ordine Predicatorum, sacre pagine<sup>d</sup> professores, offerentes se ut denunciatores ad probandum premissorum per dictum Willelmum negatorum,<sup>1</sup> eis que in forma iuris admissis ac testibus nonnullis per eos productis iuratis et examinatis, nos una cum commissariis nostris memoratis, in ecclesia nostra Lincolniensi in causa huiusmodi pro tribunali sedentes, ad instanciam fratrum denunciacionum predictorum, deposiciones testium in causa huiusmodi productorum fecimus publicari, eis necnon<sup>e</sup> omnibus et singulis in causa

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by reviser from precedentem  
<sup>c</sup> L; om. T

<sup>d</sup> theologie L

<sup>b-b</sup> Follows comparanti in L  
<sup>e</sup> L; nec T

<sup>1</sup> The bishop's original commissioners, named in his letters of 5 Mar. 1382 (L., fo. 242<sup>r</sup>), were the sub-dean and two canons of Lincoln, but on 12 May he appointed two other canons, Thomas Sutton, DD, and Geoffrey le Scrope, before whom Swinderby first appeared on 9 June. Swinderby subsequently made default, but on offering to purge himself

1382 structure and orders instituted by the holy fathers, inventing where the truth will not serve them, and particularly as rebelling against our rule, we have lately caused William Swinderby, of our said diocese, a reputed priest preaching upon the foregoing and the other heretical, erroneous, and false conclusions hereunder written, gravely suspect to us, and denounced and delated by clamant notoriety and public fame, to appear before our appointed commissioners on and at a particular day and place, duly to be called to judgement.

The which conclusions and articles having been put to the same William by the commissioners when he appeared before them, and he having asked for time to consider such conclusions and articles, and to make answer to them, the same commissioners appointed a suitable time, at which the said William appeared before them, and by means of his oath made answer to the aforesaid conclusions and articles, and altogether denied them. And because public knowledge ran vehemently against him in the matter, our aforesaid commissioners put the same William to canonical purgation, appointing a certain day and place therefor, saving the right of those wishing to proceed upon the foregoing matters, and themselves to oppose the purgation thus appointed.

The which persons having been summoned in general terms, there appeared judicially before the aforesaid commissioners the reverend and learned brethren Roger Frisby, OFM, John Hinckley, OESA, and Thomas Blackstone, OP, doctors of divinity, who offered themselves as denouncers, in proof of the premises denied by the said William.<sup>1</sup> And they having been admitted in due form, and various witnesses produced by them having been sworn and examined, we together with our said commissioners, sitting in judgement upon the said cause in our church of Lincoln, at the request of the said friars as denouncers, have caused the depositions of the witnesses produced to be published. And by them, and all and singular in the same cause effected and per-

in the second week of July was again inhibited from preaching, a fact notified to the clergy of the archdeaconry on 14 June (L., fos. 242<sup>r</sup>-3, and above p. 312, n. 1). On his further appearance his answers were challenged by the three friars (said all to be DDs: a reinforcement which reflects significantly upon his own powers of argument). The local names of two of the friars, Frisby and Hinckley, suggest that the three may have been chosen to represent the three mendicant houses in Leicester. Frisby was certainly at Leicester in 1402 (*BRUC* 244-5); Hinckley is known only to have been at Boston in the 1350s (*BRUO* 996). Blackstone is not recorded as a graduate of either university.

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eadem actis et habitis et productis, uisis<sup>a</sup> et intellectis et debite recensitis, prefatum Willelmum tam per probaciones testium quam alias legitime super obiectis sibi ut premittitur et per eum negatis conuictum reputantes, et ibidem a suis erroribus diuertentem ac ordinacioni et<sup>b</sup> disposicioni sancte matris ecclesie atque nostris se super omnibus antedictis humiliter submittentem, eum ad gremium sancte matris ecclesie<sup>c</sup> quod claudi non debet redeunti misericorditer admisimus, iuxta formam et modum sacris canonibus constitutum.

Vnde iniuncta sibi penitencia salutari pro commissis eum fecimus prestare, prout prestitit ad sancta Dei euangelia tactis sacrosanctis, corporale iuramentum quod nunquam de cetero dictos articulos et conclusiones sibi tunc ibidem puplice recitatas et expositas nec eorum aliquam predicabit, docebit, tenebit uel affirmabit, puplice uel occulte, sub pena relapsus in eadem, quod que dictas conclusiones et earum quamlibet puplice reuocabit locis et diebus infrascriptis coram populi multitudine adunata et sub ea forma uerborum que inferius describetur, uidelicet in ecclesia nostra Lincolniensi die Dominica proxima futura dum missarum solempnia celebrantur, ac in ecclesia prebendali Sancte Margarete Leycestrie,<sup>d</sup> ac in ecclesia parochiali Sancti Martini et eciam in ecclesia Noui Operis Leycestrie Beate Marie,<sup>d</sup> necnon in ecclesiis parochialibus de Meltone Moubray, Halughtone, Hareburghe, et Lowtburghe, proximis<sup>e</sup> diebus Dominicis iuxta numerum et ordinem locorum predictorum proxime et successiue futuris, et captandis ad premissa adimplenda.

Formam<sup>f</sup> uero reuocacionis puplice per predictum Willelmum fiende de quo supra fit mencio statuimus in hec uerba:

*Forma reuocacionis W. <S>wyndurby.*

Ego Willelmus de <S>wyndurby, presbiter, licet indignus, Lincolniensis diocesis, cognoscens ueram catholicam et apostolicam et sancte Romane ecclesie fidem omnem heresim et errorem determinationi sancte matris ecclesie repugnantem de quibus fui hactenus infamatus, et presertim conclusiones ac articulos subsequentes et eorum quemlibet, per commissarios reuerendi in Cristo patris et<sup>g</sup> domini mei<sup>h</sup> domini Iohannis, Dei gracia<sup>h</sup> Lincolniensis

<sup>a</sup> L; om. T      <sup>b</sup> L; om. T      <sup>c</sup> L; om. T      <sup>d-d</sup> The order of the churches  
in L is St Margaret's, St Mary's of the Newarke, and St Martin's      <sup>e</sup> L; propriis T  
<sup>f</sup> L; forma in T      <sup>g</sup> Supplied from L      <sup>h-h</sup> L; om. T

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formed, and produced, seen, understood, and duly reviewed, both by the evidence of witnesses and by other objections against him, as aforesaid, and by him denied, we repute the said William convicted, and he having thereupon turned away from his errors, and humbly submitting himself to the ordinance and disposition of Holy Mother Church, and of us, upon all the foregoing matters, we have mercifully admitted him to the bosom of Holy Mother Church, which ought never to be closed to any who seek it, in the form and manner appointed by the holy canons.

Wherefore, enjoining upon him salutary penance for his acts, we have caused him to swear, as he ought, a corporal oath upon the Holy Gospel of God, touching the holy things, that henceforth he will never preach, teach, hold to, or affirm, in public or in private, the said articles and conclusions then publicly read and declared to him, nor any of them, upon pain of relapsing in the act itself, and that he shall publicly renounce the aforesaid conclusions, and every one of them, in the places and on the days herein written below, before a great number of people assembled, and in the form of the words prescribed below, namely in our church of Lincoln on Sunday next [13 July 1382], while solemn masses are celebrated, and in the prebendal church of St Margaret, Leicester, and in the parish church of St Martin, and also in the church of the Blessed Mary of the Newarke, in Leicester, and also in the parish churches of Melton Mowbray, Hallaton, Market Harborough, and Loughborough, on the Sundays next and following, according to the number and order of the aforesaid places to be appointed to accomplish the matters set out above.

And we have established the form of the revocation which the aforesaid William is publicly to make, and which is mentioned above, in these words:

*The form of William Swinderby's recantation.*

I, William Swinderby, a priest, though unworthy, of the diocese of Lincoln, acknowledging the true Catholic and apostolic faith of the Holy Roman Church, do abjure all heresy and error defined by and repugnant to Holy Mother Church of which I have lately stood accused, and especially the following articles and conclusions, and every one of them, judicially adduced against me by the commissioners of the reverend father in Christ my lord John, by the grace of God lord bishop of Lincoln, and renounce each and every one of

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fo. 191<sup>v</sup>

episcopi, iudicialiter michi obiectos abiuro et eas<sup>a</sup> omnes ac quemlibet earundem reuoco, aliquas ut hereticas et reliquas<sup>b</sup> ut / erroneas atque falsas, et tales eas fore<sup>c</sup> assero atque credo, et nullam earum de cetero predicabo, docebo, uel affirmabo publice uel occulte.

Necque<sup>d</sup> sermonem faciam ad populum nec predicabo in posterum infra diocesim Lincolnensem nisi licencia dicti<sup>e</sup> reuerendi patris et domini mei Lincolnensis episcopi petita primitus et optenta, quod si ego ipse aliquando contra hec aliquid sentire, facere, asserere, seu predicare presumpsero, seueritati canonum subiacebo prout iudicialiter iuris necessitate iurauit et nunc iuro.

Conclusiones quoque per dictum Willelmum abiurate per eum ut premittitur reuocande, in hec uerba sequuntur:<sup>f</sup>

Prima heresis quod puer non est uere baptizatus, si sacerdos baptizans, compater, uel commater fuerint in peccato mortali.<sup>2</sup> Secunda heresis quod nullus uiuens contra legem Dei est sacerdos qualitercumque fuerit ab aliquo episcopo ordinatus in sacerdotem.<sup>3</sup>

Primus error quod homines possunt debita ex caritate petere set nullo modo propter debita aliquem incarcerare, et quod sic incarcerans est excommunicatus.<sup>4</sup> Secundus error quod<sup>g</sup> si parochiani<sup>h</sup> sciuerint curatum illorum esse incontinentem<sup>i</sup> et malum, debent ab eo subtrahere decimas et alias sunt fautores criminis et consencientes eius malis operibus.<sup>5</sup> Tercius error quod decime sunt pure elemosine, et in casu quo curati fuerint<sup>j</sup> mali possunt eas licite aliis conferre.<sup>6</sup> Quartus error quod curatus malus subditos excommunicans pro decimarum detencione non est nisi ab eis pecuniam indebite et male extorquere.<sup>7</sup> Quintus error quod nullus prelati potest aliquem excommunicare, nisi prius sciat ipsum excommunicatum a Deo.<sup>8</sup>

Nota quod episcopus in isto loco et serie posuit antescriptas heresias, et inter errores numerauit ut sequitur.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> L; om. T      <sup>b</sup> L; om. T      <sup>c</sup> L; om. T      <sup>d</sup> Necque L; Nec T  
<sup>e</sup> L; om. T      <sup>f</sup> L lists eight errors and one article, followed by the two heresies  
<sup>g</sup> L; om. T      <sup>h</sup> Corrected from parochianis by scribe      <sup>i</sup> incontinentem T  
<sup>j</sup> L; om. T

<sup>1</sup> Swinderby's defence appears to have reduced the number (from 16 to 11), and to some extent the weight, of the charges against him. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 74-5.

<sup>2</sup> This charge is not amongst the articles recorded against Swinderby earlier (L, fo. 243, and above, p. 310), but is attributed to the sermon which Walsingham says he preached on Good Friday (*Chron. Anglie*, p. 340).

<sup>3</sup> This opinion which was condemned at the Blackfriars council (above, pp. 254-6), is

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them, some as heretical, and the rest as erroneous and false, and such I assert and believe them to be, and none of them shall I henceforth teach or affirm, publicly or privately.

Nor henceforth shall I deliver sermons to the people, nor preach, within the diocese of Lincoln, unless I have first sought and obtained the licence of the said reverend father and my lord, the bishop of Lincoln. And that if I should at any time presume to think, act, or preach against the foregoing, I shall of necessity become subject to the penalty prescribed by the canons, as judicially I have sworn and do now swear as the law requires.

The conclusions abjured by the said William, and renounced by him in the manner set out above, follow in these words.<sup>1</sup>

First heresy, that a child is not baptized if the priest baptizing, the godfather, or the godmother, be in mortal sin.<sup>2</sup> Second heresy, that none living against the law of God is a priest, no matter how he may have been ordained by a bishop.<sup>3</sup>

First error, that men may in charity seek the payment of debts, but that no one should on any account be imprisoned for debt, and that anyone who so imprisons another is excommunicate.<sup>4</sup> Second error, that if parishioners know their priest to be incontinent and evil they ought to withdraw their tithes from him, for otherwise they are abettors of the offence and consentient to his evil works.<sup>5</sup> Third error, that tithes are pure alms, and where the priest is wicked, they may be disposed elsewhere.<sup>6</sup> Fourth error, that a wicked priest excommunicating his parishioners for non-payment of tithe does nothing but extort money unduly and wickedly from them.<sup>7</sup> The fifth error, that no prelate can excommunicate anyone unless he first knows him to be excommunicate of God.<sup>8</sup>

Note that the bishop put the above-written heresies into that place in the series, and numbered them amongst the errors as follows.<sup>9</sup>

attributed by Walsingham in a different form, namely that the priest had to be one chosen by God, to Swinderby's Good Friday sermon (*Chron. Anglie*, p. 340).

<sup>4</sup> An opinion which appears in L, fo. 243, and in the Good Friday sermon (*Chron. Anglie*, p. 340).

<sup>5</sup> See L, fo. 243 (above, p. 310); and the Good Friday sermon in *Chron. Anglie*, pp. 340, and 341, where the denunciation of the priest is more specific.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 310, n. 1; and *Chron. Anglie*, p. 340.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 000, n. 00; and *Chron. Anglie*, p. 340.

<sup>8</sup> An opinion listed in L, fo. 243, and attributed to Swinderby's Palm Sunday sermon in *Chron. Anglie*, p. 338.

<sup>9</sup> The remaining errors do not appear elsewhere in this form, and presumably do represent some of Swinderby's own opinions. The incapacity of a priest in mortal sin to confect

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Octauus error<sup>a</sup> quod<sup>b</sup> quilibet sacerdos potest, habita contricione, quemlibet peccatorem absoluere, et non obstante prohibicione episcopi tenetur euangelium populo predicare. Nonus error<sup>c</sup> quod sacerdos recipiens aliquid pro annuali ex pacto, eo ipso symoniacus est et excommunicatus. Decimus error,<sup>d</sup> credit firmiter ut asserit quod quilibet sacerdos existens in mortali peccato si ponat se ad conficiendum corpus Cristi, potius committit ydolatriam quam conficit. Vndecimus error,<sup>e</sup> nimis diffamatorius, nullus sacerdos in aliquam domum intrat nisi ad male tractandum uxorem, filiam, aut ancillam,<sup>1</sup> et ideo rogabat ut mariti caueant ne sacerdotem aliquem in domum suam intrare permittant.

Quocirca ne ueritas gestorum in hac parte peruersorum uersucia et loquacitate pallietur, set potius dampnata huiusmodi hereticarum et erroneorum conclusionum iniquitas et confusio eas asserencium ueniant in puplicam nocionem, uobis omnibus et singulis precipimus et mandamus quatinus in locis supradictis, prout ad uos et quemlibet uestrum pertinebit, premissa omnia et singula populo et clero ad hoc congregandis puplice nunciatis et ea exequamini et exequi faciatis cum effectu.

Dictumque Willelmum Swyndurby admittatis et inducatis ac per censuram ecclesiasticam si oportuerit compellatis ad ea que sibi ut premittitur pro suis excessibus sunt iniuncta efficaciter peragenda, nos reddentes / de modo et forma execucionis uestre presencium ac omni eo quod memoratus Willelmus faciendum duxerit in premissis plenus certiores literis<sup>f</sup> uestris patentibus<sup>g</sup> habentibus hunc tenorem sigillo auctentico consignatis.<sup>g</sup>

Datum in domo nostra capitulari ecclesie nostre Lincolniensis .xj. die mensis Iulii, anno Domini millesimo .ccc. octogesimo secundo, et nostre consecracionis uicesimo.

Hiis atque transactis, antedictus Willelmus heremita mansit apud Leycestriam apud predictam capellam tristis et merens eo quod hii qui aliquando dum prospera succederent uidebantur eius amici iam quasi desolatum eum dimittebant non uisitando nec consolando, neque ei solitam annonam ministrando.<sup>2</sup> Quia sic eo a predicacione

<sup>a</sup> Correctly noted as sixth in L

<sup>b</sup> L; om. T

<sup>c</sup> Numbered seventh in L

<sup>d</sup> Numbered eighth in L

<sup>e</sup> Numbered as ninth error, amended to

Articulus nimis diffamatorius, in L

<sup>f</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>g</sup> Om. FZ

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The eighth error, that any priest can, where there is contrition, absolve any sin and, notwithstanding episcopal prohibition, is bound to preach the Gospel to the people. The ninth error, that a priest receiving a payment for anniversary prayers by agreement is simoniacal and excommunicate. The tenth error, that he believed firmly, as he asserted, that any priest being in mortal sin who sets himself to confect Christ's body rather commits idolatry than achieves his purpose. The eleventh error, greatly defamatory, that no priest ever enters a house but to defile a wife, a daughter, or a maid-servant,<sup>1</sup> and that therefore he besought men to take care never to admit a priest to their houses.

Therefore lest the truth of these matters be stained by the deceit and chatter of the perverse, but the more that the condemned wickedness of such heresies and errors and the confusion caused by those asserting them be brought to public notice as a warning, we require and order you, all and singular, so far as it belongs to you, and to every one of you, upon the days and in the places aforesaid, publicly to proclaim, to the people and clergy then gathered, all and singular the foregoing matters, and to enact them and cause them to be enacted and put into effect.

And the said William Swinderby to admit and induce, and if necessary to compel by ecclesiastical censure, effectively to do those things which have been enjoined upon him to do, rendering to us a full account of your performance of these presents, and of all that the said William is brought to do in the foregoing matters, by your letters patent, their tenor being authenticated by your official seal.

Given in our chapter house of our church of Lincoln, on the eleventh day of July 1382, in the twentieth year of our consecration.

Those things done, the aforesaid William the hermit stayed in the said chapel in Leicester, sad and mournful, because those who, in the times when things went well with him, had seemed to be his friends, now left him desolate, neither visiting nor consoling him, nor making their customary gifts to him.<sup>2</sup> For once he had ceased from preaching

the sacrament is perhaps Swinderby's closest approach to the eucharistic issues debated in the university.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. 2 Tim. 3: 6.

<sup>2</sup> Local opinion was not entirely hostile: see McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 110. For a further assessment of Swinderby's qualities, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 352-3.

1382 solita cessante, fragor et fauor populi erga eum cepit tepescere, et de<sup>a</sup> die in diem magis ac magis frigescere, et inde ipse de uita sua fastidire.

Sicque inter breue in se reuersus fugam de uilla occulte iniiit et ad uillam de Couentria abiit, ubi infra breue a laycis in maiori honore quam antea fuerat ibidem habebatur, circiter per annum predicans sicut et prius docens, et plures ad sectam execrabilem subuertens, donec lustrata eius fama et pestifera eius seductione per diocesanum et clerum de diocesi illa ridiculose deiectus est, cum maximo rubore.<sup>1</sup>

1383 Dominus Henricus le Spenser episcopus Norwycensis perrexit cum cruciata contra adherentes pape Clementis.<sup>2</sup> Nam Francia, Scotia, Flandria, et multe alie naciones fauebant et aderebant antepape predicto. Collegerat namque dictus episcopus innumerabilem et incredibilem summam pecunie: auri, et argenti, atque iocalium, monilium, anulorum, discorum, peciarum, coeliarium, et aliorum ornamentorum, et precipue de dominabus et aliis mulieribus. Nam dicebatur quod unica domina ei contribuit .c. libras, et sic alie, quedam maius, alie minus.

Et quamplures ultra suum posse, ut credebatur, ut beneficium absolucionis consequerentur pro se et suis beniuolis amicis. Et sic secretus thesaurus regni, qui in manibus erat mulierum, periclitatus est. Et sic faciebant tam uiri quam mulieres, diuites et pauperes, secundum facultatem bonorum suorum et ultra, ut sic, tam amici eorum defuncti, quam ipsi, a suis delictis absoluerentur. Nam aliter non absoluebantur, nisi tribuerunt secundum posse suum et facultatem suam.

Et multi inueniebant uiros armatos sumptibus suis, multi sagittarios propriis expensis, et multi ibant in propriis personis et sumptibus. Habuit namque predictus episcopus indulgencias mirabiles, cum absolucione a pena et a culpa pro dicta cruciata a papa Urbano .vj. ei concessas, cuius auctoritate tam mortuos quam uiuos, ex quorum parte contribucio sufficiens fiebat, per se et suos commissarios a pena et culpa absoluebat. Dicebatur enim quod quidam de commissariis suis asserebant quod ad eorum preceptum angeli de celo descenderent, / et animas in purgatoriis locis positas de penis eriperent, et ad celos absque mora deducerent.

<sup>a</sup> in cancelled by scribe

<sup>1</sup> To a busy mission in the Welsh March: McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 115–16; Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> Despenser offered, in effect, to lead his expedition with what he and his agents could

as he used to do, the people's clamour and enthusiasm for him began to cool, and from day to day they became colder towards him, and so he began to weary of his life.

Therefore within a short time he turned about, and fled covertly to the town of Coventry, where for a while he was held in greater honour by the laity than he had been before, preaching for about a year, and teaching as he had previously, and converting many to his execrable beliefs, until news of his fame and his evil seductions came to the notice of the bishop and clergy, and then he was driven forth from the diocese with ridicule and the greatest shame.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Despenser, bishop of Norwich, departed on a crusade against the supporters of Pope Clement [VII].<sup>2</sup> For France, Scotland, Flanders, and many other countries favoured and supported the aforesaid antipope. The bishop had raised an incalculable and unbelievably large sum of money, in gold and silver, and in jewels, necklaces, rings, dishes, plate, spoons, and other ornaments, and especially from ladies and other women, for it was said that one lady gave him £100, and others likewise, some more, and some less.

And it was believed that very many gave more than they could afford, in order to secure the benefit of absolution for themselves and their devoted friends. And thus that hidden treasure of the kingdom which is in the hands of women was put at risk. That was done by both men and women, rich and poor, according to what they possessed, and beyond, that they might secure absolution for their friends who had died, as well as for their own sins, for they could not be absolved unless they contributed according to their ability and means.

And many provided men-at-arms at their own charges, many others paid for archers, and many went themselves at their own expense. For the bishop had wonderful indulgences, with absolution from punishment and from guilt, granted to him for the said crusade by Pope Urban VI, by whose authority both he and his agents absolved both the living and the dead on whose behalf a sufficient contribution was made. It was even said that some of his commissaries asserted that angels would descend from the skies at their bidding, and snatch souls in purgatory from their places of punishment, and lead them to Heaven without delay.

raise, and accepted an inadequate subsidy which parliament voted to him in preference to supporting Lancaster's ambitions in Spain. See M. Aston, 'The impeachment of Bishop Despenser', *BIHR* xxxviii (1965), 127–48. On the finances, see further W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations*, pp. 535–44; Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 186–8; and Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 341–4, on some of the politics.

Episcopus igitur primo aciem exercitus sui direxit in Flandriam, ubi cum uenisset, debellauit uillas de Grafhuide, Burborgh cum castello, Barwe, Dunchirche, castellum de Dryngham, castellum de Casselys, Nuport, Dicsmyt, Poprync, ecclesiam Sancti Georgii munitam Forne, et multas alias non munitas, et cepit eas et tenuit.<sup>1</sup> Cum igitur esset apud Dunchirche congregati sunt uiri ad eum in pugnam et pugnauit cum eis et deuicit et in fugam uertit, et plures cepit et circiter tria milia occidit.<sup>2</sup>

Et obsedit uillam de Ypres magno tempore, et oppungnauit eam, et multos insultus ei fecit, set semper reuerberatus erat. Tandem ipso inconsulto, et nesciente exercitu eius, recessit ab obsidione et defluxit ab eo, posuerat enim unam machinam magnam,<sup>4</sup> et unum trepget, cum una magna gunna uocata gunna Cantuariensis, contra unam turrin super unam portam, et hiis ibidem relictis, cum duobus curriculis onustis cum utensilibus et aliis necessariis suis, ipse secutus est suos, subclamante populo uille qui inibi erat super eum, et clamore magno perstrepenste. Igitur episcopus, sic recedens ab obsidione, recepit se in uillam de Dunchirche cum multis aliis de populo suo.<sup>3</sup>

Dominus Thomas Tryuet hospitatus est, cum multis aliis, in uilla de Burborgh, et fortificauerunt uillam cum palo et fossa. Insuper subito superuenit rex Francie, cum regali potencia, et accessit ad uillam de Burborgh, et tentoria fixit ad obsidionem.<sup>4</sup> Et ignem sagittauit in uillam, et inuoluit eam in incendio. Villa uero cremante fiebat insultus ad palum usque ad uesperam, set bene reuerberati recesserunt Franci uice illa. In crastino misit rex Francie ad eos qui inibi erant ut redderent uillam, et fertur dominum Thomam Tryuet talem dedisse responsum, si rex Francie continuare uellet insultus contra eos per se et suos, ut prius ceperat, per .xiiiij. dies sequentes, inuenire deberet paratos pauculos Angligenas ibidem quasi in paruo clausulo positos, ipsum et suos more Anglicano potenter repulsuros.

<sup>4</sup> Interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> The force landed at Calais on 17 May, and enjoyed success up to 9 June, when Poperinge fell, and the siege of Ypres began: Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 190; *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 38–40. See also Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 47–9. Westminster had access to a newsletter which Despenser himself probably wrote (see W. A. Pantin, 'A medieval treatise on letter-writing, from Rylands MS. 394', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xiii (1929), 359–61), but the details, such as the list of places occupied, and the general tenor of Knighton's account point to another source, or sources, amongst other things favourable to Sir Thomas Trivet.

<sup>2</sup> Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 191–2. Despenser's newsletter put the total at 10,000 at least: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 38–40.

The bishop therefore first led his army in formation into Flanders, and when he arrived he attacked the towns of Gravelines, Bourbourg, with its castle, Bergues, Dunkerque, the castle of Dringham, the castle of Cassel, Nieuport, Diksmuide, Poperinge, the fortified church of St George at Veurne, and many other places unfortified, and took them and held them.<sup>1</sup> And when he was at Dunkerque, the men there gathered to fight him, and he beat them, and put them to flight, and took many prisoner, and killed some 3,000.<sup>2</sup>

And he besieged the town of Ypres for a long time, and attacked it, and made many assaults, but was always beaten off. At last, precipitately and without consulting his army, he withdrew from the siege and fled. He had installed a great siege tower with a trebuchet, and a heavy gun called the Canterbury gun, against a tower by one of the gates, and those he abandoned there, together with two carts laden with his utensils and other supplies, and he fled with his men amid the jeers of the townsmen, who raised a great clamour against him. The bishop therefore, withdrawing from the siege, lodged himself in Dunkerque with many of his troops.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Thomas Trivet had quarters with many others in the town of Bourbourg, and fortified the town with a fence and ditch. Thereupon the king of France suddenly appeared, with his royal power, and came to Bourbourg and pitched his camp to besiege it.<sup>4</sup> And he shot fire into the town, and set it ablaze. While the town was burning he threw his force against the defences until the evening, but being well beaten the French then withdrew. In the morning the king of France sent to those inside the town inviting them to surrender it, and it is said that Sir Thomas Trivet made answer saying that if the king of France and his men wished to continue the assault against them as he had begun it, at the end of fourteen days he would find a smaller number of Englishmen enclosed within a smaller space, ready to repel him and his men in their rough English way. He was grateful, he said, that so noble a king, with

<sup>3</sup> Despenser chose Ypres rather than Bruges at the wish of the Gantois, whom he subsequently blamed for the fiasco: *RP* iii. 154. See also Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 193, 204; and M. Aston, 'Impeachment', p. 129. He abandoned the siege on 9 Sept. 1383, and returned to England before parliament opened on 26 Oct. (*Westm. Chron.*, pp. 46–8 and nn.). The Canterbury gun may have been a bombard: see further B. H. St J. O'Neil, *Castles and Cannon: A Study of Early Artillery Fortifications in England* (Oxford, 1960), pp. 4–5, and 8–9.

<sup>4</sup> Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 194; Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 49–50. Knighton, unlike the Westminster chronicler, is sympathetic towards Trivet: cf. *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 44–6.



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Et ipsum regraciabatur eo quod tam nobilis rex, tam grandi potencia, paucos uiros Anglicane nacionis tanto honore prebonauerat, bellandi gracia uisitando. Cumque sub tractandi forma tempus per aliquot dies tardarent, et se non posse cum tanta multitudine contendere, nec ualere considerarent, reddere uillam concesserunt sub condicione eis a rege concessa quod libere abire possent, absque dampno suorum, cum equis et armis, et aliis bonis suis.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 193<sup>r</sup>

Dux Britannie ibidem cum rege Francie fuit, qui fidelissimus amicus genti Anglorum pro suo posse, in occulto extiterat qui in quantum potuit apud regem procurauit ut / eis absque dampno talem concederet conductum, et aliter non euasisset nec unus quidem Anglus. Nam pauci de eis remanserant, et tunc forisfecit suum comitatum erga regem Anglie, quia uenit cum rege Francie contra Anglos. Dux Britannie habuerat in Anglia comitatum Richemundie.<sup>2</sup>

Mense Iunii intrauit episcopus cum cruciata uersus Flandriam, et post festum Sancti Michelis repatriare cepit de Flandria in Angliam, frustratus ab effectu cruciate proposita.<sup>3</sup> Karolus rex Francie uenit in Flandriam, et intrauit in uillam de Dampe cum dolo et decapitari fecit omnes magnates uille, uolens funditorie exterminare linguam Flandricam de uilla illa.<sup>4</sup> Nam post recessum episcopi Northwycensis de Flandria, omnes uille de Flandria reddiderunt se regi Francie preter uillam de Caunt, que iam anno isto precedenti deuenit Francigena.

Miserunt namque ciues de Caunt ad regem Anglie pro auxilio contra regem Francie, qui obsidionem posuerat ad uillam de Caunt. Et rex cum consensu parlamenti sui concessit eis auxilium uirorum armorum et sagittariorum, ad expensas .vj. milium marcarum, set in defectu cancellarii Michaelis de Pole defraudati sunt. Nam distulit solucionem<sup>a</sup> donec coacti fuerunt de necessitate reddere uillam, sub condicione tamen quod uiuere possent sub legibus suis propriis antiquis, et quod rex non intraret uillam nisi cum certo numero uirorum armorum.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Corrected by scribe from dissolucionem

<sup>1</sup> Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 198–9; R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: the Formation of the Burgundian State* (London, 1962) pp. 29–30. Trivet, with other captains, was convicted of accepting money from the French for the stores that were abandoned, and was committed briefly to the Tower: *RP* iii. 151–7.

<sup>2</sup> On Jean de Montfort, duke of Brittany, and earl of Richmond 1372–84 and 1398–9, see *CP* v. 822–4; Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 62.

<sup>3</sup> Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 200–1. Knighton does not refer to Despenser's impeachment, which was a long-drawn and highly-charged process, turning principally upon the

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so powerful an army, should have done such honour to a handful of Englishmen as to grant them the favour of a battle.

However, when some days had passed in negotiation, and they could not reasonably expect to beat off or withstand such numbers, they agreed to surrender the town upon the condition, which the king granted to them, that they should be free to leave unharmed with their horses and arms, and other possessions.<sup>1</sup>

The duke of Brittany, a most faithful friend of the English to the limits of his power, was there with the French king, and quietly used his influence to persuade him that he should allow them to leave safely. If he had not done so, scarcely one of the English would have survived, for there were few of them left: yet later he lost his earldom to the king of England for having fought with the French king against the English. The duke of Brittany had the earldom of Richmond in England.<sup>2</sup>

The bishop took his crusade into Flanders in June, and after Michaelmas [29 September 1383] he started to return to England, having failed to achieve his purpose.<sup>3</sup> King Charles of France came into Flanders and gained the town of Damme by trickery, and beheaded all the great men of the town, as he wished to wipe out the Flemish language in that place.<sup>4</sup> For after the withdrawal of the bishop of Norwich from Flanders, all the Flemish towns surrendered to the king of France except the town of Ghent, which had already become French the previous year.

Now the citizens of Ghent sent to the king of England for help against the king of France, who had laid siege to the town, and the king with the agreement of parliament granted them the help of a force of men-at-arms and archers, at a cost of 6,000 marks, but by the fault of the chancellor, Michael de la Pole, they were cheated of it. For he delayed the payment until they had been forced to surrender the town, upon condition however that they could live under their own ancient laws, and that the king should not enter the town with more than a stated number of men-at-arms.<sup>5</sup>

terms of the indentures drawn up to control the expedition. See M. Aston, 'Impeachment', pp. 136–8; and T. F. T. Plucknett, 'State trials under Richard II', *TRHS*, 5th ser., ii (1952), 159–71, at pp. 161–4.

<sup>4</sup> Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 208. The French ravaged Damme after re-taking it from Ghent in August 1385: R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 36–7.

<sup>5</sup> Pole became chancellor on 13 Mar. 1383, and reaped unpopularity partly from other men's policies, but chiefly from his own. See Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 52–61. On Ghent, see further below, p. 352 n. 2.



1383 *Ordinaciones episcopi pro cruciata publicanda.*<sup>1</sup>

En primes ordines est, en lonour de Dieu et establiment de seynt esglyse, et en saluacion de roialme, qe prechourez sufficiantz soient enuoyes en chescune pays, si bien de la miere, come de cea, pur declarere et pupplier la croyserye, et le droit estate de seynt esglyse, et de nostre tressaynte piere le pape Urbane, que Dieu pur sa benigne grace doyne pyte et redresse quant luy plest. Item qe a chescune prechoure oue confessoure qe ua parmy en Engletiere soit une clerke assigne qe serra receyuoure et registroure dez lez nounes et de la moneye dez lez gentz penauntz, et lez ditz confessoures soient contrerollours a eaux.

Item qe lez ditez confessoures publessent en lour sermons qe nule femme soit si hardy de passer en le dite uiage, sinone par especial licence del eueske de Norwyce, en escript desouth sone seale. Item qe lez ditez confessoures facent proclamacion qe nule home soit si hardy par le chemyne de robber, oue prendre par ascune extorsione oue tortuose manere biens de nuly, tanquils entrent la dez enmys, qils puissent gaynere par droit de guerre, sur payne qils naueront parte del pardone ne de absolucion. Et sils soyent / conuictes de ceo, qils soyent auoyes et iettes hors del host, taunc qils ount fait restitution.

fo. 193<sup>v</sup>

Item qe lez ditz prechoures priont et conseyllont le pepul pur faire processiones, et altres priers a Dieu, en saluacion del estate de saynt esglyse, de la realme, et de la uyage et de lez peregrynes. Et qils conseyllont chescune homme qe uoet en le uyage pur faire mesme le manere deuaunt son passage. Et qe chescune qui demurot al hostiel comence de le faire, en tout le hast, duraunt tout le uyage pur sez amys qi uount en le uyage, prenaunt pur lour greo graunt pardone, graunte par le pape et altres plusours de seynt esglyse.

Item qe chescune confessoure bayle le noune de chescune confesse a le receyuour a luy assignes, oueske la somme qe le dit receyuour receyuera del le confesse en escripte. Et dez ceux qi sont enioynez pur penaunce del alere en le uoyage, qe le dit confessoure delyuere en escript al dit receyuoure lez nones, et lez termes a luy enioynez pur seruyr Dieu en le dit uoyage.

Item lez ditz prechoures publieront en lour sermons lez articules southsewantz. En prime qe nul homme soit si hardy de

<sup>1</sup> Despenser's crusade was an unedifying enterprise, its funding by far its most impressive aspect. Knighton appears to have preserved a unique text of the ordinances that follow: Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 187; Lunt, *Financial Relations*, p. 543. The document may be

*The bishop's ordinances published for the crusade.*<sup>1</sup>

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Firstly it is ordained for the honour of God, and the benefit of Holy Church, and the salvation of the realm, that competent preachers shall be sent into every district, both here and overseas, to declare and publish the crusade, and the good estate of Holy Church, and of our most sacred father Pope Urban, to whom God grant pity and reparation when it please Him. Also that with every preacher or confessor who goes about in England a clerk shall be assigned to receive and register the names of, and the moneys paid by, the penitents, and the said confessors shall be the clerks' controllers.

Also that the said confessors shall proclaim that no woman be so bold as to accompany the expedition without the particular permission of the bishop of Norwich, in writing, and under his seal. Also that the said confessors shall proclaim that no man shall presume to steal anything from anybody on the way to the crusade, or take anyone's goods by extortion or in an extortionate manner, upon pain of exclusion from pardon and absolution, until he enters the enemy's territory, where he may take what he will by the rules of war. And if anyone be so convicted, he shall be disowned and excluded from the army until he has made reparation.

Also that the said preachers shall beseech and advise the people to hold processions and make other prayers to God, for the salvation of Holy Church, of the realm, of the expedition, and of the pilgrims. And that they shall advise every man who goes on the crusade to do likewise before he depart, and that everyone who stays at home shall urgently pray for those who have gone on crusade, seeking for them the great pardon granted by the pope and by many others of Holy Church.

Also that each confessor shall deliver the name of everyone confessed to the receiver assigned to him, together with a written record of the sum which the receiver is to receive from the confessed, and for those who are enjoined to go upon the crusade as a penance, the said confessor shall give the receiver a written note of their names, and of the manner in which they are to serve God during the expedition.

Also the said preachers shall publish the following articles in their sermons: Firstly, that no man shall be so hardy as to go upon

the work of Master Henry Bowet, Despenser's chief clerk, or of Robert Fowlmere, his treasurer, upon whom see *BRUC* 83-4, 238-9; *RP* iii. 152-3; and M. Aston, 'Impeachment', p. 128 and n.

1383 passer en le uoyage si ne soit mys en registre del le dyt eueske, sur payne destre iette hors de host, et de la graunt excommunicacion sur luy done en le fait. Item lez ditz receyuours et commissaries soyent chargez de receyuere deuers eaux, pur loure faite, lymytours et prechoures dez touz les ordres dez mendynauntz, pur a eux aydere et conseylere, et pur loure rewarde de lour trauayle chescune de eux prendra .vj. deners de lyuere de touz lez deners que uendront par lour procurement oueske la absolucion. Item lez commissaries et receyuours amonestront tyels lymytours et prechoures, sur payne de la excommunicacion done en le fait, que bien lealment et diligentment ferront et procureront a faire lour charge al eyde de dit croyserye, saunz fraude oue nule engyne.

Item lez ditz receyuoures et commissaries enduceront, en le meilleur manere qils purront, et monestront sur payne de lez grauntz censurez, et excommunicacion done en le fait, a touz lez curates en chescune parrochie oue ils uendront, qils enduceront et treteront lour parochienes oue tout lour poyare en le maner come lez prechoures et comyssaries eux enfourmeront, pur doner et aydere al dit crosserye, en saluacion de lour almes, et pur receyuer la graunt absolucion done en le fait. Item qils appelleront a chescune parrochie .iiij. oue .iiij. persones dez pluis sufficiaantz<sup>a</sup> / pur loure eydere et procurere touz lez habitauns illoeqes tant laboreres que menagereres pur eydere et sustener a loure pouare la dite croserye.

fo. 194<sup>f</sup>

Item chescune que uoet alere en propre persone oue a sez costages propres pur absolucione, deuant qil pregne absolucione soit iure et asseure, en presence dez collectours et contrerollours, deuenir a le dit eueske, oue a sone depute, pur faire sez endentures pur le temps qil seruera la dite croserye. Item lez ditez prechoures publieront en lour sermones que celui que uoille trouer ascune en sone none, et pur ly alere en la croserye a sez costages, qil ordeyne que celui qi irra soit able et sufficeant combatour, qil ne soit refuse a la monstre affaire deuaunt lour passage, oue autrement paye a dit eueske ceo qil uoile doner en la uoiage, si qil puisse allowere sufficiaunt combatour. Item chescune que enuoye ascune combatour pur luy, qil face enrollere en le registre de dit eueske le none de sone soudiour, et sone none propre, deuant qil pregne absolucion, oue autrement ils naueront part ne de la pardone ne de labsolucion.

*Dux Lancastrie in Scotia.* Scoti intrauerunt in Angliam et spoli-

<sup>a</sup> Written as catchword at foot of fo. 193<sup>v</sup>, but not repeated on fo. 194<sup>f</sup>

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the expedition unless he is entered in the said bishop's register, upon pain of being expelled from the host, and incurring the major excommunication in the act itself. Also the said receivers and commissaries are charged to accept limiters and preachers from all the mendicant orders to assist and advise them in their work, and each of them may take 6d. in the pound from all the money for absolution collected by their endeavours. Also the commissaries and receivers shall admonish such limiters and preachers, upon pain of excommunication incurred in the act, that they shall truly and diligently perform their duties in support of the crusade, without fraud or deceit.

Also that the said receivers and commissaries shall in the best manner they can, upon pain of the great censure and excommunication incurred in the act, urge and admonish the priests in every parish to which they come to induce and entreat their parishioners with all their might, in the manner expounded to them by the preachers and commissaries, to support and assist the said crusade, for the salvation of their souls and the great absolution which it assures them. Also that they shall summon in every parish three or four of the more substantial parishioners to assist them, and to ensure that all the inhabitants, both servants and householders, assist and support the crusade to the best of their power.

Also that everyone wishing to go in his own person, or at his own expense to procure absolution, before he receive absolution shall swear and promise, in the presence of the collectors and controllers, to go to the said bishop, or to his deputy, to make indentures for the time that he will serve on the crusade. And the preachers shall proclaim in their sermons that when anyone wishes to send another in his name to go on the crusade at his cost and charge, they must ensure that he who goes is a fit and competent warrior, and that he will prove as much before the expedition, or otherwise pay to the bishop his contribution towards the expedition, which shall be enough to provide an effective fighting-man. Also that anyone who sends a soldier in his place shall enter the name of his soldier, and his own name, in the bishop's register before he receive absolution, else he will have no part in the pardon or the absolution.

*The duke of Lancaster in Scotland.* The Scots invaded England, and

1384 auerunt nundinas de Penrych, et succenderunt quandam partem uille, et approximauerunt uersus Carlele et sagittauerunt ignem in uillam, et succenderunt quandam stratam infra uillam. Die Lune in crastino Pasche pius dux Lancastrie Iohannes intrauit in Scociam, in magna potencia, persequens Scotos, et plures uillulas et domos succendit igni, siluasque succidit et dedit igni. Fertur enim posse ibidem audiri sonitus simul quatuor .xx. milia securium succidencium ligna siluarum, et in pabulum ignis ligna interea dederunt. Et inaudita mala de talibus perpetrauerunt. Et superueniente niue et frigore graui detrimento oppressi sunt et plures, tam de Scotis quam de Angligenis, hinc inde capti sunt. Dominus Iohannes Fawconer cepit dominum Henricum Dowglas militem.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 194<sup>v</sup> *Duellum apud Westmonasterium.* Die Mercurii in festo Sancti Andree Iohannes Walyse de Grymusby pugnauit infra lystas cum Martiletto de Vilenef de Nauarria, scutifero, apud Westmonasterium, in presencia regis Ricardi et pii ducis Lancastrie Iohannis. Et idem Iohannes interfecit aduersarium suum, et iussu regis factus est miles, et multis denariis locupletatus est, tam a rege et duce quam ab aliis magnatibus regni. Dictusque Martiletus postquam interfectus est, statim fuit tractus, suspensus, et decollatus.<sup>2</sup> / Rex tenuit parlamentum apud Westmonasterium post festum Omnium Sanctorum, et habuit de temporalibus quindenam et dimidium, et de spiritualibus decimam et dimidiam.<sup>3</sup>

1385 *Millesimo .ccc.lxxxv.* Dominus Iohannes dux Vienne mense Iunii uenit de Francia cum .ccc. nauibus bene onustis armatorum manu in Scociam in auxilium Scotorum contra regem Anglie. Mansitque ibi usque post festum Sancti Michaelis. Ricardus uero rex Anglie credens eos nolle recedere absque re belli cum tam fortes essent, tam de Scotis quam de suis, premisit pium ducem Lancastrie Iohannem, et alios comites et dominos, ad custodiendum partes marchie usque ad aduentum suum.

Venit igitur rex per Leycestriam, in festo translacionis Sancte Thome martiris, et regina cum eo, quem comitabatur, precesserat, et sequebatur flos milicie Anglie, comitum, baronum, militum, armigerorum, ualettorum, neque sue etati, neque sue paupertati respec-

<sup>1</sup> The Scottish war began on the expiry of a long formal truce on 2 Feb. 1384: see Campbell, *England, Scotland*, pp. 208–9; Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 196; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, pp. 48, 54.

<sup>2</sup> See *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 104–6 and nn., and above, p. 116 n. 1. Walsh was the king's

sacked the fair at Penrith, and burned part of the town, and then they 1384  
marched towards Carlisle, and shot fire into the town, and burned a street inside the walls. On Easter Monday [11 April 1384] the good Duke John of Lancaster invaded Scotland in great strength, in pursuit of the Scots, and burned several villages and manors, and cut down woods and burned them. It was said that you might have heard the sound of 80,000 axes at work, chopping down trees which were then fed to the flames. And they did unheard-of damage in that way. And as snow and cold weather came on, they suffered greatly, and many of them, both Scots and English, fell to be taken prisoner. Sir John Faulkner captured Sir Henry Douglas, knight.<sup>1</sup>

*A duel at Westminster.* On Wednesday, St Andrew's day [30 Nov. 1384], John Walsh of Grimsby fought in the lists at Westminster with Martlet de Villeneuve, an esquire of Navarre, in the presence of King Richard and the good Duke John of Lancaster. And John slew his adversary, and on the king's orders was made a knight, and was enriched with many gifts, both by the king and the duke, and by other great men of the realm. And the said Martlet, after he was slain, was at once drawn to be hanged, and beheaded.<sup>2</sup> The king held a parliament at Westminster after the feast of All Saints [1 Nov. 1384], and had a fifteenth-and-a-half from temporalities, and a tenth-and-a-half from spiritualities.<sup>3</sup>

1385 In the month of June Sire Jean de Vienne came to Scotland from France, with 300 ships full of fighting-men, to help the Scots against the English, and stayed there until after Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1385]. And King Richard of England, believing that they would not leave without a battle, for they were as powerful as the Scots, or as his own men, sent the good Duke John of Lancaster, and other earls and lords, to hold the Marches until he arrived.

Therefore the king came through Leicester, on the feast of the Translation of St Thomas the Martyr [7 July 1385], and the queen with him, accompanied, preceded, and followed by the flower of English knighthood: earls, barons, knights, esquires, and their atten-

receiver at Cherbourg (*CPR* 1385–9, p. 420). Villeneuve accused him of treason, but Walsingham says that Walsh had raped or abducted Villeneuve's wife: *Walsingham*, ii. 118.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton deals baldly with 1384, during which the government's standing deteriorated under its uncertain policies. For the clerical subsidy, see *CFR* 1383–91, pp. 75, 95, 97. The lay subsidies were conditional upon the king leading an army to the Continent in the following year: see *RP* iii. 182, 185; and J. J. N. Palmer, 'The last summons of the feudal army in England', *EHR* lxxxiii (1968), 774–5.

1385 tum habentes pro expensis, set hoc solum desiderantes ut tante diei euentui in bello interessent incassum.<sup>1</sup>

Nam hostes, uidentes tam floridum populum contra se uenire, subtraxerunt se a latere se elongantes. Rex uero insecutus est eos in Scociam fugando de patria in patriam, circiter per uiginti dies in terra Scocie. Et uillam de Ednesburghe succendit igni et uillulas multas et domos boscos quoque et forestas succidit, et ignis pabulum fecit.<sup>2</sup>

Abbatias quoque de Mewrose et de Edyngburghe cum uilla destruxit et succendit, et non sine merito. Nam rex, misericordia et reuerencia erga Dei ecclesiam motus, tum pietate erga Deum tum quia primo tunc arma contra hostes tulerat ecclesiastice libertati fauere studuit, et ecclesie dampna inferre noluit, set in signum pacis omnibus suis misit uexillum, et poni iussit super portas abbatiarum Mewrose et Newbotyl pacem et clemenciam omnibus pretendens. Vnde Anglici, audacius et sine trepidacione, ingrediebantur et egrediebantur, nec dampnum intulerunt, nec malum timuerunt.

Postea autem multitudine Anglicorum recedente, retro manserunt quidam Anglici, et ibidem interfecti postea inuenti fuerunt. Quod rex intelligens, iracundia nimis motus est. Et pacem mutauit in iram, et misericordiam in uindictam, tuncque iussit utrasque abbatias destrui et igne succendi.<sup>3</sup>

Et dum rex sic ageret in marchia orientali, intrauerunt Scoti in marchia occidentali, et incenderunt partem uille de Penneryche, et ad uillam de Carlelyl insultum fecerunt, set ut dicebatur et credebatur, miraculo territi fugerunt. Nam occurrens mulier, nunciauit regem Anglie uenire cum exercitu suo, at illi prospicientes, uidebatur illis uexillum regis prodire, et sic pertesi,<sup>a</sup> relictis scalis ad murum et machinis, fugerunt. Mulier autem illa credebatur gloriosa uirgo Maria, patrona de Carlelyl, que sepe parata / est colonis de Carlelyl.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 195<sup>r</sup>

In ingressu regis in terram Scocie duos auunculos suos fecit duces, uidelicet dominum Edmundum de Langeleye, seniore, comitem Cantubrigie, fecit ducem de Eboraco. Et dominum Thomam de Wodestoke, fratrem iuniorem, comitem de Bokyngamia, fecit ducem

<sup>a</sup> si added by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The feudal host was summoned for the expedition, and the army raised was one of the largest in medieval England: N. B. Lewis, 'The last medieval summons of the feudal levy: 13 June 1385', *EHR* lxxiii (1958), 1-15. On the government's concept of policy, its expedients for financing the expedition, and the rising resentment against de la Pole, see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 60; and Palmer, 'The last summons', pp. 771-5.

dants, their expense unstinted by their age or means, and all moved by a single desire to join battle, but in vain.<sup>1</sup>

1385

For the enemy, seeing so brilliant a company coming upon them, withdrew to a great distance, and the king pursued them far into Scotland, driving them from region to region for twenty days in that land. And he fired the town of Edinburgh, and many villages and houses, and cut down woods and forests, and fed them to the flames.<sup>2</sup>

He also destroyed and burned the abbeys of Melrose and [Newbattle], and not without cause. For the king, moved by mercy and by reverence for the church of God, both from a pious regard and because it was the first time that he had borne arms against his enemies, was careful to respect ecclesiastical liberties and to refrain from harming the church. So as a sign of peace to all his men, he sent his standard and ordered it be flown above the gates of the abbeys of Melrose and Newbattle to signify peace and mercy to all, and the English therefore went in and out, boldly and without misgiving, neither doing damage, nor fearing harm.

Later, however, when the English host was departing, some remained behind, and it was found later that they had been slain. And when the king heard of it he was greatly angered, and clemency turned to wrath, and mercy to the spirit of revenge, and he ordered both abbeys to be destroyed and put to fire.<sup>3</sup>

And while the king was thus occupied in the eastern March, the Scots invaded the western March, and burned part of the town of Penrith, and attacked Carlisle, where, it was said and believed, they were put to flight by a miracle. For a woman appeared and declared that the king of England was coming, with his army, and when they looked, they seemed to see the king's standard advancing, and thus dismayed they abandoned their ladders on the wall, and their machines, and fled. And the woman was believed to have been the glorious Virgin Mary, Carlisle's patron, who ever watches over her townsmen.<sup>4</sup>

Upon entering Scotland the king made two of his uncles dukes, namely the elder, Sir Edmund Langley, earl of Cambridge, he made duke of York, and Sir Thomas Woodstock, the younger brother, who was earl of Buckingham, he made duke of Gloucester; and he

<sup>2</sup> See Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 211-12; and on the bitter disagreement between Richard and Gaunt over tactics, Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 97-8.

<sup>3</sup> Holyrood Abbey was spared at Gaunt's request: Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> See Nicholson, *Scotland*, p. 197. The tone of this particular entry suggests the direct use of a source from Carlisle.

1385 de Glouernia, eosque regaliter dotauit possessionibus et redditibus, aliisque donariis. Comitem quoque de Oxonia fecit Marchenum de Duuelinia. Dominum Symonem de Burle, fecit comitem Huntyngdone. Dominum Michaelem de Pole, fecit comitem de Southfolk, et eos omnes regaliter dotauit muneribus. Fecitque milites incomparabili multitudine, et in proximo parlamento ratificauit hec predicta.<sup>1</sup>

Ea tempestate, scilicet .ij. die aduentus regis in partes marchie, dominus Iohannes de Holande, frater regis uterinus, iuxta Eboracum uersus Bysshophorpe, interfecit filium primogenitum comitis Staffordie. Quem rex fecit adictari et exulare per leges regni, et omnia feoda et officia que ei rex antea donauerat, ab eo eripuit, aliisque donauit. Postea per interuentum pii ducis Lancastrie et aliorum dominorum regni, gratiam regis consecutus est, et indulgentiam comitis Staffordie.<sup>2</sup>

Rex<sup>a</sup> tenuit parlamentum in crastino Animarum apud Westmonasterium. Concessa est regi quindena de temporalibus, de spiritualibus decima.<sup>3</sup> Pius dux Lancastrie Iohannes in parlamento petiuit licenciam a rege, proceribus, et communibus adire terram Hyspaniarum, pro hereditate regni sibi concernente ex parte uxoris sue. Duxerat autem uxorem Constanciam, filiam primogenitam Petri regis Hyspanie qui expulsus fuerat a regno per Henricum fratrem suum bastardum, et sub dolo occisus, et dominus Ed/mundus frater eius, comes Cantubrugie, alteram filiam, iuniorem, duxerat in refugium contra hostes. Rex uero concessit, cum consensu parlamenti, et in subsidium dicti negocii .xl. milia marcarum summam ei promisit.<sup>4</sup>

Dominus Willelmus de Bewechaump, frater comitis Warwychye capitanius de Calesia, cepit .xlvij. naues, per se et suos per uices, quarum due onuste cum speciebus, et quedam cum allece albo ad summam quatringenta lastarum, et reliquis cum aliis prouidenciis regis Francie directis uersus le Sclus. Similiter et mercatores de

<sup>a</sup> Preceded by a repetition of Karolus rex Francie ... uirorum armatorum from fo. 195. Here Karolus is flanked by superscript Rex and etc., apparently written by the scribe, but the redundant passage has not been cancelled

<sup>1</sup> The titles were conferred on 6 Aug., in Teviotdale: *CP* v. 722-3 (Gloucester); xii (2). 897 (York). The grants to the dukes were not particularly generous, especially in comparison with the resources devoted to members of the royal household at this time, and certainly did little to conciliate Gloucester: see Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 58-76. There is no other evidence that Burley was made earl of Huntingdon, though he had already received

1385 endowed them royally, with lands, and rents, and other gifts. He also made the earl of Oxford marquis of Dublin, Sir Simon Burley earl of Huntingdon, and Sir Michael de la Pole earl of Suffolk, and he bestowed gifts upon them all, royally, and made an incomparable number of knights, and all those things were ratified in the next parliament.<sup>1</sup>

And at that time, namely the second day after the king's coming into the March, Sir John Holland, the king's uterine brother, slew the earl of Stafford's firstborn son, near Bishophorpe, by York. And the king had him indicted and exiled by the laws of the realm, and stripped of all the fees and offices which he had previously given him, and gave them to others. Later, upon the intervention of the good duke of Lancaster, and other lords of the realm, Holland received the king's grace, and the forgiveness of the earl of Stafford.<sup>2</sup>

The king held a parliament on the morrow of All Souls [3 Nov. 1385] at Westminster, and was granted a fifteenth from temporalities, and a tenth from spiritualities.<sup>3</sup> The good Duke John of Lancaster sought licence from the king, lords, and commons to go to Spain for the inheritance of that kingdom, which he claimed through the right of his wife. For he had taken to wife Constance, the elder daughter of that King Pedro of Spain who had been expelled from the throne by his bastard brother Enrique, and woefully slain; and his brother, Sir Edmund, the earl of Cambridge, had married the younger daughter to save her from her enemies. And the king granted his request, with the agreement of parliament, and promised him the sum of 40,000 marks in support of the venture.<sup>4</sup>

Sir William Beauchamp, the earl of Warwick's brother, who was captain of Calais, and his men, took forty-eight ships on various occasions, two of which were laden with spices, and one with pickled herring to the number of 40,000 lasts, and the rest with other supplies for the king of France on their way to the Sluis. And the merchants of

the principal estates of the earldom: Palmer, 'The parliament of 1385, and the constitutional crisis of 1386', *Speculum*, xli (1971), 477-90, at p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> Stafford was murdered on 5 May: *CP* xii (1). 179; Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 310 n. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Parliament met on Fri. after St Luke: 20 Oct. The subsidies, part in support of Gaunt's proposed expedition, and part for the defence of the kingdom, were a tenth and a fifteenth, and half a tenth and fifteenth: *RP* iii. 204, 205; *CFR*, 1383-91, pp. 115-20. For the clerical subsidy of one-tenth, granted in Dec. 1385, see *CFR*, 1383-91, pp. 124-5, 128.

<sup>4</sup> On Gaunt's expedition to Castile and Portugal, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 115-38. On English politics, see also Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 402-3, 407-8; and Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 68-9.

1385 portubus ceperunt plures naues, et quasdam earum mire magnitudinis et altitudinis. Et unam nauem de Clyssons que appreciabatur ad .xx. milia florenas. Dominus Baldewynus de Radynthone cepit duas taretas bene onustas. Sicque capte sunt in diuersis partibus regni anno isto naues magne et parue octoginta et plures.<sup>1</sup>

1386 Millesimo .ccc.lxxxvj., die Pasche, pius dux Lancastrie Iohannes uenit cum uxore sua ad regem pro mutuo ualefacere, cui rex dedit coronam auream. Similiter et regina dedit uxori sue aliam coronam auream. Et rex precepit omnibus suis ut ipsum regem Hispanie uocarent, honoremque regium in omnibus impenderent. Sicque solempnibus peregrinationibus regni ab eo itineratis, tandem direxit se ad portum de Plummowthe, in Hyspanias, cum exercitu suo, secundum uoluntatem Dei profecturus. In quo exercitu recensiti sunt uiginti milia uirorum electorum, de quibus in rotulo marescalli .ij. millia armatorum et sagittariorum octo milia.<sup>2</sup>

Pridie kalendas Iulii applicuerunt se in eundem portum decem naues, mirabilis magnitudinis et stature,<sup>a</sup> et .vj. galee, magne et robuste, et uirorum forcium manu bene referte. Quarum quedam cum .ccc. remigibus, et minima earum cum centum octoginta remigibus, misse a rege de Portingallia<sup>b</sup> in subsidium pii ducis Lancastrie et suorum. .vij. idus Iulii, paratis omnibus, et circa horam uesperaram diei Dominice, pio duce cenante et Henrico comite Derbeye filio suo et herede cum eo, uideres uentum ualidum rectum uenientem in nubibus quam gaudifluum, et eleuauerunt uela in nauigium. Nec mora sibi inuicem ualedixerunt, et sic abinuicem discesserunt. Comes cum suis rediit ad terram, pius dux cum suis eadem nocte cum omni celeritate se dedit ad nauigandum in nomine Domini.<sup>3</sup>

In illo exercitu dominus Iohannes de Holande, frater uterinus Ricardi regis ex parte matris, erat constabularius, dominus Ricardus de Burle marescallus, dominus Iohannes de Marmyone camerarius, dominus Thomas de Percy, amerayle. Fueruntque alii domini, scilicet dominus Iohannes Camwe, dominus le Fytz Water, et dominus le Ponnyngus, cum multis aliis baronibus, et militibus et aliis magnatibus.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 196<sup>r</sup> Habuit autem idem pius dux in comitatu suo uxorem suam Constanciam, filiam regis Petri / Hyspaniarum, et Katerinam filiam

<sup>a</sup> Second t inserted by reviser

<sup>b</sup> n and final a inserted by reviser

<sup>1</sup> The guerrilla campaign at sea contrasted with a decline of English influence in Flanders over the previous two years which J. J. N. Palmer categorizes as a positive abdication of

the Cinque Ports also captured many ships, some of them of great capacity and size, including one from Clisson, which was valued at 20,000 florins. Sir Baldwin Raddington captured two heavily-laden taretas. And thus eighty ships, large and small, were captured in various parts of the kingdom that year.<sup>1</sup>

1386. On Easter Day [22 April 1386] the good Duke John of Lancaster came with his wife to the king to make their farewells. The king gave him a golden crown, and the queen gave a golden crown to his wife. And the king ordered all to call the duke king of Spain, and to accord him royal honours on all occasions. And thus having made his way ceremonially through the kingdom, he came at last to the port of Plymouth, to set off, by God's will, with his army to Spain. In which army there were gathered 20,000 chosen men, of whom 2,000 were knights on the marshal's roll, and 8,000 archers.<sup>2</sup>

On the first of the Kalends of July [30 June 1386] there put into that port ten ships of marvellous size and height, and six great strong galleys, powerfully manned, some of which had 300 oarsmen, and the least of them 180 oarsmen, sent by the king of Portugal in support of the good duke of Lancaster and his men. And on 8 July when all was ready, and about the hour of vespers that Sunday, while the good duke was dining in company with his son and heir, the earl of Derby, you might have seen a favourable wind joyfully driving the clouds, and the fleet raised sail. Then, without delay, they bade each other farewell, and parted one from another. The earl went ashore with his men, and the good duke that same night with all speed committed himself to sea in God's name.<sup>3</sup>

In his army Sir John Holland, the king's half-brother on his mother's side, was constable, Sir Richard Burley was marshal, Sir John Marmion, chamberlain, and Sir Thomas Percy, admiral. And there were other lords, namely Sir John Amney, the lord Fitzwalter, and the lord Poynings, with many other barons and knights, and other great men.<sup>4</sup>

The good duke also had his wife Constance with him, the daughter of Pedro of Spain, and Catherine his daughter, whom he begot of the

interest: *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 50–60. It can at least be said that Richard did not use his resources to advantage.

<sup>2</sup> The ceremonies of leave-taking began in March, but the mobilization at Plymouth occupied some three months: Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 409–13.

<sup>3</sup> The fleet sailed on 9 July: Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 417.

<sup>4</sup> See Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 310.



eius quam genuerat de eadem Constancia, duas eciam alias filias, quas genuerat de domina Blanchia, priore uxore sua, filia et herede Henrici ducis Lancastrie, scilicet dominam Philippam, non coniugatam, et dominam Elizabet, comitissam de Penbrok, dimisso uiro suo iuvene in Anglia. Qui comes, post recessum uxoris sue, fecit diuorcium, et desponsauit sororem comitis de Marchia. Dominus uero Iohannes de Holande primo dictam Elizabet desponsauit sibi in uxorem. Domina Philippa maritata est regi de Portingallia.<sup>1</sup>

Katerinam filiam suam maritauit filio regis Hispanie. Et sic concordati sunt dux Lancastrie et rex Hispanie, et rediit dux Lancastrie in Angliam mense Nouembris anno Domini millesimo .ccc. octogesimo nono<sup>2</sup> sequenti, cum immensa summa auri et thesaurorum. Retulit enim michi quidam de familia pii ducis qui cum eo fuerat in illo uiagio, quod rex Hispaniarum misit quadraginta septem mulas cum auro in cistis onustas, pro secunda solucione. De prima solucione non quesui. Et misit duci hospites de maioribus Hispanie pro annuo tributo .xvj. milia marcarum ad totam uitam ducis, si uero uxor ducis superuieret, .xij. milia marcarum annuatim perciperet ad totam uitam suam.<sup>3</sup>

*Obsidio de Brest.* Erat eciam cum eo prior Sancti Iacobi de Galecia.<sup>4</sup> Eodem tempore dux Britannie obsesserat, tam a mari quam a terra, quandam uillam in Britannia ab antiquo regi Anglie subiectam, que uocabatur Brest, cum ingenti multitudine Francorum et Britonum. Et .xij. kalendas Iulii cepit edificare unum bastile coram dicta uilla de Brest, mire magnitudinis, in spissitudine murorum .x. pedum, cum .vij. turribus. Et operabatur cotidie cum mille operariis. Et habuit in defensione dictorum operariorum decem milia pugnatorum ne impedirentur a ciuibus. Sicque edificatum est dictum bastile in decem et nouem diebus, et uocatum est nomen eius le Dufhous, quia columbare in eodem loco ante fuerat.

Et instaurauit illud omnibus necessariis, uictualibus, armis, gunnis et machinis. Et posuit in eo bellatorum capitanium quendam dominum qui uocatur dominus Iohannes Maletret, cum centum quinquaginta uiris armatis, et totidem aliis trecentis in numero omni. Pius dux hec intelligens direxit nauigium suum uersus portum de Brest.

<sup>1</sup> On the diplomatic potential of Gaunt's domestic array, see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 69–70. Of Gaunt's daughters the eldest, Philippa (b. 1360), married King João of Portugal at Oporto on 14 Feb. 1387 (Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 123–6; P. E. Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 169, 450–51); Elizabeth (b. 1364), was married to the earl of Pembroke in 1380, when he was seven, and was apparently free to marry Sir John Holland by June 1386 (*CP* x. 395–6; v. 196). Catalina was married to the Infante Enrique of

said Constance, and two other daughters of his first wife, the lady Blanche, daughter and heir of Duke Henry of Lancaster, namely the lady Philippa, who was unmarried, and the lady Elizabeth, countess of Pembroke, who left her young husband in England. The which earl obtained a divorce after his wife left, and married the earl of March's sister. Sir John Holland first took the said lady Elizabeth to wife, and Lady Philippa was married to the king of Portugal.<sup>1</sup>

The duke's daughter Catherine married the king of Spain's son, and thus the duke of Lancaster and the king of Spain were brought together, and the duke of Lancaster returned to England in November of the following year, 1389,<sup>2</sup> with an immense sum in gold and treasure. A member of the good duke's household, who was with him on the expedition, told me that the king of Spain sent forty-seven mules laden with boxes of gold for the second payment. I have not asked about the first payment, but the king sent the duke hostages from amongst the greater men of Spain for the annual payment of 16,000 marks for the whole of the duke's life. And if the duke's wife survived him she would receive 12,000 marks a year for life.<sup>3</sup>

*Siege of Brest.* The prior of St James of Galicia was also with the duke.<sup>4</sup> At that time the duke of Brittany had laid siege, by land and sea, and with a huge force of Frenchmen and Bretons, to a certain town in Brittany, long subject to the king of England, called Brest. And on the twelfth of the Kalends of July [20 June 1386] he began to build before the said town of Brest a fort of amazing size, with walls ten feet thick, and seven towers. And 1,000 workmen worked on it every day, with a guard of 10,000 soldiers to protect the workmen, lest the citizens should hinder them. And the said fort was raised in nineteen days, and it was called the Dovehouse, because a dovecot had previously stood on the site.

And he stocked it with all the necessary supplies: food, weapons, guns, and machines, and put in a certain lord called Sire Jean Malestroit as commander of the garrison, with 150 men-at-arms, and many others, 300 in all. The good duke, hearing of that, directed his

Castile at Palencia, in Sept. 1388, when she was fourteen and he nine (Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 508–10; Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 331 and n.).

<sup>2</sup> On 19 Nov. See below, p. 46 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> On the treaty, and Gaunt's returns, see Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 501–6; Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Fernando Afonso de Albuquerque, sent with the chancellor of Portugal in 1384 to raise recruits in England: S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 274–5. This item was probably separated from the account of the assembly at Plymouth, above (p. 340), and inserted here to give the prior his due place at Brest.



1386 Quo cum applicuisset fugerunt omnes ab obsidione tam a mari quam a terra, solis hiis qui in bastili erant remanentibus.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 196<sup>v</sup> Prior uero Sancti Iacobi rogabat pium ducem ut ipse posset facere primum insultum contra bastile, et bene reuerberatus cum suis quieuit. Similiter et plures alii feceruntque insultum per duos dies et amplius. Et suffodientes murum sub una turri, cecidit turris super dominum Robertum de Swynartone, militem / strenuum de comitatu Staffordie, cum multis aliis, et Iohannes de Boltone strenuissimum armigerum de comitatu Eboraci.<sup>2</sup>

Et qui inibi erant super turrim similiter ceciderunt et statim occisi sunt. Interea misit dominus le Malatret de bastili ad ducem, ut redderet ei custodiam sub condicione quod ipse et sui omnes libere possent abire cum armis bonis et catallis ac uictualibus inibi repositis, et pius dux ut pius semper erat concessit, sub condicione quod antequam recederent bastile a fundamentis diruerent, et ei eciam pro sagittamine quod ibidem in debellando consumpserat uiginti milia scutorum auri exsolueret.

Tunc uideres ex omni parte patrie affluere uiros cum feretris et grabatis, atque carectis, ad abducendum mortuos suos et uulneratos. Nec quispiam inibi erat quin aut ipsum mortuum aut letaliter uulneratum se eiulabant sui. Et ipse dominus Malatret adeo uulneratus est quod in recessu suo, pedestrie fulcimentum duorum ex utraque parte eorum scapulis innixus expetebat. Et dicebatur quod absconderunt plures mortuos in sale,<sup>3</sup> ne Anglice gauderent super multitudine occisorum. Mortui sunt centum quinquaginta, et eo amplius.<sup>4</sup>

Deinde dirigit dux iter nauigii in opus inceptum. Et quia frequenter de bono principio melior speratur finis, cum in Galeciam applicuisset, ciues uille Sancti Iacobi se reddiderunt ei, et a condicione si regnum subiugaret, ei subderentur. Simili modo et ciues de la Groyne. Interim prospexerunt eminus naues et unam galeam nauigantes, quas quidam cum nauigio insecuti, apprehenderunt eas in portu de Pontlyon, et inconsultis ciuibus irruerunt in uillam et ceperunt eam et tenuerunt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gaunt's purpose in relieving Brest was probably to conceal his intended landfall in Spain for as long as possible: see Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 419–20.

<sup>2</sup> For a pardon on Swinnerton, his wife, Joan, and two servants, granted in 1381 at Gaunt's request, see *CPR 1381–5*, p. 6. Bolton was an indentured retainer of Gaunt's at least from 1382: Walker, *Lancastrian Affinity*, p. 264.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably concealed in barrels of salt or brine.

<sup>4</sup> The duke of Brittany soon returned to the siege: Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 241; Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 72.

1386 fleet towards Brest. And when he approached, all those engaged in the siege, both by sea and by land, fled, leaving behind only those in the fort.<sup>1</sup>

Then the prior of St James asked the good duke whether he might lead the first assault on the fort; and he and his men were soundly beaten off, and he withdrew. And several others likewise attacked it, for two days and more. And the walls being undermined at one of the towers, the tower fell upon Sir Robert Swinnerton, a valiant knight of Staffordshire, with many others, and John Bolton, a most capable esquire of the county of York.<sup>2</sup>

And those who were manning the tower likewise fell down, and were killed. In the meantime the lord Malestroit sent word to the duke from the fort, saying that he would yield the fort to him, upon condition that he and his men should be free to go, with their arms, goods and chattels, and all the food stored there. And the good duke, who was always good, agreed upon condition that before they left they should raze the fort to its foundations, and that they should pay him 20,000 gold *écus* for the ammunition which he expended in the attack.

Then you would have seen men coming from all parts with biers and stretchers and carts to take away the dead and the wounded, for there was not one within but whose friends had cause to bewail his death or some savage wound. And the lord of Malestroit himself was so sorely wounded that as he walked he needed the support of two men, on either side, he leaning upon their shoulders. And it was said that they brought out many of their dead hidden in salt,<sup>3</sup> so that the English should not exult at the numbers of the slain. There were 150 dead, and more.<sup>4</sup>

Then the duke turned the fleet back to the work in hand. And because often one can expect a better end from a good beginning, when he came into Galicia, the citizens of the town of Santiago surrendered to him, saying that if he conquered the kingdom, they would be his subjects, and so did the citizens of La Coruña. In the meantime they sighted ships and a galley in the distance, which some of the fleet pursued, and caught them in the harbour of Puente de Eume, and taking the citizens unawares they broke into the town, and seized and occupied it.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> The fleet went first to La Coruña, on 25 July 1386, and seized ships in the estuary at Betanzos. Lancaster moved inland to Santiago, which surrendered to him, and on to Orense, which he made his headquarters: Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 420–32.

Et in predicta galea capta inuenerunt duos mercatores de Londoniis cum suis mercimoniis captiue abductos. Et cum ea, nauem pii ducis Lancastrie que onusta erat et plena frumento et farina et ceteris que ad officium pistorie conueniunt. Que dum tenderet<sup>a</sup> ad portum de Plummowthe parata ad uiagium, capta fuerat et abducta ab Hispanicis, iamque inopinata fortuna plenarie recuperata. Iam de pio duco taceo donec alia noua audiero.<sup>1</sup>

Dominus Henricus Percy, primogenitus comitis Northamhymbrorum, in festo Sancte Petronille uirginis exiuit de Calecia cum admodum paucis uiris uersus Boloniam, et incidit in manus inimicorum, et capti sunt et mortui de eius comitiua de uiris armatis circiter .xl., de sagittariis circiter octoginta et plures uulnerati. Eadem nocte sequenti idem Henricus et dominus Willelmus Bewchamp, capitaneus de Calesia, et dominus le Bowers, et dominus Degarius de Sees alienigena, exierunt eadem uia, et mane uenerunt super magnam comitiuam Francorum / improuise, et quos uoluerunt uiuos captiuarunt et reliquos interfecerunt.<sup>2</sup>

Mense Iunii dominus Baldewynus de Radyngtone cepit duas taretas satis plene opulentas, quas dominus Michael de Pole, comes de Southfolc et cancellarius Anglie, accepta magna summa pecunie, dimisit capite proprio per warentum sigilli cancellarie. Et de illo in proximo parlamento accusatus fuit per comines. Eodem mense dominus le Dersy, amarellis maris, cepit .iiij. taretas et .vj. magnas naues, non mediocriter onustas, et applicuit eas in portum de Sandewyche.<sup>3</sup>

.xj. kalendas Iulii sederunt iusticiarii apud Lincolniam in speciali causa deputati: comes Northhamhymbrorum, dominus Robertus Bealeknape, et dominus Willelmus Skypwyth. Et coram illis conuicti sunt .vij. falsarii monete qui unum nobile extenderunt ad decem solidos, facientes inde .vj. quadrantes, qui .vij. simul tracti sunt et suspensi. Et quidam uicarius de Wyntringam, obmutescens, adiudicatus est ad penam mutorum. Quidam rector de patria, promotus ad ualorem ut dicebatur octoginta marcarum, causa affinitatis quam digniorem et alciorem habebat, non est morti adductus, set Londoniis

<sup>a</sup> tenderent T

<sup>1</sup> On Gaunt's landing in Spain, see Russell, *English Intervention*, pp. 420-1; Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 312-13. Knighton's account of the expedition, including the conversation about the payments made to Gaunt, makes this the most closely dated part of his narrative. It must have been written in the winter of 1389-90, shortly after Courtenay's visitation of Leicester (see below, pp. 532-4). On the absence of direct news from Spain during the campaign, see Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 242 and n. 1.

And in the said galley which was taken they found two merchants of London, with their goods, who had been taken prisoner. And with it also was a ship of the good duke of Lancaster's, which was fully laden with wheat and flour, and other supplies for the bakery, which had been captured and carried off by the Spaniards while it was on its way to Plymouth to join the fleet, and now was unexpectedly recovered intact. And now I shall say no more of the duke until I have heard more news.<sup>1</sup>

Sir Henry Percy, the firstborn of the earl of Northumberland, left Calais on the feast of St Pernel [31 May 1386] and made for Boulogne with quite a small force, and fell into the enemy's hands, and lost forty of his men-at-arms and eighty archers, killed and captured, and more wounded. The following night the same Henry and Sir William Beauchamp, captain of Calais, and the lord Bowers, and Sir Degary Seys, a foreigner, went out in the same way, and came suddenly upon a large French force, taking them unawares, and those they wanted alive they captured, and killed the rest.<sup>2</sup>

In June Sir Baldwin Raddington took two richly-laden tarets, which Sir Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk and chancellor of England, released on his own authority, by warrant under the chancery seal, having received a large sum of money. And in the next parliament he was accused of that by the commons. In the same month the lord Darcy, admiral of the sea, took four tarets and six great ships, not lightly laden, and brought them into Sandwich.<sup>3</sup>

On the eleventh of the Kalends of July [20 June] the earl of Northumberland, Sir Robert Bealknap, and Sir William Skipwith sat at Lincoln on a special commission as justices, and seven coiners were convicted before them, for having stretched nobles to 10s. and making six farthings to the penny, and all seven were drawn and hanged together. And a certain vicar of Wintringham stood mute, and was ordered to suffer the *peine fort et dure*. And a certain rector of the county, who was said to have received a preferment worth 80 marks a year, because of his distinguished connections was not executed, but

<sup>2</sup> Degary (or Gregory) Seys was Welsh: see A. D. Carr, 'Welshmen and the Hundred Years' War', *Welsh History Review*, iv (1968-9), 21-46, at p. 30. For compensation paid to Seys and his wife, Ragona de Mortemer, for losses suffered in Aquitaine, see *CPR 1377-81*, pp. 110, 211.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Baldwin Raddington was the controller of the king's household, sent to command at Sandwich: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 65, 172-3; B. H. St J. O'Neil, *Castles and Cannon*, p. 17; and below, p. 546. Seizures at sea were not always straightforward prizes: for the release of a captured taret in 1387, see *CCR 1385-9*, p. 219, and for cargo released under bond, *ibid.*, pp. 276-7.

missus in Turrim sub uoluntate regis, et sic quieuit. Et de cooperatibus eorum et fautoribus addictati fuerunt circiter .lx. de diuersis partibus regni.<sup>1</sup>

Karolus rex Francie congregauit exercitum magnum et copiosum, et prefecit eis dominum Iohannem, ducem Vyenne, et dominum le Clyssons, et alios plures dominos de regno Francie. Et fecit iurare super sacramento altaris, et similiter de sacramento communicare, quod infra certum diem terram Anglie si uentus eos sineret, absque alio impedimento, intrarent et de ea uiui non redirent, donec aut depopulata, aut subiugata. Saltem finem guerre imponerent inter regna, uel mortem ibidem sustinerent. Et ad hoc supportandum et perficiendum, concessa est regi per totum regnum Francie taxa inaudita, uidelicet tertia pars bonorum siue catallorum.<sup>2</sup>

Rex Francie fecerat quendam palum mire structure, cum turribus et municionibus, quem palum secum ueherent, et intrata terra Anglie, quasi in tribus horis super terram (mirabile dictu) erigerent. Et dicebatur continere in circuitu quasi spacium septem leucarum de mensura terre Anglie.<sup>3</sup> Et circa festum Sancti Michaelis dominus Willelmus Bewchamp, capitaneus de Calecia, cepit duas naues, unam onustam cum parcella dicti pali, in qua erat magister carpentarius dicti pali, et aliam nauem cum machinis, et gunnis, et puluere, et aliis instrumentis bellicis. Et post paululum temporis capte sunt due alie naues onuste de dicto palo, sicque capte sunt .iij. naues de dicto palo onuste. Statimque fecit rex erigere predictum palum circa uillam de Wynchelse.<sup>4</sup>

Interim mense / Septembris uenit exercitus antedictus in Flandriam apud portum de Sclus, uolens in Angliam dirigere gressum suum. Ibi que moram traxerunt sub magna indigencia. Nam dicebatur panem Anglie denarialem uendi ibidem pro .xviiij. denariis, et ouum galline pro denario. Et in fine mensis Nouembris redierunt in Franciam, de proposito frustrati.<sup>5</sup>

Quorum aduentu apud le Sclus audito, rex Anglie, proxima ebdomada ante festum Sancti Michaelis, misit celeriter in uniuersas partes regni Anglie et Wallie, et infra decem dies congregauit indus-

<sup>1</sup> For the commission of oyer and terminer, 30 May 1386, see *CPR 1385-9*, p. 179. On counterfeiting as treason, see J. G. Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 85-6. The unnamed rectory in Lincolnshire was unusually valuable, and was probably in one of the marshland parishes of the deanery of Holland (inf. Dr D. M. Owen).

<sup>2</sup> The assembly of the French force was delayed in the late spring by the duke of Burgundy's illness: Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 71-4. It was meant to operate in conjunction with the army sent to Scotland: above, p. 334.

sent to the tower of London at the king's pleasure, where he died. And some sixty of their accomplices and assistants, from various parts of the kingdom, were also indicted.<sup>1</sup>

King Charles of France assembled a large and powerful army, and put Sire Jean de Vienne, to command it, with the lord of Clisson, and many other lords of the kingdom of France. And he made them swear upon the sacrament of the altar, and likewise by taking communion together, that within a certain time and without allowing any impediment they would invade England, given favourable winds, and that they would not quit it alive until it was either depopulated or conquered, thus putting an end to the war between the kingdoms, or dying in the attempt. And to further and complete the undertaking the king was granted an unparalleled tax from the whole of France, namely a third part of all their goods and chattels.<sup>2</sup>

The king of France had made a palisade of marvellous contrivance, with towers and armaments, which they were to take with them, and which, wonderful to relate, could be assembled within some three hours of their landing in England. And it was said to enclose a circuit of about seven leagues by English measure.<sup>3</sup> And about Michaelmas [29 Sept. 1386] Sir William Beauchamp, the captain of Calais, captured two ships, one laden with part of the palisade, and also carrying the master carpenter who made it, and the other with machines, and guns, and powder, and other weapons of war. And a short time later two other ships were taken laden with parts of the palisade, so that in all three shiploads of it were captured. And the king at once ordered it to be erected round Winchelsey.<sup>4</sup>

In the mean time, in September, the aforesaid army came into Flanders, to the haven of the Sluis, wishing to proceed to England. And there they stayed, in great need. For it was said that an English penny loaf was sold there for 18*d.*, and a hen's egg for 1*d.*, and at the end of November they returned to France, balked of their plans.<sup>5</sup>

Having heard of their arrival at Sluis, the king of England sent urgent orders into all parts of England and Wales a week [22 September 1386] before Michaelmas, and within ten days, by hard

<sup>3</sup> Probably a measure of seven miles, which still sounds exaggerated. A mile's length of 12ft palisading would occupy more than 30,000 cubic feet of cargo space, and there were also turrets and ladders to accommodate.

<sup>4</sup> R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 49. See also *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*, ed. L. Mirot and A. Mirot, xiii. p. iv n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> See Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 36-7.

triam multitudinem uirorum bellatorum de ducibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, scutiferis, et sagittariis. Nam de comitatu Cestrie habuit mille sagittarios, de comitatu Leycestrie centum quinquaginta de stipendiis comitatus, donec ad regem uenirent, preter eos qui cum magnatibus ibant. Sicque factum est per totum regnum secundum possibilitatem plage.<sup>1</sup>

Precepitque rex quod omnes comines hospitarentur infra triginta leucas per circuitum Londoniarum, et ne appropinquarent per .x. leucas ad Londonias. Simili modo mandauit de reliquis qui uenerant cum dominis et magnatibus. Ipsi tamen concursum habere poterant ad regem et parliamentum apud Londonias cum solita familia.<sup>2</sup>

Interim inimici se continuauerunt apud le Scelus, nec alicubi appropinquauerunt aliqui eorum; erat enim euentus uenti contrarius illis. Magister Radulfus de SkyrLOWE, episcopus Lychefeldensis, nondum installatus set consecratus, translatus est in episcopum Batonensem. Magister Ricardus Scrope factus est episcopus Lychefeldensis.<sup>3</sup> Vnde rex mandauit omnibus suis, ut redirent singuli in patriam suam. Set stipendia pro expensis nulla illis dedit. Ipsi uero qui a Wallia et comitatibus Cestrie, Lancastrie, et aliis remotis partibus uenerant et expensas pro redeundo non habuerant, spoliauerunt ubique in uia sua de equis ad equitandum, et pro uictu de porcis, porcellis, ouibus, aucis, caponibus, gallinis, et ceteris que ad esum pertinuerunt.

Dicebatur enim in spacio quatuor leucarum, sexaginta duos fuisse expoliatos de pauperibus mercatoribus et aliis communibus de patria in comitatu Warwychie. Venit eciam quidam in campo de Sapcote in comitatu Leycestrie et tulit unam equam de quadam caruca, cuius possessor insequabatur eum cum uicinis suis, et equam eripuit, raptoremque ad plenum uerberauit. Raptor uero dicto tempore rediit cum centum quadraginta sociis cum arcubus et sagittis de comitatu Cestrie, uoluitque predictam uillanum occidisse et uillam incendisse. Vnde uillani necessitate coacti finem cum illis fecerunt, et eis ad certum diem se daturos decem libras obligauerunt; quod et impleuerunt. Sicque in diuersis partibus regni per tales infinita mala perpetrata sunt.<sup>4</sup>

Post festum Sancti Michaelis, Karolus / rex Francie simulauit se uelle solempnizare festum Natalis Domini in uilla de Gaunt quasi uolens honorem impendere ciuitati et ciuibus eius. Et premisit ministros suos preuisores ad prouidendum de uictualibus et ceteris

<sup>1</sup> See *CCR* 1385-9, pp. 253, 264-5.

work, there was brought together a multitude of fighting men: dukes, earls, barons, knights, esquires, and archers. For from the county of Chester he had 1,000 archers, and 150 from Leicestershire, who served at the county's expense until they should reach the king, except for those who were going with the magnates. And thus it was managed all over the kingdom, according to the means of the county.<sup>1</sup>

And the king ordered that all the commons should be lodged within thirty leagues of London, but were not to come closer to the city than ten leagues. And he made a similar order for those who had come with the lords and magnates, although the lords and magnates could attend parliament with their normal retinues.<sup>2</sup>

In the mean time the enemy were still at the Sluis, nor did any of them come any closer, for the wind was against them. Master Walter Skirlaw, who had been consecrated, though not yet installed, as bishop of Lichfield was translated to the see of Bath and Wells, and Master Richard Scrope was made bishop of Coventry and Lichfield.<sup>3</sup> And then the king ordered everyone to return home, but he gave them no allowances for their expenses. And those who had come from Wales, and the counties of Chester and Lancaster, and other distant parts, and had nothing to pay for their return journey, ransacked everywhere on their route for horses to ride, and for pigs, piglets, sheep, geese, capons, hens, and anything else to eat.

It was said that within a distance of four leagues they robbed sixty-two poor tradesmen and other commons of the neighbourhood in Warwickshire. One of them came into the fields of Sapcote in Leicestershire and took a mare from the plough, and its owner and his neighbours chased him, and recovered the mare, and gave the thief a good beating. And the thief immediately returned with 140 of his companions, who were archers from Cheshire, intending to kill the farmer and burn the village, whereupon the villagers had to make fine with them, and promise to pay them £10 by a certain day, which they did. And thus, in various parts of the kingdom, such men did endless harm.<sup>4</sup>

Some time after Michaelmas [29 September 1386] King Charles of France pretended that he wished to celebrate Christmas in the town of Ghent, so as to do honour to the city and its citizens. And he sent his agents ahead to provide victuals and other necessities, such as

<sup>2</sup> For arrangements for billeting and victualling in London, 18 Sept. 1386, see *CCR* 1385-9, pp. 261-2.

<sup>3</sup> The bishops were translated in August: *HBC* 228, 253.

<sup>4</sup> See *CPR* 1385-8, pp. 315, 322; *CCR* 1385-9, pp. 193-4. The marauders at Sapcote presumably came off Watling Street.

aliis necessariis que regium honorem et magnificenciam decerent, ueneruntque ad uillam de Gant quasi octingenti uiri cum magno cariagio doliorum acsi esset uini. Quod uidentes prudenciores uille mirabantur quod tam tempestiue cepit facere prouidenciam suam et precipue in tali uilla ubi omnis habundancia habebatur. Similiter quod tantam copiam ministrorum premiserat et quod magis timore aduertendum erat uerebantur enim ne forte rex circumueniret eos lapsu mortis, sicuti fecerat compatriotis suis uiris uidelicet de uilla de Dampe.<sup>1</sup>

Hiis et aliis consideratis, miserunt quendam incurium qui occulte et quasi incaute et insipienter (set accidit sapienter) penetraret dolium unum uel plura ut eos cerciores redderet an dolus interfuisset. Qui, missa implens et nullum liquorem inibi reperiens, nunciauit magistris suis dolia a liquore uacua set maxima ponderositate plena. Conuenerunt igitur ciues ciuitatis a minimo usque ad maximum et se uelle uidere et gustare de uino regio dixerunt.

Orta est igitur lis magna hinc inde, set preualentibus ciuibus fregerunt plura dolia et ea plena armorum inuenerunt. Sicque demum extorquebant ab illis quod illi octingenti uiri cum aliis qui sic sparsim uenturi erant more ministrorum, captata opportunitate irruerent super ciues ciuitatis et depopularent funditusque delerent omnem progeniem in ea inuentam. Igitur Flandrenses in sedicionem uersi et iram, reddiderunt eis prout meruerunt uicem pro uice et decapitauerunt omnes, nec euasit unus quidem.<sup>2</sup>

*De parlamento.* Rex tenuit parlamentum apud Westmonasterium die Lune in crastino Sancti Ieronomi et finiuit in festo Sancti Andree.<sup>3</sup>

*Comes Oxonie factus est dux Hibernie.* Comes Oxonie qui et marcheus Duuelinie, factus dux Hibernie in festo Sancti Edwardi regis et confessoris.<sup>4</sup> Rex traxit moram tempore parlamenti apud Eltam pro maiori parte. Proceres igitur regni et communes de communi assensu nunciauerunt regi oportere amoueri cancellarium et thesaurarium ab officiis suis, quia non erant ad comodum regis et

<sup>1</sup> Besides the sack of Damme in Aug 1385 (Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 60–1), the Gantois would have had in mind the capture of Oudenaard in May 1384 by a similar *coup de main*, of which they had taken particular note: *Memorieboek van der Staat Ghent*, ed. P. J. van de Meersch (2 vols., Ghent, 1832–4), i. 116; and below, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to accommodate such an episode in the autumn of 1386: Ghent was reconciled with Burgundy and the French by the Peace of Tournai on 18 Dec. 1385, which limited the admission of French troops to the city, and Duke Philip strove to maintain good relations with the citizens. Knighton's story may have some element of fantasy in it, the equivalent of a modern war-film, with an echo of the strategem by which the lord of

would befit his royal honour and magnificence, and there came to Ghent some eighty men-at-arms with a great train of what seemed to be barrels of wine. And the more thoughtful men of the town wondered greatly that he should begin to make his arrangements at that time, especially in a town with such an abundance of supplies. And also that he should have sent on such numbers of attendants. And what made them the more fearful, was the thought that the king might be plotting to put them to death as he had their fellow-countrymen, namely the men of the town of Damme.<sup>1</sup>

With those and other things in mind, they sent in one of their number, unobserved, who, as though accidentally and carelessly, though really by design, was to pierce first one of the barrels, and then others, to discover whether some trickery was going on. And having done as he was told, and finding that nothing leaked from them, he reported to the magistrates that the barrels contained no liquid, but were immensely heavy. And therefore the citizens of the place, from the greatest to the least, came together and announced that they wished to sample the king's wine.

And a great uproar broke out, but the citizens forced their way in and broke open the barrels, and found them full of weapons, and there and then they made the eighty men confess that they and others, who would be infiltrated in the guise of caterers, were to have seized the opportunity to fall upon the citizens, and to destroy everyone whom they could find in the city. And therefore the Flemings, their minds turned to hatred and wrath, dealt with them as they deserved, and beheaded them all, and not one escaped.<sup>2</sup>

*Parliament.* The king held a parliament at Westminster on Monday the morrow of St Jerome [1 Oct. 1386], which ended on the feast of St Andrew [30 Nov. 1386].<sup>3</sup>

*The earl of Oxford made duke of Ireland.* The earl of Oxford, already marquis of Dublin, was made duke of Ireland on the feast of St Edward, king and confessor [13 Oct. 1386].<sup>4</sup> The king stayed at Eltham for the greater part of the parliament. The lords and commons of the realm therefore announced to the king, with one assent, that he ought to remove the chancellor and the treasurer from their posts,

Escornay seized Oudenaard in May 1384: Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 34, 37, 38; Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 79 n. 29; and below, p. 452 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See *RP* iii. 215–24. This was sometimes known as the Wonderful Parliament, a title which Knighton's rubricator applies at one point to the session of 1388, which is also called by its better-earned name of the Merciless Parliament (below, p. 414).

<sup>4</sup> See *CP* vii. 70; and Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 82. Richard probably chose St Edward's day for the grant from his own devotion to the saint.

1386 regni. Ac etiam habebant talia negocia tractare cum Michaele de Pole que non possent tractare cum eo quamdiu staret in officio cancellarie.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 198<sup>v</sup> Rex inde motus mandavit eis ut de hiis tacerent et de negociis parlamenti procederent atque ad expeditionem festinarent, dicens se nolle pro ipsis nec minimum gacionem de coquina sua ammouere de officio suo. Pecierat enim cancellarius ex nomine regis a communibus quatuor quindenae solui in uno anno et totidem<sup>e</sup> decimas a clero, dicens regem adeo indebitatum quod / non posset aliter a suo debito et aliis oneribus sibi incumbentibus, tam de guerra quam de familia et de aliis releuari.<sup>2</sup>

At illi, communi assensu dominorum et communium, remandauerunt regi, se non posse nec omnino uelle in aliquo negocio parlamenti procedere, nec minimum quidem articulum expedire donec rex ueniret, et seipsum in propria persona in parlamento eis ostenderet, dictumque Michaelem de Pole ab officio amoueret. At rex remandavit eis ut quadraginta milites de pericioribus et ualencioribus communibus ad eum transmitterent, qui ei uota aliorum omnium indicarent.

*Ymaginacio mortis de militibus parlamenti.* Tunc illi maius timuerunt unusquisque de propria salute. Nam occultus rumor aures secrecius asperserat, quod eorum interitus per insidias ymaginaretur.<sup>3</sup> Nam ut postea innotuit eis dicebatur, illis sic ad regis colloquium accedentibus, turba armatorum eos inuaderet et interficeret, uel ad regis conuiuium inuitatos scelesti uiri armati in eos irruerent et necarent uel in hospiciis suis Londoniis subito interficerentur. Set renuente et ad tantum scelus nullo modo consenciente, Nicholao de Exton maiore uille Londoniensis, istud flagicium dilatatum est et nephandum consilium successiue denudatum est.<sup>4</sup> Salubri igitur usi consilio, miserunt de communi assensu tocius parlamenti dominum Thomam de Wodestoke, ducem Gloucestrie, et Thomam de Arundelle, episcopum Helyensem, ad regem apud<sup>b</sup> Eltham, qui salutarent eum ex parte procerum et communium parlamenti sui sub tali sensu uerborum ei referentes uota eorum.<sup>5</sup>

Domine rex, proceres et domini atque totus populū communitatis

<sup>a</sup> A majuscule E in the margin of T, by the scribe or reviser later hand

<sup>b</sup> qui T; cancelled by a

<sup>1</sup> See Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 100–1, 105; and Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 45–8.

<sup>2</sup> See *RP* iii. 215; and Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> Although Knighton's narrative is sympathetic to the reformers, the mere currency of such rumours is a measure of the decline in esteem for the king: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 13.

1386 as unserviceable to the king and the kingdom, and also because they had matters to resolve with Michael de la Pole which they could not pursue while he held the office of chancellor.<sup>1</sup>

The king was greatly annoyed, and told them to mind their own business, and to bring the matters before them in parliament to a speedy end, adding that he would not dismiss the humblest of his kitchen staff from his post at their behest. For the chancellor had asked the commons in the king's name for four fifteenths, to be paid in a single year, and for a like number of tenths from the clergy, saying that the king was so much in debt that he could not otherwise pay what he owed nor meet his other commitments, whether for the war, or in his household, or to discharge other business.<sup>2</sup>

And by common assent the lords and commons sent word to the king that they neither could nor would proceed with any business whatsoever in parliament, nor expedite the least matter, until the king came in person to show himself in parliament, and removed the said Michael de la Pole from office. And the king sent back to say that forty knights from amongst the more experienced and better qualified of the commons, able to express the will of all the rest, should be sent to him.

*A plot to kill the knights of the shire.* And then every one feared even more for his own safety, for a secret whisper ran about that there was a plot to ambush and kill them.<sup>3</sup> It was said that they learned later that those who had gone to treat with the king would have been fallen upon by armed men and slain, or that the king would have invited them to dine and that armed ruffians would have broken in and murdered them, or that they would suddenly have been murdered in their lodgings in London, but that Nicholas Exton, the mayor of London, having refused to countenance so evil a deed, the wicked plot was spread about, and the scandal gradually uncovered.<sup>4</sup> A wiser counsel therefore prevailed, and by common consent of the whole parliament they sent Sir Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, to the king at Eltham, who greeted him on behalf of the lords and commons of parliament, and conveyed their deliberations in some such words as these.<sup>5</sup>

'Lord king, the magnates and lords and the whole commons of your

<sup>4</sup> Probably a reflection of the accusation made in art. 27 of the appeal of 1388: see below, p. 486. Exton was able subsequently to turn his natural caution to good account with the Appellants: Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 91.

<sup>5</sup> Knighton's is the only account of this episode, and it is not clear from which of the participants his information came. See further Aston, *Arundel*, pp. 161–3; Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 103; and above, p. lxviii–lxix.



parliamenti uestri, cum humillima subiectione se comendant excellentissimo [\* \* \*]<sup>a</sup> regalis dignitatis uestre, cupientes prosperum iter inuincibilis honoris uestri contra inimicorum potenciam et ualidissimum uinculum pacis et dilectionis cordis uestri erga subditos uestros in augmentum comodi uestri erga Deum et salutem anime uestre, et ad inedicibilem consolacionem tocius populi uestri quem regitis.

Ex quorum parte hec uobis intimamus quod ex antiquo statuto<sup>1</sup> habemus, et consuetudine laudabili et approbata cuius contrarietati dici non ualebit, quod rex noster conuocare potest dominos et proceres regni atque communes semel in anno ad parlamentum suum tanquam ad summam curiam tocius regni, in qua omnis equitas relucere deberet absque qualibet scrupulositate uel nota, tanquam sol in assensu meridiei ubi pauperes et diuites pro refrigerio tranquillitatis et pacis et repulsione iniuriarum refugium infallibile querere possent, ac eciam errata regni reformare, et de statu et gubernacione regis et regni cum sapienciori consilio tractare, et ut inimici regis et regni intrinseci et hostes extrinseci destruantur et repellantur quomodo conueniencius / et honorificencius fieri poterit, cum salubri tractatu in eo disponere et preuidere, qualiter quoque onera incumbencia regi et regno leuius ad ediam communitatis supportari poterunt. Videtur eciam eis quod ex quo onera supportant incumbencia habent eciam superuidere qualiter et per quos eorum bona et catalla expendantur.

Dicunt eciam quod habent ex antiquo statuto quod si rex a parlamento suo se alienauerit sua sponte, non aliqua infirmitate aut aliqua alia de causa necessitatis, set per immoderatam uoluntatem proterue se subtraxerit per absenciam temporis quadraginta dierum, tanquam de uexacione populi sui et grauibus expensis eorum non curans, extunc licitum omnibus et singulis eorum absque domigerio regis redire ad propria et unicuique eorum in patriam suam remeare.<sup>2</sup> Et iam uos ex longiori tempore absentastis, et qua de causa nesciunt uenire renuistis.

Ad hec rex: Iam plene consideramus quod populus noster et

<sup>a</sup> A blank space, approx 20mm.

<sup>1</sup> On the force of the word *statutum* in this context, see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 98–9. There was no literal statute to govern the king's power in parliament, or anywhere else, but custom had its own force, as the history of the *Modus tenendi parlamentum* shows: see N. Pronay and J. Taylor, *Parliamentary Texts of the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1980), pp. 16–21, 26–30.

parliament, with most humble submission, commend themselves to the most excellent [favour] of your royal dignity, desiring a prosperous triumph of your invincible honour against the power of your enemies, and the strongest bond of peace and of your heart's delight with your subjects, to the increase of your well-being with God and the salvation of your soul, and to the inexpressible consolation of all the people over whom you rule.

Upon behalf of whom we are here to inform you, that under an ancient law<sup>1</sup> we have a laudable and approved custom, which none can deny, that our king has the power to call together once every year, to his parliament, the lords and great men of the realm, with the commons, as to the highest court in all the land, in which without doubt or quibble all equity ought to shine like the morning sun in his ascent, and to which both rich and poor can resort, for the refreshment of tranquillity and peace, and the redress of injuries, as to an unfailing refuge, and where also the errors of the kingdom can be corrected, and the state and governance of the king and the kingdom considered with the wisest counsel, and the enemies of the king and the realm, both within and without, be extirpated and repelled, and in which all that has to be done can most commodiously and honourably be devised, and upon wholesome consideration plans and provision can be made to discharge the obligations of the king and the kingdom, to the relief and benefit of the community. It seems to them, too, that as they bear the burden they should also oversee in what manner and by whom their goods and chattels are expended.

And they say also that it is of old established that if the king withdraw himself from parliament of his own will, and not by reason of sickness or other necessary cause, but by his own irresponsible resolution is absent for a space of forty days, without regard to the vexation of his people and to the grave expenses which they incur, then it is lawful for them all to return to their own homes, and each to seek his own country.<sup>2</sup> And already you have been absent for a longer time, and, for a reason they know not, refuse to come to them.<sup>3</sup>

To which the king replied, 'We have long been aware that our

<sup>2</sup> See above, n. 1; and Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 97 n. 2, on the chronology of the crisis. The *Modus tenendi parlamentum*, which was widely available to lawyers, may be the source of the assertion: see N. Pronay and J. Taylor, *Parliamentary Texts*, pp. 26 and n. 48, 94–5.



communes intendunt resistere, atque contra nos insurgere moliantur, et in tali infestacione melius nobis non uidetur quin cognatum nostrum regem Francie et ab eo consilium et auxilium petere contra insidiantes, et nos eis submittere pocius quam succumbere subditis nostris.<sup>1</sup>

Ad hec illi responderunt, 'Non est hoc uobis sanum consilium, set magis ducens ad ineuitabilem detrimentum. Nam rex Francie capitalis inimicus uester est et regni uestri aduersarius permaximus. Et si in terram regni uestri pedem figeret, pocius uos spoliare laboraret, et regnum uestrum inuadere, uosque a sublimitate regalis solii expellere, quam uobis aliquatenus manus adiutrices cum fauore apponere, si quod absit eius suffragio quandoque indigeretis. Ad memoriam igitur reuocetis qualiter auus uester Edwardus tertius rex, et similiter pater uester Edwardus princeps nomine eius, in sudore et angustis in omni tempore suo per innumerabiles labores in frigore et calore certauerunt indefesse pro conquisicione regni Francie, quod eis iure hereditario attinebat et uobis per successionem post eos.

Reminiscamini quoque qualiter domini regni et proceres atque communes innumerabiles tam de regno Anglie quam Francie, reges quoque et domini de aliis regnis atque populi innumerabiles in guerra illa mortem et mortis periculum sustinuerunt, bona quoque et catalla inestimabilia et thesauros innumerabiles pro sustentacione huius gwerre communes regni huius indefesse effuderunt.

Et quod grauius dolendum est, iam in diebus uestris tanta onera eis imposita pro gwerris uestris sustinendis suppor/tauerunt quod ad tantam pauperiem incredibilem deducti sunt quod nec redditus suos pro suis tenementis soluere possunt, nec regi subuenire, nec uite necessaria sibi ipsis ministrare, et depauperatur regia potestas, et minorum regni et magnatum infelicitas adducitur, atque tocius populi debilitas. Nam rex depauperari nequit, qui diuitem habet populum, nec diues esse potest qui pauperes habet communes.

Et mala hec omnia redundant non solum regi set et omnibus et singulis dominis et proceribus regni unicuique in suo gradu. Et hec omnia eueniunt per iniquos ministros regis qui male gubernauerunt regem et regnum usque in presens. Et nisi manus cicus apponamus

<sup>1</sup> It has been questioned (A. Steel, *Richard II* (Cambridge, 1941), p. 122) whether

people and commons intend to resist and to rise against us, and in face of that threat it seems to us best to turn to our cousin of France, and seek his support and aid against our enemies, and better to submit ourselves to him than to our own subjects'.<sup>1</sup>

To that they answered, 'That would be no sensible course for you, but would rather lead to inevitable destruction. The king of France is your chiefest enemy, and your kingdom's greatest foe, and if he once set foot in your land he would rather work to undo you, and usurp your kingdom, and expel you from your royal throne, than extend his hand to help you if, which God forbid, you were to seek his aid. Only think how your grandfather, King Edward III, and also your father, Prince Edward, in his name, sweated and laboured all their lives, with endless exertions in heat and cold, in tireless endeavour to conquer the kingdom of France, which was theirs by right, and now by succession is your own.

Remember too how the lords and nobles of the realm, and the numberless commons both of the kingdom of England and of France, and kings and lords of other kingdoms, and their peoples unnumbered withstood in that war death and the danger of death, and how the commons of this realm have poured out ungrudgingly their goods and possessions and uncounted treasure to sustain the war.

And, what is most grievous of all, in your own day such burdens are placed upon them to support your wars, that they are reduced to such unbelievable poverty that they can neither pay the rents for their tenements, nor maintain the king, nor provide for themselves the necessities of life, to the impoverishment of royal power, the descent of the lords and magnates of the realm into misery, and the enfeeblement of the entire populace. For the king whose people are rich cannot himself be poor, nor can he be rich whose people are impoverished.

And all those ills fall not only upon the king but upon all and every one of the lords and nobles of the kingdom, each in his own degree. And they all come about through the unjust ministers of the king, who have mismanaged the affairs of the king and the kingdom, and continue to do so. And unless we swiftly lend helping hands and some good remedy in its support, the kingdom of

Richard uttered any such threat, or whether it rather represents an *ex post facto* justification of the Appellants' obsessions. It is true that it would have been a dangerous sanction and an unwise disclosure, but then Richard's political acumen was unpredictable.

adiutrices et remedii fulcimentum adhibeamus, regnum Anglie dolorose attenuabitur tempore quo minus opinamur.

Set et unum aliud de nuncio nostro superest nobis ex parte populi uestri uobis intimare. Habent enim ex antiquo statuto, et de facto non longe retroactis temporibus experienter (quod dolendum est habito), si rex ex maligno consilio quocumque uel inepta contumacia aut contemptu seu proterua uoluntate singulari, aut quouis modo irregulari se alienauerit a populo suo, nec uoluerit per iura regni et statuta ac laudabiles ordinaciones cum salubri consilio dominorum et procerum regni gubernari et regulari, set capitose in suis insanis consiliis propriam uoluntatem suam singularem proterue exercere, extunc licitum est eis cum communi assensu et consensu populi regni ipsum regem de regali solio abrogare, et propinquiorem aliquem de stirpe regia loco eius in regni solio sublimare.<sup>1</sup>

Que forte dissencio aut error grauis ne<sup>a</sup> in populo oriatur, et populus regni nouo aliquo dissidio dolendo et inimicis regni placibili in diebus uestris per insanum consilium ministrorum uestrorum subruatur, regnumque Anglie tam honorificum, et in toto orbe terrarum pre ceteris regnis tempore patris uestri hactenus in milicia nominatissimum, nunc uero diebus uestris per diuisionem male gubernacionis improprose desoletur, regnique tanti dampni titulus pro debili gubernacione sub perpetua memoria, persone uestre scandalose quam regni uestri atque populi et animum ab inepto consilio reuocetis et eos qui uobis talia suggerent nec solum non audiatis, set eciam de consilio uestro penitus amoueatis, nam in euentu uario parum aut nichil uobis prodesse poterunt in effectum.

Hiis et aliis talibus loquelis rex ab ira semotus, animum de malencolia reuocauit, sicque pacificatus promisit se uenire ad parlamentum post triduum, et eorum petitione cum maturitate se libenter adquiescere uelle. Venit igitur rex ad parlamentum ut promisit, et tunc / dominus Iohannes de Fortham episcopus Dunelmensis ammotus est de officio thesaurarii, et episcopus Herfordensis factus est thesaurarius. Dominus Mychele de Pole comes de Southfolk depositus est cum ingenti rubore de officio cancellarii, et Thomas de Arundelle

<sup>a</sup> Supplied by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> It is interesting that this invocation of Edward II's deposition attributes no power to

England will fall into a woeful decline, sooner than anyone could suppose.

Yet there remains one other thing which we have to tell you on behalf of your people. They have an ancient law, which not long since, lamentably, had to be invoked, which provides that if the king, upon some evil counsel, or from wilfulness and contempt, or moved by his violent will, or in any other improper way, estrange himself from his people, and will not be governed and guided by the laws of the land, and its enactments and laudable ordinances, and the wholesome counsel of the lords and nobles of the kingdom, but wrong-headedly, upon his own unsound conclusions, follows the promptings of his untempered will, then it would be lawful with the common assent and agreement of the people of the realm to put down the king from his royal seat, and raise another of the royal lineage in his place.<sup>1</sup>

Wherefore, lest dissent or grave error arise amongst the people, and the populace of the realm be grieved by some new and lamentable discord, to the gratification of your enemies, and the kingdom of England, which heretofore in the time of your father was so honoured, and renowned beyond all other kingdoms for its knightly prowess, and now, truly, in your days be subverted by the ineptitude of your ministers, and wretchedly cast down and set at variance by feeble government, its fame thus impaired, and the memory of your person scandalously defamed, and that of your kingdom and your people, recall your mind from incompetent counsel, and far from heeding those who have suggested such courses to you, expel them altogether from your company, for otherwise there would be little or nothing that they could do to save you'.

By those and other speeches the king was persuaded to set aside his anger, and to withdraw his mind from sorrow, and thus calmed he promised to come to parliament within three days, and upon consideration willingly to agree to their requests. And therefore the king came to parliament as he had promised, and then Sir John Fordham, the bishop of Durham, was removed from office as treasurer, and the bishop of Hereford was made treasurer. Sir Michael de la Pole was expelled, with great ignominy, from the office of chancellor, and

parliament in the matter: see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 96–113; and below, p. 398. As for the reference to a successor, it is unlikely that Gloucester would have concocted or countenanced that particular assertion after the fiasco in the Tower in Jan. 1388 (below, p. 426).

1386 episcopus Helyensis per consensum parlamenti factus est cancellarius.<sup>1</sup>

Post hec dictus Michael de Pole accusatus est de multis transgressionibus, fraudibus, falsiciis et tradicionibus factis in graue preiudicium et dampnum regis et regni, conuictusque in mirabili numero articulorum predictorum. Noluerunt ipsum morte plectere, neque nomen comitis auferre, et hoc propter honorem gradus militaris, set iudicauerunt eum ad carcerem in castello de Wyndesowre. Set statim parlamento finito et uniuersis ad propria regressis, rex eum a custodia reuocauit et abire ad libitum libere permisit, donec prouiderent qualiter disponerent aliter de eo.<sup>2</sup>

Redditusque et possessiones quos perquisierat dum steterat in officio cancellarie, ad annuam summam mille librarum, ad perpetuum profectum regis confiscati sunt et adiudicati per iudicium parlamenti. Et multas alias summulas quas nequiter et fallaciter lucratus fuerat in tardando negocia populorum donec cum eo primo finem facerent antequam eos expediret uidelicet ad summam .xij. milia librarum, condemnatus est reddere regi in releuamen communitatis regni. Articulos fraudis et fallacie eius pro parte reserabo sub forma que sequitur.<sup>3</sup>

*Arrenacio Michaelis de Pole.*<sup>4</sup>

Les enpechementz faitz par lez communes en le playne parlyment sur Michaele de Pole, cont de Southfolk, iadys chauncelere Dengletiere, en terme de Seynt Mychele, lan le roy .x., et lez iugementz sur ycels ensement de poynt en poynte.

*Primus articulus.* Primerment qe le dit conte, esteant chauncelere, et iurez de faire le profite le roy, purchasa de nostre seignur le roy terre, tenementz, et rentes a grant ualue, come pert par records es<sup>a</sup> rolles del chancerye, encontur sone soerment la oue il nauoit taunt deseruys nient<sup>b</sup> considerez la grant necessite du roy et del realme. Et outur ceo, a cause qe le dit cont fuist chauncelere au

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>b</sup> Om. RP

<sup>1</sup> See Aston, *Arundel*, p. 163.

<sup>2</sup> See Roskell, *Impeachment*, p. 197. The comment 'donec prouiderent qualiter disponerent' suggests a source rather closer to the event than Knighton's present narrative. *Westm. Chron.*, p. 186, says that Suffolk sought formal pardon at a council at Reading in May 1387, but that it could not be granted in the absence of Gloucester and other lords. See also Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 18–19.

<sup>3</sup> The form of de la Pole's trial is discussed in T. F. T. Plucknett, 'State trials under Richard II', pp. 165–6. Roskell, *Impeachment*, is a valuable review both of the substance of the charges, and of the historiography of the event.

1386 Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, was made chancellor with the agreement of Parliament.<sup>1</sup>

After which the said Michael de la Pole was accused of many offences, frauds, falsehoods, and treasons, committed to the grave prejudice and loss of the king and the kingdom, but when he was convicted upon an astonishing number of the said articles, they did not wish to inflict the punishment of death upon him, or even to degrade him from the rank of an earl, in honour of his knightly degree, but adjudged him to imprisonment in Windsor Castle. Yet as soon as parliament was over, and all had returned to their own abodes, the king recalled him from imprisonment, and allowed him to go free until some other disposition could be decided for him.<sup>2</sup>

And the rents and possessions which he had acquired during his term of office as chancellor, amounting to an annual sum of £1,000, were confiscated by parliament, and adjudged in perpetuity to the king, and many other lesser sums which he had wickedly and falsely gained by delaying public business until those concerned had agreed to pay him to expedite it, to the amount of £12,000, were ordered to be paid to the king for the relief of the community of the realm. The accusations of fraud and deceit made against him I shall set out in the following form.<sup>3</sup>

*The arraignment of Michael de la Pole.*<sup>4</sup>

The impeachments made by the commons in full parliament against Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, formerly chancellor of England, in the Michaelmas term of the tenth year of the king's reign [Nov. 1386], with the judgements thereupon, listed point by point.

*First article.* Firstly, that the said earl, being chancellor and sworn to act to the king's advantage, bought of our lord the king lands, tenements, and rents of great value, as appears by the records and rolls of chancery, against his oath, for he had not earned them, nor did he consider the great necessity of the king and the kingdom, and beyond even that because the said earl was chancellor at the

<sup>4</sup> The following text is an edition of the process against de la Pole, and the phrase 'lez iugementz ... ensement de poynt en poynt' emphasizes the fact that the judgements have been sifted out of the pleadings recorded on the parliament roll, where they follow upon de la Pole's answers to the accusations and the Commons' replies to his defence (*RP* iii. 216–18, 218–19, and 220). That, and the use of French, suggest a semi-official digest of a kind analogous to the account of the proceedings in the Merciless Parliament which the Westminster chronicler reproduces (*Westm. Chron.*, pp. 280–96). The articles here have been collated with the entries on *RP* iii. 216–18 to elucidate the text, without taking account of minor variations in spelling or the order of words.

temps de dit purchas fait, lez ditez terre et tenementz furent extenduz a mayndre ualue qils ne uaylent par an, par grant summe, en deceyt du roy.<sup>1</sup>

Et purceo qil purchasa lez ditez terez quant il fuist chauncelere contur sone surment, le roy auera lez terre mermain, et le dit cont fra fin et ranson au roy, oue lez issuez prisse a temps de purchace.

.2. Item la oue .ix. seignurs furent assignez au derreyne parlyment pur ueyere / et examiner lestate du roy et del realme, et dyre lour auys coment il purra estre meultz amendez, et mys en mellour gouernance et disposicion, et sur ceo le<sup>a</sup> examynement fait, <sup>b</sup>et le report sur ce fait<sup>b</sup> au roy, si biene par bouche come en escript, le dit nadgares chauncelere disoit en pleyne parlement qe lez ditez auyementz et ordinance deussent estre mys en due exsecucion, et ceo ne fuist fait, et ceo en defaute de luy qalors fuist principal officer.<sup>2</sup>

A cest article et a la tierce et a la septisme le dit qe le dit conte respoundera si ascune uorra dire deuers luy en speciale.

.iii. Item la oue charge fuist graunte par lez communes au darreyne parlyment pur estur despenduz en certeyne forme demande par lez communes, et assentuz par le roye et les<sup>c</sup> seignurs, et noun pas autrement, lez deners ent prouenantz furent despenduz en altre manere, si qe la miere nestoit gardez en manere come fuist ordenez, paront plusours meschiefs sont auenuz al realme, et uerray semblable est dauenir, et ceo en defaute de dit nadgers chauncelere.<sup>3</sup>

.iiii. Item par<sup>d</sup> la oue Tydeman de Lymbergh, qi auoit a luy et a sez eyres, du done le roye layel, .l. liuers annuels del custome del Kyngestone 'sur Hull,' le quele Tydeman forfist deuers le roye, et auxint le payment de ditz .l. liuers annuels feust discontinue par .xxxv.<sup>f</sup> anz et plus, le dit nadgairs<sup>e</sup> chauncelere, ceo sachaut, purchasa a luy et a sez eyres de dite Tydeman lez .l. liuers annuels, et fist taunt qe le roy luy conferma la dit purchace, la oue le roy deust auer ewe le profite.<sup>4</sup>

Et pur cele purchase le dit cont fuist aiuge fin et raunson a roy et lez .l. liuers<sup>h</sup> a roy et a sez heyres, ensemblement oueske lez manere de Flaxflete, et .x. mars de rent, queux auoit enchange, etcetera, oueske lez issues, etcetera.

<sup>a</sup> Om. RP<sup>b</sup> RP; om. T<sup>c</sup> RP; se T<sup>d</sup> RP; om. T<sup>e</sup> RP; om. T<sup>f</sup> .xx. ou .xxx. RP<sup>g</sup> RP; om. T<sup>h</sup> et cancelled

by reviser or a later hand

time of the said purchases, and caused the said lands and tenements to be valued at less than their worth by a great yearly sum, to the king's deception.<sup>1</sup>

And because he purchased the said lands while he was chancellor, and against his oath, the king should have the lands in mortmain, and the said earl make fine and ransom with the king for the annual issues received since the time of their purchase.

2. Also, whereas nine lords were appointed in the last parliament to survey and examine the state of the king and the realm, and to give their advice as to how they could be best amended, and put in better order and disposition, and the examination being made and reported to the king in speech and in writing, the said former chancellor said in full parliament that the recommendations and orders should duly be put into effect, which was not done, and that by his default, because he was then the king's chief minister.<sup>2</sup>

To that article, and to the third and the seventh, the said earl will make answer if any wish to speak particularly against him.

3. Also, whereas a grant was made in the last parliament to be spent in a certain manner set out by the commons and agreed by the king and the lords, and in no other manner, the moneys therefrom were spent in another wise, for the sea was not kept in the manner ordained, whereby many mischiefs befell the kingdom, and more are like to come, by the said chancellor's default.<sup>3</sup>

4. Also whereas one, Tijdman van Limburg, who had by the king's grandfather's gift to him and his heirs £50 each year from the customs of Kingston-upon-Hull, the which Tijdman forfeited to the king, and also the payment of the said £50 had been discontinued for thirty-five years and more, the said former chancellor, knowing which, purchased the said £50 for himself and his heirs from the said Tijdman, and caused the king to confirm the said purchase, whereas the king ought to have had the profit.<sup>4</sup>

And for that purchase the said earl was condemned to make fine and ransom with the king, and to pay the king and his heirs the £50, together with the manor of Faxfleet, and ten marks' rent which he had exchanged, etc., with the issues, etc.

<sup>1</sup> See the analysis in Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 114-54.<sup>2</sup> On the abortive reforms of 1385, see Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 59-66; and J. J. N. Palmer, 'The impeachment of Michael de la Pole in 1386', *BIHR* xlii (1969), 96-101.<sup>3</sup> See Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 67-86.<sup>4</sup> See *ibid.*, pp. 155-71, the substance of which is that in a complicated transaction de la Pole had abused his ministerial authority.

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.v. Item par<sup>a</sup> la oue le haut mester de Seynt Antoyne est sismatik, et par cele cause le roye deut auoyre le profite qe a luy pertenoit en realme Dengletiere,<sup>1</sup> le dit nadgers chancelere, qe deust auer auancez et procurez le profite du roy, prist a ferme la dit profite du roy pur .xx. mars par an, et ent prist a son oeps propre bene entour mille mars. Et al heure qe le dit mestre de Seynt Antoyne en Englatiere qe ore est deut auoyre possessione et liere du dit profite, il ne le<sup>b</sup> poust auer auant qil, et deus persones oue luy, se auoyent obligez par reconysaunce en la chancelerie, et par instrumentz en trez millez liuers de payere annuelment au dit nadgares chancelere, et Iohan / sone fitz, .c. liueres par an a terme de lour deus uyes.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 201<sup>r</sup>

Et pur cele cause le roy auera touz les profits du dit Seynt Antoyne a temps du purchase, et pur cele reconysance ensi fait le dit conte fuist agarde a prisone, et a la uolunte le roy fin et ransone, etcetera.<sup>3</sup>

.vi. Item qe en le temps le dit nadgares chancelere furent grauntes et faitez diuersez charters et patentes dez murdres et tresounes, felonies, rasoures dez rollez, uent dez leyes, et 'en especial' puis la comencement de ceste present<sup>d</sup> parlyment fuist fait et enseyle une chartre dez certeynez franchisez grauntes a chastiele du Douuere, en dezheretysoune de la coroune, et en subuersion de touz lez placez et courtes du roy et dez sez leyes.<sup>4</sup>

Le roy regarde qe ceux chartres soient repelles.

.vij. Item par la ou ordinaunce fuist fait au darreyne parlyment pur la uile de Gaunt, qe .x. milles mars deisent este cheuiz,<sup>5</sup> et pur cele cheuaunce deusent estre perduz .iij.<sup>e</sup> mille mars,<sup>f</sup> la en defaute<sup>g</sup> du dit nadgares chancelere la dite uile est perduz, et nient menz lez ditz mille mars<sup>h</sup> paieiz, et les ditz .iij. mille marcs<sup>h</sup> pur la cheuaunce

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>b</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>c-c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d</sup> om. RP  
<sup>e</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>f</sup> pur la cheuaunce furent perduz cancelled by scribe  
<sup>g</sup> RP adds et negligence      <sup>h-h</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> The Augustinian order of Saint-Antoine de Vienne was based in Clementine territory, and the crown moved to confiscate its property in England, which was effectively the hospital of St Antony in Threadneedle Street: see R. Graham, 'The Order of St Antoine de Viennois and its English commandery, St Anthony's, Threadneedle Street', *Archaeological Jnl.*, lxxxiv (1927), 341-406; and Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 172, 176-7. The hospital had a substantial income from alms; Roskell, *ibid.*, pp. 178-9.

<sup>2</sup> Michael de la Pole obtained the lease of the hospital at a very small rent as an investment for his son John, who was then only eight, but destined for the church. He appears to have driven a sharp bargain with the new master, a clerk called Richard Brighouse, and to

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5. Also whereas the high master of St Anthony's is a schismatic, and for that reason the king ought to have the profit which pertains to him in the kingdom of England,<sup>1</sup> the said former chancellor, who ought to have promoted and secured the king's profit, put the said estate to farm for twenty marks a year, and took thereof some 1,000 marks for his own use, and when the said master of St Anthony's in England that now is ought to have had possession and livery of the said profit, he could not have it until he and two other persons with him had bound themselves by recognizance in chancery, and by bonds for £3,000, for the annual payment to the said former chancellor, and to John, his son, of £100 for the term of their lives.<sup>2</sup>

And therefore the king shall have the entire profits of St Anthony's from the time of the purchase, and for that recognizance the said earl has been committed to prison, and at the king's pleasure shall make fine and ransom etc.<sup>3</sup>

6. Also, in the time of the said former chancellor divers charters and patents for murders, treasons, felonies, erasures of record, and sale of justice, were granted and made, and in particular since the beginning of the present parliament there was made and sealed a charter granting certain franchises to the castle of Dover, to the disherison of the crown and in subversion of all the seats and courts of the king and of his laws.<sup>4</sup>

The king considers those charters to be abrogated.

7. Also, whereas an ordinance was made in the last parliament for the town of Ghent, that 10,000 marks should be lent,<sup>5</sup> whereof 3,000 marks should be deducted for the loan, by the default of the said former chancellor the said town was lost, and nevertheless the said 10,000 marks of the loan were paid out, and the said 3,000

have extracted a penal bond from him to compensate himself (the chancellor) and his son for a private loss: see Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 177-82; and below, n.3.

<sup>3</sup> The king's confiscation of the bond bore heavily upon the new master and the hospital: Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 181-2.

<sup>4</sup> On the complexities of this charge, see Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 87-9. The grant relating to Dover was one made in favour of Simon Burley on 16 Oct. 1386 (*CPR* 1385-9, p. 225), after the beginning of the parliament: Roskell, *ibid.*, pp. 88-92. The powers of the constable of Dover excited a high degree of political irritability in Kent: see, e.g., *William Thorne's Chronicle of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, ed. A. H. Davis (Oxford, 1934), pp. 650-4.

<sup>5</sup> The record of the parliament of Oct.-Nov. 1385 does not specify the sum intended for Ghent ('pro auxilio de Gaunt'), but 10,000 marks is consonant with the other allocations made then: *RP* iii. 204; Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 105-6.

1386 furent perduz, come desuz est dite, de touz les<sup>a</sup> queux articles lez ditz comines demaudent iugement du parlyment.<sup>1</sup>

Item<sup>b2</sup> est fait une estatute qe nully parentre le roy et lez seignurs apres en le commissione dite face desturbance oue impediment parentre le roy et lez seignurs sur greuous payne de perdre sa uye et forfeiture dez sez terres et possessiones au roy. Et qe mesmes les seignurs facent execucion dez totez poyntes compris en la dite commissione. Et a ceo lez seignurs uoilent faire lour diligence a lour costage de mesme par ceste an a durere.

Videntes interea domini<sup>3</sup> et magnates parlamenti quod<sup>c</sup> per cupidinem officiariorum regis bona regni adeo quasi inaniter consumpta essent, rexque nimis deceptus, et populus regni per grauia onera depauperatus, redditus et emollumenta dominorum et magnatum multum debilitata, et agriculture pauperum tenencium in multis locis in desolacionem derelicta, et in hiis omnibus officarii regis supra modum locupletati sunt, elegerunt quatuordecim dominos regni qui gubernaculum tocus optinerent. De quibus tres erant de nouis ministris regis per parlamentum electis, uidelicet episcopus Helyensis, qui erat cancellarius, episcopus Herfordensis, thesaurarius, et dominus Iohannes de Waltham, custos secreti sigilli, et undecim de aliis dominis regni, scilicet archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Edmundus de Langley, dux Eboraci, Thomas de Wodestoke, dux de Gloucestria, episcopus de Wynchestur, episcopus de Excestria, abbas de Waltham Sancte Crucis, comes de Arundele, dominus Iohannes Cobham, dominus Ricardus le Scrope, et dominus Iohannes de Eurose.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 201<sup>v</sup> Et dederunt eis / licenciam et potestatem ad inquirendum, tractandum, diffiniendum, et determinandum de omnibus negociis, causis, et querelis emergentibus a tempore Edwardi tercii, aui regis Ricardi, usque in presens, tam in regno quam extra regnum in remotis. Similiter de expensis regis et ministris, et de omnibus

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T  
by scribe

<sup>b</sup> .viiij. entered in margin and cancelled by reviser

<sup>c</sup> Interlined

<sup>1</sup> On the displacement of Flanders by other concerns in English policy, and for the extent of de la Pole's own contribution, as against his assertion of a collective responsibility, see Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 98–109; and, for a rounder exposition, Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 21–4, 45–55, 57–61.

<sup>2</sup> This item, which was marked by Knighton's rubricator as part of the impeachment, refers to the subsequent business of the session, though it is presumably related here to Suffolk's obstruction of reform in 1385: see above, art. 2; and Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 60–1.

marks for the loan were also lost, as was said above, upon all which articles the said commons ask judgment in parliament.<sup>1</sup>

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Also<sup>2</sup> there was made a statute that none should occasion disturbance between or hindrance of the king and the lords named hereafter in the said commission, upon grievous pain of death and forfeiture of his lands and possessions to the king, and that the lords should effect due performance of all the matters comprised within the said commission, and thereto the lords wish to continue their work at their own charges for the rest of this year.

The lords<sup>3</sup> and magnates of parliament, perceiving amongst other things that by the greed of the king's ministers the goods of the kingdom were all but consumed to no good effect, the king greatly deceived, and the people of the kingdom impoverished by heavy burdens, the rents and income of the lords and magnates much diminished, and the holdings of poor tenants in many places fallen into decay, and that amidst all those things the king's officials were beyond measure grown rich, chose fourteen lords of the realm who should take over the management of all matters, of whom three were royal ministers newly chosen by parliament, namely the bishop of Ely, who was chancellor, the bishop of Hereford, the treasurer, and Sir John Waltham, the keeper of the privy seal, and eleven other lords of the realm, namely the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York, Edmund Langley, duke of York, Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Exeter, the abbot of Waltham Holy Cross, the earl of Arundel, Sir John Cobham, Sir Richard le Scrope, and Sir John Devereux.<sup>4</sup>

And they gave them licence and power to inquire, discuss, reform, and determine all business, causes, and disputes arising from the time of King Edward III, King Richard's grandfather, down to the present time, both within the realm, and without, and likewise the expenditure of the king and his ministers, and all others whatsoever, arising

<sup>3</sup> There follows a generally competent précis of the reforming commission for which de la Pole's fall cleared the way, and to the obstruction of which the king and his household devoted much of the next year. The only matter of substance omitted is that the commission's power was limited, at the king's insistence (*RP* iii. 222), to a term of one year: see below, p. 374, and Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 414–15.

<sup>4</sup> On the membership of the commission, which owed something of its composition as well as its purpose to the abortive body of 1385, see Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 414–17; Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 105–9; and R. G. Davies, 'Some notes from the register of Henry de Wakefield, bishop of Worcester, on the political crisis of 1386–8', *EHR* lxxxvi (1971), 547–58.



1386 quibuscumque aliis pro tempore sibi assignato emergendis. Feceruntque dictos consiliarios dominos iurare ad sancta Dei euangelia iuste et fideliter regulare omnia onera et negocia incumbencia regi et regno, et iusticiam facere cuilibet petenti secundam gratiam et scienciam a Deo sibi datam.<sup>1</sup>

Similiter et rex sacramentum iuramenti prestitit stare ordinacioni eorum et eos fouere in suis agendis, et nullum articulum potestatis eorum reuocare, set firmum et stabile habere quicquid predicti consiliarios fecerint et ordinauerint, durante tempore illis assignato. Et si contigat quod omnes simul in quocumque negocio adesse non poterunt, aliunde occupati, saltem .vj. eorum, cum tribus officariis regis predictis, audire poterunt, inquirere, tractare, et determinare quamcumque causam contingentem, siue citra mare siue extra, quocumque titulo emergente, ubicumque rex facere habuerit sicut ad plenum infra patebit.

Similiter ordinatum est quod si quis regem consuluerit aliquid de potestate eorum reuocare in tempore succedente, licet rex nichil reuocauerit, si super eo uerisimiliter conuinci poterit, omnibus bonis et possessionibus priuabitur. Et si secundo tale quid attemptauerit, tractus per ciuitatem, tanquam traditor publicus regis et regni, suspendetur sicut infra patebit in ordinacione.<sup>2</sup>

Et ut rex maiorem beneuolenciam et fauorem adhibebit in premissis, concesserunt ei dimidiam decimam de spiritualibus, et dimidiam quindenam de temporalibus, soluendas ad festum Purificacionis proximum sequens, sub condicione tamen que infra patebit. Similiter concesserunt regi dimidiam decimam de spiritualibus, et dimidiam quindenam de temporalibus, soluendas ad festum Sancti Michaelis proximum sequens, si necesse fuerit, per uisum predictorum consiliatorum, si cetera concessa non sufficerent ad supportandum onera incumbencia medio tempore regi et regno. Similiter concesserunt regi de quolibet dolio uini intrante regnum Anglie, et de quolibet dolio exeunte de regno, tres solidos. Item de libra cuiuscumque mercimonii, intrante regnum uel exeunte de regno, .xij. denarios, tam de indigenis quam de extraneis, solum exceptis lanis, coriis, et pellibus.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The object of the commission was to give the reformers unchallengeable powers. There was no prospect of their achieving the whole programme: the investigation of the household alone would have absorbed their energies for years, and to extend their purview of grants and abuses back to Edward III's reign sounds like administrative fantasy. They did wish, however, to pursue particular issues, and assumed rightly that they would have to do so in the teeth of the officials of the household.

1386 within the time assigned to them, and they made the said lords controllers swear upon the Holy Gospels that they would justly and faithfully discharge all the obligations and business of the king and the kingdom, and do justice to everyone seeking it according to the grace and knowledge that God granted them.<sup>1</sup>

And the king likewise swore an oath to stand by what they ordained, and to support them in their work, and not to revoke any article of their commission, but to accept as firm and stable whatsoever the aforesaid councillors did and ordained during the time assigned to them. And if it should happen they could not all be present for some particular item of business, being occupied elsewhere, then any six of them together with the three royal officers could inquire, discuss, and determine any cause arising, whether on this side of the sea or beyond, upon any matter whatsoever, wherever it should fall to the king to act, as will appear more fully below.

Likewise it was ordained that if anyone subsequently should advise the king to revoke any part of their power, even though the king did not in fact revoke it, if it could truly be proved against him he should be deprived of all his goods and possessions, and if he should attempt to do so a second time, he should be drawn through the city to be hanged as a public traitor to the king and the kingdom, as will appear below in the ordinance.<sup>2</sup>

And that the king might entertain a greater benevolence and favour towards those foregoing arrangements, they granted him a half-tenth from spiritualities and a half-fifteenth from temporalities, to be paid at the feast of the Purification next following [2 February 1387], on the condition which appears below. And they likewise granted the king a half-tenth from spiritualities and a half-fifteenth from temporalities, to be paid at the feast of St Michael next following [29 Sept. 1387], if it should seem necessary to the aforesaid councillors, and if the other grants made should prove inadequate to the needs of the king and the kingdom in the mean time. They likewise granted to the king 3s. upon every tun of wine coming into the kingdom of England and upon every tun of wine exported, and upon every pound of merchandise, of whatever kind, imported or exported, 12d., from both native and alien merchants, excepting only wool, wool-fells, and hides.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 380–2; the provision was presumably calculated to offset the leniency already shown to Suffolk.

<sup>3</sup> For the levying of the grant, see *CFR 1383–91*, pp. 155–61. The commission's control over supply was of more practical significance than its powers of investigation: see below, p. 386 n. 1.

*Copia ordinacionis in parlamento siue commissionis regis.*<sup>1</sup> Sequitur commissio de antedictis articulis, etcetera.

Rex<sup>2</sup> Ricardus, et cetera.<sup>a</sup> A touz ceuz qe cestez lettres uerront oue oyront, salut. Nous auoms certeyngment conceuz de la greuous complaynt dez seignurs et<sup>b</sup> comunnes de nostre realme, en cest present parlyment assemblez, / qe noz profites, rentes, et reuenues de nostre realme par singulere et noun suffysaunt conseil et male guuernayle, si bien dascunes nadgars noz grandez officers come de<sup>c</sup> diuersez altres persones esteaunt entour nostre persone, sunt en taunt sustrez, degastez, et esloignez, donez, grauntez, et alienez, destruez et malement despenduz, qe nous sumes taunt enpouerez, uoidez et nuez de tresoure et dauoire, et la substance de nostre corone a taunt amenuse et descreuz,<sup>d</sup> qe lestate de nous et de nostre hostiele ne poet honorablement estre sustenuz come affiert, ne lez guerres qe se abundant tout enuironne nostre realme de ioure en altre mayntenuz ne gouernez, sanz tresgraunde et outraiousez oppressiones et inportablez chargez de nostre dit poeple, et auxint qe lez bonez leyes, estatutz, et custemes de nostre dit realme, as queux nous sumes astructz et obliges de tenir,<sup>e</sup> ne sont ne ont este duement tenuz ne execuz, ne pleynt iustice ne droit faitz a nostre dit poeple, paront plusours desheritysons et aultres tresgrandez meschiefs et damagez sount auenuz, si bien a nous come a nostre dit poeple, et a tut nostre dit realme.

Et nous al honour de Dieu, et pur le bien de nous et de nostre dit realme, et pur le quiete et releuacion de nostre dit poeple, qont este graument chargez en plusours maners deuaunt sez oeures, uoilantuz oue la grace de Dieu contre tieux meschiefs mettre bone et due remedye, si auons de nostre franche uolunte, et a la request dez seignurs et comines susditz, ordeignez,<sup>f</sup> et assignez noz grauntz officers, cest assauoyre noz chauncelere, tresorer, et gardeyne de nostre priuey seale, tieles come nous tenoms bonez et foiales<sup>g</sup> et sufficiauntz pur le honour et profit de nous et de nostre dit realme.

Et outre ceo, de nostre auctorite real, certeyne sciennes, bone gre, et franche uolunte, et par auys et par assent dez prelatz, seignurs,

<sup>a</sup> *The king's titles are given in full in SR*

<sup>b</sup> *SR; om. T*

<sup>c</sup> *SR; om. T*

<sup>d</sup> *T; destrut SR*

<sup>e</sup> *SR adds et garder*

<sup>f</sup> *SR adds faitz*

<sup>g</sup> *loialx SR*

<sup>1</sup> Knighton appears again to be using an official or semi-official compilation, this time resembling, but not identical with, that in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 166–76. The ordinance (here pp. 372–80) is not preserved on the parliament roll, but it was published as letters patent,

*A copy of the ordinance of parliament or the king's commission.*<sup>1</sup> There follows the commission for the aforesaid articles, etc.

Richard,<sup>2</sup> king etc., to all those who shall see or hear these letters, greeting. We are assured by the grievous complaint of the lords and commons of our realm in this parliament assembled that the profits, rents, and revenues of our realm, by reason of capricious and inappropriate counsel and ill governance as well by certain of our former great officers as by divers others about our person, are so far withdrawn, wasted, misappropriated, misbestowed, granted, and otherwise consumed and expended, that we are so impoverished, devoid, and stripped of treasure and wealth, and the substance of our crown so reduced and destroyed, that we ourselves and our household cannot properly be maintained, nor the wars which beset our realm, on all sides and every day, supplied or managed, without outrageously great impositions and insupportable charges laid upon our said people. And that the good laws, statutes, and customs of our kingdom to which we are bound and obliged to hold, are not and have not been duly observed and executed, nor full justice and right done to our people, whereby many disherisons and other very great mischiefs and damage have come about, as well for us as for our people, and for all our said realm.

And we, for the honour of God, and for the good of us and of our said realm, and for the tranquillity and relief of our said people, who before this time have been greatly charged in many ways, wishing to provide, with God's grace, good and due remedy for such mischiefs, have thus of our free will, and at the request of the abovesaid lords and commons, appointed and assigned as our great officers, that is to say our chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of our privy seal, such persons as we believe good and faithful and sufficient for the honour and profit of us and of our realm.

And further of our royal authority, certain knowledge, good grace, and free will, and by the advice and assent of the prelates,

and entered upon the patent roll in regular form: *CPR 1385–9*, p. 244. It was then incorporated in a statute, which is recited in Stat. 11 Ric. II c. 1 (*SR* ii. 44–6). The last of Knighton's documents (below, pp. 382–8), is enrolled on the parliament roll (*RP* iii. 220–1). The whole sequence (see above, p. xli n. 64) is a reminder that, as sometimes happens today, there was material available to professional commentators that might be fuller than the official record itself.

<sup>2</sup> The text of the following document has been compared with the collated version in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 166–74.

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et<sup>a</sup> communes susditz en pleyne parlyment, en eyde de bone gouernance de nostre realme, et bone et<sup>b</sup> due execucion de nous ditez leyes,<sup>c</sup> et enreleuement del estate de noz et de nostre poeple en temps a uener, confiantz pleynement de le bone auysement, sceu, et discrecion de lez honorablez pieres en Dieu William, erceueske de Canterbuz, Alysauudre, erceueske Deuerwyk, noz treschers uncles Edmond,<sup>d</sup> duc Deuerwyk, et Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, lez honorables / pieres en dieu William,<sup>e</sup> euesk de Wyncestre, Thomas, eueske de Excestre, et Nycol, abbe de Waltham, noz chiers et foialx Richard, count Darundelle, Iohan, seigniour de Cobbehame, Richard le Scrope, et Iohan Deuereux, yceux auoms ordeynez, assignez, et deputez, ordeignoms, assignoms, et deputoms, destre de<sup>f</sup> nostre grant conseyle et continuele par un an entiere proscheyne apres la date de cestez, a surueyere et examyner oueske noz ditz grandez officers sibien lestate et gouernayle de<sup>g</sup> nostre hostel et de touz noz courtz, lieux, et places, comme lestat et gouernaille de<sup>h</sup> tut nostre realme, et de tutz noz officers et ministrez, de quequonkes estate, degre, oue condicion qils soyent, sibien<sup>h</sup> deinz nostre hostiele come hors, et de enquerre et de prendre informacion par touz lez uoyes qe mult lour<sup>i</sup> semblera dez toutz lez rentez, reuenuz, et profitez qe nous appertinent et sont duez, et dussent apertinere, et<sup>j</sup> estre duez, si bien deins nostre realme come dehors, en quecumque manere oue condicion<sup>k</sup> qil soit.<sup>k</sup>

fo. 202<sup>v</sup>

Et de touz maneres de douns, grantz, alienacions et confirmacions par nous faitz dez terrez, tenements, rentes, annutez, profites, reuenuz, gardez, mariages, eschetez, forfactours, franchises, libertees, uoidauncez de erceueskes, eueskes, abbacies et prioures, fermes dez maisonnes et possessions dez alienes, et de touz autres possessions commes dez deniers,<sup>l</sup> biens, et chateux, et dez autres choses quequonkes, et a queux persones et par quele cause, et coment et en quele manere, et nomement dez queux personez qe lont pris sanz desert.

Et auxint dez reuenuz et profites qeconques, si bien de nostre dit realme come lez terrez, seignuries, citees, uylez, chasteux, forceressez, et qeconques noz autres possessions, si bien de ceo la miere come de la, et de lez profitez et meloumentz de noz moneyz et billions, et de la prise de prisonners, uillez,<sup>m</sup> lieux, niefs, caraks, biens, et ransons<sup>n</sup> par miere et par terre, et dez beneficez et autres

<sup>a</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>b</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>c</sup> SR; lieges T      <sup>d</sup> Esmond throughout  
in SR      <sup>e</sup> Erceueske de Cantebuz cancelled by scribe      <sup>f</sup> SR; en T

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lords, and commons abovesaid, in full parliament, in aid of the good governance of our realm and good and due execution of our said laws, to relieve the estate of us and of our people in time to come, trusting fully in the good judgement, knowledge, and discrecion of the honourable fathers in God, William, archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander, archbishop of York, our very dear uncles, Edmund, duke of York, and Thomas duke of Gloucester, the honourable fathers in God, William, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, bishop of Exeter, and Nicholas, abbot of Waltham, our beloved and faithful Richard, earl of Arundel, John, lord Cobham, Richard le Scrope, and John Devereux, have ordained, appointed, and deputed, and do ordain, appoint, and depute them, to be of our great and continuous council, for one whole year next after the date of these letters, to survey and examine, with our said great officers, as well the estate and governance of our household and of all our courts and places, as the estate and government of all our realm, and of all our officers and ministers, of whatsoever estate, degree, or condition they be, both within our household and without, and to inquire and collect information, by any means that shall seem to them best, concerning all the rents, revenues, and profits that appertain and are due to us, and ought to appertain and be due to us, as well within our kingdom as without, of whatsoever kind or condition.

And also of all manner of gifts, grants, alienations, and confirmations made by us, of lands, tenements, rents, annuities, profits, revenues, wardships, marriages, escheats, forfeitures, franchises, liberties, vacancies of archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbacies, and priorates, farms of houses and possessions of aliens, and of all other possessions, such as moneys, goods and chattels, and all other things whatsoever, and to what persons and for what reason, and how, and in what manner, and particularly of such persons as have received them without desert.

And also of whatsoever revenues and profits, as well within our realm as from the lands, lordships, cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and all our other possessions on either side of the sea, and of the profits and emoluments of our monies and bullion, and the taking of prisoners, towns, places, ships, carracks, goods and prizes by sea and by land, and the benefices and other possessions of the

<sup>g-g</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>h</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>i</sup> SR; meillour T      <sup>j</sup> SR; om. T  
<sup>k-k</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>l</sup> SR; iurez T      <sup>m</sup> SR adds et      <sup>n</sup> SR adds de guere

possessiones dez cardinalx rebelx et touz altres aliens, et auxint de asportes de monoye hors de nostre realme par lez collectours de pope, procuratours dez cardinals, Lumbardez, et altres persones queconques, sibien alienz come deniszeins, et dez lez emolumentz et profitez prouenantz et sourdantz de custemes et subsidez dez leynes, quirs, et peals lanuz, et de lez petitz custemez et altrez subsidez dez draps, uinez, et touz altrez marchandysez, et dez dymez et<sup>a</sup> quinsimez et touz altres subsidez et charges grantz par le clergie et de le commune, et auxint de lez<sup>b</sup> profitez, et paymentz del hampere de nostre chauncelerye, et dez queconques noz altres<sup>c</sup> rentez de temps / de nostre coronement tanqe encea.

Et dez feez, gages, et rewardus dez officers et ministres, greindrez et meyndres, et auxint de annuites et altres rewardus, grauntez, et douns<sup>d</sup> faitz as ascunes persones par nous et par noz pier<sup>e</sup> et ayele, en fee, oue a terme de uye, ou en ascune altre manere. Et si gree ou payment lour ent soit faite, et par queux et en quele manere, et comebien ils ount relessez oue donez as officers et altres pur auoire lour payment, et as queux persones, coment et en quele manere, et dez terrez, tenementz, rentez, reuenus, et forfaitours, bargaynez et uendez a preiudice damage de nous et de nostre corone, et<sup>f</sup> par queux et as queux, et coment et en quele manere, et de uent oue bargayne de tailez et<sup>g</sup> patentez pur singulere profite, si bien en temps de nostre dit aiel come de nostre temps,<sup>h</sup> par queux persones.

Et ensement dez lez iocalx et biens qe furent a nostre dit ayel en temps de soun moraunt, et queux et de quele pris ou ualue et oue ils sount<sup>i</sup> deuenuz, et coment et en quele manere, et de touz cheuaces ascunement<sup>j</sup> faitz a nostre oeups par queconques persones, et de touz les perdez et<sup>k</sup> damages qe nous auoms eux et sustenuz par yceles, et par queux persones, et coment et en quele manere, et de chartres de<sup>l</sup> pardons generales, et auxint dez le comines<sup>m</sup> paymentes et manere dez dispenses, si bien de nostre dit hostiele come pur la saluacion de noz realme, terrez, seignuries, uilles, chasteulx, forceresses, et alteres lieux de cea la miere, et de lez faitz et receux<sup>n</sup> par queconques persones, si bien soldiers come altres, et par queconque uoie, coment, et en quel manere, et come bien ils ont donez pur auoire lour paymentz, et de conselementz<sup>o</sup> de noz droitez et<sup>p</sup> profites, et par queux, coment, et en quele manere, et de mayn-

<sup>a</sup> SR; om. T<sup>d</sup> SR adds grauntez et<sup>b</sup> SR adds rescieites<sup>e</sup> SR; powere T<sup>c</sup> SR adds rescieites<sup>f</sup> SR; om. T<sup>g</sup> SR;

rebel cardinals, and of all other aliens, and also of the carriage of money out of the realm by the agents of the pope, and proctors of the cardinals, Lombards, and whatsoever other persons, as well aliens as denizens, and of emoluments and profits proceeding and arising from customs and subsidies of wool, hides, and woolfells, and the petty customs and other subsidies of cloths, wines, and all other merchandise, and of tenths, fifteenths, and all other subsidies and charges granted by the clergy and the commons, and also of the profits and payments of the hanaper of our chancery, and of whatsoever our other rents from the time of our coronation until now.

And of fees, gages, and rewards of officers, greater and lesser, and also of annuities and other rewards, grants, and gifts made to any persons by us or upon our authority, in fee, or for life, or in any other manner. And whether favour or payment was rendered for them, and by whom and in what manner, and how much they have released or paid to the officers and others to secure payment, and to what persons, and how, and in what manner. And of lands, tenements, rents, revenues, and forfeitures, bargains, and sales to the prejudice and damage of us and of our crown, by whom and to whom, and how and in what manner, and of the sale and bargain of entails, and of patents for the profit of individuals, as well in the time of our grandfather as in our own time, and by what persons.

And also of the jewels and goods which were our grandfather's at the time of his death, what they were, and of what price or value, and what has become of them, and how and in what manner, and of all loans particularly made for our use and by whatsoever persons. And of all the losses and damages which we have suffered therefrom, and through what persons, and how and in what manner. And of charters of general pardon, and also of the commons' payments and the manner of their expenditure, as well upon our household as for the security of the kingdom, and of the lands, lordships, towns, castles, fortresses, and other places overseas, and of acts and receipts by whatsoever persons, as well soldiers as others, and in what way, how and in what manner, and how much they have given to have their payments, and of concealment of our rights and profits, and by

om. T

anonnement T

<sup>n</sup> rescus T<sup>h</sup> SR adds et coment et<sup>k</sup> SR; om. T<sup>o</sup> SR; consemment T<sup>i</sup> SR; ysount T<sup>l</sup> SR; et T<sup>p</sup> SR; om. T<sup>j</sup> SR;<sup>m</sup> SR adds sommes et

tenours <sup>a</sup>et empernours<sup>a</sup> de querellez, et dustres denquestes, et dofficers et ministres fait par brocage, et de lour brogours, et<sup>b</sup> de ceux qont pris le brogage, et coment, et en quele manere.

Et de touz lez defautes et mesprisons faitz si bien en nostre dit hostiele et noz altres courtes, places, et leux susditz, come en touz altrez lieux deinz nostre realme, par qeconques persones, parount lez profites de nous et de nostre corone ount este empirez<sup>c</sup> et amenuses, ou la commune leye destourbez et delayez, ou autrement damages / a nous avenus.

Donauntz et comettanz par ycestes de nostre auctorite, et par auisement et assent dessusditez, a noz ditez counseillers, sys de eaux et a noz grandez officers auauntditez, pleyn pouare, et auctorite generale et especiale, dentrere nostre dit hostiele et touz les officez de cel, et touz noz autres courtes, places, et<sup>d</sup> leux atant de foit come lour plerra, et defaire uenere deuant eaux, ou et <sup>e</sup>atant et quant lour plerra, rolles et recordes et altres munimentz et euidencez teux come lour semblera, et touz lez defautes, gastez, et excessez trouerez en dit hostiele, et auxint touz defautes et mesprisones trouerez en les altres courtes, places, et<sup>f</sup> leux officers et ministres susditz, et en touz lez altres articles et poyntes dessus nomez et chescune de celles, et auxint touz altres defautez, mesprisons, et excesses, faucynes, deceytes, extorcions, oppressions, damages, et greuaunces faitz en preiudice, damage, et descesse de nous, et de nostre corone, et lestate de nostre dit realme, en general et enspecial, nient expresse ne specyfies paramount, amendre, corriger, reparer, redresser, reformer, et mettre en bone et due estate et establissement, et auxint doyer et receyuer touz maners dez playntes et queeles de touz noz lieges que uorront suyr et se pleyndre, sibien pur nous come pur lour mesmes, deuaunt noz ditez counseillers et<sup>g</sup> officers, et de touz manerez dez dures, oppressions, et de iniuriez, tortz, et mesprisonez queux ne purront bonement estre amenduz ne terminez par la courte de la commune lay de la terre auaunt usee, et de ent donera<sup>h</sup> et faire<sup>h</sup> bone et due remedie, et recouerere si bien pur nous come pur noz lieges susditz,<sup>1</sup> et a touz lez choses auaunt ditz et chescune de eaux pleynement discuter, et finalement terminer, et de enfaire pleyn execucion solonc ceo que lour semblera meult pur le honour et profite de nous et de nostre estate, et renditegracion dez

<sup>a-a</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>b</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>c</sup> SR; espeires T      <sup>d</sup> SR; om. T  
<sup>e-c</sup> Om. SR      <sup>f</sup> Om. SR      <sup>g</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>h-h</sup> SR; affaire T

whom, how, and in what manner. And of maintainers and undertakers of quarrels and perverters of juries, and of officers and ministers appointed by brokage, and their brokers and how much they took for brokage, and in what manner.

And of all defaults and misprisions made, as well within our household and our other courts and houses and places abovesaid as in all other places in our kingdom, by whatsoever persons by whom the profits of us and of our crown have been diminished and reduced, or the common law disturbed and delayed, or other damage caused to us.

Granting and committing by these presents, of our authority and by the advice and assent abovesaid, to our said councillors, or to any six of them, with our aforesaid great officers, full power and authority, general and particular, to enter our said household and all the offices thereof, and all our other courts and places, as often as they shall please, and to call before them, where and so often as and whensoever they shall please, rolls and records and other such muniments and evidences as shall seem to them relevant, and all the defaults, waste, and excesses found within the said household, and also all defaults and misprisions found in all the other courts and places and their abovesaid officers and ministers, and in all the other articles and points above-named, and each of them, and also all other defaults, misprisions, and excesses, frauds, deceits, extortions, oppressions, damage, and grievances, made to the prejudice, damage, and distress of us, and of our crown, and of the state of our said realm in general and in particular, not expressed or specified above, to amend, correct, repair, redress, reform, and put into good and due estate and condition, and also to hear and receive all manner of complaints and disputes from all our lieges who shall wish to sue or plead, as well on our own account as for themselves, before our said officers and councillors, and of all manner of duress, oppressions, and injuries, wrongs, and misprisions, which cannot well be amended or determined by the courts of the common law of the land heretofore used, and to them to give and make good and due remedy and recovery, as well for us as for our abovesaid subjects,<sup>1</sup> and fully to discuss and determine all the abovesaid matters and each one of them, and to put fully into execution, as shall seem to them best for the honour and profit of us and of our estate, and the recovery of the

<sup>1</sup> A charge which, like the investigation of the household itself, could have engaged the commission for the whole of its term. See above p. 370 n 1.

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droitez et profitez de nostre dite corone, et meillour gouuernance de la paix et lois de nostre terre, et releuement de nostre people dit.

Voilant auxint qe si diuersite oue uariance de oppinions sourde oue aueigne entour noz dit conseilours et officers, qe iugement et<sup>a</sup> oppinion de greindre<sup>b</sup> partye eit force 'et tiegne<sup>c</sup> leux, comandantz et chargeauncez a touz prelates, ducs, contes, barones, senescalles, tresorere, et controllour et touz autres officers de nostre hostiele, iusticez de lun<sup>d</sup> bank et del altre<sup>e</sup>, 'et autres noz iustices queconques, barons et chaumbreleins de leschequer, uiscontz, eschetours, maire, bailliffs, et toutz autres noz<sup>f</sup> officers, ministres, et liges que / conques qe a noz ditz conseilours et officers en la manere auant soient entendantz, obeysauntz, conseilantz, et aydantz, si souent et par manere come noz ditz conseilours et officers lour ferront assaouire de par nous. Entemoignance etcetera.<sup>g</sup>

fo. 204<sup>f</sup>

Done soutz nostre grande seale .xix. iour de Nouembre.<sup>g</sup>

Sur quoy<sup>1</sup> nostre seignour le roy, uoillant qe les<sup>h</sup> correccions et redresses dez defautes et mesprisons dessusditz puissent estre pur son profite, 'et pur le profite<sup>i</sup> de sone realme, en ceste parlyment la forme de susditz mys en due execucion sanz estre enfrentz oue disturbez par ascune, de lassent de seignurs et de la cominalte de sone dit realme en cest present parlyment, ad ordine et estable qe chescune de sez<sup>j</sup> lieges, greindre et meyndre, de quele estate oue condicion qil soit, soit<sup>k</sup> entendant et obeysaunt en quanke toche lez articlez susditz, et chescune dependantz du cellez, et as<sup>l</sup> lez auant-ditz counseillers et officers en la forme susdite.

Et qe chescune qe serra aiuge deuant eux come conuict de ascunez defautz oue mesprisons susditz, preigne et receyue, sanz debate faire,<sup>m</sup> tiele correccion come luy serra par lez conseilours et officers auant ditz en la forme susdite aiuge, et qe nulle persone de quele estate, nacion, oue condicion qil soit, greindre ne meyndre, ne donne a nostre seignur le roy, en priue oue<sup>n</sup> en apert, conseil, excitacion, oue mocion paront qe nostre seignur le roy repele lour pouare deinz le temps susdit en ascune poynte, oue face riens contrariez<sup>o</sup> de son dit graunt, oue de ascune dez articules susditz.

<sup>a</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>b</sup> Corrected from grende in T by a later hand      <sup>c-c</sup> SR; certaine T  
<sup>d</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>e</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>f</sup> The full witnessing clause follows in SR      <sup>g</sup> SR  
 adds lan de nostre regne disme      <sup>h</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>i-i</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>j</sup> SR;  
 lez T      <sup>k</sup> Interlined by later hand      <sup>l</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>m</sup> SR; et faire T  
<sup>n</sup> ne SR      <sup>o</sup> a contraire SR

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rights and profits of our said crown, and the better keeping of the peace, and the laws of our land, and the relief of our said people.

Willing also that if diversity or variance of opinions arise or occur amongst our said councillors and officers, then the judgement and opinion of the greater part of them shall prevail. Commanding and charging all prelates, dukes, earls, barons, seneschals, the treasurer, and the controller, and all the other officers of our household, the justices of the benches, and other our justices whomsoever, barons and chamberlains of the exchequer, sheriffs, escheators, mayors, bailiffs, and all other our officers, ministers, and lieges whomsoever, that they attend upon, obey, advise, and assist our said councillors and officers in the foregoing matters, as often and in whatsoever guise our said councillors and officers shall call upon them in our behalf.

In witness etc. Given under our great seal on the nineteenth day of November [1386].

Whereupon<sup>1</sup> our lord the king, willing that the correction and redress of the defaults and misprisions abovesaid should, for the profit of himself and his realm, be put into due execution in this parliament in the abovesaid form, without being disturbed or hindered by anyone, has, with the assent of the lords and the commons of his said realm in this present parliament, ordained and established that all his lieges greater and lesser, of whatsoever estate or condition they be, shall be attendant and obedient to the abovesaid councillors and officers in all matters touching the abovesaid articles or consequent upon them, in the abovesaid form.

And that everyone who shall be adjudged before them to be guilty of any of the offences or misprisions abovesaid shall be arrested, and shall without appeal suffer such correction as shall be adjudged to him by the aforesaid councillors and officers in the form abovesaid, and that no person of whatsoever estate, nation, or condition he be, greater or lesser, shall give to our lord the king in private or public counsel, incitement, or motive whereby our lord the king might repeal their power within the time abovesaid, in any particular, or do anything contrary to his said grant or to any of the abovesaid articles.

<sup>1</sup> What follows is the supplementary text of the statute which embodied the preceding ordinance. It is entered on the statute roll (SR ii. 42-3), in a version with which Knighton's text has been collated here without taking account of minor differences in spelling, or inversions of phrases. On the significance of the enactment, which Richard regarded as a violent affront, see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 101-2, 107-8.



Et si ascune persone greindre oue meyndre, de quele estate ou condicion qil soit, face contrarie<sup>a</sup> lez ordinance et establement dessusditz, oue procure oue face chose queconque, en ascune manere, paront lez ditz conseillers et officers soyent desturblez en ascune poynt sur le exercite de lour poare auaunt dite, ou qe excite oue procure nostre dit seignur le roy a faire oue comandere chose queconke, paront le pouare dez ditz conseillers et<sup>b</sup> officers, oue le execucion de lour iugement et agardez 'a faire<sup>c</sup> en ycelles soit defaite en ascune poynt, et ceo soit duement proue par bones et ueroies tesmoignes, qe soient notoirement de bone<sup>d</sup> fame et condicion, nyent suspectes, couenablement examines deuaunt le roy et lez conseillers et officers dessusditz, / prisez et a eux ascunes dez iustices du lune banc oue de lautre, oue altres sages apri<sup>e</sup> de la leye, tieux come plerra as ditz conseillers et officeres, eit tiele penance, cest assauoyre a primer foith qil serra issint conuicte, forfayce touz sez biens et chatieux a roy, et nyentmeynes soyt en prisone a la uolunte de<sup>f</sup> roy. Et si ascune persone soit duement atteynt en la forme susdite de conseyle, excitacion, oue mocion doine a roy de faire la contrarie de son dit<sup>g</sup> graunte come<sup>h</sup> desus est dite, tout ne face le roy riens par tiele conseyle, excitacion, oue mocion, unquore il auera tiele penaunce come dessus<sup>i</sup> est dit.

Et si il aueyne, qe Dieu defende, qil se porte en apres qil soit autrefoith atteynte come dessus dascunes dez defautes oue mesprisones auant ditz, adonques eit<sup>j</sup> la dit persone, al seconde foith issout conuictez<sup>k</sup> oue atteynte, la penaunce de uie et de membre, saueth totfoith dignitees pontificales et priuilegees de saynt esglyse et clericale, oue totez lez chosez auaunt ditz. Et qe cest estatute tiegne force et effecte durant la dite commission tout soulement.<sup>1</sup>

Ricardus<sup>2</sup> Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie, et dominus Hibernie, omnibus ad quos presentes litere peruenerint, salutem.

Sciatis quod domini magnates et communitas regni nostri Anglie quedam subsidia nobis in presenti parlamento nostro concesserunt, sub certis modo et forma in quadam cedula nobis in eodem parlamento per communitatem predictam liberata contentis, cuius quidem cedula tenor sequitur in hec uerba.

<sup>a</sup> encontre SR    <sup>b</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>c</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>d</sup> et cancelled by a later hand  
<sup>e</sup> SR; pris T    <sup>f</sup> le cancelled and de inserted by scribe    <sup>g</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>h</sup> SR;  
 om. T    <sup>i</sup> Om. SR    <sup>j</sup> i interlined by a later hand    <sup>k</sup> uic interlined by a later hand

And if any person, greater or lesser, of whatsoever estate or condition he be, shall act against the abovesaid ordinance and establishment, or procure or do anything whatsoever in any manner, whereby the said counsellors and officers be hindered in the exercise of their aforesaid power in any particular, or shall excite or procure our said lord the king to do or order anything whatsoever whereby the power of the said counsellors and officers, or the execution of their judgement and award in such matters, shall be impaired in any particular, and that shall be duly proved by good and true witnesses who shall be of good fame and condition, and not suspect, suitably examined before the king and his counsellors and officers abovesaid, calling to them any of the justices of either bench or other men learned in the law as shall be chosen by the said counsellors and officers, he shall suffer such punishment as follows, that is to say, the first time that he shall be convicted to forfeit all his goods and chattels to the king, and also be committed to prison at the king's pleasure. And if any person shall be duly attainted in the abovesaid form of advising, inciting, or moving the king to act against his said grant, as is abovesaid, even though the king do nothing upon such advice, incitement, or motion, let him also suffer the penalty prescribed above.

And if it should happen, which God forbend, that any so conducts himself thereafter as to be a second time convicted, as above, of any of the aforesaid offences and misprisions, then let him the second time convicted or attainted suffer the penalty of life and limb, saving always the pontifical dignity and the privileges of Holy Church and its clergy in all the aforesaid matters. And that this statute shall have force and effect during the time of the said commission only.<sup>1</sup>

Richard<sup>2</sup> by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to all to whom these present letters shall come, greeting.

Know that the lords, nobles, and commons of our kingdom of England have granted to us in this present parliament certain subsidies, in a particular manner and form contained in a certain schedule delivered to us in the same parliament by the aforesaid commons, the tenor of which schedule follows, in these words:

<sup>1</sup> The text enrolled on SR continues with a clause ordering its proclamation in all places in the county, that particular letter being addressed to the sheriff of Kent (SR ii. 40-3).

<sup>2</sup> The substance of the following letters, of which Knighton had the whole text, is preserved on the parliament roll: see below, p. 387n.

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Al honour de Dieu,<sup>1</sup> et pur le honour et bien de nostre seigneur le roy, et pur le bien commune, et en defense du realme Dengletiere, lez seignurs et les communes du mesme le realme, esteantz en cest present parlement, ount grantes a nostre dit seigneur le roy une demye disme, et demy quinsyme, aleuer dez leis gentz du realme a la<sup>d</sup> Chandeliere proscheyn uenaunt, par maner come ad aste acustumez a estre aleuer auant cez oeures, et auxi ils ount grantez, pur lez causez susditz, et pur deffense de la miere, et saluacion dez marchaundyse, de chescune tonelle de uyne entrant en mesme le realme, ou issaunt hors du celle, .iij. soldz, et de la liure de touz altres maneres de marchandye entrant en la realme, oue issant hors du ycelle, hors prise leins, quirs, et peaux lanutz, sibien deforens come de deins, nient contre esteaunt ascune chartre oue patent fait a contrarye, .xij. deners.

fo. 205<sup>r</sup>

/ Et par la, ou a parlyment tenuz a Westmynstre, lan du reigne nostre dit seigneur le roy neofisme, certeyne subside dez leyns, quirs, et peaux lanutz estoite grauntez par lez seignurs et<sup>b</sup> comines a<sup>c</sup> prendre de le feste de Saynt Piere Aduincula darreyne passez tanqe a le fest de Saynt Piere Aduincula proscheyne a uener, ore lez ditz seignurs et comines en cest present parlyment grauntent la dite subsidye a durere de le dit fest de Seynt Piere Aduincula proscheyne uenant tanqe a le fest de Seynt Edmonde le martyr proscheyne ensuant, et de mesme le feste de Seynt Edmonde tanqe a le fest de Nowelle lors<sup>d</sup> proscheyne ensuant, si ne soit nule parlement tenuz en le mesme temps.<sup>2</sup>

Et outur ceo lez ditz seignurs et communes ount grauntes, par lez ditz enchesons, une autre demy disme, et dimidium quinzime, a leuer dez lez lays gentz ala quinzisime de Seynt Michele proscheyne uenaunt, sur certeyne condicion, cest assaouyre qe si lez ditz grauntez saunz la dit darrayne demy disme et dimy quinzime, oueske autres biens le roy, purront suffiere pur lez chargez et defensez du realme par une an proscheyne a uener, par la diligence et bone ordinaunce dez lez honorables pieres en dieu William, archeuesk de Canturbiers, Alysandre, archeueske Deuerwyk, et les uncles le roy Edmond, duc de Euerwyk, Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, et lez honorables pieres en Dieu William, eueske de Wyncestre, Thomas, euesk de Excestre, et Nichol, abbe de Waltham, Richard, count de Arundelle, Iohan, sire de Cobham,

<sup>a</sup> *RP; om. T*<sup>b</sup> *RP; om. T*<sup>c</sup> *RP; et T*<sup>d</sup> *RP; leis T*

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To the honour of God,<sup>1</sup> and the honour and well-being of our lord the king, and for the common weal and security of the kingdom of England, the lords and the commons of the same kingdom being in this present parliament have granted to our said lord the king one half-tenth and one half-fifteenth, to be levied upon the laity of the realm at Candlemas next coming [2 Feb. 1387], in the manner in which before this time they have customarily been raised, and also they have granted for the abovesaid causes, and for the keeping of the sea and the security of trade, from every tun of wine coming into the same kingdom, or going out therefrom, 3s., and from the pound of all other merchandise, coming into the realm, or going out therefrom, excepting wool, hides, and wool-fells, as well of aliens as of denizens, and notwithstanding any charter or patent made to the contrary, 12d.

And whereas in a parliament held at Westminster in the ninth year of our said lord the king, a certain subsidy from wool, hides, and wool-fells was granted by the lords and commons to be taken from the feast of St Peter Enchained last past [1 Aug. 1386] to the said feast of St Peter Enchained next coming [1 Aug. 1387], now the said lords and commons in this present parliament do grant the said subsidy to continue from the said feast of St Peter Enchained next coming until the feast of St Edmund the Martyr next following [20 November 1387], and from the same feast of St Edmund until the Christmas then following [25 December 1387], if no parliament be held in the mean time.<sup>2</sup>

And further the said lords and commons have granted for the said purposes another half-tenth and half-fifteenth to be levied from the laity at the quindene of Michaelmas next coming [13 Oct. 1387], upon a certain condition, that is to say, that if the said grants, without the said last half-tenth and half-fifteenth, can with the king's other resources suffice for the charges and the defence of the kingdom for one year to come, by the diligence and good ordinance of the honourable fathers in God William, archbishop of Canterbury, Alexander, archbishop of York, and the king's uncles, Edmund, duke of York, and Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and the honourable fathers in God William, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, bishop of Exeter, and Nicholas, abbot of Waltham, Richard, earl of Arundel, John, lord of Cobham, Richard le Scrope, knight, and John

<sup>1</sup> The text here has been compared with *RP* iii. 220-1, without account of minor variations in spelling, or inversions of phrases.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p.370 n. 3.

Richard le Scrope, chiualer, et Iohan Deuereux, chiualer, et .iij. officers le roy, cest assaouire chauncelere, tresorere, et gardeyne de priuey seale, ordeynez et assignez par nostre dit seigneur le roy par sa commissionne enseale soutz son grante seale, de sa auctorite real, certeyne science, bone gre, et franche uolunte, et par auis dez prelatez, seignurs, et comines en cest present parlyment, en eyde de bone gouernaunce du realme, et bone et due execucion dez leys, et en releuement del estate du roye et de sone poeple en temps auenir, destre de continuele conseylle de nostre dit seigneur le roy, qadonques<sup>a</sup> mesme la darreyne demy dysme et dimy quinzisme ne soyent, pur nule qeconque uoye, ascunement coyllez ne leuez, ne nule commissionne faite pur lez coilere ne leuer, et qe nule altres soyent associes oue assignez a<sup>b</sup> lez ditz seignurs, 'fors que ceu<sup>x</sup> qe sont ore nomes en la dite commissionne.

Touz lez / quelez grauntez les auant ditez seignurs et comines ount faite a ceste foith sur lez condicions ensuantz, cest assaouyre qe si la poar done a ditz seignurs, par la commissionne susdite ordeignez destre del continuele conseyle come<sup>d</sup> desus, soit en ascune manere repelletz ou defaitz, oue si mesme lez seignurs de dit conseil se soient par ascuny, qi qe soit, ou en ascune manere desturbez, qils ne purront franchement usere, ne faire pleyne execucion, de poer 'a eux commys<sup>e</sup> par la dit commissionne, et chescune poynt de ycele, sicome meult lour plerra, et meult lour semblera pur le honour et profite le roye et son realme, parount ils surseyent et cessent outrement de la faire, qe del hors la leue et demande de tut ceo qe adonques remandra a leuer, par force ou<sup>f</sup> colour dez ditz grantez, cessent outrement pur touz iours.<sup>1</sup> Et en ceo case, briefs soyent mandez parmy tote la realme, en chescune counte, as coyllours de touz lez ditz choses ensi grantez, qils surseyent de quequonke leue eut a faire par uertu dez grantes auant ditz, et<sup>e</sup> qe par mesmes lez briefs ils<sup>h</sup> en eient<sup>h</sup> lour finale descharge en leschekere.

Et qe lettres patentes soyent faitez a chescune conte desoutz le grante seal sanz rien payere pur le fee du seale, oue scriptoure de celle,<sup>i</sup> recitantz la cause, le maner, et lez condicions de touz lez grauntz auant ditz. Et qe le staple dez leins, quirs, et peaux lanutz soit ordeigne en la haste que purra bonement par lez seignurs et officers susditz, pur la greyndour profite du roy et du realme.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> RP; iadunques T      <sup>b</sup> RP; et T      <sup>c</sup> forpris ceu<sup>x</sup> in RP      <sup>d</sup> RP; tote T  
<sup>e</sup> RP; et eux conuz T      <sup>f</sup> RP; en T      <sup>g</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>h</sup> RP; ils euoynt T  
<sup>i</sup> ou pur lescription dicelles RP

Devereux, knight, and three of the king's officers, that is to say the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the privy seal, ordained and appointed by our said lord the king by his commission sealed under his great seal, by his royal authority, certain knowledge, good grace, and free will, and by the advice of the prelates, lords, and commons in this present parliament, in aid of the good governance of the kingdom, and the good and due execution of the laws, and the relief of the estate of the king and of his people in time to come, to be of the continual council of our lord the king, then the same last-granted half-tenth and half-fifteenth shall not by any means be collected nor levied, nor any commission made to levy or collect it, and none other shall be associated with or assigned to the said lords except those who are now named in the said commission.

All the which grants the aforesaid lords and commons have made on this occasion upon the following conditions, that is to say, that if the power given to the said lords by the abovesaid commission ordained to be of the king's continual council as above should be in any wise repealed or annulled, or if the lords of the said council themselves should be disturbed by any person whomsoever, or in any way, so that they cannot freely exercise nor put into effect their power assigned to them by the said commission and every point thereof, as shall please them and seem to them to be best for the honour and profit of the king and his kingdom, wherefore they desist and cease to proceed with the matter, thenceforth the levying and collection of all that shall remain to be raised by force and colour of the said grants shall cease entirely and for ever,<sup>1</sup> and thereupon letters shall be sent throughout the kingdom into every county to the collectors of all the said monies thus granted that they should cease from any levy to be made by virtue of the aforesaid grants, so that by such letters they shall have their final discharge at the exchequer.

And that letters patent shall be made for every county, under the great seal, without any payment for the sealing or writing thereof, reciting the reason, the nature, and the conditions of all the aforesaid grants. And that the staple of wool, hides, and woolfells shall be ordained by the abovesaid lords and officers, with all the urgency that they can contrive, for the greater profit of the king and the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On the commission's control of finance, see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 111.

<sup>2</sup> The text in *RP* ends at this point. On the staple, which was apparently not moved, see Lloyd, *Wool Trade*, p. 231.

1386

Nos autem tenorem cedulae predictae ad instantiam dicte communitatis tenore presencium duximus exemplificandum. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium uicesimo octavo die Nouembris, anno regni nostri decimo.

*Willelmus Bewchaump cepit naues.* Dominus Willelmus Bewchaump post Natale Domini cepit .xiiiij. naues regis Francie tendentes uersus le Scelus, quarum una onusta erat pro magna parte cum ferrura equorum, et una alia cum cera facta in torchiis cereis et talibus, et relique cum aliis necessariis que rex Francie parauerat pro ingressu suo in terram Anglie, sicut plenius patet supra eodem anno post principium.<sup>1</sup>

1387

Apud Leycestriam centum quarteria ordeis uendebantur pro centum solidis. Rex uenit iuxta Leycestriam per pratium Episcopi et portam abbatie, et regina cum eo, in crastino Sancti Valentini, et pernoctauit cum domino le Bewmont apud Bewmaner, et tendebat uersus Eboracum ad sedandam quandam discordiam ortam inter archiepiscopum Eboraci et ciues ciuitatis. Causa igitur huiusmodi cum luculento consilio ad plenum regaliter discisa, reddidit rex ciuibus / quasi in omnibus uotum suum.

fo. 206r

Fuerat autem et magna discordia longo tempore inter dictum archiepiscopum Alexandrum Neuyll et collegium cathedralis ecclesie Eboraci, et inter ipsum episcopum et collegium Beuerlacis ecclesie, quod quidem collegium quasi funditus per maliciam exterminauerat et canonicos inde eiecerat, fructusque et prouentus ecclesie cum armatorum manu longo tempore sibi usurpauerat. Set quia lis mota ab utraque fuerat, rex noluit in causa ecclesie ea uice se intromittere.<sup>2</sup>

Ricardus, comes de Arundelle, marearcus, associato sibi comite de Deuenschyre et comite de Notyngamia, tunc iuue, circa festum Annunciationis Beate Marie, audito quod nauigium Francie et Flandrie diuerteret se de la Rochel cum uino, festinato classe exiuit in occursum eorum, et magnanimiter debellans in fugam uertit et cepit .lvj. naues cum uino. Et istis nauibus in Angliam sub custodia transmissis, ipse cum sociis insequeretur inimicos et iterum fortiter

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 348. Beauchamp's activity at Calais was a substantial support to Arundel's naval policy in the spring: Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 92–5.

<sup>2</sup> For the court's itinerary in 1387, see Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 227–8. For some of Archbishop Neville's problems, see A. F. Leach, 'A clerical strike at Beverley Minster in the fourteenth century' *Archaeologia*, lv (1896), 1–20; and Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 115. The

We therefore, at the request of the said commons, have caused the purport of the said schedule to be exemplified by the tenor of these presents. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent.

1386

Witnessed by me at Westminster upon the twenty-eighth day of November in the tenth year of our reign [1386].

*Ships taken by William Beauchamp.* After Christmas [25 Dec. 1386] Sir William Beauchamp captured fourteen of the king of France's ships as they were sailing towards Sluis, one of which was laden mainly with horse shoes, and another with wax, made into torches, tapers, and the like, and the rest with other supplies which the king of France had prepared for the invasion of England, as appears more fully above.<sup>1</sup>

A quarter of barley was sold in Leicester for 100s. The king came by Leicester on the morrow of St Valentine [15 Feb. 1387], by the Bishop's Meadow and Abbeygate, and the queen with him, and they spent the night with Lord Beaumont at Beaumanor, and then travelled to York, there to resolve a dispute between the archbishop of York and the citizens of the city. And the issue being, upon distinguished consideration, fully and royally determined, the king gave his voice upon almost every point to the citizens.

1387

There had also long been great contention between the said archbishop Alexander Neville and the chapter of the cathedral church of York, and between the archbishop and the chapter of Beverley Minster, the which chapter he had utterly destroyed by his malice, and had driven out the canons, and had long appropriated the income and endowment of the church to himself, by armed force, but because the issue had been raised by both parties, the king did not wish to interfere on this occasion in an ecclesiastical cause.<sup>2</sup>

Richard, earl of Arundel, the admiral, who had recruited the earl of Devonshire and the young earl of Nottingham to his force, having heard around the feast of the Annunciation [25 March 1387] that the French and Flemish fleets were returning from La Rochelle, with wine, rapidly put to sea to meet them, and fighting bravely put them to flight, and captured fifty-six ships laden with wine. And having sent those ships to England under guard, he and his companions

Westminster chronicler (*Westm. Chron.*, pp. 178–80) says that the canons submitted to the archbishop from fear of the king, but in fact the dispute continued until Neville fell.

1387 pugnavit cum eis expugnatisque illis cepit sexaginta decem naues cum uino. Summa nauium captarum centum uiginti sex. In quibus estimabatur de uino de Rochel quasi inter duodecim et tresdecim milia uasorum. Similiter in predicto conflictu captus est marearcus Flandrie cum multis aliis.<sup>1</sup>

Interim rediit marearcus in Angliam cum sociis suis ad refocillandum se et suos, letaliter pro magna parte lesos et uulneratos. Et post paululum rediit ad mare, reuigoratus pluribus nouis hominibus, et direxit aciem nauigii sui uersus Britanniam ad uillam de Brest iam secundo per ducem Britanie obsessam. Dux Britanie fecerat unum bastile de meremio a parte maris ad retrahendum eis subsidium uictualium ex parte aque, et duo bastilia de lapide a parte terre ad retrahendum eis subsidium ex illa parte. Veniens igitur ibi dictus comes de Arundelle primo cepit bastile super aquam, fregit et funditus subuertit, et unum bastile super terram cepit et funditus dilapidauit, uillamque de uictualibus que in eis erant pro biennio sequenti luculenter instaurauit, et precipue de sale. Comes de Notyngamia non erat cum eo ista uice.

Rediens igitur dictus comes de Arundelle in Angliam, cepit plures naues. Perrexerat eciam in Flandriam in portum de le Sclus et ibi cepit naues de Flandria et quasdam de Scotia que ibi applicuerant. Et ascendens in terram spoliauit, uastauit, et incendio tradidit quasi per decem leucas / regionem.

fo. 206<sup>v</sup>

*Dominus Hugo le Spenser captus.* Interim dominus Hugo le Dyspenser uolens ulterius in portu conscendere in nauis cum suis, et refluxente aqua et deficiente, quasi infortune captus est, ductusque est Parisius ad regem Francie. Sicque capte sunt inter festum Annunciacionis et festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste circiter centum sexaginta naues opulenter referte.<sup>2</sup>

*Bancum regis apud Couentriam.* Mense Iulii dominus Robertus Tresilione uenit ad uillam de Couentre, seditque ibi de banco regis per mensem et addictati sunt coram eo circiter duo milia de patria. Priorque de Couentria passus est magnum detrimentum de uno mesuagio ad redditum uiginti quatuor marcarum quod construxerat in uilla de Couentre sine licencia regis, set non amisit hac uice, quia ponebatur in respectum ad consilium regis.

*Rex apud Couentriam anno .xj.* Eodem tempore uenit rex et regina ad uillam de Couentre ibique aliquam diu moram trahens, adeo placa-

<sup>1</sup> The Flemish commander was Sire Jean de Bucq: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 128-9. The victory greatly increased Arundel's popularity.

1387 pursued the enemy, and fought and beat them again, and captured seventy ships full of wine, making a total of 126, which were reckoned to contain between twelve and thirteen thousand tuns of Rochelle wine. And the Flemish admiral was also captured in the battle, with many others.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time the admiral returned to England with his companions to refresh themselves and their crews, many of whom were seriously wounded, and soon afterwards he put to sea again, reinforced by many new hands, and steered his fleet towards Brittany, to the port of Brest, which was again besieged by the duke of Brittany. The duke had built a timber fort on the seaward side to prevent supplies from coming by sea, and two forts of stone to the landward to block help from that side. When the earl of Arundel came in, therefore, he first took the fort on the waterfront, broke it and cast it down, and then took one of the inland forts, and razed it, and with the stores which were in it he provided the town with two good years' supplies, and especially with salt. The earl of Nottingham was not with him on that occasion.

And on his way home the earl of Arundel captured many ships, and even went to Flanders and entered the haven of Sluis, and there he took Flemish ships and some from Scotland which had put in there. And moving inland he pillaged, wasted, and burned the land for some ten leagues around.

*Sir Hugh Despenser captured.* Meanwhile Sir Hugh Despenser, wishing to take his ships further into the harbour, was stranded on the ebbing tide, and by mischance was captured and taken to Paris to the king of France. And thus there were taken, between the feast of the Annunciation and the feast of St John the Baptist, some 160 ships, richly laden.<sup>2</sup>

*The King's Bench at Coventry.* In the month of July Sir Robert Tresilione came to the town of Coventry, and kept the court of King's Bench there for a month, and some 2,000 from those parts were brought before him. The prior of Coventry suffered great loss from a messuage, worth twenty-four marks' rent, which he had built in the town of Coventry without the king's licence, but he did not lose it on that occasion, because the case was adjourned to the king's council.

*The king at Coventry in the eleventh year.* The king and queen came to Coventry during that time, and stayed some while, and the king

<sup>2</sup> For a critical view of Arundel's exploits, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 129.

1387 tus est, quod ratificauit duas cartas de antiquis libertatibus uille de Couentre. Et de nouo concessit eis quod maior uille possit habere hominem portantem gladium cum ornatu aureo coram eo ad modum Londoniensium cum aliis pluribus libertatibus de nouo gracious.<sup>1</sup> Apud Leycestriam quarterium frumenti uendebatur pro .ij. solidis, quarterium ordeii .ij. solidis, quarterium siliginis .xij. denariis, quarterium pisarum .xij. denariis. lagena uini rubei pro .vj. denariis, lagena uini albi de le Rochelle pro .iiij. denariis. Murrena damarum ferarum.

Rex et regina pernoctabant apud Groby .xiiij. kalendas Septembris. Eodem tempore uenit rex apud Scheuesbery et ex precepto regis conuenerunt ibi quidam de iusticiariis regni.<sup>2</sup> Quos interrogauerunt antedicti seductores regis, scilicet Alexander, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus Ver, dux Hibernie, Michael de Pole, Robertus Treslyene, et ceteri socii eorum,<sup>3</sup> si posset stare cum iure regni quod rex posset obuiare et resistere ordinacionibus de rege et regno in ultimo parlamento constitutis per proceres et comines regni, cum regis assensu, tamen, ut dicebant, in hac parte coacto.

At illi responderunt regem posse tales ordinaciones adnullare et mutare ad libitum pro meliori factione, quia supra iura.<sup>4</sup> Et dixerunt plura fuisse per ipsos in eodem parlamento decreta et per iudicium suum declarata, que si iam non essent iudicata, per ipsos de cetero non forent iudicanda, nec eis assensum iuris preberent. Tunc iussi sunt omnes iusticiarii conuenire apud Notyngham ad consilium regis ibidem in proximo celebrandum. Tunc rex adiit in partes boriales et tandem rediit in Augusto, uisitatis / pluribus locis.

fo. 207<sup>r</sup>

Post hec rex uenit per Notyngham, rediens de partibus borialibus, et tenuit apud Notyngham consilium in crastino Sancti Bartholomei. In quo affuerunt quinque nephandi seductores regis, scilicet Alexander, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, dominus Robertus Ver, dux Hibernie, Michael de Pole, comes de Suthfolk, Robertus Treslyen, iusticiarius, Robertus Brembylle; iusticiarii quoque omnes regni iussi

<sup>1</sup> Richard made two grants by letters patent to Coventry in July 1387, one exempting the burgesses from commissions to gather taxes outside the borough (probably a reflection of the events of 1380-1), and the other releasing a former mayor from an Exchequer suit: *CPR 1385-9*, pp. 332-3, 339. See also Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 422 n. 2. On the city's swords, see L. F. W. Jewitt and W. H. St J. Hope, *The Corporation Plate and Insignia of the Cities and Towns of England and Wales*, 2 vols. (London, 1895), ii. 384, and the story in *VCH Warwickshire* ii. 416.

<sup>2</sup> Although Knighton's chronology is compressed, he was quite well informed about the king's movements, and about the council at Shrewsbury, which took place before the visit to Groby: Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 227-8; Tout, *Chapters* iii. 419-24.

1387 was well enough pleased to confirm two charters on the ancient liberties of the town. And he made them new grants: that the mayor could have a man go before him bearing a sword chased with gold, like that in London, together with other liberties newly conceded.<sup>1</sup> In Leicester a quarter of wheat was sold for 2s., a quarter of oats for 2s., a quarter of rye for 12d., a quarter of peas for 12d., a gallon of red wine for 6d., and a gallon of white Rochelle wine for 4d. There was an epidemic amongst deer.

The king and queen spent a night at Groby, on the thirteenth of the Kalends of September [19 Aug. 1387]. At that time the king went to Shrewsbury, and a number of the judges of the realm gathered there at the king's command.<sup>2</sup> And they were asked by the aforesaid seducers of the king, namely Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, Robert Tresilian, and the rest of their associates,<sup>3</sup> whether it was consonant with the law of the realm that the king should oppose and resist the ordinances concerning the king and the kingdom which were made in the last parliament, by the lords and commons of the realm with the assent of the king, he being, as they said, coerced thereto.

And the judges answered that the king could annul and change such ordinances at his pleasure, to improve them, because he was not subject to those laws.<sup>4</sup> And they said that there were other things which they had decreed and adjudged in that parliament which, if they not been, would not now be approved or deemed consonant with the law. Then all the justices were ordered to assemble at Nottingham at the royal council which was to be held there. And then the king went into the north country, and eventually returned in August, having visited a number of places.

Then the king came to Nottingham, on returning from the north, and held a council at Nottingham on the morrow of St Bartholomew [25 Aug. 1387]. And the king's five seducers were present, namely Alexander, archbishop of York, Sir Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, justice, and Nicholas Brembre. All the judges of the realm were also ordered to

<sup>3</sup> Knighton has not previously referred to the appellees as a group, or in those terms, which imply a written source.

<sup>4</sup> The purport of the judges' answers, which were affirmed at Nottingham (below), was that the imposition of the reforming commission upon the king against his will, and its confirmation by statute, were offences which should incur the penalties of treason. See further S. B. Chrimes, 'Richard II's questions to the judges, 1387', *LQR* lxxii (1952), 365-90; which should now be read in conjunction with Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi.



1387 sunt ibidem currere. Dominus Willelmus Skypwīþ non erat cum eis infirmitate detentus. Tunc iussi sunt iusticiarii sigilla sua apponere ad infrascriptas questiones, ut exinde seductores sepedicti caperent occasionem occidendi ducem Glouernie et omnes reliquos qui in ultimo parlamento constituti sunt ad gubernacionem regis et regni, et omnes in parlamento eis consencientes in hac parte.<sup>1</sup>

Quidam de iusticiariis renuerunt sigilla sua apponere, set hoc facere artati sunt.<sup>2</sup> Dominus Iohannes Belknappe iusticiarius cum multa instancia renuit, set dux Hibernie et comes de Suthfolc compellebant eum ad hoc faciendum. Nam si non fecisset, minabantur ei mortem et manus eorum ut sibi uidebatur non euasisset. Cumque sigillum suum appouisset ait, 'Iam', inquit, 'michi non deest nisi ratis, equus, et funis ut dignam mortem sustineam. Si uero hoc non egissem, mortem manus uestre sustinuissem. Et quia uoluntatem regis et uestri iam adimpleui, mortem prodicionis erga magnates regni merui'. Vnde in proximo parlamento sequenti cum sociis morti adiudicatus est, ut patebit.

*Questiones.* Questiones propositae iusticiariis.<sup>3</sup>

Memorandum<sup>4</sup> quod uicesimo quinto die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi .xj., apud castrum de Notyngham coram dicto domino rege, Robertus Tresylyan, capitalis iusticiarius Anglie,<sup>a</sup> et Robertus Bealeknappe, capitalis iusticiarius de communi banco domini nostri regis predicti, Iohannes Holt, Rogerus Fulthorpe, et Willelmus de Burghe, milites, iusticiarii socii predicti Roberti Belknappe, et Iohannes<sup>b</sup> de Lokton, seruiens dicti domini nostri<sup>c</sup> regis ad legem, in presencia dominorum et aliorum testium subscriptorum personaliter existencium,<sup>d</sup> per dictum dominum nostrum regem requisiti, in fide et legeancia, quibus eidem domino nostro regi firmiter sunt astricti, quod ad certas questiones inferius designatas et coram eis recitatas fideliter responderent, scilicet<sup>e</sup> et super eis secundum discrecionem suam legem dicerent.

Imprimis querebatur ab eis an illa noua statutum et<sup>f</sup> ordinacio atque commissio, facta et edita in ultimo parlamento apud Westmonasterium celebrato, derogant<sup>g</sup> regalie et prerogatiue dicti

<sup>a</sup> Om. RP    <sup>b</sup> RP; Iohannis in T    <sup>c</sup> Interlined by scribe; om. RP    <sup>d</sup> existentes RP  
<sup>e</sup> Om. RP    <sup>f</sup> Interlined by scribe    <sup>g</sup> RP; derogaret T

<sup>1</sup> See Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 20–1. It was the judges' repudiation of their original acceptance of the commission, and its protective statute, that inflamed the Appellants' animus towards them. See below, p. 502.

<sup>2</sup> On the judges' opinions, and particularly the question of coercion, see R. H. Jones, *The Royal Policy of Richard II: Absolutism in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1968), pp. 38–40.

1387 appear there, but Sir William Skipwith was not with them because he was sick. Then the judges were ordered to affix their seals to the questions written below, that the often-mentioned seducers of the king might take occasion to slay the duke of Gloucester and all the rest of those appointed in the last parliament to the governance of the king and the realm, and all those who had assented thereto in parliament.<sup>1</sup>

Some of the judges refused to affix their seals, but were forced to do so.<sup>2</sup> Sir [Robert Bealknap], justice, refused many times, but the duke of Ireland and the earl of Suffolk compelled him to do it, and threatened him with death if he did not, saying that he would find that could not escape their vengeance. And when he had applied his seal, he said 'Alas, now I need only a hurdle, a horse, and a rope to bear me to the death that I deserve, and yet if I had not done that, I should have met death at your hands. And because I have done the king's will and yours, I shall be judged to a traitor's death by the lords of the realm'. And in the next parliament he was condemned, with his colleagues, as will appear.

The questions put to the judges:<sup>3</sup>

Be it remembered,<sup>4</sup> that on the twenty-fifth day of the month of August in the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, at the castle of Nottingham, before the said lord king, Robert Tresilian, chief justice of England, and Robert Bealknap, chief justice of the common bench of our aforesaid lord king, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, and William Burgh, knights and justices, colleagues of the said Robert Bealknap, and John Lockton, serjeant-at-law of our said lord king, in the presence of the lords and of the other witnesses below written then personally present, being summoned by our lord king upon their faith and allegiance, and straitly charged by our lord king, that to certain questions specified below and rehearsed before them they should make answer, and thereupon according to their judgement pronounce the law:

Firstly, it was asked of them whether the new statute and ordinance and commission made in the last parliament held at Westminster were derogatory to the regality and prerogative of our

<sup>3</sup> Knighton appears to have extracted the questions from the Parliament Roll to the same purpose as the Westminster chronicler (*Westm. Chron.*, pp. 196–202). It may be that they are using a common source, but there are no other close resemblances in their narratives at this point. On Shrewsbury, see S. B. Chrimes, 'Richard II's questions to the judges', and Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi.

<sup>4</sup> The following text has been collated with that on the parliament roll, *RP* iii. 233–4, without taking account of minor variations in spelling, or inversions of phrases.

domini nostri regis. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod derogant. Presertim eo quod fuerant contra uoluntatem<sup>a</sup> etcetera. Item querebatur ab eis qualiter sunt illi puniendi qui statutum, ordinationem, et commissionem predictam<sup>b</sup> procurarunt. Ad istam questionem unanimiter / responderunt quod pena capitali, <sup>c</sup>scilicet mortis, <sup>c</sup>puniri merentur, nisi rex in ea parte uoluerit eis indulgere.

Item querebatur ab eis qualiter sunt illi<sup>d</sup> puniendi qui regem prefatum excitarunt ad consensendum statuti, ordinationis, et commissionis huiusmodi faccioni. Ad quam quidem questionem, unanimiter responderunt quod nisi eis gratiam rex fecerit, sunt pena capitali merito puniendi.

Item querebatur ab eis, qualem penam<sup>e</sup> merentur illi qui compulserunt regem siue artarunt ad consensendum confectioni dictorum statuti, ordinationis, et commissionis. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod sunt ut proditores merito puniendi.<sup>1</sup>

Item querebatur ab eis quomodo sunt / illi <sup>f</sup>eciam<sup>f</sup> puniendi qui impedierunt regem quo minus poterat exercere que ad regiam et prerogatiuam suam pertinuerunt. Ad quam quidem<sup>g</sup> questionem responderunt unanimiter quod sunt ut proditores puniendi.

Item querebatur ab eis an postquam in parlamento congregato, negocia regni et causa congregacionis parlamenti de mandato regis fuerint exposita et declarata, et certi articuli limitati per regem super quibus domini et comines regni in eodem parlamento procedere debeant, si domini et comines super aliis articulis uelint omnino procedere, et nullatenus super articulis limitatis per regem, donec super articulis per eosdem expressatis fuerit per ipsum regem primo responsum, non obstante quod fuerat eis iniunctum per regem in contrarium, numquid rex debeat in ea parte regimen parlamenti habere, et de facto regere ad effectum quod super limitatis articulis per regem primo debeat procedere, uel<sup>h</sup> domini et communes primo debeant habere responsum a rege super articulis per eosdem expressis antequam ulterius procedatur. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod rex in ea parte haberet regimen, et sic seriatim in omnibus <sup>i</sup> articulis tangentibus parlamentum, usque ad finem eiusdem parlamenti. Et si <sup>j</sup>qui contra huiusmodi regimen regis fecerint tanquam proditores regis sunt<sup>j</sup> puniendi.

<sup>a</sup> RP adds regis      <sup>b</sup> RP adds fieri      <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d</sup> RP; om. T  
<sup>e</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>f</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>g</sup> ad istam questionem RP      <sup>h</sup> RP; an T  
<sup>i</sup> RP adds alii      <sup>j</sup> quis ... fecerit ... est puniendus RP

said lord the king, to which question they unanimously answered that they were derogatory, and particularly because they were against the will etc. Also they were asked how they should be punished who procured the aforesaid statute, ordinance, and commission, to which question they answered unanimously that they deserved to suffer the capital punishment, namely of death, unless the king wished to grant them his grace therein.

Also they were asked how they should be punished who moved the king to consent to the making of such a statute, ordinance, and commission, to which question they replied unanimously that unless the king granted them grace they deserved the punishment of death.

Also they were asked what punishment they deserved who compelled or forced the king to the making of the said statute, ordinance, and commission, to the which question they replied unanimously that they were deserving of punishment as traitors.<sup>1</sup>

Also they were asked how they should be punished who prevented the king from exercising the powers which pertained to his regality and prerogative, to which they answered that they ought to be punished as traitors.

Also they were asked whether, when parliament had assembled and the reason for its calling by the king's order had been set forth and declared, and certain matters laid down by the king of which the lords and commons ought to treat in the said parliament, if the lords and commons wished to proceed with other matters, and were entirely unwilling to proceed with the said business until they should have a satisfactory answer from the king to other matters put by them to him, notwithstanding the fact that they had orders from the king to the contrary, the king ought therein to have the governing of parliament, and rule in effect that they should proceed with the matters appointed, or whether the lords and commons ought first to have their answer from the king to the matters which they had put to him before they should so proceed. To which question they answered unanimously that the king ought to have authority, and should determine all matters concerning a parliament down to the end of that parliament, and that if any went against his authority therein, they should be punished as traitors.

<sup>1</sup> That is, that beyond their deaths their families should suffer the loss of all their lands and possessions: Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 109-10.

Item querebatur ab eis numquid rex quandocumque sibi placuerit poterit dissoluere parliamentum, et suis dominis et communibus precipere quod abinde recedant, an non. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod potest. Et si quis ex<sup>a</sup> tunc contra uoluntatem regis procedat ut in parlamento, tanquam proditor existat puniendus.<sup>1</sup>

Item querebatur ab eis ex quo rex potest quandocumque sibi placuerit remouere quoscumque iusticiarios et officarios suos, et ipsos pro delictis eorum iustificare et punire, numquid domini et comines possunt absque uoluntate regis iusticiarios ipsos et officarios impetere super delictis eorum in parlamento, an non. Ad istam questionem unanimiter responderunt quod non possunt, et si quis in contrarium fecerit, est ut proditor puniendus.

Item querebatur ab eis qualiter est ille puniendus qui mouebat in parlamento quod mitteretur pro statuto per quod Edwardus filius Edwardi regis, proauis regis nunc, erat alias adiudicatus in parlamento, per cuius statuti <sup>b</sup>mocionem / et impositionem<sup>b</sup> noua statuta, ordinacio, ac commissio supradicta fuerunt in parlamento concepta. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod tam ille qui sic mouebat quam alius qui pretextu huiusmodi mocionis statutum illud portauit ad parlamentum, sunt ut proditores et criminosi merito puniendi.<sup>2</sup>

Item querebatur ab eis an iudicium, in ultimo parlamento apud Westmonasterium celebrato, redditum contra comitem de Suthfolk, fuit erroneum et reuocabile, an non. Ad quam quidem questionem unanimiter responderunt quod si illud iudicium esset modo reddendum, illi iusticiarii et seruiens predicti illud reddere nollent, quia uidetur eis quod illud iudicium reuocabile tanquam erroneum in omni sui parte.

In quorum omnium testimonium iusticiarii et seruiens predicti sigilla sua presentibus apposuerunt. Hiis testibus: reuerendis <sup>d</sup>patribus et <sup>d</sup>dominis, Alexandro, archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Roberto, archiepiscopo Dubluniensi, Iohanne, episcopo Dunolnensi, Thoma, Cicestrensi episcopo, Iohanne, Bangorensi episcopo, Roberto, duce Hibernie, Michaele, comite de Suthfolk, Iohanne Rypone, clerico, et Iohanne Blake, scutifero.

Datum loco, die, mense, et anno predictis etcetera.

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>b</sup> inspectionem SR      <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 111 n. 3, points out that although there is no evidence that Richard had tried to dissolve parliament in 1386, it would have been an obvious course to try.

Also they were asked whether the king might dissolve parliament when he pleased, and order his lords and commons to depart, or not, to which question they answered unanimously that he could do so, and that if anyone thereafter continued in parliament against the king's will he should be punished as a traitor.<sup>1</sup>

Also they were asked, whereas the king had power whenever it pleased him to remove any of his justices or officers and judge and punish them for their faults, whether the lords and commons could against the king's will impeach in parliament his justices and officers for their offences, or not, and to that question they answered unanimously that they were not so able, and that if any acted to the contrary he should be punished as a traitor.

Also they were asked how he should be punished who moved in parliament that it should be recited how in a statute at another time King Edward [II], son of King Edward [I], the great-grandfather of the king that now is, had been judged in parliament, by the motion and placing of which statute the aforesaid new statute, ordinance, and commission had been conceived in parliament, to which question they answered unanimously that both he who so moved, and any other who upon the pretext of the moving of such a statute brought it before parliament, deserved to be punished as traitors and criminals.<sup>2</sup>

Also they were asked whether the judgement rendered against the earl of Suffolk in the last parliament held at Westminster was erroneous and revocable, or not, to which question they answered unanimously that if that judgement were now to be delivered, the aforesaid justices and serjeant would not wish to pronounce it, as it seemed to them that that judgement was revocable as being erroneous in every respect.

In witness of all which things the aforesaid justices and serjeant have placed their seals to these presents. Witnessed by these, the reverend fathers the lords Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert, archbishop of Dublin, John, bishop of Durham, Thomas, bishop of Chichester, John, bishop of Bangor, Robert, duke of Ireland, Michael, earl of Suffolk, John Ripon, clerk, and John Black, esquire.

Given at the place, and on the day of the month in the year aforesaid, etc.

<sup>2</sup> On the likelihood of a statute having been enacted to confirm the powers of the lords ordainers in Edward II's reign, and the record of it subsequently destroyed, see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, 102-7.

1387

*Marchalsia apud Lughborowe per .vij. dies.* Dum rex tenuit consilium suum apud Notyngham in crastino Sancti Bartholomei, marchalsia regis apud Lughteburghe.<sup>1</sup> Dominus Henricus Percy primogenitus comitis Northumbrie factus est marisarcus in autumpno.<sup>2</sup> Hic Henricus uocatus est a Francis et Scotis Harre Hatesporre, quia intempeste noctis silencio aliis quieti sompni uacantibus, ipse supra inimicos indefesse laborabat quasi calcaria calefaciens, quod nos dicimus Hatesporre.

*.ij. obsidio de Brest.* Hic Henricus direxit nauigium suum uersus uillam de Brest in Britania obsessam, et liberauit eam ab obsidione, et unum bastile de meremio ex parte aque de nouo constructo funditus exterminauit, et unum aliud ex parte terre de lapide conquisiuit, et eiectis inimicis instaurauit illud de hominibus uille. Et rediens passus est detrimentum suorum per tempestates maris.<sup>3</sup>

*.xvj. Kalendas Octobris.* Rex et regina pernoctabant apud abbatiam Leycestrie, et cum eis dux Hibernie, comes de Suthfolc, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, episcopus Cicestrie. Die Mercurii et die Iouis dominus Willelmus Skypwiy, iusticiarius, sedebat apud Meltone Mowbray ad instanciam domini le Bewmont ad audiendum et determinandum de parco suo fracto ut dicit, et addictauit dominum Thomam de Erdyngtone dominum de Barowe super Soram de transgressionibus factis de feris et aliis dampnis, et multi alii cum illo addictati sunt de patria. Et taxatum est dampnum per / inquisitores pro domino le Bewmount, contra predictum Thomam de Erdyngtone et suos, ad mille et centum marcas et .xiiij.<sup>4</sup>

fo. 208<sup>v</sup>

Mense Octobris in comitatu Derbeye apparuit quedam nubecula, quasi hora sexta ut dicebatur, et pluit sanguinem ad spacium quantum est iactus sagitte in circuitu.<sup>5</sup>

*Rex uenit Londoniis.* Dominica in quarta idus Nouembris rex Ricardus uenit Londonias cum ingenti honore, comitantibus eum auricularibus suis reprobis, uidelicet Alexandro, archiepiscopo Eboracensi, cum cruce erecta precedente,<sup>6</sup> et domino Roberto Veere,

<sup>1</sup> The marshal was responsible for transporting and billeting the household, and his court was locally disruptive because it had, *inter alia*, authority over all markets in its neighbourhood. See further Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 37; and W. R. Jones, 'The court of the verge: the jurisdiction of the steward and marshal of the household in later medieval England', *JBS* x (1970-1), 1-29.

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be no patent appointing Percy as admiral on this occasion, though as commander of the expedition sent to Brest he had wide powers: Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, p. 100 and n. 35. See also below, n. 3.

<sup>3</sup> On the two expeditions to Brest in 1387, and their relation to the politics of Brittany, see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 184, 196; and Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 99-101.

1387

*The marshalcy at Loughborough for six days.* While the king held his council at Nottingham on the morrow of St Bartholomew [25 Aug. 1387], the king's marshalcy was at Loughborough.<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry Percy, the earl of Northumberland's firstborn, was made admiral in the autumn.<sup>2</sup> That Henry was called Hotspur by the Scots and the French, because in the silent watches of the night, while others slept, he rode tirelessly upon his enemies as though he would make his spurs hot, which we call Hotspur.

*The second siege of Brest.* That Henry led his fleet to the besieged town of Brest, in Brittany, and freed it from the siege, and entirely destroyed a new timber fort on the seaward side, and captured another, made of stone, on the landward side, and having driven out the enemy repaired it for the townsmen. And on his return he lost some of his men in storms at sea.<sup>3</sup>

On the sixteenth of the Kalends of October [15 Sept. 1387] the king and queen spent the night at Leicester Abbey, and with them the duke of Ireland, the earl of Suffolk, the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Chichester. On the Wednesday and Thursday [18-19 Sept. 1387] Sir William Skipwith, justice, sat at Melton Mowbray, at the request of Lord Beaumont to hear and determine a plea over the breaking of his park, it was said, and Sir Thomas Erdington, lord of Barrow-on-Soar, was called to answer for trespasses against deer and other beasts, and many others from the county were charged with him. And the judges awarded damages to Lord Beaumont, against the said Sir Thomas Erdington and his men, of 1,114 marks.<sup>4</sup>

And in the month of October, it is said, a cloud appeared over Derbyshire, one afternoon, and rained blood over an area with the radius of a bow-shot.<sup>5</sup>

*The king comes to London.* On Sunday, the fourth of the Ides of November [10 Nov. 1387] the king came to London with the greatest ceremony, accompanied by his false favourites, namely Alexander, archbishop of York, with his cross borne erect before him,<sup>6</sup> and Sir Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk,

For a patent of 12 Oct. 1387, acknowledging the transfer of the fort by Percy (who is not styled admiral) to the commander at Brest, see *CPR 1385-9*, p. 358-9.

<sup>4</sup> For the commission to try Beaumont's cause, 11 Sept. 1387, see *CPR 1385-9*, p. 390. See also L. M. Cantor, 'The medieval parks of Leicestershire', *LAHST* xlvi (1970-1), 9-24.

<sup>5</sup> See Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 150. Red rain in England is commonly associated with dust clouds from the Sahara.

<sup>6</sup> After a long and embittered dispute the archbishops of York had in 1353 won the right to display their processional cross in the province of Canterbury: see I. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, i. 155, 355 and nn.

1387 duce Hibernie, Michaele de Pole, comite de Southfolk, domino Nicholao Brembulle de London, milite, subsequentibus. Cui maior Londoniarum obuiauit cum innumerabili multitudine equitum de ciuibus uestitis omnibus in coloribus regis, uidelicet in gownis albi coloris et rubii. Et conduxerunt regem et reginam ad ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, et deinde ad palacium suum Westmonasterii.<sup>1</sup> Nec occurrit aliquem regem Anglie cum honore tante multitudinis aliquando receptum fuisse in aliqua ciuitate Anglie tempore pacis. Et dicebatur regem obuiasse quinque episcopis cum solempni processione de Westmonasterio obuiam ei procedentibus, et nec crucem nec clerum considerans sustulit uiam suam.<sup>2</sup>

In crastino, scilicet in festo Sancti Martini, audiuit rex et predicti auriculares de aduentu ducis Gloucestrie et comitum de Arundelle et Warwyche prope partes Londoniarum cum fortitudine armata aduenisse, dicti auriculares conticuerunt ymaginantes qualiter eos exterminare possent, et timuerunt ualde. Nec uideres per totam diem ut fertur aliquam nauiculam uel bargiam super aquam Tamesie laborare, set omnes in Londoniis quasi attoniti continuerunt se sub silencio, quia causa aduentus dicatorum ducis et comitum regem et seductores suos predictos latebant expectantes euentum rei.<sup>3</sup>

Die Martis in crastino Sancti Martini facta est proclamacio per totam ciuitatem per preconem et duos sergancios regis equitantes, ne quis ciuitatis sub pena forisfacti ausus sit uendere comiti de Arundelle arma, arcus, sagittas, nec uictualia seu aliquid aliud quod ad fulcimentum potestatis sue posset prouenire, et causa uidelicet quia conuenerat dominos et communes regni contra regem Ricardum.<sup>4</sup>

Interea dum rex sic se disponeret uenire Londonias Thomas de Wodestoke, dux Gloucestrie, Ricardus, comes de Arundelle, Thomas de Bewchamp, comes de Warwyk, uidentes quod non possent procedere in gubernacione regis et regni secundum ordinacionem precedentis parlamenti<sup>5</sup> ad utilitatem communem, impredientibus antedictis fautoribus archiepiscopo Eboracensi, Mychele de Pole, Roberto Ver, duce Hibernie, Nicholao Brenbulle, Roberto Tressylyen, iusticiario, qui regem subduxerant et alienare se fecerant a consilio dicatorum dominorum in magnum grauamen regis et regni, unde

<sup>1</sup> The Westminster chronicler says that the household was emboldened by a promise of support from the Londoners, and that Richard proceeded the next day to summon Gloucester and Arundel, who refused to come to him: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 206–8.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Arundel was probably one of the slighted bishops: Aston, *Arundel*, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> On the lords' concentration at Hornsey Great Park in the bishop of London's manor of Haringey, see *Favent*, p. 8; *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 208–10; and *The Place-Names of Middlesex*,

1387 and Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight, of London, following. And the mayor came to meet them with a numberless company of the citizens, all mounted and wearing the king's colours, that is to say, gowns of white and red. And they led the king and the queen to St Paul's cathedral, and then to their palace at Westminster.<sup>1</sup> Nor had any king of England ever been received with honour by so great a company in any city of England in time of peace. And it was said that the king was met by five bishops, who came in solemn procession from Westminster to greet him, and that he continued on his way without acknowledging either the Cross or the clerics.<sup>2</sup>

The next day, that is to say on the feast of St Martin [11 Nov. 1387], the king and the aforesaid favourites heard of the coming of the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, who had arrived outside London with a powerful force, and the said favourites fell to wondering how they could destroy them, and were greatly afraid. Nor would you have seen, it was said, any boat or barge plying on the Thames all that day, but all in London fell silent, as though they were stunned, because the reason for the the duke and the earls' coming was kept from the king and his favourites, and they expected trouble.<sup>3</sup>

On Tuesday, the morrow of St Martin [12 Nov. 1387] it was proclaimed throughout the city, by a herald and two of the king's serjeants, mounted, that none in the city, upon pain of forfeiture, should dare to sell to the earl of Arundel arms, bows and arrows, or foodstuffs, or anything to supply his force, because he had raised the lords and commons of the realm against King Richard.<sup>4</sup>

In the mean time, while the king was planning to come to London, Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Richard, earl of Arundel, and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, seeing that they could not continue with the governance of the king and the kingdom, according to the ordinance made in the previous parliament,<sup>5</sup> being obstructed by the aforesaid favourites the archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Nicholas Brembre, and Robert Tresilian, justice, who had withdrawn the king and estranged him from the counsel of the said lords, to the great damage of the king and the kingdom, and had caused him to go whirling about the kingdom

ed. J. E. B. Gover, A Mawer, and F. M. Stenton (English Place-Name Society, xviii, 1942), pp. 121–4.

<sup>4</sup> If the proclamation was ever registered in the city it may have been on one of the pages subsequently removed from Letter-book H: Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 91 and n. 5.

<sup>5</sup> The commission was due to expire on 18 Nov. 1387: see above, p. 374 n. 1.



circuire fecerunt partes regni per gyrum ne prope esset consilio dominorum, ne forte eorum consilium caperet / effectum. Reuera non est auditum quod aliquis rex girauerit fines regni in tam breui tempore sicuti ille fecit illis diebus per eorum nephandum consilium. Vnde conuenerunt isti domini tres prenominati cum magna stipacione militum armigerorum, sagittariorum, et bono apparatu, et appropinquauerunt prope Londonias apud Bysschopeswode, apud Waltham, apud Hakenay, et in diuersis locis se mouentes.<sup>1</sup>

Interim miserunt ad regem archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, dominum Iohannem Louelle, dominum de Cobham, dominum Iohannem de Eurose, et alios,<sup>2</sup> et petebant seductores regis et proditores regis et regni qui seduxerant regem, et perturbabant totum regnum tam diuites quam pauperes, et seminabant discordias et rancores inter regem et suos proceres, et dicebant se ad comodum et honorem regis et regni ad hoc solum uenisse ut punirentur traditores regis ne regnum, tam citra mare quam extra, per eorum ineptum consilium honore gubernaculi priuaretur, protestantes se in nullo uelle cogitare uel facere seu aliquid attemptare quod posset derogare profectui aut honori regis uel regni sui, set solum ut traditores ammouerentur a latere regis et digne pro meritis punirentur ad terrorem omnium succedencium.

Fertur insuper predictos quinque fautores suggestisse regi quod isti domini, qui consilium et gubernacionem regis et regni in precedenti parlamento acceperant, intendunt regem subpeditare et ad uoluntatem eorum ipsum subicere nisi principiis eorum obstaret. Et ideo consiluerunt eum ut cum rege Francie amicitias prouocaret, faceret pacem in tanta necessitate, et pro bono pacis redderet regi Francie Calesiam, Gynes, et Picardiam, et omnia que habebat rex Anglie in regno Francie preter Acquitaniam. Vt sic rex Francie cum manu forti ueniret in Angliam ad castigandum et subiciendum inimicos regis indomitos dominos.<sup>3</sup>

Et similiter dicebatur quod quidam ualettus mittebatur eodem tempore a rege Anglie ad regem Francie, de quo nuncio quis erat nondum pupplicatur,<sup>4</sup> set dicebatur ipsum reportasse in donis sibi

<sup>1</sup> Gloucester had brought his retinue from Pleshey, in Essex, to join Warwick at Hornsey, keeping clear of London until they were sure of its sympathies. The king failed in an attempt to arrest Arundel, who then joined them: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 23-4; Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> This is substantially the company which the king sent to the lords on 14 Nov. (*Westm. Chron.*, p. 210), and may represent some preliminary informal exchange, to which the Appellants seem also to refer in their letter to the Londoners (below, p. 410).

so that he should not be near the said lords, lest their counsel should take effect (and in truth no king had ever been known to travel the bounds of the kingdom in so short a time as had he, under the influence of their wicked counsel), therefore came together, the three aforesaid lords, with a great company of knights and archers, all well-equipped, and came close to London, to Bishop's Wood, to Waltham, and to Hackney, moving from place to place.<sup>1</sup>

In the mean time they sent the archbishop of Canterbury, Sir John Lovell, Lord Cobham, Sir John Devereux, and others, to the king.<sup>2</sup> And they denounced the seducers of the king, traitors to the king and the kingdom, who had beguiled the king and were disturbing the whole realm, both rich and poor, and sowing discord and rancour between the king and his lords, and they said that they had come, solely for the advantage and the honour of the king and the realm, to seek the punishment of the traitors, that the kingdom, both at home and overseas, might not be deprived of good governance by their foolish counsel. And they protested that they had attempted nothing, and sought neither by word nor deed to derogate in any way from the honour of the king or his kingdom, but wished only to remove the traitors from the king's side, and to see them condignly punished, to the terror of all who might come after them.

It was reported moreover that the aforesaid five favourites had suggested to the king that those lords who had taken on the counsel and governance of the king and the kingdom in the last parliament intended to subvert his authority, and to subject him to their will unless he resisted them. And therefore they had advised him to seek friendship with the king of France, to make peace with him to that end, and for the sake of peace to surrender to the king of France Calais, Guines, and Picardy, and all that the king of England had in France except Aquitaine, so that the king of France might come to England in his strength to chastise and subdue the unmanageable lords who were the king's enemies.<sup>3</sup>

And similarly it was said that an agent had been sent, at that same time, from the king of England to the king of France, though who he was has not yet been disclosed,<sup>4</sup> carrying, it was said, gifts worth 1,000

<sup>3</sup> Whether or not such expedients were discussed at court, it was an article of faith with the Appellants that the king would seek help from France, and would sacrifice English positions in France to secure it: see below, pp. 482-4.

<sup>4</sup> A phrase which suggests that this report is earlier than the parliamentary process against the courtiers: cf. below, p. 476 n. 1.



1387 datis ualorem mille marcarum. Similiter dicebatur quod quidam miles Anglie mittebatur domino Willelmo Bewchamp capitaneo Calesie cum litteris signetto regis signatis ut redderet ei uillam Calesie. Eciam dominus Iohannes Golofre miles missus est a rege ad regem Francie cum litteris,<sup>1</sup> set Willelmus Bewchampe capitaneus Calesie abripuit ab eo litteras et remisit in Angliam ad duce[m] Gloucestrie. At ille respondit quod custodiam uille et gubernacionem sibi traditam in presencia et auctoritate regis et dominorum regni puplice et palam, et ideo se nolle reddere uillam in occulto donec ad eorum presenciam adueniret.

fo. 209<sup>v</sup> / Ad priorem historiam redeamus.<sup>2</sup> Fertur quendam de hiis qui adherebant regi dixisse, 'Domine, surgamus et irruamus in inimicos uestros et circumuallemus eos tanquam gregem ouium, et uerberabimus eos quasi<sup>a</sup> diabolus laniabat coria eorum'.<sup>3</sup> Fertur eciam regem interrogasse a maiore uille quot armatos in breui tempore<sup>b</sup> paratos possent habere in ciuitate, qui respondens dixit se credere posse habere circiter quinquaginta milia in breuila hora. 'Vade', inquit rex, 'et quam cicius ualebis adduc ad me quot poteris sine mora.'

Cumque uenisset in ciuitatem maior in execucionem negocii, responderunt pro maiori parte quasi una uoce et unanimi assensu se non posse nec uelle procedere in pugnam contra amicos regis et regni, et ueritatis defensores et pauperum in instanti negocio, Deo adiuuante, fortissimos tutores, set contra inimicos regis et regni nunc et semper esse paratos.<sup>4</sup>

Fertur eciam dominum Radulphum dominum le Basset respondere regi, 'Domine, sciatis quod ego semper fui, sum, et semper ero uester legius homo fidelis, et corpus meum et catalla mea uestra erunt et sunt in iusticia uestra et ueritate, set si contingat me in campum uenire, sciatis me uelle trahere absque ambiguitate ad partem ueracem et ueritatis sectatricem. Nec intendo me opponere ad fracturam capitis mei pro duce Hibernie'.<sup>5</sup>

Fertur eciam comitem Northambrie dixisse regi, 'Domine rex, isti domini in campis semper fuerunt uobis fideles et iam sunt et semper

<sup>a</sup> quod T      <sup>b</sup> armatos cancelled by scribe

<sup>1</sup> Golafre, who remained loyal to Richard to the end, escaped death in 1388 only because he was still in France when the Merciless Parliament ended: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 163, 248-9.

<sup>2</sup> Knighton, who perhaps had a source of information at the court as well as one amongst the Appellants, is trying to control the chronology of his narrative. The exchanges reported here may have spread over several days in mid-November 1387. He seems also to have conflated two consultations with the mayor, one in London on 28 Oct., three weeks after the

1387 marks. And it was also said that a certain English knight was sent to Sir William Beauchamp, the captain of Calais, with letters under the king's signet, instructing him to surrender Calais to him. Also Sir John Golafre, knight, was sent by the king with letters to the king of France.<sup>1</sup> But William Beauchamp, captain of Calais, seized the letters and sent them to the duke of Gloucester in England, and said that the custody and government of the town of Calais had been delivered to him in the presence and by the authority of the king and the lords of the realm, publicly and openly, and that he would not surrender the town covertly, but only when he could come again into their presence.

Let us return to our original subject.<sup>2</sup> It is said that one of those close to the king said 'My lord, let us arise and fall upon your enemies, and pen them like a herd of sheep, and belabour them as though the Devil himself were rending their hides'.<sup>3</sup> And it is also said that the king asked of the mayor how many armed men he could raise in the city at short notice. And the mayor said that he thought that he could raise 50,000 in a short time. 'Go then', said the king, 'quickly, and bring me as many as you can, without delay.'

However, when the mayor went into the city to perform his task, the greater part of them answered, with one voice and mind, that they could not and would not go to fight those who were friends of the king and the kingdom, and defenders of the truth, and in the present business like to be, with God's help, powerful champions of the poor, but they were now and would always be ready to turn out against the enemies of the king and the kingdom.<sup>4</sup>

And it is said that Ralph, Lord Basset, said to the king, 'My lord, you know that I have been, am, and ever shall be your faithful liegeman, and my body and all that I possess are and will be subject to your justice and truth, but I must tell you that if I have to go into battle, I wish unmistakably to be with the party that is true and seeks the truth, and that I am not going to offer to have my head broken for the duke of Ireland'.<sup>5</sup>

And the earl of Northumberland is also reported to have said, 'My lord king, these lords outside have always been faithful to you, and are

citizens swore an oath of allegiance, and one at Windsor on 1 Dec.: see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 206, 216; and *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. xliiv-v, 315, 321.

<sup>3</sup> The sentiment is perhaps Sir Thomas Trivet's, though the style might suggest the duke of Ireland: cf. *Westm. Chron.*, p. 212. Trivet seems to have resented Arundel's commission as admiral: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 26.

<sup>4</sup> The mayor's own position was precarious: Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 80, 91-5.

<sup>5</sup> Basset had been in Gascony with Prince Edward in 1356: on his career, and his relations and ties with the Appellants, see *CP ii*. 3-6; and Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 24.

1387 esse intendunt, nec in aliquo statui uestro uel comodo seu honori obuiari proponunt, set sciunt se flebiliter grauatos per nequissimam ymaginacionem et falsam oppressionem quorundam uestrorum. Et hoc unum sciatis absque uacillacione aliqua, quod totum regnum uestrum turbatum est cum eis in ista causa, et inedicibiliter motum, et hoc tam maiores quam minores, tam proceres quam comines et exponere se uolunt cum eis usque ad mortis metas'.

Rex hiis auditis attonitus expauit. Et comes adiecit, 'Domine rex, uos iam statis in principali loco regni uestri et in sede coronacionis uestre, nunc igitur agatis sapienter et regaliter, et mittatis eis ut ueniant ad uos in pupplico loco solii uestri ad intinandum uobis causam aduentus eorum cum tanta multitudine uiuorum ad partes istas, et cum eos audieritis, audeo dicere quod habebitis eos plenarie excusatos'. Similiter et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et episcopus Helyensis cancellarius<sup>1</sup> et alii episcopi et domini instabant penes regem ut delinirent et mitigarent melancoliam eius erga dominos. Tandem rex fauebat uoluntati eorum et cohercuit seipsum ab ira concepta, quia in tantum subductus / erat quod totaliter causa sue personalis subuersionis dominos sic uenisse autumauerat.

fo. 210<sup>r</sup> Feria .iiij. post festum Sancti Martini, dux Gloucestrie et duo comites, sencientes quod rex faceret causam actam contra .v. traditores quasi suam propriam personalem per seductionem eorundem,<sup>2</sup> supponunt quod leuiter ciues Londonienses per regem sic allectum et .v. traditores ad partem illorum inclinari possent, hii qui ueritatis tramitem penitus ignorantes et cause cognicionem minime intelligentes, et in precedenti die audierant in ciuitate proclamacionem factam ne quis sub pena forisfacti aliquid comiti de Arundelle uenderet uel ministraret unde posset confortari uel releuari sicut supra ostenditur.<sup>3</sup> Idem domini disponunt se certiorare eosdem ciues per litteram suam, causam congregacionis eorum et grauamen plenius continentem, petendo eorum consilium et auxilium pro iusticia tocius regni et conseruacione ueritatis.

<E<sup>a</sup>>Littera missa ciuibus Londoniensibus per duces et socios suos. Copia litere quam miserunt.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Added in margin by reviser or a later hand

<sup>1</sup> It is likely that Courtenay and Arundel were already in touch with the lords: see below n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> It is not clear that Richard could be said to have contemplated any action against his friends before 17 Nov. Knighton's gloss, if not an error, may refer to the previous exchanges between the Appellants and members of the court: see below, p. 411 n. 1.

1387 now, and intend to remain so, nor do they intend any threat to your condition, or comfort, or to your honour, but they feel themselves gravely threatened by the iniquitous plots and dishonest conduct of some of those about you. And this you should know, without the slightest doubt, that your whole realm has been aroused and irresistibly moved with them in this cause, both the greater and the lesser sort, both lords and commons, and they are willing to go with them to the very confines of death.'

When the king heard those things he was astonished, and greatly alarmed, and the earl added, 'My lord king, you have the principal place in your kingdom, and you sit upon your coronation chair: now act wisely and royally, and send for them to come you in some public place to tell you their reasons for coming here with such a multitude of followers, and when you have heard them I am certain that you will hold them fully excused.' And the archbishop of Canterbury, and the chancellor, the bishop of Ely, both spoke in the same fashion,<sup>1</sup> and the other bishops and lords addressed the king, to remove or soften the bitterness of his feelings against the lords. And at last the king accepted their advice, and made himself abate his anger, for he had been so far led astray as to believe that the lords had come solely to subvert his own authority.

On Wednesday after the feast of St Martin [13 Nov. 1387], the duke of Gloucester and the two earls, perceiving that any action the king might take against the five traitors would be only a gesture, and even performed under their influence,<sup>2</sup> supposed that the citizens of London might readily incline to the side of the king thus beguiled and the five traitors, being largely unaware of where the truth lay, and with little understanding of the matters at issue. And as they had also, on the previous day, heard the proclamation made in the city that none, under pain of forfeiture, should sell anything to the earl of Arundel, or do anything to support or assist him, as has been shown above,<sup>3</sup> they resolved to inform the citizens by letters explaining their purpose in coming together, and their grievance, and asking for their advice and help for the good of the whole realm, and the preservation of the truth.

*A letter sent by the duke and his companions to the citizens of London. A copy of the letter which they sent.*<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 403 and n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> The letter, of which Knighton appears to have preserved a unique copy, was written before the authority of the reforming commission of 1386 expired on 18 Nov. 1387. The

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Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, et Ricardus, counte de Arundelle et de <Surre>,<sup>a</sup> et Thomas Bewchamp, counte de Warwyk, as maire, uiscount, aldermen, cytesenez et touz lez bonez comines de la cyte de Loundrez: salut.

Vous faceoms assayuoire qe nous auoms este, sumes, et totediz serroms obeysanz et leaux lieges a nostre tresredoute seigneur le roy, et qe uous ne merueylez de la cause de nostre assemble en ceste manere. Purceo qil fuist ordeigne par nostre dit seigneur le roy a son darreyne parlyment qe certeyne seignures illoeques ordeignez et iurez pur le honour de Dieu et le bien du roy et del realme deuerent auoyre la gouernance de sone consayle et del realme et de lors par une an entiere, la quele gouernaunce ad este et est grauntment disturbez par Alysandre, le archeuek Deuerwyk, Robert Ver, duc Dirland, Mychele de la Pole, conte de Suthfolk, Robert Treslyan, fauce iustice, Nichol Brambulle, fauce chyualere de Loundrez, fauz et traytours touz et chescune de eaux traytours a roy et al realme, queux fausement et traytorusement ount aloignes le roy et par lour engynes conseil et mennez la honorable persone de nostre dit seigneur le roye en diuersez partiez longues de sone conseyle, en arrerysment de luy et de sone realme, et luy ount fausement conseyllez encontre sone serment faire diuersez chosez en disheretysonne et dezembraunce de sa coroune, en poynet de perdre sa heritage pardela le miere a grant honte et destruction de tut la realme, et fausement faitez diuersez<sup>b</sup> dissentez entre<sup>c</sup> nostre dit seigneur le roy et lez seignurs de sone counsayle, si que<sup>d</sup> ascunez de eux furent en doute et peril de lour uyes, si come nous auoms en partye declarez / a nostre tresredoute seigneur le roy par lez tresreuerentz pieres en Dieu lercheueske de Canturbury, le duc Deuerwyk, leueske de Wyncestre, et de Ely, et diuersez altrez seignurez grande del realme,<sup>1</sup> et pluis ferroms si Dieu plect a tote le realme. Pur queux chosez redressere et desore restreynere, et lez traytours auant ditz duement puniere come le ley uoet, nous sumes assemblez.

Vous requiroms et chargeoms par uertue de uostre legieuanqe qe uous ent<sup>e</sup> qe uous<sup>f</sup> facez pleyne proclamacion parmy tout la cyte qest nostre entent e nule altre qe pur lenour profite in saluacione du roy et du realme et dez touz sez loiaux lieges, et qe uous soiez eydantz et

<sup>a</sup> Blank in T      <sup>b</sup> chosez cancelled by scribe      <sup>c</sup> outre T      <sup>d</sup> de cancelled by scribe  
<sup>e</sup> Cancelled by a later hand

Appellants would have wished to be sure of London before they went to Westminster on 17

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Thomas, duke of Gloucester and constable of England, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Thomas Beauchamp, earl of Warwick, to the mayor, sheriffs, aldermen, citizens, and all the good commons of London, greeting.

We wish you to know that we have been, are, and always shall be obedient and faithful lieges of our very redoubtable lord the king, and that we would not have you wonder at our coming here in this fashion: Because it was ordained by our lord the king in his last parliament that certain lords, thereto appointed and sworn, for the honour of God and the good of the king and the kingdom should have the governance of his council, and of the realm and beyond, for one whole year, the which governance has been and still is greatly disturbed by Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, faithless justice, and Nicholas Bramber, faithless knight of London, faithless and treacherous all, and each of them traitor to the king and the realm, who falsely and traitorously have carried off the king, and by their tendentious advice and contrivance have led his honourable person into divers parts remote from his council, to the disparagement of the king and of his kingdom, and have falsely advised him against his oath to do various things to the disheritance and dismemberment of his crown, to the point of losing his inheritance overseas to the great shame and destruction of the whole realm, and have falsely caused various dissensions between our said lord the king and the lords of his council, so that some of them were in fear and peril of their lives, as we have in part shown to our very redoubtable lord the king by the very reverend father in God the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of York, the bishops of Winchester and Ely, and divers other great lords of the realm,<sup>1</sup> and shall show more, if it please God, unto all the realm, and we have come together to redress those things and henceforth to correct them, and duly to punish the aforesaid traitors as the law provides.

We therefore require and charge you, by virtue of your allegiance, that you make full proclamation throughout the city that our intent is none other than for the honour, profit, and salvation of the king and the kingdom, and of all his loyal lieges, and that you

Nov. The letter shown to the bishop of Worcester on 19 Dec. may have been the same or a similar text: R. G. Davies, 'Register of Henry de Wakefield', pp. 550, 556.

<sup>1</sup> An assertion which supports Knighton's previous reference to such an exchange: see above, p. 404 n. 2.

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confortanz oue tote uostre deuoire et poiare, nient fauorantz ne en eydantz as traytours auantditz, ne a nuly de eaux sicome uous uoillez le honour de Dieu et du roy et du realme, et la saluacion de uostre cytee auantdite. Ceo ne lessez come uous uoillez eschuere le perille gent purra auener<sup>a</sup> en temps auener, et qe uous nous certifyez de uostre entente dez cestez matyrez yceo Vendredy en tote manere.

*Nuncii missi a rege ad ducem et socios suos.* Die Veneris proxima sequente uenerunt archiepiscopus Cantuariensis et cancellarius, episcopus Elyensis, et alii domini quibus iussum est nuncium hoc facere, missi a latere regis<sup>1</sup> querentes ducem et comites; et tandem inuenerunt eos, et salutatis utrisque, fertur tam ducem et comites quam archiepiscopum et socios suos fidem facere ad crucem archiepiscopi Cantuariensis causam incumbentem non remittere donec finem congruum et communitati regni utilem inde quandocunque optinerent, et ad hoc omnia bona sua usque ad ultimum denarium se exposituros promittebant, ac etiam si exigencia temporis idem expeteret corpora sua usque ad mortis periculum prodire non formidarent. Et si aliquis eorum ab hac uita uel plures ab hac uita discederent, reliqui uiuentes bonis eorum et catallis gauderent in communi donec commune negocium ad finem congruum perducerent.

Preterea archiepiscopus et socii sui negocium aduentus eorum eis declarantes, et inde qualiter et quomodo in accessu suo ad regem sub humillimo uultu et gestu se haberent mutuo consulerunt. Ventumque est ad consensum ut ad regem se offerant Dominica sequente presentiam et se erga regem de malencolia erga eos concepta integre et plenarie excusarent, et causam grauaminis sui contra quinque seductores regis et proditores regni plenius exponerent, et remedium inde secundum leges regni ab eo peterent / effectualiter assequendum.

fo. 211<sup>r</sup>

Dominica igitur sequenti uenit rex in aulam Westmonasterii et sedit in solio regali<sup>2</sup> et tota domus erat repleta dominis magnatibus et communibus. Et rex exspectabat eorum aduentum quasi per spacium fere duarum horarum. Nam relatum erat duci et comitibus quod insidie posite essent per uiam apud le Mewes et in hospicio archiepiscopi Eboracensis ut eos raperent.<sup>3</sup> Et ideo lustratis hiis et aliis locis

<sup>a</sup> a interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> *Westm. Chron.*, p. 212, says that the delegation was sent after a council on 14 Nov. See above, p. 404 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> The king was literally on his dignity (see also *Walsingham*, ii, 165–6), but the drama of the confrontation was impaired by the Appellants' late arrival: see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 26–7.

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should aid and support us with all your duty and power, not favouring nor assisting the aforesaid traitors or any of them, as you wish to honour God, and the king, and the realm, and desire the salvation of your aforesaid city. Fail not therein, as you would avoid the perils that otherwise are like to come upon you in the future, and certify your intent in these matters to us fully upon this coming Friday [15 Nov. 1387].

*Envoys sent by the king to the duke and his companions.* On the Friday next following [15 Nov. 1387] there came the archbishop of Canterbury and the chancellor, the bishop of Ely, and other lords, sent on the king's behalf,<sup>1</sup> to convey his complaint against the duke and the earls. And when they had found them, and exchanged greetings, it is reported that both the duke and the earls, and the archbishop and his companions, took an oath upon the archbishop's cross not to abandon the cause which they had taken up until they had ensured a fitting outcome, which would be beneficial to the community of the realm. And to that end they pledged themselves to lay out all their possessions, to the uttermost penny, and even, if the needs of the moment demanded it, not to shrink from putting their bodies to the danger of death. And if any one or more of them were to be reft from this life, those remaining would enjoy their goods and chattels in common until they had brought their business to a proper end.

And then the archbishop and his companions declared to them the reason for their coming, and then they discussed together how and in what manner they would make their approach, with humble face and mien, to the king. And they came to the conclusion that they would present themselves to the king on the following Sunday [17 Nov. 1387], and that they would wholly and fully exonerate themselves from the bitterness that the king had entertained towards them, and would more fully expound their complaint against the five seducers of the king and traitors to the kingdom, and beseech him to provide a remedy thereto according to the laws of the realm.

On the following Sunday [17 Nov. 1387], therefore, the king came into Westminster Hall, and sat upon the throne,<sup>2</sup> and the whole place was filled with lords and commons, and the king awaited their coming for almost two hours. For the duke and the earls had been told that an ambush had been laid by the Mews at Charing Cross and in the archbishop of York's house, to seize them,<sup>3</sup> and therefore having examined

<sup>3</sup> The ambush was allegedly proposed by Thomas Trivet: *Westm. Chron.*, p. 212. The archbishop's mansion was at York Place. For the mews, see *King's Works*, i. 550–1.

1387 suspectis tandem uenerunt ad presenciam regis, comitantibus illos multis dominis magnatibus et communibus.

Cumque intrassent in atrium uidentes regem, flexis genibus salutauerunt eum. Et cum uenissent<sup>a</sup> ad pedem graduum iterum genuflexo adorauerunt eum. At ille innuit eis manu ut accederent. Tunc ascenderunt summum graduum, et tunc tercio genuflexo salutauerunt regem. Rex uero reuerenter assurrexit eis et singulis manu ad manum receptis ut moris erat illo tempore in aduentu amici ad amicum, iterum residebat.

Tunc illi se integraliter excusabant erga regem et personam regis nichil mali ymaginasse uel excogitasse, causamque grauaminis sui erga quinque proditores regi referebant et in scriptis indentatis plenarie de materia regi tradiderunt. Inde rex puplice promisit eis quod faceret illos quinque comparere in proximo parlamento sequenti et stare iudicio legum regni, et prefixit eis diem parlamenti, et uocatur parlamentum istud 'parlamentum sine misericordia' nec alicui misericordiam faceret sine consensu dominorum.<sup>1</sup> Et surgens adduxit eos secum in cameram, et biberunt cum eo et sic discesserunt.

Preterea die Martis sequenti, uidelicet .xiiij. kalendas Decembris, precepit rex fieri proclamacionem per mediam ciuitatis Londoniensis in excusacionem ducis Gloucestrie, et sociorum eius comitum de Arundelle et Warwychie sub hoc sensu, licet non plena forma uerborum:<sup>2</sup>

*Proclamacio.*

Ricardus rex etcetera. Notum facimus omnibus legiis et fidelibus nostris per totum regnum nostrum Anglie dispersis quod cum Thomas, dux Gloucestrie, Ricardus, comes de Arundelle, Thomas, comes Warwychie, diffamati fuerint per quosdam nostrorum secretorum fuisse proditores nobis et regno nostro, qui ueritatem minus bene sapiebant, nos igitur ut decuit causam huius diffamacionis cum summa deliberacione et diligencia non modica librantes, et diligentissime pro posse nostro ueritatem sub omni integritate consilii nostri ad plenum inuestigantes, nichil in eis inuenimus actum quod suspicionis neuo uel euidentie scripulo foret dignum. Vnde

<sup>a</sup> uenisset *T*

<sup>1</sup> For the proceedings, see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 212–14; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 27; Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 118. Gloucester probably intended to pursue the cause in his own court of chivalry, as constable, but the king deflected it into Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> This seems to be a fuller version of an undated privy seal writ, in French, registered in

1387 those and other suspect places they at last came to the king's presence, with a great crowd of magnates and commons accompanying them.

And when they came into the porch they saw the king, and saluted him on bended knee, and when they came to the foot of the steps they again knelt down, and revered him. And he beckoned them with his hand to come up, and so they ascended to the top step, and for a third time knelt and saluted him. And the king solemnly arose to them, and one by one gave them his hand, as was the custom then amongst friends, and then he resumed his seat.

And then together they disclaimed any evil intention towards or design upon the king or his person, and referred to their complaints against the five betrayers of the king, and delivered a fuller account to the king in indented documents. Whereupon the king openly promised them that he would cause the five to appear in in the next parliament, and stand to judgement according to the laws of the realm, and he appointed a day for the parliament, which was subsequently called the Merciless Parliament, for mercy was extended to none without the consent of the lords.<sup>1</sup> And then he rose and took the lords with him to his chamber, and they drank with him, and so departed.

And further, on the following Tuesday, the thirteenth day before the Kalends of December [19 Nov. 1387], the king caused a proclamation to be made in the city of London in exoneration of the duke of Gloucester and his companions, the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to the following effect, though this is not the full text.<sup>2</sup>

*A proclamation.*

Richard, king, etc. We give notice to all our liege and faithful men, throughout our realm of England, that whereas Thomas, duke of Gloucester, Richard, earl of Arundel, and Thomas, earl of Warwick, were defamed by some of our counsellors as traitors to us and to our kingdom, which they well knew to be untrue, and we having given, as we ought, the most careful thought to the basis of that defamation, weighing the truth most scrupulously and carefully to the best of our powers, and with all that our council has been able to discover, have found nothing that they have done which warrants the least suspicion or is worthy of doubt, wherefore

Letter-book H (fo. 223<sup>v</sup>) at the Guildhall, which begins 'Soit fait ouerte proclamacion', and says, without referring to any slander of the Appellants, that the king has taken both groups into his protection. The entry precedes a copy of the king's letter summoning the mayor and aldermen to Windsor on 1 Dec. (dated 28 Nov. 1387), and is thus consistent with Knighton's date. See *Cal. Letterbook H*, pp. 320–1.

predictam diffamacionem falsam, iniquam, reprobam, et omni ueritate uacuam integraliter decreuimus declarare, ipsosque ducem et comites bone fame dignos esse, et omni suspicione hesitationis / innocuos fore testificamur et in quantum in nobis est et possumus sic esse approbamus, predictosque ducem et comites in nostram specialem protectionem deinceps acceptamus.

Insuper et diffamatores eorundem prout suscepimus, uolumus omnibus innotescere per presentes, dominus Alexander, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus Ver, dux Hibernie, Michael, comes de Suthfolc, Robertus Tressylyen, iusticiarius, Nicholaus Brembulle, miles de Londoniis, quos utique usque ad proximum parliamentum nostrum in quo habent hiis et aliis sibi obiciendis respondere, suscipimus in nostram protectionem.

Precipimus insuper ne quis pretextu pretactorum ut supradictum est istis, uel pre antedictis dominis, palam uel occulte, uerbo uel opere, aliquid molestie uel grauamini seu obsequii inferat, usque ad tempus prefixum parliamenti nostri.

Interim quidam istorum nephandorum predonum accesserunt ad regem ingenti audacia, dicentes se in maximo uacillo uite et mortis, non pro se sed pro regis comodo positos erga magnates et dominos regni, cum rex promississet se producturos eos et alios in proximo parlamento tam prope prefixo, quia illud fieri non posset cum honore regis pro cuius amore talia pericula subire deberent. Nam dicebant se non audere, nec posse, nec uelle exponere corpora sua ad tam euidentes mortis metas. Rex ista considerans retraxit se a consilio suo quod tunc Londoniis assignatum erat pro parlamento, et hiis que ad parliamentum necessitanter preuidendis. Sicque consilium istud cum proposito habendi parliamentum dilatum est et quassatum.<sup>1</sup>

*Fugiunt a rege.* Interea predones isti a latere regis cum maximo pauore recesserunt et in diuersas partes fugerunt. Alexander Eboracensis relicto cariagio et omnibus aliis bonis suis, cum paucis uiris in forma simplicis sacerdotis ut dicebatur partes boriales quam magna festinatione peciit.<sup>2</sup>

*Dux fugit.* Robertus Veere, dux Hibernie, ut fertur, cum arcu et sagittis in pharetra in forma ualetti cum quinque aliis ualettis simili

<sup>1</sup> See *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 216–18; Richard may have changed his mind more than once.

<sup>2</sup> On Neville's movements, see 'Inventory of the goods of Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, 1388', *YAJ* xv (1898–1900), 476–85; and G. S. Haslop, 'Two entries from the register of John de Shirburne, abbot of Selby, 1369–1408', *YAJ* xli (1963–6), 287–92. There is

we declare the said defamation to be false, iniquitous, unworthy, and entirely void of all truth, and affirm the duke and the earls to be worthy of good fame, and free of all suspicion or doubt, and so far as it is in our power and we can we do approve them, and have taken the said duke and the earls henceforth into our special protection.

Moreover, as we wish it to be known to all by these presents, we have also taken those who defamed them, and especially Sir Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, justice, and Nicholas Brembre, knight of London, into our protection until our next parliament, in which they have to answer those and other accusations raised against them.

We order further that none shall, upon pretext of the aforementioned matters, as aforesaid, offer to them or to the aforementioned lords, openly or secretly, by word or deed, any harm or threat, or particular service, down to the time appointed for the said parliament.

In the mean time some of those wicked predators went to the king, with extreme audacity, saying that they were in great fear of death, not for their own sakes but for the good of the king, set as they were against the magnates and lords of the realm, for the king had promised to produce them and others in the next parliament, which was imminent, which would not do honour to the king, for the love of whom they would have to undergo such dangers, for they said they did not dare, nor did they wish nor were able to expose themselves to such eminent danger of death. The king, upon considering what they had said, withdrew himself from his council, which had been convened in London for the parliament, to consider the matters which had to be arranged for parliament, so that the council, and with it the business of summoning parliament, was delayed and quashed.<sup>1</sup>

*They fly from the king.* In the mean time the predators withdrew with great alarm from the king's side, and fled to various places. Alexander, archbishop of York, having abandoned his baggage train and the rest of his goods, made for the north in great haste, with a few attendants, and disguised, it was said, as a simple priest.<sup>2</sup>

*The duke flees.* Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, disguised as a soldier, it was said, with a bow and a quiver of arrows, and with five a general account of his career in R. G. Davies, 'Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, 1374–88', *YAJ* xlvii (1975), 87–101.



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scemate Cestrie fugit.<sup>1</sup> Michael de Pole comes de Suthfolk Caleciam peciit, et ut dicebatur barbam et capud a capillis per rasuram denudauit simulans se Flandricum pultarium cum caponibus in calatho, id est "a paynere," cum quibus accessit ad portas castelli Calesie quasi uolens in castello uendere capones suos. Cuius causa erat quia frater dicti Michaelis scilicet Iohannes de Pole capitaneus fuit eodem tempore predicti castelli. Set precognitus a quibusdam, captus est per Willelmum Bewchaump capitaneum Calesie qui statim absque mora reduxit eum ad regem Londonias.

fo. 212<sup>r</sup>

Ob quam causam rex motus est contra Willelmum Bewchamp et misit eum in custodiam. Set postea quorundam ductus consilio di/misit eum, ne uideretur id fieri ob causam quia noluit liberare uillam Calesie ad iussum regis, ut premittitur. Et Michael de Pole licencia regis abiit uiam suam uersus partes de Holle.<sup>2</sup>

Igitur rex uiduatus a consortio suorum auricularium, et precipue ducis Hibernie, grauter tulit, nec diu potuit sustinere, set cito misit ad ducem, ut se festinaret ad eum.<sup>3</sup> Misitque ad Thomam Molyneus<sup>4</sup> qui magne potestatis erat illo tempore in comitatibus Lancastrie et Cestrie, et ad uiccomitem Cestrie sub secreto sigillo, rogans et misit eis eciam commissionem, precipiens ut populum congregarent, et consanguineum regis et amicum specialissimum conducerent sub omni securitate ad regis presenciam, pro labore uel expensis nullatenus omittens.

*Congregacio populi pro duce Hibernie.* Tunc iste Thomas Molens congregauit populos ex omni parte, et ut fertur qui noluerunt secum ire pro zelo ducis Gloucestrie et sociorum eius, mancipauit eos in carcerem precipiens custodibus eos uinculis artari, et ut eos uno die parco pane nigro alerent, et altero die tanquam penitus mortis crudelitati adductos sola aqua contentos facerent, donec de uiagio rediret. Mandauit quoque rex dominum Radulfum Vernone, et dominum Radulfum de Radecllyffe, et omnibus aliis magnatibus patrie ut assumpta fortitudine ducem regi saluo transducerent. Qui collecta multitudine circiter quinque milia uirorum ire coeperunt.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> *Interlined by scribe*

<sup>1</sup> De Vere had been chief justice of Chester since 8 Sept. 1387, and of North Wales since 10 Oct., see *CP* x. 229. He had evidently made Chester his headquarters: *ibid.*, note f. See also below, n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> J. J. N. Palmer has argued cogently (*England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 110–16) against accepting this widely-recounted story at its face value, and suggests that de la Pole went to Calais in secret in the hope of raising troops. His eventual escape, after Radcot Bridge, took him to France by way of Hull, chickenless, but with a shipload of valuables.

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others similarly attired, fled in the same way to Chester.<sup>1</sup> Michael de la Pole went to Calais, and was said to have shaved off his hair and beard, and dressed as a Flemish poulterer, with chickens in a basket (that is to say, a pannier), and went up to the gates of Calais castle as though to sell his chickens there. The reason was that his brother, namely John de la Pole, was at that time keeper of the castle, but having been recognized the said Michael was arrested by William Beauchamp, the captain of Calais, who at once returned him to the king in London.

Wherefore the king turned against William Beauchamp, and had him imprisoned, but subsequently, on the advice of some of the council, released him lest it should seem to have been done because he was unwilling to surrender Calais on the king's orders, as has been explained. And Michael de la Pole, with the king's permission, made his way towards Hull.<sup>2</sup>

Therefore the king, deprived of the company of his intimates, and especially of the duke of Ireland, was sadly cast down, and unable to bear their absence sent urgently to the duke to hasten to him,<sup>3</sup> and wrote under the privy seal to Thomas Molineux,<sup>4</sup> who had great power at that time in the counties of Lancaster and Chester, and to the sheriff of Chester, and sent them a commission to gather their people, and with every safeguard to convey the king's kinsman and most particular friend to the king's presence, sparing neither trouble nor expense.

*Forces gathered for the duke of Ireland.* Then Thomas Molyneux gathered people from all parts, and it is said that he threw into prison those who did not wish to go with him because they sympathized with the duke of Gloucester and his allies, and ordered the gaolers to bind them with chains, and give them on one day only a morsel of black bread, and on another, till they were brought to the cruel point of death, only water, until he returned from his expedition. And the king also ordered Sir Ralph Vernon, and Sir Ralph Radcliffe, and all the other great men of the county, to gather their forces to bring the duke safely to the king. And having collected a force of some 5,000 men they set off.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> See above, n. 1. De Vere's appointments at Chester were made to consolidate the king's gains there during the summer. Nothing is less likely than that he fled to Chester for safety, and was then urged by the king to raise troops and return.

<sup>4</sup> Molineux was constable of Chester castle, and deputy-justice of Chester: *Tout, Chapters*, iii. 427; J. L. Gillespie, 'Thomas Mortimer and Thomas Molineux: Radcot Bridge and the appeal of 1397', *Albion*, vii (1975), 161–73, at pp. 165, 169–70.

<sup>5</sup> Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 214, remarks that the Cheshire levies were not an effective substitute for such retainers as the Appellants commanded, and that Richard's efforts in the summer to recruit followers were belated and inadequate.

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Quo audito dux Gloucestrie, comes Derbey,<sup>1</sup> comes de Arundelle, comes Warwychie, comes de Notyngham, miserunt in omnes partes regni congregare populum suum. Tunc uideres ex omni parte regni tam maiores quam minores cateruatim sub omni celeritate festinare ad eos nulla occupacione impediende. Factique sunt quasi una persona maiores et minores plebei et comines contra antedictos regni predones, clamantes et dicentes, 'Deleantur de uita ne honor egregius Anglicane gentis per tales proditores uidetur'.

Videres quoque oraciones mirabili aspiracione incessanter ab omnibus domi remanentibus fundi, processiones ab ecclesia deuotissime frequentari, et tam senes quam iuuenes ac mulieres quasi lacrimabili uoce pro pace et tranquillitate regni Cristi aures solite personare. Timebant etenim ne rex brachium auxilii sui pro duce Hibernie opponeret contra dominos et comines. Quod et ante ut supra patet fecit per commissiones, et postmodum multiplici iuuamine pro suo posse faceret, si se in illo proposito prodesse ullatenus uideret. Nam uoluntas Londoniensium stetit cum dominis et cominibus ut supra notatum est.<sup>2</sup>

*Dux uenit ad pontem de Radcote.* Denique Robertus Ver dux Hibernie cum omni populi suo, numero quasi inter quatuor et quinque milia pugnatorum, uenit in uigilia Sancti Thome apostoli in comitatum Oxonie tendens iter uersus pontem de Radcote, que distat ab Schepying Nortone per .iiij. leucas.<sup>3</sup> / Quem pontem si forte pertransisset securus ab omni timore fuisset de omnibus inimicis suis, set interceptus est a proposito suo. Nam comes Derbey posuerat custodes ad capud pontis uiros armatos et sagittarios qui transitum duci prohibuerunt, et pauimentum pontis interruperunt in tribus locis, adeo quod non potuit nisi solus equus simul pertransire, ac eciam pro maiori securitate pontem in tribus locis pessulis munierunt.

Cumque dux Hibernie sic festinaret iter suum uersus pontem predictum, non longe prospexit Henricum comitem Derbey cum grandi caterua stipatum ueloci gressu proximare. Statim pedem fixit, uexillum regis quod ibi paratum habuerat expandere iussit, et super lanceam erigere, alacri uultu et quasi leto animo fecit tubis clangere,

<sup>1</sup> The adherence of Derby, promoted here by Knighton to second place amongst them, was a notable addition to the Appellants' strength. Time proved him a calculating man, whose 'acts as king can only be understood fully in the light of his scheming youth': K. B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> For the lords' assessment of their situation, see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 29–30. The presence of the king in London, with ready access to France, probably made him seem more formidable than he was in fact.

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Hearing of which, the duke of Gloucester, the earl of Derby,<sup>1</sup> the earl of Arundel, the earl of Warwick, and the earl of Nottingham sent to every part of the realm to assemble their own forces. Then you would have seen greater and lesser men from all quarters of the kingdom hastening to them in companies, allowing no other business to impede them. And the greater and the lesser sort of the people and the commons were made as it were one against the aforesaid plunderers of the realm, crying and exclaiming 'Let them be swept away, lest the unsullied honour of the English people be impaired by such traitors'.

You might also have witnessed prayers of the most admirable intent raised incessantly by those who remained at home, and processions from church most devoutly attended; and both old men, and youths and women made Christ's ears resound with their tearful voices pleading for peace and tranquillity in the kingdom. For they feared that the king would stretch out his arm against the lords and commons to assist the duke of Ireland, as he had already done, as we have seen, by his commissions, and was likely to do again, in any way, and with all his strength, if it seemed that it would advance his cause. For the Londoners were siding with the lords and commons, as has been said above.<sup>2</sup>

*The duke comes to Radcot Bridge.* Then Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, with all his followers, amounting to some 4,000 or 5,000 men, came on into Oxfordshire, on the eve [20 Dec. 1387] of St Thomas the Apostle, making for Radcot Bridge, which is about four leagues from Chipping Norton.<sup>3</sup> If he had been able to cross the bridge it would have kept him safe from his enemies, but his plan was frustrated. For Henry, earl of Derby, had posted men-at-arms and archers at the bridge to bar the duke's way, and they broke the roadway of the bridge in three places, so that only a single horseman could cross at one time, and for greater security they had also put three barriers across the bridge.

When, therefore, the duke of Ireland was hurrying towards the bridge, he saw the earl of Derby not far off, coming fast towards him with a large body of soldiers. At once he stood his ground, ordered the king's banner, which he had ready, to be unfurled and raised upon a lance, and with an eager face and light-hearted mien ordered the

<sup>3</sup> J. N. L. Myres, 'The campaign of Radcot Bridge in Dec. 1387', *EHR* xlii (1927), 20–33, is a masterly review of the chronicle and record evidence of the event. See also Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 30–1. Knighton's account naturally emphasizes Derby's role, but it is interesting that he is unable entirely to suppress some admiration for de Vere.

1387 aliisque instrumentis musicis in altum concrepare, et iocunda uoce hortabatur suos paratos esse ad pugnam imminentem. Quidam uero ex eis pugnare uolebant, set quidam renuerunt, dicentes se non posse quia numero pauci respectu aduersariorum, nec audere offendere certamine contra tot dominos et nobiliores tocius regni, nec uelle se tanto periculo mortis quoquomodo inmiscere ex iniusta causa.

Dux Hibernie hec considerans, urgens equum semper antecedebat omnes festinato pede proposuit primus pontem pertransire et sequebantur eum populi sui. Cumque tendisset ad pauimentum pontis et uidisset illud sic fractum et armata manu sic munitum, clamauit, 'Decepti sumus'. Et rediens exiuit de equo in quo sedebat, ascendit alium cursarium uolens effugere aduersarios per ripam fluminis Thamesie.

Et ecce occurrebat ex aduerso dux Glouernie cum caterua sua multa nimis. Et dux Hibernie sic inclusus ex una parte de aqua Thamesie et ex parte altera ab aduersariis suis undique, et comes Derbye prope aderat ad capiendum eum, commisit se fortune uite uel mortis. Et calcaribus urgens equum, reiectis a se sirotecis suis et gladio et aliis que equum suum a grauitate forsan expediciorem redderent, inmisit se in aquam Thamesie, et sic mirabili ausu euasit ab eis.

Thomas Moleyns uolens eum sequi, retractus est per dominum Thomam Mortymer, a quo et interemptus est.<sup>1</sup> Quidam frater de ordine Minorum, confessor eiusdem ducis, ibidem in quodam pallude submersus est.<sup>2</sup> Cuius equus saluatus est et captus. Cuius famulus captus est, in cuius mantica reppererunt octingentas libras de nobilis auri exceptis / obolis et quadrantibus, ut dicebatur. Fertur in eodem pallude circiter octingentos uiros submersos fuisse de populo dicti ducis, scilicet de uiris comitatus Cestrie<sup>a</sup> et Lancastrie. Captus est eciam ut dicitur unus equus dicti ducis onustos cum .iiij. milia libris auri, et hec retinuerunt sibi in expensas populi sui.

fo. 213<sup>r</sup>

Quatuor dicti domini quoque curru ceperunt bene onustos cum preciosis uasis aureis, argenteis aliisque uestualibus, lectualibus, mensalibus, utensilibus, aliisque bonis necessariis, que omnia nostri domini sibi et suis reseruabant.<sup>3</sup> Insuper et nostri homines irruerunt in reliquum uulgu et inuaserunt eos tanquam hostes pupplicos, Cistrenses, Lancastrienses, Wallenses quos quasi omnes suppresserunt, nudauerunt, et armis arcubus et sagittis equis, auro argento et

<sup>a</sup> Interlined, and Leyc' cancelled, by scribe

trumpets and other musical instruments to sound, and with a cheerful voice exhorted his men to prepare for instant battle. But whilst some of them were ready to fight, others refused, saying that they were too few in comparison with the enemy, nor dared they affront so many of the lords and nobles of the whole realm, nor would they put themselves in such danger of death for the sake of an unjust cause.

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The duke of Ireland hearing that, urged his horse on at the head of his force, intending to lead them across the bridge, and they followed him, but when he came to the bridge and saw that the surface was broken and the way barred he cried out 'We have been fooled', and turned about, sprang down from the horse which he was riding, and mounted another, a swift horse on which he hoped to escape from his enemies along the bank of the Thames.

And suddenly the duke of Gloucester came upon him with a large company, and the duke of Ireland, thus trapped between the water of Thames on the one hand and his enemies everywhere on the other, and the earl of Derby about to seize him, gambled on life or death, and spurring his horse, cast off his gauntlets and his sword, and anything else that would weigh down and impede his horse, and plunged into the Thames, and thus escaped with wonderful daring.

Thomas Moleyneux, trying to follow him, was held back by Sir Thomas Mortimer, by whom he was slain.<sup>1</sup> A certain friar of the Franciscan order, who was the duke's confessor, was drowned in a marsh there,<sup>2</sup> but his horse and his servant were saved, and captured, and it was said that his knapsack contained £800 in gold nobles, besides halfpennies and farthings. It was reported that eight hundred of the duke's followers, that is, men of the counties of Chester and Lancaster, were drowned in that same marsh. It was also said that a horse of the duke's was taken carrying £4,000 of gold, which [the lords] kept for their people's expenses.

The said four lords took a baggage cart heavily laden with gold and silver plate, clothing, bedding, tableware and other utensils, and other supplies, all which our lords kept for themselves and their men.<sup>3</sup> And further our men fell upon the rest of the crowd of men of Chester, Lancastrians, and Welshmen, and attacked them as public enemies, and caught almost every one, and shamelessly stripped and spoiled

<sup>1</sup> Mortimer was an illegitimate son of the 2nd earl of March: J. L. Gillespie, 'Thomas Mortimer and Thomas Molineux', pp. 163-4.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Roughton, OFM: he survived. See Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 178.

<sup>3</sup> The repeated expression *domini nostri* suggests the use of a newsletter or some personal communication.

1387 uestibus usque ad uerecundiam nuditatem inuerecunde spoliauerunt, et sic egentes angustiatis afflictos fame frigore et nuditate, inanes et miseros, illos in propriam patriam absque uerbere uel uulnere illesos remiserunt. Nam non occurrit plures ibi interfectos fuisse quam Thomam Molyners et unum ualettum et unum puerum, quam plures tamen propria stulticia ut antedictum est submersos fuisse.

Igitur nostri domini antedicti, sic a capcione ducis Hibernie Roberti Veere dolenter frustati, redierunt apud Oxoniam, ibique inierunt consilium de suis negociis agendis. Inde progressi sunt ad Sanctum Albanum, et ibi moram traxerunt uigilia Natalis Domini et die cum populo suo.

*Domini ueniunt Londoniis.* Die Sancti Stephani iter dirigunt uersus Londonias et ibi se monstraerunt coram ciuitate in campo prope Clerkunwelle, cum delectabili et incredibili armata manu ordinatique sunt in tribus aciebus fulgentibus, unde resplenduit aer a claritate refulgoris armorum. Et miserunt in ciuitatem duos milites et alios scutiferos ad maiorem et alios potenciores, ut uenirent ad nostros dominos antedictos ad certiorandum eos utrum uellent stare cum eis et cum communibus regni, (uel)<sup>a</sup> cum duce Hibernie et proditoribus regis et regni.

Venit igitur maior nomine Nicholaus de Extone cum maioribus ciuitatis, et traditis clauibus portarum ciuitatis submiserunt se illis, et obtulerunt eis ingressum cum omnibus gentibus suis.<sup>1</sup> At illi miserunt duos milites cum aliis scutiferis ad explorandum ne forte insidie occulte laterent in aliquibuscumque municionibus ad expugnacionem eorum; et cognita ueritatis securitate intrauerunt cum omnibus suis in Londonias et manserunt ibi.

Interim conuentum est inter regem et nostros dominos ut nostri domini uenirent ad colloquium regis apud Turrim tunc degentis.<sup>2</sup> Quod et factum est. Nam die Veneris sequente<sup>3</sup> uenerunt ad regem, sedentem in papilione apud Turrim in quadam uinea, regaliter cum indumentis aureis strata, set non est pretereundum quod rex misit eis clauis por/tarum et omnium municionum Turris ante ingressum eorum. At illi miserunt milites et scutiferos qui lustrarent omnes municiones propter<sup>b</sup> occultas insidias.

Et sic tandem cum securitate intrauerunt Thomas de Wodestoke,

<sup>a</sup> Blank in T

<sup>b</sup> Added in margin by a later hand: preter T

<sup>1</sup> The Londoners were at least unanimous in wishing to avoid the sacking of the city: Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 92.

1387 them of everything, arms, bows and arrows, horses, gold, silver, and their clothes down to their skins. And thus penniless and needy, afflicted by hunger and cold, naked, empty-handed, and wretched they were dismissed to their own parts, but without blows or wounds, for few of them were slain save for Thomas Molineux, and a servant, and a boy, although many were, as has been said, drowned through their own folly.

Therefore our aforesaid lords, sadly prevented from seizing the duke of Ireland, returned to Oxford, where they met to discuss what they had to do. Thence they travelled to St Albans, and spent Christmas Eve and Christmas Day there with their followers.

*The lords come to London.* On St Stephen's day [26 Dec. 1387] they moved towards London, and presented themselves before the city near Clerkenwell, in a splendid and amazing array, drawn up in three shining battalions, the day bright with the blaze of their arms, and they sent two knights and some esquires into the city to the mayor and other leading men, asking them to come out and tell our aforesaid lords whether they were willing to stand with them, and with the commons of the realm, or with the duke of Ireland and those who had betrayed the king and the kingdom.

Whereupon the mayor, whose name was Nicholas Exton, came with the greater men of the city, and having delivered up the keys of the city gates they submitted themselves to them, and gave them entry with all their followers.<sup>1</sup> And they sent two knights with some squires to reconnoitre and make sure that no armed traps had been laid to take them, and when they were sure that all was safe they entered London with all their men, and stayed there.

In the mean time it had been agreed between the king and our lords, that our lords should go to a meeting with the king in the Tower.<sup>2</sup> Which was done: for on the following Friday [27 Dec. 1387]<sup>3</sup> they came to the king who was seated in a vineyard there, in a tent royally arrayed with hangings. But it is noteworthy that before they came the king sent them the keys to the gates and to the armouries in the Tower, and they sent knights and squires to search all the armouries for hidden ambushes.

And so at last Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Henry, earl

<sup>2</sup> Richard withdrew from Windsor after Radcot Bridge, and kept Christmas in the Tower: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 220, 224. The expression *domini nostri* again suggests a source from the Appellants' camp.

<sup>3</sup> *Westm. Chron.*, p. 227, says 30 Dec., after a meeting at Guildhall, the lords having entered the city on 27 Dec.

1387 dux Glouernie, Henricus, comes Derbeye, Ricardus, comes de Arundelle, Thomas, comes de Warwyke, Thomas, comes de Notyngham, traditis prius clauibus quibusdam uiris securioribus de suis, qui custodirent portas dum ipsi inibi essent, omni comitatu armatorum cum reliquo uulgo foras extra Turrim in loco plano exspectante.<sup>1</sup> Cumque isti quinque domini uenissent amplexatis mutuo brachiis coram rege, eo ut decebat salutato, breuiter de negocio suo eum allocuti, at rex concessit se uelle fauere uotis eorum. Et surgens duxit eos secum in cameram suam, ubi prolixè tractabant mutuo de negociis eorum, et rex uidens iminencia pericula, fauebat petitioni eorum.<sup>2</sup>

At illi petebant a rege quod omnes de curia regis qui de prodicione et falsitate suspecti habebantur, caperentur et mitterentur singuli in singulis custodiis castrorum regni. Et annuit rex petitioni eorum; quod factum est, ut infra patebit. Interim comes Derbeye alexit regem murum Turris petere, et populum congregatum pro saluacione regis et regni aspicere. Quem cum rex uidisset mirabatur de tanta tamque preclara multitudine et fortitudine in regno suo. At dux Glouernie hic inquit, 'Populus non est decima pars populi uolencium nobiscum accedere ad destruendum et exterminandum falsos proditores regis et regni eius.'

Et talibus sermonibus mulcebant animum regis. At rex rogabat quinque dominos secum cenare et pernoctare. Set dux Glouernie uolens securius se et socios suos habere excusabat se, dicens ne forte eorum populi, in tali absencia eorum, male se haberent inter se aut erga ciues ciuitatis, et ideo se non posse ab eis quomodocumque pernoctare. Set instante rege comites Derbeye et Notynghammye cum rege et regina ea nocte demorati sunt.<sup>3</sup>

1388 *Nomina eorum qui deputati sunt in custodiam usque ad parliamentum.* Denique rex Ricardus ad instanciam predictorum dominorum iussit suspectos de curia et familia sua mitti ad diuersa loca regni, ut infra notatum est, custodiendos in proximo parlamento pro suis demeritis responsuros, scilicet <sup>a</sup>dominus Symon<sup>a</sup> de Burle, dominus Willelmus Elman, dominus<sup>b</sup> Nicholaus Dagworth, dominus Iohannes Golofre,

<sup>a</sup> Over erasure

<sup>b</sup> Over erasure

<sup>1</sup> *Westm. Chron.*, p. 226, says that the clamour from outside the Tower caused the king and the lords to move into the chapel.

<sup>2</sup> There is reason to think that Richard was not merely threatened with deposition, but that the Appellants withdrew their allegiance from him, and then quarrelled amongst them-

of Derby, Richard, earl of Arundel, Thomas, earl of Warwick, and Thomas, earl of Nottingham, entered safely, having first handed the keys to some of their most reliable men who were to guard the gates while they were inside, their whole armed force, with its popular following, waiting outside on Tower Hill.<sup>1</sup> Meanwhile the five lords came before the king with their arms linked, paid their respects to him in a proper manner, and spoke briefly with him about their business; and the king told them that he wished to favour their cause, and rising, led them into his chamber, where they spoke at greater length of their purpose, and the king, seeing how close the danger was, agreed to do as they wished.<sup>2</sup>

And they asked the king that all the members of the court who were accused of treason and betrayal should be arrested and held each in one of the royal castles. And the king agreed to their request, and it was done, as will appear below. And in the mean time the earl of Derby had induced the king to go up on to the walls of the Tower, and had shown him the people who had joined together for the safety of the king and the kingdom. And when the king saw them he marvelled that his kingdom should contain so eminent and numerous a force, and the duke of Gloucester said, 'The numbers here are not one-tenth of those who wished to come with us to destroy and exterminate the false betrayers of the king and the kingdom.'

And by such words they appeased the king's mind, and he invited the lords to dine and spend the night with him, but the duke of Gloucester wished to see himself and his followers safe, and excused himself, saying that he feared that in their absence trouble might break out amongst their retainers, or between them and the citizens, and that he ought not to spend the night away from them. On the king's insistence, however, the earls of Derby and Nottingham stayed that night with the king and queen.<sup>3</sup>

*The names of those put in custody until the parliament.* Then King Richard, at the request of the said lords, ordered the suspects from his court and household to be sent to various places in the kingdom, as is noted below, there to be held to answer for their offences in the next parliament, namely Sir Simon Burley, Sir William Elmham, Sir Nicholas Dagworth, Sir John Golafre, who had not yet returned from

selves over what to do next: see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 32-3; and McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 18-19, 33-5.

<sup>3</sup> Derby's resentment of Gloucester's claim to the throne, which would have by-passed the house of Lancaster, may have made him more conciliatory towards Richard (Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 119), but cf. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, p. 35 and n. See also *Walsingham*, ii. 172.

1388 qui Iohannes nondum<sup>a</sup> redierat de Francia ut supradictum est, isti sunt milites.<sup>1</sup> Quidam cognomine Clyfforde et alius Slake clerici deputati sunt ad castrum de Notyngham.<sup>2</sup>

Ad castellum de Douere deputati sunt dominus Iohannes Bewchamp, dominus Thomas Tryuet, dominus Iohannes de Salusbery et alius nomine Lyncolne.<sup>3</sup> Ad castrum de Bristowe quidam Iacobus Bernyrs, quidam Medeforde clericus.<sup>4</sup> Ad castrum de Rowchestria, Alexander Neuylle, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, set ipse euaserat ut antedictum est; Michael de Pole, comes de Southfolc, qui similiter euaserat.

fo. 214<sup>r</sup> Ad castellum de Gloucestria dominus Robertus / Tresylyen, iusticiarius capitalis Anglie. Set nondum erat inuentus. Dominus Robertus<sup>b</sup> Brembyl de Londoniis, amasius regis, qui inuenit manucaptos stare iure regni.<sup>5</sup>

Isti sunt amoti de curia regis, scilicet dominus Iohannes Fortham, episcopus Dunolme, dominus le Bewmont, dominus la Sowche, dominus le Burnelle, dominus le Louele, dominus Thomas Camoys et filius domini le Clyfforde, dominus Baldewynus Berforde, episcopus Cistrensis, confessor regis, domina le Moune, domina le Ponyngus, domina le Molynews.<sup>6</sup>

*Forma ignis apparuit in multis locis.* Quedam forma in specie ignis in multis locis regni Anglie apparuit, nunc in una forma, nunc in alia, quasi singulis noctibus in diuersis tamen locis per menses Nouembris et Decembris. Et sepe quando quis solus gradiebatur, cum illo ibat, et cum stante stabat. Et quibusdam apparuit in forma rote uolubilis ardentis, aliis autem in forma barelli rotundi flammam ignis superius emittentis, aliis uero in forma longi tingni ardentis, et sic aliis in una forma, aliis uero in alia forma, per multum tempus yemis precipue in comitatibus Leycestrie et Northamptonone apparuit. Cum uero plures simul gradiebantur, non se eis approximauit, set quasi de longe eis apparuit.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Over erasure

<sup>b</sup> Cancelled by a later hand and Nicholas added in margin

<sup>1</sup> For the warrants, dated 4 Jan. 1388, see *CCR* 1385-9, pp. 394-5. Elmham was closely associated with the court, but was not a knight of the chamber. He remained loyal to Richard in 1399, but was eventually taken into Henry IV's service: see Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 164, 224-5.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Clifford was a prebendary of St Stephen's, Westminster, and Nicholas Slack an influential clerk of the chapel: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 175-6. Both survived the revolution of 1399, and Clifford became successively bishop of Worcester (1401-7), and London (1407-21): *HBC* 279, 258.

France, as has been said: those were the knights.<sup>1</sup> Some clerks, one by the name of Clifford, and another called Slack, were sent to Nottingham castle.<sup>2</sup>

To Dover castle there were sent Sir John Beauchamp, Sir Thomas Trivet, Sir John Salisbury, and another, named Lincoln.<sup>3</sup> To Bristol castle, one James Berners, and a clerk, Mitford.<sup>4</sup> To Rochester castle, Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, but he had escaped, as has been said, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had also escaped.

Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of England, was assigned to Gloucester, but had not yet been found; and Sir Nicholas Brembre of London, the king's favourite, found pledges to stand to the law of the land.<sup>5</sup>

And these were removed from the king's court: Sir John Fordham, bishop of Durham, Lord Beaumont, Lord la Zouche, Lord Burnell, Lord Lovell, Sir Thomas Camoys and Lord Clifford's son, Sir Baldwyn Barford, the bishop of Chichester, the king's confessor, Lady Mauny, Lady Poynings, and Lady Molineux.<sup>6</sup>

*A fiery shape appears in many places.* A strange kind of fire appeared in many places in the kingdom of England, now in one shape, now in another, on particular nights and in various places, throughout the months of November and December. And often if one person was travelling alone it would go with him, and when he stood still, it too would stop. To some it appeared as a rolling wheel of fire, and to others as a round tub with flames spurting from the top, to others as a long, blazing stave, and yet again to others in different forms, for much of that winter, and especially in the counties of Leicester and Northampton. And when several people were travelling together it would not come near them, but would show itself at a distance.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> John Lincoln was a clerk of the chapel and an official of the Exchequer: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, p. 176. Beauchamp, Salisbury, and Trivet were all objects of suspicion and hatred, as knights of the chamber: Given-Wilson, *ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

<sup>4</sup> Berners was a chamber knight whose influence had been resented since 1386. Richard Mitford was a king's clerk of long standing, and keeper of the signet since 1385, though unlike Berners he survived the crisis, becoming bishop of Chichester (1390-5), and Salisbury, where he died in 1407: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 162-4, 176-7.

<sup>5</sup> Brembre boldly offered to stand trial, and might have been acquitted (if Gloucester would have relinquished any of his victims) but for his enemies in the city of London: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 280-4; Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 95-6, 123-4.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Thomas Rushook, OP, was the king's confessor, and the other men were all intimates of the king. Lady Mauny was the widow of Sir Walter Mauny: Given-Wilson, *Royal Household*, pp. 164, 177-8; Tout, *Chapters*, 189 n.

<sup>7</sup> The phenomenon is attributed by Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 150, to the *aurora borealis*, but it may rather have been a localized display of static electricity, or St Elmo's fire.



*Discencio inter scolares Oxonie.* Orta est grauis discordia Oxonie inter scolares, uidelicet inter australes et Walenses ex una parte et boriales ex alia parte .iij. kalendas Maii. Et in tantum increuit illa discencio quod pro maiori parte, scolares recesserunt singuli in suas patrias, quibusdam tamen primo occisis. Quam ob causam cancellarius uniuersitatis per consilium regis in parlamento iam instante depositus est, et magister Nicholaus Brytwelle decanus Noui Operis Leycestrie per cetum uniuersitatis Oxonie eodem tempore scilicet in estate electus est.<sup>1</sup>

*Capud cere apud Oxoniam loquitur.* In precedenti .xl. factum est quoddam capud de cera, opere nigromantico ut dicebatur, quod<sup>a</sup> quidem capud tempore statuto loquendi hec tria uerba protulit et amplius loqui desiit. Ista sunt uerba: Primo 'Caput deciditur'. .2. 'Caput eleuabitur'. .3. 'Pedes eleuabuntur super capud'.<sup>2</sup>

*Parliamentum apud Westmonasterium operans mira.*<sup>3</sup> Rex Ricardus celebravit parlamentum apud Westmonasterium in crastino Purificacionis, scilicet .iij. nonas Februarii, et durauit usque pridie nonas Iunii ubi finiuit, intermissis tamen duabus ebdomadis, uidelicet a uigilia Palmarum usque in octabas Pasche.<sup>4</sup> Et quidem primo die parlamenti aretati sunt omnes iusticiarii excepto domino Willelmo Skypwith, scilicet dominus Rogerus Fulthorpe, dominus Robertus Bealnappe, dominus Iohannes Care, dominus Iohannes Holte, dominus Willelmus Borowe, Iohannes de Loctone, seruiens regis ad legem.<sup>5</sup>

Isti omnes capti sunt sedentes in officio suo iudiciali et ducti sunt apud Turrim, et separatim positi sunt in custodiam sub hac causa: in ul/timo namque precedenti parlamento commissa fuit gubernacio regis et regni, et omnium arduarum causarum emergencium, tam infra regnum Anglie quam in omni loco domini regis, ut supra plenius patet,<sup>6</sup> per comunem assensum regis et procerum cum consilio iusticiariorum legem in hac parte regulancium. Factaque inde fuit quedam indentura tripartita pro maiori securitate, cuius prima

<sup>a</sup> *Suppl. Twysden: no mark of omission in T*

<sup>1</sup> Repingdon is Knighton's most likely source on affairs at Oxford. For Rigg, who was removed, see *BRUO* 1616, and for Brightwell, *ibid.* 266–7. See also *HUO* ii. 231; and below, p. 438, n. 1.

<sup>2</sup> The head, whatsoever its accidents and substance may have been, was a descendant of the brazen head credited to Grosseteste and Roger Bacon: R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: the Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (2nd edn., Oxford, 1992), p. 75. The time was replete with portents: see *Westm. Chron.*, 234, for the Thames running dry; and below, p. 432 n. 5.

*Strife amongst the students in Oxford.* On the third of the Kalends of May [29 April 1388] a serious dispute broke out amongst the students in Oxford, namely between the southerners and the Welsh on the one hand, and the northerners on the other, and it became so intense that most of the students withdrew to their homes, after some had been killed. Whereupon the chancellor of the university was at once removed by the king's council, sitting in parliament, and Master [Thomas] Brightwell, dean of the Newarke, in Leicester, was appointed in his stead by the convocation of the university.<sup>1</sup>

*A waxen head speaks in Oxford.* In the preceding Lent [Feb.–Mar. 1388] someone made a waxen head which was said to work by magic, and which at the appointed time uttered three sentences and then spoke no more. These were its words: 'First, The head is lowered', 'Second, The head shall be raised', 'Thirdly, The feet shall be raised above the head'.<sup>2</sup>

*A parliament at Westminster which worked wonders.*<sup>3</sup> King Richard held a parliament at Westminster on the morrow of the Purification, that is to say on the third of the Nones of February [3 Feb. 1388], which continued until the eve of the Nones of June [4 June 1388], when it ended, with a fortnight's intermission from the eve of Palm Sunday to the octave of Easter [21 Mar.–12 Apr. 1388].<sup>4</sup> And on the first day of the parliament all the judges were arrested, except Sir William Skipwith, namely Sir Roger Fulthorpe, Sir Robert Bealnap, Sir John Carey, Sir John Holt, Sir William Burgh, and John Locton, king's serjeant-at-law.<sup>5</sup>

They were all seized in the courts in which they were sitting, and taken to the Tower, where they were committed to prison for the following reason. In the previous parliament the governance of the king and the kingdom, with all major matters of policy arising within the realm or elsewhere in the king's dominions, was, as appears more fully above,<sup>6</sup> put into commission by the common assent of the king and the lords, with the advice of the judges concerned with that aspect of the law. And for greater security a tripartite indenture was drawn

<sup>3</sup> The title is the work of the rubricator: Knighton has already used and glossed the term 'Merciless' for this parliament (above, p. 414). See also p. 353n.

<sup>4</sup> See *RP* iii. 228–56. The adjournment at Easter ended after the Quindene [12 April], not the Octave [5 April], of the feast: *RP* iii. 245.

<sup>5</sup> The judges' arrest at the beginning of the session might imply that the Appellants had discovered the text of the Nottingham declaration after their descent upon the household in January. They were seized by the earl of Nottingham, as earl marshal, and delivered to the Tower on 1 Feb. 1388: *CCR* 1385–9, pp. 382–3.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 372–82.

1388 pars remansit penes regem et altera penes electos gubernatores siue consiliarios antedictos, et .iiij. penes iusticiarios. Qui postea ut supra patet contrariauerunt suo decreto apud Notyngham, propterea ut infra patet perierunt.<sup>1</sup>

In principio parlamenti per plures dies secundum consuetudinem legis in parlamento dominus Robertus Veer, dux Hibernie, dominus Alexander Neuylle, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, dominus Michele de Pole, comes de Suthfolc, dominus Robertus Tressylyen, capitalis iusticiarius Anglie, uocati sunt ad respondendum domino Thome de Wodestoke, duci Glouernie, et domino Ricardo, comiti de Arundelle, et domino Thome, comiti de Warwyk, et sociis suis domino Henrico, comiti Derby, et domino (Thome),<sup>a</sup> comiti de Notyngham, super articulis supra notatis de alta prodicione regi et regno per ipsos facta.<sup>2</sup>

Qui non comparentes exlegati sunt. Statutumque est communi iudicio parlamenti, quod deinceps pro suo perpetuo non daretur eis gracia redeundi, bonaque eorum mobilia et immobilia, terre et tenementa forisfacta sunt et seysita in manus regis, tam ab hiis quam ab heredibus suis, terre tamen et tenementa que sub tallia eis prouenerant, post eorum decessum ad rectos heredes redire statuuntur.<sup>3</sup>

*Hastiludium guerrale apud Calesiam.* In presenti parlamento .iiij. milites Francie miserunt et clamauerunt .iiij. milites Anglie ad hastiludiam apud Calesiam in forma guerre. Inter quos dominus le Bewmont primo hastiludiauit cum camerario regis Francie et strenue et nobiliter se habuit. Dominica sequenti dominus Petrus de Courteneye cum suo clamatore et sic singuli cum suis clamatoribus nomine grande inde reportando.<sup>4</sup>

*Draco ardens.* Mense Aprilis draco ardens uisus est in multis locis per Angliam.<sup>5</sup>

*Lollardi adhuc increscunt.*<sup>6</sup> Adhuc hiis diebus florescunt et increscunt Wycluyiani qui et Lollardi dicti sunt et erroribus suis habundant, et inedicebiliter in eis uirescunt, nec in eis adhuc erubescunt, set tamen impetuositate clamosa aliqualicumque tabescunt, insuper

<sup>a</sup> Blank in T

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 502–4.

<sup>2</sup> The proceedings began with Gloucester disavowing any treasonable purpose against the king. The articles of the appeal were read on 3 Feb., and considered by the lords from 5 to 13 Feb. (*RP* iii. 229, 326).

<sup>3</sup> See C. D. Ross, 'Forfeiture for treason in the reign of Richard II', *EHR* lxxi (1956), 560–75. Knighton returns to the sentence below, p. 498.

<sup>4</sup> See Barker, *Tournament in England*, p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> Britton, *Met. Chron.*, p. 150. Perhaps a meteor, or the *aurora* again.

1388 up, of which the king kept one part, the lords chosen as the aforesaid commissioners another, and the third part remained with the judges, who later, as appears above, went back upon their judgement at Nottingham, and therefore perished, as will appear below.<sup>1</sup>

At the beginning of the parliament, over several days, according to the established law of parliament, Sir Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Sir Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, Sir Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Sir Robert Tresilian, chief justice of England, were summoned to answer Sir Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Sir Richard, earl of Arundel, Sir Thomas, earl of Warwick, and their associates, Sir Henry, earl of Derby, and Sir [Thomas], earl of Nottingham, upon the above-mentioned articles of the high treason committed by them upon the king and the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

And as they did not appear, they were outlawed, and it was enacted by the common judgement of parliament that henceforth and for ever they should be denied any grace to return, and their moveable and immoveable goods, and their lands and tenements should be forfeit, and taken both from them and from their heirs into the hands of the king, though it was provided that lands and tenements which had come to them under entail should revert at their deaths to the rightful heirs.<sup>3</sup>

*A tournament of war at Calais.* During that parliament four French knights sent a challenge to four English knights to fight a tournament at Calais under the rules of war. And amongst the others Lord Beaumont fought first, with the king of France's chamberlain, and performed nobly well, and on the following Sunday Sir Philip Courtenay fought with his challenger, and thus each of them with their challengers, and won great renown.<sup>4</sup>

*A fiery dragon.* In the month of April a blazing dragon was seen in many places throughout England.<sup>5</sup>

*The Lollards grown in number.*<sup>6</sup> Down to that time the Wycliffites, who were also known as Lollards, flourished and increased, and their errors teemed and abounded endlessly, and had caused them no shame, and although their noisy assertiveness began to fade they

<sup>6</sup> It is interesting that Knighton's concern with Lollardy should have led him to him to deal at this point with an episode that was secondary to the melodrama of the parliament's principal business. The excitement, which was probably associated with Hereford's return (McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, p. 113, and *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 198–9), was hardly comparable with that caused by the Lollard manifesto of 1395 (see McFarlane, *Wycliffe*, pp. 131–4), but evidently caused some alarm: see the king's letters below, pp. 438–42; and above, p. 282.

1388 nouos errores antiquis inmiscet. Quidam eciam eorum ad parlamentum submonentur, opprobria eciam et obiurgaciones multiplices in parlamento<sup>1</sup> et domi inter proximos passim paciuntur, nec adhuc ab inceptis desistunt set tamen errores suos et oppiniones ubique prudencius solito indefesse euomunt, et eis addunt quorum quidem hic inferuntur, quidem quoque supra notati hic iterum recitantur.

*Errores lollardorum.*<sup>2</sup>

fo. 215<sup>r</sup>

Oppinio prima. Quod papa modernus Vrbanus .vj. non gerit uices beati Petri in terris, set est filius Anticristi, nec erat uerus papa a tempore / Sancti Siluestri. .2. .2. Item quod papa non potest concedere aliquas indulgencias<sup>a</sup> nec episcopi quicumque, et quod omnes confidentes in huiusmodi indulgenciis sunt maledicti. .3. .3. Item quod papa non potest condere canones decretales seu constitutiones, et si quos condiderit, nullus tenetur eos obseruare. .4. .4. Item quod ex sola cordis contricione deletur omne peccatum absque oris confessione, nec requiritur oris confessio eciam ubi copia sacerdotum habere poterit. .5. .5.<sup>b</sup> Item quod ymages crucifixi, beate uirginis, aliorumque sanctorum nullo modo sunt uenerande, ymmo ipsas uel picturas aliquas quomodolibet uenerantes peccant et ydolatrium committunt, et quod Deus non facit aliqua miracula per illas, et quod omnes facientes peregrinaciones ad ipsas uel eas alico modo adorantes, lumen uel alias deuociones coram ipsis ymaginibus exhibentes, sunt maledicti. .6. .6. Item quod non tenet neque ligat excommunicacio pape uel episcopi. .7. .7. Item quod non est supplicandum sanctis orare pro uiuentibus nec dicenda est letania, affirmant enim Deum omnia facere, ipsos nichil facere posse quos sanctos uocamus, set multos eorum predicant esse in inferno quorum festa celebrantur. .8. .8. Item quod non est decimandum rectori existenti in mortali peccato, nec oblaciones aut donaciones pecuniales sunt faciende in purificationibus mulierum, nec in celebrationibus missarum pro defunctis. .9. .9. Item quod presbiteri et diaconi quicumque tenentur et debent populo puplice predicare racione ordinis suscepti, licet populum non habeant nec curam animarum. .10. .10. Item quod papa, cardinales, archiepiscopi,

<sup>a</sup> Interlined by scribe and now obscured by cropping

<sup>b</sup> Inserted by rubricator

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear what notice, if any, parliament itself took of the Lollards. The Westminster chronicler says that a number were summoned and examined before the papal sub-collector Thomas Southam in Mar. and Apr., while parliament was sitting (*Westm. Chron.*, pp. 318–20, 330), but McFarlane suggests that Sir Thomas Latimer's citation

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added yet new errors to their old ones. Some of them, indeed, were summoned to parliament, and they endured much disgrace and reproach in parliament<sup>1</sup> and from their neighbours at home, yet they did not turn from what they had begun, but rather emitted their errors everywhere more cautiously, yet as tirelessly as ever, and even added to them. Some of which are gathered here, and others already noted are repeated.

*The Lollards' errors.*<sup>2</sup>

First opinion, that the present pope, Urban VI, is not the blessed Peter's vicar on earth but the son of Antichrist, nor has there been a true pope since the days of St Silvester. 2. Also that neither the pope nor the bishops can grant any indulgences, and that all who trust in such indulgences are accursed. 3. Also that the pope cannot make canons, decrees, or constitutions, and that no one is bound to obey those that he does make. 4. Also that a contrite heart alone effaces sin, without need for oral confession, and that oral confession is not required even where there are many priests. 5. Also that images of the Crucified, of the Blessed Virgin, and of other saints ought not to be adored, and that those who adore them or other representations in any manner whatsoever do sin and commit idolatry, and that God works no miracles through them, and that all who make pilgrimages to them, or adore them in any way, placing lights or making other devotion before them, are accursed. 6. Also that none is held or bound by excommunication by the pope or by a bishop. 7. Also that the saints ought not to be asked to pray for the living, nor ought the litany to be recited, for they say that all things are done by God, and those whom we call saints can do nothing, and they preach that many of those whose feasts are celebrated are now in Hell. 8. Also that no rector who is in mortal sin should receive tithes, nor ought oblations or gifts of money to be given for churching women, nor for the celebration of masses for the dead. 9. Also that all priests and deacons are bound and ought to preach to the people by reason of the orders that they have taken, even though they have no congregations, or cure of souls. 10. Also that

before the council in May 1388, as possessing Lollard books, arose from some denunciation during the session (*Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 192–4).

<sup>2</sup> The following text is closely related to the confessional tract known as the *Twenty-five Articles* (in Bodl. MS Douce 273, fols. 1–37, ed. by T. Arnold, in *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, iii. 455–96), an association which puts it in a different category from the earlier prescriptions of Lollard beliefs and doctrines from which Knighton quotes. See Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 208–11.

episcopi, archidiaconi, decani, officiales, utique omnes persone maiores ecclesie sunt maledicti. .11. .11. Item quod nullus intrabit regnum celorum nisi omnibus renunciauerit ea dando pauperibus, solum Deum sequendo modo ipsorum. .12. .12. Item quod uir uel mulier offerendo sacerdoti denarium petendo pro ipso missam celebrari, tam ille quam sacerdos sic recipiens sunt maledicti. .13. .13. Item quod omnia inter clericos debent esse communia. .14. .14. Item quod est contra sacram scripturam quod clerici habeant possessiones temporales. .15. .15. Item quod diuina officia non sunt cantanda cum nota, et quod Deus non delectatur in huiusmodi cantu. .16. .16. Item quod non licet aliquo modo iurare.

Nota ibi isti firmandis; nam sequela cuiuslibet dicti eorum talis erat: 'I am sykyr, It is soth', uel sic, 'Withoute doute, it is so'.<sup>1</sup>

.17. .17. Item quod illud quod fuit panis ante consecracionem in sacramento altaris, post consecracionem non est corpus Cristi, set signum rei, non ipsa res. .18. .18. Item quod quilibet presbiter existens in peccato mortali non conficit, neque baptizat, nec confert aliquod sacramentum. .19. .19. Item quod non pocius orandum est in ecclesia quam alibi. .20. .20. Item quod festa sanctorum, scilicet Stephani, Laurencii, Margarete, / Katerine, et aliorum sanctorum, non sunt colenda neque celebranda, eo quod nescitur ut dicunt utrum sunt dampnati uel non, nec credendum est neque standum eorum<sup>a</sup> canonizacioni et approbacioni dictorum sanctorum facte per curiam Romanam in hac parte. .21. .21. Item quod Sancta Trinitas nullo modo est figuranda, formanda nec depingenda in ea forma qua communiter depingitur per totam ecclesiam.<sup>2</sup> .22. .22. Item quod nullus rector, uel uicarius, aut prelati aliquis excusatur a personali residencia facienda in suis beneficiis commorando in obsequiis episcoporum archiepiscopi seu pape. .23. .23. Item non licet presbitero locare operas suas. .24. .24. Item quod rectores<sup>b</sup> et uicarii non celebrantes nec ministrantes sacramenta ecclesiastica eciam remouendi 'et alii<sup>c</sup> loco eorum instituendi, quia indigni sunt et dissipatores bonorum ecclesie. .25. .25. Item quod uiri ecclesiastici non deberent tam ualidis incedere equis nec uti tantis iocalibus, uestibus preciosis aut prandiis delicatis, set

<sup>a</sup> Repeated<sup>b</sup> Over erasure<sup>c</sup> Over erasure<sup>1</sup> On this observation, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 371-4.<sup>2</sup> For representations of the Holy Trinity in the later fourteenth century, which usually

the pope, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deans, officials, and all other of the greater churchmen are accursed. .11. Also that none can enter the kingdom of heaven unless he first renounce all his possessions and give them to the poor, following only God, as they do. .12. Also that if a man or a woman offer a priest money by way of asking him to celebrate mass, both the giver and the recipient are accursed. .13. Also that the clergy ought to hold all things in common. .14. That it is against Holy Scripture that clerics should hold temporalities. .15. Also that the divine office ought not to be sung to music, and that God does not delight in such singing. .16. Also that none should swear, in any way.

And note that the following are such things as they say by way of affirmation: 'I am sure', 'It is truth that . . .', 'Without doubt it is so'.<sup>1</sup>

.17. Also that that which was bread before its consecration in the sacrament of the altar is not thereafter the body of Christ, being a symbol of that thing, and not the thing itself. .18. Also that a priest who is in mortal sin cannot confect, nor baptize, nor confer any sacrament. .19. Also that it is no more efficacious to pray within a church than it is to pray anywhere else. .20. Also that the festivals of the saints, such as Stephen, Lawrence, Margaret, Catherine, and others, ought not to be observed or celebrated, for, they say, we do not know whether they be damned or not, nor ought the canonization and approbation of saints by the Roman curia to be believed in or accepted. .21. Also that the Holy Trinity ought not to be fashioned, made, or depicted in the form in which it is commonly represented throughout the church.<sup>2</sup> .22. Also that no rector, or vicar, or any prelate ought to be excused from residing personally in the benefice which he holds while he is in the service of bishop, archbishop, or pope. .23. Also that it is unlawful for a priest to hire out his services. .24. Also that rectors and vicars who do not celebrate or administer the sacraments of the church ought to be removed and others put in their places, because they are unworthy, and dissipators of the church's goods. .25. That clerics ought not to ride fine horses, nor ought the clergy to enjoy so many jewels, or such expensive clothes, or fine food as they do, but ought to

showed figures of the Father and the Son with a dove descending, see M Rickert, *The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal: An English Manuscript of the later Fourteenth Century in the British Museum (Add. MSS 29704-5, 44892)* (London, 1952), pp. 45-9 and nn., and plates D, v, and xxxiii. See also *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. E. Kirschbaum (Rome, 1968), i. 526-7, and plates 6-10; and below, p. 548.

omnibus renunciare, et dare ea pauperibus, pedibusque incedentes,<sup>a</sup> accipientesque baculos in manibus formam pauperum susipientes, aliis dando exempla per conuersacionem.

Videntes igitur proceres et communes regni nauem ecclesie istis et aliis innumeris erroribus atque nequandis opinionibus quasi undique de die in diem incessabili impulsione quassari, pecierunt a rege in presenti parlamento de istis remedium apponi, ne forte archa tocus fidei ecclesie talibus impulsione in illis<sup>b</sup> temporibus pre defectu gubernaculi irremediabiliter quateretur, et gloriosum regnum Anglie per fidei deprauacionem in desolacionem gracie et honoris paulatim duceretur.

Rex uero sano consilio tocus parlamenti in hac parte utens iussit archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, ceterisque episcopis regni, ut officium suum singuli in suis diocesis, secundum iura canonica, acrius et feruencius exerceant, delinquentes castigarent, librosque eorum Anglicos plenius examinarent, errata exterminarent, populumque in unitatem fidei orthodoxe reducere studerent, ecclesiamque urticis uepribus defloratam, liliis et rosis ornarent, fulcimentumque regie potestatis, ut audacius et forcius agerent eis annuit.

Et iussit rex statim absque dilacione literas suas patentes in singulos comitatus regni uelocius mitti, et in quolibet comitatu certos inquisitores de huiusmodi libris et eorum fautoribus instituit, precipiens eis ut remedium celerius apponerent, rebelles proximo carceri manciparent donec rex eis mitteret. Set executio tarda et quasi nulla affuit quia nondum hora correccionis aduenit.

*Commissio regis contra libros Lollardorum.* Copia regie commissionis sequitur in hec uerba.<sup>1</sup>

Ricardus Dei gracia rex Anglie et Francie, et dominus Hibernie, dilectis sibi magistro Thome Bryghtwelle, in theologia doctori, decano collegii Noui Operis Leycestrie, et Willelmo Chesuldene, prebendario prebende eiusdem collegii, ac dilectis et fidelibus nostris Ricardo de Barowe, chyualer, et Roberto Langham, salutem.

Quia ex insinuacione credibili certitudinaliter informatur, quod ex insana doctrina<sup>c</sup> magistrorum Iohannis Wyclif dum uixit, Nicholai Herforde, Iohannis Aston, et suorum sequacium quamplures libri, libelli, cedule, et quaterni hereses et errores manifestos

<sup>a</sup> Twysden; incedentes T    <sup>b</sup> illius T    <sup>c</sup> e before doctrina in T

renounce all that they have, and give it to the poor, and go about on foot with a staff in their hands, in the fashion of poor men, to set an example to others by their lives.

The lords and commons of the realm, therefore, seeing the Church as a vessel riven day by day by the unceasing assaults of those and other innumerable errors and wicked beliefs, petitioned the king in that parliament to apply some remedy lest in those days the ark of the faith should for want of governance be irredeemably shattered by such blows, and the glorious realm of England, by the corruption of its faith, despatched step by step into desolation with the loss of grace and honour.

And the king, accepting the wise counsel of the whole parliament in the matter, ordered the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the bishops of the kingdom, strictly and fervently to perform their office according to canon law, each in his own diocese, to chastise offenders, to scrutinize their English books more closely, to exterminate error, and to seek to unite the people in orthodox faith, that they might adorn the church, cleansed of nettles and weeds, with lilies and roses, lending them the support of royal power that they might act more boldly and strongly.

And the king ordered that his letters patent should at once be sent, swiftly and without delay, into every county in the kingdom, and in every county he appointed examiners of such books and those who fostered them, ordering them to apply a swift remedy, and to commit those who resisted them to the nearest prison until the king should send for them. But the performance was tardy and practically of no effect, for the time of correction had not yet come.

*The king's commission against the Lollards' books.* A copy of the king's commission follows, in these words:<sup>1</sup>

Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, to his beloved Master Thomas Brightwell, doctor of divinity, dean of the College of the Newarke in Leicester, and William Chiselden, prebendary of the same college, and to our beloved and faithful Richard Barrow, knight, and Robert Langham: greeting.

Because it is understood upon the intimation of reliable testimony that from the unsound teachings of Master John Wyclif, in his lifetime, Master Nicholas Hereford, Master John Aston, and their followers, many books, tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets contain-

<sup>1</sup> See *CPR 1385-9*, p. 468, where there are also letters for the diocese of Salisbury. On Brightwell, see Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 77-8, and above, p. 430 n. 1.

continentes<sup>a</sup> in fidei catholice lesionem et sacre / doctrine derogationem, expresse et palam, et notorie redundantes, frequencius compilantur, publicantur, communicantur, et conscribuntur, tam in Anglico quam in Latino, ac exinde opiniones nepharie sane doctrine contrariantes oriuntur ac accrescunt, ac manentur et predicantur dampnabiliter et inique in fidei orthodoxe enervationem, ecclesieque sancte subuersionem, et ex consequenti, quod absit, quamplurimum incredulitatem eorumque animarum periculum manifestum, nos, zelo fidei catholice cuius sumus et esse uolumus defensores in omnibus, ut tenemur moti salubriter et inducti, nolentes huiusmodi hereses aut errores infra terminos nostre potestatis quatenus poterimus oriri seu quomodolibet pululare, assignamus uos coniunctim et diuisim ad omnes et singulos libros, libellos, cedulas, et quaternos huiusmodi doctrinam dictorum Iohannis, Nicholai, Iohannis, et sociorum sequacium seu opinionem aliquam minus sanam continentem, ubicumque et in quorumcumque manibus, possessione, seu custodia inueniri poterunt, infra libertates uel extra, inuestigandos, capiendos, et arestandos, et penes consilium nostrum cum omni celeritate possibili deferri faciendos, ut tunc ibidem de eisdem ordinare ualeamus prout de auisamento consilii nostri predicti fore uiderimus faciendum, ac etiam ad proclamandum et ex parte nostra firmiter inhibendum, ne quis cuiuscumque status, gradus, seu condicionis fuerit, sub pena imprisonment et forisfactura omnium que nobis forisfacere poterit, aliquas huiusmodi prauas et nepharias opiniones manu tenere docere pertinaciterque defendere, clam uel palam, seu huiusmodi libros, libellos, cedulas, et quaternos detinere, scribere, uel scribi facere, aut emere uel uendere presumat quouismodo, set omnes et singulos huiusmodi libros, libellos, cedulas, et quaternos secum habitos et inuentos ad mandatum uestrum uobis reddat seu reddi faciat indilate.

Et ad omnes illos quos post proclamationem et inhibitionem predictas contrarium inueneritis facientes, et huiusmodi nepharias opiniones manententes, coram uobis prefato Thoma decano et Willelmo euocandos et diligenter examinandos, et cum inde legitime conuicti<sup>b</sup> fuerint, per ministros nostros proximis prisonis committendos, in eisdem detinendos quousque a suis erroribus heresibus et prauis opinionibus resipiscant, seu nos pro deliberatione eorundem aliter duxerimus ordinandum.

Et ideo uobis mandamus quod circa premissa cum omni dili-

<sup>a</sup> Added in margin by a later hand

<sup>b</sup> uict superimposed by reviser

ing their heresies and manifest errors, to the rending of the catholic faith and the derogation of sacred doctrine, expressly, openly, and notoriously, and with excessive frequency are compiled, copied, published, and written, both in English and in Latin, and that wicked opinions, contrary to sound doctrine, arise and multiply therefrom, and are maintained, and damnably and harmfully preached, to the weakening of the orthodox faith and the overthrow of Holy Church, and in consequence, which God forbid, to the making of many unbelievers at the manifest peril of their souls, we, in our zeal for the catholic faith, of which we are and will be the defender in all things, as we are bound to be wholesomely moved and induced, so far as in us lies, not wishing such heresies and errors to arise or in any way to flourish within the boundaries of our power and authority, do appoint you together and individually, to investigate, take, and seize all and any such books, tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets, containing the teachings of the said John, Nicholas, John, and their followers, or any other opinion which is less than sound, wheresoever and in whosoever hands, possession, or keeping they may be found, both within liberties and without, and to cause them to be sent to our council with all possible speed, that there we may do with them what we see to be best upon the advice of our aforesaid council. And further to proclaim, and upon our account firmly to forbid anyone, of whatsoever estate, grade, or condition he be, upon pain of imprisonment and of forfeiture of all that they can forfeit to us, to maintain, teach, or pertinaciously defend, secretly or openly, any such depraved and wicked opinions, or in any wise to presume to keep, or write, or cause to be written, sell, or buy, any such books, tracts, leaflets, or pamphlets, but that all and singular such books, tracts, leaflets, and pamphlets that they may be found to have they should upon your command surrender, or cause to be surrendered, to you without delay.

And to summon before you, the said Dean Thomas, and William, and diligently examine, all those who after the said proclamation and inhibition you find to be contrary and to maintain such wicked opinions, and when they have been legitimately convicted, to deliver them to our ministers to commit to the nearest prisons, there to be detained until they abandon their errors, heresies, and depraved opinions, or until we give other instructions for their delivery.

And therefore we order you to apply yourselves to the foregoing



gencia et efficacia intendatis, et ea faciatis et exequamini in forma predicta. Damus autem tam uniuersis et singulis uiris ecclesiasticis, quam uicecomitibus, maioribus, balliuis, ministris et aliis fidelibus et subditis nostris, tam infra libertates quam extra, tenore presentium firmiter in mandatis quod uobis et cuilibet uestrum in premisis faciendis assistentes sint consulentes et auxiliantes prout decet.

In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste me ipso apud Westmonasterium .xxiiij. die Maii anno regno nostri undecimo. Burtone.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 216<sup>v</sup> / *Communes petunt remedium a rege de oppressionibus.* Magnates et communes regni uidentes oppressiones immanes et sceleratissima facta quorundam consiliatorum regis tam erga maiores quam minores, et de die in diem in suis maleficiis inualescere sencientes, in presenti parlamento unanimi assensu suggesserunt regi pro emendacione et reformacione habenda sub hac forma.<sup>2</sup>

A nostre tresdoute seigneur le roy, et a touz noz altres seignurs du roialme, monstrent lez humblez comines de uostre dit roialme lez causez et damagez aduenuz en displesaunce du Dieu et de seynt esglise, en deshonneur de uous et de uostre coroune et de tous uoz noblez et gentiles et a touz estatez du dit roialme, par la leue et rumour ore tarde aduenuz par lez petitez gentz de uostre dit realme,<sup>3</sup> ensemble oue lez perilles et damages qe de iour en altre apierent, sils ne soyent hastyment redressez, en destruction de saynt esglise deinz uostre realme, en disheritaunce et dishonour de uous et de uostre corowne, et damages de touz ceaux de uostre realme, riches et pouers, dez queux perilles uous ne lez uoz gentz de uostre terre ne poient eschapiere si plus hastyue remedie par ascune mentz dez prelatz, countez, baronez, et dez plus sagez de uostre realme ne soit ordeigne.

Primez a cause qe le peas et droite iustice en uostre tere a quele uous estez tenuz amaigtenere nad este sustenuz egalment parentre ryches et ryches, pouers et pouers, et nomement parentre ryches et pouers sicome Dieu et droit demanderont, uostre pouer peple ount este anyntez par extorcions de uoz officers en paais, come esche-

<sup>1</sup> John Burton was keeper of the rolls of chancery from 1386: *CPR 1385-9*, p. 230; the presence of his name shows that the text derives in some measure from a sealed original.

<sup>2</sup> On this remarkable document, of which no other copy has survived, and which appears a vivid reflection of popular discontent with the Appellants' conduct by the summer of 1388, see the comments by Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 136-7, 237-8. Knighton clearly associates it with the Merciless Parliament, though its tenor runs against his general acceptance of the Appellants' proceedings, and he attributes it to the lords and

with all diligence and effect, to do and perform all things in the manner prescribed. And we also order, and by the tenor of these presents do enjoin, all and singular ecclesiastical persons, and sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, ministers, and other our faithful subjects, both within liberties and without, to assist, advise, and aid you and each of you in the performance of the foregoing, as they ought. In witness of which we have caused these our letters to be made patent, witnessed myself at Westminster, on the twenty-third day of May, in the eleventh year of our reign. Burton.<sup>1</sup>

*The commons seek a remedy from the king for their sufferings.* The lords and commons, seeing the monstrous and most wicked oppressions made by some of the king's advisers, upon both the greater and the lesser, and perceiving them to grow in evil-doing day by day, with one assent proposed to the king to have amendment and remedy, in the following form.<sup>2</sup>

To our very redoubtable lord the king, and to all other our lords of the realm, the humble commons of your said realm show the matter and the harm that have come about, to the displeasure of God and Holy Church, to the dishonour of you and of your crown, and to all your nobles and gentles, and to all the estates of the said realm by the rising and disturbance lately amongst the lesser people of the kingdom,<sup>3</sup> together with the perils and damage which will appear from one day to the next if they be not soon redressed, to the destruction of Holy Church within your realm, to the disheritance and dishonour of yourself and your crown, and to the harm of all those of your realm, rich and poor, the which perils neither you nor the people of your land will be able to escape if some swift remedy be not ordained by means of the prelates, earls, barons, and the wisest of your kingdom.

Firstly because the peace and true justice of your land, which you are bound to maintain, has not been upheld equally as between rich and rich, poor and poor, and particularly between rich and poor, as God and right demand, your poor people are crushed by the extortions of your officials in the counties, such as escheators,

commons together though the text refers only to the commons. Its fluency and relative sophistication suggests that it derives from the political community of the shires. The references to the length of the session, to the neglect of ordinary administrative business, and to the incidence of taxation are all consonant with 1388. See also below, p. 444 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> There were such disturbances in Kent and elsewhere in April 1388: Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 237-8; and *Favent*, p. 21.

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tours et autres commissours dez officers et mynistres de seynt esglise, par officers dez altres seignurs en pays, come seneschalles et clerkes dez courtes de byrone, et nomement par .iiij. oue par .iiij. en chescune conte appelez seconde royez<sup>1</sup> qe au pigne uostre pouer peple ne purront uiere, ne porter lour charge en eyde de uous et de uostre realme quant bosoigne y fuisse, par quelez defautez uous et uostre realme ont este mys en graunt disclaundre en chescune terre.

Et outre ceo uoz graundez iuggez dez lez loyes de uostre terre nient fessauntz en touz temps ne as touz personez egale execucion solonc lez uoz loyez ordeignes, einz sount enclynes deschuer l'offence dez maundementz par priue seale, oue per graunt seale, encontre uoz bonez loyes, et lez priers dez altres seignurs oue queux ils sount de retenuz, qils ne fount parfaire lour deuoyre a queles ils fount iurrez, tout outrement en destruction de uostre dit pouer comine sil ne soit pluiz hastyment redresse.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 217<sup>r</sup>

Item tresdoute seignur, par la oue uostre dit poure comine ne solont en<sup>a</sup> temps de uoz nobles progenitours porter taxus ne tallages ne altres chosez especiales deinz .iiij. / oue .v. aunz une, si ont cestez .v. anez par deuant de an en ane mys mes a diuersez tallagez nient agalment adgistez a chescune persone solonc sone estate dauoire, mes totedys et continuelment la pluiz graunt quantitate dez ditez taxes tortuosement sur mys a uostre pouere commune, et nentymens a nule esploite ne petisse dez uoz guerrez et en deffence de uostre realme par la costers de miere encontur la chose graunties, eins ount estez sur lez costiers du miere en diuers parties de uostre roialme lez maysones de lez pouers comines arsez, lez uillagez et lez personez raunsones, et la naue tote outrement destruytz, et la terre tote uoyde et pouer de tote maner de tresoure,<sup>3</sup> qe uous nauez dont uous poiez uostre terre defendre ne uostre estate reale tenere, a graunt doloure et poissance de touz uous sagez, pur le peple qe se leua ne saueyt altre chose faire forsque aretter gouernours de uostre counsayle, appellantz lez pluiz graundez de uostre counsayle traytours a uous et a la roialme come gentz qe bien ne sauoient ne resone.

Et plusours altres enchesones, tresredoute seignur, purroit

<sup>a</sup> *Interlined, and de cancelled, by scribe*

<sup>1</sup> A similar expression is used in *Anon. Chron.*, p. 134, of a steward and poll-tax commissioner in Essex 'who bore himself like a king or a great lord', but the petition seems to be con-

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and other commissaries of officials, and ministers of Holy Church, by officers of other lords in the counties such as seneschals and clerks of courts baron, and especially by the three or four within each county who are known as Second Kings,<sup>1</sup> so that your poor people are scarce able to survive, or to support their charges in aid of you and of your kingdom when there is need, by which defects you and your kingdom are much defamed in every land.

And beyond that your great judges of the laws of your land do not do at all times and to all persons equal execution according to what your laws ordain, being inclined to excuse offences upon orders made under the privy seal or the great seal, against your good laws, or at the prayer of other lords whose retainers they are, wherefore they are not able to perform their duty to which they have been sworn, and that utterly to the destruction of your poor commons if it be not soon redressed.<sup>2</sup>

Also, very redoubtable lord, whereas your said poor commons in the time of your noble progenitours used not to have to bear taxes, tallages, or other special charges save once in every four or five years, these five years past they have year by year been put to various tallages, not fairly adjusted to each person's means, but always and continually with the greater part of the said taxes wrongfully imposed upon your poor commons, and yet not applied to any exploit or need of your wars, or the defence of your kingdom upon the sea-coasts, against the purpose for which they were granted. And therefore on the coasts in divers parts of your kingdom the poor commons' houses have been burned, their villages and persons held to ransom, their ships altogether destroyed, and the land left empty and bare of all manner of wealth,<sup>3</sup> so that you have not the power to defend your land or to maintain your royal estate, to the great grief and distress of all your wise counsellors, for those who rise know no other remedy, except to arrest those manipulators of your council who call the great men of your council traitors to you and your kingdom, like people who know neither right nor reason.

And there are many other reasons, very redoubtable lord, why

cerned with the ordinary incidents of county (and seignorial) administration, or perhaps with the emergent justices of the peace, rather than with the poll tax. See also below, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> This supplication, which echoes some of the accusations against Suffolk in 1386, may account for the administrative provisions of the Statute of Cambridge, 1388, below, p. 508-10.

<sup>3</sup> These grievances are more characteristic of the late 1370s than of the mid-1380s, though there was a Castilian squadron in the Channel in 1386: Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 420.

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homme declarere a uostre hautesse pur queux lez ditz comines leueront, sil a fuisse pur long tariance de uous nostre seigneur et noz autres seignurs en cest presente parlyment, esperance en Dieu qe si bone remedye soit ordeigne pur lez diffautez susdites come appartient lez ditz diffautez, et touz autres qe busoignerent apenser serront redressez, en plesaunce du Dieu, honour, et profite a uous et de tous noz autres seignurs et comines du roialme.

Purquoy, seigneur, uous bonez gentz uous purrent humblement pur saluacion de uous et Dieu et de le coroune, la quele ils sont tenuz amaytner pur lour ligiance, qe uous plese assentiere as eux qe lez deffautes et perilles auaunditez, et aultres que purront aduener, puissent estre oustez et redressez par ordinaunce de uoz noblez et pluis sagez au present assemble, sembillantz au uostre dit comine tresdoute seigneur qe si sage et parfite remedye ne soit mys en cest present parlyment lem doute de celle perille uenaut apres qe homme ne serra de puissaunce pur lamender la quele ne uoile Dieu pur sa mercy, Amen.

Et queux defautez remedier, tresdoute seigneur, si bien de ceux come par lez damagez et perilles semblables aduener, il semble a uous humbler comines, par conge et par commaundment de uous, qe primerment qe est<sup>a</sup> bosoigne demutere la governayle de uous et de uostre terre, qe uous, nostre liege et naturele seigneur, parmy uostre terre dehors et en touz uoz autres seignuries, fuisse honore et doutez et parfytement amez de peple pur bone et iustice governayle, cest assayuoyre, treshonore seigneur, en droite iustice fesauntz as tieux persones si biene as pouers come as ryches egalment, solonc lour desert, si bien en uoz hautes courtes come ayllours en chescune pays, cherisancez lez bonez et uaylantz de touz lez estates de uostre realme solonc lour degre et desert et nomement le honorable chyualrye de touz uoz / seignuries, endonantz la corage a lez bonez pur sustyner uostre honour et deffendre uostre realme dez damagez en puissaunce tortes, extorsions, et touz oppressions faitez et affaire deuers poures de uostre terre en touz pays (par les)<sup>b</sup> riches, ne uaylaunce espernes qe fuisse eut atient, et asoutomes quelle ne fuisse prunes sanz pardone solonc la desert de trespas, si biene de gentz spirituele concome dez lanes, mittaunt payn sil uous plect en cest present parlyment come il semble a uous et a nous uoylauncez seignuries et baronage sur uoz hautys iustices, et touz uous autres officers et commissours queconqes, pur faire droite et dieu iustice en

fo. 217<sup>v</sup><sup>a</sup> *Interlined by scribe*<sup>b</sup> *No mark of omission*

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the said commons should rise, which might be declared to your Highness, not least that you and your lords have stayed so long in this parliament, trusting in God that effective remedy might be ordained against the abovesaid defects as they appear, and all the other matters which need attention would be redressed, to the pleasure of God, and honour and profit to you and to all the other lords and the commons of the realm.

Wherefore, sire, your good people pray you humbly for the salvation of yourself, and God, and the crown, which they are bound by their allegiance to maintain, that it will please you to agree with them that the defects and dangers aforesaid and others which could arise should be expelled and redressed by the ordinance of your nobles and the most wise of those here assembled, it seeming to your said commons, very redoubtable lord, that if well-considered and complete remedy be not applied in this present parliament then such dangers will thereafter arise as none will have the power to avoid, the which in His mercy may God forbid. Amen.

And to remedy those failings, very redoubtable lord, as well for them as for the other losses and perils likely to come, it seems to your humble commons that, by your leave and command, firstly there is need so to change the governance of yourself and your land that you, our liege and natural lord, shall throughout your land and beyond in all your other dominions be honoured and respected and perfectly loved by the people for good and just government, that is, truly honoured lord, to see right and justice done to all persons, as well the poor as the rich, evenly and according to their deserts, as well in your high court of justice as elsewhere in every land, cherishing the good and valiant of all the estates of your realm according to their degree and desert, and especially the honourable chivalry of all your lordships, giving courage to the worthy to sustain your honour and defend your realm from the harm done by great wrongs, extortions, and all oppressions, visited upon the poor of your land in all parts by the rich, not seeking to spare those who have offended, nor punishing them except according to the desert of the offence, as well spiritual persons as the laity, laying such charges, if it please you, in this present parliament, as shall seem fitting to you and to your worthy lordships and baronage, upon your high justices and all your other officers and commissioners whomsoever to do right and due justice in all causes, as well to the

tous cases si bien as pouers come as ryches, saunz doune oue fee prendre dascune autre de uous, saunz uendre lez loyes, pur doute oue pur hayne, oue pur doune ou pur couitisse, oustantz le pouere en chescune pays de meistymours de querelles et touz ceux qe sont appelez secondes royes<sup>1</sup> extorciones, au confort et le releuer de uoz poures comines, par quele remedie et ordynance lealment teneux et executez en tut temps quant bosoigne soit uous nostre seignuries de Dieu ameez, et parmy tote uostre realme honourez pur droiture, qe Dieu le uoille otroiez pur sa mercy etcetera.

Tresdoute seigneur, de rechiefe a uostre haute noblie souerengment en plesance de Dieu et de seynt esglyse, pur honour de uous et de uostre corone longment continuere, pur ease et tranquillite de tut uostre comine, ordeigner par uous nostre seigneur et uoz nobles a uous appelez, de teux et tauntz come uous plest appellere lestate de uous et de uostre coroune et de uoz guerrez regardere et destreitement examyner, a tiele entent qe le honour de uous nostre seigneur et de uostre coroune soient honestement sustenez, sanz enblessement de uostre roialte en touz chosez appendantz qe par uous et uoz ditz nobles, sil uous plest, ore a cest parlyment lez causes dez taxus, autres greuances, chargez, portes pardeuaunt de uostre comine par defaute de sage auysement qe font la terre pouere et anientz tut uoide de tresoure puissent estre cessez, et appeties en supportacion de uostre dit comine taunque ils puissent lour mesme releuer de lour pouerte et la realme enrichesser par sage gouvernaille.

Entenduz a uostre hautesse noblye, nostre treshonure seigneur, sil uous plest, qe lez guerrez deuant sustenez ne lour biens parauant donez et degastez, ne altres chargez assetz purront estre especifyez a uostre dit realme, et importable et sustener saunz outrement la destruerre qe Dieu ne uoille, suppliauntz humblement a uostre haute et royal nobleye qe pour Dieu et uostre honour la dit mater destrement et effectualment purroit estre determyns au present au soueraigne plesancez de Dieu, encrese et renomes de uostre bone gouvernement, si bien dehors come dedeinz uostre dit realme, en parfait ease / et prosperite de tut pouere comine par les ployte, de quele article tresredoute seigneur uous purrez purchasser de Dieu et de uostre poeple parfitement leurs amours en tote lour pouere, et corage qe Dieux coe uoille par sa gracious petie, Amen.

Et pur la gracious esployte de bone gouvernement souereynement pur parfourmer lez requestez auount requies et declariez supplient

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 444 and n.

poor as to the rich, without taking gift or fee from any other but you, without selling the laws for doubt or for hatred, or for gift or for covetousness, withstanding the power in all counties of maintainers of quarrels, and the extortions of all those who are called Second Kings,<sup>1</sup> to the comfort and relief of your poor commons, for which remedy and ordinance, faithfully observed and executed at all times when need arise, shall you our lord be beloved of God, and honoured throughout your realm for righteousness, which God grant you of his mercy, etc.

Very redoubtable lord, may it commend itself to your high and noble sovereignty, to the pleasure of God and of Holy Church, and for the honour of yourself and of your kingdom, long to continue, and for the ease and tranquillity of all your commons, through you our lord and such and so many of your nobles as you choose to summon, to ordain the estate of yourself and your crown, and to regard and examine straitly your wars to such purpose that the honour of you, our lord, and of your crown shall be honestly maintained, without emblemishment of your regality in any of the things thereto pertaining, that through you and your said nobles, if it please you, now in this parliament the taxes, other grievances, and the charges imposed heretofore upon your commons for want of good counsel, which make the land poor and quite void of wealth, may cease and be remitted in support of your said commons, so that they may themselves relieve their poverty and the land be enriched by sound governance.

And be it understood by your noble Highness, our most honoured lord, if it please you, that with the wars heretofore sustained and the resources granted and wasted, any further charges upon your said kingdom would be unbearable and not to be sustained without utterly destroying it, which God forbid, beseeching humbly your high and royal nobility that for God and your own honour the said matter be now carefully and effectively settled, to the sovereign pleasure of God, the increase and renown of your good governance as well without as within your said kingdom, in the perfect ease and prosperity of all the poor commons, by the performance of which, very redoubtable lord, you shall obtain of God and of your people entirely their love, with all their heart and strength, which may God will in his gracious mercy. Amen.

And for the gracious achievement of sovereign good government, to effect the requests heretofore set out and declared, the said

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lez ditz humblez comines a uous tresdoute seigneur, et a touz noz autres seignurs ore assemblez, qe de plus sage de uostre realme et de plus uertuose de quele estate qils soyent, uous plest faire estre nomez .vj., .viii., oue taunt de noumbre qe uous plest, et loure faire chargiere ensi toust come ceo poet estre distingment, et par bone payne et surement qe endroit dez damagez et perillez auaunt nomez, et plusours<sup>a</sup> autres qe nous ne sauoms ne poemes pincer ensemble, et dez lez remediez auaunt nomes et de touz altrez puruyancez et remediez qe enboisoignent, pur lonour et bien de uous nostre seigneur et tut le comine, ils diligentz soient en tout loure pouare de sustener uostre honour et roialte et la prosperite de tut uostre roialme, espirancz en Dieu et lour sceu et trauylle que nulle de ditz meschiefs ne nule tiele semblabez iammes nauendra en uostre dit realme, einz par leyde de Dieu et par lour remediez et puruyance en temps qils ent serront chargez de ent ordeigner et occupiere, sils facent loure deuour, uous nostre seigneur et uostre coroune serrez honurablement gouernez en totez honurez et honestez plesance, et tut la poeple enquietz, par quelez gouvernementz enserres uous nostre <seignour><sup>b</sup> de Dieu chierez et de uostre poeple parfytement ameez et doutez, et tut la roialme quietz, qe uoille Dieu coe ottoiere, Amen.

*Flandrenses petunt pacem a rege.* Mense Iunii Flandrenses uenerunt ad parlamentum petentes a rege et magnatibus regni pacem et concordiam inter Anglicos et Flandricos, promittentes se uelle Anglicis obsecundare et obsequium eis prestare, atque in omnibus eis adherere pro suo posse.<sup>1</sup>

Tunc misit rex uiros apud Calesiam tractare cum Flandrensibus de concordia et pace.<sup>2</sup> Et Anglici plura pecierunt ab illis et concesserunt petita. Et inter cetera pecierunt ab illis quod eicerent omnes Francigenas de finibus suis deinceps cum illis non moraturos et annuerunt hoc facere.

Similiter pecierunt ut castellum de Grauelyng, quod in multum nocumentum et grauamen Angligenis extiterat, penitus destruerent et funditus dilapidarent. Nam Anglici in illis partibus degentes et mercatores illuc transeuntes multa / mala et pericula per illud

fo. 218<sup>v</sup><sup>a</sup> A letter obliterated before altres<sup>b</sup> Suppl. Twysden: no mark of omission

<sup>1</sup> On the negotiations, which were by that time a lost cause, see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 328 and n. 3; and Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 122-4, 230-1. It is unlikely that anything so precise was discussed in the spring of 1388.

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humble commons beseech you, very redoubtable lord, and all our other lords now assembled that of the wisest of your kingdom, and the most worthy, of whatever degree they be, it shall please you to name six or eight or whatever number you choose, and charge them to do all that can distinctly and by careful thought and assuredly be done in the matter of the aforesaid dangers and perils, and many others of which we do not know and cannot distinguish, and for the aforesaid remedies, and all other provisions and remedies that may be needed for the honour and well-being of you, our lord, and all the commons, and that they shall work diligently with all their power to sustain your honour and regality and the prosperity of your whole realm, trusting in God and in their own knowledge and labours, that none of the said mischiefs nor any like them shall ever arise in your realm, and thus with the help of God, and by their remedies and provision in the time that they are thus charged to ordain and consider those things, if they perform their duty, then shall you our lord and your crown be honourably governed in all honour and honest delight, and all the people in peace, for ensuring which governance shall you our lord be cherished of God, and by your people perfectly loved and respected, and all the realm peaceful, which may God wish and grant. Amen.

*The Flemings seek peace from the king.* In the month of June the Flemings came to parliament seeking of the king and the magnates of the realm peace and a treaty between the English and the Flemings, asserting that they wished to support the English, and to excel in their service, and that they would join with them in all things to the limits of their power.<sup>1</sup>

Then the king sent men to Calais to negotiate an agreement and peace with the Flemings.<sup>2</sup> And the English asked various things of them, and they were agreed. And amongst other things they asked that they should expel all the French from their territories, and that none henceforward should remain there, and that they agreed to do.

Similarly they asked that the castle of Gravelines, which was a cause of great harm and grievance to the English, should be entirely destroyed and taken down. For the English staying in those parts and merchants passing there had suffered much damage and danger from

<sup>2</sup> See the commission to William Beauchamp, captain of Calais, and others, 11 May 1388: Rymer, *Foedera*, vii. 581-2.

castellum perpassi sunt. Et uerisimile est adhuc per dictum castellum talia sustinere et idcirco firmam pacem haberi inter regna non posse quamdiu dictum castellum staret uel eciam per Flandros gubernaretur. Flandri uero dictum castellum euertere aut in manus Anglorum liberare renuerunt, sicque discordes abinuicem abierunt.

*Flandri occidunt Francos in Flandria.* Interea, ut fertur, quasi infra proximum mensem orta est grauis dissencio in Flandria inter Flandros et Francos inter eos cohabitantes, adeo (ut dicebatur) quod uno die et uno tempore diei quasi in tribus horis occisi sunt de Francis et Flandris eis fauentibus circiter .xvj. milia uirorum in tribus ciuitatibus, uidelicet Gaunt, Yprys, et Andewerpus.<sup>1</sup>

*Dux Gerlye facit homagium regi.* Eodem tempore dux Gerlye misit auunculum suum cum aliis magnatibus ad regem Anglie, qui nomine dicti ducis optulerunt homagium regi, atque fidelitatem ex eius nomine ei fecerunt in eodem parlamento puplice coram omnibus congregatis.<sup>2</sup>

*De parlamento.* In exordio huius parlamenti dominus Thomas de Wodestoke, dux Glouernie, et Henricus, comes Derbeye, Ricardus, comes de Arundelle, Thomas, comes de Warwyke, et Thomas, comes marescallus, in pleno parlamento accusauerunt, prout prius appellauerunt, de falsa prodicione et<sup>a</sup> sedicione<sup>3</sup> dominum Alexandrum Neuylle, fratrem domini le Neuylle, archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et Robertum Veer, ducem Hibernie et comitem Oxonie, et Michaellem de Pole, comitem de Suthfolk, Robertum Tressylyane, capitalem iusticiarium regis, <sup>b</sup>et dominum Nicholaum<sup>b</sup> Brembrum, militem et ciuem Londoniensem, quem sepius rex fecerat maiorem preter et contra uoluntatem multorum ciuium,<sup>4</sup> et accusauerunt eos de alia prodicione in multis falsitatibus regi et regno per eos factis et ad hoc probandum se optulerunt in forma que sequitur.

*Accusacio, siue accusacio archiepiscopi Eboracensis et ducis Hibernie et sociorum suorum.*<sup>5</sup>

A tres excellent et tres redoute seignour nostre seignour le roy et sone consayle en cest present parlyment, monstront Thomas, duc de

<sup>a</sup> p cancelled by scribe

<sup>b-b</sup> Repeated, and cancelled by a later hand

<sup>1</sup> This again appears to be a wild exaggeration of any actual event in Flanders in 1388, when the French were busily co-ordinating resistance to any English descent upon the county, whilst the English were in no position to undertake such an operation: Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp. 124-5.

<sup>2</sup> The duke was faced in 1388 with a French invasion. In the event he received no substantial help from England: Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 125, 139.

<sup>3</sup> The appeal depends heavily upon the reiteration of the terms treason and traitors, but whether the favourites' activities constituted treason was a matter for debate, and was

that castle. And truly those dangers continue to this day with the said castle, and therefore it was not possible to have a firm peace between the kingdoms as long as the castle stood there, or at least while it remained in the Flemings' hands. But the Flemings refused to dismantle the castle, or to deliver it to the English, and therefore they parted without an agreement.

*The Flemings slay the French in Flanders.* In the mean time, almost within the month, it was reported, a violent dispute broke out between the Flemings and the French who lived amongst them, so that, it was said, on a single day, and even within the space of three hours, 16,000 of the French and the Flemings who supported them were slain in three cities, namely in Ghent, Ypres, and Antwerp.<sup>1</sup>

*The Duke of Guelders does homage to the king.* At that time the duke of Guelders sent his uncle with other great men to the king of England, and in the duke's name they rendered homage to the king, and did fealty openly in that parliament, before all those assembled there.<sup>2</sup>

*Parliament.* At the opening of parliament Sir Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, and Henry, earl of Derby, Richard, earl of Arundel, Thomas, earl of Warwick, and Thomas, the earl marshal, in full parliament accused of false treason and sedition,<sup>3</sup> as they had previously appealed them, Sir Alexander Neville, brother of the lord Neville and archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland and earl of Oxford, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, the king's chief justice, and Sir Nicholas Brembre, knight and citizen of London, whom the king had often made mayor in despite and against the will of many of the citizens,<sup>4</sup> and they accused them of other treasons in many deceits practised upon the king and the kingdom, and offered themselves to prove it in the following form.

*The accusation, or indictment of the archbishop of York, the duke of Ireland and their associates.*<sup>5</sup>

To our most excellent and redoubtable lord the king, and his council, in this present parliament, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, addressed over a week by the lords: see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 242 and n. 1; and Bellamy, *Law of Treason*, pp. 95-6. The judges had already decided, or offered the opinion, that resistance to the king's will was treasonable.

<sup>4</sup> A similar phrase occurs, in a mangled form below, on p. 498. Brembre was mayor in 1377, 1378, and 1384, but was also accused of procuring Exton's election in 1386: see *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. xxxix-xl, xlii; and *RP* iii. 227.

<sup>5</sup> Knighton's account of the principal appeal follows the text on the parliament rolls with some difference, probably accidental, in the order of the clauses. The text has been collated with that on *RP* iii. 229-35, without taking account of minor variations in spelling and the order of words.



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Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Henry, cont de Derby, Richard, count Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, cont de Warwyke, et Thomas, cont Marescalle, qe come lez auaunt ditz Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Dengletere, et Richard, cont Darundelle et de Surre, et Thomas, cont de Warwyke, come loialx lieges nostre seigneur le roy, pur profite du roy et realme, le .xiiiij. iour de Nouembre darreyne passe, a Waltham Crosse en le conte de Hertford, deuaunt le tresreuerent pierre en Dieu William, lerceuesk de Cantebrus, Edmund, duc Deuerwyk, 'les reuerents pieres'<sup>a</sup> en dieu William, eueske de Wyncestre, Thomas, eueske de Ely, alors chauncelere Dengletere,<sup>b</sup> Iohan de Waltham, alors gardeyne du priue seale nostre seignour le roy, Iohan, seignour de Cobham, / mes seigniures Richard le Scrope et Iohan Deuros, adonques commissioners nostre seignour le roi ordeignerez et faitez en le darreyne parlyment, appelleront Alexandur, lerceuesk Deuerwyk, Robert de Veere, duc Dirlande, Mychel de la Pole, count de Suthfolc, Robart Tressiliane, faux iustice, et Nichole Brembuk, faux chyualere de Londres, de hautes tresons par eux faitez encontour le roy et sone realme, et soy offeront de se pursuere et mayntener et sufficeant seurte trouer, et prierent as ditz seignurs dez cestez certefiere a lour dit seignur<sup>c</sup> leage, quele chose estoit certyfyte a mesme le iour a nostre seignour le roy, par lez ditz seignurs commissioners, a Westmynstre, ou pleuseurs dez ditz appelez estoyent presentes, pleinement<sup>d</sup> enformes et certifiez du ditz appelle.

Et puis, par assent du roy et sone consaylle, lez auaunt ditz Thomas,<sup>e</sup> duc de Gloucestre, constable Dengletere, et Richard, cont Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, cont de Warwyk, le dysmeygne le proscheyn ensuant, uiendrent a Westmynstre in presence du roy et de sone consaylle, et<sup>f</sup> illeques, pur profit du roy et du roialme, appelleront lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et aultres traytours sez compaignons,<sup>g</sup> appelez dez hautez tresons par eux faitz contre le roy et sone realme, come tratours et<sup>h</sup> enmys du roy et du roialme, en effirmance lour appelle auaunt dit, et soy offeront de ly pursuere et mayntener come deuaunt est dit.

La quele appelle nostre seignour le roy accepta, et sur ceo assigna iour as ditz parties a sone primere parlyment, qe serroit tenuz a Westmynstre lendemayne del Chaundelere proscheyn ensuant, de prendre et receyuer adonques sur la dit appelle pleyn iustice.

<sup>a</sup> RP; reuerent pierre T    <sup>b</sup> RP; Denl' T    <sup>c</sup> le cancelled by scribe    <sup>d</sup> RP;

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constable of England, Henry, earl of Derby, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas, earl of Warwick, and Thomas, the earl marshal, together show that whereas the aforesaid Thomas, duke of Gloucester, constable of England, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey and Thomas, earl of Warwick, as loyal lieges of our lord the king, for the good of the king and the kingdom, upon the fourteenth day of November last past at Waltham Cross in the county of Hertford, before the right reverend father in God, William, archbishop of Canterbury, the reverend fathers in God, William, bishop of Winchester, Thomas, bishop of Ely, then chancellor of England, John de Waltham, then keeper of the privy seal of our lord the king, John, lord Cobham, and my lords Richard le Scrope and John le Roos, then and now commissioners of our lord the king ordained and made in the last parliament, did appeal Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, of high treasons by them committed against the king and his realm, and did offer themselves so to pursue and maintain, and find thereto sufficient surety, and prayed the said lords to certify those things to their said liege lord, which things were certified that very day to our lord the king by the said lords commissioners at Westminster, where several of the said appellees were present and fully informed and certified of the said appeal.

And then with the assent of the king and his council, on the Sunday [17 Nov. 1387] next following, the aforesaid Thomas, duke of Gloucester and constable of England, Richard earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Thomas, earl of Warwick came to Westminster in the presence of the king and his council, and there and then for the good of the king and his realm did appeal the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, and the other traitors, his companions, appealed of the said treasons by them perpetrated against the king and his realm, as traitors and enemies of the king and of the realm, in affirmation of their appeal aforesaid, and themselves offered to pursue and maintain it as has been said, the which appeal our lord the king accepted, and thereupon assigned a day to the said parties at his earliest parliament, to be held at Westminster on the morrow of Candlemas [3 Feb. 1388] next following, there to take and receive upon the said appeal full justice.

parlement T    <sup>e</sup> Repeated and cancelled by scribe    <sup>f</sup> Om. RP    <sup>g</sup> RP gives their names and titles    <sup>h</sup> RP; om. T

Et en le temps mysne prist en sa sauue et trespecial protection lez ditz parties oue touz lour gentz, biens, et chatieux, et coe fist proclamere et publiere en sa presence en<sup>a</sup> mesme le temps.<sup>1</sup> Et puis le lundy proscheyne apres le iour de la Natyuite nostre seignour Iesu Crist proscheyn ensuant, lez auaunditz Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Richard, conte Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, cont de Warwyk, ensemblement oue lez auaunditz seignurs Henry, count de Derby, et Thomas, count marescalle, en presence du roy en le toure de Loundres, come loiale liegies nostre seignur le roy <sup>b</sup>pur profit du roi<sup>b</sup> et du roialme, appelleront lez auaunditz Alexandur, erceueske Deuerwyk, Robart de Veer, duc Dirlande, Mychele de la Pole, cont de Suthfolc, Robart Tressylyone, faux iustice, et Nichol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, dez hautez tresonez par eaux faitz, en contur le roy et son realme, / <sup>c</sup>come traytours, enmys du roy et du roialme,<sup>c</sup> et soy offerent de purseuere et mayntener, et suffisant seurte trouer come desuis. Et sur ceo le roy lour assigne iour, a sone proscheyne parlyment, a pursuiere et declarere la dit appelle.

Surquoy le roy, par auys de sone consayle, fist proclamer en touz lez contees Denglietere, par briefs de son grant seale, qe touz lez ditez appelez serront au dit parlyment, et y respondre sur appelle susdite.<sup>2</sup> Et quele appelle lez auaunditz Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Henry, counte de Derby, Richard, counte Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, cont de Warwyk, Thomas, count marchalle, appellantz, sount pretez a pursuiere, maygtener, et declarere, et come loialx lieges nostre seignour le roy, pur profite du roy et realme, appellount lez auaunditz Alexander, erceuesk Deuerwyk, etcetera,<sup>d</sup> dez hautez tresons par eaux faitz encontur nostre seignur le roy et sone roialme, come traytours et enmys du roy et du realme, quellez appelez et tresons sont declarez, appoyntez, et specifyes plenerment,<sup>e</sup> si come est contenuz en diuerse cedulaes annexes a y cestez.<sup>f</sup> Et prient qe lez ditz appelez soyent demandes, et qe droit et iustice ent soit fait en cest present parlyment auaundit.

*Primus articulus super tribus traditoribus quia fecerunt regem adererere consiliis eorum et odire consilium aliorum dominorum.*

Primerment Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Henry, cont de Derby, Richard, count Darundelle et de Surre,

<sup>a</sup> a RP      <sup>b-b</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>c-c</sup> Om. RP      <sup>d</sup> RP gives names and titles  
<sup>e</sup> RP; plenyment T      <sup>f</sup> desouz escritz RP

And in the mean time he did save and take into his particular protection the said parties with all their people, goods, and chattels, and caused that to be proclaimed and published in his presence at that time.<sup>1</sup> And then on Monday [30 Dec. 1387] next after the day of the nativity of Our Lord Jesus Christ next following, the aforesaid Thomas, duke of Gloucester, constable of England, Richard earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Thomas, earl of Warwick, together with the aforesaid lords Henry, earl of Derby, and Thomas, earl marshal, in the presence of the king in the Tower of London, as loyal lieges of our lord the king, for the good of the king and of the realm, appealed the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, of the treasons by them committed against the king and the realm, and offered themselves so to pursue and maintain it and find sufficient surety as above, and thereupon the king assigned a day at his next parliament to pursue and declare the said appeal.

Whereupon the king upon the advice of his council caused it to be proclaimed in all the counties of England by writs under his great seal that all the said appellees should be at the said parliament and there make answer upon the above appeal.<sup>2</sup> The which appeal the aforesaid Thomas, duke of Gloucester [and the other] appellants are ready to pursue, maintain and declare, and as loyal lieges of our lord the king, for the good of the king and his realm do appeal the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, and so forth, of the high treasons by them committed against our lord the king and his realm, as traitors and enemies of the king and of the realm, the which appeals and treasons are declared, appointed, and plainly specified as is contained in divers schedules hereto annexed. And they pray that the said appellees be summoned and that right and justice be done upon them in this present parliament aforesaid.

*The first article, upon three of the traitors, that they made the king accept their counsel and spurn the counsel of other lords.*

Firstly Thomas, duke of Gloucester and constable of England, Henry, earl of Derby, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey,

<sup>1</sup> See the proclamation made in London, above, p. 414 and n. 2, and below, p. 488 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> See the letters sent out to sheriffs on 4 Jan. 1388, *CPR* 1385-9, p. 463.

Thomas, cont de Warwyke, Thomas, cont Marchalle, appellont et dyont qe Alysandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veer, duc Dirlande, Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolk, faux traytours et enmys au roy et a realme, ueantz le tendurnes del age nostre dit seignur le roy et la innocencie<sup>a</sup> de sa royal persone, luy firent<sup>b</sup> entendre come pur uerite tanz dez faucez chosez par eaux contre<sup>c</sup> lealte et bon foy ymagynes et controuez, qe entierement en luy fyrent de tut a euax donez sone amour et ferme foy et credens, et hayez sez loiax seignurs et lieges, par queux il duist de droit pluis auer et este gouerne.

Et auxint accrochanz a eaux real pouare, endeffranchissaunt nostre seignur le roy de sueuereigte, enblemyssaunce et amenusauantz sa royale prerogatyue et regalye, luy firent si auant obeysere qil fuist iure destre gouerne, conseylle, et demesne<sup>d</sup> par eux. Par uertue de quele serment<sup>1</sup> eux luy ont si longement tenuz en obesauncz de lour faux appensement,<sup>e</sup> ymaginacions, et faitz, qe lez meschiefs, encouenientz, deseux, et destrucciones continuz as artycles si apres ensuant sont auenuz, come sont ouertement en partye a monstrez et desclarez, pur profit du roy et du roialme.

*Articulus .2. de eisdem quia fecerunt regem iurare quod eos foueret in suis causis.*

Item la oue le roy nest tenuz defaire nule serement enuers nules de sez lieges si noun le iour de sone coronement,<sup>2</sup> oue pur commune profite de luy et de sone realme, lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dyrlande, Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, faux traytours du roy et du roialme, ount faitz / luy iure et assenter enuers eux<sup>f</sup> qe lez mayntendra et sustendra a uiure et morere oue eux. Et issint, la oue le roy doit estre de franc condicion pluis qe nule altre de son roialme, ils luy ount mys pluis en seruage, encontur son honure, estate, et regalie, encontur lour ligeance, come traytours a luy.<sup>3</sup>

*.3. de quinque traditoribus quia noluerunt permittere consiliaros res loqui cum rege nisi in presencia eorum.*

Item lez auaunt ditz Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, Alexandur, erceuez Deuerwyk, par assent

<sup>a</sup> RP and supplied in T in margin by a later hand. Iuuentute T      <sup>b</sup> RP; furont T  
<sup>c</sup> RP; entre T      <sup>d</sup> RP; mesme T      <sup>e</sup> RP; depensemet T      <sup>f</sup> RP; ceux T

<sup>1</sup> The best that can be said for the allegation that Richard was induced to take such an oath

Thomas, earl of Warwick, and Thomas, earl marshal, appeal and declare that Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, false traitors and enemies of the king and of the realm, perceiving the tender age of our said lord the king and the innocence of his royal person, caused him to accept as truth all those falsehoods which they, in no loyalty nor good faith, plotted and contrived, that they might persuade him entirely to commit his affection and true faith and belief to them, and to hate his loyal lords and lieges by whom he should rather and by right have been led.

And also, accroaching to themselves royal power and disfranchising our lord the king of sovereignty, to the emblemishment and diminution of his royal prerogative and regality, they caused him so far to obey them that he was sworn to be governed, counselled, and led by them, by virtue of which oath<sup>1</sup> they held him so long in obedience to their false dispensations, contrivances, and deeds that their troublesome mischiefs, inconveniencies, deceits, and destruccions continue, as in some part in the articles following is openly shewn and declared for the good of the king and the realm.

*The second article, of the same, that they caused the king to swear to support them in their causes.*

Also, whereas the king is bound to swear no oath to any of his lieges save upon the day of his coronation,<sup>2</sup> or for the common profit of himself and his realm, the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, like false traitors to the king and the realm, made him swear to and assure them that he would maintain and support them to live and die with them. And also that whereas the king ought to be of freer condition than any other in his realm, they committed him rather to servitude, against his honour, estate, and regality, against their allegiance and as traitors to him.<sup>3</sup>

*Thirdly, of the five traitors, that they would not allow the councillors to discuss matters with the king.*

Also the aforesaid Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alexander, archbishop of York, by the

is that it was a rationalization on the Appellants' part to account for the favourites' manifest influence upon him.

<sup>2</sup> On Richard's coronation oath, see P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, pp. 203-13.

<sup>3</sup> The Appellants' resentment arose from their perception that they were excluded by the

et consayle Robart Tresilian, faux iustice, et Nichol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, par lour faux couyn ne soffreront pas dez grauntz du roialme, ne lez bones conseyllours le roy, parler ne aprocher au roy pur luy bien conseyllere, ne le roy parler a eux forsque en la presence et en la oyere dez ditz Robart de Veere, duc Dirlande, Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, Alicandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, par assent et consayle Robart Tressylyan, faux iustice, Nichol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, ou<sup>a</sup> en presence dascune deux ameyns, a lour uolunte, et solonc lour tayle et choses qils uaylorent, en rebottant lez grauntz, et lez bonez conseyllers le roy, de lour bone uolunte uers lour seignour liege, et encrochanz a eux royal pouere, seignurie, et soeuerraint sur la persone le roy, a graunt dishonour et peril du roy et du corone et<sup>b</sup> de sone roialme.

.4. de quinque traditoribus.

Item lez auantditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirlande, Mychele de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylyan, faux iustice, Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, par<sup>c</sup> lour faux couyn et acrochement de lour faux maluestez maneront et male conseylleront nostre seignur le roy, si que sa presence, qil doit de sone deuereire<sup>d</sup> monstrene a lez seignurs grauntz et a son poeple liege, et a lez grantz et droit queux requirerent respondre, ne le fist poynt forsque 'a la uolunte<sup>e</sup> et a la taylle lez ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dyrlande, Mychel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylyan, faux iustice, et Nichol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, en oustout le roy de sone deuoyre contur son serement, et lez couieres dez grantz seignurs et de poeple de lour<sup>f</sup> seignur liege, en compassance de eloignez le coer nostre seignur le roy dez pieres de la terre, pur auoire entre eux seul le gouvernement du roialme.

Item<sup>g</sup> par le dit accrochement lez auantditz Robart de Veere, duc Dirlande, et Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, par assent et conseylle du dit Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, ont ent faitz qe nostre seignur le roy, sanz assent du roialme ou deserte deux, lour

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>b</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>c</sup> RP; pur T      <sup>d</sup> deuoir RP  
<sup>e</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>f</sup> RP; son T      <sup>g</sup> Art. 5 in RP. See n. 1

king's preferences, their savagery from the fact that he had come to regard their efforts to influence him as treasonable.

assent and counsel of Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, by their false conspiracy would not suffer the great men of the realm nor the king's worthy counsellors to speak to nor approach the king to advise him wisely, nor the king to speak with them except in the presence and hearing of the said Robert De Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alexander, archbishop of York, with the assent and counsel of Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, or in the presence of some two of them at least, at their will and according to their views, and the beliefs which they maintained, rebutting the great men and the king's good counsellors in their good will towards their liege lord, accroaching to themselves royal power and lordship, and overbearing the king's person, to the great dishonour and peril of the king, his crown, and his kingdom.

*Fourthly, of the five traitors.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, by their false conspiracy and growth of their false evil-doing did influence and misadvise our lord the king touching his presence, which it was his duty to show to the great lords and to his liege people, and in responding to the requests and supplications to which they required answer, that he should do nothing except at the will and behest of the said Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, with the assent and counsel of Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, diverting the king from his duty against his oath and the hearts of the great lords and of the people from their liege lord, in encompassing the estrangement of the king's heart from the peers of the realm to have between themselves alone the governance of the kingdom.

[Fifthly]<sup>1</sup> Also by the said accroachment the aforesaid Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, by the assent and counsel of the said Alexander, archbishop of York, have contrived that our lord the king without the consent of the realm or

<sup>1</sup> The following paragraph represents the fifth article of the appeal in *RP*, and Knighton's numbering is out of phase from this point. The *RP* numbers are supplied in square brackets in the translation. See also above, p. 452 n. 5.

1388 ad done par lour abettementz<sup>a</sup> diuersez seignuries, chastelle, uylles, manoyrez, si bien annexes a sa corone come autres si come la terre Dirlande,<sup>b</sup> et de<sup>c</sup> Okam, oue la forest dycell, et aultres<sup>d</sup> terrez que furent al seigneur Daugeleghe, et autres grantz terres as dit Duc Dirland et as autres diuersement, paront ils sont grante / ment enriches, et le roy est deuenuz enpoure, et nad dont il se purra sustener et portere lez charges du roialme, si none par imposicions, taxus, oue tributes mettre et prendre sur son poeple, en disherite-son de sa corone et en defensance du roialme.<sup>1</sup>

fo. 220<sup>v</sup>

*Articulus .5.<sup>e</sup> de .v. traditoribus quia fecerunt regem dare terras et tenementa et officia suis aderentibus.*

Item par le dit encrochement lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, counte de Suthfolk, par assent et conseyle de dit Robart Treslyane, faux iustice, et Nychol Brembulle, faux chyualer de Loundrez, ont faitz que nostre seigneur le roy ad done diuers manoyres, terrez, tenementz, rentes,<sup>f</sup> offices, et baylyfes as diuersez autres<sup>g</sup> persones de lour affyance,<sup>h</sup> et as aultres diuerses<sup>i</sup> persones, dez queux ils ont prises grauntz dones par brogages pur ycellez causez, et auxi par cause a tener ouesk eux en loure faucez queeles et purposes, en defesance du roy et du realme, si come est de sire Robart Maunsel, clerc, Iohan Blake, Thomas Vske, et autres diuersement.<sup>2</sup>

*Articulus .6.<sup>k</sup> de .iiij. traditoribus quia rex dedit eis bona per eorum procuracionem ad summam .c. mille marcarum.*

Item Robart de la Veere, duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, cont de Suthfolc, et Alysandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, par assent et conseyle de dit<sup>l</sup> Nichol Brembulle, faux chyualer de Londres, encrochaunt a eux roial pouare, ount fait que nostre dit seigneur le roy lour ad done tres grauntz somes<sup>m</sup> dor et dargent, "sibien de sez biens et" ioialx propres, come dez biens et tresoures du roialme, sicome dez dymes, quinzymes, et aultres taxes a diuerses parlymentz grantez, pur estre

<sup>a</sup> RP; abette moult T      <sup>b</sup> et as autres dyuersement cancelled by scribe      <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d</sup> RP; grantez T      <sup>e</sup> Art. 6 in RP      <sup>f</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>g</sup> Om. RP      <sup>h</sup> affinite RP      <sup>i</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>j</sup> RP; deffence T      <sup>k</sup> Art. 7 in RP      <sup>l</sup> RP; par T      <sup>m</sup> RP; donnes T      <sup>n</sup> RP; silnoun dez biens T

<sup>1</sup> De Vere received Ireland in its entirety upon liege homage alone in Oct. 1385: *CP* x. 229. Oakham was granted to him from the Bohun estates, and may therefore have been seen as a loss by Gloucester and Derby: *VCH Rutland*, i. 77; *CP* v. 720. James, lord Audley, died

any merit of theirs should give by their abetment many and divers lordships, castles, towns, and manors, as well those annexed to the crown as others, as in the land of Ireland, and Oakham with the forest thereof, and should grant lands which were the lord Audley's and make other grants to the said duke of Ireland, and to various others, whereby they have become rich and the king has become poor, and scarce able to sustain and support the charges of the kingdom but by impositions, taxes, and tributes levied upon his people, to the disinheritance of his crown and to the damage of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

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*The fifth [sixth] article, of the five traitors that they caused the king to give lands and tenements and offices to their followers.*

Also by the said accroachment the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, with the assent and counsel of the said Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, have caused our lord the king to give divers manors, lands, tenements, rents, offices, and bailiwicks to divers other persons of their affinity, and to others from whom they have taken large gifts by way of brokage for those purposes, and also to make them hold with them in their false quarrels and purposes, to the undoing of the king and the realm, such as Sir Robert Mansfield, clerk, John Black, Thomas Usk, and various others.<sup>2</sup>

*The sixth [seventh] article, of the four traitors, that the king gave them by their procuracion goods to the value of 100,000 marks.*

Also Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alexander, archbishop of York, by the assent and counsel of Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, accroaching to themselves royal power, have caused our lord the king to give them great gifts of gold and silver, both of his own jewels and of the goods and treasures of the realm, such as tenths and fifteenths and other taxes, granted by divers parliaments to be spent in defence

in April 1386, and his 'vast estates' in Pembrokeshire and Devon afforded rich pickings in escheats: *CP* i. 339-40.

<sup>2</sup> On Mansfield, who was provost of St John's, Beverley, see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 245 n. 2. Black was a client of Tresilian's whose particular offence was to have drafted the questions put to the judges at Shrewsbury and Nottingham (Tout, *Chronicles*, iii. 424 and n.). Usk, a man of some literary talent, was formerly secretary to Brembre's opponent, John Northampton, and had recently changed sides: see Tout, *ibid.*, p. 434 and n. 3; and Bird, *Turbulent London*, p. 87 and n. It is not easy to see what precise rewards any of them had gained from their association with the court.

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exploites en defence et saue garde du roialme, et autrement, quel some amont a .c. mille marcs et plus, sicome au dit duc Dirland, et autres diuersementz. Et outre ceo plusours bones ordinances et purposez, faitz et ordeignez en parlyment, si bien pur lez guerrez come en deffence du roialme, ount ils desturbez, en grant areresment du roy et du roialme.<sup>1</sup>

.7. *articulus<sup>a</sup> de tribus quia fecerunt regem habere insufficientes ministros quo multa dampna euenerunt.*

Item par le dit encrochement, et par grauntz donnez et brogagez qils ount pris, les auantdit duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, ount faitz qe diuersez persones nient sufficiantz et nient couenables ount lez garde et gouernaunce dez diuersez seignuries, chastellez, et paiis en guerre, come en Gueylene et alour, si bien de<sup>b</sup> cea la miere come de la, parount le poeple et paiis dy cellez partiez, lieges et loialx 'a nostre dit seigneur le<sup>c</sup> roy, pur grendure partye sount destruez, et grantz seignuries dez nouellez rendutz as maynes et en<sup>d</sup> possessions des enmys, sanz assent du roialme, queles ne furent unques en maynes dez enmys puis le conquest du celle, si come il est en la marche de Scoce et ayllours, en desheritesone de corone du roy, et grant areresment du / roialme, sicome de<sup>e</sup> Harpeden, et Craddock, et aultres diuersementz.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 221<sup>r</sup>

.viij. *articulus<sup>f</sup> de .v. traditoribus quia ceperunt dona a multis ut aliorum iusticiam impedirent.*

Item par le dit encrochement lez auantditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et sez compaignons <sup>g</sup>traytours susditz<sup>g</sup> ount faitez qe diuersez gentz ount desturbez de le comine ley Denglietere et mys a grantz delays, perdes, et costages, et estatutez et iugementz droiturelement sur causez necessaries, faitz et renduz en parlyment, reuersez et adnullez par procurment dez ditz malfesours et traytours, et ceo par cause dez grantz donnez et brogages par eaux receuy du celle partyes, en grant areresment du roy et du roialme.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Art. 8 in RP      <sup>b</sup> RP; cancelled by scribe in T      <sup>c</sup> RP; loialx au T  
<sup>d</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>e</sup> SR; en Herpeden T      <sup>f</sup> Art. 9 in RP      <sup>g</sup> Replaces the names in RP

<sup>1</sup> This article is in effect a general indictment of Suffolk, almost every principle of whose administration had been opposed by Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel since he became chancellor in 1383; see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 44-85; and Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 67-86.

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and safeguarding of the realm and otherwise, the sum of which amounts to 100,000 marks and more to the said duke of Ireland and divers others. And beyond that, many good ordinances and proposals made and ordained in parliament, as well for the wars as in defence of the realm, have been obstructed to the great loss of the king and the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

*The seventh [eighth] article, of the three that they caused the king to have inadequate ministers, from which many losses arose.*

Also by the said accroachment, and by the great gifts and brokages which they have taken, the aforesaid [Robert de Vere] duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Alexander, archbishop of York, have contrived that various persons neither competent nor suitable should have the keeping and management of divers lordships, castles, and districts in the zone of war, as in Guienne and elsewhere, both here and overseas, whereby the people and lands of those parts, loyal lieges of the king, have been for the most part destroyed, and great lordships newly rendered into the hands and possession of the enemy without the assent of the kingdom such as never before were in enemy hands since they were conquered, as in the march of Scotland and elsewhere, to the disherison of the king's crown and to the great loss of the realm, as with Harpeden, Craddock, and divers others.<sup>2</sup>

*The eighth [ninth] article, of the five traitors who took gifts from many, and deprived others of justice.*

Also, by the said accroachment, the aforesaid Alexander Neville and his fellow traitors have impeded divers persons in the process of the common law of England, and put them to great delays, losses, and costs, and statutes and just judgements in necessary causes made and rendered in parliament have been reversed and annulled by the procurement of the said evil-doers and traitors by means of the great gifts and brokages received by them from such parties, to the great loss of the king and of the kingdom.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> For Sir Richard Craddock at Bordeaux see *CPR 1388-92*, p. 267; and as a diplomatic agent, Russell, *English Intervention*, p. 538 n. 1. He was later retained by Richard, and accompanied him to Ireland: *CPR 1391-6*, pp. 34, 472. John Harpeden was seneschal of Aquitaine: *CPR 1388-92*, pp. 43, 245; for his reputed combat with two African champions, see *Anon. Chron.*, 115-16, 188.

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of pardons and other grants under the great seal when Suffolk was chancellor, see Roskell, *Impeachment*, pp. 87-97. See also *RP* iii. 168-70.



*Articulus .9.<sup>a</sup> de traditoribus.*

Item lez auaundtitz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et lez altres traytours au roy et au roialme<sup>b</sup> encrochantz as eux poar roial, come faulx traitours a roi a roialme,<sup>c</sup> ount faitz et conseylle nostre dit seigneur le roy a graunter chartres de pardone dez horriblez felonyez et tresons, si bien contur lestate du roy come du partye, la quele chose fuist encontur la lei,<sup>d</sup> et le serement le roy.

*Articulus .10.<sup>e</sup> de tribus traditoribus.*

Item la oue<sup>f</sup> la graunt seigneurie et la terre<sup>g</sup> Dirland sount, et ount estez du temps dount memorie ne court, parcel del corone Dengletiere, et lez gentz de celle terre Dirland par tote le temps auaundtitz ount este liegez sanz mesne au roy nostre seigneur, et sez roialx progenitours, roys Denglietere,<sup>h</sup> et nostre seigneur et ses nobles progenitours, rois Dengleterre<sup>h</sup> en touz leur chartres, breues, lettres patentz, et auxi en leur sealx,<sup>h</sup> en augmentation de leur none et de leur royalte, lez ount fait nommez seigneur Dirland, lez auaundtitz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, et Mychele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, come faux traytours au roy, par le dit encrochement ent fait et conseylle qe nostre seigneur le roy, en quanque que luy est, ad graunte et assente plenement, et soy accorde, qe Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, soit fait roy du dit terre Dirland.

Et pur complere cest malueys purpos, lez auaundtitz traytours ount conseylle et<sup>i</sup> execyte qe nostre seigneur le roy ad enuoye sez lettres a nostre seynt piere le pope, de grauntiere, ratyfiere, et confermer leur traytorouse purpos,<sup>1</sup> sanz science oue assent de sone roialme Dengletiere et de la dit terre Dirland, en desceuerance de la liegiance du roy parentre le dit realme Denglietere, et la dit terre Dirland, et<sup>j</sup> en descesse del honorable none du roy nostre seigneur auaundtitz, et en ouerte disheretesone de sa corone du roialme Denglietiere, et pleyne destruction dez lealx lieges du roy nostre seigneur, et la dit terre Dirland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Art. 10 in RP<sup>b</sup> RP gives names<sup>c</sup> RP; om. T<sup>d</sup> RP; le roy T<sup>e</sup> Art. 11 in RP<sup>ff</sup> RP; lez auaundtitz seigneurs de la terre T<sup>gg</sup> RP; om. T<sup>h</sup> RP; lealx T<sup>i</sup> RP; om. T<sup>j</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> If Richard truly contemplated such an action, he would have needed the pope's approval of a change in the titles which Innocent III had conferred upon John, who was then his vassal, in 1213: see the references in *Westm. Chron.*, p. 248 n. 1. See also below, n. 2.

*The ninth [tenth] article, of the traitors.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, and the other traitors to the king and the realm, accroaching to themselves royal power, as false traitors to the king and the kingdom, have caused and advised our said lord the king to grant charters of pardon for horrible felonies and treasons as well against the king's estate as others, which was against the law, and contrary to the king's [coronation] oath.

*The tenth [eleventh] article, of the three traitors.*

Also whereas the great lordship and the land of Ireland are and have been from time beyond memory parcel of the crown of England, and the people of that land of Ireland for all the aforesaid time have been, without mesne lord, lieges to the king our lord, and his royal progenitors, kings of England, and whereas our lord [the king] and his noble progenitors, the kings of England, in all their charters, writs, letters patent, and also upon their seals, in augmentation of their title and regality have named themselves lords of Ireland, the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, like false traitors to the king, by the said encroachment have caused and advised our lord the king so far as he could to grant and fully to assent and agree that Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, should be made king of the said land of Ireland.

And to fulfil their wicked purpose the aforesaid traitors advised and urged that our lord the king should send letters to our holy father the Pope to grant, ratify, and confirm their treacherous purpose,<sup>1</sup> without the knowledge or assent of his realm of England or of the said land of Ireland, and to the disseverance of the king's allegiance between the said kingdom of England and the said land of Ireland, to the diminution of the honourable name of our lord the king aforesaid, and in open disherison of his crown of the realm of England and the total destruction of the loyal lieges of our lord the king and of the said land of Ireland.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> There is no evidence that Richard intended to cede suzerainty in Ireland to de Vere, but some that de Vere had planned to exercise authority there in person: A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *A History of Medieval Ireland*, 2nd edn. (London, 1980), pp. 318–20. The Anglo-Irish sought Richard's own presence in 1385, and he probably regarded de Vere as an acceptable substitute: see J. A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish Colony under strain, 1327–99', *NHI* ii. 391.

.xj. articulus,<sup>a</sup> solum super Nicholaum Brembre, quia rapuit <homines> in carcere et abduxit eos in Canciam et occidit eos ibi.

Item la ou par la grant chartre, et autrez bonez leyes et usagez du roialme Denglietere, qe nul homme ne serra pris, <sup>b</sup>nenprisonnez, ne<sup>b</sup> mys a mort, sanz due proces<sup>c</sup> de lay,<sup>1</sup> le<sup>d</sup> auaunt dit Nichol Brembul, faux chiualer de Londrez, par le dit encrochement prist par noct certeyns <sup>e</sup>persones hors de<sup>e</sup> la prisone de<sup>f</sup> / Newgate, chapeleyns et autres, iesqe de noumbre de .xxij., ascunes endictez, ascuns<sup>g</sup> appelez de felonye, et ascunz prouours en cas de felonye, et ascunez prisez et prisonez illoeqes par cause de suspecion de felonye, et lez amesnoit hors de Loundrez en la conte de Kent a un hen<sup>h</sup> qest appelle Foulehoke, et illoeqes encrocha a luy roiale pouere, come traytour au roy, sanz garante oue processe du ley les fist estre decollez toutz, sauf<sup>i</sup> un qestoit appelle de felonye par un prouour, le quele il lesoit uoluntierment<sup>j</sup> alere a large mesme le temps.<sup>2</sup>

.12. articulus<sup>k</sup> de .v. traditoribus quia ceperunt dona pro manucapione causarum.

Item lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Mychel del Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylyane, faux iustice, et Nichol Brembre, faux chyualer de Loundres, traytours au roy et au roialme, ont prisez en meynez causes grantz dounz, en none du roy, dez diuersez partyes pur mayntenaunce dez querelez, et ascune foith dez ambideux partiez, si come pluis a pleyne serra monstre quant mester serroite.<sup>3</sup>

Articulus .13.<sup>l</sup> de .v. traditoribus.

Item par le dit encrochement lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, et touz cez autres compaignons,<sup>m</sup> ount fait que par la ou ascun dez seignurs altres, loialx lieges nostre seignur le roy, as diuersez parlymentz cyantz grant pouare et doute de<sup>n</sup> perde du roy

<sup>a</sup> Art. 12 in RP    <sup>b-b</sup> RP; ne prisonnez T    <sup>c</sup> RP; parces T    <sup>d</sup> RP; om. T  
<sup>e-e</sup> RP; prisonnez deis de T    <sup>f</sup> Repeated on fo. 221<sup>v</sup>, and cancelled by scribe    <sup>g</sup> RP;  
om. T    <sup>h</sup> lieu RP; hen may be a simple misreading, or a substitution    <sup>i</sup> RP; sanz T  
<sup>j</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>k</sup> Art. 13 in RP    <sup>l</sup> Art. 14 in RP    <sup>m</sup> RP names Tresilian and Brembre    <sup>n</sup> RP; le T

<sup>1</sup> A reference to Magna Carta (1215), c. 39; see the discussion in F. Thompson, *Magna*

The eleventh [twelfth] article, upon Nicholas Brembre alone, that he took men from prison and carried them into Kent, and slew them there.

Also whereas by Magna Carta and other good laws and usages of the realm of England no man should be taken, nor imprisoned, nor put to death, without due process of law,<sup>1</sup> the aforesaid Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, by the said accroachment took by night certain prisoners from Newgate gaol, chaplains and others, to the number of twenty-two, some indicted, some appealed of felony, some approvers in cases of felony, and others arrested and imprisoned upon suspicion of felony, and led them out of London into the county of Kent, to a gibbet called Foul Oak, and there accroaching to himself royal power, like a traitor to the king, without warrant or process of law had them all beheaded, save one who was appealed of felony by an approver, and whom he released in the meantime.<sup>2</sup>

The twelfth [thirteenth] article, upon the five traitors, that they accepted bribes to maintain causes.

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, traitors to the king and to the kingdom, have taken many valuable gifts, in the king's name, paid by parties to maintain their various causes, and on one occasion by both parties, as will be shewn fully at the proper time.<sup>3</sup>

The thirteenth [fourteenth] article, of the five traitors.

Also by the said accroachment the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and all their other associates, have so contrived that whereas some other lords, loyal lieges of the king, having great fear and misgiving over the loss suffered by the king

*Carta: its Rôle in the Making of the English Constitution, 1300-1629* (Minneapolis, 1948), pp. 86-96.

<sup>2</sup> There is an element of civic hysteria in the accusations against Brembre, and in the event it was the death of him. What may lie behind these accusations is that he had been *ex officio* a justice of gaol delivery at Newgate, and lord of the manor of Lewisham, close by Foul Oak. For a sober assessment of his offences, see Bird, *Turbulent London*, pp. 88-90, 93-5; and also *Westm. Chron.*, p. 249 n. 3. See also below, p. 498 n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> See, besides the accusations against de la Pole, above, pp. 362-4, the fate of Walter Sybil of London, cited in *RP* iii. 186; and *Westm. Chron.* p. 245 n. The phrasing of this article may reflect an early stage of drafting the appeal.

et du roialme par cause lez ditz mesfesours<sup>a</sup> meschiefs, mouerount dauoyre bone gouernance entour le roy, pur eschuiere lez perilles auaunt ditz, qe nostre seignur le roy se moua tant<sup>b</sup> et si durement encontur eux, qe commanda ascunez quilz<sup>c</sup> departierount de sone conseylle et de parlyment, ensi qils noseront<sup>d</sup> pluis parler de cest matere, ne touche bone gouernance du roy et du roialme, pur prioure de mort, en grant areresment du roy et du roialme.<sup>1</sup>

*Articulus .14.<sup>e</sup> de .v.<sup>2</sup>*

Item par le dit encrochement lez auaunt ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et touz lez autres traytours,<sup>f</sup> ont fait qe la ou le darreynne parlyment touz lez seignurs et autres sages<sup>g</sup> et comunz<sup>g</sup> illoeques assembles, ueantz le perde du roy et de sone realme emynents,<sup>h</sup> tantz pur lez perilles et meschiefs susditz, et qe le roy estoit departie<sup>i</sup> de counsayle du roialme, et se teneit tut a conseyle de lez ditz mesfesours et traytours, come par cause qe le roy Fraunceys estoit eskyppes en<sup>j</sup> son roial pouare, en la meere, prest pur auoyre aryuer en Englietere et destruiere tut le roialme et alange Denglietere, et nul ordeignaunce ne gouernaunce estoit ayllours<sup>k</sup> fait pur sauite du roy ne du roialme,<sup>3</sup> mes ne sceuront<sup>l</sup> de ceo autres remedyes, mez monstront au roy tut pleynement, coment il estoite malement gouerne, consellye, et<sup>m</sup> / demenee par lez auaunt ditz traytours et mesfessours, en declaranz a luy lour malues condicions, et luy requirerount moult humblement, come sez foialx lieges, pur sauite de luy et de tut sone realme, et pur eschuiere touz lez perilles auaunt ditz de<sup>n</sup> lessez et oustiere lez ditz mesfessours et traytours hors de la presence et companye, et qe ne ferroit en apres lour malueys consaylle, mes apres lez sagez, loialx, et descretres du roialme. Et sur ceo les ditz traytours et<sup>o</sup> mesfesours, ueantz cest bone et honorable opinione de parlyment, et pur disturbere cel bone purpos, par<sup>p</sup> lour faux conseyle, firent que nostre seignur le roy comaunda a mayre de Loundres defaire sodeignement leuer un<sup>q</sup> grant pouare dez gentz de Loundres,

<sup>a</sup> *Om. in RP.*      <sup>b</sup> *RP; tut T*      <sup>c</sup> *RP; que T*      <sup>d</sup> *RP; ferront T*  
<sup>e</sup> *Art. 15 in RP*      <sup>f</sup> *Named in RP*      <sup>g</sup> *RP; om. T*      <sup>h</sup> *RP; esmuz T*  
<sup>i</sup> *RP; du partye T*      <sup>j</sup> *ou in C*      <sup>k</sup> *alors RP*      <sup>l</sup> *RP; souierount T*  
<sup>m</sup> *Repeated on fo. 222, and cancelled by scribe*      <sup>n</sup> *RP; om. T*      <sup>o</sup> *RP; om. T*  
<sup>p</sup> *RP; pur T*      <sup>q</sup> *RP; ouc T*

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a reference to Gloucester's withdrawal from the Garter celebrations at Windsor in 1387: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, p. 17.

and the kingdom, because of the mischief caused by the said evil-doers, sought in divers parliaments to have good governance about the king to avoid the aforesaid perils, our lord the king reacted so entirely and severely against them that he ordered some to leave his council and his parliament, so that they dared no longer discuss the matter nor seek good governance of the king and the kingdom for fear of death, to the great harm of the king and of the realm.<sup>1</sup>

*The fourteenth [fifteenth] article, of the five.<sup>2</sup>*

Also by the said accroachment the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, and all the other traitors have so acted that whereas in the last parliament all the lords and the other experienced men and the commons there assembled, seeing the eminent losses to the king and to his kingdom, were so moved by the abovesaid perils and mischiefs, and seeing that the king had abandoned the counsel of the realm and was himself bound entirely to the counsel of the said evil-doers and traitors, and because the king of France had taken ship with his royal power and was even then at sea to come to England and to destroy the whole realm of England and the English tongue, and no other orders or governance had been made for the safety of the king or the realm,<sup>3</sup> knew no other remedy but to show the king quite plainly how badly he was governed, advised, and led by the aforesaid traitors and evil-doers, and to declare to him the gravity of their condition, and as his loyal lieges most humbly request him for his own safety, and for the safety of the whole realm, and to avoid all the aforesaid perils, to put aside and expel the said evil-doers and traitors from his presence and company, and not thereafter to follow their wicked counsel, but that of the wise, loyal, and judicious men of the realm, thereupon the said traitors and evil-doers, seeing the good and honourable opinion of the parliament, and to destroy that good purpose by their false counsel, caused our lord the king to order the mayor of London of a sudden to raise a great force of the people of London

<sup>2</sup> The two following articles appear to confuse the events of 1386, when the threat of French invasion was followed by the parliamentary attack upon de la Pole, and the rumours then current of a plot against the Commons, with those of the autumn of 1387, and the king's conferences with the mayor of London (above, p. 406, n. 4). The Appellants had, at least in the short term, nothing to lose by such misremembering.

<sup>3</sup> There had in fact been an expensive general array: see above, pp. 348-50.

1388 docchiere et mettre au mort touz lez ditz seignurs et comines, hors pris ceux qe furent de lour couyn. Al fesance de quele malefat lez greindres mesfesours et traytours susditz serroyent partye, et "pre-sentes, en<sup>a</sup> deffesaunce du roy et <sup>b</sup>de tout son<sup>b</sup> roialme susditz.

.15. *Articulus<sup>c</sup> de omnibus.*

Item quant lez ditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et touz lez autres,<sup>d</sup> traytours et mesfesours au roy et au roialme, perceueront lez ditz mayre et lez bonez gentz de Loundrez auoient ouertement refusez, en presence du roy, dacompliere lez ditz malueys purposez et prodicion touchant le mourdre dez ditz seignurs et comines, par lour dit trayterouse acrochement fausement conseleront le roy, et tant fyront, qe nostre seignur le roy soy esloiganst hors du dit parlyment par plusours iours, et fist certyfyere que ne uoloit unqes approcher le dit parlyment, ne cominer oue lez ditz seignurs et comines du bosoignes du roialme, pur nule perile, perde, ne meschiefe que purroient ascunement auener a luy et sone roialme, si ne fuisse primerment assurez,<sup>e</sup> par lez auaunt ditz seignurs et comines, qils ne duissent riens dyer ne faire en le dit parlyment encontur ascunez dez ditz mesfesours, sauant qils duissent alere et procedere auant touchant la processe qe fuist hors comence enuers Mychele de la Pole, a<sup>f</sup> grant areresment du roy et du sone roialme, et encontur lez aniyeciens ordeignauce et libertes du parlyment.<sup>1</sup>

*Articulus .16.<sup>g</sup> de omnibus.*

Item les auaunt ditz<sup>h</sup> seignurs et comines du roialme, apres qils auont entenduz qe la uolunte le roy, par les malues excitacion et conseyle de ditz Alexandur et touz lez autres,<sup>i</sup> estoit tiele, qil ne uoloit suffre ascune chose estre comence, pursue, oue fait encontur lez ditz malfesours<sup>j</sup> et traytours,<sup>j</sup> come desuis, noseront<sup>k</sup> ent pluis parler ne proceder encontur la uolunte le roy. Et puis en le dit parlyment ewes lez conseyllez et auyementz dez touz lez seignurs, iusticez, et aultres sagez et<sup>l</sup> comines du dit parlyment / coment lestate du roy, et de sone roialte, <sup>m</sup>et du roialme<sup>m</sup> purront meult estre sauez encontre lez perillez et meschiefs susditz.

Et ne scieront trouer, ne troueront, altre remedye, mes le

to slay and put to death all the said lords and commons save those who were of their conspiracy, to which wicked act the greater of the abovesaid evil-doers and traitors were party and present, to the undoing of the king and of the realm abovesaid.

*The fifteenth [sixteenth] article, of them all.*

Also when the said Alexander, archbishop of York, and all the other evil-doers and traitors to the king and the realm perceived that the mayor and the good people of London had openly, in the presence of the king, refused to accomplish the said wicked purpose and treason touching the murder of the said lords and commons, they by their said traitorous accroachment falsely advised the king, and so worked upon him, that our lord the king absented himself from the said parliament for many days, and announced that he would not approach the said parliament, nor discuss the business of the realm with the said lords and commons, no matter what peril, loss, or harm might come to him or to the kingdom, unless he was first assured by the aforesaid lords and commons that they would say and do nothing in the said parliament against any of the said evil-doers, knowing that they were bound to proceed with the action already begun against Michael de la Pole, and greatly to the harm of the king and of his kingdom, and against the ancient ordinances and liberties of parliament.<sup>1</sup>

*The sixteenth [seventeenth] article, of them all.*

Also the aforesaid lords and commons of the realm, when they heard that, by the evil excitation and counsel of the said Alexander and all the others, it was the king's will that he would allow nothing to be begun, pursued, or done against the said evil-doers and traitors, did not dare to speak nor proceed in anything against the king's will. And therefore in the said parliament they took the counsel and advice of the lords, the judges, and the other experienced commons as to how the estate of the king and his regality could best be saved from the said perils and mischiefs.

And they neither knew, nor could they discover, other remedy

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 354–60; and p. 470 n. 2. The Appellants are telescoping the events before and after de la Pole's impeachment; it was, in fact, a notable feature of the proceedings in 1386 that no other officer or intimate of the king was then attacked. See Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 412–13, where it is suggested that Richard withdrew from Westminster for some three weeks.

<sup>a-a</sup> RP; par presence T      <sup>b-b</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>c</sup> Art. 16 in RP      <sup>d</sup> Named in RP  
<sup>e</sup> Corrected from assurez by Twysden      <sup>f</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>g</sup> Art. 17 in RP  
<sup>h</sup> Om. RP      <sup>i</sup> Named in RP      <sup>j</sup> Om. RP      <sup>k</sup> RP; ne uoleront T  
<sup>l</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>m-m</sup> RP; om. T

ordeigner qe .xij. de loialx et sages seignurs de la terre serront de conseylle du roy, pur une an entiere alors proscheyn ensuant, et qe lours serroit fait tiele estatut et commissione par mesme le temps, par queux ils auoient plin et suffesant poiar de ordeigner pur la gouernaunce du roy et du roialme, et quanque appartenoit a roy, dese la miere de la, et de repellere, repayere, et redresser quant qestoit malment fait encontur lestate, honour, et profit du roy et de realme, et de fayre altres chosez diuersez et necessariez "pur profit" du roy et du roialme, come est contenuz-en la commissione ent fait, quele est de recorde en la chauncelerye.<sup>1</sup>

Et qe nule persone ne deueroit<sup>b</sup> conseyllere le roy, ne luy mouer ascunement encontur la dit ordeignance et statute, et si le ferroit, a primer seit perdroit touz sez bienz et chatieux, et al seconde defaute il porteroit penaunce de uye et de membre. Et cellez ordeignancez et remedie serroyt ent fait sil pleroit au roy, et nient aultrement. A quele ordeignance touz lez iusticez du roialme estoyent accordes, et lour conseyle a ceo deneront, si bien en presence du roy come dez ditz seignurs.<sup>2</sup> Et auxint nostre seignur le roy sey assente pleynement a ycelle ordeignance. Et sur ceo lez ditz ordeignance, estatuz, et commissione furent faitz et accordantz alsent du roy, et dez ditz seignurs, et iusticez, et altres sagez et comines assemblez au dit parlyment, pur sauere le roy, sa regalie, et sone realme.

Et apres le finissement de dit parlyment lez ditz traytours et mesfesours, pur lour ditz malues encrochement, faucement et tratriousement enfourmeront<sup>c</sup> le roy qe lez ditz ordeignancez, estatute, et commissione estoient faitz en defesence<sup>d</sup> de sa regalie, et qe totez ceux que procureront oue conseleront lez ditz ordeignancez, estatut, et commissione destre fait, et qe touz yceux qe exciteront le roy dassenter a ceo, sont dignez destre mortes com traytours au roy.

.17. *articulus<sup>e</sup> de omnibus.*

Item apres ceo lez ditz mesfesours et traytours Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyke, Robart de Veer, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylian, faux iustice, et Nichol

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>b</sup> dorroit RP    <sup>c</sup> RP; conformeront T    <sup>d</sup> RP; defence T  
<sup>e</sup> Art. 18 in RP

<sup>1</sup> For the construction of the commission, ordinance, and statute, and its implications, see Clementi, in *EHR* lxxxvi, pp. 101-2.

but to ordain that twelve of the loyal and experienced lords of the land should be of the king's counsel for a whole year next ensuing, and that there should be a statute and commission for that same time by which they would have full and sufficient power to ordain the governance of the king and of the realm, and of what pertains to the king both on this side of the sea and beyond, and to reject, and repair, and redress all that had been ill done against the estate, honour, and profit of the king and of the kingdom, and to do various other things necessary for the king and the kingdom, as is contained in the commission thereto made which is on record in the Chancery.<sup>1</sup>

And that no person should advise nor move the king in any way against the said ordinance and statute, and if any did so a first time they should forfeit all their goods and chattels, and upon a second offence they should suffer judgement of life and limb, and that such ordinances and remedy should be performed if they were pleasing to the king and not otherwise. To the which ordinance all the judges of the realm were agreed, and their advice thereon was given as well in the presence of the king as of the said lords.<sup>2</sup> And our lord the king also assented fully to that ordinance. And thereupon the said ordinance, statute, and commission were made and agreed with the assent of the king and of the said lords and judges, and of the other learned men and commons assembled in the said parliament to save the king, his regality, and his realm.

And after the close of the said parliament the said traitors and evil-doers, by their said wicked accroachment, falsely and traitorously told the king that the said ordinance, statute, and commission were made in disparagement of his regality, and that all those who procured and proposed the making of the said ordinance, statute, and commission, and all those who urged the king to assent to them, were worthy of death as traitors to king.

*The seventeenth [eighteenth] article, of them all.*

Also after that the said evil-doers and traitors Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas

<sup>2</sup> The judges' participation in the discussions must have included some consideration of precedent, and practical advice, and would have fuelled the Appellants' later fury over the opinions delivered at Nottingham.

Brembrer, faux chyualer de Loundres, ount faitz le roy assemblere conseylle dez certeyns seignurs, iusticez, et altres plusours, foitz<sup>d</sup> saunz assent ou<sup>b</sup> presence dez seignurs de graunt conseylle, et lez ont faitz diuersez demaundere et moult suspecieuse dez diuersez matiers, pur quoy le roy, lez seignurs, et le commune poeple ont estez en le pluis graunt trouble, et tut le realme auxi, et lez coers dez plusours retrays du roy, sauant loure / liegeaunce.<sup>1</sup>

*Articulus .18.<sup>c</sup> contra omnes quia consulerunt regi facere magnates et nobiles facere securitatem esse cum rege contra dominos.*

Item pur acomples la dit haut tresone, lez ditz mesfesours et traytours Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, count de Suthfolc, par assent et conseylle <sup>d</sup>des ditz<sup>d</sup> Robart Tressylyon, faux iustice, et Nychol Brembulle, faux chyualer de Loundres, firent le roy alere ouesque ascunez dez euax parmy son roialme, par le greyndoure partye, et <sup>e</sup>es parties de Gales<sup>e</sup> et fyrent le roy faire uenir deuaunt luy lez seignurs, chyualers, esquiers, et altres bonez gentz dez ditz parties, si bien dez cytees et boroughez come dez altres lieux, et lez firent estre liez, ascunes par lour obligacions et ascunez par lour serement, a nostre seigneur le roy, destre ouesque luy encontur touz gentz, et dacompler la purpos du roy, <sup>f</sup>quel purpos du roi<sup>f</sup> estoyt a celle temps de acomplere lez uoluntez et purpos<sup>g</sup> dez les auauntditz mesfesours et traytours, et par faux ymaginacions, couyns, et crochementz susditz. Queux seurtez et serement estoient faitz encontur lez bonez loyés et usages de la terre, et contur le serement du roy, a<sup>h</sup> grant areresment et dishonours du roy et du roialme.

Item<sup>i</sup> par force tielez liens et serementz tout le roialme est mouee en grant myrmour et truble par lez ditz mesfesours et traytours, Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Vere, duc Dirland, Michele de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, Robart Tressilyan, faux iustice, Nichol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, et en perille dauoire suffert diuersez meschiefs emportables.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> RP; faitz T    <sup>b</sup> RP; en T    <sup>c</sup> Art. 19 in RP    <sup>d</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>e</sup> RP;  
en parties de Calis T    <sup>f</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>g</sup> de roy quel purpos cancelled by scribe  
<sup>h</sup> RP; et T    <sup>i</sup> Art. 20 in RP

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 392–8, and *Westm. Chron.*, p. 186 and nn. Both the Shrewsbury and the Nottingham councils seem to have fallen within Aug. 1387. See further Tuck, *Richard II*,

Brembre, false knight of London, caused the king to assemble a panel of certain lords justices and others, without the assent or presence of the lords of the great council, and made many inquiries of them and raised suspicions upon various matters, whereby the king, the lords, and the common people were caused great trouble, and the whole realm besides, and the hearts of many alienated, saving their allegiance, from the king.<sup>1</sup>

*The eighteenth [nineteenth] article, against them all, that they advised the king to make magnates and nobles give pledges to side with the king against the lords.*

Also to accomplish the said high treason the said evil-doers and traitors Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, by the assent and counsel of Robert Tresilian, false justice, and of Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, caused the king to go with some of them through the greater part of the kingdom and the parts of Wales, and caused the king to call before him the lords, knights, esquires, and other good people of the said parts, both from cities and boroughs and from other places, and caused them to be bound, some by bonds of obligation and some by oath to our lord the king, to stand with him against all men, and to accomplish the purpose of the king, which was to accomplish the will and purpose of the aforesaid evil-doers and traitors, and the false schemes and conspiracies and accroachments aforesaid, the which sureties and oath were made against the good laws and usages of the land and against the king's oath, to the great disparagement and dishonour of the king and the kingdom.

[The twentieth article].

And so, by force of the said bonds and oaths, the whole kingdom was moved to great unease and trouble by the said evil-doers and traitors Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, and in danger of having to suffer divers intolerable injuries.<sup>2</sup>

pp. 227–8. This article may have been drafted before the Appellants found the full text of the judges' answers.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 418 n. 5; and *Westm. Chron.*, p. 186.



.19.<sup>a</sup> *contra omnes quia fecerunt <regem><sup>b</sup> elongare se a consilio dominorum.*

Item pur aforcer 'lour ditz traiterouses purposes<sup>c</sup> lez ditz Alexandur, etcetera,<sup>d1</sup> oue touz sez compaignones souent fyrent le roy soy esloigner<sup>e</sup> en lez plus loingtines<sup>f</sup> partiez du roialme, a cause qe lez seignurs assignez par lez ditz ordeignauncez et statutez et commissione nie purroient conseyllere ouesque luy du busoigne du roialme, en desturbance et defsenche le purport et en effet del ordeignaunce, estatutez, et commissione auaunt ditz, en graunt areresment du roy et du roialme.<sup>2</sup>

.20. *articulus<sup>g3</sup> contra omnes et contra Thomam Vske, Iohannem Blake, (et) Iohannem Rypon. Ad adducendos duces Lancastrie et multos nobiles et morti tradere.<sup>h</sup>*

Item lez auaunt ditz mesfesours et traytours Nichol Brembul, faux chiualer de Londrez, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Alexandur, erceueske Deuerwyk, Mychele de la Pole, counte de Suthfolc, et Robart Tressiliane, faux iustice, apres quellez estoient sustrayez lez corps et bien uolunte le roy dez ditz seignurs qe senterount deffaire lez auaunt ditz ordeignauncez, estatutez, et commissione en darreyne parlyment, et qe le roy les tenoyt / sez enmys et sez traytours, et ouesque ceo qils estoient seurs qe lez oppinions dez iusticez estoient accordantz a lour malueys purpos suseditz, et qascunez dez ditz iusticez estoient de lour assent et couyne, 'alors par faux ymagynacion,<sup>i</sup> et pur attendre lour faux et trayterows purpos auaunt ditz par faux compassents entur eus ordeigne, ferrount qe ascunez dez ditz seignurs et communes serront primerment arrestez, puis par faux enquestz, endittez, et atteyntes dez certeyns tresons par eux fauxment ymaginez sur mesmez lez seignurs et comines, et issint estre mys in malueys et homtouse mort, et eux de lour sank perpetuelment disheritez. Et qe ceux faux arrestez, enditesmentz, et attienz serront faitz a Londrez et en Middlesex, et par celle cause fyrent un malueys et

<sup>a</sup> Art. 21 in RP    <sup>b</sup> No mark of omission in marginal heading    <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T  
<sup>d</sup> RP gives names and titles    <sup>e</sup> RP; essoynere T    <sup>f</sup> RP; longez T    <sup>g</sup> Art. 26 in RP: see also n. o    <sup>h</sup> The second part of the heading is on fo. 223<sup>v</sup>    <sup>i</sup> RP; aylours pur fayre ymaginacion T    <sup>j</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> These and some other abbreviations (see below, p. 480 n. 2) show that Knighton is using a source similar to one of those used by the Westminster chronicler, though he

*The nineteenth [twenty-first article], against all, that they caused the king to distance himself from the lords' advice.*

Also to strengthen their said traitorous purposes the said Alexander, etc.,<sup>1</sup> with all their associates, often caused the king to absent himself in the farthest parts of the kingdom, so that the lords assigned by the said ordinance and statute and commission could not discuss the business of the realm with him, to the disturbance and defeasance of the intention and effect of the aforesaid ordinance, statute, and commission, and to the great disadvantage of the king and the kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

*The twentieth [twenty-sixth] article,<sup>3</sup> against all, and against Thomas Usk, John Black, and John Ripon, for plotting to seize the duke of Lancaster and many noble men and put them to death.*

Also the aforesaid evil-doers and traitors Nicholas Brembre, false mayor of London, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Alexander, archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Robert Tresilian, false justice, after they had withdrawn the king's person and his goodwill from the said lords who wished to execute the aforesaid ordinance, statute, and commission in the previous parliament, so that the king deemed them his enemies and betrayers, and were withal assured that the opinions of the judges would be in accord with their evil purpose abovesaid, and that some of the judges were of their mind and their conspiracy, and also to make plots and to attain their false and traitorous purpose aforesaid by their false contriving, had it ordained that some of the said lords and commons should first be arrested and then by false processes indicted, attainted of various treasons, by them falsely devised against both the lords and the commons, and thereupon wickedly put to a shameful death and them of their blood disinherited in perpetuity. And those false arrests, indictments, and attainders were to be made in London and Middlesex, and for that reason they caused

appears to have made further changes of his own: see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 261 n. 2; and 234 n. 2; and above, p. xlvi.

<sup>2</sup> Whilst he was certainly trying to recruit support on his travels, Richard did stay in touch with the council: see Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 17–18; and Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 109–11.

<sup>3</sup> The numbering is dislocated from this point because Articles 22–5 have been displaced to the end of the series, where they are numbered 34–7. Those four articles precede the questions put to the judges (above, pp. 394–8) on m. 4 of the parliament roll (RP iii. 232–3). It is not clear whether the muddle is Knighton's own, or whether, which seems likely, it occurred in the text which he used (see above, p. xlvi n. 77).

faux persone de lour couyne, Thomas Vske, destre southuiscont de Myddlesex,<sup>1</sup> qe "par lour assent,"<sup>a</sup> procurements, et commandements, enprestz qe lez faux endditesmentz et attiendrez serront faitez et acomplez par le maner susdit. Et a plener compleissement de mesme la treson lez ditz traytours fyrent nostre seignur le roy enuoyere sez lettres du credence par Iohan Rypone, faux clerk, qe estoit de lour faux couyne, directez a mayre de Loundres, quele credence estoyte qe le dit mayre duist arester<sup>b</sup> le dit Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, et aultres certeyns persones queux il noma a celle temps. Et apres qe le dit duc et lez autres fuissent ensi arrestez, ils duissent estre enditez de certeyns tresons en maner come le dit Nichol Brembul, faux chiualer de Loundres, et Iohan Blake, gestoient de ceo pleynerment enformes, duissent enformere le dit mayre, et puis le dit Nichol Brembulle, faux chiualer de Loundrez, et Iohan Blake, par force du dit lettre de credence, porteront al dit mayre une bille, questoit enformacion de la dite fauce endytement, commandant et chargeant de par le roye au dit mayre qil a sone pouare duissoit fayre lez auaunt ditz arrestez, enditementz, et atteindres estre faitez par le manere susdit, lefait de quele bille ensuyt: Et semble pur le meult qe certeyns, etcetera. Vt en confessione Blake, etcetera.<sup>2</sup> Outre ceo lez ditz mesfesours et traytours ordeigneront qe bone espye serroit fait sur la arryualle de moun seignur duc de Lancastre, et qil serroit arestee mayntenant sur sa aryualle.

*Articulus .21.<sup>c</sup> contra omnes de fractione commissionis facte in precedenti parlamento.*

Item apres qe lez auaunditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robert Tressylione, faux iustice, et Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, mesfesours et traytours au roy et / a roialme, auoyent ensi trayterousement enformes nostre seignur le roy qil croia surement qe lez ditz ordeignauncez, estatutz, et commissione furent faitz en derogacion de sa regalye et prerogatyue du roy, et luy enfourmerount de croyere auxi fortement qe toux ceux qe ordeignerount lez ditz ordeignaunce, estatutz, et comissione destre faitz furent en fynalle purpos a degardere et deposere nostre dit seignur le roy, et qils ne uoillent en nule maner cessere de lour

<sup>a</sup> RP; parlaunce et assent T    <sup>b</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>c</sup> Art. 27 in RP

a wicked and dishonest member of their conspiracy, Thomas Usk, to be made under-sheriff of Middlesex,<sup>1</sup> who by their assent, procurements, and commands undertook to have the false indictments and attainders made and completed in the abovesaid manner. And fully to achieve that treason the said traitors caused our lord the king to send his letters of credence by John Ripon, false clerk, who was of their treacherous conspiracy, addressed to the mayor of London, to the effect that the mayor should arrest the said Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and certain other persons whom he named at that time. And after the said duke and the others had been arrested they were to be indicted of certain treasons in a manner which the said Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, and John Black, who were more fully informed of the matter, would relate to the said mayor, and then the said Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, and John Black, by force of the said letter of credence would take to the said mayor a bill which would contain the details of the said false indictment, commanding and charging the said mayor on behalf of the king that he should to the best of his power cause the aforesaid arrests, indictments, and attainders to be made in the abovesaid manner, the nature of which bill follows, 'And it seems for the best that certain etc.' As in his confession Black, etc.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore the said evil-doers and traitors ordered that a careful watch be kept for the arrival of Messire the duke of Lancaster, and that he be arrested as soon as he arrived.

*The twenty-first [twenty-seventh] article, against all, for breaking the commission made in the previous parliament.*

Also, after the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, evil-doers and traitors to the king and the realm, had thus traitorously informed our lord the king that he could assuredly believe that the said ordinance, statute, and commission were made in derogation of his regality and royal prerogative, and caused him also firmly to believe that all those who directed the said ordinance, statute, and commission to be made intended at the last to degrade and depose our said lord the king, and that they would in no way

<sup>1</sup> For Usk's appointment, see *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. 316-17 and n. The privy seal writ describes Usk as 'nostre bien ame sergeant darmes' (CLRO Letter-Book H, fo. ccxxii).

<sup>2</sup> On this abbreviation of the text, see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 234 n. 2, and 260 n. 2.

purpos tanqe aueront ceo parfait, paront le roy lez tinet come sez enmys et traytours.

.22. *articulus<sup>a</sup> ut rex conuocaret tam inimicos quam amicos ad destruendum dominos regni cum omnibus adherentibus.*

Item apres celle faux et tratorouse informacion, quant lez auauntditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylyane, fauce iustice, et Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, perseueront qe nostre seigneur le roy lez loialx seignurs tenoit<sup>b</sup> come sez enmys et traytours, lez ditz mesfesours et traitours luy conseylleront qe par chescune uoie possible luy ferroit fort,<sup>c</sup> si bien par pouare dez sez gentz liegez come par pouere de sez enmys Fraunseys et altres, a destruerre et mettre a mort lez auauntditz seignurs et touz altres assentauntz al fesaunce de dit ordeynaunce, estatutez, et commissionne, et qe ceo serroyt si priuement qe nully ent saueroit tanque y fuist mys en fait.

.23. *articulus<sup>d</sup> contra omnes quinque ut rex mitteret de credencia litere ad regem Francie contra dominos regni sui.*

Item pur acompler cest haut tresone lez auauntditz Alexander, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, par lour conseyle ils fyrent le roy sez lettres de credence maundere a sone aduersarye le<sup>e</sup> roy Fraunceys, ascunes par Nichole Suthwelle, uadlet de sa chaumbre, et ascunez par altres persones de petyte estate, sibien alyenz come denizeinz, requirant et enpriant le dit roy Frawnceys qil ueroit estre, oue tut sa pouare et counseyl, eydant et enforçant a nostre seigneur le roy a destruerre et a mort mettre lez ditz seignurs et aultres Englyys, lez queux le roy lors tenoyt sez enmys et traytours come desus, a<sup>f</sup> tresgrant disease et trouble de tut le roialme.<sup>1</sup>

.24.<sup>g</sup> *ut rex noster sursumredderet castellum cum uilla de Calys regi <Francie>, si ueniret in auxilium <suum>, cum omnibus castellis et uillis ultra mare.*

Item lez auauntditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de Pole, cont de Suthffolc, acrochantz

<sup>a</sup> Art. 28 in RP    <sup>b</sup> Tmysden; tout T    <sup>c</sup> Interlined a later hand    <sup>d</sup> Art. 29 in RP  
<sup>e</sup> RP; du T. Cf Westm. Chron., p. 262: soun aduersaire du France    <sup>f</sup> RP; et T    <sup>g</sup> Art. 30 in RP

relent in their purpose until they had achieved that end, the king therefore held those lords to be his enemies and betrayers.

*The twenty-second [twenty-eighth] article, that the king gathered both his friends and his enemies to destroy the lords of the land with all their followers.*

Also after that false and traitorous advice when the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, perceived that our lord the king held the loyal lords to be his enemies and betrayers, the said evil-doers and traitors advised him that he should use all the means in his power, both with the aid of his own liege men and with the aid of his French enemies, and others, to destroy and put to death the aforesaid lords, and all the others who assented to the making of the said ordinance, statute, and commission, and that it should be done so privily that no one should know of it until it was accomplished.

*The twenty-third [twenty-ninth] article, against all five, that the king sent letters of credence to the king of France against the lords of his own realm.*

Also to accomplish that high treason the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, by their counsel caused the king to send his letters of credence to his adversary the king of France, some by Nicholas Southwell, a groom of his chamber, and others by other persons of small account, as well aliens as denizens, requesting and beseeching the said king of France that he should with all his power and counsel aid and assist our lord the king to destroy and put to death the said lords and other Englishmen whom the king held to be his enemies and betrayers, as is above said, to the great distress and trouble of all the realm.<sup>1</sup>

*The twenty-fourth [thirtieth] article, that our king should surrender the castle and the town of Calais to the king of France if he would come to his aid, together with all the castles and towns overseas.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk,

<sup>1</sup> On exchanges between the courts, see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 107-8.

a eaux royal poware, fyrent le roy promittere a roy Fraunceys par sez ditz lettres et messagez pur eyde et forcement auoyre du dit roy Fraunceys et de sa pouare, pur acompliere cest haut tresone de prodicion et murdre, de doner et suisrendre au dit roy Fraunceys la uille et le chastelle de Calys, et touz autres chastielles et<sup>a</sup> forcellettes, en la marche de Pycardye et Artoys,<sup>b</sup> lez chastielles / et uilles de Chirburghe et de Brest, a tresgraunte dishonour, et trouble, et arresment du roy et du roialme.

*Articulus .25.<sup>c</sup> ut dux Gloucestrie cum suis sociis prodiciose caperetur et morte traderetur.*

Item apres lez auanditz Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veer, duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, estoyent surez dauoire eyde en forcement du roy Fraunceys par manere come desuse, lour estoit accorde parentur nostre dit seignur le roy et le roy Fraunceys, par excitacion et fesaunce dez ditz traytours<sup>d</sup> Alexandur, etcetera, et touz cez compaignons,<sup>d</sup> qe parlaunce serreit faite en lez marches de Calys de trewe par .v. anz parentre lez ditz dieux roialmes Denglietere et Fraunce, et a quele parlaunce serront lez ditz .ij. royes et auxi lez ditz seignurs Engleys queux le roy tenoit<sup>e</sup> allours sez enmys<sup>e</sup> et traytours,<sup>e</sup> et la par<sup>e</sup> tresone, mesmes lez seignurs Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Richard, count Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, count de Warwyk, et autres, serront mys a mort.<sup>1</sup>

.26.<sup>h</sup> *pro saluo conducto ad certas personas u[...]<sup>i</sup> in Franciam pro sedicione adimplenda.*

Item pur acompleyscement de ceste haute tresone,<sup>j</sup> les auant ditz<sup>j</sup> Alexander, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, firent le roy enuoyer pur auoyre certeynes saucunditz du roy Fraunce, ascunez pur le roy mesme, ascune pur le dit<sup>k</sup> duc Dirland, et ascunes pur Iohan de Salusbury et Iohan Lancastre, chyualers, oue certeyne noubre dez gentz oue eux pur alere en Fraunce en acomplissement de lour dit malueys purpos et tresone, lez queux sont prestz a monstrene.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>b</sup> RP; a Troys T    <sup>c</sup> Art. 31 in RP    <sup>d-d</sup> Om. RP; and Westm. Chron. p. 262.    <sup>e</sup> Twysden; deuoit T    <sup>f</sup> Om. RP    <sup>g-g</sup> RP; a la T  
<sup>h</sup> Art. 32 in RP    <sup>i</sup> Text obscure in T    <sup>j-j</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>k</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> Richard had been in communication with the king of France at least since the previous summer, and had arranged for a conference upon a general peace to be held in Picardy in November. Even if the three original Appellants were justified in believing that the king was

accroaching to themselves royal power, caused the king to promise the king of France, by his said letters and messages seeking to have aid and support from the said French king and from his power in order to accomplish that high treason of betrayal and murder, that he would give and surrender to the king of France the town and castle of Calais, and all the other castles and fortalices in the march of Picardy and Artois, and the castles and towns of Cherbourg and Brest, to the very great dishonour, and disturbance, and detriment of the king and the kingdom.

*The twenty-fifth [thirty-first] article, that the duke of Gloucester and his companions should be treacherously taken and put to death.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, being sure of the aid and assistance of the king of France in the above manner, it was agreed through them between our said lord the king and the French king, by the incitement and deeds of the said traitors, Alexander etc., and all their companions, that a conference should be held in the marches of Calais upon a truce for five years between the two said kingdoms of England and France, at which conference the two said kings should be present, and also the said English lords whom the king held to be his enemies and traitors, and that there those lords, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, constable of England, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas, earl of Warwick, and others, should treacherously be put to death.<sup>1</sup>

*The twenty-sixth [thirty-second] article, for safe-conduct for certain persons [to go] to France to accomplish the treason.*

Also for the accomplishment of that high treason Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, caused the king to send for certain safe-conducts from the king of France, one for the king himself, one for the duke of Ireland, and others for John Salisbury and John Lancaster, knights, and a number of others with them, to go to France to achieve their wicked purpose and treason, the which they are ready to show.<sup>2</sup>

making contingent plans to destroy them, they erred in supposing that the conference was merely a means to that end. See further Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 107-9, 114-19.

<sup>2</sup> It was principally their involvement in the negotiations with France that brought the household knights (the process against whom Knighton does not describe) under the ban of treason. See the account and the references cited in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 262, 278 and

.27.<sup>a</sup> *Isti fecerunt omnia artificia Londoniarum iurare manutenere regem contra omnes sibi rebelles.*

Item le auaunt dit Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, par assent et counseyl dez ditz Alysander, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Mychel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, et Robert Tressylyan, faux iustice, de acrocher a eaux royal pouare, come deuaunt, fist qe ascunz dez eux uendrent a Loundrez en propres persones et, saunz assent oue sauoyre du roy, illeques ouertement en none du roy fist touz lez craftus du dit citee de Londres estre iurrez a tener et perfourmere diuersez matieres nyent honestez, sicome est contenuz en le dit seurment qest de recorde en la chancelerie,<sup>1</sup> et entre autres qe la uolunte du roy et le purpos du roy tiendront et sustriendront a lour pouare, encontur tieuz ceux qe sont oue serront rebelles oue contrariantz encontre sa persone, oue sone regalie, et prestez serront <sup>b</sup> auener et demouere<sup>b</sup> oue nostre dit seigneur le roye, pur destruerre touz ceux qe purposent, oue purposeront, tresone encontur nostre dit seigneur le roy, en ascune manere, et qe prest serront, et prestment uendront a lour mayre qe lours estoit, oue qe apres cele temps serroit, quanque et<sup>c</sup> a quele eoure serroyent requis, pur restitire tanqe come la uye lour dure a touz qe purposent / oue purposeront tresone encontur nostre dit seigneur le roy en <sup>d</sup> ascune maner,<sup>d</sup> et qe prest serront, et prestment uendront, a lour mayre que lors estoit, oue qe apres cel temps serroit, quanque a quele lour serront requis pur resister tancqe come la uie lour dure a touz que purposent, oue purposeront, encontur nostre seigneur le roy liege oue ascunez dez pointz susditz.

fo. 225<sup>r</sup>

A quele temps le roy, par malues informacion dez ditz mesfesours et traytours, et par faux response dez ditz iustices, fermement tenoit lez ditz seignurs et altres qe estoyent de lassent de fayre lez auaunt ditz ordeignauncez, estatuz, et commissione estoyent rebellez a luy, sez enmys et traytours, la<sup>e</sup> quele informacion allours estoyt disconez as gentz dez Loundres,<sup>f</sup> et ency semble, qe par tieles paroles obscures<sup>f</sup> en le dit surement continues, le entent dez ditz mesfesours et traytours estoit de excitacion lez auaunt ditz gentz de Loundres destaire et de fayre lour pouare a destruerre lez seignurs loyalx susditz.

<sup>a</sup> *Art. 33 in RP*    <sup>b-b</sup> a uiuere et morrer *RP*    <sup>c</sup> *RP; om. T*    <sup>d-d</sup> ascuns des pointes susditz *RP*    <sup>e</sup> *Westm. Chron., p. 264; a T, et RP*    <sup>f-f</sup> *RP; et auxi par tieles paroles obfaires T*

*The twenty-seventh [thirty-third] article, how they caused the crafts of London to support the king against all who opposed them.*

Also the aforesaid Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, with the agreement and counsel of the said Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, and Robert Tresilian, false justice, in accroaching to themselves royal power, as above, arranged for some of them to come to London in their own persons, and there without the agreement or knowledge of the king, openly in the king's name cause all the crafts of the said city of London to be sworn to hold to and perform certain acts of no honest kind, as is contained in the said oath, which is on record in Chancery,<sup>1</sup> and amongst other things that it was the king's will and purpose that they should hold and work to the best of their power against those who were or should be rebels or contrarians against his person or his regality, and should be ready to come and remain with our said lord the king to destroy all those who proposed or should propose treason against our said lord the king in any wise, and that they should be ready and should readily come to the mayor for the time being whensoever they were required, so long as their lives should last, to resist those who proposed or should in future propose treason against our said lord the king in any way, and that they should be ready and should readily come to the mayor for the time being whensoever they were required, so long as their lives should last, to resist all those who proposed or should in future propose to go against the king in any of the above matters.

At which time the king by the perverse representations of the said evil-doers and traitors, and by the false answers of the said judges, firmly believed the said lords and others who had agreed to the aforesaid ordinance, statute, and commission to be rebels against him, and his enemies and betrayers, the which information was then unknown to the people of London, and also, by the obscure words contained in the said oath, the intention of the said evil-doers and traitors was to incite the aforesaid people of London to stand and use their power to destroy the abovesaid loyal lords.

nn. The phrase 'vij saufcondites' there (p. 278) is probably a corruption of 'certeynes sauecunditz' here in the main appeal.

<sup>1</sup> The oath, taken early in Oct. 1387, was an oath of allegiance, and had its own bearing on civic politics: see *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. xliv, and pp. 314-15; *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 265 and n. 1, 232 & n. 3; and Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 111-12.

*Articulus .28.<sup>a</sup> ut nullus de Londoniis uenderet aut ministraret uictualia uel arma comiti de Arundelle.*

Item lez auaunt ditz Nichol Brembul, faux chiualer de Loundres, Alexandur, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart Veer, duc Dirland, Mychele de la Pole, traytours de roy et du roialme, accrochant a eux royal pouere, de lour auctorite demesme, sanz garre<sup>b</sup> du roy oue de sone grant conseylle, firent faire 'crier et' proclamer parmy la cyte de Loundres qe nul dez lieges nostre seigneur le roy ne duissent sustener, ne conforter, ne eyder Richard, count Darundelle et de Surre, piere de la tiere, un dez seignurs de graunt conseylle nostre seigneur le roy durant la dit commission, ne armour, ne uitaylles, ne autres choses necessaries luy uendre, ne nul aultre manere luy desportere, et qe touz ceux questoyent entour luy duissent luy uoydere come rebelle du roy, sur peyne de forfaiture<sup>d</sup> quanqe qils purront forfayre uers nostre dit seigneur le roy, monstrant et portant une patent nostre seigneur le roy dautre tenure, en compassant du dit faux proclamation, 'e en auoglisment<sup>e</sup> du loyalx lieges nostre dit seigneur le roy.<sup>1</sup>

*.29.<sup>f</sup> ut nullus sub pena forisfacture loqueretur malum de dictis traditoribus.*

Item lez ditz Nycholle Brembulle, faux chyualer de Loundres, par assent et conseylle de <sup>g</sup>lez auaunt ditz<sup>g</sup> Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyke, Robart de Veere, duc Dirlande, Michel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, fist <sup>h</sup>cryere et<sup>h</sup> proclamer en la dite<sup>i</sup> cytee de Loundres qe nule persone soit si hardye parlere, ne parole ne mot sonner, de male dez ditz mesfesours et<sup>j</sup> traytours, <sup>k</sup>ne dez ascunez deux,<sup>k</sup> sur payne de forfeture de quanque qils purront forfayre enuers nostre dit seigneur le roy, encrochauntz ency<sup>l</sup> a eux royal pouere.<sup>2</sup>

*.20.<sup>m</sup> ut certi milites nominati uenirent ad parlamentum in preiudicium dominorum de quolibet comitatu.*

Item lez auaunt ditz Alexandre, erceueske Deuerwyke, Robart de Veere, duc Dirlande, Michel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, et Robart Tressylyan, faux iustice, et Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, traytours au roy et au roialme, ont faitez le roy maun-

<sup>a</sup> Art. 34 in RP      <sup>b</sup> garant RP      <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d</sup> RP; om. T  
<sup>e</sup> RP; en aloignement T, grant arrierissement Westm. Chron.      <sup>f</sup> Art. 35 in RP  
<sup>g</sup> Om. RP      <sup>h</sup> Om. RP      <sup>i</sup> Om. RP      <sup>j</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>k</sup> Om. RP  
<sup>l</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>m</sup> Corrected to 30 by Twysden; Art. 36 in RP

*The twenty-eighth [thirty-fourth] article, that no one in London should sell or provide victuals or arms to the earl of Arundel.*

Also the aforesaid Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, traitors to the king and the realm, accroaching to themselves royal power, on their own authority, and without warrant from the king or his great council, caused it to be cried and proclaimed throughout the city of London that no liege of our lord the king's should sustain, comfort, or aid Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, a peer of the realm, one of the lords of the great council of our lord the king during the said commission, nor sell armour nor victuals nor other necessities to him, nor convey them to him in any other way, and that all those who were with him should shun him as a rebel against the king, upon pain of forfeiting to the king all that they had, showing and carrying a patent of our lord the king's of another purport in order to procure the said false proclamation, and to deceive the loyal lieges of our said lord the king.<sup>1</sup>

*The twenty-ninth [thirty-fifth] article, that none upon pain of forfeiture should speak ill of the said evil-doers.*

Also the said Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, with the agreement and counsel of the said Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, caused it to be cried and proclaimed in the said city of London that none should be so hardy as to speak ill of nor utter word against the said evil-doers and traitors, nor any of them upon pain of forfeiting all that they could forfeit to our said lord the king, accroaching unto themselves royal power.<sup>2</sup>

*The [thirtieth / thirty-sixth article], that certain named knights should come to parliament from each county to the prejudice of the lords.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, traitors to the king and the realm, caused the king to order

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 402, and *Favent*, pp. 8-9.  
<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 414 and n. 2; there were in fact orders for two proclamations, which have been run together here. See also *Westm. Chron.* pp. 214-16 and n. For the Appellants' own sensitivities, see below, p. 520-2.



dere a sone counseyle de faire certeyns persones parmy Englietere uiscontz, queux estoient / a luy nummes par lez ditz mesfesours et traytours, al entent de fayre tieles chyualeres dez countez uenere al parlyment come ils uoillent nummer, en defesaunce<sup>a</sup> de bons seignurs, et loialx et bones communes du roialme, et auxi dez lez bones leyes et customez de la terre.<sup>1</sup>

*Articulus .26.<sup>b</sup> quia fecerunt regem leuare populum cum duce Hibernie contra dominos.*

Item lez auaunt ditz Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylyan, faux iustice, et Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres, faux traytours au roy et al roialme, durant le temps de la dit proteccion en anientusment de la dit appelle,<sup>c2</sup> fauxment conselleront et fyrent le roy commaundere par sez letrez as diuersez chyualers et esquiers, uiscontz, et altres sez ministrez de diuersez contees, de leuer et assembler tut la pouare qils purront, pur uener oue le dit duc Dirland encontur lez auaunt ditz troiz <sup>d</sup>seignurs appelland, pur eux sodenement guerrier et destruer.<sup>d</sup>

*<32> Rex<sup>e</sup> misit duci Hibernie uenire ad eum et occureret ei cum regali potestate in eius auxilium et rex poneret in euentu corpus suum et regnum.*

Item durant le temps de la dit proteccion lez auaunt ditz Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, count de Suthffolc, Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, et Nychol Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundrez, fyrent le roy, par sez lettres, notyfyer au dit duc Dirland coment il et autres estoient appellees de tresone par lez ditz Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Richard, cont de Arundelle et de Surre, et <sup>f</sup>Thomas, count de Warwyk, et <sup>e</sup>coment il auoyt de <sup>h</sup>se done iour au ditz partiez tanqe a proscheyn parlyament, et coment il ad pris en sa especiale proteccion ambidieux partiez ouesqe touz lour gentz, et biens et chatieux, et outre estoit contenuz as ditz lettres du roy qe si le dit duc Dirland auoit suffisant pouare, qil ne lerroit <sup>i</sup>daler auant ouesque tut son dit poiar et uener<sup>i</sup>

<sup>a</sup> RP; defaute T      <sup>b</sup> Corrected to 31 by Twysden; Art. 37 in RP      <sup>c</sup> RP; pelle T  
<sup>d,d</sup> Interlined by scribe or another contemporary hand      <sup>e</sup> Numbered 32 by Twysden  
<sup>f</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>g</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>h</sup> de interlined by scribe      <sup>i,i</sup> RP; aler ouesque le dit pouare et deuener T

<sup>1</sup> Richard is said (*Walsingham*, ii. 161) to have had a general conference with the sheriffs, in which he sought military aid against his opponents, and he certainly sought to influence

his council to appoint certain persons as sheriffs throughout England who should be named by the said evil-doers and traitors, with the intent of causing such knights of the shire as they should name to come to parliament to the destruction of the good lords and the loyal and good commons of the realm, and also of the good laws and customs of the land.<sup>1</sup>

*The [thirty-first / thirty-seventh] article, that they caused the king to raise the people with the duke of Ireland against the lords.*

Also the aforesaid Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, false traitors to the king and the realm, during the time of the said protection, and for the annulment of the said appeal,<sup>2</sup> falsely advised and procured the king to send his letters to divers knights and esquires, sheriffs, and other his ministers in divers counties, to rise and assemble all the forces they could to come with the said duke of Ireland against the aforesaid three lords appellant, in order suddenly to engage and destroy them.

*[The thirty second / thirty-eighth article], that the king sent for the duke of Ireland to come to him, and to bring royal power to his aid, and the king thus put at hazard his person and the kingdom.*

Also during the time of the said protection the aforesaid Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Alexander, archbishop of York, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, caused the king by his letters to inform the said duke of Ireland that he and the others were appealed of treason by the said Thomas, duke of Gloucester, constable of England, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, and Thomas, earl of Warwick, that he had given a day to the said parties at the coming parliament, and that he had taken both parties into his special protection together with all their people and goods and chattels, and furthermore it was contained in the king's said letters that if the said duke of Ireland had sufficient power he should not fail to advance with that power and

the return of knights of the shire to parliament. See A. Steel, 'The sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in the reign of Richard II', *PCAS xxxvi* (1936), 1-34; *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 266-7 and nn.; and Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 111-13.

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the writs issued by the king, and the appellees' activities, following Richard's meeting with Gloucester, Arundel, and Warwick on 17 Nov. 1387: see above, pp. 416-18.

au roy, et tost apres firent le roy escryuer au dit duc Dirland<sup>1</sup> qil prendroit le champ ouesque tut "son pouare qil<sup>a</sup> purroit assembler, et qe le roy luy enconteroit ouesque tut sone poare, et qe le roy <sup>b</sup>ouesque lui<sup>b</sup> metteroit en aenture son corps royale, et qe le roy estoit en grant perille de luy mesme et tut sone roialme sil ne soit eide ne socure par le dit duc Dirland. Et qe le dit duc Dirland deuoyt ceo<sup>c</sup> monstrier a touz lez gentz qestoient assemblez oue luy et<sup>d</sup> qe le roy paieroit touz lez gages et costages de dit duc Dirland, et de touz lez gentz par luy assemblez, par fors dez quelles lettres, et malueys et trayterouse excitacion, si bien du dit duc Dirland, come de sez adherentz et touz<sup>e</sup> lez autres mesfesours et traytours, le dit duc Dirland assemble graunt noumbre dez gentz dez armes et dez archiers, et si bien dez countes de Lancastre, Cestre, et de<sup>f</sup> Gales come dez autres lieux du roialme, a destruerre et<sup>g</sup> mettre au mort les auaunt ditz / seignurs qe furent de <sup>h</sup>lassent del<sup>h</sup> fesance de ditz ordeignauncez, estatutz, et commissiounes, <sup>i</sup>en defensance du roy et du roialme.

fo. 226<sup>r</sup>

*Articulus .33.<sup>i</sup> Dux Hibernie congregauit populum ad destruendum ducem Gloucestrie et socios suos.*

Item le dit Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, faux traytour du roy et du roialme, assemble graunt noumbre<sup>k</sup> dez gentz dez armez et darchiers, si bien dez countez de Lancastre, Cestre, et Galez, et de plusours autres lieux, al entent dauoyre destrue traytoureusement <sup>l</sup>a tout sa poiard<sup>l</sup> lez ditz<sup>m</sup> Thomas, duc de Gloucestre, constable Denglietere, Henry, count de Derby, Richard, cont Darundelle et de Surre, Thomas, cont de Warwyk, et Thomas, cont marchalle, et autres lieges loialx nostre seignur le roy, si bien en defessance et anentissement<sup>n</sup> nostre dit seignur le roy, et tut sone realme, et<sup>o</sup> issint chyuacha <sup>p</sup>le dit duc Dirland<sup>p</sup> oue grant pouare et force dez gentz dez armes et archiers de counte de Cestre parmy le roialme, tanque qil uient a un lieu qest appelle <sup>q</sup>Ratecotebrygge qest a pres le<sup>q</sup> Coteswolde, en<sup>r</sup> accrochant a luy roial poiare il fist displayere le baner le roy,<sup>2</sup> encontur lestate du roy et de sa corone. A quele temps le dit duc Dirland et sa compaignye, par la grace de Dieu, furent de lour male purpos destourbez.

<sup>a-a</sup> RP; la pouare et qil T      <sup>b-b</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>c</sup> RP; soy T, and Westm. Chron.  
<sup>d</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>e</sup> RP; come T      <sup>f</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>g</sup> Interlined by scribe  
<sup>h-h</sup> RP; al sent de T      <sup>i</sup> RP adds et      <sup>j</sup> Art. 39 in RP      <sup>k</sup> poiard RP

come to the king, and soon afterwards they caused the king to write to the said duke of Ireland<sup>1</sup> that he should take the field with all the power that he could gather, and that the king would meet him with all his power, and that the king would lend his royal person to the venture, and that the king himself and all his realm would be in great danger if he did not have aid and succour from the said duke of Ireland. And that the said duke of Ireland ought himself to assure all the people who assembled with him that the king would pay all the wages and costs of the said duke of Ireland and of all the people assembled by him, by force of which letters and wicked and traitorous incitement, as well of the said duke of Ireland as of his adherents and the other evil-doers and traitors, the said duke of Ireland gathered a great number of men-at-arms and archers from the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Wales, as well as from other places in the realm, to destroy and put to death the aforesaid lords who agreed to the making of the said ordinance, statute, and commission, and to the ruin of the king and of the realm.

*The thirty-third [thirty-ninth] article, that the duke of Ireland gathered the people to destroy the duke of Gloucester and his companions.*

Also the said Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, false traitor to the king and to the kingdom, raised a great number of men-at-arms and archers from the counties of Lancaster, Chester, and Wales, and from many other places, with the intention of destroying traitorously, with all his might, the said Thomas, duke of Gloucester and constable of England, Henry, earl of Derby, Richard, earl of Arundel and Surrey, Thomas, earl of Warwick, Thomas, earl marshal, and other loyal lieges of our lord the king, and to the undoing and destruction of our lord the king and of all his realm the said duke of Ireland therefore rode forth through the kingdom with a great power and force of men-at-arms and archers of the county of Chester, until he came to a place called Radcot Bridge, which is near the Cotswolds, where accroaching to himself royal power he caused the king's standard to be displayed,<sup>2</sup> against the estate of the king and of the crown. At which time by the grace of God the said duke of Ireland and his company were checked in their wicked purpose.

<sup>1</sup> RP; tut le roialme T      <sup>m</sup> RP adds seignurs      <sup>n</sup> RP; moutesm't T      <sup>o</sup> RP;  
om. T      <sup>p-p</sup> Om. RP      <sup>q-q</sup> Rottotbrige pres de RP      <sup>r</sup> RP; om. T

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 418.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 420.

.34.<sup>a</sup> *Dux Hibernie artauit populum ire cum eo contra ducem Gloucestrie et socios suos, quosdam per incarcerationem, quosdam per exheredacionem terras (eorum).*<sup>b</sup>

Item le dit Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, par conseylle et<sup>c</sup> abette dez ditz mesfesours et traytours Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robert Tressylyan, faux iustice, Nychol<sup>d</sup> Brembul, faux chyualer de Loundres,<sup>d</sup> acrochant a luy royale pouere, sanz commissione usuele du roy oue altre guarrant suffysaunt, si fist iustice de Cestre, et<sup>e</sup> par luy et sez deputz tenoit illoeqes touz maners dez pleez<sup>f</sup> de la corone, et sur ceo renderont iugement et fyrent ent execucion, et auxi fist<sup>g</sup> diuersez lettres de originalitez<sup>g</sup> et iudiciels estre ensealez oue la grant seale le roy en cellez partiez uses, et issint par tieles encrochementz du pouare roiale il fist soudiere et leuer ouesqe luy grant party dez gentz de tut la pays, ascunes par tieles lettres<sup>h</sup> mout hidouse et manassables, ascunez par prisonement de lour corps, ascunez par seysone de lour terre, et autrement in moultz maners nient honestez, par colour du dit office, et coe tut pur guerrere et destruer lez ditz seignurs et autrez loialx lieges nostre seigneur le roy, et en<sup>i</sup> defesance de tut sone roialme.<sup>1</sup>

*Articulus .35.<sup>j</sup> Fecerunt regem dimitere heredem Britannie sine consensu consilii eius<sup>k</sup>*

Item lez ditz traytours Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Mychel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, par conseylle et abette du Robart<sup>l</sup> Tressylyan, faux iustice, Nychol Brembulle, faux chyualer de Loundrez,<sup>l</sup> acrochantz a eux roiale pouare, firent deliuerere Iohan Bloys, heire au Bretayne, que fuist prisonere et tresour a nostre dit seigneur le roy / et a sone roialme, sancce assent<sup>m</sup> de sone parlyment, oue de grant conseylle,<sup>m</sup> et sans<sup>n</sup> garant, en<sup>n</sup> grant afforcement del aduersary de France, en grant arreresment du roy et du roialme, et<sup>o</sup> entour lestete et ordeignauce auaunt dit et faitz en<sup>p</sup> darreyne parlyment.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Art. 22 in RP    <sup>b</sup> suas T    <sup>c</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>d</sup> Brembre suis dites RP  
<sup>e</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>f</sup> RP adds si bien communes plees come plees    <sup>g</sup> faire diverses  
briefs originalx RP    <sup>h</sup> briefs RP    <sup>i</sup> RP; oue T    <sup>j</sup> Art. 23 in RP. The marginal heading is on fo. 226<sup>v</sup>    <sup>k</sup> sui T    <sup>l</sup> Tresilian et Nichol Brembre sus dites RP  
<sup>m</sup> de parlyment et de grant conseylle du roi RP    <sup>n</sup> guarrantye oue grant T  
<sup>o</sup> RP; om. T    <sup>p</sup> RP; et T

<sup>1</sup> De Vere's commission in Sept. 1387 appointed him justice of Chester for life, and he

*The thirty-fourth [twenty-second] article, that the duke of Ireland made the people go out with him against the duke of Gloucester and his companions, some by imprisonment, some by disinheritance of their lands.*

Also the said Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, by the advice and abetting of the said evil-doers and traitors, Alexander, archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, accroaching to himself royal power, without the usual commission from the king or other sufficient warrant, thus made justice of Chester, and by himself and by his deputies held there all manner of pleas of the crown, and thereupon rendered judgement and did execution. And also he caused various original and judicial letters to be sealed with the king's great seal used in those parts, and thus by such encroachments upon royal power he caused a great number of the people of all that country to rise up and go with him, some by such letters, most hideous and threatening, some by the imprisonment of their bodies, some by the seizure of their lands, and otherwise in many dishonest ways by colour of the said office, and all that to resist and destroy the said lords and other loyal lieges of our lord the king, and to the undoing of the whole realm.<sup>1</sup>

*The thirty-fifth [twenty-third] article, that they caused the king to change the succession in Brittany without the agreement of his council.*

Also the said traitors Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Alexander, archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, by the advice and incitement of Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, accroaching to themselves royal power, caused the heir to Brittany, Jean de Blois, who was a prisoner and a treasure of our lord the king, and of his realm, to be released, without the assent and warrant of his parliament, nor of the great council, to the great strengthening of his adversary of France, and the great disparagement of the king and of the realm, and against the statute and ordinance aforesaid, made in the last parliament.<sup>2</sup>

was also justice of North Wales (see above, p. 418 n 1; and *Report of the Deputy Keeper*, xxxvi (1875), App. ii. 494.) It is not clear that he had authority to move the seal of the palatinate without a warrant under the privy seal (see H. C. Maxwell Lyte, *Notes on the Great Seal* (London, 1926), pp. 30-1), but that is apparently what he did.

<sup>2</sup> On the release of Jean de Blois, immediately upon the expiry of the reforming commission, see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 63-4, 105-12.

.36. *articulus.*<sup>a</sup> *Fecerunt facere retencionem maiorem solito et dare eis signa insolita regibus suis predecessibus.*

Item lez ditz traytours Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Mychel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart Tressylian, <sup>b</sup>faux iustice, <sup>c</sup>et Nichol Brembre <sup>d</sup>de Loundrez, <sup>e</sup>fyrent le roy du faire grant retenaunce de nouvelle, de diuersez gentz, et doner a eux diuersez signez, aultrement qil ne soloit estre de anxien temps par ascunez dez royes sez progenitours, al effect pur auoyre pouere pur perfourmere lour faux tresone auaunt dit.<sup>1</sup>

⟨37⟩<sup>e</sup> *Fecerunt regem uocare iusticiarios ut dicerent ordinaciones in precedenti parlamento contra regaliam editas esse.*

Item lez auaunt ditz mesfesours et traytours Alexandre, erceuesk Deuerwyk, Robart de Veere, duc Dirland, Michel de la Pole, cont de Suthffolc, Robart <sup>f</sup>Tressylian, faux iustice, Nychol Brembulle, faux chyualer de Loundrez, <sup>g</sup>en plener accomplissement de tut lour tresone auaunt ditz, et aultres, et pur fayre le roy <sup>h</sup>creyer en <sup>i</sup>euax et en lour conseylle, et lez tenir <sup>j</sup>pluis loialx a luy, et pluis sagez que nulez altrez de sone roialme, et sur <sup>k</sup>ceo pluis colorere lour faux tresone et fautz susditz, firent le roy uener deuaunt luy, as diuersez lieux deins le roialme, diuersez iusticez et gentz du ley, cest assauoyre Robart Tressyliane, Robart Bealknappe, Iohan Care, Iohan Holte, Roger Fulthorpe, William Burghe, sez iustices, Iohan de Loctone, seriant de la leye, et oueske eux Iohan Blake, <sup>l</sup>refren-darie, et autres, lesquels iustices, sergeant, et Iohan Blake <sup>m</sup>oppossez et demandez <sup>n</sup>en presence du roi <sup>o</sup>par lez auaunt ditz mesfesours <sup>p</sup>et traytours <sup>q</sup>si lez auaunt ditz ordinance, estatut, et commissione furent faitz en derogacion de sa regalie et prerogatiue, ou nient, et dez autres diuersez questions, as queles lez ditz iusticez, seriant, et Iohan Blake responderont en manere come ensuyt.<sup>2</sup>

*Responsio iusticiariorum.* Predicta responsio dictorum iusticiariorum patet supra,<sup>3</sup> circa medium proxime precedentis quaterni, uidelicet in secundo folio post medium eiusdem quaterni,<sup>4</sup> sub hac forma:

<sup>a</sup> Art. 24 in RP      <sup>b-b</sup> Om. RP      <sup>c-c</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>d-d</sup> Om. RP  
<sup>e</sup> Art. 25 in RP      <sup>f-f</sup> Tresilian, par assent et counseile du Nicholas Brembre sus dit RP  
<sup>e-e</sup> RP; decreyer a T      <sup>h</sup> RP; tient T      <sup>i</sup> desouz RP      <sup>j-j</sup> RP; om. T  
<sup>k-k</sup> RP; om. T      <sup>l-l</sup> Om. RP

<sup>1</sup> On Richard's efforts at recruitment, see Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 111; *Westm. Chron.*, p. 186 and n.; and above, p. 418 n. 5.

*The thirty-[sixth / twenty-fourth] article, that they caused the king to keep a retinue of unusual size, and to give out insignia such as his predecessors never used.*

Also the said traitors Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Alexander, archbishop of York, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, and Nicholas Brembre, of London, caused the king to recruit a large new retinue of divers men and to give them various liveries such as never was done in previous times by any of his predecessors, in order to secure the power to enact their false treason aforesaid.<sup>1</sup>

*[The thirty-seventh / twenty-fifth article], that they caused the king to summon the judges to say that the ordinances in the previous parliament were made against the royal power.*

Also the aforesaid evil-doers and traitors Alexander, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, Robert Tresilian, false justice, [and] Nicholas Brembre, false knight of London, for the fuller accomplishment of all the foregoing and other treason, and to make the king believe in them and in their counsel, and to think them more loyal to him and wiser than any others of the realm, and thereby to colour their false treason and delicts abovesaid, caused the king to call before him, at divers places in the kingdom, various judges and men of the law, that is to say Robert Tresilian, Robert Bealknap, John Carey, John Holt, Roger Fulthorp, and William Burgh, his justices, John Lockton, serjeant-at-law, and with them John Black, referendary, and others, the which justices, serjeant, and John Black, examined and asked, in the king's presence, by the aforesaid evil-doers and traitors whether the aforesaid ordinance, statute, and commission were made in derogation of his regality and prerogative or not, and divers other questions, the said justices, serjeant, and John Black answered in the manner that follows.<sup>2</sup>

*The judges' answer.* The aforesaid answer of the said judges appears above,<sup>3</sup> about the middle of the preceding gathering, viz. on the second folio past the middle of that gathering<sup>4</sup> in this form:

<sup>2</sup> For the text of the judges' answers, see above, pp. 394-8.

<sup>3</sup> Knighton's editorial note suggests again that he is using a source closely related to that behind the corresponding section of the Westminster chronicle: see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 258, and above, p. 394.

<sup>4</sup> The questions are on fos. 207<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup> of T, being fos. 6 and 7 of gathering BB.

Memorandum quod uicesimo quinto die mensis Augusti, anno regni regis Ricardi secundi .xj. apud castrum de Notyngham coram dicto domino rege, etcetera.

Tunc medio tempore dominus Robartus Veere, dominus Alexander Neuyll, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et dominus Michelle de Pole, comes de Suthffolc, fugerant ut supradictum est et ad parlamentum non uenerunt, et ideo exlegati sunt<sup>1</sup> et omnia bona eorum, redditus, et possessiones, bona mobilia et immobilia, in manus regis seysita, pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum, exceptis hiis feoffamentis que sub tallia ad heredes prouenirent.

*Robertus Tressilian inuentus captus et distractus.* Set dominus Robertus Tressilian, capitalis iusticiarius regis, absconderat se in domo cuiusdam apotecarii prope portam Westmonasterii, / ut sic uideret dominos et magnates regni intrantes ad parlamentum et egredientes, et exploraret quid ageretur in parlamento, quia in tota uita sua semper cautulose egerat, set iam cautela eius uertitur in summam stulticiam. Nam die Mercurii, .xj. kalendas Marci, proditus a proprio famulo, et circa horam .xj. ante nonam captus est<sup>2</sup> et per duce[m] Gloucestrie in parlamento presentatus.

Eodem die post nonam, distractus est de Turri Londoniensi per medium ciuitatis usque ad Tyburne ad furcas et suspensus est, gutturque eius cesum est. Nam antea adiudicatus fuerat ad eandem mortem in eodem parlamento.<sup>3</sup> Hic predictus Robertus disfigurauerat seipsum, fingens se pauperem debilem, in tunica hispida et dilacerata et debili, feceratque sibi barbam prolixam et longam artificiose, quam barbam 'barbam Parisiensem' uocabant, et faciem suam exterminabat ne agnosceretur, adeo disfiguratus fuerat quod nullus eum agnouit nisi ex sola loquela.

In crastino, scilicet die Iouis, dominus rex<sup>a</sup> ipsum Nicholaum de<sup>b</sup> Brembul sepius promouerat antea in maiorem ciuitatis, contra uoluntatem multorum de ciuitate.<sup>4</sup> Hic multas oppressiones et sediciones fecerat in ciuitate. De quo fertur quod dum fuerat in sua plenaria potestate<sup>c</sup> maioratus fieri fecit unam stipitem communem et unam securim cominem, ad amputandum colla sibi insurgencium et sibi

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission, but a substantial passage is missing. See below, n. 4 by scribe      <sup>b</sup> Interlined  
<sup>c</sup> Supplied in margin by a later hand: no mark of omission in text

<sup>1</sup> On 13 Feb. 1388: *RP* iii. 237.

<sup>2</sup> For Tressilian's arrest by Gloucester, which was a breach of sanctuary, see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 310–12.

Be it remembered that on the twenty-fifth day of the month of August in the eleventh year of the reign of King Richard II, at Nottingham castle before the said lord king, etc.

In the mean time Sir Robert de Vere, Sir Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, and Sir Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, had fled, as has been said, and did not come to the parliament, and were therefore outlawed,<sup>1</sup> and all their goods, rents, and possessions, moveable and immoveable, were taken into the king's hands for himself and his heirs in perpetuity, except those estates which descended to the heirs in tail.

*Robert Tressilian discovered, taken, and drawn to execution.* But Sir Robert Tressilian, the king's chief justice, had hidden in an apothecary's house, near the gate at Westminster, and thence he was able to watch the lords and magnates of the realm going in and out of parliament, and discover what was going on in parliament, for he had been a calculating man all his life, but this time his caution turned out to be the height of stupidity. For on Wednesday, the eleventh of the Kalends of March [19 Feb. 1388], he was betrayed by his own servant, and around eleven in the morning he was seized<sup>2</sup> and produced in parliament by the duke of Gloucester.

On the same day in the afternoon he was dragged from the Tower of London to the gallows at Tyburn, and hanged and had his throat cut, for he had already been adjudged to that death in that same parliament.<sup>3</sup> The said Robert had dressed himself as a poor and feeble man, in a rough, torn, shabby tunic, and had put on a false beard, long and full, of the kind called a 'Parisian beard', which covered so much of his face that he could not be recognized. Altogether he was so disguised that no one would have known him, save for his voice.

The next day, namely the Thursday, the lord king ... had in the past often made that same Nicholas Brembre mayor of the city against the will of many of the citizens.<sup>4</sup> And Brembre had perpetrated many oppressions and seditions in the city. It was said of him that when he was at the height of his power as mayor he set up a public block and axe to chop off the heads of those who rose against him or opposed

<sup>3</sup> *Favent* (pp. 17–18) gives a more colourful account of Tressilian's arrest, and also of his execution. His precautions included a number of amulets about his person, which he unwisely disclosed.

<sup>4</sup> Brembre's trial, which began on 17 Feb. and was interrupted by Tressilian's capture, was protracted, and he was convicted upon an extra-judicial appeal to his enemies in the city. Knighton may not have had a record of the process (as he had of the main appeal), but what he did have came to grief in transcription (see above, p. 452).

1388 aduersancium. Et fertur de eo quod addictari fecerat de talibus suis aduersariis potencioribus de ciuitate Londoniensi octo millia quingentos, et plures, quos omnes, ut dicebatur, nisi Deus restitisset, proposuerat decapitandos.

Et ut dicebatur cum eisdem instrumentis idem Nycholaus apud Tourehille decapitatus est, pro quo rex rogauit et instetit penes dominos parliamenti ne distraheretur aut suspenderetur.<sup>1</sup> Hic si uixisset dux Troie factus per regem fuisset. Nam ab antiquo ciuitas Londoniensis Troia minor uocata est.<sup>2</sup> Sic dux de Londoniis esset, mutato nomine Londoniarum (in)<sup>a</sup> nomen Troie.

*Thomas Vske et Iohannes Blake distracti sunt.* Item .iiij. nonas Marcii Thomas Vske, subuicecomes de Londoniis, et alius de familia regis, nomine Iohannis Blacke, distracti sunt a Turri Londoniensi usque ad Tyburne, et ibi suspensi et decapitati. Capud uero Thome Vske positum est super portam de Newgate, causa opprobrii parentele sui que in illis partibus ciuitatis morabatur.<sup>3</sup>

*Symon Burleye decapitatus.* .iiij. nonas Maii dominus Symon de Burlee dampnatus est de prodicione ut ceteri supradicti, set rex dispensauit cum eo de distractione et suspencione. Hic apud le Tourhulle decapitatus est,<sup>4</sup> qui de patrimonio hereditario expendere non ualuit ultra .xx. marcas, set in paucis annis in obsequio predicti regis creuit ad ultra ualorem trium mille marcarum annui prouentus. Et fertur de eo dedisse ad natale Domini / in liberacionem militum armigerorum ualettorum et aliorum, tam de curia regis quam suorum, et ubi sibi placuit, quandoque centum quadraginta pannos, quandoque centum .lx., quandoque .cc.xx. magni precii, scilicet quosdam pannos deauratos, et quosdam de scarleto.<sup>5</sup>

*Iohannes Beauchamp.* Item .iiij. idus Maii dominus Iohannes Bewchaump condempnatus est distrahi, suspendi, et quarterizari. Set gracia regis translata est eius dampnacio in decapitacionem. Et sic apud Tourhulle decollatus est.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission

<sup>1</sup> He was, however, hanged at Tyburn: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 312–13.

<sup>2</sup> 'Brutus founded a city there, and called it New Troy': *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, ed. A. Griscom and R. E. Jones (London, 1929), p. 252.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 480, and *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 314–16.

<sup>4</sup> Burley and the other three chamber knights, Beauchamp, Berners, and Salisbury, were brought to trial on 12 Mar. (*RP* iii. 238–41). The long process against them substantially divided the lords from the Appellants and their following amongst the Commons, and indeed divided the Appellants themselves, as Derby and Mowbray did not share

him. And it was said that he proceeded against 8,500 or more of his opponents amongst the greater men of the city of London, and that if God had not prevented him he would have had them all beheaded.

And it was said that he was himself beheaded on Tower Hill with those same instruments, for the king had asked of the lords of parliament, and indeed had insisted, that he should not be drawn and hanged.<sup>1</sup> If he had lived he would have had himself made duke of Troy by the king, for in ancient times London was called the second Troy,<sup>2</sup> and so he would have been the duke of London, the name of London being changed to Troy.

*Thomas Usk and John Black are drawn.* Also, on the fourth of the Nones of March [4 March 1388], Thomas Usk, under-sheriff of London, and another member of the king's household called John Black, were dragged from the Tower of London to Tyburn, and there hanged and beheaded. Thomas Usk's head was actually placed above the gate of Newgate because his family lived in that part of the city and was much hated.<sup>3</sup>

*Sir Simon Burley beheaded.* On the third of the Nones of May [5 May 1388] Sir Simon Burley was condemned for treason, like the others mentioned above, but the king spared him being drawn and hanged, and he was beheaded at Tower Hill.<sup>4</sup> From his own inheritance he was worth no more than twenty marks, yet in a few years of service to the said king he accumulated a fortune worth 3,000 marks a year. And it was said that at Christmas he gave livery to the knights, esquires, body-servants, and others, of the royal household as well as his own, and according to his pleasure it might be sometimes of 140 cloths, sometimes 160, sometimes 220, of great price, that is to say some cloth of gold, and some scarlet.<sup>5</sup>

*John Beauchamp.* Also on the fourth of the Ides of May [12 May 1388] Sir John Beauchamp was condemned to be drawn, hanged, and quartered, but by the king's grace the sentence was changed to beheading, and so he was decapitated at Tower Hill.<sup>6</sup>

Gloucester's hatred of Burley. See Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 125–6; and *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 318, 322, 330–2. Gaunt, Derby's father, subsequently made a substantial contribution to the cost of Burley's tomb: see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 150. Burley's long service and his membership of the Garter spared him the extremes of the penalty for treason.

<sup>5</sup> Knighton's general view of Burley, who had acquired a substantial fortune, is taken from the Appellant camp. On the sources of Burley's wealth, see further *Westm. Chron.*, p. 293 n. 3.

<sup>6</sup> Beauchamp had been steward of the household. The charges against all the knights were effectively that they had supported the king's friends: more specific charges were levelling only against Burley: *RP* iii. 241–3.



*Iacobus Berneris decollatus.* Dominus Iacobus Bernerys, miles de curia regis, de prodicione et sedicione eodem die et eodemque modo accusatus et condempnatus, in eodem loco capite plexus est.

*Iohannes Salusbery.* Dominus Iohannes Salusbery, miles, distractus est a Turri usque ad Tyburne, et ibi suspensus est.<sup>1</sup> Summi proditores euaserunt de regno fugiendo, uidelicet Alexander Neuille, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, Robertus Veere, dux Hibernie, et Mychel Pole, comes de Suthffolc. Isti de iudicio parlamenti exlegati sunt, et de hoc editum est quoddam statutum quod deinceps gratiam redeundi inter terram Anglie nulla mediante condicione conuenirentur. Similiter exheredati sunt et forasfecerunt omnia tenementa, terras, et possessiones, pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum. Hiis exceptis que sub tallia prouenerunt, sicut supra plenius patet ante principium huius parlamenti.<sup>2</sup> Simili modo de ceteris qui morte plexi sunt, de forisfactura tam bonorum suorum et terrarum atque possessionum, pro se et heredibus suis statutum est.

*Ses iusticiarii dampnantur.* Post hec producantur iusticiarii, scilicet pridie nonas Marci, qui in principio parlamenti aretati sunt et mancipati sub custodia tenebantur apud Turrim, uidelicet dominus Robertus Belknappe, dominus Iohannes Caare, dominus Iohannes Holte, dominus Rogerus de Fulthorpe, dominus Willelmus de Burghe, et Iohannes de Loctone, seriancius ad legem.<sup>3</sup> Qui omnes pro suis demeritis sicut supra patet ante presens parliamentum, et similiter supra in ultima accusacione proditorum plenius continetur, uidelicet in precedenti, dampnati sunt ad distraccionem et suspensionem et mortem.

*Rex concedit uitam iusticiariis.* Set interueniente Anna, regina Anglie, cum archiepiscopo Cantuarensi et aliis episcopis, rex cum consensu dominorum in quos deliquerant condonauit eis uitam. Set exheredati sunt sicut ceteri pro se et heredibus suis, et exlegati sunt in Hiberniam sub statuto edito nunquam redituri. Assignatique<sup>a</sup> sunt bini et bini ad certa loca pro suo perpetuo mansuri, et ultra certas limites et bundas non progressuri.

Et assignata est certa summa pecunie singulis eorum de archa regis ad eorum sustentacionem, uidelicet domino Rogero de Fulthorpe .xl. libre, et progredi circa locum sibi limitatum per .iiij. leucas, et

<sup>a</sup> que interlined by scribe

<sup>1</sup> There was an even greater animus against Salisbury, who was marked down for his involvement in the negotiations with France, than against the other household knights. See

*James Berners beheaded.* Sir James Berners, a knight of the king's household, was accused on the same day, and in the like manner, of treason and sedition, and his head was struck off at the same place.

*John Salisbury.* Sir John Salisbury, knight, was dragged from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged.<sup>1</sup> The principal traitors escaped by flying the kingdom, that is to say Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, Robert de Vere, duke of Ireland, and Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. They were outlawed by judgement of parliament, and a statute was made to that end, that thereafter they should never, on any account, be allowed to return to England. In the same way they were disinherited, and they and their heirs forfeited all their tenements, lands, and possessions in perpetuity, except those entailed, as appears more fully above, before the beginning of this parliament.<sup>2</sup> And so it was with the others who were done to death, the forfeiture being decreed both of their goods and of their lands and possessions.

*Six judges condemned.* After that, namely on the first of the Nones of March [6 Mar. 1388], the judges were produced, who were arrested at the beginning of the parliament and committed to imprisonment in the Tower, namely Sir Robert Bealknap, Sir John Carey, Sir John Holt, Sir Roger Fulthorp, Sir William Burgh, and John Lockton, serjeant-at-law.<sup>3</sup> Those men, for their delicts, as they are described above, before the present parliament, and similarly are set out more fully in the last accusation against the traitors, namely in the foregoing account, were all condemned to death by drawing and hanging.

*The king grants the judges their lives.* However, by the intervention of Anne, queen of England, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and other bishops, the king, with the assent of the lords whom they had offended, granted them their lives, but they were disinherited, like the others, for themselves and their heirs, and outlawed to Ireland under statute, never to return. And they were assigned in pairs to particular places to dwell there perpetually, and not to go beyond certain limits and bounds.

And they were each assigned a certain sum of money from the royal treasury for their keep, namely to Sir Roger Fulthorp £40, with a restriction to three leagues around his house, and to Sir William

Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 125; *Westm. Chron.*, p. 333. It is interesting that Berners and Salisbury were both buried in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> As appears twice above, on pp. 432 and 498.

<sup>3</sup> The order to the constable of the Tower to produce them is dated 27 Feb. 1388: *CCR* 1385-9, p. 392. The trial occupied two days: *RP* iii. 238-9, 240-1.

1388 domino Willelmo de Burghe socio suo .xl. marce, et progredi et regredi circa locum sibi limitatum per .ij. leucas. Item domino Roberto Bealknappe .xl. libre, et egredi et regredi circa se per .iiij. leucas, et domino Iohanni de Holte, socio suo, .xl. marce, et egredi et circumgredi per .ij. leucas. Domino Iohanni Carae et Iohanni Loctone, cuilibet eorum .xx. libre, et exire et redire circa se per duas leucas.

Inhibitumque est illis omnibus ne uxores eorum ad eos accederent in terra exilii sui, aut filii eorum, ne forte eos de lege regni instruerent. Inhibitumque est eis ne cuiquam auxilium aut consilium uel fauorem, uerbo aut scripto, uel quoquo alio modo, aliquatenus ministrarent. Cautum quoque est contra eos quod si quis quemquam illorum bundas illis limitatas transgredientem inueniret, transgressorem statim arrestaret Londoniasque ad regem duceret, prima mortis dampnacione, uidelicet distractione et suspensione, prout ante addicti fuerant, sine remissione plectendos.<sup>1</sup>

*Rex facit generalem gratiam proditoribus et sediciosis.* Hiis ita gestis rex facit generalem gratiam domino Iohanni Golofre, qui de prodicione accusatus fuerat, set in transmarinis illis diebus agens, et omnibus et singulis de prodicione notatis aut in sedicione delinquentibus nec quisquam ultra molestatus fuit de illo crimine.<sup>2</sup>

*Parliamentum finitur.* Sicque finiuit parliamentum pridie nonas Iunii, et inceperat in crastino Purificacionis precedenti. Et sic patet quod Robertus Tressylian, capitalis iusticiarius Anglie, distractus est et suspensus, et gutture cesus. Willelmus Skypwyth, iusticiarius, euasit solus sine culpa, quia non erat cum illis apud Notyngham quando malum illud prodicionis fecerunt. Ceterique quinque ad eandem dampnacionem addicti sunt. Set uita eis sic condonata, pro perpetuo suo taliter exlegati sunt ut supradictum est.

*Scoti intrant in Angliam.* Scoti intrauerunt in Angliam in occidentali marchia prope Carlhulle, et dederunt patriam prede et incendio, et multa mala exercuerunt. Et ceperunt de patria circiter .ccc. uiros et eos secum abduxerunt, et ceperunt dominum Petrum Tyryolle, uicecomitem Carliolensem, et alios milites de patria, et euaserunt absque magno dampno suorum. Item in orientali marchia .iiij. die Augusti intrauerunt Scoti cum plena potestate Scocie, uidelicet comes Duglas, comes Fyf, dominus Alexander de Exterioris Insulis, comes Marchie,

<sup>1</sup> The detail of the judges' sentences which Knighton provides is in contrast to his summary treatment of all but the main appeal, and may reflect something of his sources as well as his interests. Compare the report in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 316, 336. Richard recalled

Burgh, his companion, 40 marks, and a limitation to two leagues. Also Sir Robert Belknap £40, and to come and go for three leagues. And to Sir John Holt, his companion, 40 marks and restriction to two leagues, to Sir John Carey and John Lockton, £20 each and a restriction to two leagues.

And they were forbidden to have their wives to visit them in their exile, nor yet their children, lest they should instruct them in the law of the land. It was also forbidden for anyone to help or advise them, or show them favour in word or writing, or minister to them in any other way. They were also warned that if any of them were found to have broken the bounds imposed upon them, the offender would at once be arrested and taken to London to the king, there to suffer without remission the penalty of death originally imposed upon them, namely drawing and hanging.<sup>1</sup>

*The king grants a general grace to the traitors and seditious.* Those things accomplished, the king uttered a general pardon to Sir John Golofre, who had been accused of treason but had had business abroad at the time in question, and to all and singular accused of treason or guilty of sedition, that they should suffer no further process for that offence.<sup>2</sup>

*The parliament ends.* And so ended that parliament, on the eve of the Nones of June [4 June 1388], which began on the previous morrow of Candlemas [3 Feb. 1388]. And thus it was that Robert Tresilian, chief justice of England, was drawn and hanged and had his throat cut. Only Justice William Skipwith escaped without blame, because he was not with the others at Nottingham when they committed that wicked treason. The other five were brought to the same judgement. But their lives were spared, for the perpetual exile which is described above.

*The Scots invade England.* The Scots entered England by the western March near Carlisle, and gave the countryside to plunder and fire, and did much evil. And they captured some 300 men of that country and carried them off, and took Sir Peter Tyrell, sheriff of Carlisle, and other knights of the country, and escaped without any great harm to themselves. Also in the eastern March on 3 August [1388] the Scots invaded with the whole power of Scotland, namely the earl Douglas, the earl of Fife, Sir Alexander of the Outer Isles, the

the survivors from exile in 1397, whilst upholding their conviction: Tuck, *Richard II*, p. 183.

<sup>2</sup> See further *RP* iii. 248–50; and *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 296–306.

1388 comes Straernie, comes de Murryf, comes Orkeneye, dominus  
fo. 228<sup>v</sup> Archibaldus Duglas, et depredati sunt patriam et incendio tradiderunt,  
et quamplures partes borialis plage deuastauerunt, adeo / quod multis  
retroactis temporibus tanta mala in regno Anglie per hostes non sunt  
audita.

Quibus occurrit dominus Henricus Percy, filius et heres comitis  
Northumbrie, quem Scoti uocabant Henricum Hote Spurre propter  
suam probitatem, eo quod aliis sopori deditis, ipse super hostes suos  
euigilare consueuerat, et hic Henricus pugnavit cum eis iuxta 3olstone  
prope Nouum Castrum super Tynam,<sup>1</sup> et hic manu sua interfecit  
comitem Duglas, et comitem de Murryf ad mortis metam uulnerauit.

*Dominus Henricus Percy captus est a Scotis.* Et idem Henricus ibidem  
captus est, cum fratre suo iuniore et aliis .xxi. militibus, et multis aliis  
armatis et sagittariis, et in Scociam abducti sunt. Set et de Scotis  
multi capti sunt, inter quos Iacobus de Lynseye, frater regine Scocie,  
uir potentissimus.<sup>2</sup> Factaque est pungna die Mercurii proxima ante  
festum Sancti Laurentii, in uespere. Et numerati sunt occisi mille et  
.c., prope Carhulle eodem tempore numero .xxx. milia set in fugam  
coacti sunt capientes aquam.<sup>3</sup>

*Episcopi translati de sede in sedem.* Dominus Thomas de Arundelle,  
episcopus Elyensis, post exlegacionem Alexandri Neuylle factus est  
archiepiscopus Eboracensis. Dominus Iohannes Fortham translatus  
est de ecclesia Dunelnie ad ecclesiam Helyensem. Dominus Walterus  
Skrylowe translatus de ecclesia Batonensi ad ecclesiam Dunelnie.  
Magister Radulfus Argum translatus est de ecclesia Salybiriensi ad  
ecclesiam Batonensem, et dominus Iohannes Waltone factus est epis-  
copus Salsybiensis. Magister Walterus Skrylowe primo creatus  
fuerat episcopus Cestrensis, set antequam installeretur translatus est  
ad sedem Batonensem, deinde post paululum translatus est ad sedem  
Dunelnie. Eodem scilicet anno magister Ricardus Scrope creatus est  
episcopus Cestrensis. Hec omnia eodem anno.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex tenuit aliud parliamentum apud Cantebruge eodem anno in supple-  
mentum prioris.* In autumpno proximo sequenti in crastino Natiuitatis  
Beate Marie Virginis rex celebrauit aliud parliamentum apud

<sup>1</sup> The battle is better known as Otterburn, one of the most celebrated in the history of the Borders. Although his account is summary, Knighton was better informed than most chroniclers about the incursion. See *War and Border Societies in the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Goodman and A. Tuck (London, 1992), pp. 6–7. See also Nicholson, *Scotland*, pp. 198–9; and Campbell, 'England, Scotland', pp. 210–11.

<sup>2</sup> Lindsay was not the queen's brother, but the king's nephew, his mother, Egidia Stewart, being Robert II's sister (*DNB*).

1388 earl of March, the earl of Strathern, the earl of Moray, the earl of  
Orkney, and Sir Archibald Douglas, and plundered and fired the  
countryside, and devastated many parts of the north country, so that  
for long times past such damage at the hands of the enemy had not  
been known.

To meet them there came Sir Henry Percy, the son and heir of the  
earl of Northumberland, whom for his valour the Scots called Harry  
Hotspur, because when others were given to sleep he would keep  
watch for his enemies, and this Henry fought with them at Elsdon,  
near Newcastle upon Tyne.<sup>1</sup> And with his own hand he slew the earl  
Douglas, and wounded the earl of Moray to the point of death.

*Henry Percy taken prisoner by the Scots.* And Henry was captured  
there with his younger brother, and another twenty-one knights, and  
many other soldiers and archers, and carried into Scotland. But many  
of the Scots were also captured, amongst them James Lindsay,  
brother of the queen of Scotland, and a most important man.<sup>2</sup> The  
battle was fought on the Wednesday before the feast of St Lawrence  
[5 Aug. 1388], in the evening. And the dead numbered 1,000, and 100  
near Carlisle at the same time, out of 30,000 who were put to flight  
and driven into the water.<sup>3</sup>

*Bishops translated from see to see.* After the exile of Alexander  
Neville, Sir Thomas Arundel, bishop of Ely, was made archbishop of  
York, and Sir John Fordham was translated from the church of  
Durham to the church of Ely. Sir Walter Skirlaw was translated from  
the church of Bath to the church of Durham. Master Ralph Erghum  
was translated from the church of Salisbury to the church of Bath,  
and Sir John Waltham was made bishop of Salisbury. Master Walter  
Skirlaw had first been made bishop of Chester, but before he was  
installed he was translated to the see of Bath, and then after a short  
while translated to the see of Durham. In the same year, of course,  
Master Richard Scrope was made bishop of Chester. All that was  
done in the one year.<sup>4</sup>

*The king held another parliament, at Cambridge, to supplement the  
first.* In the autumn next following, on the morrow of the feast of  
the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary [9 Sept. 1388], the king

<sup>3</sup> Although Carlisle held out, the Scots did much damage in the western March: Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 132–3.

<sup>4</sup> Urban VI moved swiftly to accommodate the Appellants, and approved the demotions and most of the new appointments at Perugia on 3 April. See Tout, *Chapters*, p. 436 and n.; and *HBC* 228, 244, 253.

1388 Cantubruge, scilicet eodem anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxxxviii. et regni sui .xij. incipiente, in quo concessa est ei de ecclesia dimidietas decime, et a populo medietas quintodecime, pro guerra in Scocia anno sequenti facienda.<sup>1</sup> Et edita sunt noua statuta pro utilitate communis populi, et plura statuta que edita fuerant in tempore aui sui Edwardi .iiij. innouantur, scilicet de laborariis, operariis, de seruientibus, de balliuis, de singulis officariis, de uicecomitibus, de prouisoribus ad curiam Romanam tendentibus, et de multis aliis gradibus communi populo necessariis.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 229<sup>r</sup> Nam tanta elacio in inferiori populo illis diebus in habitu, et apparatu, et diuersis guysis pululabat et creuit, quod uix quis de populo dinosceretur ab alio per splendorem uestitus aut apparatus. Non pauper a potente, non egens a diuite, non seruus a domino suo, non sacerdos ab alio de<sup>a</sup> populo, set unusquisque imitabatur alium, et nitebatur / inducere nouiorem gysam et transcendere in elaciori apparatu et habitu suum potencioem. Super quo magnates instabant apponere remedium, et errata defaltare et ad meliorem formam reducere. Sicque rex statuta sequencia cum assensu parliamenti confirmauit, et in singulis comitatibus regni puplicari et conseruari inuiolabiliter districte mandauit, sub forma que sequitur.

*Ordinacio statutorum.*<sup>3</sup>

Pur commune profite, et uniuersele bien de tut le roialme, nostre seigneur le roy, a sone parlyment tenuz a Cauntebrugge lendemayne de la Natyuite de Nostre Dame, lan sone regne duzysme, del assent dez seignurs et comines illoeques assemblez, ad fait certeynz estatutez et ordynauncez en la fourme que suit.

*Primum statutum.*

Primerment accordez est et assentez qe seynt esglyse eyt totez sez libertes et fraunchisez, et qe la grant chartre et chartre de la

<sup>a</sup> *Interlined by scribe*

<sup>1</sup> For the subsidies, see *CFR 1383-91*, pp. 265-9 for the fifteenth, and for the clerical tenth, *ibid.*, pp. 264-5, 288.

<sup>2</sup> The roll of the Cambridge parliament is missing, but the Westminster chronicler has preserved the unique text of the petitions presented by the commons: see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 356-68. On the king's first moves to recover authority from the Appellants, see Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 133-7. The legislative product of the parliament amounted to a gesture at administrative reform, the elaboration of the Statute of Labourers to appease the political community in the shires, and, besides clauses on provisors and on the textile industry, an

1388 celebrated another parliament, at Cambridge, that is in the same year of grace, 1388, and the beginning of the twelfth year of his reign, in which he was granted half a tenth by the church, and half a fifteenth by the laity, to make war in Scotland the following year.<sup>1</sup> And new statutes were published for the good of the people at large, and many statutes which had been made in the time of his grandfather, Edward III, were re-enacted, that is to say those on labourers, artisans, servants, bailiffs, individual officials, sheriffs, provisors going to Rome, and many other ranks, all necessary for the common people.<sup>2</sup>

For the lesser people were so puffed up in those days in their dress and their belongings, and they flourished and prospered so in various ways, that one might scarcely distinguish one from another for the splendour of their dress and adornments: not a humble man from a great man, not a needy from a rich man, not a servant from his master, not a priest from another man, but each imitating the other, and striving to shine in some new fashion and to outdo his superior in the splendour of his pomp and habit. Wherefore the magnates insisted upon a remedy, to remove the abuses and impose a better order, so that the king, with the agreement of parliament, confirmed the following statutes, and ordered them to be published and strictly maintained in every county in the land, in the form which follows.

*Ordinance of the statutes.*<sup>3</sup>

For the common profit and general good of the whole realm, our lord the king, at his parliament held at Cambridge, on the morrow of the Nativity of Our Lady in the tenth year of his reign [9 Sept. 1388], with the assent of the lords and commons there assembled, has made certain statutes and ordinances in the form which follows.

*First statute.*

Firstly it is accorded and agreed that Holy Church should have all her liberties and franchises, and that Magna Carta and the

attempt to improve the sanitary condition of towns, in a concern for what later came to be called the environment.

<sup>3</sup> On the parliament, see A. Tuck, 'The Cambridge parliament, 1388', *EHR* lxxxiv (1969), 225-43; and R. L. Storey, 'Liveries and commissions of the peace', *The Reign of Richard II*, ed. F. R. H. du Boulay and C. M. Barron (London, 1971), pp. 132-5. Knighton's text (on which see above, pp. xli, lxxii) has been collated with that of Stat. 12 Richard II, cc. 1-16, in *SR* ii. 55-60; minor variations of spelling and word-order have not been noted.

forest, et touz altres estatuz et ordenancez auant cez oeures faitez et nyent repellez, soyent dewment tenez et fermement gardez.<sup>1</sup>

*.ij. statutum.*

Item accordez est et assentez qe le chauncelere, tresorere, gardeyne de le priue seale, seneschal del hostiele le roy, chaumburleyne du roy, clerk du rollez, iusticez del une bank et de lautre, barones del eschekere, et touz altres qe serront appellez du ordeigner, nomer, oue faire iusticez de la pees, uiscont, escheytours, customers, conturrollours, oue ascune altre officere oue ministre du roy, soyent fermement iurrez et sermentz qils ne ordeignent, noment, ne facent iustice de la pees, uiscont, eschetour, customer, controllour, ne nulle altre officer ne mynistrer du roy, pur nulle maner donne, ne brogage, ne fauour, ne affeccion, ne qe nulle qe pursue par luy oue par altre, en priue oue en apert, "destre en ascune manere office soit mys en mesme loffice ou en ascun autre, einz qils facent toutz tielx officers et ministres" de lez pluis "bones et loialx, et lez pluis sufficiantz a lour escience, et lour conscience."<sup>2</sup>

*.3. statutum de laborariis et artificariis.*

Item accordez est et assentuz qe touz lez estatutz de artificers et laboreres, seruauntz, et uitayllers, faitz si bien en temps nostre seignur le roy qore est come en temps de sone noble ayele, qe Dieu assoyle, nyent repellez, soyent fermement tenez et gardez, et duement executez.<sup>3</sup> Et qe lez ditz artificers, laboreres, seruauntz, et uitaylleres soyent duement iusticez par lez iusticez de la paix, si bien a suit du roy come "a suite" du partye, solonc le exigence dez ditz estatutz. Et qe le mayre,<sup>4</sup> baylifs, et seneschalles dez seignurs et constables<sup>5</sup> dez uillez, facent dument lour office tou/chant tieles artificieres, seruauntz, laboreres<sup>6</sup> et uitailles.<sup>6</sup> Et qe ceppes soyent in chescune uillez a iustifiere mesmez lez seruantz et laboreres come ordeigne est en le statute susditz.

Et en outre est ordeigne et assentuz qe nule seruant oue laborere, soyt il homme oue femme, ne departe au fyn de sone terme hors del

<sup>a-a</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>b-b</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>c</sup> Om. SR

<sup>d-d</sup> Om. SR

<sup>e</sup> les mayres SR

<sup>f</sup> SR; seneschalles T

<sup>g-g</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>1</sup> The formal invocation of the liberties of the church and Magna Carta was a token of political rectitude. *Westm. Chron.*, p. 355, says that the first business of the session was to agree that the newly translated bishops should be put in possession of their sees (see above, p. 506).

charter of the forest, and all other statutes and ordinances heretofore made and not repealed, shall be duly held and firmly kept.<sup>1</sup>

*Second statute.*

Also it is agreed and assented that the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, the steward of the king's household, the king's chamberlain, the clerk of the rolls, the justices of either bench, the barons of the exchequer, and all others who are called upon to ordain, name, or appoint justices of the peace, sheriffs, escheators, customers, controllers, or any other of the king's officers or ministers, shall be explicitly sworn and shall take oath not to ordain, name, nor appoint any justice of the peace, sheriff, escheator, customer, controller, nor other officer nor minister of the king, for any manner of gift, commission, favour, or affection, nor to appoint any such as seek office for themselves or other, secretly or openly, either to that office or any other, so that they shall appoint as such officers and ministers only the most trustworthy and faithful, and the most competent, according to their own knowledge and belief.<sup>2</sup>

*The third statute, of labourers and artificers.*

Also it is agreed and assented that all the statutes of craftsmen and labourers, servants and victuallers, made as well in the time of our lord the king that now is as in the time of his noble grandfather, whom God assoil, and not repealed, be firmly observed and kept and duly executed,<sup>3</sup> and that the said craftsmen, labourers, servants, and victuallers be duly judged by the justices of the peace, as well at the king's suit as at the suit of individuals, according to the provisions of the said statutes, and that mayors, bailiffs, stewards of lords, and constables of townships shall duly perform their office in respect of such craftsmen, servants, labourers, and victuallers, and that stocks shall be kept in every township to discipline such servants and labourers as is ordained in the abovesaid statute.

And further it is ordained and agreed that no servant or labourer, whether man or woman, shall depart at the end of their employ-

<sup>2</sup> This provision derives from a clause in the commons' petitions preserved in *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 356-8, but may also, in both places, echo the discontents expressed in the petition which Knighton includes in his account of the Merciless Parliament (above, p. 442-50). On the place of the statute in the development of the commission of the peace, see R. Sillem, 'Commissions of the peace, 1380-1485', *BIHR* x (1932-3), 81-104.

<sup>3</sup> Effectively 2 Ric. II, st. 1, c. 8 (SR ii. 11), which gave statutory force to the Ordinance of Labourers: see above, p. 102.

hundrede, rope, oue wapyntake oue il est demuraunt pur seruire oue demurere ayllours, oue par colour dalere loynes en pylrynage, sil ne porte lettre patent contenant la cause de sone alere, et le temps de sone retourner sil doit retourner, desouth le seale du roy qe a ceo serra assigne et lyuere en garde dascune prodome del hundrede, ou<sup>a</sup> hundredez, rope oue wapentake, cite oue<sup>b</sup> burghe, solonc la discrecion dez iusticez de la paix agardere, et loialment faire tiels lettres quant il bosoigne, et ne mye en altre manere par son serement.

Et qe entour le dit seale soit escript le none del conte, et atrauerce du dit seale le none del dit hundrede, rope, wapyntake, cyte, oue boroughe.<sup>1</sup> Et si ascune seruant oue laborere soit troue en cyte, burghe, oue ayllours, uenant de ascune lieu uagarant sanz tiele lettre, soyt mayntenant pris par lez ditz mayre,<sup>c</sup> bayliffez, seneschallez, oue constables, et mys en cepps, et gardez tanqe ils eyent troue surtees de retourner a sone seruys, oue seruyre oue laborere en la uille dont il uient, tanqe il eyt tyele lettre<sup>d</sup> a departier par cause resonable, et fait a remembrer qe seruant ou laborer puisse franchement departier hors de son seruice al fyn de son terme, et seruir aillours, issint qil soit en certain oue qi, et eit autiel lettre<sup>d</sup> come desuys. Mes nest mye<sup>e</sup> la entencion du cest ordeignauce qe seruauantz qe chyuaient oue allent en<sup>f</sup> bosoignez de lour seignurs oue meystres soyent comprys deynez cestez ordeignauce pur temps de mesme<sup>e</sup> le bosoigne.<sup>2</sup>

Et si nule porte tiel lettre qe poet estre troue forge, oue faux, eit la prisone de quarrant iours pur la fauxyne, et outre tank il est troue surte de retourner et seruere, et laborere, come deuant est dit. Et qe nule receyt seruauant ne laborere allantz hors de lour hundrez, rope, wapentake, cyte, oue burghe, sanz lettre tesmoynale, ne oue lettre outre un noet, sil ne soit par cause de maladye oue altre cause resonable, ou qe il uult oue puisse seruere et laborere illoeqes par mesme le tesmoynance, sur payne a lymytiere par iusticez de pees.

Et qe si bien artificers et gentz de maystyer come dez<sup>h</sup> seruauantz et apprentys qe ne sont de grant auoyre, et de quele artifice et mystere

<sup>a</sup> SR; en T      <sup>b</sup> et SR      <sup>c</sup> mayres SR      <sup>d-d</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>e</sup> pas SR  
<sup>f</sup> es SR      <sup>g</sup> mesme corrected in T from q'      <sup>h</sup> Om. SR      <sup>i</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>1</sup> For some specimens, see A. B. Tonnachy, *Catalogue of British Seal-Dies in the British Museum* (London, 1952), pp. 27-32, and plate 8.

ment out of the hundred, rape, or wapentake wherein they have dwelt, to work, or go elsewhere to dwell, or by pretence of travelling on pilgrimage, except they carry letters patent containing the reason for their journey, and the date of their return if they are to return, under the king's seal to be assigned for that purpose and delivered into the keeping of some trustworthy man of the hundred or hundreds, rape or wapentake, city, or borough in question, at the discretion of the justices of the peace, for him to keep it and faithfully to make such letters when they shall be required, and in no other manner, upon his oath.

And that around the said seal there shall be inscribed the name of the county, and across it the name of the said hundred, rape, wapentake, city, or borough,<sup>1</sup> and if any servants or labourers be found in any city or borough or wandering from some other place without such a letter, let them at once be taken up by the said mayors, bailiffs, stewards, or constables and put into the stocks, and held until they have found sureties to return to their service, or to serve or work in the township to which they have come until they have such a letter to travel for some reasonable purpose. And let it be remembered that a servant or labourer may leave his service, at the end of his term, and go to work elsewhere, provided that it be clearly established with whom, and that he have such a letter as above. It is not, however, the intention of this ordinance that servants who ride abroad or travel on the business of their lords or masters should be included in this ordinance, during the time of such business.<sup>2</sup>

And if any carry such a letter which proves to be forged or false, let them be imprisoned for forty days for the falsehood, and longer until they find surety to return to serve or work as aforesaid. And none shall harbour any servant or labourer going out of their hundred, rape, wapentake, city, or borough without a testimonial letter, or with such a letter for more than one night, unless it be because of illness or for some other good reason, or because they wish and are able to serve and work in that place by the same testimony, upon penalty to be determined by the justices of the peace.

And both craftsmen and journeymen, such as servants and apprentices, who are of no great substance, and who may be under-

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the extension of the university's privileges to the bearers of letters and messengers in Oxford: *Munimenta Academica*, ed. H. Anstey, RS 1, (London, 1868), i. 344-5.



1388 len nad pas grant<sup>i</sup> bosoigne en temps Daust, soyent artez de seruir  
 en aust de cyere, coilere, et entere<sup>a</sup> lez bleez. Et cest estatute soit  
 duement execute par mayres et baylyffes, seneschallez, et consta  
 fo. 230<sup>f</sup> / bles de uyles, sur peyne alymiter et a iuger par lez ditz iusticez de  
 la pees en lour sessions.

*Pro littera dabitur denarius.*

Et qe nule pregne outre une denere pur la dit lettre faire et enseallere et delyuerere.

*De stipendiis laborariorum.*<sup>b1</sup>

Et en outre a cause qe lez seruantz et laboreres ne uoillent, ne<sup>c</sup> par long temps ount uoluz, seruere et laborere sanz outrageouse et excessyue lowere, et molt greindre qe nad este done as tiels seruantz et laboreres en ascune temps passe, si qe pur chierte dez ditz laboreres et seruantz les husbondes et terre tenantz ne poyent payer lour rentes, ne a payne uiuere sur lour terre, a tresgrant damage et perde sibien dez seignurs, come de tut le comune, et auxint a causes qe lez lowers dez ditz laboreres et seruantz nont este mys en certeyne deuant cez oeures, accorde est et assentuz qe le baylif pur husbondrye pregne par an .xiiij. souldz .iiij. deners, et sa uesture un foith par an au plus; le maystur hyne .x. souldz; charreter .x. souldz; berchere .x. souldz; bouer .vj. souldz .viiij. deners; uachere .vj. souldz .viiij. deners; porchere .vj. souldz; femme laborere .vj. souldz; deye .vj. souldz; chacere des scharowe .vij. souldz a plus, et chescune altre laborere et seruant solonc sone degre, et meyns en pays ou meyns soleint estre donez, sanz uesture, curteseye, oue altre regarde par couenaunt. Et qe nule seruauntz dez artificers, ne de uytayllers, deynz cyte, burghes, ne autres uilles, ne pregnant plus qe le laboreres et seruantz desuz nomez, solonc lour estate, sanz uesture, curteseye, ne autre regarde par couenant, come desuz est dit.

Et si nully pregne oue donne par couenaunt plus qe nest especifies paramont, qe al prime foith qils serront ent atteynte payent, si bien lez doners come lez pernours, la ualue del excesse issint donee oue pris, et a la seconde foith de lour atteindre, la double ualue dez tieles excessez, et a tierce foith, la treble ualue dez tielez excessez, et si le pernour issint atteynt neyt rienz dont payere lez ditz excessez, eit la prisone de .xl. iours.

<sup>a</sup> *SR*; entillere in *T*      <sup>b</sup> *c. 4* in *SR*. See *n. o*      <sup>c</sup> *SR*; om. *T*

employed in their crafts and trades at harvest time, shall be bound to work in harvest time to reap and gather and bring in the harvest, and this statute shall be duly executed by the mayors, bailiffs, stewards, and constables of townships, upon such penalties as shall be adjudged by the said justices of the peace in their sessions.

*One penny to be given for the letter.*

And that no one shall take more than one penny for writing, sealing, and delivering such a letter.

*[Fourthly],<sup>1</sup> of labourers' wages.*

And further, because servants and labourers are unwilling, and for a long time past have been unwilling, to serve and work without outrageous and excessive reward, much greater than has been paid to such servants and labourers in times past, so that because of the high cost of such servants and labourers the husbandmen and tenants of lands are unable to pay their rents, and are hardly able to live upon their land, to the very great damage and loss both of the lords and of the whole commonalty, and also because the wages of the said labourers and servants have not been defined and made certain before this time, it is agreed and assented that a farm bailiff shall receive 13s.4d. yearly, and clothing not more than once a year, a foreman 10s., a carter 10s., a shepherd 10s., an oxherd 6s., a cowman 6s.8d., a swineherd 6s., a woman labourer 6s., a dairymaid 6s., a ploughman 7s. at most, and every other labourer and servant according to his degree, and less in counties where less used to be paid, without clothing, gratuity, or other reward by contract; and that no servants of craftsmen or victuallers in cities, boroughs, or other townships shall take more than the labourers and servants abovenamed, according to their degree, without clothing, gratuity, or other reward by contract as abovesaid.

And if any take or give more by contract than is specified above, the first time that they are convicted both those who give and those who receive shall pay the excess given or received, and upon the second conviction twice the value of the said excess, and the third time the treble value, and if the receiver thus convicted has nothing with which to pay the said excess let him be imprisoned for forty days.

<sup>1</sup> This clause, unnumbered in *T*, is *c. 4* of the statute as printed in *SR*, and Knighton's numbering is out of phase from this point. The *SR* numbers are supplied in square brackets in the translation.

.iiij. *statutum.*<sup>a</sup>

Item ordeigne est et assentuz qe ceux oue celluy qe use de laborere a charewe et charet, oue altre labour oue seruyse de husbondrye, tank soyt del age del .xij. anz, qe dehors<sup>b</sup> en auant il demurge a tyele labour sanz estre mys au mystiere oue artifice. Et si ascun<sup>c</sup> couenant<sup>d</sup> ou lien<sup>d</sup> de apprentyce soit fait desore en auant a contrarye, soit tenez pur nul.

.v. *statutum.*<sup>e</sup>

Item accordez est et assentez qe nul seruaut de husbondrye, oue laborere, ne seruaut de artificyere, ne de uytayllere / ne porte desore en auant basilarde, daggere, ne espey sur<sup>f</sup> payne du<sup>f</sup> forfeiture du cyelle, si non en temps de guerre pur deffence du roialme, et ceo par<sup>g</sup> suruwee dez arrayours pur le<sup>h</sup> temps esteantz, oue trauayllant par pays oueske lour meystrez, oue en lez messagez de lour mestrez, mez eyent tieles seruantz et laboreres arkes et settez, et les usent lez Dysmengez et iours dez festez, et lessent tut outrement lez iewes as peltes, si bien a mayne come al pee, et lez altres iewes appelez coytes, dyces, gettere du piere, kayles, et altres tielez iewes importunez.

Et qe lez uyscontz, mayrez, baylyffes, et constablez eyent pouare darestere et arestont touz lez conturuenauncez, et lez baselardus, daggers, et espeyes suisditz, et lez ditz baselardes, daggers, et espees seysere, et gardiere tanqe al sessione de iusticez de la pees, et lez presentent deuaunt lez ditz iusticez en lour sessions, ensemblement oue lez nons du ceux qe lez porteront. Et nest pur lentencion du roy qe preiudice soit fait as fraunchisez dez seignurs touchant lez forfaytures a eux dewes.

.vi. *statutum.*<sup>i</sup>

Item accorde est et assentuz qe de chescune qe ua mendynant, et est able aseruyre oue laborere, soit fait de luy come de celuy qe departe hors dez hundrez et altres lieux susditz sanz lettre tesmoy-nayle, come de suys est dit, forpris genz de religione, et<sup>j</sup> heremytes approues, eyantz lettres testemonals dez ordeynaries. Et qe lez mendynantz impotentz de seruyre demourgent as cytees et uillez oue ils sont demurantz al temps de proclamacion du cest estatute.

Et si lez gentz del ditez cyteez oue uylles ne uoyllent ne poient

<sup>a</sup> c. 5 in SR

<sup>b</sup> delors SR

<sup>c</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>d-d</sup> SR; T has en for ou,

*The fourth [fifth] statute.*

Also it is ordained and assented that those or any who labour at the plough, or carting, or other work of husbandry, until they are twelve years old, henceforth shall remain at that work and not be bound to any trade or craft, and if any contract or bond of apprenticeship be made hereafter to the contrary, let it be deemed null.

*The fifth [sixth] statute.*

Also it is agreed and assented that no servant of husbandry, nor labourer, nor journeyman, nor victualler, henceforth shall carry baselard, dagger, or sword, upon pain of forfeiture of the same, unless it be in time of war and for the defence of the realm, and that by view of the arrayers for the time being, or when they travel the country with their masters or on their masters' business, but let such servants have bows and arrows, and practice with them on Sundays and feast-days, and refrain from all such games as ball-games, either hand-ball or football, and the other games called quoits, dice, bowls, skittles, or other such unfitting games.

And that sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, and constables shall have the power to arrest, and shall arrest, all offenders to the contrary, and also those who carry baselards, daggers, and swords as above, and shall seize the said baselards, daggers, and swords, and keep them until the next session of the justices of the peace, and produce them before the said justices assembled in their sessions, together with the names of those who carried them. And it is not the king's intention thereby to prejudice the lords' interest in the forfeitures due to them.

*The sixth [seventh] statute.*

Also it is agreed and assented that any who goes begging, and is able to serve or work, shall be treated like those who leave their hundred or other place without a testimonial letter as aforesaid, except religious, and licensed hermits, having testimonial letters from the bishops, and that beggars unfit to serve shall remain in the cities or townships in which they were dwelling at the time when this statute was proclaimed.

And if the people of the said cities or townships be unwilling and

followed by a blank space

<sup>h</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>i</sup> c. 6 in SR

<sup>j</sup> SR; om. T

<sup>ff</sup> Om. SR

<sup>g</sup> SR; pur T

suffrere de lez trouer, qe lez ditz mendynantz soy trayent as altres uilles deynz le hundrede, repe, oue wapentake, oue as uylles oue ils furent nees, deynz .xl. iours apres la dit proclamacion fait, et la demourgent contynuelment pur lour uyez. Et qe<sup>a</sup> de touz ceux qail- lent en pylrynage come mendynantz, et sont puissantz a trauallere, soit fait come dez ditz seruantz et laboreres sils neyent lettres tesmoynallez de lour pylrynage desouth le<sup>b</sup> ceale auaunt ditz, et qe lez clerkez de uniuersiteez qe uont ensy<sup>c</sup> mendynantz eyent lettres de tesmoynere de lour chauncielere sur mesme la payne.<sup>1</sup>

.vij. statutum.<sup>d</sup>

Item ordeinez est, et<sup>e</sup> accorde est et assentuz, qe ceux qe ceo faynent hommez trauellys hors du roialme, et illoques est enprisones, portaunt lettres tesmoynals de capytayne ou ils ount demurez, oue dez mayrez et bayliffes oue ils facent lour arryuayle. Et qe mesmez lez mayrez et / baylifs enquerrent dez tielz gentz oue ils ont demurere, et oue qui et en quele lieu lour demurere est en Englietere, et qe mesmes lez mayrez et baylifs lez facent lettres patentez desouth le seale de lour office, tesmoynant le iour de lour arryuayle, et ou ils ont este a ceo qils ont dit, et qe lez ditz mayrez et baylifs lez facent iurere qils tendront lour droit chymyne uers lour pays si none qils eyent lettre patent desuys la grant ceale le roy daltrement fayre. Et si ascune tiele home trauallez soyt troue sanz tiele lettre soyt fait de luy come dez seruantz et<sup>f</sup> laboreres susditz, et cest ordeignance serra entendu dez hommez trauallez qe uont mendynaunt par le pays apres lour arryuaille.

.viij. statutum.<sup>g</sup>

Item ordeigne est et assentuz<sup>h</sup> qe lez ordeignancez susditz dez seruantz et laboreres mendynantz et uagarantz tienent lieu, et soyent executez, si bien as cytees et burghes come as altres uilles et lieux deinz la roialme, si bien deinz fraunchise come dehors, et qe lez uiscont, mayres,<sup>i</sup> et gardeyns dez gaoies soyent tenuz et chargez de resceyuere lez ditz seruantz, laboreres, mendynantz, et uagarantz, et lez detener en prisone en la fourme auaunt dit, sanz lez lessere a maynprise ou en baylle, et sanz fee oue altre rienz prendre deux par eux mesmes oue par altres, tanqe come ils soyent ensy en

<sup>a</sup> interlined by scribe    <sup>b</sup> les SR    <sup>c</sup> auxi SR    <sup>d</sup> c. 8 in SR    <sup>e</sup> SR; om.  
T    <sup>f</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>g</sup> c. 9 in SR    <sup>h</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>i</sup> SR adds et bailiffs

unable to provide for them, the said beggars shall be removed to other townships in the hundred, rape, or wapentake, or to the townships in which they were born, within forty days after the said proclamation, and there remain for the rest of their lives. And that all those who go on pilgrimage as beggars and are able to work shall be dealt with in the same manner as the said servants and labourers if they do not have testimonial letters for their pilgrimage under the aforesaid seal, and that students from universities who go begging shall have testimonial letters from their chancellor under the same penalty.<sup>1</sup>

*The seventh [eighth] statute.*

Also it is ordained and agreed and assented that those who claim to have travelled out of the realm and to have been imprisoned there shall carry letters from their commander where they dwelt or from the mayor and bailiffs of the place at which they landed, and the mayors and bailiffs shall themselves inquire of such people where they have lived, and with whom, and where their home may be in England, and the mayors and bailiffs shall make them letters patent under the seal of their office, testifying to the the date of their arrival and where they profess to have been. And the said mayors and bailiffs shall make them swear that they will make their way directly to their own county, unless they have letters patent under the king's great seal allowing them to do otherwise, and any such man found travelling without such letters shall be treated like the abovesaid servants and labourers, and this ordinance shall be understood to apply to any travelling men who go begging through the country after their arrival.

*The eighth [ninth] statute.*

Also it is ordained and assented that the above ordinances on servants and labourers, and beggars and vagrants, shall be observed and executed as well in cities and boroughs as in townships and other places in the kingdom, and within franchises as well as without, and that the sheriffs, mayors, and keepers of prisons shall be bound and required to receive the said servants, labourers, beggars, and vagrants, and to keep them in prison in the manner aforesaid without releasing them on mainprise or bail, or taking fee or other payment from them or from others while they are thus imprisoned,

<sup>1</sup> On testimonial letters and other devices for augmenting students' incomes, see J. Catto, 'Citizens, scholars, and masters', *HUO* i. 151-92, at pp. 172-3.

1388 prisonne, ou al entre oue al issue dez mesme la prisonne, sur payne de payere .c. souldz al roy.

.ix. *statutum*.<sup>a</sup>

Item ordeignez est et assentuz<sup>b</sup> qe en chescune commissionne dez iusticeez 'de la paix' ne soyct assignez qe six iusticez outre lez iusticez dassysez, et qe lez ditz syz<sup>d</sup> iusticez tiegnent lour sessions en chescune quarter del an au maynes, et ces par treys iours si meyster soit, sur payne destre punys solonc laduis de conseil le roy a suyte de chescune qe se uorra pleyndre. Et enquergent diligentment, entre autres chosez touchant lour officez, si lez ditz mayres, baylyffez, seneschallez, conestablez, et auxint gayolers ount deument faitez execucion dez ditz ordeignauncez et estatutz dez seruauntz et laboreres mendynantz et uagarantz, et punyssent ceuz qe sount puniysablez<sup>c</sup> par la dit payne de .c. souldz, par mesme la payne, et<sup>e</sup> ceuz que sont trouez en deffaute qe ne sount puinyssables par la dit payne de .c. souldz punissent par lour discrecion.<sup>1</sup>

Et pregne chescune dez ditz iusticez lour gagez .iiij. souldz le iour pur le temps de lour dit sessiones, et lour clerkes .ii. souldz le iour, et ceo dez fynes et enmercyments susdytez, et prouenantz de mesmes lez sessiones, par maynez des uyscontez. Et qe lez seignurs dez fraunchysez soyent contributours as ditz gagez / solonc afferant de lour parte dez fynez et amercymenz susditz. Et qe nul seneschalle de seigneur soit assigne en nule de ditz commissiones, et qe nulle associacion soit as iusticez de la pees apres lour primere commissionne.

Et nest pur lentencion de cest estatute qe lez iusticez del un banc et del altre, ne lez sergeantz de leye en cas qils soyent nomez en lez ditz commissiones, soyent tenuz par force du cest estatute de tener lez ditz sessiones quatre foith par an, come sount lez autres commissiones que sont continuelment<sup>f</sup> demurrant en pays, mes qils le facent quant ils a ceo poient bonement entendre.

.ix. *statutum*<sup>h</sup> ut mali loquentes de magnatibus puniantur.

Item come contenez soyt si bien en lestatute de Westmynstre primer, come en lestatute fait a Gloucestre nostre seigneur le Roy qore est secunde,<sup>2</sup> qe nul soit si hardy de controuere ou countere

<sup>a</sup> c. 10 in SR    <sup>b</sup> SR; om. T    <sup>c</sup> SR; du pays T    <sup>d</sup> Interlined by scribe  
<sup>e</sup> Altered from puniysablez by scribe or reviser    <sup>f</sup> SR; qe T    <sup>g</sup> Corrected from  
 continuez by scribe or reviser    <sup>h</sup> c. 11 in SR

or when they shall be admitted or discharged from prison, upon pain of paying 100s. to the king.

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*The ninth [tenth] statute.*

Also it is ordained and assented that in each commission of justices of the peace there shall be appointed not more than six justices besides the justices of assize, and that the said six justices shall hold their sessions at least once in every quarter of the year, and that for three days if need be, upon pain of such penalty as the council shall decree upon the suit of any who wish to sue them. And they shall inquire diligently, amongst other matters touching their office, whether the said mayors, bailiffs, stewards, constables, and gaolers have duly applied the said ordinances and statutes of servants, labourers, beggars, and vagrants, and shall punish those to whom the said penalty of 100s. shall apply by that penalty, and punish at their discretion those found in default to whom that penalty cannot be applied.<sup>1</sup>

And each of the said justices shall take for their payment 4s. a day during their sessions, and their clerks 2s. a day, to be taken from the fines and amercements arising from the said sessions, at the hands of the sheriffs, and that the lords of franchises shall contribute to the said wages according to their share of the abovesaid fines and amercements, and that no lord's steward shall be appointed to any of the said commissions, and that no justice shall be appointed associate to any justice of the peace after his first commission.

And it is not the intention of this statute that the justices of either bench or the serjeants-at-law, if they should be named in the said commissions, should be compelled by the terms of this statute to attend the said sessions four times each year like the other justices who dwell continuously in the counties, but that they should attend them when they are well able.

*The ninth [eleventh] statute, that those who speak ill of the magnates should be punished.*

Also, whereas it is contained as well in the first Statute of Westminster as in the statute made at Gloucester in the second year of the reign of our lord the king that now is,<sup>2</sup> that none should be so

<sup>1</sup> The justices were subsequently required by the general commission of 1390 directly to enforce cc. 3, 6, and 10 of the statute. It is not clear why the formal instruction was delayed for two years: see R. Sillem, 'Commissions of the peace', p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Statt.* 3 Edw. I, c. 34 (*SR* i. 35); and 2 Ric. II, st. 1, c. 5 (*SR* ii. 9).

ascune faux nouvelle,<sup>a</sup> mesonge, oue ascunez<sup>b</sup> tiels fauzez eschosez, dez prelatez, ducs, contes, barons, et altres noblez et grauntz du roialme, et du<sup>d</sup> chaunceliere, tresorere, clerk du priue seale, seneschal del hostiele nostre seignur le roye, iusticez de lune banc et de lautre, et daltres grant officers du roialme, et qe le fra soit pris et enprisonnez iesques atant qil troue celuy cont la parole serra moeuez,<sup>e</sup> accordez et assentuz est en cest parlyment quant ascune tiele soit pris et enprisonnez, et ne poet altre trouer dont la parole serra mouez, come deuant est dit, qil soit punys par<sup>f</sup>aduis du<sup>f</sup> counsayl, nient consteantz lez estatutez auaunt ditz.<sup>1</sup>

.x. *statutum*.<sup>g</sup>

Item en droit de la leyres des despences<sup>h</sup> dez chyualers uenauntz as parlymentz pur lez comines dez contees, accordez est et assentuz qe le dit leue soit fait come ad este use auant cez oeures, aiouste<sup>i</sup> a ycelle, qe si ascune seignur oue altre home, espirituel oue temporele, eyt purchacez ascunez terrez oue tenementz, oue altres possessions, qe soloyent estre contributours as tielez dispences deuant le temps du dit purchace, mesmez lez terrez, tenementz, et possessions, et lez tenaunt du ycelle soyent contributours as ditz dispencez come lez ditz terrez, tenementz, et possessionz, et lez tenauntz du ycellez, soilent faire deuaunt le temps de mesme le purchace.<sup>2</sup>

.xj. *statutum*<sup>j</sup> ut stercora ammoueatur de ciuibus.<sup>3</sup>

Item purceo qe taunt dez fymes et altres ordurez dez issuez et<sup>k</sup> entraylles, si bien de bestez tuez come dez altres corrupcions, sont gettez et mys en fosses, ryuers, et altres ewes, et auxint plusours altres lieux dedeyns et entour et pres diuersez cytees, burghes, et uilles du roialme et lez suburbes du cellies, qe leyre illoques est grauntment corrupte et enfect<sup>l</sup>, et plusours altres maladyez et altrez

<sup>a</sup> oue cancelled by scribe      <sup>b</sup> autre SR      <sup>c</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>d</sup> auxint le SR  
<sup>e</sup> SR; nomez T      <sup>ff</sup> le dit T      <sup>g</sup> c. 12 in SR      <sup>h</sup> SR; om. T  
<sup>i</sup> SR; nouste T      <sup>j</sup> c. 13 in SR      <sup>k</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>l</sup> en estez T

<sup>1</sup> Cf. above, p. 488; and see *Westm. Chron.*, p. 364 and n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The knights being the representatives of the free men of the shire, it fell to that community to reimburse their expenses. The issue was complicated by changes of title, by various exemptions, and notably by the tenure of villein land by freeholders, who had no wish to lose their free status but sought to claim the villeins' customary exemption from such charges. See further L. C. Latham, 'Collection of the wages of knights of the shire in

bold as to speak ill or spread any false report, or lies, or any false matter about the prelates, dukes, earls, barons, or other great nobles of the realm, or of the chancellor, treasurer, clerk of the privy seal, steward of the household of our lord the king, the justices of either bench, or the other great officers of the realm, and that anyone who does so should be taken and imprisoned until he find someone to stand surety for his parole, it is agreed and assented in this parliament that any such should be taken and imprisoned, and if he be unable to find surety as aforesaid he shall be punished by advice of the council notwithstanding the aforesaid statutes.<sup>1</sup>

*The tenth [twelfth] statute.*

Also in the matter of levying the expenses of knights coming to parliaments on behalf of the community of the shire it is agreed and assented that the said levy should continue to be made as it was heretofore, and that if any lord or other person, spiritual or temporal, shall have purchased any lands or tenements or other possessions which used to be contributory to such expenses before the time of the said purchase, those lands, tenements, and possessions, and the holders thereof, shall contribute to the said expenses as the said lands, tenements, and possessions, and the tenants thereof, used to contribute before the time of the said purchase.<sup>2</sup>

*The eleventh [thirteenth] statute, that filth should be removed from the cities.*<sup>3</sup>

Also because such quantities of dung and other ordure, both from the droppings and entrails of beasts slaughtered, and other filth, are thrown and cast into ditches, rivers, and other waters, and also in many other places within and about and close to divers cities, boroughs, and townships of the realm, and the suburbs thereof, so that the air thereof is greatly polluted and infected, and many lethal maladies and other diseases come from one day to

the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *EHR* xlvi (1933), 455-64; and H. M. Cam, *Liberties and Communities in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1944), pp. 236-47.

<sup>3</sup> This was not an issue addressed in the surviving commons' petitions, but the problems were persistent and universal. The king had to remonstrate with the Londoners over the disposal of waste from slaughter-houses in 1391: see C. Barron, 'The quarrel of Richard II with London, 1392-7', *The Reign of Richard II*, pp. 173-201, at pp. 175-6 and nn. On street-cleaning as a service in London, see *Cal. Letter-Book H*, p. 361 and n. 3; and E. L. Sabine, 'City cleaning in medieval London', *Speculum*, xii (1937), 19-43. See also *London Assize of Nuisance, 1301-1431: A Calendar*, ed. H. M. Chew and W. Kellaway, London Record Society, x (London, 1973), pp. xxii-xxv (sanitation), and pp. xxvi-xxx (public nuisances).

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fo. 232<sup>f</sup>

dyseasez nyent suffrablez aueyngnont de iour en altre, si bien a lez enhabitanz et conuersantz as dytez cytees, burghes, uillez, suburbes, come al autres illeoques repayrantz et passantz, <sup>a</sup> a tresgrant anusance, damage, et peril des inhabitanz, conuersantz, repairantz<sup>d</sup> suisditz, accorde est et assentuz qe proclamacion soit fait, si bien en la cyte / de Loundres come en altrez cytees, burghes, et uilles <sup>b</sup> et par<sup>b</sup> my le roialme, oue il bosoigne, si bien deyns fraunchisez come dehors, qe toux ceux qi tils aniysauncz, fymes, issues, entraylles, et autres ordurez ont gettez et mys en fossez et ryuers, ewes et autres lieux suisditz, lez facent oultrement remouer, oustere, et enportere parentre cy et la fest de Seynt Mychelle proscheyn auener apres la fyne de cest parlyment, chescune sur payne de .xx. liures a payers al roy. Et qe lez mayrs et baylifs de chescune tiel cyte, burghes, et uille, et auxint lez bayliffes dez fraunchesez, lez compellent de ceo faire, sur semblabulle payne.

Et si aucune soy sent greue qe ceo ne soit prefait en maner susdit, et soy uult enpleyndre en la chauncelerye apres la dit feste de Seynt Mychel, eyt bref de faire uener celuy de qui il uult ensi plendre en la chauncelerye, a y<sup>c</sup> monstrere par quoy le dit payne ne serra leuee de luy. Et sil ne poet ent dewment excusere, soit mesme la payne leuee de luy.

Et en outre soit proclamacion fait, si bien en la dyte cytee de Loundres come en autres cytees, burghes, et uilles come desuys, qe nul de quele condicion qil<sup>d</sup> soit, ne faite mettre ne gettere en auant tiles aniysans, issuez, fymes, entraylles, et ordures en lez fosses, ewes, ryuers, et autres lieux susditz, et si nul le face soit appelle par bref deuaunt le chauncelere, al suyt de celuy qe soy uorra pleyndre, et si y soit troue coupable, soyt punys solonc la discrecion de chauncelere.

*.xij. statutum<sup>e</sup> de mensura pannorum de rayes et aliis de colore.*

Item accordes est et assentuz qe lez drapes de ray et de coloure, affayrez et <sup>f</sup>ouerers a<sup>f</sup> Bristout et ez countez enuirone, soyent de la mesure altre foythe ordeygnee pur estatut fait a Westmynstre lan du regne le roy Edward, ayel nostre seignur le roy qore est, .xl. septime.<sup>1</sup> Cest assauoyre lez draprez de ray de la longure uynt et oept anz mesures par le list, et synk quarters de leaure, et le drape de

<sup>a-a</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>b-b</sup> Supplied from SR: the text in T is damaged      <sup>c</sup> SR; om. T  
<sup>d</sup> ne cancelled by scribe      <sup>e</sup> c. 14 in SR      <sup>f-f</sup> SR; aceneres et T

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another both upon the inhabitants and frequenters of the said cities, boroughs, suburbs, and townships, and upon those repairing to and passing through them, to the great annoyance, harm, and peril of the inhabitants, frequenters, and visitors aforesaid, it is agreed and assented that proclamation be made as well in the city of London as in other cities, boroughs, and townships, and throughout the realm where there be need, both within franchises and without, that all those who have thrown and cast such nuisances as dung, sweepings, entrails, and other filth into ditches and rivers, waters and other places aforesaid, shall cause them to be entirely removed, taken out, and carried away, between now and the feast of St Michael next following upon the end of this parliament [29 Sept. 1389], each one upon pain of £20 to be paid to the king. And that the mayors and bailiffs of every such city, borough, and town, and also the bailiffs of franchises shall compel them to do so upon a like pain.

And if anyone think himself aggrieved that that has not been done in the above manner, and wish to plead in chancery after the said feast of St Michael, let him have a writ to cause him whom he wishes to implead to come into chancery to show why the said penalty should not be imposed upon him, and if he cannot duly acquit himself, let the penalty be exacted.

And further let it be proclaimed, as well within the said city of London as in other cities, boroughs, and townships, as above, that no one, of any degree, shall place or throw henceforth such nuisances, sweepings, dung, entrails, or other filth into the ditches, waters, rivers, or other places aforesaid. And if anyone do so let him be appealed before the chancellor by anyone who wishes to sue him. And if he be found guilty let him be punished at the chancellor's discretion.

*The twelfth [fourteenth] statute, about the dimensions of striped and other coloured cloths.*

Also it is agreed and assented that cloths of ray and coloured cloth, made and prepared at Bristol and in the neighbouring counties, shall be of the dimensions ordained by the statute made at Westminster in the forty-seventh year of the reign of King Edward, grandfather of our lord the king that now is.<sup>1</sup> That is to say, cloths of ray of a length of twenty-eight yards measured by the list, and

<sup>1</sup> Stat. 47 Ed. III c. 1 (SR ii. 395).



1388 colour de .xxvj. aunez de longure mesure par les doos, et .vj. quarters de la eure au meyns, et qe demy drape, soit il de ray oue de colour, tiegne en longure solonc laferant et<sup>a</sup> en laeure come lez drapes de colour et du ray, sur la payne alymitiere<sup>b</sup> en mesme la estatut.

.xiiij. quod nullus prouisor eat ad curiam sine licencia speciali regis.<sup>c</sup>

fo. 232<sup>v</sup> Item qe nulle liege du roy, de quele estate oue condicion qil soyt, greyndre oue meyndre, passe le miere, nenuoy hors du roialme Denglietere, par lycence oue sanz lycence, sanz especial conge du roy mesmes, pur soy prouidre oue purchacere ascune benefice du seynt esglyse, oue cure oue saunz cure, en la dit roialme, et si ascune le face, et par uertu de tiele prouisione accepte, oue par luy oue par lautre, ascune benefice en mesme la roialme, qe a cele temps mesme / le prouisor soit hors de proteccion du roy, et mesme la benefice uoyde, si qe bien lise a patrone du mesme le benefice, si bien esprituele come temporil, presentere a ycelle un clerck able a sa uolunte.<sup>1</sup>

.xiiij.<sup>d</sup> de stapula remouenda de Mydburghe ad Calesiam.

Ensement est assentuz et ordeignez qe le staple soit remewes du Mydburghe a<sup>e</sup> Caley, et<sup>f</sup> qil soit a Caley le primere iour de Decembre proscheyne auenire.<sup>g2</sup>

1389 *Scoti incendunt pueros et mulieres.* Eodem anno in .xl. intrauerunt Scoti in occidentali plaga, et tam occidendo quam incendendo multa mala exercuerunt. Insuper pueros paruulos lactantes ad ubera, mulieres in puerperio, et pregnantes, ac uiros debiles et decrepitos in patria Gyldisland, in dominio domini de Dacres, in domos colligentes concluderunt et, clausis hostiis, ad numerum ut dicebatur circiter .cc. et amplius, irremissibiliter et absque misericordia igni conbusserunt.

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc.lxxxix. incipiente, die Iouis ante Pascham, dominus le Bewmont, gardianus de Carlisle, in occidentali

<sup>a</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>b</sup> contenu SR      <sup>c</sup> c. 15 in SR      <sup>d</sup> c. 16 in SR  
<sup>e</sup> SR; om. T      <sup>f</sup> issint SR      <sup>g</sup> Dropped to the end of the following line and marked off with a pilcrow

<sup>1</sup> This enactment, to which the pope reacted by reserving all vacant benefices to his own nomination, was followed in 1390 by the second Statute of Provisors (13 Ric. II, st. 2, cc. 1-3 (SR ii. 69-74)), which strengthened the king's bargaining position with the Curia by forbidding any disturbance of the established rights of patrons. Knighton makes no reference to that statute, which the Westminster chronicler recites at length (see *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 382, 418-30 and nn.).

1388 five quarters broad, and coloured cloths twenty-six yards in length, measured by the dorse, and at least six quarters broad. And the half-cloth, be it of ray or of other colour, of proportionate length, and of the breadth of the cloths of colour and ray, upon the penalties set out in the statute.

*The thirteenth [fifteenth] statute, that no prouisor shall go to the Curia without the king's special licence.*

Also that no liege of the king's, of whatever estate or degree, greater or lesser, shall cross the sea nor send out of the realm of England, with or without licence, without special permission from the king himself, in order to be provided with or to purchase any benefice of Holy Church, with or without the cure of souls, within the said realm. And if anyone do so, and by virtue of such provision accept, for himself or for another, any such benefice within the realm, then from that time let the same prouisor be without the king's protection, and the benefice vacant, so that it shall be lawful for the patron of the same benefice, whether spiritual or temporal, to present a suitable clerk to it at his will.<sup>1</sup>

*The fourteenth [sixteenth statute], for removing the staple from Middelburg to Calais.*

Thus it is assented and ordained that the staple shall be removed from Middelburg to Calais, and that it shall be at Calais from the first day of December next coming [1388].<sup>2</sup>

*The Scots burn women and children.* During Lent that same year [March-April 1389] the Scots invaded England by the western March and did much harm, killing and burning, and particularly in Gilsland, on Lord Dacre's demesne, where they took little children unweaned, women, pregnant and in childbirth, and helpless old men, to the number of 200 or more, as it was reported, and shut them into their houses with the doors fastened, and pitilessly and unforgivably consumed them with fire.

Early in 1389, on the Thursday [15 April] before Easter Lord Beaumont, warden of Carlisle in the western March, penetrated

<sup>2</sup> There was a petition in the Merciless Parliament for the return of the staple to Calais (RP iii. 250), but the Appellants took no action upon it. The more positive response here at Cambridge, which produced a proclamation in Oct. 1388, and the re-establishment of the Calais staple in Feb. 1389, may be a measure of Richard's intervention: see Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, p. 231.

1389 marchia intrauit in Scociam per .xl. leucas, et spoliavit forum de Fowyk et predatus est ad placitum, et multos Scotos secum abduxit.<sup>1</sup>

*Naues capte cum uino.* Eodem anno statim post Pascham quidam mercator de Dermowth conduxit classem de Portinkale proprio stipendio, et cepit .xxxiii. naues, ut fertur, onustas cum uino de Rochelle, circiter mille .v.c. doliorum.<sup>2</sup>

*Discordia scolarium in Oxonia.* In .xl. orta est dolorosa discordia in Oxonia, discordia anni precedentis ad plenum non dum sopita, set semper partes adhuc irritante.<sup>3</sup> Nam Wallani scolares, semper inquieti, adherentibus sibi australibus scolaribus, insurrexerunt contra boriales scolares, et hinc inde multa mala mortis inter eos euenerunt. Et in tantum increuit istud dicidium quod dies campestris prelii in campo prefixus est inter partes. Set Deo mediante, et Thoma de Wodestoke, duce Gloucestrie, se intromittente, cum minore dampno conqueuit, et multi de Wallanis banniti sunt ab uniuersitate Oxoniensi, et in recedendo, per alios scolares boriales ad hoc paratos, ad portas uille in recedendo oscula offere compulsi sunt.<sup>4</sup>

*Rex celebrat <consilium><sup>a</sup> Londoniis et facit nouos officarios.* Mense Maii rex tenuit consilium apud Westmonasterium, et in festo Inuencionis Sancte Crucis rex ueniens in consilio, ammouit omnes maiores officarios inopinate ab officiis suis, et ad placitum suum subrogauit alios quos uoluit, scilicet ammouit cancellarium, archiepiscopum Eboracensem, et loco eius promouit episcopum Wyntoniensem, et thesaurarium, episcopum Hertfordensem, et in loco eius alium imposuit, et clericum de priuato sigillo, et omnes alios.<sup>5</sup>

fo. 233<sup>r</sup> Similiter et iusticiarios de utroque banco, set ne negocia regni medio tempore obfusarentur, iussit iusticiarios legis requisita sicut solito prosequi, donec sibi de aliis / iusticiariis consultius prouideret. Comes quoque de Arundelle, cui commissa fuerat parlamento gubernacio et custodia maris, et marisarcus fuerat, similiter ab officio suo amotus est, et comes Huntyngdone in loco eius subrogatus.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>a</sup> No mark of omission in text

<sup>1</sup> The Scots' depredations were an embarrassment to the Appellants, and allowed the king to display a contrasting resolution: see Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 131-3; Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 48-50; and *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 348-50, 376-8, 383-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 372-4, says that John Hawley of Dartmouth sent a force to sea in Nov. 1388 and captured wine, and that another twenty-five ships were taken at Christmas by seamen from Dartmouth and Fowey: *ibid.*, p. 376. <sup>3</sup> See above, p. 430.

<sup>4</sup> The valedictions were in fact more elaborate, and obscenely offensive: see J. I. Catto, 'Citizens, scholars, and masters', *HUO* i. 186-7; and *CPR* 1391-6, pp. 605-6.

<sup>5</sup> The assembly was a great council, in which the Appellants had no particular advantage.

1389 forty leagues into Scotland, and raided the market at Hawick, and plundered at his pleasure, and carried off many Scots.<sup>1</sup>

*Ships with wine captured.* In the same year, immediately after Easter [18 April 1389], a certain merchant of Dartmouth took the Portugal fleet out at his own expense, and captured thirty-four ships laden, it was said, with some 1,500 tuns of wine from La Rochelle.<sup>2</sup>

*A dispute amongst the students in Oxford.* During Lent [Mar.-April 1389] there arose a lamentable quarrel in Oxford, the disturbances of the previous year not having been properly composed, but flaring up all the time.<sup>3</sup> For the Welsh students, who were never quiet, joined with the southern students against those from the north, and many evils and some deaths came of it. And the strife grew to such an extent that the two sides appointed a day for a pitched battle between them. But by God's mercy, and the intervention of Thomas Woodstock, the duke of Gloucester, it was settled without great harm, and many of the Welsh were expelled from the university and, as they left, some of the northerners stood at the gates and made them exchange kisses.<sup>4</sup>

*The king holds a council in London, and appoints new ministers.* In the month of May the king held a council at Westminster, and on the feast of the Invention of Holy Cross [3 May 1389] came into council and unexpectedly removed all the great officers from their posts, and appointed others at his pleasure: for example he removed the archbishop of York from the chancellorship, and put the bishop of Winchester in his place, and made someone else treasurer in place of the bishop of Hereford, and replaced the keeper of the privy seal, and all the others.<sup>5</sup>

In the same way he removed the justices of both benches, but so as not to interrupt public business in the meantime he ordered the judges to continue with the causes that they had in hand, until he could find replacements for them on better consideration. The earl of Arundel, who had been given the command and keeping of the sea by parliament, and was admiral, was also removed from office, and the earl of Huntingdon was put into his place.<sup>6</sup>

On their eclipse, and Richard's assumption of authority, see Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 135-8, and R. H. Jones, *Richard II*, pp. 64-7. The choice of the veteran William of Wykeham (bishop of Winchester, 1366-1404) to replace Archbishop Arundel as chancellor, and Thomas Brantingham (bishop of Exeter, 1370-94) to resume the treasurer'ship, which he had held in 1369-71 and 1377-81, was an astute one. The new keeper of the privy seal was Edmund Stafford, dean of York, who replaced John Waltham, a member of the commission of 1386: *HBC*, 87, 95, 106.

<sup>6</sup> Arundel's personal reputation was still high, but he had enjoyed no success at sea since

1389 Similiter faciebat rex de ceteris officiariis, dicens se non debere inferioris aut<sup>a</sup> minoris condicionis quam quicumque alius heres regni Anglie, cum lex et consuetudo regni Anglie asseuerant quod quisquis heres in warda cuiuscumque domini positus cum uicesimum primum annum etatis sue peruenerit, statim de paternali hereditate gaudebit, et liberam disponendarum facultatum et rerum suarum legitime possidebit.<sup>1</sup>

Set iam contingit quod ego per plures annos sub consilio uestro et gubernacione degebam, et nunc primum Deo deinde uobis gratiarum acciones multiplico, quia me et hereditatem meam atque regnum meum Anglie tam infra quam extra, et precipue contra inimicos nostros undequaque gubernastis et subportastis, saluo semper nobis et regno nostro honoris et laudis tripudiali organo. Nunc autem Deus ita pro nobis disposuit quod legalem etatem suppleuimus, et iam .xxij. annum in presenti agimus. Iccirco petimus et deinceps liberam facultatem regulandi et regendi nos et hereditatem ac regnum nostrum habere uolumus, et officarios ac ministros ad nostrum placitum, secundum quod nobis melius expedire uisum fuerit, per Dei gratiam, nobis eligere et ad queque officia promouere, officarios uero iam incumbentes ad nostrum libitum penitus amouere, et alios quos eligimus in loco eorum ubilibet subrogare.

Et non erat quis, qui regis uoluntatem infringere conaretur. Set omnes Deum glorificauerunt qui sibi talem regem sapientem futurum prouidere curauit.

*De prelio attomorum in curia regis.* Mense Iulii, dum rex esset apud Schene, conuenerunt in curia sua multe turme attomorum et muscarum, et in modum prelii congregantes fecerunt maximam stragem inuicem, adeo ut scopis et pertis mundarent locum de interfectis.<sup>2</sup>

fo. 236<sup>c</sup> *Trewge triennales.*<sup>b</sup> / Capte<sup>c</sup> sunt treuge<sup>3</sup> inter regem Anglie Ricardum et reges Francie, Scocie, Hyspanie, Portusgallie, Nauernie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Superimposed by reviser    <sup>b</sup> The marginal heading is on fo. 233<sup>v</sup>    <sup>c</sup> See below, n. 3. The beginning and end of the duplicated passage is marked by a majuscule A in a 15th-cent. hand, on fos. 233 and 238

the previous year: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 130–2. For Huntingdon, see above, pp. 338, 340, and below, p. 536 n. 1.

<sup>1</sup> The chronicles agree on the gist of the king's address, which certainly showed Richard at his most adroit. There appears to be no common text, but Knighton makes him speak more tactfully of the past than do some others: cf. *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 390–2.

1389 And the king dealt in the same way with the rest of his officials, saying that he ought not to be inferior to, or of lesser account than, any other heir in the kingdom of England, for the law and custom of England affirmed that an heir placed in any lord's wardship should enjoy his paternal estate when he attains the age of twenty-one, and that he should then have the free disposition of all the things that are legitimately his.<sup>1</sup>

But [he added], as it happens I have spent some years under your counsel and rule, and I give great thanks first to God and then to you because you have governed and sustained both my person and my inheritance and realm of England, both at home and abroad, and especially against our enemies, saving always to us and our kingdom an auspicious assurance of honour and praise. Now however, by God's care, we have attained the age of our majority, and indeed are already in our twenty-second year. Therefore we desire and will the freedom to rule and regulate our person and our inheritance, and to have our kingdom, and at our pleasure, as shall seem best to us, by God's grace, to choose and appoint to their posts our officers and ministers, and so freely to remove those who are now in office, and put others whom we have chosen in their place.

And there was none who sought to oppose the king's will, but all praised God that He had provided them with so wise a king to watch over them in future.

*A battle of midges in the king's court.* In the month of July, while the king was at Sheen, there gathered in his court a huge swarm of midges and flies, and coming together as it were in battle they made a great slaughter of each other, so that the dead had to be swept up with brushes and shovels to clear the ground.<sup>2</sup>

*A truce for three years.* A truce<sup>3</sup> was made between Richard, king of England, and the kings of France, Scotland, Spain, Portugal, and Navarre.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Westm. Chron.*, p. 400, says 3 July. The supposed battle was a mating swarm, probably of chironomids, in which the sexes differ markedly in size and colour. A similar episode in Cumbria in June 1992 comprised predominantly *Chironomus Sergentia coracina*, the males black and the females smaller and green (personal obs., and inf. from Dr G. C. McGavin).

<sup>3</sup> The narrative from this point on T, fo. 233<sup>v</sup> to the foot of fo. 235<sup>v</sup> is duplicated on fos. 236<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>. The differences appear to be in the reading of a common original, but the second version is generally more coherent, and is taken here as the principal text, with notes on the variants on fos. 233–5.

<sup>4</sup> The truce of Leulinghem, 18 June 1389; see Rymer, *Foedera* vii. 622–9.

*Sole oriente.*<sup>a</sup> Et iste trewege inceperunt primo die Augusti in propinquieribus partibus, tam per mare quam per terram, et in remocioribus partibus que diuturniorem relacionem expetebant,<sup>1</sup> .xv. die mensis Augusti,<sup>b</sup> anno millesimo .ccc. nonagesimo secundo, uidelicet .xvj. die mensis Augusti oriente sole.<sup>2</sup>

Eodem anno magister Willelmus<sup>d</sup> Courteneye, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, frater comitis Deyre,<sup>3</sup> uisitauit diocesem Lincolnensem, et in festo Sancte Fidis uirginis uisitauit dominum Iohannem de Bokyngham, episcopum Lincolnensem, in ecclesia cathedrali Lincolnie cum capitulo et cetu canonicorum. Et uenit ad abbathiam Leycestrensem, uisitacionis causa, Sabbato ante festum Omnium Sanctorum, et ibi moram traxit usque in diem Martis, et hora uesperarum recessit.

*Archiepiscopus (excommunic)cat Lollardos.*<sup>4</sup> Die Omnium Sanctorum, scilicet die Lune, conuocatis omnibus canonicis eiusdem monasterii cum capellanis de capella sua, in singulorum manibus candelis accensis, idem archiepiscopus fulminauit sentenciam excommunicacionis super Lollardos siue Wycluyanos, cum fautoribus qui errores et oppiniones magistri Iohannis Wycliffe tenuerant uel fouerant, uel in posterum teneant uel foueant<sup>e</sup> in diocesi Lincolnensi. In crastino, scilicet in die Animarum, iterum idem episcopus fulminauit sentenciam excommunicacionis in specie, cum cruce erecta, candelis accensis, pulsatis campanis ut prius, super nouem certas personas uille Leycestrie que eandem uillam cum patria nimis polluerant et infecerant.<sup>5</sup>

Archiepiscopus inde hora uesperarum recedens, abiit ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri, ad quandam anacoritam, Matildem nomine, ibidem reclusam, quam arguens de predictis erroribus et opinionibus Lollardinis minus prouide respondentem, citauit quod coram se compareret die Sabbati proximo sequenti, in abbathia Sancti Iacobi Northamptonie, ad respondendum ad predicta erronea prophana.

<sup>a</sup> Heading on fo 236 only      <sup>b</sup> oriente repeated and cancelled by scribe on fo. 233; oriente sole cancelled by scribe on fo. 236      <sup>c</sup> A verb or clause specifying the ending of the truce has been omitted from the text, as has Domini or gracie      <sup>d</sup> Supplied on fo. 233 by a later hand, over erasure; fo. 236 reads Thomas, cancelled by a later hand      <sup>e</sup> vesperarum die fo. 233 ff. fo. 233; teneant et teneant fo. 236

<sup>1</sup> Knighton seems to have rationalized some version of the initiatory clause of the treaty, which distinguishes the lands between the Loire and the Rhône, where the truce was to begin on 1 Aug. 1389, and other territories, and the high seas, where it would begin on 15 Aug. (see Rymer, *Foedera*, vii. 626). He may have used one of the texts circulated by the chancery for local proclamation: cf. *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. 342, 377, and nn.

<sup>2</sup> The fact that the rubricator of T flourished the date 1392, when the truce was to end,

*Sunrise.* And the truce began on the first day of August [1389] in the nearest parts both by land and by sea, and later in more distant parts, where news travels more slowly,<sup>1</sup> on the fifteenth of August, [to end in] 1392, that is to say at sunrise on 16 August [1392]<sup>2</sup>

In that same year [1389] Master William Courtenay, archbishop of Canterbury, the brother of the earl of Devon,<sup>3</sup> made a visitation of the diocese of Lincoln. And on the feast of St Faith the virgin [6 Oct. 1389] he visited Sir John Buckingham, the bishop of Lincoln, in the cathedral church of Lincoln, with the chapter and college of canons. And his visitation brought him to the abbey of Leicester on the Saturday before the feast of All Saints [30 Oct.], and he stayed there until the next Tuesday [2 Nov. 1389], when he left at the hour of vespers.<sup>4</sup>

*The archbishop excommunicates Lollards.* On All Saints' Day [1 Nov. 1389], which was Monday, all the canons of the abbey being assembled, and the chaplains of his chapel, all bearing lighted candles in their hands, the archbishop pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the Lollards, or Wycliffites, and their supporters, who had held, or fostered, or hereafter might hold or foster in the diocese of Lincoln the errors and opinions of Master John Wyclif. The next day, that is to say on All Souls' Day [2 Nov. 1389], the archbishop again thundered sentence of excommunication, specifically, with cross erect, candles lit, and bells tolling, as before, against nine such persons in Leicester who had greatly polluted and stained that town and its neighbourhood.<sup>5</sup>

And on leaving, at the hour of vespers, the archbishop went to the church of St Peter where a certain anchoress, named Matilda, was enclosed, whom he examined upon the aforesaid errors and opinions of the Lollards, and, as her answers were unsatisfactory, he cited her to appear before him on the following Saturday [6 Nov. 1389] at the abbey of St James in Northampton, to answer for her profane errors.

led Lumby to attribute Courtenay's visitation of Leicester to that year (Lumby, ii. 311), and his later readers to assume, not unreasonably, that Knighton could not well distinguish events in his own house.

<sup>3</sup> On the Courtenay connection, see M. Cherry, 'The Courtenay earls of Devon: the formation and disintegration of a late medieval aristocratic affinity', *SHi* (1979), 71-97.

<sup>4</sup> On the course of the visitation, see J. H. Dahmus, *The Metropolitan Visitations of William Courtenay, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-96* (Urbana, IL., 1950) pp. 48-50, 163-70; and Thompson, *Leicester Abbey*, pp. 50-2.

<sup>5</sup> The nine were Roger and Alice Dexter, and William Smith, whose penances Knighton notes below (p. 534), Richard Waytestathe, who was at St John's chapel with Smith (above, pp. 294-6), Roger Goldsmith, William Harry, William Parmenter, Michael Scrivener, and Nicholas Taylor. See further J. Crompton, 'Leicestershire Lollards', *TLAHS* xlv (1968-9), 23-4.

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Que ibidem statuto die comparuit, et renunciatis erroribus iniunctaque penitencia salutari, repatriauit, sed usque in secundum diem ante festum Sancte Lucie extra reclusum suum moram traxit quo die iterum reclusorium ingressa est.<sup>1</sup> Quidam alii Lollardi citati comparuerunt apud Oxoniam, et aliis locis prout archiepiscopus eis indixerat, et renunciatis suis supersticiosos erroribus, atque abiuratis profanis dogmatibus, publicam penitentiam peregerunt.<sup>2</sup>

*Penitencia Wil(lelmi Smyth)*. Willelmus Smyth, de quo superius frequens fit mencio, forum Sabbati Leycestrie circumiuit, lineis tantum indutus, in dextra portans crucem cum ymagine Crucifixi, in sinistra ymaginem Sancte Katerine, eo quod quandam ymaginem Sancte Katerine cecauerat, et incenderat pro oleribus coquendis in sua esurie, sicut superius plenius dictum est, anno etcetera octogesimo .ij.<sup>3</sup>

fo. 236<sup>v</sup>

Libros eciam solempnes quos in materna lingua de Euangelio, de epistolis Pauli,<sup>a</sup> et aliis epistolis et doctoribus conscripserat, et ut fatebatur per octo annos studiose conscribere laborauerat, archiepiscopo coactus tradidit.<sup>4</sup> Predictam penitentiam circa cimiterium ecclesie Sancte Margarete Leycestrie Dominica sequenti antecedens / et precedens processionem adimpleuit.

Rogerus Deyster de Leycestria, cum uxore sua, forum Sabbati Leycestrie tantum lineis induti, ferentes cruces in manibus, penitentiam agendo circuierunt. Et sic in magna parte publica audacia profane doctrine Lollardorum siue Wycliuanorum, timore pocius archiepiscopi quam amore Dei repressa est, cordis tamen perseverancia in antiquis delusionibus adhuc in occultis<sup>b</sup> prout audebant pullulante nimio.

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*Dux fecit uenacionem apud Leycestriam*. Anno Domini millesimo .ccc. nonogesimo, circa festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, Iohannes, dux Lancastrie, fecit magnam conuocationem magnatum regni ad uenandum apud Leycestriam, in foresta, in defensa, et in omnibus parcis suis ibidem.<sup>5</sup> Nam die Sabbati affuerunt ibi rex et regina, archiepiscopus Eboracensis, dux Eboracensis, Thomas Wodestoke, dux Gloucestrie, comes de Arundelle, Iohannes de Holande, comes

<sup>a</sup> Om. fo. 233<sup>v</sup><sup>b</sup> in oculis fo. 233<sup>v</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Courtenay found no Lollardy in Northampton in 1389, but there was a good deal there shortly afterwards. As Dr A. K. McHardy remarks, he may not have been well-advised in allowing the froward Matilda to travel: 'Bishop Buckingham and the Lollards', pp. 136-7.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Crompton, 'Leicestershire Lollards', pp. 24-5.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 296-8.

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And she appeared there on the appointed day, and having renounced her errors was dismissed with a suitable penance. But she remained out of her cell until two days before the feast of St Lucy, upon which day [11 Dec. 1389] she was once more enclosed.<sup>1</sup> Certain other Lollards were cited to appear at Oxford and at other places appointed by the archbishop, and having renounced their superstitious errors and abjured their profane beliefs they were despatched to do public penance.<sup>2</sup>

*William Smith's penance*. William Smith, who has been frequently mentioned before, walked around the Saturday market place in Leicester, clad in a shift, and bearing a cross with the figure of the Crucified in his right hand, and in his left an image of St Catherine, because he had once chopped up and burned an image of St Catherine, to cook a meal to assuage his hunger, as is explained more fully above, under the eighty-second year, etc.<sup>3</sup>

He had written out solemn texts of the Gospels in his own language, and others from St Paul's and other epistles, and works of the doctors of the church which, as he confessed, he had laboured over for eight years, and which he was made to surrender to the archbishop.<sup>4</sup> And he repeated the aforesaid penance around St Margaret's churchyard, on the following Sunday before and after the procession.

Roger Dexter of Leicester and his wife were also made to go about the Saturday Market in penance, in their shifts, and bearing crosses in their hands. And thus in large part the public boldness of the Lollards' or Wycliffites' profane doctrine was repressed, though more from fear of the archbishop than for the love of God, their hearts persisting nevertheless in their old delusions, which flourished greatly in secret when they dared to entertain them.

*The duke arranges a hunt at Leicester*. In AD 1390 around the feast of St Peter Enchained [1 Aug. 1390] John, duke of Lancaster, assembled many of the great men of the realm for a hunt at Leicester, in the forest and the chase, and in all his parks there.<sup>5</sup> For on the Saturday [30 July 1390] there were present the king and the queen, the archbishop of York, the duke of York, Thomas Woodstock, duke of

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<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 292, 296; and Hudson, *Premature Reformation*, pp. 76-8, 247 n. The Leicester Lollards summoned by Courtenay to Dorchester and elsewhere (above, p. 532-4), included William Parmenter and Michael Scrivener, who may have been helpful to Smith when he was writing: J. H. Dahmus, *Metropolitan Visitations*, pp. 164-7.

<sup>5</sup> On Gaunt's use of the occasion, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 147. On lodges in the forests, see *King's Works*, ii. 901 and nn.; and L. M. Cantor, 'The medieval parks of Leicestershire', pp. 9-24.

1390 Huntyngdone,<sup>1</sup> cum aliis episcopis, dominis, et dominabus plurimis. Die Iouis sequente rex, inde recedens uersus Notyngamiam, pernoc-tauit cum domino de Belmonde, iuxta Lughteburghē.<sup>2</sup>

(*Henricus comes Derbeie uersus Pruciam.* Eodem tempore ad festum Sancti Iacobi, Henricus, comes Derbeye, primogenitus Iohannis, ducis Lancastrie, cum armata manu eciam<sup>b</sup> electorum militum armigerorum et ualettorum, arripuit iter uersus Spruciam, et sequenti mense Aprilis rediit, cum magni honoris tripudio, omnibus Cristianis<sup>d</sup> excellenti gaudiflua expedicione.<sup>43</sup>

*Caristia mirabilis in Anglia.* Anno isto fuit magna egestas in omnibus partibus Anglie, et ista egestas, siue inopia bladorum, inceptit sub falce et perdurauit usque ad festum Sancti Petri ad Vincula, scilicet ad noua grana.<sup>4</sup> Ista inopia multum oppressit populum, et precipue communes et pauperes. Nam uideres infantes et pueros in uiuis et domibus pre fame eiulantes et clamantes, panem petentes, nec mater habuit unde eis frangere ualuit.

Set et tanta fertilitas et frugum habundancia per quamplures annos precesserat, quod credebatur et dicebatur a multis yconomis et terre colonis si semen non spargeretur super terram, habita et recondita in orreis et granariis sufficerent ad alimentum tocius populi per .v. annos subsequentes.

Set causa<sup>e</sup> istius egestatis penuria pecunie multum credebatur esse apud plures, nam pecunia multum defuit illis diebus, et huius maxima causa fuit quia lane regni dormiebant, apud quosdam per biennium et apud quosdam per triennium, absque emptore. Nam statutum fuerat in quodam parlamento quod mercatores Anglie non exirent regnum cum lanis et aliis mercimoniis, set ea adducerent ad duodecim loca infra regnum ad hoc negocium deputata, ut mercatores alienigene cum suis mercimoniis ad dicta loca confluerent, et sic per escambium nostra mercimonia abducerent, suaque nostris dimitterent.

Quam ob causam mercatores Anglie ab empcione lanarum et aliis

<sup>a</sup> de Bewmonde, iuxta Lowhteborowe fo. 234<sup>r</sup> <sup>b</sup> m(ille ?) fo. 234<sup>r</sup> <sup>c</sup> Om. fo. 234<sup>r</sup> <sup>d</sup> fo. 234<sup>r</sup>; excellenciam difflua fo. 236<sup>r</sup> <sup>e</sup> fo. 234; cauda f. 236<sup>r</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Holand, having recovered rapidly from his disgrace in 1385, went to Spain with Gaunt in 1386 (above, p. 340), and was created earl of Huntingdon 2 June 1388: *CP* vi. 653.

<sup>2</sup> At Beaumanor, in Charnwood: J. Nichols, *History and Antiquities of Leicestershire*, iii. 139.

<sup>3</sup> See L. Toulmin Smith, *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, earl of Derby, 1390-91, 1392-3*, Camden Soc., NS lii (London, 1894), pp. xxxvii-lxxxix; F. R. H. du Boulay, 'Henry of Derby's expeditions to Prussia, 1390-91 and 1392', *The Reign of Richard II*, pp. 153-72; and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 146-8.

1390 Gloucester, the earl of Arundel, John Holand, earl of Huntingdon,<sup>1</sup> with other bishops, and a great many lords and ladies. On leaving, on the following Thursday [4 Aug. 1390], the king travelled towards Nottingham and spent the night with Lord Beaumont, near Loughborough.<sup>2</sup>

*Henry, earl of Derby, goes to Prussia.* At the same time, on the feast of St James [25 July 1390], Henry, earl of Derby, the first-born of Duke John of Lancaster, left for Prussia with a strong company of chosen knights and esquires, and servants, and returned in the following April with the greatest triumph and honour, his pre-eminent success bringing joy to all Christians.<sup>3</sup>

*A remarkable dearth in England.* In that year there was a great dearth in all parts of England, and the dearth, or shortage of grain, began at harvest-time and lasted until the feast of St Peter Enchained [1 Aug. 1391], that is to say until the new grain was ready.<sup>4</sup> The dearth bore very hard upon the people, and especially the commons and the poor, for you might see babies and children on the roads and in their houses crying and clamouring with hunger, begging for bread, and their mothers with none to break for them.

Yet there had been for several years past such good harvests and abundance of food that many farmers and countrymen had believed, and asserted, that even if they sowed no seed they would have enough put by in their barns and stores to feed the people for another five years.

However, many believed that the true cause of the famine was a lack of money with which to buy food, for money was very short at that time, and of that the greatest cause was that the wool-crop had languished in some places for two years, and in some for three, without finding buyers. For there was a statute made in parliament that English merchants should not go out of the kingdom with wool or other goods, but should take them to one of twelve places appointed within the realm for such business, so that foreign merchants would come to those places with their goods, and by exchange would take ours and leave theirs with us.

And therefore English merchants refrained from buying wool and

<sup>4</sup> Knighton's comment is ambiguous, but he seems to be saying that the dearth lasted from the summer of 1390 to the harvest of 1391. For evidence that the harvest of 1390 was poorer than those of the immediately preceding years, see D. L. Farmer, 'Crop yields, prices, and wages in medieval England', *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History*, vi (1983), 117-55, at p. 126. See also *Westm. Chron.*, p. 452; and below, p. 538 n. 2.



1390 mercibus abstinerunt, donec in proximo iam secundo parlamento  
concessum est eis cum suis mercimoniis transmeare quo uolunt.<sup>1</sup> Istis  
diebus lana exilis reputacionis fuit. Nam una petra bone lane de  
fo. 237<sup>r</sup> collecta patrie uendebatur pro tribus solidis, et in foro Leycestrie pro  
.ij. / solidis<sup>a</sup> uel .xx. denariis. Ista egestas annone maxime inualuit<sup>b</sup> in  
comitatu Leycestrie, et mediis partibus regni. Et licet egestas esset  
magna, precium tamen bladorum non erat nimis excessiuum. Nam  
quarterium frumenti in suo summo precio uendebatur Leycestrie pro  
.xvj. solidis .viiij. denariis una uice, reliquo tempore pro una marca uel  
.xiiij. solidis.

Apud Londonias uero, et in multis aliis locis regni, quarterium  
frumenti uendebatur pro decem solidis, uel paulo maius uel paulo  
minus. Nam confluebant undique<sup>c</sup> naues honuste cum copia alimen-  
torum, ad diuersa loca regni, in releuamen populi. Set et ciues<sup>d</sup>  
Londoniarum exponebant duo milia marcarum in empcionem  
alimontorum de communi sista<sup>e</sup> orphanorum.<sup>2</sup>

1391 Et .xxiiij. aldermani quilibet eorum apponebat .xx. libras ad con-  
similem empcionem, pre timore uenture famis ciuitati. Et reponebant  
in diuersis locis commodioribus et apcioribus pro populo, ut indi-  
gentes uenirent et emerent, sub certo precio, quantum sufficeret pro  
se et familia sua sustentanda, et qui non habebant pecuniam in pre-  
senti soluere fidem facerent solucionis infra sequentem annum.  
Sicque releuati sunt ne quis pre fame periret.

*Exsecrabile statutum contra ecclesiam.*<sup>f</sup> Anno Domini millesimo  
.ccc. nonagesimo primo rex celebrauit parlamentum apud West-  
monasterium in crastino Animarum. In isto parlamento data est  
licencia mercatoribus Anglie exire regnum, et abducere sua merci-  
monia quo uolunt.<sup>3</sup> In isto parlamento editum est prophanum statu-  
tum contra ecclesiam et ecclesie personas, uidelicet ne queuis persone  
ecclesiastice possideant maneria, glebas, domos, possessiones, terras,  
redditus, uel quocumque prouentus per manus feoffatorum, absque  
licencia regis et capitalium dominorum.<sup>4</sup>

Et istud statutum extendit se tam ad ecclesias parochiales, capellas,  
cantarias, quam ad abbatias, prioratus, seu quecumque alia monas-

<sup>a</sup> The first lines of fols. 237-9 have been damaged, apparently by scorching. The text is substan-  
tially legible on fo. 237, and what can be recovered on fols. 238 and 239 confirms the readings in C  
and Twysden <sup>b</sup> fo. 234. The head of fo. 237 is damaged <sup>c</sup> xj fo. 234<sup>r</sup>, where  
reviser has inked over the fl of confluebant, but ignored xj <sup>d</sup> Corrected from siues by scribe  
<sup>e</sup> cista fo. 234<sup>r</sup> <sup>f</sup> Heading on fo. 237 only

<sup>1</sup> The parliaments were those of Jan.-Mar. 1390 (RP iii. 257-76), Nov.-Dec. 1390 (RP

1390 other goods, until in the next parliament but one they were made free  
to take their merchandise where they chose.<sup>1</sup> During that time wool  
was in very low demand, and a stone of good wool from the county  
was sold in Leicester market for 3s., and sometimes for 2s. or  
even for 20d. The dearth at harvest-time was especially severe in  
Leicestershire and the Midlands, and yet although the scarcity was  
great the price of grain was not excessively high. A quarter of wheat at  
its most expensive sold at Leicester on one occasion for 16s. 8d., and  
the rest of the time for a mark, or for 14s.

In London, indeed, and in many other places in the kingdom a  
quarter of wheat was sold for 10s., or a little more or less, for ships  
came from all parts to various places in the kingdom laden with  
supplies to relieve the people. However, the citizens of London laid  
out 2,000 marks from the orphans' common fund to buy foodstuffs.<sup>2</sup>

1391 And twenty-four aldermen each contributed £20 to make similar  
purchases for fear of a famine in the city, and they laid up supplies in  
various places convenient for the people, so that the poor could come  
and buy at a fixed price enough to sustain their families. And those who  
could not then afford the money could pledge to pay within the follow-  
ing year, and thus they were relieved, and no one perished of hunger.

*A detestable enactment against the church.* In AD 1391 the king held a  
parliament at Westminster on the morrow of All Souls [3 Nov. 1391].  
In that parliament the merchants of England were given license to go  
out of the kingdom and take their goods where they wished.<sup>3</sup> And also  
in that parliament there was enacted an ungodly statute against the  
church and against the clergy, namely that no ecclesiastical  
persons should possess manors, glebes, houses, estates, lands, rents or  
revenues whatsoever through the hands of feoffees, without the  
licence of the king and of the chief lords of the fee.<sup>4</sup>

And the statute extended to parish churches, chapels, and chantries  
as well as to abbeys, priories, and all other religious houses, and

iii. 277-83), and Nov.-Dec. 1391 (RP iii. 284-96), which restored the staple to Calais from  
the spring of 1392. On the differences of opinion between the merchants and the king's  
ministers, and on efforts to raise the price of wool, see Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*,  
pp. 232-3.

<sup>2</sup> See *Cal. Letter-Book H*, pp. 361-2 and n., and *Westm. Chron.*, p. 474 and n. On the  
early history of the orphans' fund, see C. Carleton, *The Court of Orphans* (Leicester, 1974),  
pp. 13-22.

<sup>3</sup> See above, n. 1; and p. 538; RP iii. 284; and SR ii. 78-82.

<sup>4</sup> 15 Ric II, c. 5. (SR ii. 79-80). See further J. L. Barton, 'The medieval use', *LQR* lxxxi  
(1965), 562-77; and S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church* (Cambridge,  
1982), pp. 171-3.

1391 teria. Similiter ad ciues ciuitatum et uillicanos, atque burgenses bur-  
gorum et uillarum, huiusmodi redditus uel possessiones "pro  
communi utilitate habentes. Nam homines in illis diebus qui uolebant  
conferre redditus uel possessiones<sup>a</sup> alicui ecclesie, siue cuiquam  
communitati, nec expensas possent effundere ut eos in manum  
mortuam reducerent sub licencia regis et capitalium dominorum,  
solebant feoffare certos homines in quibus habebant fiduciam, sub  
quorum nomine et defensione ecclesiastice persone, uel huiusmodi  
communitas, rei comodo gauderent, et utilitatem eorum possiderent.

Et cautum est in eodem statuto quod omnes et singuli, tam<sup>b</sup>  
persone ecclesiastice quam parochiales et ciues, atque burgenses,<sup>c</sup> et  
uillicani, seu quecumque alii habentes huiusmodi redditus, posses-  
siones, maneria, seu quoscumque prouentus in manibus talium  
feoffatorum, sine licencia regis et capitalium dominorum, quod aut  
licenciam a rege et capitalis dominis impetrarent in manum mortuam  
redigere, uel uendicione talia exponere, et suum commodum inde  
facere, citra festum Sancti Michaelis proximo sequens. Vel illo festo  
peracto, rex et capitales domini in sic non preordinatis<sup>d</sup> et dispositis  
intrare et seysire<sup>e</sup> et ad suum placitum optinere.<sup>1</sup>

*Mulier celebrat missam Londiniis.<sup>f</sup>*

Illis diebus erat quedam matrona in ciuitate Londoniensi que  
habebat unicum filiam quam instruxit ad celebrandum missam, et  
erexit altare in cubiculo<sup>g</sup> suo secreto cum ornatu suo, sicque fecit  
filiam suam multis diebus uestire se more sacerdotis, et ad altare  
accedere et pro suo modo missam celebrare. Namque<sup>h</sup> cum uenisset  
/ 'ad uerba sacramenti, prostrauit se ante altare et sacramentum non  
confecit. Set cetera misse surgens usque ad finem compleuit, matre  
eius eam iuuante et suam deuocionem agente.

fo. 237<sup>v</sup>

Iste error multo tempore durauit, donec per quandam uicinam<sup>i</sup> ad  
talem missam secrecius uocatam diulgaretur, et ad aures episcopi  
Londoniensis deuenisset. Qui eas ad presenciam suam conuocauit  
et de errore conuenit, et sacerdotissimam tonsuram come publice  
monstrare coegit, cuius capud nimis glabrum inuentum est.  
Episcopus, plorans nimis et eas eiulans<sup>j</sup> de tali errore in ecclesia  
suo tempore contingente, multa lamenta emisit, et finem cum illis  
iniuncta penitencia fecit.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>a-a</sup> fo. 234<sup>v</sup>; om. fo. 237

<sup>b</sup> tam interlined by scribe

<sup>c</sup> fo. 234v: burgences fo. 237

<sup>d</sup> fo. 235<sup>v</sup>; preorematis fo. 237<sup>v</sup>

<sup>e</sup> fo. 235; om. fo. 237<sup>v</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Heading on fo. 236<sup>v</sup> only

<sup>g</sup> Originally cubili in both drafts, corrected to cubiculo on fo. 237<sup>v</sup>

<sup>h</sup> set fo. 235<sup>v</sup>

<sup>i</sup> The first four lines of fo. 237<sup>v</sup> are damaged and obscured  
by scribe

<sup>j</sup> eiuglans fo. 235<sup>v</sup>; g cancelled  
by scribe

1391 similarly to the citizens of cities, and to townsmen and burgesses of  
boroughs and townships, holding such rents or possessions for their  
common good. For at that time those who wished to bestow rents or  
property upon some church or community, and could not support the  
expense of putting them in mortmain with the licence of the king and  
the chief lords, used to enfeoff men in whom they could repose trust,  
under whose name and protection the churchmen or community  
could enjoy the use and benefit of the property.

And there was a warning in the statute that all and singular such  
persons, whether ecclesiastics or parishioners, or citizens, burgesses,  
townsmen, or anyone else having such rents, properties, manors, or  
other resources in the hands of such feoffees without the licence of the  
king and the chief lords, should either obtain the licence of the king  
and the lords to render them in mortmain, or sell them and take the  
proceeds before the feast of Michaelmas next following [29 Sept.  
1392], else after that feast the king and the chief lords would enter  
upon and seize such properties not thus disposed, and use them at  
their pleasure.<sup>1</sup>

*A woman in London celebrates mass.* At that time there was a woman  
in the city of London who had an only daughter whom she taught to  
celebrate the mass; and she privily set up and furnished an altar in her  
own bedroom, and there she caused her daughter on many occasions  
to dress as a priest and in her fashion to celebrate mass, though when  
she came to the sacramental words she prostrated herself before the  
altar and did not complete the sacrament. But then she would rise for  
the rest of the mass and recite it to the end, her mother assisting her  
and showing her devotion.

That nonsense went on for some time, until it was revealed by a  
neighbour who had been admitted to the secret, when it came to the  
ears of the bishop of London. He summoned them to his presence and  
showed them the error of their ways, and compelled them to display  
the child's priestly tonsure in public, for her head was found to be  
quite bald. The bishop greatly deplored and bewailed such miscon-  
duct in the church in his time, uttering many lamentations, and put an  
end to it by enjoining penance upon them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Westminster chronicler, who devoted more space to the Statute of Provisors of 1390 than to this Act, remarks only that the treasury was full to overflowing by Michaelmas (*Westm. Chron.*, p. 482; cf. also *ibid.*, pp. 418-30).

<sup>2</sup> Although the mother's behaviour might be taken as obsessively and eccentrically devout, the bishop may have been aware of the Lollard belief that women could be priests. If so, the omission of the words of consecration would seem sinister rather than reassuring.

1391 *Epistola Ducis Gyldrie.* Dux Gyldrie misit regi Anglie literas laudabiles, et ad guerram et militares actus, et ad regie nobilitatis exercicium multum allectiuas, quarum tenor sub sequenti forma patet.<sup>1</sup>

Magnifice princeps, innata uobis probitas et prudentum consilia, ut opinamur, simul agerent in effectum quod singula hereditaria iura, que ex natalicio uestram magnificent regiam magestatem, temporibus uestre discrecionis, altissima prouidencia munirentur illesa, et si queuis oppungnaret uiolencia, clipeo militari studeat regalis industria fortiter defendere sua iura.

Et quia uestram regiam personam contingamus in affinitate, non ualet Deus ipse quin semper parati erimus uobis, in uestris iuribus defendendis, assistere cum duobus milibus lanceorum, quando et quociens disponemini ad bellica conuolare. Nec perire debeant iura propter uerba aut promissa quomodolibet ad hoc laborat uersucia Gallicorum.

Sane, serenissime princeps, in orbem uolat fama nec ambigitur quod propter lane et innumerabilium uestra singularia comoda, sine quibus non uiuit oriens neque auster, regna singula in pecuniis uos salutant. In comparacione igitur ad alios reges uobis confert Deus ipse diuicias centuplatas. Probitas eciam militaris, et arcuum asperitas sine pari taliter hucusque extulere gentem magnanimam occidentis, quod timor non paruus uestros inuadit aduersarios, et ad hunc diem impariter uictoriose dimicauit cum Gallicis Anglie gens auster.

In pusillanimitate igitur, potentissime princeps, contra naturam non obdormiat cor leonis, set et quales uobis contulit uires natura ipsas applicare dignemini actibus bellicosis, in defensionem rei publice iuris hereditarii sustentacionem, augmentumque meriti, et incomparabiliter cronicabilem probitatem cordis magnanimi tanti regis.

1392 In parlamento prefato concessa est domino regi una dimidia decima a clero, et una quintodecima a populo,<sup>2</sup> in obsequium expensarum domini Iohannis, ducis Lancastrie, qui in Quadragesima sequenti per-

See further M. Aston, *Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in late Medieval Religion* (London, 1984), pp. 62–6.

<sup>1</sup> Although no registered copy of the letter appears to have survived amongst the archives of the duchy at Arnhem or Düsseldorf, the tenor of the exhortation is characteristic of the

1391 *A letter from the duke of Guelders.* The duke of Guelders sent commendable letters to the king of England, urging him strongly to war, and to martial deeds, and to the noble expression of his royal spirit, the form of which was as follows.<sup>1</sup>

Exalted prince, your inborn worth and the counsel of the wise should work together, as we judge it, to preserve those exceptional hereditary rights, which by virtue of your birth enhanced your royal majesty, and have been by the highest Providence preserved unharmed into the years of your discretion, and that whatsoever violence may oppose them, a regal diligence should shield its rights with military power.

And because we are close to your royal person in affinity, God himself would not but will that we should ever stand ready to assist you in the defence of your rights with two thousand lances, whensoever and wheresoever you may be disposed to wage war. Nor ought such rights ever to be extinguished by mere words or promises, howsoever the cunning of the French may labour to that end.

Indeed, most exalted prince, it is widely believed, and not without truth, that because of the wool and the innumerable other commodities that you command, without which neither those to the east nor the south could survive, every kingdom pays its tribute to you. In comparison therefore with other kings you are endowed by God himself with riches one hundredfold. The military might and the incomparable power of its archers has spread the fame of that great-hearted people of the west, who inspire no small fear amongst your enemies, and to this day the formidable English enjoy an unmatched superiority in their wars against the French.

Wherefore, most potent prince, do not allow the lion's heart to slumber in pusillanimity and against its nature, but deign to apply the natural power with which you are endowed to the defence of the state, the maintenance of hereditary right, the increase of merit, and to the matchless historic worth of so great-hearted a king.

In the aforesaid parliament the clergy granted half a tenth to the lord king, and the laity granted a fifteenth<sup>2</sup> to meet the expenses of Sir John, the duke of Lancaster, who in the following Lent [Feb.–April

duke, who visited England in 1390 and 1392: *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 434–6, 450, 488. See also *De Gelderse Kroniek van Willem van Berchen*, ed A. J. de Mooy (Arnhem, 1950), pp. 33–4.

<sup>2</sup> On the subsidies, see *CFR 1391–9*, pp. 24–8 (laity), 33, 43 (clergy).

1392 rexit in Franciam, apud ciuitatem de Amyas, pro finali pace inter regna Anglie et Francie tractanda.<sup>1</sup> Vbi occurrit ei rex Francie, cum magno tripudio honoris et laudis, premittens primo in occursum dicti ducis ciues equestres eiusdem ciuitatis, numero pergrandi, deinde comites et barones quamplurimos, deinde auunculos suos duces.

fo. 238<sup>r</sup> Postremo ipse rex uenit ei obuiam, salutans eum et prenominans dignissimam / <sup>a</sup>personam milicie tocius Cristianitatis, regali dignitate inuncta solummodo excepta. Et idem dominus dux habuit .xvij. dies ex conductu pro pacis forma tractanda. Deinde rediit, habens in comitatu suo episcopum Dunelnie, et filium ducis Eboracensis, comitem de Rutlondia, cum mille equitibus, ut dicebatur, mirabili apparatus elegancia refertis.<sup>a 2</sup>

Anno gracie millesimo .ccc. nonagesimo secundo rex celebravit grande consilium in crastino Trinitatis apud Stanfordiam, pro negociis regni erga Francos tractandis. In quo conuocauit omnem senilem miliciam regni, ut seniorum consilio quid agendum esset in prefatis duceret in effectum.<sup>3</sup>

Item rex habuit grande consilium apud Notynghamiam, ad festum Sancti Iohannis Baptiste, in quo conuenire fecit maiorem Londoniarum, cum .xxiiiij. aldermannis et duobus uicecomitibus, et .xxiiiij. in secundo gradu potencioribus. In quo conuicit eos foras fecisse contra quoddam obligatorium nouem milium librarum, et amissione<sup>b</sup> priuilegiorum suorum, erga regem, quod quidem obligatorium regi antefecerant, suis demeritis illud exigentibus.<sup>4</sup>

Rex autem, nouis delictis recitatis, absoluit maiorem et duos uicecomites, ceterosque officarios e officiis suis et misit maiorem et duos uicecomites<sup>c</sup> ad certa loca in custodiam, exuens ciuitatem Londonias omni priuilegiorum honore, ita quod magis non gauderet

<sup>a-a</sup> The first four lines of fo. 238<sup>r</sup> are damaged and obscured <sup>b</sup> amicione fo. 235<sup>r</sup>  
<sup>c-c</sup> Supplied from fo. 235<sup>r</sup>. The passage is also entered in the right-hand margin of fo. 238<sup>r</sup> in a later hand, and marked in the left-hand margin with a majuscule B

<sup>1</sup> On the emergence of Richard's policy of peace with France, a central theme of the latter part of his reign, see Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 142–50; and the further remarks in id., 'England and the great western schism', *EHR* lxxxiii (1968), 516–22. The suggestion there that Richard was originally willing to surrender sovereignty over Aquitaine is contested by M. G. A. Vale, *English Gascony, 1399–1453* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 28–9 and nn. See also Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 156–70; and below, n. 3, and p. 550 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> What was agreed was not a peace, but an extension of the existing truce for a further year. Gaunt landed at Calais on 11 Mar., and concluded the treaty on 8 Apr. 1392: see S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 346–8; and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 149–51. The bishop of Durham was Walter Skirlaw (see above, p. 504), and the earl of Rutland Edward

1392] went into France to the city of Amiens to treat of a final peace between the kingdoms of England and France.<sup>1</sup> And there the king of France came to meet the said duke with great and stately honours, placing first before him a great number of citizens of that place, all mounted, then many counts and barons, and then the royal dukes, his uncles.

Lastly the king himself came to meet him, and greeted him as the pre-eminent and most renowned man of knightly worth in all Christendom, excepting only those anointed to kingly power. And the said lord duke under the terms of his safe-conduct had seventeen days in which to negotiate the peace, and then he returned, having in his company the bishop of Durham, and the son of the duke of York, the earl of Rutland, with 1,000 knights, it was said, arrayed with marvellous elegance.<sup>2</sup>

In the year of grace 1392 the king held a great council at Stamford, on the morrow of Trinity Sunday [10 June 1392], to discuss the negotiations with the French. And there were summoned all the most experienced soldiers of the realm, in order to have the best advice in considering what should be done to advance those matters.<sup>3</sup>

Also the king had a great council at Nottingham on the feast of St John the Baptist [24 June 1392], to which he summoned the mayor of London with the twenty-four aldermen and two sheriffs, and twenty-four of the next rank of the worthiest citizens. And there he condemned them to forfeiture upon a bond for £9,000, and the loss of the privileges which they had of the king. The which bond the king had exacted from them for their previous offences.<sup>4</sup>

And rehearsing their further transgressions, the king removed the mayor, and the two sheriffs, and the rest of the officers from their posts, and despatched the mayor and the two sheriffs in custody to certain places, and stripped the city of London of all its privileges and

of Norwich, who succeeded his father Edmund as second duke of York in 1402 and died at Agincourt, 1415: *CP* xii(2). 899–905.

<sup>3</sup> Lancaster reported that the French wanted the English to abandon all claim to the crown of France, to surrender Normandy and Artois, and to allow the duke of Berri to hold their acquisitions in the south-west for his lifetime, on the understanding that Aquitaine would revert to Lancaster and his heirs, to hold as peers of France. Any such terms were unacceptable to the commons, but the king and Lancaster wished to achieve peace if they could, and secured a further truce to persist with the negotiations. See *Westm. Chron.*, pp. 488–92 and nn.; and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, p. 151.

<sup>4</sup> The origins of the dispute are obscure (see *Cal. Letter Book H*, pp. liii–iv, 377–9), but Richard's chief motive was probably financial. He secured a substantial compensation from the citizens, and evidently managed the politics of the affair with some finesse. See C. Barron, 'The quarrel of Richard II with London', pp. 173–201.

ciuis quam extraneus aliquo priuilegio, preficiens dominum Edwardum Baleryge<sup>1</sup> custodem, ad custodiendum leges regis et populum in ciuitate, donec disponderet aliter pro eis.

Et prefixit eis diem ad respondendum regi et eius consilio, super obiectis et obiciendis, in festo Sancte Marie Magdalene proximo sequenti, apud Wyndesoram. Interim mediantibus quibusdam amicis mitigata est erga eos pro parte indignacio regis.<sup>2</sup>

Et<sup>a</sup> dimisit maiorem et uicecomites, ceterosque omnes, in domos<sup>b</sup> suas, preficiens<sup>b</sup> tamen eis nouum custodem ciuitatis,<sup>3</sup> reseruans in manu sua omnia priuilegia ciuitatis. Interea, Dominica proxima post festum Assumpcionis Beate Marie, omnes potentiores ciuitatis uenerunt ad regem, et submiserunt se et omnia bona sua regi, et tunc primo recepit eos in suam gratiam.<sup>4</sup>

Die uero Mercurii sequenti, rex disposuit se uenire Londonias. Et occurrerunt ei ciues equestres, multitudine quasi innumerabili, et qui non habebant equos dederunt ei obuam pedestres. Mulieres quoque et infantes se ei monstraerunt. Episcopus quoque Londoniensis, cum cetu cleri tocuis ciuitatis, nullo ordine uel gradu, aut condicione uel sexu, ecclesiastice dignitatis excusato, cum ingenti honoris tripudio et regi et regine processit obuam. Fertur in illa processione plusquam quingentos pueri in superpelliciis extitisse.

Insuper et ciues ornauerunt facies domorum et camerarum suarum per omnes uicos, plateas, et stratas quo rex et regina transituri erant, a Sancto Georgio<sup>5</sup> usque ad Westmonasterium. Saltem in dignioribus edificiis, uestibus cultioribus aureis et argenteis ueluetis syndonicis sicladibus, aliisque preciosis prout possibilitas cuiuscumque attingere poterat ut<sup>c</sup> ubique, aqueductu in Chepa uinum rubeum et album affluenter emanante, puero quoque in uestibus albis in forma angeli cum cupa aurea desuper stante, et uinum regi et regine ad bibendum offerente.

<sup>a</sup> A large majuscule A in the margin, by a 15th-cent. hand, marks the beginning of the last part of the text, after the duplicated section  
<sup>b-b</sup> Inked over by reviser or a later hand  
<sup>c</sup> Superimposed by reviser

<sup>1</sup> Dallingridge, who built Bodiam castle, was a retainer of Arundel's who moved into the king's service in 1389: Goodman, *Loyal Conspiracy*, pp. 115–16.

<sup>2</sup> Gaunt may have played some part in appeasing the king: he was certainly more popular in London after the reconciliation than he had been in the past: Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 151–2.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Baldwin Raddington, controller of the household, was appointed in Dallingridge's place 22 July 1392: see *Cal. Letter-Book H*, p. 382 and n.; C. Barron, 'The quarrel of Richard II with London', pp. 188–9; and above p. 346 n. 3.

honours, so that henceforth a citizen would enjoy no more privileges than might a foreigner. And he appointed Sir Edward Dallingridge<sup>1</sup> as warden of the city, to keep the king's laws and the people of the city of London until he should make some other provision for them.

And he assigned them a day to answer to the king and council for the things of which they had been and were to be accused, at Windsor on the feast of St Mary Magdalene next following [22 July 1392]. And in the meantime, by the intervention of certain friends, the king's wrath towards them was in some measure appeased.<sup>2</sup>

And he sent the mayor and sheriffs, and the others, to their own homes, appointing however a new warden of the city,<sup>3</sup> and keeping the privileges of the city in his own hands. Meanwhile, on the Sunday after the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin [18 Aug. 1392] all the greater men of the city came before the king, and submitted their persons and all their possessions to the king, and he then for the first time took them back into his grace.<sup>4</sup>

Then, upon the following Wednesday [21 Aug. 1392], the king arranged to go to London, and the citizens came to him in a company as it were beyond number, mounted, and those who had no horses came out to meet him on foot, and the women and children showed themselves to him. The bishop of London also, with all the clergy of the city, none of any order, grade, condition, or sex of the church's dignity being excused, came with the the most auspicious honour, and processed before the king and the queen. It was reported that the procession included more than 500 children clad in surplices.

And the citizens also decorated the fronts of their houses and chambers along all the roads, places, and streets by which the king and queen passed from St George's<sup>5</sup> to Westminster, at least on the more important buildings, with splendid hangings, of gold and silver, velvet, muslin cloth, and other costly things everywhere, all of the best that each of them could contrive, and there was white and red wine flowing from the conduit in Cheapside, and a boy dressed as an angel in white robes, with a golden cup, offering the king and queen wine to drink.

<sup>4</sup> Knighton's account of the crisis is quite well informed, but is naturally concerned with the externals both of the dispute and the reconciliation. For the essentially one-sided negotiations involved, see C. Barron, 'The quarrel of Richard II with London', pp. 184–92.

<sup>5</sup> St George's, Southwark, where the king went by water. For the procession and ceremonies, see the verses by Richard Maidstone, OC, in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed T. Wright, i. 282–300.

/ <sup>a</sup> Interea offerunt regi unam coronam auream magni precii, et alteram coronam auream regine. Et post pusillum procedentes, conferunt regi unam tabulam auream de Trinitate,<sup>1</sup> ad precium octingentarum librarum, similiter et regine aliam tabulam auream, de Sancta Anna, quam ipsa in speciali deuocione habebat, eo quod ipsamet Anna uocabatur.<sup>2</sup> Et tantos ac tales honores et mirabiles regi impenderunt, quales nulli alii regi et<sup>b</sup> huius regni retroactis temporibus meminimus impensos fuisse.

Sicque progredientes, perduxerunt regem et reginam in aulam Westmonasteriensem. Rege uero sedente in sede regali, et omni populo coram eo stante, quidam ex ore regis regraciabatur populo de innumeritate magnifici honoris, et immense munificencie, ab eis regi impensa, et quo ad sua negocia incumbencia, in proximo parlamento se debere habere finale responsum.<sup>3</sup>

1393 Yeme sequenti rediit curia regis, scilicet bancum de Eboraco et cancellaria de Notynghamia, usque Londonias.<sup>4</sup> Rex celebrauit parliamentum apud Wyntoniam, in quo concessa est regi una dimidia decima de clero, et una dimidia quintodecima de populo, pro expensis pro futura pace tractanda inter regem Anglie et regem Francie.<sup>5</sup> In quadragesima sequenti, Iohannes, dux Lancastrie, Thomas, dux Gloucestrie, magister Walterus Skyrlowe, episcopus Dunelnie, perrexerunt apud Calesiam ad tractandum de pace, ut supradictum est, inter regna, et circa festum Pasche in Angliam redierunt.<sup>6</sup>

Anno Domini millesimo .ccc. nonogesimo tercio Iohannes dux Lancastrie, Thomas, dux Gloucestrie, cum supradictis sociis suis, iterum secundo perrexerunt in estate apud Calesiam pro pace tractanda, et ceperunt trewgas cum Francia et Scotis, pro quatuor annis et quatuor mensibus immediate sequentibus, tam in mare quam in terris.<sup>7</sup>

1394 Anno Domini millesimo .ccc. nonogesimo quarto. In isto anno mortua est Anna regina, et sepulta est apud Westmonasterium in estate.<sup>8</sup> Eodem anno mortua est Constancia, ducissa et uxor domini

<sup>a-a</sup> The first four lines on fo. 238<sup>v</sup> are damaged and obscured. They have been read here against C and Twysden <sup>b</sup> Caret in text, but no insertion

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 436 n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> St Anne's day (26 July) was proclaimed a public holiday in England by a bull of Urban VI in 1381: see A. Gwynn, *The English Austin Friars*, pp. 143-4, 193, 278. The queen may have played some part in popularizing the cult.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 550 n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> In Oct. 1392: they had been sent north at the end of May, apparently to put the Londoners at a further disadvantage. The courts re-opened at Westminster for Hilary term in Jan. 1393: Tout, *Chapters*, iii. 481-2.

And amongst other things they offered the king a golden crown of great price, and another golden crown to the queen, and a little further on they gave the king a golden tablet depicting the Trinity,<sup>1</sup> which cost £800. And the queen had another tablet, with St Anne, whom she held in special devotion, because she herself was called Anne.<sup>2</sup> And so many and such honours and marvels were lavished upon the king that no other king of this realm in past times can be remembered to have enjoyed the like.

And thus they went on their way, and led the king and queen into the Westminster Hall. And there with the king sitting upon the throne and all the people standing before him, they heard from the king's own mouth his thanks for the incalculably splendid honours and great munificence that they had shown him. And as for the matters depending, they should have a final answer in the next parliament.<sup>3</sup>

In the following winter the king's court returned to London, that is to say the bench came back from York, and the chancery from Nottingham.<sup>4</sup> The king held a parliament at Winchester, in which he was granted a half-tenth by the clergy and a half-fifteenth by the laity for the cost of the coming negotiations for a peace between the king of England and the king of France.<sup>5</sup> In the following Lent [Feb.-April 1393] John, duke of Lancaster, Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and Master Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham, went to Calais to discuss the peace, as was said above, between the kingdoms, and returned to England around Easter.<sup>6</sup>

In AD 1393 John, duke of Lancaster, and Thomas, duke of Gloucester, with their aforesaid companions, went in the summer to Calais for a second time to negotiate a peace, and they agreed a truce with the French and the Scots, for four years and four months immediately following, both by land and by sea.<sup>7</sup>

AD 1394. In this year Queen Anne died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, in the summer.<sup>8</sup> In the same year the Duchess

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 544 n. 3. On the subsidies, see *CFR* 1391-9, pp. 71-5 (clergy), and 96-9 (laity).

<sup>6</sup> The meetings were held again at Leulinghem, and the truce prolonged on 28 April: see Rymer, *Foedera*, vii. 748-9; and Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 348-9.

<sup>7</sup> Although the negotiators could not reach a final agreement, the extended truce (Rymer, *Foedera*, vii. 748), was confirmed in June 1394 and extended to Michaelmas 1398 (*ibid.*, pp. 769-76). See also Palmer, *England, France, and Christendom*, pp. 146-50; and Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, 152-3.

<sup>8</sup> Anne's sudden death, at Sheen, on 7 June, was a severe blow to Richard. She was buried at Westminster on 3 Aug. 1394: *Westm. Chron.*, p. 520 and n. See also Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, p. 363, on Richard's grief.



1394 Iohannis, ducis Lancastrie, et apud Leycestriam Dominica proxime post festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum magno honore humata. Et in crastino, scilicet die Lune sequenti, sepulta est Maria, uxor domini Henrici, comitis Derbeie, filii ducis Lancastrie, in Nouo Collegio apud Leycestriam.<sup>1</sup>

In autumpno sequenti dominus Iohannes, dux Lancastrie, perrexit in Acquitaniam cum grandi equitatu pro ducato optinendo, nam rex Ricardus ante fecerat eum ducem Wasconie et Acquitanie.<sup>2</sup> Rex restituit ciues Londonienses ad sua pristina priuilegia in isto parlamento.<sup>3</sup>

Circa festum Sancti Michaelis proxime sequens rex Ricardus, cum grandi exercitu, perrexit in Hiberniam ad debellandum Ibernicos sibi rebellentes.<sup>4</sup> Et circa festum Sancti Andree rex Ricardus celebravit parlamentum in Ybernia, apud Duuelun. Et post 1395 Epiphaniam rex Ricardus misit dominum Thomas<sup>a</sup> Wodestoke, ducem Gloucestrie, in Angliam, qui celebravit parlamentum, nomine fo. 239<sup>r</sup> regis, apud Westmonasterium,<sup>5</sup> in quo concesserunt / <sup>b</sup>due dimidias decimas de clero soluendas per uices. Eodem anno una dimidia<sup>c</sup> quintadecima de populo.<sup>6</sup>

Anno Domini millesimo .ccc. nonagesimo quinto, circa mensem Maii, rex Ricardus rediit de Ibernia subpeditata terra in Angliam. Et dimisit in Iberniam comitem Marchie cum multis<sup>b</sup> aliis ad custodiendam terram,<sup>7</sup> et post Natale Domini sequens dominus Iohannes, dux Lancastrie, rediit in Angliam de Vasconia, et uenit per Franciam.<sup>8</sup>

*<... de potestate duorum paparum.*<sup>d</sup> Rex Francie fecit conuocacionem de clero Francie ad inuestigandum potestatem duorum paparum, quis eorum plenius ius haberet in cathedra Petri. Nam scisma duorum paparum adhuc perseuerat. Clerus uero scripsit pro Clemente, papa suo Auinonie, et scriptum munierunt sigillo Parisiensis uniuersitatis.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Supplied in margin by scribe; caret in text      <sup>b</sup> The first three lines of fo. 239<sup>r</sup> are damaged and obscured. They have been read here against C and Twysden      <sup>c</sup> de cancelled by scribe, before dimidia      <sup>d</sup> The margin of fo. 239<sup>r</sup> is damaged

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Thompson, *Hospital and New College of the Newarke*, pp. 91–2; McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, pp. 15–16. CP vii. 418 says that Mary was buried at Canterbury.

<sup>2</sup> The grant was made on 2 Mar. 1390: CP vii. 414; Tuck, *Richard II*, pp. 156–63. On Gaunt's expedition, see Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 155–6, 196–7; Palmer, *England, France and Christendom*, pp. 159–62; and M. Vale, *English Gascony*, pp. 28–9 and nn.

<sup>3</sup> The passage is confusingly elliptical. Gaunt left for Aquitaine in the autumn of 1394. The parliament to which Knighton refers is that of Jan.–Mar. 1394, in which Richard defended Gaunt against an attack by Arundel which included a denunciation of the grant (four years earlier) of Aquitaine to Gaunt: Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 353–6, 363; Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 153–4.

1394 Constance, wife of Sir John, the duke of Lancaster, died, and was buried at Leicester with great honour, on the Sunday next after the feast of the apostles Peter and Paul [5 July 1394]. And on the morrow, that is to say on the Monday [6 July], there was buried Mary, the wife of Henry, earl of Derby, the son of the duke of Lancaster, in the New College in Leicester.<sup>1</sup>

In the following autumn John, duke of Lancaster, went into Aquitaine with a great army to recover the duchy, for King Richard had previously made him duke of Gascony and Aquitaine.<sup>2</sup> The king restored the citizens of London to their former privileges in the same parliament.<sup>3</sup>

Around the Michaelmas next following [29 Sept. 1394] King Richard went into Ireland with a large army to repress the Irish who had risen against him.<sup>4</sup> And about the feast of St Andrew [30 Nov. 1394] the king held a parliament in Ireland at Dublin, and after the Epiphany king Richard sent Sir Thomas, the duke of Gloucester, to 1395 England, who held a parliament in the king's name, at Westminster,<sup>5</sup> in which the clergy granted two half-tenths to be paid successively. In the same year there was a half-fifteenth from the laity.<sup>6</sup>

In AD 1395, about the month of May, King Richard returned from Ireland to England, having subdued the land. And he sent the earl of March to Ireland with many others to keep the country.<sup>7</sup> And after the next Christmas Sir John, duke of Lancaster, returned from Gascony to England, and came by way of France.<sup>8</sup>

*[An inquiry into the powers] of two popes.* The king of France held a convocation of the French clergy to consider the powers of the two popes, and judge which of them had the better right to the throne of Peter, for the schism between the two popes had persisted. The clergy decided in favour of [Benedict], their pope at Avignon, and confirmed their judgement with the seal of the university of Paris.<sup>9</sup> The which

<sup>4</sup> In Sept. 1394: see A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland*, pp. 327–34.

<sup>5</sup> Parliament met in Dublin on 1 Dec. 1394, and at Westminster on 27 Jan. 1395: A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland*, pp. 327–8; RP iii. 329–36.

<sup>6</sup> See CFR 1391–9, pp. 138–42 (laity), and 143, 148, 150 (clergy).

<sup>7</sup> Richard sailed from Ireland on 15 May 1395, leaving March as his lieutenant: A. J. Otway-Ruthven, *History of Medieval Ireland*, pp. 334–5. March's commission was renewed several times before his death in a skirmish at Kells in July 1398: *ibid.*, p. 336.

<sup>8</sup> Gaunt returned through Brittany in Nov. 1395, and was in Rouen on 9 Dec. on his way to Calais: Goodman, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 187, 199–200.

<sup>9</sup> On 26 Aug. 1395: see Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 366–7. Knighton does less than justice to the views of the University of Paris, which consistently favoured 'the way of cession' to end the schism, that is to say the agreed resignation of both popes: H. Rashdall,

1395 Quod quidem scriptum rex Francie, Carolus, transmisit Ricardo, regi Anglie, ut in hiis dubiis deliberaret cum consilio cleri sui.

1396 Igitur rex Ricardus fecit conuocationem Oxonie de pericioribus theologis, tam regentibus quam non regentibus tocius regni. Qui scripserunt pro Urbano, papa suo Romano, et scriptum signaculo uniuersitatis Oxoniensis fortificauerunt, regisque Ricardi, et transmiserunt Parisius regi Francie.<sup>1</sup> Set nichil ultra actum est de premissis, utroque papa sub umbraculo scismatis preualentis iustificante.

*The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2nd edn. by F. M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, (3 vols., Oxford, 1936), i. 569-71. On English policy, see J. J. N. Palmer, 'England and the great western schism', pp. 516-22.

judgement King Charles of France sent to Richard, king of England, that he might debate with his own clergy the matters that were in doubt. 1395

Therefore King Richard called an assembly at Oxford of the more learned theologians, both regent and non-regent masters, of the whole realm. And they decided in favour of [Boniface], their pope in Rome, and fortified their decision with the seal of the University of Oxford, and the seal of King Richard, and sent it to Paris to the king of France.<sup>1</sup> But nothing further was done in the matter, and both popes found justification under the shelter of the continuing schism. 1396

<sup>1</sup> Convocation met in St Mary's on 3 Mar. 1396: Perroy, *Le grand schisme*, pp. 368-70. For the English reply, which is dated 17 Mar. 1396, see *HUP* iv. 776-84.

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