

BOSWORTH PRIMARY SOURCE TRANSCRIPTS/TRANSLATIONS

Reworked where appropriate from the original by Janet Dickinson and Anne Curry and proof read by Susan England.

Bernard André, *Historia Regis Septimi*, ed. by James Gairdner (London, 1858), p. 32.

Hoc ego bellum quamvis auribus acceperim, tamen hac in parte certior aure arbiter est oculus. Diem, igitur, locum, ac belli ordinem, quia ut dixi sum privatus hac luce oculorum, ne quid temerarie affirmem, supersedo. Et pro tam bellico campo, donec plenius instructus fuero, campum quoque latum hoc in albo relinquo.¹

***THE CHRONICLE OF CALAIS in the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII to the year 1540*, ed. by John Gough Nichols (Camden Society, 35, 1846), p. 1.**

KYNGE Henry the Seventh enterid the realme of England, and landyd at Mylford haven with his army out of Britayné, in the monethe of August, in the yere of our Lord 1485. On seint Bartilmew's even (Saint Bartholomew's Eve) he went to the filde at Bosworthe hethe, and there was kyng Richarde slayne and the duke of Norfolke slayne, and the erle of Surrey the duke of Norfolk's sone taken prisoner, and the erle of Northumbarland taken prisoner, the lorde Sowche taken prisoner, and there was slayne Ratcliffe, Catesby, and gentle Brakenbery, and the erle of Shrovsbery was taken prisoner, and the lorde Lovell escaped and fled; and there was slayne of kyng Henry's party ser William Brandon, who bare kyng Henry's standard that day.

Michael Bennet, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Sutton: Stroud, 2000).

Chronicles of Jean Molinet

DATE: 1490. AUTHOR: Jean Molinet, historiographer to Burgundian court. TEXT: *Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1474-1506)*, ed. G. Doutrepoint and O. Jodogne, 3 vols. (Academie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Collection des Anciens Auteurs Belges, Brussels, 1935-7), 1, pp. 434-6. (French; own translation, with assistance from Professor I. H. Smith, Department of Modern Languages, University of Tasmania).

When the armies came together, King Richard prepared his "battle", where there was a vanguard and a rearguard; he had around 60,000 combatants and a great number of cannons. The leader of the vanguard was Lord John Howard, whom King Richard had made duke of Norfolk, granting him lands and lordships confiscated from the earl of Oxford. Another lord, Brackenbury, captain of the Tower of London, was also in command of the van, which had 11,000 or 12,000 men altogether. The place was chosen and the day assigned for the eighth day of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, to battle power against power. The French also made their preparations marching against the English, being in the field a quarter of a league away.

'The king had the artillery of his army fire on the earl of Richmond, and so the French, knowing by the king's shot the lie of the land and the order of his battle, resolved, in order to avoid the fire, to mass their troops against the flank rather than the front of the king's battle. Thus they obtained the mastery of his vanguard, which after several feats of arms on both sides was dispersed. In this conflict was taken the duke of Norfolk with his son. The former was taken to the earl of Richmond, who sent him on to the earl of Oxford who had him dispatched,

'The vanguard of King Richard, which was put to flight, was picked off by Lord Stanley

¹ A page and a half left blank after these words.

who with all of 20,000 combatants came at a good pace to the aid of the earl. The earl of Northumberland, who was on the king's side with 10,000 men, ought to have charged the French, but did nothing except to flee, both he and his company, and to abandon his King with some others who deserted him in his need. The king bore himself when he saw this discomfiture and found himself alone on the field he thought to run after the others. His horse leapt into a marsh from which it could not retrieve itself. One of the Welshmen then came after him, and struck him dead with a halberd, and another took his body and put it before him on his horse and carried it, hair hanging as one would bear a sheep.

'And so he who had miserably killed numerous people, ended his days iniquitously and filthily in the dirt and the mire, and he who had despoiled churches was displayed to the people naked and without any clothing, and without royal solemnity was buried at the entrance to a village church.

'The vanguard [or in one text 'rearguard'] which the grand chamberlain of England led, seeing King Richard dead, turned in flight; and there were in this battle only 300 slain on either side.'

***Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, ed. Georges Deutrepont G. Doutrepont and O. Jodogne, 3 vols. (Academie Royale de Belgique. Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Collection des Anciens Auteurs Belges, Brussels, 1935-7), 1, p. 433.**

CHAPITRE C. J. LA MORT DU ROY RICHART D'ENGLETERRE ET LE CORONNEMENT DE HENRY, COMTE DE RICEMONT.

Jassoit ce que le comte Henry de Ricemont fusist assez loingtaing de la coranne d'Engleterre, il aspiroit tres fort aprèz; et fut à ceste cause long tempz detenu prisonnier, puis trouva facion d'eschaper et vint à la court du duc de Bretagne qui le soustint; pour quoy le ray Richart, le plus cremeu de tous les roix d'Occident à cause de sa tyrannie, fit prendre les navirez des Bretons; mais l'appointement en fut à cop fait et le comte Henry, doubtant que l'on ne payast de lui par le detenir prisonnier, comme l'on avoit fait paravant, print la clef des champz, il se desroba, se mit au delivre et arriva en France avec aucuns Englèz de sa sorte, où il fut receu à grant joye. Il estoit fort plaisant, elegant personage et ung beau parement en la court de France, et se nommoit roy d' Engleterre. Et le roy Richart, pour ses demeritez, estoit de chescun hay; et n'estoit prince en Engleterre qui osast susciter ne prendre armes contre lui, se n'estoit que aucun estrangier voulsist quereler à la coronne ou descendre en aucun port.

Et furent les nobles d'Engleterre fort joyeux que le comte de Ricemont estoit sy bien aimé et entretenu en France, plus pour contrarier le roy Richart que pour le bien dudit comte.

Deux grans seigneurs d'Engleterre entre les aultres, hors de [p.434.] la grace du roy Richart, excitèrent le comte de Ricemont de aspirer à la coronne. L'urg fut le seigneur d'Occenfort, le quel avoit espousé la soeur du comte de Wervy qui fut succombé en bataille par le roy Edouart. Cestui seigneur d'Occenfort estoit par le roy prisonnier au chasteau de Hames, seant dechà la mer, au-prèz de Calaix; et l'autre seigneur qui persuadoit ledit comte, estoit le seigneur de Scandelay, le plus rice d'Engleterre, en son pays portant coronne de plong, lequel avoit espousé la mère dudit comte de Ricemont. Iceulx grans et puissans seigneurs avec grant quantité d'ultrez firent alliances ensamble, lui promirent le faire roy d' Engleterre s'il volloit descendre en Gales avec certaine armée, auquel pays les .II. seigneurs dessus nommez furent prochains. Sy manda ledit de Scandelay au capitaine de Hames qu'il delivrast le seigneur d'Occenfort illec prisonnier, affin qu'il se tirast en France avec le comte de Ricemont, comme il fist; et adonc, le comte de Ricemont fit son amas en France, le roy Charles lui delivra .LXm. frans et .XVIIIc. compaignons de guerre, non point de ses ordonnances, mais gens rassabléz avec certains navirez pour les mener. Et monterent au port de Harfleur; et avoit de lui meismes environ .XVIIIc. compaignons, qui se fourrèrent avec les aultrez.

Le roy Richart, adverti de ces besoignes fit preparer son armée pour obvier à la descente des Francois et dudit comte. Et lors les grans seigneurs d' Engleterre eurent cause de mettre

main aux armes, non point pour secourir au roy, mais pour estre quitte de lui et eulx vengier des torfais qu'i leur avoit fais, se lui tournèrent le dos, car il avoit donné .VIIc. livres sterlins à urg rice Thomas pour eslever gens d'armes; et se devoit trouver avec le seigneur de Herbat et aultrez pour resister à la descente, mais ilz firent le contraire.

Finablement, le comte de Ricemont ensamble son armée françoise descendi en Gales à pou de resistance et trouva les seigneurs du pays tous en point peur lui donner ayde comme premis lui avoyent; et furent tous en nombre de .XX. mille testes armées. Le roy Richart se volloit joindre avec les seigneurs d'Engleterre pour estre à la descente, mais il lui mandèrent : Ne vous bougiez, nous ferons bien. Le roy Richart prepara ses batailles, où il y avoit avangarde et arrière garde; il avoit environ .LX. mille combatans et grande quantité d'engiens volans. Le conducteur de l'avangarde estoit messire Joan Hoart, que le roy [p. 435] Richart avoit fait duc de Norford en lui donnant par confiscation les terres et seignouries du seigneur d'Occenfort.

Ung aultre seigneur de Bracqueben, capitaine de la Tour de Londres, avoit pareillement charge de ladite avangarde; et avoyent ensemble .XI. ou .XII. mille combatans. Le lieu fut prins et journée assignée èz octaves de l' Assumption Nostre-Dame, pour combatre puissance contre puissance. Les Francois pareillement firent leurs preparations en marchans contre les Englèz, estant aux champz à ung quart de lieue.

Le roy fit tirer les engiens de son armée contre le comte de Ricemont ; et adonc les Francois, cognoissans par le trait du roy la situation du lieu et manière de sa bataille, eurent, pour eviter le trait desdis engiens, advis d'asssembler de costé à la bataille dudit roy et non point de front. Et par ainsy furent maistres de ladicte avangarde, qui lors fut desconfite, après plusieurs proesses d'armes achevées d'ung costé et d'aultre. En ce conflict, fut prins le duc de Noifolle avec son filz, et envoyét au comte de Ricemont, lequel le renvoya au seigneur d'Oxenfort, qui tantost le fit despeschier.

L'avangarde du roy Richart, toumée en fuye, fut recoellie par le seigneur de Scandelay, qui, à tout .XX. mille combatans. venoit le beau pas à l'ayde du comte.

Le comte de Northombrelan estoit à l'ayde du roy Richart accompaigniet de .X. mille hommes qui debvoyent charger sur les Francois et ne firent riens; ains s'enfuy lui et sa compagnie et habandonna son roy Richart, car il avoit entendement avec le comte de Ricemont, comme avoyent plusieurs aultres qui le leissèrent au besoing. Il se porta vaillamment selon sa fortune, et avoit la couronne en chief; mais, quant il vey ceste desconfiture et se trouva seul sur le champ, il cuida courre après les aultres; son cheval saulta en ung palus duquel ne se pooit ravoire; et lorsfut approchiét d'ung de ceulx de Gales qui, d'une halebarde, l'abbaty mort et ung aultre print son corpz mort se le chargea devant lui sur son cheval et le porta, les cheveulx pendant, comme l'on feroit ung mouton.

Et ainsy, lui qui avoit miserablement ochis plusieurs personages, fina ses jours iniquement et ordement, en fange et enbedare, et lui qui les eglises avoient expoliét, fut monster au peu- [p.436.] ple tout nud et sans quelque vesture; et sans solennité royale fut sepulturé à l'entrée de l'eglise d'ung vlllage.

L'avangarde que menoit le grant chambellan d'Engleterre, voyant le roy Richart mort, tourna en fuye; et n'y eubt en ceste bataille que .III. mille mors d'ung costé et d'aultre.

Le comte de Ricemont, veant son ennemy suppedité et que Dieu lui avoit donné victoire sur ung malvais tirant, print le serment d'aucunes villes à l'environ de Londres, où il entra comme viqueur et fut rechupt à grant triumphe; et, avant sa coronation, fit partout publiier que, s'il y avoit quelque ung de la lignie du roy Edouart qui eusist droit à la couronne, qu'il s'amonstrat et il l'aideroit à le coronner; mais ame ne s'apparut.

Et, jassoit ce que le duc de Clarence, frère des .II. rois Richart et Edouart, eusist ung filz bouté en cloistre dès le tamps que son père morut en une pipe de malevisée, toutevoies, ledit enfant, pour les demerites de son père, fut déclaré inhabile à succeder à la couronne. Le traittié de mariage fut fait du comte de Ricemont et de Elizabeth, ainsée fille du roy Edouart trespasé, par le droit de laquelle il fut honorablement coronné roy d'Engleterre, le jour Saint-Simon et Saint-Jude, en [l'an mil .IIIc. IIIxxV], et, le second an de son règne, eubt d'icelle Elizabeth ung filz nommé Artus, en commemoration et affin qu'il peusist ensievyr en vertu, force et proesse le très victorieux Artus, très renommé en Engleterre.

Compensation Warrants. Printed, transcribed in Sean Cunningham, *Richard III: A Royal Enigma* (Kew, 2003).

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THE FIRST WARRANT READS:

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of our Exchequer, greeting. We will and charge you that unto our wellbeloved subjects Sir John Fox, parson of Witherley, and John Atherston, gentleman, you pay and deliver in ready money immediately upon the sight hereof the sum of three score (and) twelve pounds, two shillings and four pence sterling which we of our charity have appointed [fixed by agreement] them to have. And to deliver the same to certain townships which sustained losses of their corns and grains by us and our company at our late victorious field for their due recompense in that behalf. That is to say, Atherstone, £20; Witherley, £13; Atterton, £8 10s; Fenny Drayton £20; Mancetter £5 19s; Atherstone £4 13s 4d. Not setting any imprest [loan] or other charge upon them or any of them for for the same. Any act, ordinance (arrangement), or restraint to the contrary not withstanding. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant in that part. Given under our privy seal at our palace of Westminster the 29th day of November, the first year of our reign.

THE SECOND WARRANT READS:

Henry by the grace of God King of England and of France and Lord of Ireland, to the Treasurer and Chamberlains of our Exchequer, greeting. Where as verily we understand that our right wellbeloved in God, the Abbot of our monastery of Miravale had and sustained great hurts, charges and losses by the occasion of the great repair and resort that our people coming toward our late field made, as well unto the house of Miravale aforesaid, as in going over his ground to the destruction of his corns and pastures. We let you know that we, in recompense of the same, have given and granted unto him the sum of 100 marks sterling to be had and received [received] of our reward. Wherefore, we will and charge you that you unto the said Abbot make contentation and payment of the said sum of 100 marks in ready money without imprest [loan] or other charge to be set upon him for the same. And these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge against us in that behalf. Given under our privy seal at our palace of Westminster, the 7th day of December, the first year of our reign.

***The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486*, ed., trans. by Nicholas Pronay and John Cox (London, 1986).**

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At length rumours grew daily that those in rebellion against the king were making haste and speeding up the [plans] for their invasion of England; the king, however, being in doubt as to where they intended to land (for his spies were not able to bring any certain information about that) took himself off to the North shortly before Whitsuntide. Lord Lovell, his chamberlain, was left near Southampton, there to deploy his fleet carefully so as to keep a faithful watch on all the ports of those parts and not to miss the chance of engaging the enemy with the united forces of the whole neighbourhood if they tried to land there.

As a result of this unnecessary policy, stores and money were lost there...the king incurred such great expenses so that he might not be deceived by the ambiguity of the name of the port which was said by many people to be chosen for the descent. Some say there is a

port called Milford in the neighbourhood of Southampton as well as one in Wales. And because some people, as though gifted with the spirit of prophecy, foretold that these men would land at the port of Milford and such prophecies were customarily fulfilled not at the better known but most often at another place of the same name therefore the king saw fit to set up so many forts, at this time, in that southern part of the kingdom. It was in vain. On August 1, with a favourable breeze, they landed at the well-known port of Milford near Pembroke without opposition.

When he heard of their arrival the king rejoiced, or at least he pretended to rejoice, sending his letters everywhere to say that the day he had longed for had now arrived when he would easily triumph over such a wretched company and thereafter restore the strength of his subjects with the blessings of certain peace. Meanwhile he sent out terrifying orders in manifold letters to all the counties of the kingdom: none of their men, at least none of those who were born to any inheritances within the said kingdom, should withdraw themselves from the coming battle, with the

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threat that, after victory had been gained, anyone who might be found, in any part of the kingdom not to have been present in person with him on the battleneld could hope for nothing but the loss of all his goods, his possessions and his life.

A little before the arrival of these men, [the rebels] Thomas Stanley, steward of the king's household, received permission to go across to Lancashire, his native country, to see his home and family from whom he had long been away. He was not allowed to make any long stay there, unless he sent his first-born son George, Lord Lestrangle, to the king at Nottingham, which he did. Having landed at Milford in Wales, as already related, these men made their way along wild and twisting tracks in the north of that province, where William Stanley brother of the same lord steward and chamberlain of North Wales, was in sole command. The king then sent orders to Lord [Thomas] Stanley to present himself before the king at Nottingham without any delay. The king feared (what in fact happened) that the earl of Richmond's mother who was the wife of Lord Stanley might induce her husband to support her son's party. However with wonderful (?) ...he was not able to come, alleging that the sweating sickness from which he was suffering...However, his son, who had secretly prepared to escape from the king, was discovered by a snare and seized; he revealed a conspiracy to support the party of the earl of Richmond between himself, his uncle, William Stanley, and Sir John Savage, asked for mercy and promised that his father would come to the king's aid, as fast as possible, with all his power. In addition he wrote to his father announcing the danger he was in together with the urgent need of presenting help of this sort.

Meanwhile, after the other two knights had been publicly denounced at Coventry and elsewhere as traitors to the king, the enemy was making haste and moving by day and night towards a direct confrontation with the king and therefore it was necessary to move the army, though it was not yet fully assembled, away from Nottingham and to proceed to Leicester. On the king's side there was a greater number of fighting men than there had ever been seen before, on one side, in England. On Sunday before the feast of Bartholomew the Apostle, the king left Leicester with great pomp, wearing his diadem on his head, and accompanied by John Howard, duke of Norfolk and Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and other great lords, knights and esquires and a countless multitude of commoners. He was adequately informed by scouts as to where the enemy were likely to rest the following night and

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set up camp eight miles from the town, near Merevale abbey.

The chief men in the opposing army were these: firstly Henry, earl of Richmond, whom they called their king, Henry VII; John Vere, earl of Oxford; John Welles, Lord Welles, uncle of King Henry VII; Thomas, Lord Stanley and his brother William; Edward Woodville, Queen Elizabeth's brother, a most valiant knight; John Cheyne; John Savage; Robert

Willoughby; William Berkeley; James Blount; Thomas Arundel; Richard Edgecombe; Edward Poynings; Richard Guildford and many others, notable for their military standing before this disturbance as well as in the conflict just begun. There were present also counsellors who were churchmen and who had likewise endured exile: the venerable father, Peter, bishop of Exeter, the flower of the knighthood of his county; Master Robert Morton, clerk of the Rolls of Chancery; Christopher Urswick and Richard Fox, of whom the former afterwards obtained the office of almoner, the other, the office of secretary, and many others.

At dawn on Monday morning the chaplains were not ready to celebrate mass for King Richard nor was any breakfast ready with which to revive the king's flagging spirit. The king, so it was reported, had seen that night, in a terrible dream, a multitude of demons apparently surrounding him, just as he attested in the morning when he presented a countenance which was always drawn but was then even more pale and deathly, and affirmed that the outcome of this day's battle, to whichever side the victory was granted, would totally destroy the kingdom of England. For he also declared that he would ruin all the partisans of the other side, if he emerged as the victor, predicting that his adversary would do exactly the same to the king's supporters if the victory fell to him. Finally, as the leader and troops of the enemy moved steadily up on the king's army, he ordered that Lord Lestrangle should be beheaded on the spot. However, those to whom this task was given, seeing that the matter in hand was at a very critical stage and that it was more important than the elimination of one man, failed to carry out that king's cruel command and, on their own judgement, let the man go and returned to the heart of the battle.

There now began a very fierce battle between the two sides; the earl of Richmond with his knights advanced directly upon King Richard while the earl of Oxford, next in rank after him in the whole company and a very valiant knight, with a large force of French as well as English troops, took up his position opposite the wing where the duke of Norfolk was stationed. In the place where the earl of Northumberland stood, however, with a fairly large and well-equipped force, there was no contest against the enemy and no blows given or received in battle. In the end a glorious victory was granted by heaven to the earl of Richmond, now sole king,

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together with the priceless crown which King Richard had previously worn. As for King Richard he received many mortal wounds and, like a spirited and most courageous prince, fell in battle on the field and not in flight. The duke of Norfolk, Sir Richard Ratcliffe, Sir Robert Brackenbury, Constable of the Tower of London, John Kendall, the Secretary, Sir Robert Percy, Controller of the king's Household and Walter Devereux, Lord Ferrers, and many others were killed in that frenzy of battle; and many northerners, in whom, especially, King Richard placed so much trust, fled even before coming to blows with the enemy. And so there remained no worthy or trained troops to make the glorious victor, Henry VII submit himself again to the trial of battle. Out of this warfare came peace for the whole kingdom, and King Richard's body having been discovered amongst the dead...many other insults were offered and after the body had been carried to Leicester with insufficient humanity (a rope being placed around the neck) the new king, adorned with the crown which he had so remarkably won, went to Leicester. While this was happening many noblemen and others were captured, and in particular Henry, earl of Northumberland, and Thomas Howard, earl of Surrey, the eldest son of the dead duke of Norfolk. William Catesby who was pre-eminent among all the counsellors of the late king was also captured; as a final reward for excellent service his head was cut off at Leicester. Two esquires from the western parts of the kingdom, father and son, going under the name of Brecher who had fallen into the hands of the victors, after the battle was over, were hanged on the gallows. And since it was not heard nor read nor committed to memory that any others who had withdrawn from the battle had been afterwards cut down by such punishments, but rather that he had shown clemency to all, the new prince began to receive praise from everyone as though he was an angel sent from heaven through whom God deigned to visit his people and to free them from the evils which had hitherto afflicted them beyond measure.

And so ends the history which we promised to set out, down to the departure of King Richard, in so far as the true course of events was known to us, without any conscious introduction of falsehood, hatred or favour. We began, therefore, summarily supplementing the religious and praiseworthy lack of knowledge of the prior of this place who had compiled the rest, and who, although so highly skilled in divine matters was, most understandably, deceived sometimes in human affairs. Starting with the battle which it was feared might take place at Ludlow, in the Marches of Wales, between King Henry VI and the duke of York in 1459, we reached this battle of Merevale which occurred

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on 22 August 1485 – a period of 26 years intervening. After these things have been done and borne in this way, I observe from the chronicles that no such end for a king of England (being killed that is on a battlefield in his own kingdom) has been heard of since the time of King Harold, who was a usurper and was defeated in battle by William the Conqueror coming from Normandy whence also these men had come. And, taking into account the banners and badges of today's victor and vanquished and at the same time those of King Edward's sons whose cause, above all, was avenged in this battle, and what befell all three kings who after the Conquest of England were called Richard, a certain poet left these lines in his works:

There were three Richards whose fortunes were alike in three respects, but otherwise the fate of each was his own. Thus they had in common an end without issue of their body; a life of greed and a violent fall; but it was the greater glory of the first that he fought in the Holy Land; and returning home he was struck down, in a foreign land, by the bolts from a crossbow. The second, deposed from his kingdom, after he had been shut up in prison for some months, actually chose to die from hunger of his own will rather than to bear the dishonour of ill fame. The third, after exhausting the quite ample store of Edward's wealth, was not content until he suppressed his brother's progeny and proscribed their supporters; at last, two years after taking violent possession of the kingdom he met these same people in battle and now has lost his grim life and his crown. In the year 1485 on the 22nd day of August the tusks of the Boar were blunted and the red rose, the avenger of the white, shines upon us.

In these early days of the new king the sweating sickness, which we have mentioned above, was prevalent and Abbot Lambert of Crowland died of it, as already related, on 14 October; he was succeeded in the office of abbot by Edmund Thorp formerly prior of the same place, Bachelor of Divinity, who was elected on the feast of St Theodore [9] November, 1485.

The Crowland Chronicle Continuations: 1459-1486, edited and translated by Nicholas Pronay and John Cox (London, 1986).

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Denique crescentibus indies rumoribus quod regis rebelles adventum suum in Angliam maturant et accelerant, rex autem dubius in quo portu applicare intendunt – id enim per nullos exploratores sibi certitudinaliter afferri potuit – se transfert versus Aquilonem parum ante festum Pentecostes relicto domino de Lovell, camerario suo, prope Suthamptoniam ut classem suam ibi diligenter instruat ut omnes portus illarum partium fida observet custodia, ut ipsos hostes si inibi applicare curarent,

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coadunatis viribus omnium circum incolentium debellare non praetermitteret. Perditis illic sub hac non necessaria politia victualibus et pecuniis *...quo rex tot expensas faceretur unde non falleret aequivocationem vocabuli portus illius qui a multis pro carum descensu describebatur. Aiunt alique esse portum in partibus Suthamptoniae appellatum Milfordiam, sicut est in Walliae. Et quia nonnulli quasi essent prophectico spiritu praediti, praedixerunt homines istos in portu de Milford appulsuros, consueveruntque prophetiae hujusmodi non in famosiori sed in alio saepissime ejusdem nominis loco suum sortiri effectum. Praeterea visus est rex tot propugnacula in illa australi parte regni hoc tempore constituisse. Sed frustra. Illi enim primo die Augusti in nominatissimo illo portu Milford juxta Pembrochiam prospero flatu nulla inventa resistentia applicuerunt. Gavisus est rex audito eorum adventu seu saltem gaudere dissimulavit scribens ubique jam sibi diem venisse desideratum quo de tam exili comitiva facile triumphaturus subjectos amodo indubitatae pacis beneficiis recomfortet. Interea mandata terribilia multiplicibus literis ad omnes regni comitatus dirigit ne ulli hominum eorum saltem, quotquot ad aliquas in regno haereditates nati sunt, bellum futurum detractent

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cum ea interminatione quod quicumque post obtentam victoriam inveniretur, in aliqua parte regni, ei in campo praesentialiter non abstittisse [*sic*], nihil aliud speraturi sunt quam bona omnia possessiones et vitam amittere. Parum ante istorum hominum appulsum Thomas de Stanley senescallus hospitii regis, accepta licentia ut in patriam suam Lancastriae, domum et familiam suam, unde diu aberat visurus transiret non aliter ullam ibi moram trahere permittebatur nisi filium suum primogenitum, Georgium dominum Lestrangle, Nottinghamiam ad regem loco suo transmitteret, quod et fecit. Deinde hominibus istis ut praefertur apud Milfordiam Walliae appulsis facientibusque iter suum per aspera et indirecta, partium borealium illius provinciae ubi Willielmus Stanley, frater ejusdem domini senescalli, utpote camerarius de Northwales singulariter praesidebat, misit rex ad dictum dominum de Stanley ut omni postposita mora sese regis conspectui apud Nottinghamiam praesentaret. Timuit enim rex, id quod accidit, ne mater dicti comitis Richmundiae, quam dictus dominus de Stanley habuit in uxorem maritum, ad partes filii tuendas induceret. Ille autem mirabili...pestem sudatoriam qua laborabat allegans venire non potuit. Filius autem ejus qui clanculum a rege discessum paraverat discoopertus ab insidiis capitur, conjurationem suam et patris sui Willielmi Stanley supradicti simul et Johannis Savage, militum, ad partes comitis Richmundiae defensandas aperit, misericordiam postulat promittitque patrem suum cum omni potentia in regis auxilium quam citissime adventurum. Et super hoc periculum in quo erat simul cum desiderio hujusmodi praestandi auxilii literis suis patri denunciat. Interim dictis duobus aliis militibus pro proditoribus regis apud Coventriam et alibi publice denunciatis, feslinantibusque inimicis ac dirigentibus vias suas die ac nocte recte in faciem regis, opus erat omnem exercitum, licet nondum integre congregatum, a Nottinghamia dimittere venireque ad Leicestriam. Ibi compertus est numerus hominum pugnatorum ex parte regis major quam antea visus est unquam in Anglia pro una parte. Die autem Dominico ante festum

Bartholomei apostoli, rex maxima pompa, diadema portans in capite, cum duce Norfolchiae, Johanne de Howard, ac Henrico Percy, comite Northumbriae, ceterisque magnificis

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dominis, militibus et armigeris populariumque multitudine infinita, opidum Leicestrense egressus satis per intercursores edoctus ubi hostes sequenti nocte de verisimili manere volebant, ad octo miliaria ab eo opido distantia juxta abbathiam de Mirivall

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castrametatus est. Majores autem exercitus adversantis hi erant imprimis Henricus comes de Richmond quem illi suum regem Henricum septimum appellabant; Johannes Vere, comes Oxoniae; Johannes Wellys, dominus de Wellys, avunculus Regis Henrici septimi; Thomas, dominus de Stanley et Willielmus frater ejus; Edwardus Widevyll, frater Elizabeth reginae, valentissimus miles; Johannes Cheyne; Johannes Savage; Robertus Willoughby; Willielmus Berkeley; Jacobus Blunt; Thomas Arundell; Richardus Egecombe; Edwardus Ponyngs; Richard Gilford et alii plures tam ante hanc turbationem quam in isto ingressu belli, militari ordine insigniti. De ecclesiasticis vero affuerant consiliarii qui simile exilium perpessi sunt: venerabilis pater, Petrus, episcopus Exoniensis, flos militiae patriae suae; Magister Robertus Moreton, clericus rotulorum cancellariae; Crystoferus Urswyk et Johannes Fox quorum alter eleemosynarii alter secretarii officium postea consecutus est, cum aliis multis. Mane die Lunae illucescente aurora — cum non essent capellani de parte Regis Richardi parati ad celebrandum, neque jentaculum ullum paratum quod regis tabescentem animum refocillaret, illeque ut asseritur ea nocte terrenda somnia quasi multitudine daemonum circumdatus esset viderat sicut de mane testatus est — faciem uti semper attenuatam tunc magis discoloratam et mortiferam prae se tulit affirmans quod hujus hodierna belli exitus utrivis parti victoria concessa fuerit regnum Angliae penitus distruet; et expressit mentem suam eam fore ut si ille victor evadit omnes fautores adversae partis confundat, idque ipsum idem praedicebat adversarium suum super benevolos suae partis executurum si victoria illi succedat. Denique ingrentibus moderato passu principe et militibus partis adversae super exercitum regis mandavit ille ut praedictus Dominus Lestrage illico decapitaretur. Illi autem quibus hoc officium datum est, videntes ancipitem rem nimis majorisque ponderis quam unius hominis exterminium in manibus esse, differentes crudele regis mandatum exequi dimiserunt hominem suo arbitrio et ad interiora belli reversi sunt. Inita igitur acerrima pugna inter ambas partes, comes Richmundiae cum militibus suis directe super regem Richardum processit, comes autem Oxoniae, major post eum in tota ipsa societate valentissimus miles, in eam alam ubi dux Norfolchiae constitutus erat magno, tam Gallicorum quam Anglicorum, comitatu stipatus tetendit. In eo vero loco ubi comes Northumbriae cum satis decenti ingentique militia stabat, nihil adversi neque datis neque susceptis belli ictibus cernebatur. Ad postremum gloriosa dicti comiti Richmundiae, jam soli regi,

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victoria una cum pretiosissima corona, quam Rex Richardus ante gestavit in capite, coelitus data est. Nam inter pugnandum et non in fuga, dictus Rex Richardus multis letalibus vulneribus ictus, quasi princeps animosus et audentissimus in campo occubuit. Deinde praefato duce Norfolchiae, Richardo Ratclyff, milite, Roberto Brakenbury, milite, constabulario Turris Londoniarum, Johannem Kendall, secretario, Roberto Percy, milite, controrotulatore hospitii regii, ae Waltero Devereux domino de Ferreis, et multis [aliis, in eo furore bellico interfectis. ae multis borealibus,] in quibus maxime Rex Richardus adeo confidebat, ante ullas consertas manus fugam ineuntibus, nullae partes dignae sive habiles remanserunt in quos gloriosus victor, Henricus septimus, alicujus pugnae experientiam denno renovaret. Pace igitur ex hoc bello universo regno concessa inventa inter alios mortuos corpore dicto Richardi regis...multasque alias contumelias

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illatas ipsoque non satis humaniter propter funem in collum adjectum usque ad Leicestriam deportato, novus rex corona tam insigniter conquesita decoratus Leicestriam vadit. Dumque haec ita se haberent multi nobiles atque alii in captivitatem redacti sunt atque in primis Henricus, comes Northumbriae, Thomas de Howard, comes Surrei, primo genitus dicti defuncti ducis Norfolchiae; captus est etiam Willielmus Catesby, qui inter omnes consiliarios defuncti jam regis praeminebat, cujus caput apud Leicestriam pro ultima remuneratione tam excellentis officii sui abscisum est. Duo autem valecti partium occiduarum regni pater et filius sub Brecher vocabulo appellati, qui post finitum praelium ad victorum manus devenerant laqueo suspensi sunt. Et cum neque auditum neque lectioni aut memoriae commendatum est aliquos alios post recessum a bello similibus suppliciis deputatos, sed principem hunc novum in omnes suam clementiam impartisse, coepit laudari ab omnibus tanquam angelus de coelo missus per quem Deus dignaretur visitare plebem suam et liberare eam de malis quibus hactenus afflicta est supra modum. Et ita finit historia quam usque ad exitum dicti Regis Richardi, quoad veritas gestorum se menti offerebat, sine ulla scita intermixtione mendacii odii aut favoris declarare promisimus. Incepimus enim summatim adjuvantes religiosam laudabilemque ignorantiam prioris hujus loci qui cetera compilavit, et quemque tanquam peritissimum rerum divinarum facta humana rectissime aliquando fallebant, ab eo quod timebatur fieri apud Ludlow in Marchiis Walliae bello inter Regem Henricum sextum et ducem Eboraci, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono, et pervenimus

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usque ad hoc bellum Mirivallense quod actum est vicesimo secundo die mensis Augusti, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo octogesimo quinto, intercurrentibus annis viginti sex. His ita actis et gestis viso per chronicas quod similis exitus alicujus regis Angliae, ut in regno suo aperto campo interficeretur non est auditus a tempore Haraldis regis, qui fuit intrusor et victus in bello per Willielmum Conquestorem venientem de Normannia, unde et isti homines advenerant; consideratisque signis et bagis hodierni victoris atque victi, simul et puerorum Regis Edwardi quorum causa hoc bello potissime vindicata est, quidque [sic] acciderit omnibus tribus regibus sub vocabulo Richardi a Conquestu Angliae nominatis quidam metrista reliquit hos versus in scriptis:

Tres sunt Richardi quorum fortuna fit aequa
In tribus, ast aliis suae cuivis propria sors est.
Nam concors horum finis sine posteritate
Corporis, atque rapax vitae modus et violentus
Interitus fuerat, sed major gloria primi
Praelia quod Terra Sancta gerit et redeuntem
Balistae tela feriunt apud extera regna.
Alter depositus regno cum carcere clausus
Mensibus extiterat, certis fame velle perire
Elegit potius quam famae probra videre.
Tertius exhausto satis amplo divitiarum
Edwardi cumulo non contentus nisi fratris
Opprimeret proles proscribens auxiliares.
Ilarum partes post annos denique binos
Invasi regni bello congressus eisdem
Ille trucem vitam jam perdidit atque coronam
Anno milleno cento quater, quater atque viceno,
Adjunctis quinque cum lux sextilis adesset,
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Duplex undena dentes Apri stupuerunt
Et vindex albae rosa rubra refulget in ore.

In his primordiis novi regis invaluit pestis sudoris, de qua supra tetigeramus, et qua praefatus

abbas Croylandiae, Lambertus, decessit in fata, decimo quarto die Octobris, ut praefertur, cui successit in abbatiali dignitate Edmundus Thorp, antea prior ejusdem loci, in Sacra Theologia Baccalaureus, electus in festo Sancti Theodori...die mense Novembris anno Domini millesimo quadingentesimo octogesimo septimo.

Diego de Valera (1 March 1486)

Translation of Spanish text from *Epistolas y otros varios de Mosén Diego de Valera*, ed. José A. De Balenchana (La Sociedad de Bibliofilos Espanoles, Madrid, 1878).

To the most exalted, excellent and serene princes, the king and queen. Your majesties.

I well believe, considering the distance of time since King Richard of England was killed, that your highnesses have received full information of what happened to him. But for all that, most illustrious princes, as there have now come to this town trustworthy merchants who were in England at the time of the battle in which this king was killed and who saw all that happened afterwards, up until the end of January, I have determined to write out for your Excellency the affair in the manner it was reported to me by them...

(E commo quiera) In spite of his being a powerful monarch, sole ruler in his kingdom without any contradiction, our good Lord did not permit his evil deeds to remain unpunished but rather, put new heart into the earl of Richmond, Henry by name, who was in Brittany – an exile and in poor enough estate – and to whom the realm lawfully belonged, with the result that he went to the king of France begging counsel, favour and assistance. The latter, displaying the liberality which is befitting in great princes, granted him two thousand combatants paid for four months, and lent him fifty thousand crowns, and gave him his fleet, whose captain was Colon, in which to make the passage... and with these aids and three thousand Englishmen whom he found in France that had fled from King Richard, he crossed into England and entered by way of Wales, conquering all places as he progressed as far as a town called Coventry, near which King Richard stood in the field with as many as seventy thousand combatants.

But as his procedure has demonstrated, this Earl Henry must be a man of deep counsel and high heart, or must have had some wise counsellor, for before his entry into England he had the assurance of my lord Tamorlant, one of the principal nobles of England, and sundry other leading men who had given him their oaths and seals that they would give him his assistance when they came to battle and would fight against King Richard; and indeed they did. Though his people came with faint heart as not knowing the secret but fully knowing the multitude of King Richard's army, he greatly heartened them to come to that battle.

And when King Richard was made certain that Earl Henry was coming closer with his battles drawn up, he ordered his own, and gave the vanguard to his great chamberlain with seven thousand combatants. My Lord Tamorlant, who *lleuaba* (led?) the left wing of King Richard, deserted his position and passed in front of the vanguard of the king with 10,000 combatants. Then, turning his espaldas (shoulders?) to the Earl Henry and beginning to fight energetically with the vanguard of the king, and so did all the others who had given their faith to Earl Henry.

And how Salazar, one of your minor vassals who was there in the service of King Richard, seeing the treason on the part of the men of the king, went to him and said: 'Sire, take care to put your person into safety since you cannot hope to have victory in this battle because of the clear treason which has appeared in your men.' But the King replied: 'Salazar, it does not please God that I move even one step, that on this day I seek to die as a king or to win'. And he put the royal crown over his helmet, which is said to be worth 120,000 crowns, and having put on his cote armour he began to fight with such great vigour and fortified so much those

who remained loyal, so that by his own effort he sustained the battle for a long time. And at the finish the men of the King were defeated and he was killed, and in this battle it is said that were killed over 10,000 men from both sides. And Salazar peleo (fought?) very well and with all...was able to escape. And there were killed the majority of those whom had loyally served the king. And here was lost all the treasure of the king which he had brought with him into the field. Having won this victory for the Earl Henry, he was by all proclaimed king. He ordered that the dead king be put into a little hermitage which was close to the place of battle, and ordered him to be covered from the waist downwards with a black cloth (flag?) of poor quality, ordering that he be shown there for three days so that he could be seen by all.

Diego de Valera (1 March 1486)

Spanish text from *Epistolas y otros varios tratados de Mosén Diego de Valera*, ed. José A. De Balenchana (La Sociedad de Bibliófilos Espanoles, Madrid, 1878) Taken from a MS written in a fifteenth-century hand: Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, Codice F.108.

Diego de Valera (1412-1488?) was a long-standing servant of the Castilian monarchs, and an experienced commentator on European politics. By 1486 he was living in retirement at Puerto de Santa Maria, inland from the bay of Cadiz, where, on 1 March 1486 he wrote a memorandum on English affairs for Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, containing an account of the battle of Bosworth. De Valera's narrative is the only detailed account of the battle to directly cite an eye-witness source: Juan de Salazar, a Spanish mercenary, present at the battle as part of Richard III's forces. It seems that de Valera derived this information from an, at best, second-hand account of the battle from some recently arrived Castilian merchants who had returned from England, where they had possibly spoken to Salazar. Nonetheless, as the only account to cite a directly contemporary source, written by an experienced commentator on European affairs, de Valera's account is a valuable early source for historians, and it is also a significant account of the battle from a member of Richard's army.

De Valera's account provides information on troop numbers in Richard's army, though his estimation of 70,000 men is clearly an exaggeration. He offers a positive account of Richard's performance in battle and some information on his deployment of his forces, describing how he placed his vanguard, of 7,000 men, under the command of his Lord Chamberlain. De Valera also gives some valuable information on the role of 'Lord Tamorlant', placed in command of the left wing of Richard's forces, who having previously pledged his support to Henry, turned against the king and moved his forces to fight Richard's vanguard. Although some historians have identified 'Tamorlant' as Lord Stanley, it is more likely that this was a corruption of the earl of Northumberland, who in other accounts is given the command of the left of the royal army.

OTRA EPISTOLA. SUYA AL REY E REYNA, NUESTROS SENORES,
FASIENDOLES SAUER LAS COSAS NUEUAMENTE EN
INGLATERRA ACAESCIDAS.

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Muy altos é muy ecelentes Príncipes Serenísy
mos Rey é Reyna, Señores: Bien creo, segun
la distancia de tienpo que ha quel rey Ri
xarte de Inglaterra fué muerto, Vuestra Alteza auerá
auido entera enformacion del caso á él acaescido; pero
con todo eso, Ilustrísymos Príncipes, porque á esta
villa son agora venidos mercadores dinos de fe, que
al tienpo de aquella batalla donde este Rey murió ellos
se hallaron en Inglaterra é vieron todas las cosas que

despues acaescieron fasta en fin de enero, determiné de lo escreuir á Vuestra Ecelencia por la forma que por ellos me fué reportado, é syn dubda por este mal aventurado Rey se puede bien desyr que en él se verificó aquel dicho profétyco que dize: “vy al malo ensalçado asy commo los cedros en el Líbano, pasé y luégo no era; busquélo é no fué fallado su lugar”, que á Vuestra Real Magestad asaz es notorio, que este Rixarte mató dos inocentes sobrinos suyos á quien el reyno pertenesca despues de la vida de su hermano;

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mas commo quiera quel rey Duardo, padre destes, estouiese fasiendo guerra en Escocia, é Rixarte que dase en Inglaterra, afirmase allá averlo mandado matar con yeruas. É comma quiera que se hallase muy poderoso Rey, vnico en el reyno sin contradiccion alguna, no consyntió nuestro Señor sus maldades ynpunidas quedasen, ante puso nueuo coraçon en el conde de Rixemont, llamado Enrrique, que en Bretaña estaua desterrado en asaz pobre estado, á quien de derecho pertenesca el reyno, que se fuese al rey de Francia, al qual demandó consejo, fauor y ayuda; y él, vsando de aquella liberalidad que á los grandes Príncipes se conuiene, le dió dos mill combatyentes pagados por quatro meses, é le prestó cinquenta mill coronas, é le dió su flota en que pasase, cuyo capitan fué Colon, con los quales é con tres mill ingleses que en Francia falló fuydos del rey Rixarte, pasó en Inglaterra y entró por la parte de Gales é vino ganando todos los lugares que falló fasta vna villa que se llama Conventri, cerca de la qual el rey Rixarte estaua en campo con fasta setenta mill combatyentes. É segun ha rescido por el proceso deste conde Enrrique, deue ser onbre de gran consejo é alto coraçon, ó touo quien sabiamente le aconsejase, porque ante que en Inglaterra entrase, ouo certydunbre de milort Tamorlant, ques vno de los maiores señores de Inglaterra, é de otros algunos de los principales, los quales le dieron su fe é sellos, que venidos en la batalla serian en su ayuda é pelearian contra el rey Rixarte, é asy lo pusieron en obra. El qual commo quiera que sus gentes venian muy medrosas porque no sabian el secreto y

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eran certyficados de la muchedunbre de gente quel rey Rixarte auia, esforçólos mucho para venir á la batalla, é comma el rey Rixarte fuese certyficado quel conde Enrrique venia muy cerca con sus batallas hordenadas, él ordenó las suyas é dió el auantguarda á su gran Chamarlengo con syete mill combatyentes, é milort Tamorlant, que lleuaba el ala ysquierda del rey Rixarte, dexó su lugar é pasóse delante del auantguarda

del Rey con dies mill combatyentes, é luégo boluió las espaldas al conde Enrique é començó á pelear fuerte mente con la auanguardia del Rey, é asy 10 fizieron todos los otros que tenian dada la fe al conde Enrique. E comma Salaçar, el pequeño vasallo vuestro que ally estaua en seruicio del rey Rixarte, viese la traycion de la gente del Rey, llegóse á él é dixole: “Señor, curad de poner vuestra persona en saluo, que por oy no espereis aver vitoria desta batalla, segun la traycion conocida que en los vuestros paresce”; y el Rey le respondió: “Salaçar, no plega á Dios que yo buelua vn paso atras, que en esta jornada yo quiero morir coma Rey ó vencer”; é luégo puso la corona real sobre la armadura de su cabeça, la qual afirman que valia dento é veinte mill coronas, é vistió su cotta darmas é començo a pelear con tan gran vigor y es forço tanto aquellos que le quedaron leales, que con sólo su esfuerço se sostouo gran pieça la batalla, é á la fin la gente del Rey fué vencida y él fué muerto, en la qual batalla se afirma ser muertos de dies mill onbres ariba de amas partes; é Salaçar peleó muy bien, é con todo eso se supo saluar, é ally fueron muertos los más de los que al Rey lealmente siruian,

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é ally le perdió todo el thesoro del Rey, el qual lo traya consygo en el canpo. E auida esta vitoria por el conde Enrique, luégo fué por todos llamado Rey, el qual mandó poner al Rey muerto en vna pequeña hermita que está cerca de donde la batalla se dió, é mandólo cubrir de la cintura abaxo con vn paño negro asaz po bre, mandando que estouiese asy por tres dias porque pudiese por todos ser visto.

Estas cosas asy pasadas, el rey Enrique se vino á la cibdad de Lóndres, donde fué rescebido con gran triunfo é alegrías, comma es costunbre de se faser á los vencedores; é ally mandó llamar todos los grandes del reyno, asy perlados commo caualleros, los quales vnánimes é conformes le fizieron omenaje é lo rescibieron por Rey é Señor natural, É como este rey Enrique fuese certyficado que milort Tamorlant commo quiera que le ouiese ayudado en la batalla, no avia verdadero propósyto que este Enrique fuese Rey, ante tenía acordado de dar forma comma vn fijo del duque de Clarencia fuese Rey é casase con vna fija suya, el Rey le mandó prender é lo touo en prisyon fasta que le entregó aquel fijo del duque de Clarencia, é le fizieron pleito omenaje él é dos Condes parientes suyos de syenpre le seruir comma leales vasallos. Y el Rey, estando asy en Lóndres, mandó pregonar paz con Francia y España, é generalmente con toda la cristiandad, el qual pregon mandó que se fisiese por todas las cibdades é villas é puertos de su reyno; é mandó, só graues penas, que ninguno fuese osado de armar

en todos sus puertos, é sy algunos tuviesen armado,
que luégo desarmasen, é sy por aventura algunas

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presas traxesen de cristianos, fuesen luégo puestas en sequestacion para las restituyr á sus dueños. Y estas cosas asy pasadas, el Rey se casó con madama Isabel, fija del rey Duardo, que disen ser vna de las más hermosas mugeres del mundo, en hedad de dies é syete años, y el Rey es de treynta é dos de é muy fermoso gesto é cuerpo, el qual fiso Conde á vn gentil onbre frances llamado señor de Nicandel, que era Capitan general de la gente quel rey de Francia le dió, al qual dió el condado en tierra de Bristor, e dióle su flota con que se pasase en Francia; y estos disen que este Conde, señor de Nicandel, publicó ante que de Inglaterra saliese, que vernie seruir á Vuestra Alteza en este verano con dos mill conbatyentes á su despensa, é otro tanto dizen que ha publicado de faser vn hermano del señor de Estalas, inglés. Disen más estos mercadores, que este rey Enrique mandó pregonar en la cibdad de Londres, que en todas iglesias catedrales de su reyno é abadías é monesterios fagan plegaria á nuestro Señor porque dé vitoria á Vuestra Alteza desta sancta guerra que tiene començada, de que muchas gracias á Dios devés dar, porque asy en los coraçones de los estrangeros commo de vuestros naturales, dá gracia que le rueguen por el acrescentamiento de vuestra corona; é asy espero en él, que segun vuestros altos merescimientos é aparejos que tenés fechos, que muy más prestamente averés ese reyno de quanto ninguno puede pensar, que avido Belez-Málaga, en el qual ganar no pienso tardarés dies dias, por todos los que algo saben se cree que Málaga syn tardança se os dará, é aquella auida, el

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reyno de Grana.da es vuestro syn ninguna dubda.— Del Puerto de Sancta María primero de março del año de LXXXVI, suplicando á nuestro Señor que asy próspera mente vos dexee acabar esta enpresa é todas las otras que començares como por Vuestra Real Magestad se desea.

Robert Fabyan, *Chronicle* (first printed 1516 by Richard Pynson as *The new chronicles of England and of France*)

Robert Fabyan, *Chronycle* (London, 1533), STC (2nd ed.) 10660, accessed via Early English Books Online

The first known use of the name ‘Bosworth’ for the site of battle occurs in Robert Fabyan’s *Chronicle*, which ends with the death of Richard III. Fabyan died in 1513 and his *chronicle* was first printed three years later by Richard Pynson as *The new chronicles of England and of France*, at which point it ended in 1485. In 1533 a second edition was printed by John Rastell, with continuations down to 1509, a third edition appeared in 1542 and a fourth in 1559, with additions to that year. It is unclear as to whether Fabyan intended to go beyond 1485, though it is possible that he did continue till 1511, but it seems certain that the section on Bosworth was written by Fabyan.

We do not know when Fabyan wrote his account of the battle or from where he derived his information, nor indeed whether he was the first to give the name as Bosworth. We know that Vergil used the London chronicles as a source, so it may be that he copied the use of the name from Fabyan. Fabyan is also useful for the account he gives of those on Richard’s side who refrained from joining the battle, standing a distance off until they could determine who was going to be the victor. He also tells of those who left Richard and joined Henry, implying that treason was at play here, or even cowardice.

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Whan the landyng of thys prynce was blowen about the lande many was the man that drewe vnto hym, as well as such as were in sondry seynt waryes as other that were abroade so that hys strength increased shortly. Than the kyng gadered hys power in all haste and spedde hym in suche wyse, that vpon the .xxii. daye of August the begynnyng of the thyrde yere of hys reygne he mette with the said prynce nere vnto a village in Leycetershyre named Bosworth, nere vnto Leycester, where betwene theym was foughten a sharpe batayll and sharper shulde haue ben, if the kynges partie had ben fast to hym. But many towarde the felderefusyd hym, and rode vnto that other partye. And some stode houynge a ferre of (?), tyl they saw to the wyche partye the victory fyll.

***The Great Chronicle of London*, ed. A.H. Thomas and I.D. Thornley (London, 1938) [Guildhall Library MS 3313].**

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Trwe knowlage cam to the kyng In the begynnyng of august of the landyng of the fforenamyd prynce henry The which soo soon as he was landyd at *Mylfford haven yn Wales* knelyd down upon the bare ground and holdyng his handys toward hevyn mekely & / Devowtely said these wordys, Judica me deus et discerne causam meam, And afftyr procedyd upon his Journaye, Than kyng Rychard In all haast arerid (in all haste gathererd) hys people & made quyk provicion ffor to mete hys Enemyes which at the begynnyng were but of small strength But anoon as his landyng was knowyn to many of the knyngthis & Esquyris of this land, They Gaderid much people In the kyngys name and streyght (straight) sped theym unto that othyr party, By meane whereof hys powar hugely encreasid, Then kyng Rychard beyng well accompanied sped hym toward his said Enemyes tyll he cam to leycetyr, (Leicester) and that othyr party which In thys whyle hadd proclamyd hym sylff kyng Henry the vijth drewe ffast thidyrward, But that nygth kyng Richard lost much of his people, ffor many Gentylnen that held good Countenaunce w' mastyr Brawghyngury than lyewtenaunt of the Towyr, and hadd ffor many of theym doon Rygth keyndly, took theyr leve of hym In guyvyng to hym thankis ffor his keendnesse beffore shewid, and exortid hym to goo wyth theym, ffor they fferid not to shewe unto hym that they wold goo unto that othyr party, and soo departid, levying hym almost aloon In thys whyle Therle of derby and therle of Northumbyrland which hadd everych of theym grete companyes made slowe spede toward kyng Rychard, Soo that he wyth the duke of Norffolk and Therle off Surre the lord lovell & othir departid ffrom leycetyr wyth grete triumph & pomp upon the mom beyng the xxij day of august, And aftyre contynuyd his Journay tyll he cam unto a vyllage callyd Bosworth where In the ffyeldys ajoynaunt bothe hostys mett, (In the fields adjacent both hosts met) and fowgthyn there a sharp & long ffyght whereof In the ende, The vycory ffyll unto kyng henry, In thys Batayll was slayn kyng Rychard The duke of Norffolk The lord lovell wyth Brawgthyngbery & many othir, And Incontynently as It was said, sir wylliam Stanley whych wan the possesscion of kyng Rychardys helmatt wyth the Croune beyng upon It, cam streyght to kyng henry and sett It upon his hede sayyng, sir here I make yow kyng of Engeland, In this ffeeld was takyn Therle of Surrey wyth othir, And Thus by grete ffortune & grace upon the fforesaid xxij day of august wan thys noble prynce the possesscion of thys land, and than was he conveyed to leycetyr the same nygth, and there Ressayvid wyth all honour & gladnesse, And Rychard late kyng as gloriously as he by the mornyng departid ffrom that Toun, Soo as Inreverently was he that afftyr noune, browgth Into that toun, ffor hys body Dyspoylid to the skyn, and nowgth beyng lefft abouth hym, soo much as wold covyr his pryvy membyr he was trussyd behynd a pursevaunt callid Norrey as an hogg or an othyr vyle beest, and soo all to besprung wyth myyr & ffylth was browgth to a chirch / In leycetyr ffor all men to wondyr uppon, and there lastly Inreverently buried, And thus endid this man wt dyshonour as he that sowgth It, ffor hadd he contynuyd styll protectour and have Suffyrd the childyr to have prosperid accordyng to his alegeaunce & ffdelyte, he shuld have been honourably laudyd ovyr all, where as now his ffame is dyrkid & dyshonowrid as fferre as he was knowyn, but God that ys all mercyffull fforgyve hym hys mysdedys.

After this, the erle tooke his iourney to Charles ye French kyng, Iyeng then at Langes vpō the riuer of leyre, to whom after great thankes geuen for manifold gratuytes by him to the erle shewed, he disclosed and manifested ye cause & occasiō of his accesse & repaire to his person. After that he requyred of him helpe and succour, to thentente that by his immortal benefite to him at that tyme shewed, he might sauely retourne to the nobilite of his realme, of whome he was generally called to take vpon him the croune and scepter of the realme, they so muche hated & abhorred the tyranny of kyng Richard. Kyng Charles promised him aide and comfort, and bad him be of good courage and make good chere, for he assured him that he would gladly shewe to him his beneuolent mynd and bountefull liberalite. Which kyng from thence remoued to Moūtargis, leadyng with him the erle of Richemond, and all the noble personages of his retynue and faccion. While the erle was thus attendaunte in the French court, Ihon Vere erle of Oxford (which as you haue heard before was by king Edward kepte in prison within the castell of hammes) so persuaded Iames blount capitayne of thesame fortresse, and sir Ihon Fortescewe porter of the toune of Caleys, that he him selfe was not onely dismissed and set at libertie, but they also abandonyng and leauyng their fruitefull offices, condiscended to go with him into Fraunce to the Earle of Rychmonde and to take his parte. But Iames Blount like a wise capiteyne, because he lefte his wyfe remaynyng in the castell before his departure, he forfeited thesame both with newe inuencions and newe souldyours. When the Earle of Richemonde sawe the Erle of Oxforde, he was rauyshed with an incredible gladnes, that he beyng a man of so highe nobilite, of such knowlege and practise in feates of warre, and so constant, trusty and assured (whiche alweie had studied for the maintenaunce and preferment of the house of Lancaster) was now by Gods prouision delyuered out of captiuite & imprisonmēt, & in time so necessary & cōuenient come to his aide, succour & auancement, in whome more surer then any other he mighte put his truste & confidence, and take lesse payne and trauayle in his awne person. For it was not hid frō hym that such as had euer takē part wt kyng Edward before this time, came to do hi seruice either for malice yt they bare to king Richard, or elles for feare to tyme vnder his truculent rule and tempestious gouernaunce. But this man which so often tymes had personally fought in mortal battayle in the querell of kyng Henry the. vi. he iudged by deuyne powre and heauenly inspiracion to be delyuered out of captiuite & imprisonment for this onely purpose, that he should haue a man of his awne faccion and schoole, to whome he might surely and faithfully communicate and credite all thinges as to his awne propre person, and therfore beyng enflamed with an immortal ioye for the earles commynge he beganne to haue a good hope : of the happy successe of all his pretended entreprises.

Not long after, the Frenche kyng returned agayn to Paris, whome the erle of Richmond folowed, entending there to solícite his matter to ye conclusion. Whereupon he besought king Charles to take vpon him ye whole tuicyon and defence of him and his cause, so that he and his compaigny beyng by his meanes ayded and comforted, shoulde confesse & saye their wealth, victorie and auancement to haue flowed and budded foorthe of hisbountyfulnes and liberalite, whiche they would God wyllyng shortely reacquyte. In the meane ceason diuerse Englishemen whiche either fled out of England for feare, or were at Paris to learne and studie good litterature and verteous doctrine came voluntarely and submitted them selues to the Earle of Rychemonde, and vowed and sware to take his parte. Emongeste whome was Richarde Foxe a priest, a man of great wyt and no lesse learnyng, whome the erle incontinent receaued into secret familiarite & in brief time erected & auanced

advanced him to high dignitees and promociōs, and in conclusion he made him bishop of Wynchester.

In the meane ceason kyng Richard was crediblye aduertised what promyses and othes the

erle and his cōfederates had made and sworne together at Renes, and how by the erles meanes all thenglishmē were passed oute of Britayne into Fraunce. Wherfore beyng sore dysmaied and in maner desperate, because his craftie cheuesaunce tooke none effect in Brytayne ymaged and deuysed how to infringe and disturbe the erles purpose by another meane, so that by the mariage of lady Elizabeth his nece he should pretende no clayme nor tittle to the croune. For he thought if that mariage fayled, the erles chiefe combe had bene clerly cut. And because that he beyng blynded with the ambicious desyre of rule before this tyme, in obteynynge the kyngdome, had perpetrate and done many flagicious actes and detestable tyrannies, yet accordynge to the old prouerbe, let him take the bul that stale away ye calfe, he thought all factes by him committed in tymes passed to be but of small moment and not to be regarded in comparison of that mischeuous ymaginacion whiche he nowe newly beganne and attempted. There came into hys vngracious mynde a thinge not onely detestable to be spoken of in the remembraunce of man, but much more cruel and abhominable to be put in execucion. For when he reuolued in his wauerynge mynde how greate a founteyne of mischiefe towarde hym shoulde sprynge, yf the erle of Richmond should be auanced to the mariage of his nece, whiche thinge he hearde saye by the rumour of the people that no small nombre of wyse and wittye personages enterprised to compasse & brynge to conclusion. He clerely determind to reconcile to his faouere his brothers wife quene Elizabeth either by faire woordes or liberall promises, firmly beleuynge her faouere once obtained that she would not sticke to commite and louyngly credite to him the rule and gouernaunce both of her and her daughters, and so by that meanes the erle of Richemonde of the affinite of his nece should be vtterly defrauded and beguyled. And yf no ingenyous remedye coulde be otherwise inuented to saue the innumerable mischiefes whiche were euen at hand and like to falle, yf it shoulde happen quene Anne his wife to departe oute of this presente worlde, then he him selfe woulde rather take to wife his cousyn and nece the lady Elizabeth, then for lack of that affinite the whole realme should runne to ruyne, as who said, that yf he once fell from his estate and dignite, the ruyne of the realme must nedes shortely ensue & folowe. Wherfore he sent to the quene beyng in sanctuarie diuerse and, often messengers, whichte firste shoulde excuse and purge him of all thinges before agaynste her attempted or procured, and after should so largely promes promocions innumerable and benefites, not onely to her but also to her sonne lord Thomas Marques Dorcett, that they shoulde brynge her yf it were possible into some wanhope, or as some men saie into a fooles paradise. The messengers beyng men bothe of wit and grautie so persuaded the quene with great & pregraunte reasons, then with fayre & large promises, that she began somewhat to relent & to geue to theim no deffe eare, in somuche that she faithfully promised to submyt & yelde her selfe fully and frankely to the kynges will and pleasure. And so she putting in obliuion the murther of her innocente children, the infamy and dishonoure spoken by the kyng her husbände, the luyng in auoutrie leyd to her charge, the bastardyng of her daughters, forgettyng also ye feithfull promes & open othe made to the countesse of Richmond mother to ye erle Henry, blynded by auaricious affeccion and seduced by flatteryng words, first deliuered into kyng Richards hādes her. v. daughters as Lambes once agayne committed to the custody of the rauenous wolfe. After she sente letters to the Marques her sonne beyng then at Parys with the earle of Richmonde, willyng him in any wise to leaue the earle and without delaie to repaire into England where, for him were prouided great honoures and honorable promocions, assertheignynge him ferther, that all offences on bothe parties were forgotten and forgeuen, and bothe he and she highly incorporate in the kynges hearte. Surely the inconstancie of this woman were muche to be merueled at, yf all women had bene founde constante, but let men speake, yet wemen of the verie bonde of nature will folowe their awne kynde. After that kyng

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kyng Rycharde had thus with glorious promyses and flatteryng woordes pleased and appeased the mutable mynde of quene Elyzabeth which knewe nothing lesse then that he moost entended, he caused all his brothers daughters to be conueighed into his paleys with solempne receauyng. as though with his newe familier and louyng entreteinment they should

forget, and in their myndes obliterate the olde committed iniurie and late perpetrate tyrannye. Nowe nothing was contrariant and obstacle to his pernicious purpose, but that his mancion was not voide of his wife, which thinge he in anywise adiudged necessary to be done. But there was one thing that so muche feared and dragged him from commyttyng this abhominable murther, because as you haue hearde before he beganne to countrefaycte the ymage of a good and well disposed person, and therefore he was afearde least ye sodeine and immature death of his wife once openly knowen, he should lese the good and credible opinion which the people had of him, without deserte, conceaued and reported. But in conclusion, euyll counceili preuailed in a witt lately mynded to mischief, and tourned from all goodnes. So that his vngracious desyre ouercame his honest feare. And first to entre into the gates of his ymaged entrepryse, he absteyned bothe from the bed and companye of his wife. After, he compleyned to dyuerse noble men of the realme, of the infortunate sterilitie and barrenes of his wife, because she brought forth no fruyte and generacion of her bodye. And in especiall he accompted to Thomas Rotheram archebishop of Yorke (whome lately he had delyuered oute of warde and captiuite) these impedymentes of his quene and dyuerse other, thinkyng that he woulde enucleate and open to her all these thinges, trustyng the sequele herof to take his effecte, that she herynge this grudge of her husband, and takyng therfore an inwarde thought, woulde nut longe Iyue in this worlde. Of this the bishoppe gathered (whiche well knewe the complexion and vsage of the kyng) that the quenes dayes were short, and, that he declared to certeine of his secrete frendes. After this he procured a common rumour (but he woulde not haue the author knowen) to be published and spred abroad amonge the common people that the quene was ded, to thentent that she takyng some cōcepte of this straung fame, should fall into some sodayne sicknes or greuouse maladye, & to proue if afterward she should fortune by yt or any other waies to lese her life, whyther ye people would impute her death to the thought or sicknes, or therof would laie ye blame to him. Whē ye quene heard tell that so horrible a rumour of her death was. sprong amongest the comminalltie, she sore suspected and iuged ye world to be almost at an ende with her, and in that sorofull agony, she with lamentable countenance and sorofull chere, repaired to the presence of the kyng her husband, demaundyng of hym, what it should meane that he had iudged her worthy to dye. The kyng aunswered her with fare woords, and with dissimulyng blandimentes and flatteryng lesynges comforted her, biddyng her to be of good comforte, for to his knowledge she should haue none other cause. But howsoeuer yt it fortunod, either by inward thought and pensyuenes of hearte, or by intoxicacion of poyson (which is affirmed to be most likely) within a few daies after, the quene departed oute of this transitorie Iyfe, and was with dewe solempnite buried in the churche of seint Peter at Westminster. This is thesame Anne one of the daughters of ye erle uf Warwyk, which as you haue heard before at the request of lewes ye French kyng, was maried to prince Edward sonne to kyng Henry the vi.

The kyng thus (accordyng to his long desire) losed out of the bōdes of matrimony, beganne to cast a foolyshe phantasie to Lady Elizabeth his nece, making much suite to haue her ioyned with him in lawfull matrimony. But because all men, and the mayden her selfe moost of all, detested and abhorred this vnlawfull and in maner vnnaturall copulacion, he determined to prolonge and deferre the matter till he were in a more quietnes. For all that verie ceason he was oppressed with great weightie and vrgent causes and busynesses on euery side consideryng that dailye parte of the nobilitie sailed into Fraunce to the erle of Richmond: Other preuely faouored & aided certeine of the coniuracion, so yt of his shorte ende, fewe or none were in doubt. And ye common people for the moost part were brought to such desperaciō, yt many of them had rather be reputed & taken of him in the nōbre of his enemies, then to abide

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abide the chaunce and hazard to haue their goodes taken as a spoile or victorie by his enemies. Amongest the noble men whome he moost mistrusted, these were the principall,

Thomas lorde Stanley, Sir William Stanley his brother, Gylbert Talbot and. vi. hundred other, of whose purposes although kyng Richard were ignoraunt, yet he gaue nether confidence nor credence to anyone of theim, and least of all to the Lord Stanley, because he was ioyned in matrimony with the lady Margarete mother to the erle of Richmond, as afterward apparauntly ye maie perceaue. For when the sayde lorde Stanley woulde haue departed into his cuntry to visite his familie, and to recreate and refreshe his spirites (as he openly sayde) but the truth was to thentent to be in a perfight readines to receaue the erle of Richmōd at his first arriall in Englād: the kyng in no wise woulde suffre hym to departe before that he had left as an hostage in the courte George Stanley lorde straung his first begotten sonne and heire. While kyng Richard was thus troubled and vexed with ymaginacions of the tumultuous time that was like to come : Loo, euen sodeinly he herde newes that fyer was sprong oute of the smoke, and the warre recently begonne, and that the castell of Hammes was deliuered into the handes of the earle of Rychemonde by the meanes of the earle of Oxenforde, and that not only he but also James Blount capiteine of the castel, were fled into Fraunce to aide the Earle Henry. Wherefore he thynkyng it great pollicie to withstand the fyrst brunt, sent the moost part of the garrison of Caleis to recouer again by force the castell of Hammes. They which were in the castell perceauing their aduersaries to approche, prepared munitions and engins for their defence, and sent also to the Earle of Richemonde, to aduertise hym of their sodeine obsession, requiryng hym of hasty ayde and spedy succoure. The erle slepyng not this first begonne assaute, sent the earle of Oxenforde with an elected company of souldiours to reise the siege & reskewe the castel: Which at their first arryuyng pitched their campe not farre from their enemies. And while kyng Rychardes men gaue vigilaunt iye, weytyng least the Earle of Oxenforde shoulde take any aduantage of theim that laie on that side of the Castell. Thomas Brandon with. xxx. approued men of warre by a marishe whiche laie on the other syde entred into the castell. The souldiours within greatly animated and mucche comforted by this newe succour and aide, greued thenemies by shotyng frō ye walles more then they were accustomed to do. And they of the Castell vexed their enemies on the foreparte : the Earle of Oxenforde no lesse molested and vnquieted theim on theother parte, whiche was the occasion that kyng Richardes men offred of their awne mere mocion licence to all beyng within the Castel to departe in sauetie with bagge and baggage nothinge excepted : whiche condicion the erle of Oxenforde commyng only for that purpose to deliuer his louyng frendes oute of all perell and daunger, & chiefly of all, his olde hostesse Iane Blount, wife to James Blount the capteine, would in no wise repudiate or refuse. And so leauyng the Castell bare and vngarnysshed bothe of vitale and artillery, came safe to the erle of Richmond soiournyng in Parys. Duryng this tyme, kyng Richard was credebly informed of his explorators & espialles yt ye erle of Richmond was wt longe suyte in the courte of Fraunce sore fatigate & weried, & desyryng greate aide coulede obteine small releue. In so much yt all thyng went so farre backward, that suche thinges as were with great diligence and no lesse deliberation purposed and determind to be set forward, were nowe dasshed and ouerthrowen to the grounde. Kynge Richarde eyther beyng to light of credence, or seduced and deluded by hys craftie taletellers, greatly reioysed as though he had obteyned the ouerhand of his enemyes with triumph and victorie, and thought hymselfe neuer so surely delyuered of all feare and dreadfull ymaginacions, so that he neded nowe no more once for that cause eyther to wake or breake his golden slepe. Wherefore he called home againe his shippes of warre whiche he had apoynted to kepe the narowe sees, & dispatched al such souldiours as he had deputed to kepe certeine garrisons & to stoppe certeine passages as you haue heard before. Yet least he might for lacke of prouisyon be sodainly trapped, he streightly charged and gaue in commaudemēt to all noble men & in especiall suche as inhabited nere to the sea coaste and on the frontiers of wales, that accordyng to the vsage of the cuntry, they should kepe diligent watche & stronge warde, to ye entent yt his aduersaries

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in no wise should haue any place apte or oportune easely to take lande withoute defence or

rebuttyng back. For the custome of the countreys adioynng nere to ye see is (especially in the tyme of war) on euery hill or high place to erect a bekon wt a greate lâterne in the toppe, which maie be sene and discerned a great space of. And when the noyes is once bruted that the enemies approche nere ye land, they sodeinly put fyer in the lanthornes and make showtes & outrages frō toune to toune and from village to village. Some ronne in post frō place to place admonishyng the people to be ready to resist the ieopardy, and defende the perell. And by this pollecy ye fame is sone blowen to euery citee & toone, in somuche that aswell the cytezens as the rural people be in short space assembled and armed to refell and put back the newe arruyed enemies.

Nowe to retourne to our purpose, kynge Richarde thus alleuiate of his accustomed pensiuenes, beganne to be somewhat more merier & toke lesse thought & care for outwarde enemies then he was woont to do, as who saie, that he with polletique prouision shoulde withstand the desteny which hong ouer his hed, and was ordered in briefe tyme sodeinly to fall. Suche is the force and puissaunce of deuyne iustice, that euery man shal lesse regarde, lesse prouide, lesse be in doubte of al things, when he is moost nerest punishment, and next to his mischaunce for his offences and crymes.

Aboute this ceason, while the erle of Richmonde was desiryng ayde of the Frenche kynge, certeine noble men were there apointed to rule the realme of Fraunce duryng the minorite of kyng Charles, which emongest them selves were not of one opinion. Of whiche dissencion, Lewes duke of Orlyauce was the chiefe sturrer, which because he had maryed lady Iohann suster to the Frenche kynge, tooke vpon him aboue other the rule and administracion of the whole realme. By reason of whyche controuersie, no one manne only was suffred to rule al, wherfore the erle of Rychemond was compelled to make suyte to euery one of the councel seuerally one after another, requiring and desiryng theim of aide and releue in his weightie busynes, and so his cause was prolonged and deferred. Duryng whiche time, Thomas Marques Dorset which was as you haue heard entised by his mother to retorne againe into Englād partely despayring in the good successe of the erle of Richmōd & partely onerate and vanquessed with the faire glosyng promises of kyng Richard : secretly in the night ceason stole oute of Parys, and with all diligent expedicion tooke his iourney toward Flaunders. When relaciō of his departure was made to the erle of Richmond & the other noble men, no maruell though they were astonnyed & greatly amased. Yet yt notwithstanding they requyred of the Frēch kyng that it might be lefull to theim in his name and by his commaundement to take and steve their cōpaignion, confederate, and partaker of all their councel, in what place within his realme and territorye so euer they coulde fynde hym. Which peticiō once obtained, thei sent oute curriers into euery parte emongest whome Homfrey Cheiny pleiyng the parte of a good blood hounde, foloed the tract of ye flyer so euen by ye sent, that he ouertooke and apprehēded hym not farre from Cōpeign & so what with reason & what wt faire promises beyng persuaded, he returned againe to his cōpaignions. The earle of Richmond, vnburdened of this misaventure, least by procrastinacion of daies & prolongyng of time he might lese ye great oportonitee of things to him offred and ministred : also least he shoulde ferther wounde or molest the myndes of his feithfull and assured frendes which daily did aspect & tarie for his cōmyng, determined no lenger to protract & deferre ye time, but with all diligence & scelerite to attempte his begonne entreprice and so obteinyng of kyng Charles a small crewe of men, and borowyng certeyn sommes of money of him & of diuerse other his pryuate frendes. For the whiche he lēft as debter or more liklyer as a pledge or hostage lord Thomas Marques Dorsett (whome he halfe mistrusted) and Sir Ihon Burchier, he departed from ye French court & came to the citee of Roan. While he taryed there makyng prouisiō at harflete in the mouth of the ryuer of Seyne for all thinges necessary for his nauy and nauigacion, tydynges were brought to hym that kynge Richard beyng without children and now wydower, entended shortely to mary with Lady Elizabeth his brothers daughter, and to preferre the ladye Cicile her suster to a man founde in a cloude and of an vnknowne lignage and familie. He
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tooke these newes as a matter of no small momente, and so all thynges considered, it was of no lesse importaunce then he tooke it for. For this thyng only tooke awaie fom all his compaignions their hope and courage that they had to obtaine an happie enterprice. And therefore no maruell though it nypped hym at the verie stomacke when he thought that by no possibilite he might attayne the mariage of kynge Edwardes daughters, which was the strongest foudacion of his buyldyng, by reason whereof he iudged that all his frendes in England woulde abandon and shrynke from hym. Wherfore makynge not many of his counsell, after dyuerse consultacions he determined not yet to set forwarde, but to tarye and attempte howe to get more ayde, more frendes and more stronger succoures. And emongest all other, it was thought moost expedient to allure by affinite in his ayde as a compaignion in armes Sir Walter Herbert a man of an aunciente stocke and greate powre emongest the Welshemen, whiche had with hym a faire Ladye to his suster, of age mature and ripe to be coupled in matrimonie. And for the acheuyng of this purpose, messengers were secretly sent to Henry Earle of Northumbreland (whiche had before married another suster of Sir Walter Herbertes) to thentent that he shoulde set forward all this deuyce aod purpose, but the weies were so narrowly watched and so many spies laide that the messenger proceded not in his iourney and busynes. But in the meane ceason, ther came to the Earle a more ioyfuller message from Morgan Kydwelly learned in the temporall lawe, whiche declared that Ryce ap Thomas, a man of no lesse valyauntnes then actyuitee, and Ihon Sauage an approued Capteyne, woulde with all their power be partakers of his quarell. And that Reingolde Brewe had collected and gotten together no small some of money for the payment of the wages to the souldiours and men of warre : admonisshynge him also to make quicke expedicion and to take his course directly into Wales. The Earle of Richmonde because he woulde no lenger lynger and weery hys frendes Iyuyng continually betweene hope and feare, determyned in all coueniente hast to sett forwarde, and caried to his shippes armoure, weapons, vitayle and all other ordinaunces expedient for warre. And shortely to speake, all thynges he prepared whiche are wont to be necessary and profitable to the variable chaunces and incerteine accidentes and ieopardies of warre which requyreth preparaciō of many instrumētes and thinges chargeable,

After that the erle had made his humble peticion, and deuoute praier to allmightie God, besechyng him not only to sende him moost prosperous wynde and sure passnge in his iourney, but also effecteously desyryng his goodnes of aide & comferte in his necessite and victorie & supremitie ouer his enemies, only accompaigned with. ii. thousand menne and a small nombre of shippes, weyed vp his ancores and halsed vp his sailes and in the calendes of August he sailed from harflet with so prosperous a wynde that the. vii. daye after his departure he arryued in Wales in the euenyng at a porte called Mylford Hauen, and in cōtinet tooke land and came to a place called Dalle, where he heard saye that a certeine company of his aduersaries were leyd in garrison to defende his arryuall all the last winter. And the erle at the sonne rysyng remoued to harfford west, beyng distant from dalle not fully ten myle, where he was applauded and receaued of the people with greate ioye, and he arryued there so sodeinly that he was come and entred the toune at the same tyme when the cytezens had but knowlege of his commynge. Here he heard newes whiche were as vntrue as they truly were reported to hym in Normandie, that Rice ap Thomas and Ihon Sauage wythe body and goodes were determined to aide kyng Richard. While he and his compaignie were somewhat appalled of these newe tydynge, there came such message from thinhabitauntes of the toune of Pembroke yt refreshed and reuyued their frosen heartes and daunted courages. For Arnold Buttler a valiaunt captain, which first askynge perdon for his offences before tyme committed against the erle of Richmond, and that obteyned, declared to hym that the penbrochians were ready to serue & geue their attendaunce on their natural and immediate lord Jasper erle of Penbrooke. The erle of Richmond hauyng his armie thus encreased, departed from Herforde west to the toune of Cardygan beyng. v. myle distant from thence. While the souldiours were refreshyng and trimmyng them selues

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in their campe, straunge tydynges spronge emonge them withoute any certeine authour, yt sir Walter Herberd which laie wt a greate crewe of menne at Carmarden, was nowe with a greate armye ready to approche and byd them battaile. With which newes the armie was sore troubled, and euery man assaied his armure and proued hys weapon and were prest to defende their enemies. And as they were in this tимерous doubte, certeine horsemen which the erle had sent to make exploracion and searche, returned and reported all the countrey to bee quiete and no let nor impedimente to be laied or cast in their iourney. And euen at that same tyme the whole armye was greatly recomforted by reason that the commynge of Rycharde Gryffyth, a man of greate nobilite, the whiche notwithstandinge that he was confederate wyth Sir Walter Harbert and Rycharde app Thomas, yet at that verie instant he came to the Earle of Richemund with all his compaignie, whyche awere of no great nomber. After hym, the same daie came Ihon Morgan wyth his men. Then the Earle auanced forward in good haste, makinge no repose or abode in any one place. And to thentent to passe forward with sure and short expedicion, he assaied euery place where his ennemys had set any men of warre, whiche with small force and lesse difficultie he briefly dyd expugne and vanquishe. And sodeynly he was by his espialles asserteyned that Sir Walter Harbert and Rice app Thomas were in harnes before hym ready to encountre wyth hys armye and to stoppe their passage. Wherefore lyke a valyaunt capteyn he firste determyned to sett on them and eyther to destroye or to take them into his fauoure, and after with all his powre and puyssaunce to geue battaile to his mortall enemye kynge Rycharde. But to thentent his frendes shoulde knowe wyth what dexterite his attempted entreprice proceded forward, he sente of his moost secrete and feithfull seruautes with letters and instruccions to the ladye Margarete his mother, to the Lorde Stanley and his brother, to Talbote and to other his trustie frendes, declarynge to them, that he succoured and holpen with the ayde and releue of his frendes entended to passe ouer ye ryuer of Seuerne at Shrewsburye, and so to passe directely to the citee of London, requiryng them as his especiall truste and confidence was perplanted in the hope of their fidelite, that they would occurre & mete hym by the waye with all diligent preparacion to thentent that he & thei at tyme propice and place conuenient might communicate together the profundyte and depnes of all his dubious and weightye busynes. Whē the messengers were disparted with these commaundementes & admonicions, he marched forward toward Shrewsbury, and in his passyng there met & saluted him Rice ap Thomas with a goodly bād of Welshmen whiche makinge an othe and promyse to the erle, submitted himself whole to his ordre and commaundement. For the erle of Richemond. ii. daies before made to him promes yt if he woulde swaere to take his part and be obedient to hym he woulde make hym chiefe gouernour of Wales, whiche parte as he feithfully promised and graunted, so after that he had obteyned and possessed the realme and diademe, he liberally performed and accomplished the same. In the meane tyme, the messengers that were sent, diligently executed the thinges geuen to them in charge, and laden with rewardes of them to whome they were sent, returned to hym the same daie that he entred into Shrewsburie, and made relacion to hym that his frendes were ready in all poyntes to doo all thinges for him which either they ought or might do. The erle Hēry brought in good hope with his pleasaunt message continued forth his entended iourney and came to a litle towne called Newporte and pitchyng his campe on a lytle hill adioynyng, reposed hym selfe there that nyght. In the euenyng, the same daie came to hym Sir George Talbott with the whole powre of the younge Earle of Shrewsburye then beyng in warde, whiche were accompted to the nombre of two thousande men. And thus his powre increasyng he arryued at the towne of Stafforde and there pawsed. To whome came Sir Wyllyam Stanley accompaigned with a fewe persones, and after that the Earle and he had communed no longe tyme together, he reuerted to his souldiours which he had congregate together to serue the Earle, whiche from thence departed to Lichefelde and laie without the walles in his camp all the nyght. The nexte morenyng he entred into the towne, and was with all honour lyke a prynce receaued. A daie or two before the lorde Stanley
hauyng

hauynge in hys bande almoste fyue thousande men, lodged in thesame towne, but herynge that the Earle of Richemonde was marshynge thetherward, gaue to hym place, dislodgyng hym and hys and repaired to a towne called Adrestone, there abydyng the commyng of the Earle, and this wilye foxe did this acte to aduoyde all suspicion, beyng afraied least yf he shoulde be sene openly to bee a fautoure or ayder to the Earle his sonne in Iawe before the daie of the battayll, that kynge Richarde whiche yet dyd not vtterly put in him diffidence and mystruste woulde put to some cruell deathe his soone and heire apparaunt George Lorde Straunge whome kynge Richarde as you haue heard before kept with hym as a pledge or hostage to thentent that the lorde Stanley his father shoulde attempte nothing prejudiciall to hym.

Kynge Rycharde at this season keypyng his howse in the Castell of Notyngham was infourmed that the Earle of Richemond with such bannysshed men as fled oute of Englande to hym were nowe arryued in Wales, and that all thynges necessarie to his enterpryce were vnprouided, vnpruueyed aod verie weake, nothyng mete to withstande the powre of suche as the kyng had apoynted to resist him. This rumour so enflated his minde, that in maner disdeignyng to here speke of so poore a compaignye, determined at the first to take lytle or no regarde to this so small a sparckle, declaryng the earle to be innocente, and vnwyse because that he temerariouly attempted suche a greate enterpryce with so small and thynne a nombre of Warlyke persones, and therefore he gaue a definityue sentence, that when he came to that poynte that he shoulde be compelled to fight agaynst his will, he eyther shoulde be apprehended a Iyue, or elles by all likelyhode he shoulde of necessite come to a shamefull confusion, and that he trusted to be shortely done by Sir Waiter Harbert and Rice ap Thomas, whiche then ruled Wales with egall powre and Iyke auctoritee. But yet he reuoluyng and castyng in hys mynde that a small warre begonne and wynged at and not regarded, maye tourne to a greate broyle and tumultuous trouble, and that yt was prudente pollecie not to asperne and disdeyne the lytle small powre and weakenes of the ennemye, be it neuer so small, thought it necessarye to prouyde for after clappes that might happen and chaunce. Wherefore he sent to Ihon duke of Norfolke, Henry earle of Northumberlande, Thomas Earle of Surrey and to other of hys especiall and trusty frendes of the nobilite, whyche he iudged muche more to preferre and esteme his wealthe and honoure then their awne riches and priuate commodite, wyllyng theim to mustre and viewe all their seruantes and tenentes, and to elect and choose the moost courageous and actiue persones of the whole nomber, and with theim to repaire to his presence with all spede and diligence. Also he wrote to Robert Brakenbury Lieutenaunt of the towre, commaundyng hym with his powre to come to his armye and to bryng with hym as felowes in armes Sir Thomas Burchier and sir Walter Hungerforde and diuerse other knightes and esquiers in whome he had cast no small suspicion. While he was thus ordryng his affaires, tydynges came that the Earle of Richemond was passed Seueme and come to Shrewsbury without any detrymente or encombreaunce. At which message he was sore moued and broyled with Melancolye and doloure and cried out, askyng vengeance of theim that contrarye to their othe and promes had fraudulently deceaued hym. For whyche cause he beganne to haue diffidence in other, in so muche that he determined hym selfe oute of hande thesame daye to occurre and resyste hys aduersaries. And in all haste sente oute explorators to viewe and espie what waie his enemies kept and passed. They dilygently doynge their dewtie, shortely after retourned, declaryng to the kyng that the Earle was encamped at the toun of Lichfelde. When he had perfighte knowledge where the Earle with his armye was soiournyng, he hauynge continuall repaire of his subiectes to hym, beganne in contynently withoute delaie to marshall and collocate in order his battailes (lyke a valyaunt capteine and polletique leader) and firste he made his battayles to set forward foure and foure in a ranke, marchyng towarde that waie where his enemyes as was to him reported entended to passe. In the myddle parte of the armye he apoynted the trafficke and cariage apperteignyng to the armye. Then he (enuironed with his satellytes and yomen of the crowne) with a frownyng countenaunce and truculente aspect mounted on a greate white courser, folowed with his footemen, the wynges

wynges of horsemen coastynge and rangynge on euery syde: And kepyng this araye, he with greate pompe entred the toune of Lecester after the sonne set. The Earle of Rychmonde reised his campe and departed from Lychefelde to the towne of Tomwoorth therto nere adioynynge, and in the myd waye passynge, there saluted hym Sir Walter Hungerforde and Sir Thomas Burchier knightes and dyuerse other whiche yelded and submitted theim selfes to his pleasure. For they beyng aduertised that kynge Richarde had theim in suspicion and gealosye, a lytle beyonde stony stratforde left and forsooke preuely their Capteyne Robert Brakenbury, and by nocturnull wandryng, and in maner by vnknown pathes and vncerteine waies searchyng, at the last came to the earle Henry. Diuerse other noble personages whiche inwardely hated kynge Richard worsse then a toade or a serpent, lykewyse resorted to him wyth all their powre and strength. There happened in this progression to the Earle of Richmond a straunge chaunce worthy to be noted : for albeit that he was a man of haute and valyaunte courage, and that his armye encreased, and dayly more & more he waxed puysant & stronger, yet he was not a lytle afeard because he in no wise could be assured of his father inlawe Thomas Lorde Stanley, whiche for feare of the distruction of the Lorde straunge his sonne (as you haue heard) as yet enclyned to neyther partie. For yf he had gone to the Earle and that notefied to kynge Rychard, his sonne had shortely been executed. Wherefore syth the earles feare sprange not of nothyng, he accompaigned with twenty lyght horsemen lnynged in his iourney as a man disconsolate, musyng and ymagenyng what was best to be done. And the more to aggrauate his melancoly pensyuenes, yt was shewed hym that kynge Rycharde was at hand with a stronge powre and a populous armye. Whyle he thus pensyue dragged behynde his hoost, the whole armye came before the toune of Tomwoorth, and when he for the depe darcknes coulde not perceau the steppes of theim that passed on before, and had wandred hether and thether, sekyng after his compaignie and yet not once hearyng any noyse or whysperynge of theim, he dyuerted to a very lytle village beyng aboute. iiii. myles from his armye, takyng greate thought and muche fearyng least he should be espied, and so trapped by kynge Rychardes skoute watche. There he taried all nyght, not once auenturyng to aske or demaunde a question of any creature, he beyng no more amased wyth the ieopardye and perell that was passed, then wyth this presente chaunce, sore feared that it shoulde bee a prognosticacion or prodygall sygne of some in fortunate plague afterward to succede. As he was not merye beyng absent from hys compaignie, lykewyse his armie muche marueled and no lesse mourned for hys sodeyne and intempestious absence.

The next morenyng early in the dawninge of the daye he retourned, and by the conduyte of good fortune espied and came to his armie, excusyng hym selfe, not to haue gone oute of hys waye by ignoraunce, but for a pollecie deuysed for the nones he went from his campe to receaue some glad message from certeyne of his preuy frendes and secret alies. This excuse made, he preuely departed agayn from his host to the toune of Aderstone, where the lord Stanley and sir William his brother with their bandes were abidyng. There the Earle came firste to his fatherinlawe in a lytle close, where he saluted hym and Sir William his brother, and after diuerse congratulacions and many frendely embracynges, eache reioysed of the state of other, and sodeinly were surprised with great ioye, comfort and hope of fortunate successe in all their affaires and doynge. Afterward they consulted together howe. to geue bataille to kynge Richarde if he woulde abide, whome they knewe not to be farre of with an houghe army. In the euenyng of thesame daye sir Ihon Sauage, Sir Bryan Sanforde, Sir Symon Digby and many other, leuyng kyng Richarde, turned and came to the parte of the erle of Richmond with an elect company of men. Whiche refusall of kyng Richardes parte by men of suche experience, did augment and encrease bothe the good hope and the puissaunce of the erle of Richmond.

In the mean ceason kyng Richard (whiche was appoynted nowe to finyshe his last laboure by the very deuyne justice and prouidence of God, which called him to condigne punyshemente for his scelerate merites and myscheueous desertes) marshed to a place mete for twoo

battayles to encounter by a village called Bosworth, not farre from Leycester, and there he pitched hys felde, refreshed his souldiours and toke his rest. The fame went that he had the same night a dreadful & a terrible dreame, for it semed to hym beyng aslepe yt he sawe diuerse ymages lyke terrible deuilles whiche pulled and haled hym, not sufferynge hym to take any quyete or rest. The whiche straunge vision not so sodeinly strake his heart with a sodeyne feare, but it stuffed his hed and troubled his myne with many dreadfull and busy Imaginacions. For incontynent after, his heart beyng almost damped, he prognosticated before the doubtfull chaunce of the battaile to come, not vsyng the alacrite and myrth of mynde and of countenance as he was accustomed to do before he came toward the battaile. And least that it might be suspected that he was abashed for feare of his enemyes, and for that cause looked so piteously, he recyted and declared to hys famylyer frendes in the morenyng hys wonderfull visyon and terrible dreame. But I thynke this was no dreame, but a punccion and pricke of his synfull conscience, for the conscience is so muche more charged and aggrauate as the offence is greater & more heynous in degre, whiche prycke of conscience all though it strike not all waye, yet at the last daie of extreme life it is wont to shewe and represent to vs our faultes and offences and the paynes and punishementes which hang ouer our heddes for the cōmytting of thesame, to thentent that at yt instant we for our desertes being penitent & repentaūt may be cōpelled lamētyng & bewalyng our synnes like forsakers of this worlde, iocund to departe out of this miserable life. Now to retorne againe to oure purpose ye next daie after, kyng Richard beyng furnished wt men & all abylimētes of warr, bringyng all his men out of there camp into ye plaine, ordered his forward in a marueylous lēgth, in which he appointed both horsemen & footmen to thentēt to emprynte in ye hartes of thē loked a farre of, a sodeine terror & deadlie feare, for ye great multitude of ye armed souldiours : & in the fore Frount he placed ye archers like a strong fortified trench or bulwarke : ouer this battaile was captain Ihon duke of Norfolk with whom was Thomas erle of Surrey his sonne. After this lōg vātgard folowed king Richard h self, wt a strōg cōpaigny of chosen & approued mē of warr, hauyng horsmen for wynges on both ye sides of his battail.

After ye erle of Richmond was departed from ye cōmunicaciō of his frendes as you haue harde before, he began to be of a better stomake & of a more valiant courage, & wt all diligēs pitchid his feld iuste by ye cāp of his enemies, & there he lodged yt night. In the morning be time he caused his men to put on there armure & appareyl thē selves redy to fight and geue battail, & sent to ye lord Stanley (which was now come wt his bāde in a place indifferently betwene both ye armies) requiryng him wt his mē to approche nere to his army & to help to set ye souldiers in array, he auswered yt therle should set his awne mē in a good order of battaile while he would array his cōpaigny, & cōme to him in time conuenient. Which answeere made otherwise then therle thought or would haue iudged, considering ye oportunitie of the time & the waite of ye busines, & although he was there wall, a litle vexed, began somewhat to hang ys hedde, yet he without any time delaiyng, compelled by necessite, after this maner instructed & ordred his men. He made his foward somewhat single and slender, according to ye small nōber of his people. In ye Frount he placed the archers, of whome he made captain Ihō erle of Oxford : to the right wyng of ye battaill he appoynted, sir Gylbert Talbott to be ye leder : to ye left wing he assigned sir Ihon Sauage, & he wt ye aide of ye lord Stāley accompaigned with therle of Penbroke hauyng a good compaignie of horsemen and a small number of footmen : For all his hole nōber exceded not. v. thousaide men beside the powr of the Stanleys, wherof. iij. thousand were in the felde vnder the stādard of sir William Stanley : The kynges number was doble as muche & more. When bothe these armies were thus ordered & al men redy to set forward, kyng Richard called his Cheutains together & to thē sayde. Most faithfull & assured felowes, most trusty & welbeloued frendes and elected captains, by whose wisdom & polecie, I haue obteyned the crowne & type of this famous realm & noble regiō: by whose puissaūce & valiauntnes I haue enioied & possessed thestate

roial & dignite of ye same, maugre yt yl wil & sedicious attemptes of all my cancarde

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cancarde enemies & insidious aduersaries, by whose prudēt & politike coūsail I haue so gouerned my realm, people & subiectes, yt I haue omitted nothing apperteiníg to ye office of a iuste price, nor you haue pretermitted nothing belōgyng to ye duty of wise & sage counsailers. So yt I may saie & truely affirme, that your approued fidelite & tried constancye, maketh me to beleue firmly & thinke, yt I am an vndoubted kyng & an indubitate prince. And although in yt adeptcion & obteynyng of ye Garlāde, I being seduced & prouoked by sinister coūsail and diabolical temptaciō did commyt a facynorous and detestable acte. Yet haue with strayte penaunce and salte teryes (as I trust) expiated and clerely purged the same offence, which abhominable crime I require you of frendship as clerely to forget, as I dayly do remember to deplore and lament thesame, yf you wil now diligently call to remembraunce in what case and perplexitie we nowe stand, and in what doubtfull perell we be now intricked? I doubt not but you in hart will thinke and in with mouth confesse, that yf euer amitie and faythe preuailed betwene prince and subiectes or betwene subiecte and subiecte : or yf euer bond of allegians obliged the vassal to loue and serue his naturall souereigne lorde, or yf any obligation of dewtie bound any prince to ayde and defende his subiectes? All these loues, bondes and deuties of necessite are this daie to be experimented, shewed and put in experiece. For if wyse men say trew, there is some pollycie in gettyng, but much more in kepyng. The one beyng but fortunes chaunce, and the other high wyt und pollicie, for whiche cause, I with you : and you with me, must nedes this daye take labour and payne to kepe and defend with force, that preheminece & possession which by your prudent deuises I haue gotten and obteyned. I dought not but you know, howe the deuel continuall enemie to humane nature, disturber of concorde and sower of sedicion, hath entered into the harte of an vnknowen welshman, (whose father I neuer knew nor hym personally sawe) excitynge him to aspire and couet oure realme, crowne and dignitie, and thereof clerely to depryue and spoyle vs and our posterite : ye se farther how a compaigne of traytors, thefes, outlawes and ronnegates of our awne nacion be ayders & partakers of his feate and enterprise, redy at hand to ouercomme amd oppresse vs : You se also, what a nōber of beggerly Britons & faynte harted Frenchmen be with hym arriued to distroy vs our wyfes and children. Which Imminent mischifes & apparaunt incōuenientes, if we wil withstond & refel, we must liue to gether like brethern, fight together like liōs, & feare not to dye together lyke men. And obseruyng and kepyng this rule and precept, beleue me, the fearefull hare neuer fled faster before the gredy greyhoūd, nor ye sylve larke before ye sparrow hauke, nor the simple shepe before the rauenous wolfe, then your proud bragging aduersaries astōned & amased with ye only sight of your manly visages, will flee, ronne & skyr out of the felde. For yf yow consider and wisely ponder al things in your minde, you shall perceyue that we haue manifeste causes, and apparant tokens of triumph and victorie. And to begyn with the earle of Richmond Capitaine of this rebellion, he is a Welsh mylkesoppe, a mā of small courage and of lesse experience in marcyall actes and feates of warr, brought vp by my brothers meanes and myne like a captiue in a close cage in the court of Fraunces duke of Britaine, and neuer saw armie, nor was exercised in marcial affaires, by reason whereof he neither can nor is able on his awne will or experience to guyde or rule an hoste. For in the wyt and pollecie of the capitaine, consisteth the chefe adeptcion of the victory and ouerture of the enemyes. Secundarely feare not and put a way all doubttes, for when ye traitors & runagates of our realme, shall see vs wt banner displaied come against them, remēbryng there oth promise & fidelitie made vnto vs, as to ther souereigne lord & anyoynted kyng, they shal be so pricked & stimulate in ye botome of their scrupulous consciences yt they for very remorse & dread of ye diuine plage will either shamefully flye, or humbly submitte them selves to our grace and marcie. And as for the Frenshē & Brytons, there valiātnes ys suche, yt our noble progenitors & your valiaunt parētes, haue them oftener vāquished & ouercome in one moneth, then they in ye beginnyng imaged possible to cōpasse & fynishe in a hole yere. What wil you make of thē, braggers without

audacite, dronkards without discrecion, rybaudes without reason, cowardes without resistyng & in conclusion ye most effeminate

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effeminate & lasciuious people, yt euer shewed them selves in Frunt of battaile, ten tymes more coragious to fly & escape then ons to assaut ye brest of our stronge & populous army. Wherefore, consideryng al these auaūtages, expell out of your thoughts all doutes & auoide out of your mindes al feare, & like valiaunt chāpions auaūce furth your standards, & assaye whither your enemies can decide & trie ye title of battaile by dent of swerde, auaunce (I say againe) forward my captains, in whom lacketh neither pollicie wisdomes nor puissaunce. Euery one gyue but one suer stripe, & suerly ye iorney is ours. What preuayleth a hādfull to a hole realme : desiryng you for ye loue yt you beare to me, & ye affeccion yt you haue to your natiue and naturall coūtre, & to ye sauegard of your prince & your self, yt you wyll this day take to you your accustomed corage, & couragious spirites for ye defence & sauegard of vs all. And as for me, I assure you, this day I wil triūphe by glorious victorie, or suffer death for immortal fame. For thei be maihmeed & out of ye palice of fame disgraded, diēg without renounce, which do not as much preferre & exalte ye perpetual honor of their natiue coūtre, as ther awne mortal & transitorie life. Now sent George to borowe, let vs set forward, & remēber well yt I am he which shall wt high auauncementes, rewarde & preferre ye valiaunt & hardy chāpions, & punishe and turment the shameful cowardes & dreadfull dastardes. This exhortacion encouraged all such as faouored him, but suche as were present more for dreade then loue, kissed thē openly, whome they inwardely hated, other sware outwardely to take part with suche, whose death they secretely compassed and inwardly imaged, other promysed to inuade the kynges enemies, whiche fled and fought with fyrce courage against the kyng : other stode stil & loked on, entendyng to take part with the victors and ouercommers : So was his people to him vn sure and vnfaithfull at his ende, as he was to his nephewes vntrew and vnnaturall in his beginnyng.

When therle of Richmond knew by his forriders that the king was so nere embattayled, he rode about his armye, from ranke to ranke, from wyng to wyng, geuyng comfortable wordes to all men, and that finyshed (beyng armed at all peces sauynge his helmet) mounted on a lytell hyll so that all his people myght se and beholde hym perfittly to there great reioysyng : For he was a man of no great stature, but so formed and decorated with all gyftes and lyniamentes of nature that he semed more an angelical creature then a terrestriall personage, his coūtenaunce and aspecte was cherefull and couragious, his heare yelow lyke the burnished golde, his eyes gray shynyng and quicke, prompte and ready in aunsweryng, but of suche sobrietie that it coulde neuer be iudged whyther he were more dull then quicke in speakyng (such was hys temperaunce) And when he had ouer loked hys armye ouer euery syde, he pawsed a while, and after with a lowde voyce and bolde spirite spake to his compaignions these or lyke wordes folowyng.

If euer GOD gaue victorie to men fightyng in a iust quarell? or yf he euer ayded such as made warre for the welthe and tuicion of ther awne naturall and nutritiue countrye? or if he euer succoured them whyche aduentured there Iyues for the relefe of innocentes, suppressyng of malefactores and apparaunt offenders? No doubt my felowes and frendes, but he of hys bountefull goodnes wyll this daye sende vs triump haunt victorie and a luckey journey ouer our prowde enemyes, and arrogant aduersaries : for yf you remember and consider the very cause of our iust quarell, you shall apparantlye perceyue the same to be trewe, Godly, and vertuous. In the whiche I doubt not but GOD wyll rather ayde vs (ye and fyght for vs) then se vs vanquished and profligate by suche as neyther feare hym nor his lawes, nor yet regarde iustice or honestie. Our cause is so iuste that no enterprice can be of more vertue, bothe by the lawes diuine and ciuile, for what can be a more honest, goodly or Godly quarell then to fight agaynste a Capitayne, beyng an homicide and murderer of hys awne bloude and progenye? An extreme destroyer of hys noblytie, and to hys and oure countrye and the poore subiectes of the same, a deadly malle, a fyrye brande and a burden vntollerable? besyde hym,

consyder who be of his bande and compaignye, suche as by murther and vntreuthe committed agaynste there awne kynne and lynage, ye agaynste theyr Prynce and souereygne Lorde haue disheryted me and you and wrongefully deteyne and vsurpe

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vsurpe ouer lawefull patrymonye and lyneall inherytaunce. For he that calleth hym selfe kyng, kepeth from me the Crowne and regymente of this noble realme and countrey contrarye to all iustice and equitie. Lykewyse, hys mates and frendes occupie your landes, cutt downe your woddes and destroy your manners, letting your wives and children range a brode for their liuyng : which persones for ther penaunce and punishment I doubtte not but GOD of his goodnes will eyther deliuer into our handes as a great gayne and booty, or cause them beinge greued and compuncted with the pricke of ther corrupt consciences cowardely to flye and not abyde the battaill : besyde this I assure you that there be yonder in that great battaill, men brought thither for feare and not for loue, souldiours by force compelled and not wt good will assembled : persons which desyer rather the destruccion then saluacion of ther master and captayn : And fynally a multitude : wherof the most part will be our frendes and the lest part our enemies. For truely I dout whiche is greater the malice of the souldiours towarde there captain, or the feare of hym conceyued of his people : for suerly this rule is infallible, that as il men daily couyte to destroy the good, so God appoynteth the good to confounde the yll, and of all worldly goodes the greatest is, to suppressse tirauntes, and releue innocences, wherof the one is euer as muche hated as ye other is beloued. If this be true (as clerkes preche) who will spare younder tyraunt Richard duke of Gloucester vntrewely callyng hym self kyng, considering that he hath violated, and broken both the lawe of God & man, what vertue is in him which was the confusion of hys brother and murtherer of his nephewes, what mercy is in him that sleythe hys trustie frendes aswell as his extreme enemies : Who can haue confidēs in him which putteth diffidens in all mē. Yf you haue not redde, I haue hard of clerkes saie, yt Tarquyne ye proude for the vice of the body lost the kyngdome of Rome, and the name of Tarquyne bannyshed the Citee for euer : yet was not his fault so detestable as the facte of cruel Nero, which slew his awne mother and opened her entrayles to be holde the place of his conception. Beholde younder Richarde whiche is bothe Tarquine and Nero : Yea a tyraūt more then Nero, for he hath not only murdered his nephewe beyng his kyng and souereigne lord, bastarded his noble brethern and defamed the wombe of his verteous and womanly mother, but also compased all the meanes and waies yt he coule inuent how to stuprate and carnally know his awne nece vnder the pretence of a cloked matrimony, whiche lady I haue sworne and promised to take to my make and wyfe as you all know and beleue. If this cause be not iuste, and this quarel Godly, let God the geuer of vyctorie iudge and determine. We haue (thankes be geuen to Christ) escaped ye secrete treasons in Brytaine, and auoyded the subtyll snares of our fraudulēt enemies there, passed the troublous sees in good and quiet sauegarde, & with out resistence haue penetrate the ample region and large countrey of Wales, and are now comme to the place which we so much desyred, for long we haue sought the furious bore, and now we haue found him. Wherfore, let vs not feare to enter in to the toyle where we may suerly sley hym, for God knoweth yt we haue liued in the vales of myserie, tossynge oure shippes in daungerous stormes : let vs not now dread to set vp our sailes in fayre wether hauyng with vs bothe hym and good fortune. If we had come to conquer Wales and had acheued it, our praise had bene great, and our gayne more : but yf we wyn this battaill, ye hole riche realme of England with the lordes and rulers of the same shall be oures, the profit shall be oures and the honour shall be oures. Therefore labour for your gayne and swet for your right : while we were in Brytaine we had small liuynges and lytle plentye of wealth or welfare, now is the time come to get abundaunce of riches and copie of profit which is the rewarde of your seruice and merite of your payne. And this remēber with your selues, that before vs be our ennemies, and on ether syde of vs be suche as I neither suerly trust, nor greatly beleue, backwarde we cannot fly : So that here we stande like shepe in a folde circumcepted and cōpassed betwene our enemies and our doubtful frendes. Therefore let all

feare be set a syde and lyke sworne brethern let vs ioyne in one, for this day shalbe thende of our trauayte and the gaine of our labour eyther by honorable death or famous victory : And as I trust, the battaill shall not

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not be so sowre as ye profyt shalbe swete. Remember yt victorie is not gotten with the multitude of men, but with the courages of hartes and valiauntnes of myndes. The smaller that our nombre is, the more glorie is to vs yf we vanquishe, if we be ouercome, yet no laude is to be attributed, to the victors, consyderyng that. x. men fought agaynst one : and yf we dye so glorious a death in so good a quarell, nether fretyng tynne, nor cancarding obliuiō shal be able to obfuscate or race out of the boke of fame ether our names or our Godly attempt. And this one thyng I assure you, that in so iuste and good a cause, and so notable a quarell, you shall fynde me this daye, rather a dead carion vppon the coold grounde, then a fre prisoner on a carpet in a laydes chamber. Let vs therefore fight like inuincible gyantes, & set on our enemies like vntimerous Tigers & banish all feare like rāping lions. And now auauce forward trew men against traytors, pitifull persones against murtherers, trew inheritors against vsurpers, ye skorges of God against tiraūtes, display my banner with a good courage, marche furth like strong & robustious champions, & begyn ye battaill like hardy conquerers, the battaill is at hande, & ye victorie approacheth, & yf we shamfully recule or cowardly flye, we and all our sequele be destroyd & dishonored for euer. This is ye daie of gayne, & this is ye time of losse, get this day victorie & be cōquerers, & lese this daies battail & be villains & therefore in y name of God & saict George let euery mā coragiously auauce forth his stādard.

These cherefull wordes he sett forthe with suche gesture of his body and smiling countenance, as though all redye he had vanquyshed hys enemies and gotten the spoyle.

He had scantly finyshed his saiege, but the one armye espyed the other, lord how hastely the souldiours buckled their healmes, how quikly the archers bent their bowes and frushed theire feathers, how redely ye byllmen shoke there bylles and proued there stauces, redy to approche & ioyne when the terrible trompet should sownde the bluddy blast to victorie or death. Betwene both armies ther was a great marrysse which therle of Richemond left on his right hand, for this entent that it should be on that syde a defence for his part, and in so doying he had the sonne at his backe and in the faces of his enemies. When kynge Richard saw the earles compaignie was passed the marresse, he commaunded with al hast to sett vpon them, then the trompettes blew & the souldiours showted and the kyngs archers couragiously let fly there arrowes, the erles bowmē stode not still but paied thē home againe. The terrible shot ons passed, the armies ioyned, & came to hande strokes, where nother swerde nor byll was spared, at whiche encounter the lord Stanley ioyned with therle. The erle of Oxforde in the meane season feryng lest while his cōpaignie was fightyng, they should be compassed & circūuented wt ye multitude of his enemies, gaue cōmaūdemēt in euery ranke yt no mā should be so hardy as go aboue. x. fote from ye standard, whiche cōmaundement ons knowen, they knit the selves together, & ceased a littel frō fightyng : the aduersaries sodainly abashed at the matter and mystrustyng some fraude or deceate, began also to pause and left strikyng, and not against the wylles of many whiche had leuer had the kyng destroyed then saued, and therefore they fought very faintlye or stode stil. Therle of Oxforde bringing all his bend together on the one part, set on his ennemies freshly, agayne, the aduersaries perceiuyng that, placed ther men slender and thyne before and thicke and brode behynde, begynnyng againe hardely the battaill. While the two forwardes thus mortallye fought, eche entendyng to vanquishe & conuince ye other, Kyng Richard was admonished by his explorators and espialles, yt therle of Richmōd accompaigned with a small number of men of armes was not farre of, & as he approched and marched toward him, he perfutely knew his personage by certaine demonstracions & tokens whiche he had learned and knowen of other. And being inflamed with ire and vexed wt outrageous malice, he put his spurres to his horse & rode out of the syde of ye range of his battaile, leuyng the auantgardes fightyng, & like a hungry lion ran with spere in rest toward him. Therle of Richmonde

perceyued wel the king furiously comyng toward him, and by cause the hole hope of his welth and purpose was to be determined by battaill, he gladly proffered to encountre with him body to body and man to man. Kyng Rychard

set

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set on so sharpely at the first Broūt yt he ouerthrew therles standarde, and slew Sir William Brandon his standarde bearer (whiche was father to sir Charles Brandon by kynge Hēry ye viii. created duke of Suffolke) and matched hand to hand wt sir Ihon Cheinye, a man of great force & strength which would haue resisted him, & the saied Ihon was by him manfully ouerthrowen, and so he making open passage by dent of swerde as he went forward, therle of Richmond with stode his violence and kept him at the swerdes pointe without auantage longer then his compaignions other thought or iudged, which beyng almost in dis-paire of victorie, were sodainly recomforted by Sir William Stanley, whiche came to succours with. iii. thousand tall men, at whiche very instant kynge Richardes men were dryuen backe and fledde, and he him selfe manfully fyghtyng in the mydell of his enemies was slayne and brought to his death as he worthely had deserued.

In the meane season therle of Oxforde with the aide of the Lord Stanley, after no long fight disconfited the forward of king Rychard, whereof a greate nomber were slayne in the chace and flight, but the greatest nomber whiche (compelled by feare of the kyng and not of there mere voluntarie mocion) came to the feld, gauē neuer a stroke, and hauyng no harme nor damage sauely departed, whiche came not thyther in hope to se the kynge prosper and preuaile, but to here that he shoulde be shamefully confounded and brought to ruyne.

In this battaill died fewe aboute the nomber of a thousande persones : And of the nobilitie were slayne Ihon Duke of Norfolke, whiche was warned by dyuers to refrayne from the felde, in so much that the nyghte before he shoulde set forwarde towarde the kynge, one wrote on his gate.

lack of Norffolke be not to bolde

For Dykon thy maister is bought and solde.

Yet all this notwithstandinge he regarded more his othe his honour and promyse made to king Richard, lyke a gentleman and a faythfull subiecte to his prince absented not him selfe from hys mayster, but as he faythfully lyued vnder hym, so he manfully dyed with hym to hys greate fame and lawde. There were slayne besyde him Water lorde Ferrers of Chartley, Sir Rychard Ratclyffe, and Robert Brakenburie Leutenaunt of the Tower and not many gentlemen mo. Sir Willyam Catesbey learned in the lawes of the realme, and one of the cheffe counsailers to the late king, with diuers other were. ii. daies after behedded at Leycester. Amongest them that ran away were Sir Fraunces Vicount louell and Humfrey Stafford and Thomas Stafford his brother which toke sanctuary in saynct Ihones at Gloucester. Of captiues and prysoners there was a greate nomber, for after the death of kynge Rycharde was knowen and publyshed, euery man in manner vnarmyng hym selfe and castyng a waye his abilimentes of warre, mekely submitted them selves to the obeyssaunce and rule of therle of Richemond : of the whiche the more parte had gladly so done in the beginnyng yf they myght haue conueniently escaped from kyng Ric-hardes espialles, whiche hauyng as clere eyes as lynx and as open eares as Mydas rāged and serched in euery quarter. Amongest these was Henry the. iiii. erle of Northumberlande, whiche whither it was by the commaundement of kyng Rycharde puttyng diffidence in him, or he dyd it for the loue & fauor that he bare vnto the Earle, stode still with a greate compaignie & intermitted not in the battaill, whiche was incontinently receyued in to fauour and made of the counsail. But Thomas Haward erle of Surrey whiche submitted hym selfe ther, was not taken to grace by cause his father was cheffe coūsailer & he greatly familiar with kyng Richard, but cōmitted to the Tower of Londō, where he long remained & in conclusion deliuered, & for his treuth and fidelity after promoted to high honors offices & dignites. On therle of Richmōds part were slaine scace one hundred persones, amongest whome the princypall was Sir William Brandon his standard bearer.

This battaill was fought at Bosworth in Leycestershire the. xxii. daye of August in the yere of our redempcion a. M. CCCC. Ixxxvi. the hole conflicte endured lyttell aboute two

howres. Kyng Richard as the fame went might haue escaped and gotten sauegarde by flynge.

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ynge. For when they which were next about his person saw and perceyued at the first ioynng of the battaill the souldiours faintly and nothing couragiously to set on their enemies, and not only that, but also that some withdrew them selves pryuely out of the prease and departed. They began to suspect fraude and to smell treason, and not only exhorted but determinatly aduysed hym to saue hym selfe by flyght : and when the losse of the battayle was imminent and apparante, they brought to hym a swyfte and a light horse to conuey hym away. He which was not ignorant of ye grudge & yll will yt the comō people bare toward him, casting awaye all hope of fortunate successe & happy chaūce to come, answered (as men saye) that on that daye he woulde make an end of all batailles or els ther finish his lyfe. Suche a great audacitie & such a stowte stomake reigned in his body, for suerly he knew yt to be the day in the which it should be decided & determined whither he should peaseably obteyne & enioye his kingdom duryng his life, or els vtterly for go & be depryued of thesame, with which to much hardines he beyng ouercome hastely closed his helmet, and entered fiercely in to the hard battail, to thentent to obtaine that day a quiet reigne & regiment or els to finishe there his vnquiet life & vnfortunate gouernauce. And so this miser at ye same very point had like chaunce & fortune, as happeneth to suche whiche in place of right iustice & honesty folowyng ther sensuall appetite, loue, vse, and embrace, mischiefē, tyranny, and vnthriftines. Suerly these be examples of more vehemencye then mans tonge can expresse, to feare and astūne suche yuell persones as wil not lyue one houre vacant frō doying and exercisyng crueltie myschiefe or outragious liuyng.

When therle had thus obtaigned victorie and slain his mortal enemye, he kneled doune and rendred to almightie God his harty thākes wt deuoute Godly orisons, besechyng his goodnes to sende hym grace to auance & defende the catholike fayth & to mayntaine iustice & cōcorde amogest his subiectes & people, by God now to his gouernaūce cōmitted & assigned : Which praier finyshed, he replenyshed wt incomperable gladnes, ascended vp to the top of a littell mountaine, where he not only prayed & lawded his valiaunt souldiours, but also gaue vnto them his harty thankes, wt promyse of cōdigne recompence for their fidelite & valiaūt factes, willing & commaundyng al the hurt & woūded persones to be cured, and the dead carcasses to be deliuered to ye sepulture. Then ye people reioysed & clapped hādes cryyng vp to heauen, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. When the lord Stanley sawe the good will and gratuite of the people he toke the crowne of kyng Richard which was founde amongst the spoyle in the felde, and set it on therles bed, as though he had byne elected king by the voyce of the people as in auncient tymes past in diuers realmes it hath been accustomed, and this was the first signe and token of his good lucke and felicite. I must put you here in remembraunce how that kyng Richard puttyng some diffidence in the lord Stanley, which had wt hym as an hostage, the lorde straunge his eldest sonne, which lord Stanley as you haue hearde before ioyned not at the firste with his sonne in lawes armye, for feare that kyng Rycharde woulde haue slayne the Lorde Straunge his heyre. When kyng Rycharde was come to Boswoorth, he sent a pursuaūt to the lord Stanley, commaundyng hym to auance forward with hys compaignie and to come to his presence, whiche thyng yf he refused to do, he sware by Christes passion that he woulde stryke of his sonnes hedde before he dined. The lorde Stanley aunswered the pursuaunt that yf the kyng dyd so, he had more sonnes a lyue, and as to come to hym he was not then so determined : when kyng Richard harde this aunswere he commaunded the lorde Straunge incontinent to be behedded, whiche was at that very same season when both the armyes had sight eche of other. The counsaillers of kyng Rychard pondering the time and the cause, knowyng also the Lorde Straunge to be innocente of his fathers offence, perswaded the kyng that it was now time to fight and not time to execucion, aduysyng him to kepe the Lorde Straunge as a prisoner till the battayll were ended, and then at Leyser his pleasure might be accomplished. So as God woulde kyng Rycharde enfrynged hys holy othe, and the Lorde was deliuered to the keepers of the kynges

tentes to be kept as a prisoner, whyche when the felde was done and their master slayne and proclamation made to knowe were the childe was,
they

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they submitted them selves as prysoners to the Lord Straunge, and he gently receyued them and brought them to the newe proclamed king, where of him and of his Father he was receyued with greate ioye and gladnes. After this the hole campe remoued with bagg and baggage and thesame nyght in the euenyng kynge Henry with great Pompe came to the towne of Leycester. Where aswell for the refreshynge of his people and souldiours as for preparynge all thynges necessarie for hys journey towarde London, he rested and reposed hym selfe two dayes. In the meane season the deade corps of kynge Rycharde was as shamefully caryed lo the towne of Leycester as he gorgiously the daye before with pompe and pryde departed owte of the same towne. For his bodye was naked and despoyled to the skyne, and nothyng left aboute hym not so muche as a clowte to couer hys pryue members, and was trussed behynde a persuaunt of armes called blaunche senglier or whyte bore, lyke a hogge or a calfe, the hed and armes hangynge on the one syde of the horse, and the legges on the other syde, and all by spryncled with myre and bloude, was brought to the gray fryers church within the toune, and there laie lyke a miserable spectacle: but suerly consyderyng his mischeuous actes and Facinorous doynge, men may worthely wonder at such a caytiue, and in the sayde church he was with no lesse funeral pompe, and solempnitie enterred, then he woulde to be done at the beryng of his innocent nephiwes whome he caused cruellie to be murdered and vnnaturally to be quelled.

When his death was knowē, few lamented, & many reioysed, ye proude braggyng white bore (whiche was his badge) was violently rased and plucked doune from euery signe and place where it myght be espied, so yll was his lyfe that men wished the memorie of hym to be buried with his carren corps : He reigned, ii. yeres- ii. monethes and one daie.

As he was small and litle of stature so was he of body greatly deformed, the one shoulder higher then the other, his face small but his cōtenaunce was cruel, and such, that a man at the first aspect would iudge it to sauor and smel of malice, fraude, and deceite : when he stode musing he would byte and chaw besely his nether lippe, as who sayd, that his fyerce nature in his cruell body alwaias chafed, sturred and was euer vnquiete: beside that, the dagger that he ware he would when he studied with his hand plucke vp and downe in the shethe to the middes, neuer drawing it fully out, his wit was prenaunt, quicke and redy, wylly to fayne and apte to dissimule, he had a proud mynde and an arrogāt stomacke, the whiche accompaigned him to his death, whiche he rather desyrynge to suffer by dent of swerde, then beyng forsaken and destitute of his vntrewe compaignions, woulde by coward flight preserue and saue his vncertaine liffe: Whiche by malice, sickenes or condigne punishment might chauce shortly after to come to confusion.

Thus ended this prince his mortall life with infamie and dishonor, whiche neuer preferred fame or honestie before ambicion tyranny and myschiefe. And yf he had continued still Protectoure and suffered his nephewes to haue lyued and reigned, no doubt but the realme had prospered and he muche praysed and beloued as he is nowe abhorred and vilipended, but to God whiche knewe his interior cogitacions at the bower of his deathe I remitte the punishment of his offences committed in his lyfe.

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THE FIRST YERE OF
THE POLITIQUE GOUERNAUNCE OF KYNG
HENRY THE. VII.

CONSIDERING now that I haue sufficiently declared what mischief kyng Richard the third wrought with in this realme after ye death of his noble brother kyng Edward the fourth :and

how the nobilitie of his kyngdom maligned and conspired against him, and abandoned and left him in maner desolate at the day of his most nede & tribulaciō : Also how miserable he ended his lyfe at ye toune of Bosworth, and how vnreuerētly he was enterred at ye toune of Leicestre which I doubt not but is sufficiently declared vnto you. And now only resteth to shewe you what happened after his fall and confusion to him, that both vanquished & depriued him from his princely powre & royall dignitie.

When kyng Henry had not only obteyned this triumphant battaile at the plain of Boswoorth against his malicious enemy kyng Richard, but also by the glorious victorie gatt the diademe and possession of thestate royall and princely preheminece of this famous Empire and renoumed kyngdome. He hauyng both the ingenious forcast of the subtyl serpent, and also fearyng the burning fire like an infant that is a litle synged with a small flame: and farther vigilantly forseying & prudently prouidyng for doubles that might accidentally ensue : deuysed, studyed and compassed to extirpate and eradicate all interior sedicious appa-rant presumpcions whiche might moue any tumulteous route or sedicious coniuracion against him within his realme in tyme to come. And to obsist the first likely mischiefe, he sent before his departure from Leycestre Sir Robert wylloghby knight to the maner of Sheryhutton in the county of Yorke, for Edward plantagenet Erle of Warwike sonne and heire to George duke of Clarēce then beyng of the age of. xv. yeres, whom kyng Richard had kept there as a prisoner duryng the tyme of his vsurped reigne. And surely ye kyng was not afeard without a cause, for he much mistrusted least by this yoūg man, some euill disposed and enuious persones of his glory and auaucemēt might inuent some new occasion of renyung of battaill against him, which beyng euen from his infancy with many encombrances and troubles vexed & endaungered, desired nothyng more hartely then now to lyue in quyetnes, peace and tranquillite. Sir Robert willoghby accordyng to hys commission receaued of the conestable of the castle the Erle Edward, and him conueighed to London, where the youngelyng borne to perpetuall calamitie was incontynent in the towre of London putt vndre safe & sure custody. There was beside him in thesame Castell of Sheryhutton the lady Elizabeth eldest daughter to kyng Edward, whom kyng Richard foolyshly phantasiyng and deuelyshly dotyng did entende to mary as you before haue heard, but the damosell dyd not alonly disagre and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abhominable desyre. At whiche most importunate and detestable cōcupiscence, the cōmon people of the realme so much grudged and maligned that they did not only attribute ye faute & cryme to the kyng, but much more culpate & blame his preuy coucellers which did not dissent, but consent to so pernicious a counsaill & so shamefull a conclusion : But God of his only goodnes preserued ye christē mynde of that verteous & immaculate virgin, & from their flagicious & facinerous acte, did graciously protect and defende : The which lady not long after accōpanyed with a great nombre aswell of noblemē as honorable matrones was with good spede conueighed to London and brought to her mother.

In the meane ceason the kyng remoued forward by iorneyes toward London, and euen as he passed, the rusticall people on euery syde of the wayes assembled in great nombres & with great

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great ioye clapped their handes & showted, cryng, kyng Henry, kyng Henry. But whē he approached nere the cytie, the Mayre, the Senate & the magistrates of thesame beyng all clothed in violet, met him at Shordiche, & not only saluted and welcomed him with one voyce in generall, but euery person perticulerly preased and aduaūced him selfe, gladly to touche and kysse that victorious handes whiche had ouercome so monstrous & cruell a tyraunt, geuyng laudes & praysynge to almighty God, and rendryng immortall thanks to him, by whose meane & industry the cōmen wealth of the realme was preserued frō finall destruccion & perpetual calamite, and the aucthores of ye mischiefe sublated & plucked awaye. And with great pompe & triumphe he roade througii the cytie to the cathedral churche of S. Paule wher he offred his. iii. standardes. In the one was the ymage of S. George, in the secōd was a red fyre dragō beaten vpō white and grene sarcenet, ye third was of yelowē tarterne, in thewhich

was peynted a dōne kowe. After his praiers saide & Te deum song, he departed to the bishoppes palays & there soiourned a ceason, during whiche time, playes, pastymes & pleasures were shewed in euery parte of the cytie. And to thentent that their good mynd toward God should not be put in obliuion, they caused general processiōs solemnly to be celebrate to rendre and yelde to God their creator & redemer their hartye and humble thanks whiche had deliuered them frō miserable captiuite & restored them to libertie and fredome. Besyde this, they that faouered and loued the kyng were inwardly ioyous to se & perceauē that their aduersaries and back frendes were all redy or like to be suppeditate & ouerthrowen.

When these solempnities & gratifications were done & passed : accordyng as other kynges had been accustomed, he cōgregated together the sage councelers of his realme, in which cōūsail like a prince of iust faith and true of promes, detesting all intestine & cyuel hostile, appointed a daye to ioyne in matrimony ye lady Elizabeth heyre of the house of Yorke, with his noble personage heyre to ye lyne of Lancastrē : whiche thyng not onely reioysed and comforted the hartes of the noble and gentlemen of the realme, but also gayned the fauour & good myndes of all the cōmen people, much extollyng and praysyng the kynges constant fidelyte and his polletique deuyce, thinkyng surely that the daye was now come that the seede of tumultuous faccions & the fountayne of ciuyle dissencion should be stopped, euacuate and clerely extinguished.

After this he with great pompe was cōueighed to Westmynster, and there the thirte daye of Octobre was with all ceremonyes accustomed, enoynted & crowned kyng by the whole assent as well of the cōmons as of the nobilite, & was named kyng Henry the. vij. of that name, which was in the yere of our redempcion. M. cccc. lxxxvi. Frederyke the. iij. Then beyng Emperour of Almayne, Maximilian his sonne then beyng newly elected kyng of Romanes, Charles the. viij. reignyng ouer the Frenche nacion, & lames the iij. rulyng the realme of Scotland. Which kyngdome he obteyned & enioyed as a thyng by .God elected. & prouided, and by his especiall faouere & gracious aspecte compassed and acheued. In so muche that mē cōmonly reporte that. vii. C. xcviij. yeres passed, it was by a heauenly voyce reueled to Cadwalader last kyng of Brytons that his stocke and progeny should reigne in this land and beare domynion agayn : Wherupō most men were persuaded in their awne opinion that by this heauenly voyce he was prouided & ordeyned longe before to enioye and obtaine this kyngdom, whiche thing kyng Henry the. vi. did also shewe before as you haue heard declared. Wherefore he beyng by right and iust tittle of temporal inheritauce, & by prouision of deuyne purueyaūce thus crowned and proclaimed kyng : First of all vsyng the antique example of the Athenienses, whiche is to perdon and put out of memory all crymes and offences before tyme agaynst hym or his lawes perpetrated or cō-mitted, he called his high court of parliamēt at Westmynster the. vii. daye of Nouembre for the establishyng of all thinges aswell cōcernyng the preseruacion and maintenaūce of his royal person, as the admystracion of justice and preferment of the cōmon wealth of this realme and dominion, in the which he caused to be proclaimed that all men were pardoned, acquitted & clerely discharged of all offences, peynes of death and execucions, and should be restored to their landes and moueable goodes whiche woulde submit them selves to his cle-
mency

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mency and by othe be obliged truly to serue and obeye hym as their souereigne lorde, & who woulde be obstinate & refuse to returne to his parte, should be accepted and taken as a publike enemy to hym and his countrey. By reason of which proclamacion, a great nombre that came out of diuerse sanctuaries and priuiledged places obteyned grace, forgetting clerely the diuersite of faccions & voyce of partakyng. After this he began to remembre his especiall frendes & fautours, of whome some he auauanced to honoure & dignite, & some he enriched with possessions & goodes, euery mā according to his desert & merite. And to begynne, laspar his vnclē Erle of Penbrooke, he created duke of Bedforde, Thomas lorde Stanley he promoted to be erle of Darby, & ye lord Chandew of Briteine his especiall frende he made erle of Bathe, Sir Gyles Dawbeney was made lorde Dawbeney, Sir Robert Willoughby was

made lord Brooke which be in their degree barons and peeres of the realme. And Edward Stafford eldest son to Henry late duke of Buckingham, he restored to his name dignitie and possessions, which kyng Richard did confiscate and attaynted. Beside this in this parliamēt was this notable acte assented to and concluded as foloweth.

“To the pleasure of almighty God, wealth, prosperite & suretie of this realme of England, and to the synguler comfort of all the kynges subiectes of thesame, in aduoydyng all ambiguyties & questions: Be it ordeyned, established and enacted by this present parliamente, that the inheritance of the croune of this realme of England and also of Fraunce with all the preheminece and dignitie royall to thesame apperteignyng and all other seignories to the kyng belonging beyond the sea with the appurtenaūces therto in any wyse dewe or apperteignyng, shall rest, remayne and abyde in the most royal person of our nowe souereigne lorde kyng Henry the. vij. and in the heires of his body lawfully cōmyng, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.”

And beside this acte al attainders of this kyng, enacted by kyng Edward & kyng Richard were adnichilated, and the record of thesame adjudged to be defaced & put out of memory, and al persons attainted for his cause & occasion, were restored to their goodes, landes & possessions. And in cōclusion, diuerse of the actes made in the tyme of kyng Edward and kyng Richard were adnulled & reuoked, & other more expedient for the vtilitie of the cōmen wealth were subrogated and concluded. When all thynges necessary were discretely ordred and the parliament for the tyme dissolved, the kyng thought it not necessary to put in obliuion his frendes and hostages beyng beyond the sea, wherfore with all diligent celeritie he redemed the Marques Dorcet sir Ihon Burchier whom he had lefte as pledges at Parys for money there before borrowed. And sent also into Flaunders for Ihon Morton bishop of Ely.

These actes perfourmed, he established in his house a graue counsaill of wyse and pollitique men, by whose iudgement, ordre & determinacion the people might be gouerned accordyng to iustice and equitie, and that all causes might be finyshed and ended there, without great bearyng or expence in long sute. And for hearing & decydyng these causes iustly and spedely, he sware of his counsaill dyuerse noble and discrete persones, whiche for their pollecy, wit & snguler grauitic, were highly estemed and renoumed, whose names folowe, Iaspar duke of Bedfoorde, Ihon erle of Oxford, Thomas Stanley erle of Darby, Ihō bishop of Ely, Sir Wyllyam Stanley lord Chamberleyn of his housholde, Sir Robert Willoughby, lord Brooke, lord Stuard of his household, Gyles lord Dawbeney, Ihon lord Dynham after made tresorer of England, Sir Reignold Brey, Sir Ihon Cheiney, Sir Richard Guyldforde, Sir Richard Tunstall, Sir Richard Egecombe, Sir Thomas Louell, Sir Edward Pownynges, Sir Ihō Risley, with diuerse other wyse men, whiche as the tyme required he called to his counsaill and seruyce nowe one and nowe another.

Although by this eleccion of wyse and graue councellers all thynges semed to be brought to a good & perfight conclusion, yet there lacked a wrest to the harpe to set all the strynges in a monacorde and tune which was the matrimony to be finished betwene the kyng and the lady Elizabeth daughter to kyng Edward, which lyke a good prynce accordyng to his othe and promes, he did both solempnise and cōsummate in brief tyme after, that is to saye on the

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the xvij. daye of January. By reason of whiche mariage peace was thought to discende oute of heauē into England, consideryng that the lynes of Lancastre & Yorke, being both noble families equialēt in ryches, fame and honour, were now brought into one knot and connexed together, of whose two bodyes one heyre might succede, which after their tyme should peaceably rule and enjoye the whole monarchy and realme of England.

These thynges thus passed, albeit that apparauntly all thynges semed to be reduced to a good poynte and set in a sure steve : Kyng Henry beyng made wyse and expert wyth troubles and myschiefes before past, remembered that it was wisdomes to feare & prouide for the crafty wyles and lurkyng trappes of his secret enemyes, remembring all mē for the moost parte embrued & exercysed in plantyng of dyuision and sowynge dissencion, can not lightly leaue

their pestiferous appetite & sedicious occupacion. Wherefore, for the sauegarde and preseruacion of his awne body, he cōstituted & ordeyned a certayn nombre aswell of good archers as of diuerse other persons being hardy, strong and of agilitie to geue daileye attendaunce on his person, whome he named Yomen of his garde, which president men thought that he learned of the Frenche kyng when he was in Fraūce : For men remembre not any kyng of England before that tyme whiche vsed such a furniture of daily souldyours. Yet forasmuche as to auoyde and eschewe all doubtfull daungers and perelles vnloked for, lytle auayleth outward warre, except there be a sure staye, and a stedfast backstande at home, aswel for the sauegard & securite, as for the good gouernaūce of such as be left behynde: He therfore sommoned agayne his great courte of parliament, wherto he would that there should be elected the most prudent & grauous persons of euery countie, cytie, porte and borough, and in especiall such as he in all his daungers, calamities, miseries and tumultuous affaires, vsed, trusted and faouored, as partakers, councelers, and compaignions both of his woo and aduersitie, and also of his triumphe & glorious victory, whose myndes and studyes he perfightly knewe to be fixed and set in the poletique regiment and prudent gouernaūce of the publique wealthe of his realme and dominion. Not forgettynge, but hauyng in fresh memory that he for that cause principally was so sore desyred, and instantly ealled of the Englishe nacion his naturall countreyemen : Estemyng it as a chiefe and principall parte of hys duetie to se his realme both adourned and decored with good and proffitable lawes and statutes, and also to florische in verteous operacions and good and cyuile maners, which should be an occasion to cause all men to hope, that all thyng would continually amend, from euyll to good, from good to better, and from better to the best. This sure foundacion kyng Henry layde at the beginning of his reigne, entending theron continually to buylde.

British Library Harleian Manuscript 433, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and P.W. Hammond, 4 volumes (Stroud, 1979), ii

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lettre a passage A lettre of passage for Rodigo de Ondover spaignol servant unto the capitaine salasar yeven at Notingham the xvj daye of Juin

By the king

[f220] Trusty etc And for asmoche as certaine informacion is made unto us that oure Rebelles and traytors associat with oure auntyent ennemyes of Fraunce and othre straungiers / entende hastely to invade this oure Royaulme purposing the distruccion of us . the subuersione of this oure Royaulme and disheriting of al oure true subgiettes We therefore wol and straitly commaunde you that in alle hast possible after the Receipt hereof ye doo put oure Commission hereto-fore directed unto you for the mustering and ordering of oure subgiettes in new execucion according to oure instruccions whiche we sende unto you at this tyme with thise oure lettres . And that this be doon with alle diligence. As ye tendre oure suertie the wele of youre self and of alle this oure Royaulme Yeven (at) etc at Notingham the xxij day of Juyne

To oure trusty and welbeloved (the) oure	like letters to
Commissioners of array appointed within	other Commissioners
oure Counte of York	in every Shire in
	England

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Instruccions upon the same to the said
Commissioners in alle the Royaulme

Furst . forasmoch as the kinges gode grace understandeth by the Reapoort of his Commissioners and othre the faithfulle disposicions and Redynesse that his subgiettes be of to doo him service and pleasire to thuttermost of their powairs for the Resisting of his Rebelles

traytors and enemyes. The kinges highnesse therefore wil that his said Commissioners shal yeve on his behalf especialle thankinges unto his said subgiettes exhorting them soo to contynue Item that the said Commissioners in alle hast possible Revieu the Souldiors late mustred before them by force of the kinges Commission to them late directed . and see that they be hable persones wele horsed and hameysed to doo the king service of werre . And if they be not to put othre hable men into their places . and that the money graunted and gadred for the waging of them in Townes Townshippes villages or hundreds be redy in the handes of the Constables baillieffes or othre suffisaunt persones to be delyvred for the cause abovesaid when the caas shal Requier

Item that the said Commissioners on the kinges behalf yeve straitly in com-maundement to alle knightes Squiers and gentilmen to prepaire and arredey themself in their propre persones to doo the king service upon an houre wamyng when they shalbe thereunto commaunded by proclamacion or othre-wise. And that they faille not soo to doo upon the perille of lesing of their lyfes landes & goodes . And that they be attending and awayting upon suche Capitaigne or Capitaignes as the kinges good grace shal appoint to have the Rule and leding of them and upon othre

Item that the Commissioners make proclamacion that al men be redy to doo the king service within an houre wamyng whensoever they be commaunded by proclamacion or othrewise

[f220b] Item to shewe to alle lordes noble men Capitaynes & othre that the kinges noble pleasire and commaundement is that they truely and honorably almanere quarelles grugges Rancors & unkyndenesse layde aparte [all manner quarrels grudges rancours and unkindnesses laid apart] attende texecute the kinges commaundement . and every of them to be lovyng & assisting to othre in the kinges quarelle & cause Shewing them plainly that whosoever attempt the contrary. the kinges grace wille soo punyssh him that alle othre shalle take example by him etc

The tenor of the lettres directed to alle Shirieffes

Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele . And forasmoche as we have commaunded oure Commissioners of array within oure Counties of Noting-ham & Derby to put oure Commission to them herebifore directed for mustering and ordering of oure subgiettes in newe execucion . according to certaine Instruccions from us to them directed . We therefore wol and straitly commaunde you that incontynently upon the Receipt hereof. ye fully dispose you to make youre contynuelle abode within the Shire Towe of youre Office or youre deputie for you to thentent that it may be openly knowen where ye or he shalbe surely founde for the performyng and fulfilling of suche thinges as on oure behalf (oure) or by oure said Commissioners ye shalbe commaunded to

doo Not failling hereof in any wise As ye wol answeere unto us at youre uttermost perille Yeve etc at Notingham the xxij day of Juyn

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A proclamacion made to every shire under the grete seale of England by a warrant undre the Signet

Forasmoche as the king oure soverain lord hathe certaine knowlaige that Piers Bisshop of Excestre Jasper Tydder son of Owen Tidder calling himself Erle of Pembroke John late Erle of Oxonford and Sir Edward Widevile with othre diverse his Rebelles and traytors disabled and atteynted by auctorite of highe court of parliament of whom many ben known for open murdrers aduiltrers & extorcioners contrary to the pleasire of god / and ayeimst alle trouthe honnor & nature. have forsaken their naturalle Contre taking them furst to be undre thobeissaunce of the duc of Britaigne and to him promysed certaine thinges . whiche by him & his Counsaile were thoughte thinges to gretely unnaturalle and abhomyable for them to graunt observe kepe and performe . and therefore the same utterly refused / The said traytors seing that the said duc and his Counsaile wold not ayde and soccure them nor folowe their wayes pryvely departed out of his Contre into Fraunce / there taking them to be under thobeissaunce of the kinges aunycnt enemye Charles calling himself king of Fraunce and to abuse and blynde the Commons of this said Royaulme . the said Rebelles & traytors have

chosen to be their Capitaine on Henry tydder Son of Edmond Tydder Son of Owen Tiddy which of his Ambitious & insaciable Covetyce incrocheth

Harleian 542, f.34. Printed in *Leicestershire and Rutland Notes and Queries*, ed. John and Thomas Spencer, vol I (1881-1891)

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When Henri erle of Richmond cam in at Mylford Haven, he sayd thes words: 'All Yngland, I am enteryd here to clayme myne heritage. Jhesu, that died on Good Friday, and Mary his mothar, send me the love of the Lord. Stanley he hathe married my mothar; it is longe sithe she saw me; I trust to Jesus we shall mete, and our brother syr Williallm Stanley.'

" Let us leve Henry, ans speke of Richard in his dignitie, and the mysfortune that hym befell: a wicked counsell drew hym. "The lord Stanley, sterne and stowte, he may be callyd flowre in his cuntrie, and that was well sene at Barwicke, when all the lords of England let it be that castle wightly cowlde he wine; than of kynge Richard toke he leve, and set good rule amonge the common'tie; but wicked counsell drew Richard

Thes was the words they sayd to him: "We think yow worke unwitily in England, if ye wold contynew kynge; for both lord Stanley, lord Stanley, and the Chamberlayne, these iii may bringe agaynst yow on a day, that no lords may in England far nor nere, and the sonns of the mother that are banished may caws you short tyme to were the crowne.' Then k. Richard made owt messengers far into the west contrie to the lord Stanley, to repayr to hym with spede. Then the lord Stanley bowed hym toward king Richard; but he fell sycke at Manchester by the waye, as was the wyll of God. To the lord Strange then callyd he, and sayd thes words to hym: 'In goodly haste bowne mest ye to wyt the will of Richard owr king.'

The lord Strange bownd him to ryde to kynge Richard. When he cam before hym, and knelyd downe, kynge Richard said, 'Welcome lord Strange, and kynsman neare; wher is any lord in England of aunsitry shuld be so trew to his kynge?' Ther was no more of this to say, to

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ward commdyd was he; and messenger were sent into the West country, to the lord Stanley. Thes wer the words they sayd To him: 'You must rayse up undar yowr banner to mayntayne Richard owr kinge, for yonder comythe Richmond ovar the flode with many an alyannt owt of far contry, to chalandge the crowne of England ; yow must reyse that undar yowr bannar he with the noble powere that you may brynge, or else the lord, lord Strange yow moste never se, that is in danger of our kynge.' In a studye still then that lord did stond, and say, 'Jesus, how may this be? I take wittes of Hym that shope both se and sande, I nevar delt with traytorie; Richard is the man that hathe no mercye; he wold me and myne bondage bringe; therefor against hym will I be.' Another messenger came to William Stanley, that noble knyght, and sayd, 'K. Richard wareth ye to bringe thy royal tent; his

hope is holy therein.' Then answered the noble knyght, 'I marvayle of our kynge: he hathe my nevyew, my brothar's heire; a trewar knyght is not in Christinte, he shall repent, by eny thyng that I can see well. K. Richard this, for all the power that he can bringe, he shall eythar fight or fle, or lose his lyfe. I make a vow, I shall give him such a brekefast on a day as never knyght gave kinge. Therefore, byde hym aray him and his power; for he shall ether fight or fle, or lose his slyfe.' Then the messenger rydes to the kynge, and saythe, 'In the contry wher I have be, men so grevyd I never se for the lord Strange sake, that in bale doth lye; they say they will cawse you to fight or fly, or els to lose your lyfe.' Kynge Richard smyled, and swore, by when they be assembled all, 'I wold the great Turk wer agaynst me, with Prester John, and the Sowdan of Surre, with all their powers: for all theyre manhood I wold be kinge.' He swore by Jesu and hys mother, 'that from the town of Lancastre to Shrowsberye, knyght ne squire, he wold live none alive, and he wold deal theyr lands to his knyghtes, from the Holy Heade to Seynt David's land; wheras are castells and towers hye, I shall make parkes and playne fields: frithe and forest fre, they shall all repent that ever he rose against his kynge.' Then he sent out messengars, bothe far and nyghe, to deuke, earle, baron kyngh

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and othar in theyr degre. Part of theyr names shall yow here that came to kynge Richard; the duke of Norfolke, the erle of Surrey his heyre, the erle of Kent, the erle of Shrowsberry, the erle of Northumbarland, the erle of Westmerland, Robert Rydyssh, sir Robert Owtrege, sir John Huntynghton, sir John Wilinn, sir John Smalby, sir Bryan of Stapleton, sir William his cosen, the lord Bartley, the heirs of Bartley, the lord Fryn so gray, the lord Lovell chamberlayn of England, the lord Hughe his cosyn, the lord Scrope of Yposall, the lord Scrope of Bolton; the lord Dakers raysed the North contrye; the lord Owgle; the lord Bower; the lorde Graystroke, he brought a mighty many; Sir John Blekynson, sir Raffe Harebotley, sir William Warde, syr Archebald with the good Ridley; syr Nicholas Nabogay was not awayre; sir Olyver of Chaston, sir Henry de hynd Horsay, Sir John de Gray, sir Thomas de Mingumbre, sir Roger Standfort, sir Rohert Bracanberye, sir Harry Landringam, sir Richard Chorwlton, sir Raffe Rolle, sir Thomas Marcomfild, sir Rogar Sandyll; sir Chrystofer Ward, sir William Beckfort, sir John Cowburne, sir Robert Plwmton, sir William Gascoyne, sir Marmaduke Constable, sir William Conyers, sir Martin of the Fee, sir Robart Gilhard, sir Richard Heaton, sir John Lothes, sir William Ratclyf, sir Thomas his brothar, sir William theyre brothar; sir Christofer de Mallyre, sir John Norton, sir Thomas de Mallyveray, sir Raffe Dakers of the Northe, sir Christofer the Morys, sir William Musgrave, sir Alexander Haymoor, sir George Mortynfield, sir Thomas Browghton, sir Christofer Awayne, sir Richard Tempest out of the Dale, sir William his cosyn, sir Raffe of Ashton, sir Roger Long in Arpenre, sir John Pudsay, Sir Robart of Mydleton, sir Thomas Stryckland, sir John Nevill of Bloodfallhye, sir John Adlynton,

sir Roger Hearon, sir James Harrynton, sir Robart his brothar, sir Thomas Pilkylton. All thes sware kynge Richard shuld were the crowne.

"Now shall I tell how Henry of Richmond cam to the crowne. The lord Stanley from Lathom castle upon a day bownyd he, with knights and esquires in his company, with theyr bannars,

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fearce to fight, to mantayn Henry to be theyr kynge. To the New Castell under Lyne this lorde toke the way, with his noble men in companye; he told theym wagys the noble powers that he did brynge. Sir William Stanley, that noble knight, from the Castell of the Holt to Northwycke he rode, and told his men wagis all the Northe Wayles the most part, and the flower of Chester, which he did brynge earlye on a Sunday at morne, Sir William of Stanley removyd from the Northewicke to the towne of stone. Hy then was Henry come to Stafford; and a prevy message sent he to hym with a certain parson. That noble kynght rod to Stafford toward the kynge. When that he saw the prince in sight, he knelyd downe, and hent him by the hand; and sayd, "I am more glad of the then all the gold in Chrystentye; I trust to the lord my father and ye that in England I shal be Kinge." Then the othar sayd, 'Welcome, Soveraygne Kynge Henry; chalendge thye heritage, and this land; loke thow fight, and nevar flye; remembar another day who dothe for thee, yf thow be kinge.' Leve of the prince tane, he came again, by the light of the day, unto the lytle towne of Stone, early on a Saturday. To Lychfeld removyd old and yonge. At Worsley bredge ther before, they had a sight of Henry that shud be kynge. Unto Lychfild they ryde; a hatrot of armes came to number the company that was with the knight; it was a goodly sight; gonnes in Lychefyld craked; glad was all the chivalry that was on Henry's party. Througheout Lychefyld rydes that knight; and on the othar syd taryed he, tyll a message cam to hyn, and sayd, 'Lord Stanley is his inemyes nye; they be but a lytle way atwyne; he will fight within thre howres with Richard of England, callyd kyng.' 'That wold I not' (quod the kynght) 'for all the world in Christentie'; and toward Tanworth he toke the way. He came to Adorstone ere nyght, wher the lord Stanley lay in a dale, with trompets, and a goodly company: all that nyght they ther abode. Upon Sunday they hard masse; and to a fayr field toke the way: the vaward lord Stanley had, his brothar sir William in the rereward, his sonne Edward in a wynde. Then came prince Henry. It was a goodly sight to se the metyng of

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them, the lorde and the kynge. Upon a bay courser was the kynge, a lytle before the knyght. On the morrow, when the Iarke gan synge, kynge Henry askyd the vaward of the lord Stanley, which he grawntyd, and lent to him iiij knyghts to go with him, to the vaward, Gilbert Talbut, John Savage, sir Hughe Percivall, and sir George Stanley; thes arayed them to the vaward with

the kynge; the lord Stanley the second battail had; sir William Stanley he was the hyndermoste at the first setting. Then they remoyd to a hygge mountayne; and, looking into a dale of myles compasse, they saw no syght for armyed men and traped steds in iiii battlys. The Duke of Norfolke advansyd his banner; so dyd yonge erle of Shrisberye, and erle of Oxford. The kyng Richard had vii skore sargents that were cheyned and lockyd in a row, and as many bumbards, and thousands of morys, pyks, haggebushes, &c. Kyng Richard lookyd into a mountayne hye, and saw the bannar of the lord Stanley, and sayd, 'Fetche the lord Strange to me, or els he shall dye this day.' They brought the lord unto his syght, and he sayd, 'For thy deathe make the redy.' Then answard that noble knyght, and sayde, 'I cry God and the world mercy. Ihesus, I take to witness, that I was nevar traytor to my kynge.' Upon a gentelman then called he, Lathome was his name; 'and evar ye come into my contrie, grete well my gentellmen and yomen; they had a mastar, now have they none.' Then he drew a ringe of his finger, and sayd, 'Give this to my ladye; if the field be lost on our partye, take my sonnee that is myne heire, and fly into a far contrye.' Then came a knyght to kyng Richard, and sayd, 'It is highe tyme to loke about; loke how yowr vaward begynethe to fyght. When ye have the fathar and sonne the yeman, loke yow what deathe they shall dye: ye may head all at yowr own will.' With that fortunate worde they counteryd together full egarly. When the vaward began to fight, kyng Henry dyd full manfully; so dyd the erle of Oxford, so dyd sir John Savage; sir Gilbert Talbot dyd the lyk; Sir Hughe Percivall also, with many othar. Kyng Richard, in a marris, dyd stand nombred to xx thousand and thre undar his bannar. Sir William Stanley remembringe the brekfast that

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he promysed hym, downe at a banke he hyed, and set fiersly on the kynge; they counteryd together sadly. The archers let theyr arrows flye; they shot of gones; many a bannar began to show that was on Richard's partye; with growned wepons they joined: there dyed many a dowghty knyght. Then to kyng Richard ther cam a knyght, and sayd, 'I hold it tyme for ye to flye; yonder Stanley his dynts be so sore, against them may no man stand. Her is thy hors for to ryde: an othar day we may worshipe wyne.' He sayd, 'Bryng me my battayl axe in my hand, and set the crowne of gold on my hed so hye; for by hym that shope bothe se and sand, kyng of England this day I will dye; one foote away I will not fle, whill brethe wyll byde my brest within.' As he sayd, so dyd he; he lost his lyffe. On his standard then fast they dyd lyght. They hewyd the crowne of gold from his hed with dowtfull dents: his deathe was dyght. The Duke of Norfolke dyd flye; the lord Surrey, with many othar mo. And boldly on here they dyd hym brynge. And many a noble knight then lost

theyr lyffe, with Richard theyr kynge. There was slayn syr Richard Ratclyff, one of kynge Richard's counsel; syr William Conyers, syr Robart of Brackanbery, syr Richard of Charrington. Amongst all othar, I remember tow, sir William Brand was the one of tho; kynge Henry's standard he hevvd on hye, and vamisyd

It, tyll with deathe's dent he was stryken down Syr Richard Percivall, Thurlehall the othar hight, kynge Richard's standard

he kept on hyghe, tyll both his legs wer cut hym fro; yet to the grownd he would not let it goo, whill brethe was in his brest.

Then they removyd to a mountayne hyghe,² and with a voice they cryed *Kynge Henry*. The crowne of gold was delyveryd to the

lord Stanley; and unto kynge Henry they went he, and delyveryd

it, as to the most worthe to were the crowne and be theyr kynge. They browght kynge Richard thethar (to Leicester) that nyght, as nakyed as ever he was borne, and in the New Warke was he

layd, that many a man might se." &c.

Richard Firth Green, 'Historical Notes of a London Citizen, 1483-1488', *English Historical Review*, 96 (1981), p. 589.

College of Arms MS 2M6 1484 Thomas Hyll

In this yer was William Colynbourne behedyd; item: Sir Roger Clyfford beheddyd at the Towur Hill, and ther heddes sett on London Brege. This yer the erle of Rychemonde and Iasper the erle of Penbroke and the erle Oxford, with many other dyuers (divers) ientelles, cam out of France and landyd in Milfourd Havyn (and the same erle of Rychmond calling hymselff Kyng Henry the vij), and soo camm fourthe into Einglond and mett with Kyng Rychard the iijde at Redesmore, and ther was Kyng Rychard slayn and the duke of Norfolke and the Lord Ferres and Hakinbery, with many other. This batell was the xxij day of Auguste, Anno Domini M^o iiijc iiijxx vii. Item: in this yer the erle of Northomurland and the erle of Surrey was takyn and browght into the Flete of London, and ther they were ix days, and then they wer led into the Towur of London, and ther they wer ij days, and after had to the castell of Quynborow in Kent. Item: in this yer, in the monyth of September Anno 1485, ther fell a gret deyth sodenly within the space of xxiiij oures; and this yer dyyd the mayer and his son and dyuers (divers) aldermen, with many other commonys, and in this monyth was chosyn Sir William Stocker for to be mayer and was sworne at the Towur of London, and he dyyd the iijde day after, and then on Sent Michelles Day in the same moneth was chosyn Iohn Ward; and Thomas Bretyn scheriffe dyid in the same moneyth. This was callyd the swetyng sekene. And in this yer King Henry was made king.

²

"A mountain high," a small knoll at Stoke Golding, known still as Crown Hill,-ED.

The Historie and Cronicles of Scotland from the Slauchter of King James the First to the Ane Thousande Fyve Hundreith Thrie Scoir Fyftein Yeir, written and collected by Robert Lindesay of Pittscottie, ed. A. J. G. Mackay, 3 vols (Scottish Text Society, 1899-1911), I, p. 190.

THE IX CHAPTER. Hou the duik of glouster pat doun king Edwartis twa sonis and usurpit the crown of ingland. Hou Harie the vii. came out of france to ingland be sie with ane armye and landit in Ingland at Millburne and faucht with king Edward and slew him and took the croun to him selfe.

Bot fra tyme he was in possessioun of thir twa childreine foirsaid he pat thame in the tour of londoun and schone heirefter he murdreist thame baith crwelie and vsurpit the crowne of Ingland thairby and vastit the samyn the spaice of twa zeiris quhairat the lordis gentilmen and commonis of ingland was discontent heirwith that sic ane tyrane sould ringe over thame that had murdreist his brothir sonis that he nicht rigne heireftir. Thairfoir money and sindrie gentilmen that war friendis to the

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said Edward the fourt passit out of ingland to france quhair they fand harie the sone of the erle richmond discendit latelie from harie the fourt king of the realme of Ingland and thair intercommonit with him that gif he wald marie Elizabeth the eldest dochtar of king Edward the fourt they wald with goddis help strenthin him king of ingland and quhen he and the said Elizabeth was spousit togeddar thay wald ceis the lang debeit that has beine for the crowne of Ingland thir money dayis bygeine betuix harie the saxt and the duik of zork. Harie heirand thir olleris weill and vpone this maid ane aggriement and conclwsion that he wald stand at thair counsall so thay wald be sworne to tak his pairt heirin the quhilk thay promiseit faithfullie to do. Vpone this prince harie passit to the king of france and schew him the maner how it stuid at that tyme in the realme of ingland, and quhat was promiseit to him be the lordis and barronis of ingland and quhat he conclwdit againe and purposit to do so that he nicht haue his support and help thairin. The king of france heirand this was verray glaid of his desyres and grantit him thankfullie quhat support he pleisit to pas in Ingland with him aganis richard the lait king quha onvorthilie had vsurpat the crown of Ingland the spaice of twa zeiris befoir for the king of france knew him to be bot ane tyrane thairfoir he wald haue beine quyt of him and furnessit the said harie with better will. This beand done prince harie maid his prowisioun to pas to the sie and saill to Ingland to the effectt foirsaid with the number of xxx schippis with thame ten thowsand men of Inglis frenche and Scoittis vi:— thrie thowsand inglismen, of frenchmen sex thowsand, of Scoittis men ane thowsand men of armes quhilk was callit the Scoittis cumpanie quha had to thair captaine ane nobill knicht quhilk was callit Schir Allexander bruce of Erlshall. This prince harie and his armye meid him hestelie to the sie and saillit to Ingland and heireftir landit

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at the port of milburne in the moneth of august in the zeir of god Im xx iiij^o lxxxv zeiris. Bot quhen thir tydingis come to king richart that harie the sone of the erle of richmond was come out of france with ane armye and landin at the port of millburne and as thay alledgit his intentioun was to haue the crown zit king richart heirand of this he meid litill defence to his landin thinkand that he fearit him litill. Bot this king richart had meid gret persecutioun vpone all king edwartis freindis a litill befoir and had justifeit mony of thame that he trowit wald ryse or vsurp aganis him Thairfoir he vas the war loweit with all the rest of lordis and barronis and commonis that was behind for his tyrannie gave thame occatioun to pas to harie at his landing and to tak pairt with him. Than king richart heirand tell that the nobillis and commonis of the cuntrie war passand to harie to his land in to tak pairt with him he was nocht content thairwith and gart incontinent mak proclamatiounis throch all the realme of ingland

that all maner of man speirtwall or temporall to rys and pas with the king and tak pairt with him aganis harie the erle of richmondis sone quha was cum in ingland with ane armye to invaid him. The proclamatiounis past the armyeis gadderit on baith the syddis the king of Ingland come fordward with fyfthie thowsand horsmen and als mony fute men quhilk was to the number of ane hundreithe thowsand men in awfull arrey and guide ordour. This king richart come fordarwart to meit the said harie quha at that tyme was makand greatt provisioun aganis the said king richart in maner as eftir followis that is to say eftir the said harie had landit he humblit him sellff vpon his kneis prayand to his lord god thankand him of his gret graice and mercie and benefeittis that he had schawin and bestowit vpon him in the bringing of him throw the raiging sea

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bot ony storme of violence of wether and that he was saiflie landit bot impediment of any enemyeis and thairfoir he gave lowein thankis vnto the lord his god on this maner singing the xliij psalme 'Judge and rewenge my 'caus O Lord.' Quhan he had meid ane end in this maner of his prayeris and suplicationis vnto god he than passit to his cunsall and adwysit quhat was best to be done in defence contraire the tyrane king richart that was cummand aganis him with so greit ane nomber baith on fute and hors his counsall concludit that it was best to send secreitlie amang king richartis armye to sie quhat moyanis micht be maid thair foir helpe or support of the said harie and his small nomber And in speciall to pas to ane lord Stanlie quha was captaine of ane thowsand bowis of ordinance quha was ane gret pairt of king richartis wangard and thair to sie gif he micht be ony meanis be drawin fra king richard in ony way for haries support and to cum to him quha promissand to him gif he obtenit the crowne of Ingland at that tyme frome king richart that he sould thaireftir mak him the grettest lord in Ingland for his support and help. This message past quyetlie to the lord stanlie quhair he was lyand with his marrow and companioun Schir Edward brakinberrie leiftennand of the towr of londoun and captaine of the gret ordinarris quhilk had the kingis wangard in thair governance. Bot quhen they hard this secreit message of prince harie and his counsall they were weill contentit heirof and exceptit the samyn thankfullie thinkand weill that thay sould haue thair will and desyres of king richart at that tyme or than thay suld fulfill prince haries desyres and returne fra the king and cum to him as thay did efterward as ze sall heir. Thairfoir I think it nocht guid nor wisdom for ane king that hes ony trubillis or ciuill weir in his cuntrie to mak men of bass degrie and law estait to gif thame

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ony gret autoritie or power or govemement ovir feildis or battellis or zit in keipin of strenthis or castellis quhair- by thay may haue preheminece ovir thair nichtbouris. The quhilk will caus gret lordis and barronis quha ar thair nichtbouris to be discontentit thairwith that sic men of law reputatioun to be promoweit abone thame of the nobillitie. Fordar one the vthir pairt it will caus thame that ar promoveit in this maner and hes so gret autoritie in thair handis for to disawe thair maisteris and princis quha gifis thame the samyn quhan tyme occuris that the enemyeis persewis thame and promesis sic fair hechtis vnto thame and gives thame sic rewardis of gold and siluir and speciallie thir men quha hes nocht beine descendit of auld antient housis nor zit succaidand to na grett heretaige bot come vp as ane captaine of weir and thareftir fallis in familiaritie with thair prince that ar promoveit to sic thingis as I haue schawin to zow of befoir. The nature of thame is evir red die to tak siluir of baith the handis and quha that will gif thame maist thay will be thairis and tak contrapairtie aganis thame quha ar thair promovearis or vpputaris to that he estait or authontie quhilk was weill kynd on thae men and vthiris sensyne in the realme of Scotland quhilk ze will heir heireftir. Bot we will returne to haries messingeris quha brocht him guid ansueris fra thir captanes of the king of inglandis wangard schawand to thame thair promeisis quhilk he was verrie reioysit thairof and his cunsall and gart incontinent pas to his schippis quhilk was lyand in the reid at that tyme eftir his landin and gart bring out of thame all the arteilzerrie pouldar and bullattis with all

maner of vaponis with men and victuallis and all thingis that was proffitabill he gart bring out of thame and syn sett thame in fyre and brunt thame that thay sould nocht be ane saif gard nor occatioun to his men

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to flie quhan he asseilzeit in battell with king richart quha was cummand aganis him verie awfullie with displayit baner to the number of ane hundreith thowsand men. And in this meintyme lord stanlie and Schir Edwart brakinberrie quha had the kingis wangard in governement come to king richart and desyreit of him to haue sum of thair freindis restoirrit to thair landis quha was forfaltit befor be him becaus thay war king Edwardis principall servandis with vthir gret desyres thay desyreit at king richart at this tyme the quhilk he was nocht content withall becaus the tyme was so schort and his enemyeis at hand quhilk was to reave frome him the croun as he had done befor. Thairfoir he gawe thame ansuer in this maner saying 'It 'is tyme to seik zour reward quhan ze haue serwed it. 'I haue no lasour at this tyme to be occupyeit in sic 'matteris.' Of this ansuer thir captanes war nocht contentit and passit from king richart in vraith and anger as appeirit weill eftirward for thay send vord to prince harie incontinent and baid him cum fordward and feir nocht for thay suld set the crowne of Ingland vpon his heid Of thir messageis prince harie was weill contentit and so was all his cunsall and nobillis that was with him and incontinent gart sound his trumpattis and put his men in ordour quhilk was in number than be the supplie of inglismen xxx thowsand of guid lyk men and he directit ten thowsand of thir to be in his wangard and thae to be reullit be twa scoittis captanes his companonis quhome he was brocht vp with all in cumpanie in france To wit Allexander bruce knycht of Erleshall and captaine henderson ane borne man of hadingtoune quha was captaine to the futemen of the Scoittis and Schir Allexander bruce captane to the horsmen quha

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past fordward in the wangard of prince haries battell. Bot quhan king richart of Ingland saw prince hane cummand foirdward so awfullie and stoutlie he callit vpon his counsall to sie quhat was best to be done at that tyme for his defence bot his lordis concludit that thair was no remeid bot to gif battell and fecht or ellis to gif ovir the crowne of Ingland at that tyme the quhilk he was verie laith to do bot gart call Incontinent to him for lordis and send thame for the crowne of Ingland quhilk was nar hand by at that tyme and gart bring it to his pailzeoun in the presence of his lordis and ane scoittis ambassadour callit the bischope of Dunkell [who] happnit to be thair for the tyme in dressin of his maister the king of scotlandis bissienes and in presens of thame all said in this maner as eftir followis 'gif I sould fecht this day 'for the crowne of Ingland it salbe vpon my heid and 'than lat thame win it and haue it and gif I die in battell 'I sall die crownit king of ingland' and to that effect gart tak out the crowne befor this bischope and in presence of his lordis gart set the samyn on his heid with sic cerimonies as he gart vse at that tyme And said 'quhen evir he zeid in battell it sould be on his heid.' With this This ambassadour of scotland to wit the bischope of Dunkell was depassit and gat his ansuer of the king and tuk his guid nicht at him and depairtit. This bischope had ane hieland man with him quha was his meist secreit serwand callit Makgregour quha happnit to be with the bischope in the pailzeoun with the king quhair he was at commoning at that tyme to spye and perceave quhair ane inglisman set the croun vp in keiping quhilk he wald faine haue beine in handis withall. In the meintyme thair come ane fray in the kingis oist be discord of twa lordis quhilk the king wschit out and all his companie to stenche thir twa lordis of thair com-

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bat and tuilzie. This hielandman tareit and seand the pailzeoun and nane intill it and beheld and knew quhair the crowne was sett and sieand na man to spye him tuik the samyn and wand

it in his playd and passit heistellie eftir his maister the bischope quha was than loupand on hors to ryd his way becaus he saw the armyeis or feildis so nar vthir reddie to come and gifbattell he thocht it was guid to him to be away rather nor in plaice. Bot incontinent the king come in and his lordis and zeid to the counsall bot he that keipit the crown mist the samyn incontinent and gart searche and seik bot it cuild nocht be gottin be na way, Thairfore they send proclamationis throw the oist to gar stop all men that was passand ony way fra the oist to bring thame away quhill the crown war searchit and gottin againe. Amang the rest thay brocht the scoittis bischope againe and his hieland man with him quha was Inquyrit eftir his gaine cuming gif he knew ony thing of the kingis crowne or quha had teine it away quha purgit him selff richt effectuouslie that he knew it nocht nor tuk it nocht nor nane of his as he beleiwit. Zit this bischope rememberit him that he had ane lous man with him in his companie callit Makgregour quhilk he suspectit gif ony thing war in missing it wald be found of tymes throw his handis. Thairfoire he callit him befor him and examinat him gif he knew of that croun or nocht or gif he had teine it bot incontinent the bischop knew be his cuntinace that he had the samyn. Thairfoir incontinent [he] delyuerit him to the king and the lordis quha accusit him schairplie how he durst be so peirt for to mell with the honourabill croun of ingland to steill it or to tak it away. Quha ansuerit the king and the lordis againe in this maner as eftir follows — ‘Schir ‘and it be zour graces pleasour to gif me leiwe I will ‘schew zou the veretie quhairfoir and quhy that I tuik ‘zour croun and thocht to haue had the samyn with me. ‘Schir ze sall vnderstand that my mother pronusticatt

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‘quhan I was zoung and wad ding my brother and wald ‘craib hir scho wald ding me and said that I wald be ‘hangit as the leave of my foirbeiris was befor me ‘thairfoir I thocht one hir sayingis and tuik her to be ‘any trew woman zit I thocht that it sould be for na ‘litill matter that I sould die that deid. It sould nocht ‘be for schein nor nolt nor hors nor meiris as my foir-‘beiris did to steill and be hangit for. Bot I think it ‘ane gret honour to my kin and freindis for the riche ‘croun of England that so mony honourable men hes ‘tairlie dieit for, sum hangit sum heidit and sum mur-‘drest and sum fecht to deid for luiffe of this riche croun ‘quhilk ze offerit zour selff within this hour to die for ‘or zour enemye harie gat it of zour heid. Be my faderis ‘saul Schir gif me credence gif I had it in scotland in ‘blair in athole thair sould nevir ane of zou haue seine ‘it fecht als as fast as ze will for it.’ At thir wordis of this hieland man that cuild nocht speik guid inglis bot evirie word was ane mow that he spak quhilk causit the inglis lordis to lauche thairat and meid thame so mirrie and reioysit at his speikin that thay obtenit him graice frome the kingis handis and ane remissioun of that fault and depassit him and his maister and convoyit thame out of the camp with saiff conduck to pas to Scotland. Bot on the morrow heireftir prince harie and his armie come fordward aganis king richart. Richart seand that beith the armyeis was in sicht maid frekly to battell and causit the vangard to pas befor and his gret artilzerie. Than one the vthir pairt harie marchit fast fordward richt desyreous to haue victorie of that tyrane king richart quha had put downe his bluid and had vsurpatt the croun oniustlie for that caus he knew his quarrell to be guide and just aganis that tyrane prayand to god that he micht haue that graie and victorie of him quha was his enemye at that tyme. With this prince hareis vangard marchit fordward first to king richartis battell bot

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king richartis vangard that sould haue incontratt thame gave thame plaice and lut thame gang by thame syne turned thame round about and thair faices to king richart as thay had beine his enemies. King richart seand this zokkit with hareis wangard quha faucht tham stoutlie ane lang quhyle with oncertaine victorie bot at last mony of king richartis battell fled frome him and past to prince harie dreiddand that the victorie sould fall to him at lenth. Sum vtheris of king richartis armye stude and lukit on quhile thay saw quha had the victorie Be this king richart faucht so crewellie that he was slaine for he wald nocht be tein and thair was slaine on his partie with him the Duik of Norphoik with money vthir lordis and gentilmen and in lyk

maner was tein on lyve his sone the erle of surrie and had to the tour of londoun and put in presoun quhair he remanit ane lang tyme or evir he was releiwit. Be this king harie passit ouer this battell and wan the victorie thair of and that be the scoittis and frenchmenis support Schone eftir this waillzeant act was done king harie passit to londoun and resawit the croun of ingland with gret gloir honour and trywmp as ze will heir heireftir bot he was twa zeir thaireftir in gret trubill or he gat his realme dantenit and brocht to pace and rest. Bot we will leave this matter and returne to our awin historie of scotland how king James the thrid past athort all Scotland at his plesour with peace and rest.]

Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles*. 3rd volume (London, 1586), STC (2nd edn), 13569. Accessed via Early English Books Online.

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These cheerefull words he set forth with such gesture of his bodie, & smiling countenance as though alreadie he had vanquished his enimies, and gotten the spoile. He had scantlie finished his saieng, but the one armie spied the other. Lord how hastilie the soldiers buckled their healmes, how quicklie the archers bent their bowes and frused their feathers, how readilie the bilmen shooke their billes, and prooued their staues, readie to approach and ioine, when the terrible trumpet should sound the bloudie blast to victorie or death! Betweene both armies there was a great marish then (but at this present, by reason of diches cast, it is growne to be firme ground) which the earle of Richmond left on his right hand; for this intent, that it should be on that side a defense for his part, and in so dooing he had the sunne at his backe, and in the faces of his enimies. When king Richard saw the earles companie was passed the marish ; he did command with all hast to set vpon them. Then the trumpets sounded, and the souldiers shouted, and the kings archers couragiously let flie their arrowes. The earles bowmen stood not still, but paid them home againe.

William Hutton, *The Battle of Bosworth Field* (First published 1788, second edition, with additions, 1813; repr. Stroud, 1974, 1999)

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Advertisement from the 1813 edition, edited by J. Nichols

Having requested Mr. Hutton's permission to re-publish his interesting Account of the Battle of Bosworth Field, illustrated by some engravings from the "History of Leicestershire;" and having asked whether he had any additions to make; my venerable Friend, in a very kind Answer, says,

'I paid a visit in July 1807 to Bosworth Field; but found so great an alteration since I saw it in 1788, that I was totally lost. The manor had been inclosed; the fences were grown up; and my prospect impeded. King Richard's Well, which figures in our Histories, was nearly obliterated; the swamp where he fell become firm land; and the rivulet proceeding from it, lost in an under-drain; so that future inspection is cut off. I wished to sleep in the room, at the Three Tuns in Atherstone, that was the last in which Henry the Seventh slept prior to the Battle; but was not permitted'.

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The Battle of Bosworth Field

Bosworth Field, everlastingly famous, derives its historical name from Bosworth, a shabby market town on the western borders of Leicestershire, one mile distant. Its real name is *Redmoor Plain*, from the colour of the soil; as the meadows

on the west are called *White-moors* for the same reason. It belongs to Sutton-Cheney, an adjacent village on the east. It is rather of an oval form, about two miles long, and one broad, and is nearly in a line between Bosworth and Atherstone. The superficial contents may be fifteen hundred acres, inclosed in a ring fence. Part is waste land, part in grass, and part in tillage. The whole field is uneven. The south end, where Henry approached, is three miles from Bosworth, now a wood of four or five hundred acres, and is bounded by the above rivulet. About thirty yards above the wood is a spring called at this day *King Richard's well*. A small discharge of water flows from the well, directly down the hill, through the wood, into the rivulet, but having no channel cut for its passage, it penetrates through the soil, and forms that morass, which Henry is said to have left on his right. Amyon-hill is nearly in the center of the field, and is by much the highest ground; the summit is two or three hundred yards beyond the well. The hill has a steep descent on every side, but is steepest towards the north, or the Bosworth side, and terminates with a rill, a bog, and a flat, called *Amyon lays*. The field extends a mile farther towards Bosworth, but that part was not the scene of action.

Not one human being resides upon this desolate field, or near it; as if *that* place was studiously avoided which had been the scene of blood. The remains of two wretched mud-walled tenements are upon the very places once covered by the troops, Hewit's and another; but the families are fled, and the buildings in ruin.

To have a clear view of this battle, it will be necessary to expunge from our idea the present appearance of the country, and view it as in 1485. For this purpose we must consider all the adjacent lordships uninclosed; and the whole scene as an open country. We are told by some authors that the two armies approached Bosworth Field with *design*, "as a place meet for two to engage;" but they forget that most places were as meet. Those where Richard and Stanley were encamped, were better. Their march to the field was not impeded. The ground over which Richard's broken forces retreated to Crown-hill, now full of fences, was then wholly without. Richmond's approach to the field was through an open country, but is now an inclosed lane six miles long, without hedge or timber, is now so altered with both, that nothing remains of its former appearance but the shape of the ground. Henry's camp runs in a straight line, about 300 yards from the brook he had crossed, towards Amyon-hill, sometimes within the wood, and sometimes on the White-moors, according to the zig-zag of the fence; which proves, that neither the wood nor the hedge were then in being. This hedge now divides the manors of Sutton and Shenton, but if hedges did not then divide the manors, it is reasonable to suppose they did not divide the interior parts. Stoke was the first lordship inclosed, in about 1584, Shenton in 1646, and Sutton is yet open.

Michael Bennett, *The Battle of Bosworth* (Stroud, 2000).

Date: c.1490. Author: John Rous (d.1492), a Warwickshire priest. Text: *Historia Johannis Rossi Warwicensis de Regibus Anglie*, ed. T. Hearne (London, 1716), p. 218.

'At length, as the life of King Richard neared its evening, many secretly left him and joining the exiled southerners became adherents of Henry, earl of Richmond, nephew of Henry VI, by his uterine brother. Landing at Milford Haven in Wales on the Feast of the Transfiguration with a relatively small band, Henry gained many followers on the road. When finally he met King Richard and his great army on the eighth day of the feast of the Assumption A.D. 1485, on the border of Warwickshire and Leicestershire, he slew him in the field of battle.

This King Richard, who in his time was cruel beyond measure, reigned for three years and a little more, in the way that Antichrist is to reign, and like him, he was confounded at the peak of his fortunes. For having with him the crown itself, together with a great mass of

treasure, he was suddenly cut down like a wretch in the thick of his army by a comparatively small force of armed men. But yet, if I may say the truth to his credit, though small in body and feeble of limb, he bore himself like a gallant knight and acted with distinction as his own champion until his last breath, shouting oftentimes that he was betrayed, and crying “Treason! Treason! Treason!” So, tasting what he had often served to others, he ended his life most miserable, and finally was buried in the choir of the Friars Minor at Leicester.’

Joannis Rossi, *Antiquarii Warwicensis Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. Thomas Hearne (Oxford, 1716).

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Tandem advesperante vita regis Ricardi multi clam ab eo se retraxerunt, qui adjuncti australibus exulibus adhaesuerunt Henrico comiti Richmundiae ex fratre uterius nepoti regis Henricus Sexti, qui in Wallia festo tranfigurationis domini apud Milford Havyn, cum paucis comparative applicans multos habuit obvios. Tandem cum rege Ricardo & suo maximo exercitu VIII die Assumptionis beatae Mariae anno Domini M. CCCC. LXXXV congregiens, regem Ricardum in campo interfecit in confinibus comitatum Warwici & Leicestriae. Iste rex Ricardus diebus suis ultra modum crudelis triennis & parum ultra instar Antechristi regnaturi regnavit. Et sicut Antichristus in future in maxima sublimitate sua confundetur, sic & iste corona presente cum thesauri copiosa multitudo subito in exercitu suo conglobato paucorum in comparatione tamen fervent armorum fulmine ut miser extinctus est. Attamen si ad ejus honorem ventatem dicam ut nobilis miles licet corpora parvus & viribus debilis ad ultimum archelitem suum mods defensorio clarissime se habuit soe pius se proditum clamans & diens, Treson, Treson, Treson, & sic gustano quod aliis saeopius profoinaverat misemme vitam finivit, & finaliter apud fraters Minores Leicestraiae in choro est sepultus. Et quamvis paucos dies habuit, eos tamen sine suorum plangentium subditorum lamentation terminant. Et sic comes Richmundiae in regem commutatus dictus est Henricus septimus. Qui statim duxit in uxorem praeclaram dominiam Elizabeth, filiam & heredem regis Edwardi III.

***Major’s History* survives in two Latin editions, the first printed in Paris in 1521, then reprinted in 1740, with amendments to names and the extension of contractions. The text was translated and published by Archibald Constable in 1892, for the Scottish History Society.³**

...A multitude of Englishmen began to call for Henry earl of Richmond, who was at that time an exile in France. Inasmuch as he had been long a dweller in France, Charles the Eighth granted him an aid of five thousand men (of whom one thousand were Scots, but John, son of Robert of Haddington,⁴ was chief among them, and leader of the Scots), and he landed in Wales, where his army was forthwith increased greatly, for the English people welcomes ever a change of king. Against king Richard then they made war, and Richard was slain in battle; and thereafter Richmond went to London where he was declared king under the style of Henry the Seventh.

³ John Major, *A History of Greater Britain*, ed. A. Constable (Scottish Historical Society, 1892), p. 393.

⁴ Constable comments on Haddington that: ‘this is probably a mistake either of Major’s or of the printer, for ‘Coningham’. John de Coningham succeeded his father, Robert de Coningham, as captain of the Scottish Archers in 1478, and held that office until 1493...I have been unable to trace any connection between the Cunningham family and Haddington that might have justified Major in claiming them as fellow-countrymen’.

Letter of confraternity

The letter survives in a few copies, now at the British Library and at Harvard University. An image of a copy at the Huntington Library can be seen in the STC (2nd edn), 14077c.36. It is also reproduced in Peter Foss, *The Field of Redemore: The Battle of Bosworth, 1485*, 2nd edition (Leicestershire, 1998), p. 40, and transcribed in O. D Harris, 'The Bosworth Commemoration at Dadlington', *The Ricardian*, vol 7, no 90 (September 1985), p. 115-31 (p.125).

Charyte hath caused our Sovereyne Lorde The Kynge to consider howe gracious howe meritorious & howe pleasande a dede it is to almighty god and what greate rewarde they shall have of god for it that prayth for ye soules of them that weyr sleyne at bosworthe feelde and therfor he hath geven out his letters patent under his brode seale desyrynge all his subiectes & lovers favourably to receyve ye messengers of Seynt James chapel to ye wheche ye bodyes or bones of the men sleyne in ye seyde feelde beth broght & beryed and to geve or send summe thynge to ye same chapell for ye buyldnge & meynテナunce of it and of ye preestes & mynysters that beyth found ther to synge & rede & praye for ye seyde soules & all crysten Therfor every man or woman syngel or weded that ones in theyr lyfe receives a letter of this chapel of Seynt James & geveth or sendeth summe thinge to it for ye meynテナunce of it & of ye seyde preestes & mynysters what soever it be shall be partenar & partaker of all ye indulgence & pardon yt is graunte to ye benefactors of it & of all masses and prayers that shall be seyde in it and good dedes that shall be done in it unto ye worldes ende. And be it knowen that [blank] hath send a devoute and a competente almes to the forseide chapel by the proctor of it and therefore is by this letter admytted & declared to be partenar & partaker of all the indulgence pardon masses prayers good dedes and merytoryos werkes as is afore rehersed both in lyfe & deth for evermore.

The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England 1275-1504, XV ed. by Rosemary Horrox

(Woodbridge, 2005) Parallel text p. 107

Part 1 XV: Richard III; Henry VII, I, p. 107 Actus conviccionis et attinccionis. Memorandum eciam quod quedam billa formam cujusdam actus conviccionis et attinccionis diversarum personarum in se continens, cum quadam cedula eidem annexa, coram domino rege in presenti parlamento exhibita fuit, sub eo qui sequitur tenore: For asmych as every kyng, prince and liege lord, the more higher that he be in estate and preemynence, the more sin- gulerly he is bounde to the advauncement and proferryng of that indifferent vertue justice, [Page vi-276] [Col. a] in promotyng and rewardyng vertue, and by op- pressing and punysshynge vice; wherefore oure soveraign lord, callyng unto his blessid remembrance this high and great charge adjoynded to his roiall majeste and astate, not oblivious nor puttyng out of his godly mynde the unnat- urall, mischevous and grete perjuries, treasons, homycides and murders, in shedyng of infantes blode, with many other wronges, odious offencis and abhomynacions agaynst God and man, and in especiall oure seid soveraign lord, commit- ted and done by Richard late duke of Glouc', callyng and namyng hym self, by usurpacion, Kyng Richard the .iiij.d; the which, with John late duke of Norfolk, Thomas erle of Surrey, Fraunceys Lovell knyght Vicount Lovell, Walter De- Vereux knyght, late Lord Ferrers, John Lord Zouche, Robert Haryngton, Richard Charleton,

An act of conviction and attainder. [8.] Be it also remembered that a bill, containing the terms of a certain act of conviction and attainder of various people, with a schedule attached to it, was presented before the lord king in the present parliament, in the tenor that follows: Every king, prince and liege lord is bound, in proportion to the loftiness of his estate and pre-eminence, to advance and make available impartial justice [Page vi-276] [Col. a] in promoting and rewarding virtue and oppressing and punishing vice. Therefore, our sovereign lord, calling to his blessed remembrance this high and great charge enjoined on his royal majesty and estate, not oblivious or unmindful of the unnatural, wicked and great perjuries, treasons, homi- cides and murders, in shedding infants' blood, with many other wrongs, odious offences and abominations against God and man, and in particular against our said sovereign lord, committed and done by Richard, late

Richard Ratclyf, William

duke of Gloucester. calling and naming himself, by usurpation, King Richard III; who, with John, late duke of Norfolk, Thomas, earl of Surrey, Francis Lovell, knight, Viscount Lovell, Walter Devereux, knight, late Lord Ferrers, John, Lord Zouche, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeley of Weoley, Robert Brackenbury, Thomas

p.108 1485 November Barkeley of Weley, Robert Brakenbery, Thomas Pylkyng- ton, Robert Middleton, James Haryngton, knyghtis. Wal- ter Hapton, William Catesby, Roger Wake, William Sap- cote, Humfrey Stafford, William Clerk of Wenlok, Geffery Seintgermayn, Richard Watkyns, herawld of armys, Richard Revyll of Derby shire, Thomas Puller of the countie of Kent the yonger, John Walsh otherwyse called Hastynges, John Kendal, late secretarie to the seid Richard late duke, John Buk, Andrewe Ratt and William Brampton of Burford, the .xxi. day of August, the first yere of the reign of oure seid soveraigne lord, assembled to them at Leycestr' in the countie of Leyc' a great host, traytoursly intendencyng, imag- ynyng and conspyryng the destruccion of the kyngis royall persone, oure soveraigne liege lord. And they, with the same host, with baners sprad, myghly armed and defenced with all maner armours, as gunnys, bowys, arowys, speris, gleyves, axes and all other maner of artilaries apt or nedefull to gef and avaunce myghty batelle ageyn oure seid soveraigne lord, kept togeder from the seid .xxi day to the .xxij. day of the seid monyth then next folouyng, and theym conduced to a feld within the seid shire of Leyc', ther by grete and con- tynued deliberacion, traytoursly leveid werre agaynst oure seid soveraigne lord, and his trewe subjettes there beyng in his service and assistance under a baner of oure seid soveraigne lord, to the subversion of this roialme, and comen wele of the same. Wherefore, by thadvise and assent of the lordis spirituell and temporell and of the comons in this present parliament as- sembled, and by auctorite of the same, be it enacted, sta- blished and ordeigned, demed and declared that the seid Richard late duke of Glouc', otherwyse called Kyng Richard the thirde, John late duke of Norfolke, Thomas erle of Sur- rey, Fraunces Lovell knyght Vicount Lovell, Walter Dev- ereux knyght, late Lord Ferrers, John Lord

Pilkington, Robert Middleton, James Harrington, knights, Walter Hopton, William Catesby, Roger Wake, William Sap- cote, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerk of Wenlock, Geof- frey St Germain, Richard Watkins, herald of arms, Richard Revell of Derbyshire, Thomas Pulter the younger of the county of Kent, John Walsh otherwise called Hastings, John Kendal, late secretary to the said Richard late duke, John Buck, Andrew Ratt and William Brampton of Burford, on 21 August in the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord [1485], gathered a great host at Leicester in the county of Leicester, traitorously intending, plotting and conspiring the destruction of the royal person of the king, our sovereign liege lord. And they kept the same host in being, with banners displayed, strongly armed and equipped with all kinds of weapons, such as guns, bows, arrows, spears, glaives, axes and all other weaponry suitable or necessary for giving and advancing a mighty battle against our said sovereign lord, from the said 21 August until the following 22 August, when they led them to a field within the said county of Leices- ter, and there by premeditated intent traitorously levied war against our said sovereign lord and his true subjects present in his service and assistance under

Zouche, Rober! Haryngton, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratclyf, William Barkeley of Weley, Robert Brakenbery, Thomas Pylkyn- gton, Robert Middelton, James Haryngton, Walter Hop- ton, William Catesby, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the Counte of Hunt', Humfrey Stafford, William Clerke of Wen- lok, Gefferey Saintgermayn, Richard Watkyns, herawld of armys, Richard Revyll of Derby shire, Thomas Pulter of the countie of Kent, John Walssh otherwyse called Hastynges, John Kendale, late secretary of the seid Richard late duke, John Buk, Andrew Rat and William Brampton stonde and be convict and atleynt of high treason, and disabeled and forjugged of all maner of honor, astate, dignite and pre- emynence, and the names of the same, and forfait to our seid sovereign lord and to his heires all castelles, maners, lordshippis, hundreddis, franchiseces, libertees, privilages, ad- vousons, nomynacions, presentacions, londis, tenementes, rentes, services, reversions, porcions, annuytees, pencions, rightis, hereditamentes, goodys, catallis and dettes, wherof they or any other [*Col. b*] to ther use or to the use of any of them, were seased or *Membrane 7* possessed the seid .xxi. day of August. or any tyme after, within the realme of Englund, Irland, Wales or Caleis, or in the marches therof, in fee symple, fee taill or terme of lif or Iyfes. And also be it ordeigned and establisshed by the seid advice, assent and auctorite that if eny of the seid persones by this act atteynted have made eny estate, feoffement or discon- tynuance of eny londes, tenementes, rentes, possessions and other hereditamentes, wherof they be, or eny of theym were seased or possessed in the right of eny of their wyfes, at the tyme of suche astate, feoffementys and discontynuances

the banner of our said sovereign lord, to the overthrow of this realm and its common weal. Wherefore, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and of the commons assembled in this present par- liament, and by authority of the same, be it enacted, decreed and ordained, judged and declared that the said Richard, late duke of Gloucester, otherwise called King Richard III, John, late duke of Norfolk, Thomas, earl of Surrey, Francis Lovell, knight, Viscount Lovell, Walter Devereux, knight, late Lord Ferrers, John, Lord Zouche, Robert Harrington, Richard Charleton, Richard Ratcliffe, William Berkeley of Weoley, Robert Brackenbury, Thomas Pilkington, Robert Middle- ton, James Harrington, Walter Hopton, William Catesby, Roger Wake, William Sapcote of the county of Huntingdon, Humphrey Stafford, William Clerk of Wenlock, Geoffrey St Germain, Richard Watkins, herald of arms, Richard Revell of Derbyshire, Thomas Pulter of the county of Kent, John Walsh otherwise called Hastings, John Kendal, late secretary of the said Richard late duke, John Buck, Andrew Ratt and William Brampton shall stand and be convicted and at- tainted of high treason, and disabled and dispossessed of all honour, estate, dignity and pre-eminence, and the names of the same, and forfeit to our said sovereign lord and his heirs all the castles, manors, lordships, hundreds, franchises, liberties, privileges, advowsons, nominations, presentations, lands, tenements, rents, services, reversions, portions, an- nuities, pensions, rights, hereditaments, goods, chattels and debts, of which they, or anyone else [*Col. b*] to their use, or to the use of any of them, were seised or *Membrane 7* possessed on the said 21 August or at any time since, within the realm of England, Ireland, Wales or Calais, or their marches, in fee-simple, fee-tail or for term of life or lives. And also, be it ordained and decreed by the said advice, as- sent and authority that if any of the said persons attainted by this act have made any estate, enfeoffment or alienation of any lands, tenements, rents, possessions and other hered- itaments, of which they, or any of them, were seised or pos- sessed in the

Part 1 XV: Richard III; Henry VII,i, p.109 made to eny persone or persones in eny wise; that the seid londys, tenementys, rentys, possessions and hereditamentys be not comprised in this acte, but utterly be excepted and for- prised out of the same. And that right and title of every of the seid wyfes, of and in all suche londes, tenementes, rentys, possessions and other enheritementys be and rest in every of the seid wyfes. and they to be at their accions and recoveres of the same and every parcell therof, according to the cours of the common lawe of Englund; this acte, or eny other acte or ordynaunce in this present parliament made or to be made notwithstanding. And also that it be lefull to every of the seid wyfes and womene, and every of their heires by this acte not atteynted, to entre into the same maners, londes, tene- mentys, rentys, possessions and other enheritementys, in to whose possession soever they be seased or comme, aswell upon the possessione of the king oure souveraign lord, as uppoun the possessione of eny other persone or persones by this acte not atteynted, and theym and every of theym hold and enjoye, to theym and to their heires by this acte not atteynted, according to their title and interest in the same. And also, be it ordeigned by the seid auctorite that every of the kinges liege people, their successours, heires, and assignes, have and enjoye all maner rentys due and of right to theym belongyng afore the making of this acte to theym of eny of the premisses, duryng the tyme that the said pre- misses remayne and abyde in the possessione of oure seid souveraign lord or his heires. And if eny of the premisses hereafter be graunted by the king or eny of his heires by let- tres patentes to eny persone for terme of life, in fee sym- ple or fee taill, that then those persones so seased holde the same maners, londes and tenementes and other premisses of suche persones, their heires and successours, onoly and by the same service as the same maners, lands and

right of their wives at the time such estate, enfe- offments and alienations were made to any person or persons

in any way; that the said lands, tenements, rents, possessions and hereditaments shall not be included in this act, but shall be entirely excepted and excluded from it. And the right and title of each of the said wives of and in all such lands, ten- ements, rents, possessions and other hereditaments shall be and continue in each of the said wives, and they shall pursue their actions and recoveries of the same, and every part of them, according to the process of the common law of Eng- land; notwithstanding this act or any other act or ordinance made or to be made in this present parliament. And also, be it lawful for each of the said wives and women, and for each of their heirs not attained by this act, to enter into the same manors, lands, tenements, rents, possessions and other hereditaments, into whosever possession they may be seized or come, upon the possession of our sovereign lord the king as well as upon the possession of any other person or persons not attained by this act, and hold and enjoy them, and each of them, to themselves and to their heirs not attained by this act, according to their title and interest in them. And also, be it ordained by the said authority that all of the king's liege people, their successors, heirs and assigns shall have and enjoy all the rents due and belonging

tenementes and other premisses were and shulde have bene holdyne and charged with, afore the making of this present acte, homage of tenauntes for terme of life oonly except; savyng to every persone and their heires, other then suche persones as bene by this acte atteynted and their heires, or eny of theym, of or in eny of the premisses, suche right, title, accione or interest in or of the premisses as they shuld have had if this acte had never be made. And allso be it ordeigned by the seid advise, assent and auctorite that all castelles, maners, lordshippes, townys, towneshippys, honours, londes, tenementes, rentes, services, feefermes, annuytees, knyghtis fees, advousons, re- versions, remaynders and other hereditamentes, with their appurtenaunces, of whiche eny persone or persones afore named by this present acte atteynted, were seased or had eny astate, title, right, interest or possessione, soole by hym or theym self or joyntly with other, the seid .xxi. day of August, to thuse, profite or behouf of eny persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, be not forfeited nor forfeitable in enywise to the king nor his heires, nor be seisable in to his handis by these present acte, but utterly be except and forprised out of the same acte. And that all suche astate, title, right, interest and possessione, wheche eny of the seid *[Page vi-277] [Col. a]* persones or persone by this acte atteynted, had the .xxi. day abovesaid, in eny of the seid castelles, maners, lordshippes, townes, towneshippes, honours, londes, tenementes, rentes, services, feofermes, annuytees, knyghtes fees, advousons, reversions, remayndres and other enheritamentes, with their appurtenaunces, to thuse, profite or behove of eny persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, growe, comme and be to every of the same persone or persones by this seid acte not atteynted nor unhabled, and to their heires, and in the same persone and persones and their heires be vested, and they therin be entitled,

to them by right before the making of this act, from any of the things stated, during the time the said things remain and continue in the possession of our said sovereign lord or his heirs. And if any of the things stated are hereafter granted by the king, or any of his heirs, by letters patent, to any person for term of life, in fee-simple or fee-tail, that then those persons thus seised shall hold the same manors, lands, tenements and other things stated from such persons, their heirs and successors only, and by the same service as the same manors, lands and tenements and other things stated were and should have been held and charged with before this present act was made, with the sole exception of homage of life tenants; saving to each person and their heirs, except those persons who are attainted by this act and their heirs, or any of them, of or in any of the things stated, such right, title, action or interest in or of the things stated as they should have had if this act had never been made. And also, be it ordained by the said advice, assent and authority that all the castles, manors, lordships, towns, townships, honours, lands, tenements, rents, services, fee-farms, annuities, knights' fees, advowsons, reversions, remainders and other hereditaments, with their appurtenances, of which any person or persons named above, attainted by this present act, were seised, or had any estate, title, right, interest or possession, alone or jointly with others, on the said 21 August, to the use, profit or benefit of any person or persons not attainted or disabled by this act, shall not be forfeited or forfeitable in any way to the king or his heirs, or able to be seized into his hands by this present act, but shall be entirely excepted and excluded from the same act. And that all such estate, title, right, interest and possession which any of the said *[Page vi-277] [Col. a]* persons or person attainted by this act had on the aforesaid 21 August in any of the said castles, manors, lordships, towns, townships, honours, lands, tenements, rents, services, fee-farms, annuities, knights' fees, advowsons, reversions, remainders and other hereditaments, with their appurtenances, to the use, profit or benefit

p.110 1485 November in suche wise, maner and fourme, of astate, title, right and possessione, as if the seid persone or persones by this acte atteynted, had bene naturally dede and not atteynted nor unhabled. And that it be lefull to every persone or persones, being joyntly seased or possessed with eny of the /persones by this\ acte atteynted or unhabled, the forsaid .xxi. day, to his or their owne use, or to thuse of eny other persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, in to the same castelles, maners, lordshippes and other the premisses to entre, in to whose possessione soever they be seased or comme, aswell uppoun the kinges possessione, as uppoun the possessione of eny other persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, and theym have and enjoye as if the seid persone or persones as is aforesaid by this acte atteynted or unhabled had be naturally dede and not atteynted or unhabled; savyng to every persone and their heires, other then suche persones as ben by this acte atteynted and their heires, of and in eny of the premisses, suche right, title, accione, entre and interest, in or of the premisses and every of they m, as they shuld have had if this acte never had be made. And moreover, be it ordeigned by the seid auctorite that every of the wyfes of every of the seid persones nowe levying, by this acte atteynted or unhabled, and every suche woman suche as was the wife of eny of the seid persones nowe dede, by this acte atteynted or unhabled, frely enjoye, have and possede aftyr the deth of hir husbond, all hir owne enheritaunce, to hur and to hur heires, other then beene atteynted or unhabled by this acte, and all castelles, lordshippes, maners, londes, tenementes and other the premisses, wherof shee, the seid .xxi. day of August, in enywise was seased or possessed, in hur owne right, state or possessione or joyntly with hur said husbond, or with eny other persone or persones, or of wheche eny persone or persones were seased to thuse of eny of the seid woman, or to thuse of eny of the seid women and her seid husbondes, after the fourme and maner, in like astate as they or eny of theym were entitiled in the same the seid .xxi. day; and that duryng the seid estate, it be not seisable nor seased by this acte in to the kinges handes, nor the king to be answered of eny issues or profites of eny parcell therof, the same astate duryng. And that it be lefull to every of the seid wifes and women, and every of their heires by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, and to every persone or persones seased to thuse of eny of the seid women, or 10 thuse of eny of the same women and her seid husbondes, and their heires, to entre into the same castelles, maners, lordshippes and other the premisses, and every of theym, into whose possessione soever they be seased

of any person or persons not attained or disabled by this act, shall grow, come and be to each of the same person or persons not attained or disabled by this said act, and to their heirs, and be vested in the same person and persons and their heirs, and they shall be entitiled in such a way, manner and form of estate, title,

right and possession as if the said person or persons attained by this act were dead rather than attained or disabled. And that it shall be lawful for each person or persons seised or possessed jointly with any of the persons attained or disabled by this act on the aforesaid 21 August, to his or their own use, or to the use of any other person or persons not attained or disabled by this act, to enter into the same castles, manors, lordships and the other things stated, into whosever possession they are seized or have come, upon the king's possession as well as upon the possession of any other person or persons not attained or disabled by this act, and have and enjoy them as if the said person or persons attained or disabled by this act, as is aforesaid, were dead rather than attained or disabled; saving to each person and their heirs, except those persons who are attained by this act and their heirs, of or in any of the things stated, such right, title, action, entry and interest in or of the things stated, and to each of them, as they should have had if this act had never been made. And moreover, be it ordained by the said authority that the wives of each of the said persons now living attained or disabled by this act, and every woman who was the wife of any of the said persons attained or disabled by this act who is now dead, shall freely enjoy, have and possess after the death of her husband all her own inheritance, to her and her heirs, except those who have been attained or disabled by this act; and all castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements and the other things stated of which she was seized or possessed in any way on the said 21 August in her own right, estate or possession or jointly with her said husband or with any other person or persons, or of which any person or persons were seized to the use of any of the said women, or to the use of any of the

or comme, aswell upon the possessione of the king as upon the possessione of every other persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, and theym and every of theym holde and en-joye to hure and to hur heires by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, according to hur or their title, right and interesse in the same; savyng to every persone and their heires, other then suche persones as bene by this acte atteynted and their heires, and the heires of every of theym, and every persone claymyng by the seid persones so atteynted, or [Col. b] their heires, or eny of theym, of or in eny of the premisses, such right, title, accione, entre and interesse in or of the premisses and every of theym as they shuld have had if this acte had not be made. And also be it ordeigned by the seid advice, assent and auctorite that all maners, londes, tenementes, rentes, reversions, possessions and other enheritamentes, of the whiche eny persone or persones aforenamed by this present acte atteynted or unhabled were seised or had eny estate, title, right,

Part 1 XV: Richard III; Henry VII, I, p.111 interesse or possessione, soole by theym self or joyntly with other or with eny other persone or persones to thuse of eny of theym, the seid .xxi. day, in eny maner morgage, or in or for suertie of any somme or sommes of money to be payed by eny feoffement, graunte or astate, made to theym or eny of theym aforeseid atteynted or unhabled, or to eny persone or persones to eny of their use, by eny persone or persones not atteynted nor unhabled; the same somme or summes of money truly

said women and their said husbands, after the form and manner, and in the same estate, as they or any of them were entitled to them on the said 21 August; and that, during the said estate, it shall not be seized or able to be seized into the king's hands by this act, nor shall the king be answered concerning any issues or profits of any part of them during the same estate. And it shall be lawful for each of the said wives and women, and each of their heirs not attainted or disabled by this act, and for every person or persons seised to the use of any of the said women, or to the use of any of the same women and their said husbands, and their heirs, to enter into the same castles, manors, lordships and the other things stated, and each of them, into whose possession they may be seized or come, upon the possession of the king as well as upon the possession of every other person or persons not attainted or disabled by this act, and they and each of them shall hold and enjoy the same, to her and to her heirs not attainted or disabled by this act, according to her or their title, right and interest in the same; saving to each person and their heirs, except those persons who are attainted by this act and their heirs, and the heirs of each of them, and every person claiming by the said persons thus attainted or [Col. b] their heirs, or any of them, of or in any of the things stated, such right, title, action, entry and interest in or of the things stated, and each of them, as they should have had if this act had not been made. And be it also ordained by the said advice, assent and authority that all the manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, possessions and other hereditaments in which any person or persons named above who are attainted or disabled by this present act were seised or had any estate, title, right, interest

or possession, alone or jointly with others, or with any other person or persons to the use of any of them, on the said 21 August, by way of mortgage or as surety for any sum or sums of money to be paid by any enfeoffment, grant or estate made to them, or to any of them attainted or disabled as aforesaid, or to any person or persons to the use of any of

payed and contented, or perceyved and had of thissues, profites and revenues of the seid maners, londes, tenementes, rentes, reversiones, possessions and other enheritamentes, or of eny of theym, according to the effect and true entent of the forsaid feoffment, graunte or astate, be not forfeited nor forfeitable in enywise to the king nor to his heires, nor seisable nor seased into eny of their handes by this present acte, but utterly be except and forprised out of the same; howbeit that noone express mencione be made in the seid feoffment, graunt or astate of the seid mortgage or of payment of eny summe or summes of money. And that it be lefull to every persone or persones by this acte not atteynted nor unhabled, wheche persone or persones, or eny of their auncestres to whom they or eny of theym be next heires or heire, made eny of the seid feoffmentes, grauntes or astate to eny of the seid persone or persones afore atteynted or unhabled, or to eny other persone or persones to eny of their use, in or of eny of the seid maners, londes, tenementes, rentes, reversiones, possessions and other inheritamentes, to entre into the same, in to whose possessione soever they be seased or comme, aswell uppoun the possessione of the king oure souveraigne lord as uppoun the possessione of eny other persone or persones, and theym have and enjoye, according to their right, title and possessione, as if the seid acte of atteyndre or unhablyng never had be made nor had; savyng to every persone and their heires, other then suche persones as been by this acte atteynted and their heires, and the heires of every of theym, and every persone claymyng by the seid persones so atteynted, or their heires, or any of theyme, of or in eny of the premisses, suche right, title, accione, entre and enteresse in or of the premisses and every of theym as they shuld have had if this acte never had be made. Also by the seid auctorite be it ordeigned that where before aswell dyvers eschetours of dyvers shires of the realme as before other persones by commissions assigned, dyvers offices and inquisicions dayly be founden and taken, after suche atteyndres, as is aforeseid, and other atteyndres had and made, that suche persones atteynted and other to their use were seased of certeyne maners, londes, tenementes, rentes, reversiones, services, possessions and other enheritamentes, being perteynyng rightwisly to dyvers the kinges true lieges, and not to eny suche persoune so atteynt, nor to eny other to his use; wherthrough suche maners, londes and tenementes, rentes, reversiones, remayndres, services, possessions and other enheritamentes aforeseid often tymes ben seased into the kinges handes, and his seid true lieges therof put out and fro the possessione therof amoved, to the utterest ympoverysshment of the kinges true lieges; that fro the seid .xxi. day every of his lieges, by eny maner offices or inquisicions founde or taken, greved, [Page vi-278] [Col. a] put out or holden out of the possessione or otherwise hurt by reason or coloure of this acte, be at all tymes hereafter, within the moneth next after the retourne or puttyng in of eny suche offices or inquisicions into eny of the kinges courtes, receyved and admytted to his travers touching every suche office or

them, by any person or persons not attainted or disabled (if the same sum or sums of money have been truly paid and contented, or taken and had from the issues, profits and revenues of the said manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversiones, possessions and other hereditaments, or from any of them, according to the effect and true purpose of the afore-said enfeoffment, grant or estate) shall not be forfeited or forfeitable in any way to the king or his heirs, or seized or able to be seized into any of their hands by this present act, but be entirely excepted and excluded from it; even if no explicit mention is made in the said enfeoffment, grant or estate of the said mortgage or of payment of any sum or sums of money. And that it shall be lawful for every person or persons not attainted or disabled by this act, or their ancestors to whom they or any of them are the next heirs or heir, who made any of the said enfeoffments, grants or estate to any of the said person or persons attainted or disabled above, or to any other person or persons to the use of any of them, in or of any of the said manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversiones, possessions and other hereditaments, to enter into the same, into whose possession they may be seized or come, upon the possession of our sovereign lord the king as well as upon the possession of any other person or persons, and have and enjoy them, according to their right, title and possession, as if the said act of attainder or disabling had never been made or had; saving to every person and their heirs, except those persons who have been attainted by this act and their heirs, and the heirs of each of them, and every person claiming by the said persons thus attainted or their heirs, or any of them, of or in any of the things stated, such right, title, action, entry and interest in or of the things stated, and each of them, as they should have had if this act had never been made. Also be it ordained by the said authority that where after the foresaid attainders and other attainders were had and made, various inquiries and inquisitions have been held and made daily before various escheators of various counties of this realm as well as before

inquisicione, or els shewe his right and title therin, in voyding the seid office or inquisicione, in every place as eny suche office or inquisicione shalbe retourned

p.112 1485 November into, rest or remayne; and uppoun the same travers tended or title shewed, the same persone or persones, the same travers tending or title shewing, to have the same maners, londes and tenementes, rentes, reversiones, remayndres, services, possessions and enheritamentes, wherof suche travers shalbe tended or title shewed, to ferme, by the kinges lettres patentes or otherwise, as to the partie in that behalf shalbe necessary and behoffull, uppoun suertie therfore to be founden, after the fourme uppoun travers in the kinges chauncery tended used; the panic tendyng suche travers or title shewing, the mater therof for hym founde, be restored to his possessione in that behalf, with the issues and profits of the same, fro the tyme of suche office or inquisicion found, taken or had, and the kinges handes therof utterly to be amoved, without ferther or other sute in that partie to be had or made in enywise. Tenor vero cedula supradicte sequitur sub hiis verbis: Provided alwey that this acte of atteynder and forfeittour, nor eny other acte herafter to be made, extend not nor in enywise be prejudiciall to John Catesby knight, Thomas Kebyll and William Assheby, squier, in, of and uppoun and in the maner of Kirkeby upon Wretheke in the countie of Leycestr', nor of any other landes and tenementes in Kirkeby aforeseid, Melton, Somerby, Thorp Seghfelde and

other people appointed by commission, which found that such attainted persons, and others to their use, were seized of certain manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversiones, services, possessions and other hereditaments which rightfully belonged and pertained to various true lieges of the king, and not to any such person thus attainted, or to anyone else to his use; whereby such manors, lands and tenements, rents, reversiones, remainders, services, possessions and other hereditaments aforesaid have often been seized into the king's hands, and his said true lieges put out and removed from possession of them, to the complete impoverishment of the king's true lieges; that, from the said 21 August, each of his lieges who is aggrieved by any inquiry or inquisition held or made, [Page vi-278] [Col. a] or who is put or kept out of possession or otherwise harmed by reason or on the strength of this act, shall at all times hereafter be allowed to traverse the findings of any such inquiry or inquisition within a month of the return or submission of any such inquiries or inquisitions into any of the king's courts, or otherwise show his right and title in the same, to void the said inquiry or inquisition in every place where any such inquiry or inquisition will be returned, rest or remain; and upon offering to traverse the findings or show title, the same person or persons offering to traverse or showing title shall farm the same manors, lands and tenements, rents, reversiones, remainders, services, possessions and hereditaments by the king's letters patent or otherwise as shall be necessary or expedient to the person concerned upon finding surety for the same, according to the form used in the king's chancery when a traverse is made. If the matter is settled in favour of the party making the traverse or showing title, he shall be restored to possession, with the issues and profits of the same from the time such inquiry or inquisition was found, taken or had, and the king's hands be entirely removed from it, without any further or other suit to be had or made in any way in that matter. The tenor of the abovesaid schedule follows in these words: Provided always that this act

Godeby, the whiche they have of the gifte and feoffement of Thomas Danvers and John Lye, but that the seid gifte and feoffement be good and effectuell; this acte, or eny other act to be made in this present parleament notwithstanding. Que quidem billa et cedula communibus regni Anglie in dicto parlamento existentibus transportate fuerunt; quibus iidem communes assensum suum prebuerunt in forma sequenti: A cest bille et a la cedula a ycell annexe les comenz sont assentuz. Quibus quidem billa, cedula et assensu, coram domino rege in parlamento predicto lectis, auditis et plenius intellectis, habitaque *Membrane 8* matura deliberacione super materiis in billa et cedula illis contentis, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in dicto parlamento tunc convocatum, ac communitatis predictae, necnon auctoritate eisdem parlamenti, respondebatur eisdem in forma sequenti: Le roi le voet en toutz pointz.

of attainder and forfeiture, or any other act to be made hereafter, shall not extend or be prejudicial in any way to John Catesby, knight, Thomas Kebyll and William Ashby, esquire, with regard to the manor of Kirby Bellars in the county of Leicester, or any other lands and tenements in Kirby aforesaid, Melton, Somerby, Thorpe Satchville and Goadby which they have of the gift and enfeoffment of Thomas Danvers and John Lye, but that the said gift and enfeoffment shall be good and effectual; notwithstanding this act or any other act to be made in this present parliament. This bill and schedule were conveyed to the commons of the realm of England being in the said parliament: to which the same commons gave their assent in the following form: To this bill and the schedule attached to it the commons are agreed. When this bill, schedule and assent had been read, heard and fully understood before the lord king in the aforesaid parliament, *Membrane 8* and after mature deliberation on the matters contained in that bill and schedule, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal then summoned to the said parliament, and of the aforesaid commons, and by authority of the same parliament, they were answered in the following form: The king wills it in all points.

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RICHARD III

1001

PROCLAMATION AGAINST HENRY TUDOR

R. R.

Ricardus, etc. salutem. Precipimus tibi, etc.

FORASMUCHE as the Kyng our sovereign Lord hath certeyn knowledge that Piers, Bisshop of Exeter, Jasper Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, callyng hymself Erle of Pembroke, John, late Erle of Oxon, and Sir Edward Wodevyle, with other dyvers his rebelles and traytours, disabled and atteynted by the auctorite of the High Court of Parlement, of whom many be knowen for open murdrers, advoutrers [*adulterers*], and extorcioners, contrary to the pleasure of God, and a yenst all trouthe, honour, and nature, have forsakyn there naturall contrey, takyng them first to be under th'obeisaunce of the Duke of Bretayn, and to hym

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promysed certeyn thyngs whiche by him and his counsell were thought thynggs to gretly unnaturall and abominable for them to graunt, observe, kepe, and perfourme, and therefore the same utterly refused.

The said traytours, seyng the seid Duke and his counsell wolde not aide nor socour theym ner folowe there wayes, privily departed oute of his contrey in to Fraunce, and there takyng theym to be under the obeisaunce of the Kynggs auncient enemy, Charlys, callyng hymself Kyng of Fraunce, and to abuse and blynde the comons of this seid Realme, the seid rebelles and traitours have chosyn to be there capteyn one Henry Tydder, son of Edmond Tydder, son of Owen Tydder, whiche of his ambicioness and insociable covetise encrocheth and usurpid upon hym the name and title of royall astate of his Realme of Englund, where unto he hath no maner interest, right, title, or colour. as every man wele knowyth ; for he is discended of bastard blood bothe of ffather side and of mother side, for the seid Owen the graunfader was bastard borne, and his moder was doughter unto John, Duke of Somerset, son unto John, Erle of Somerset, sone unto Dame Kateryne Swynford, and of ther indouble avoutry [*adultery*] gotyn, wherby it evidently apperith that no title can nor may [be] in hym, which fully entendeth to entre this Reame, purposyng a conquest. And if he shulde atcheve his fals entent and purpose,

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every man is lif, livelod, and goddes shulde be in his hands, liberte, and disposicion, wherby sholde ensue the disheretyng and distruccion of all the noble and worshipfull blode of this Reame for ever, and to the resistence and withstondyng wherof every true and naturall Englishman born must ley to his hands for his owen suerte and wele.

And to th'entent that the seid Henry Tydder myght the rather atcheve his fals intent and purpose by the aide, supporte, and assistence of the Kynggs seid auncient enemy of Fraunce, hath covenanted and bargayned with hym and all the counsell of Fraunce to geve up and relese inperpetuite all the right, title, and cleyme that the Kyng[es] of Englonde have, had, and ought to have, to the Crowne and Reame of Fraunce, to gether with the Duchies of Normandy, Anjoy, and Maygne, Gascoyn and Guyne, castell[es] and townys of Caley, Guysnes, Hammes, with the marches apperteynyng to the same, and discevir and exclude the armes of Fraunce oute of the armes of Englonde for ever.

And in more prove and shewing of his seid purpose of conquest, the seid Henry Tidder hath goven as well to dyvers of the seid Kynggs enemys as to his seid rebelles and traitours, archebissshoprikes, bissshoprikes, and other dignitees spirituells, and also the ducheez, erledomez, baronyes and other possesions and inheritaunces of knyghts, squyres, gentilmen, and other the Kynggs true subyetts withynne the Reame, and entendith also to chaunge and subverte the lawes of the same, and to enduce and establishe newe lawes and ordenaunces amongez the Kynggs seid subyetts. And over this, and beside the alienacions of all the premyssez into the possession of the Kynggs seid auncient enemys to the grettest anyntissment, shame, and rebuke that ever myght falle to this seid land, the seid Henry Tydder and others, the Kynggs rebelles and traitours aforeseid have extended [intended] at there coming,

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if they may be of power, to do the most cruell murdrers, Slaughterys, and robberys, and disherisons that ever were seen in eny Cristen reame.

For the wich, and other inestymable daungers to be escheued, and to th'entent that the Kynggs seid rebelles, traitours, and enemys may be utterly put from there seid malicious and fals purpose and sone discomforted, if they enforce to land, the Kyng our soveraign Lord willith, chargeth, and comaundith all and everyche of the naturall and true subgetts of this his Raume to call the premyssez to there myndes, and like gode and true Englishmen to endover (endow) them selfs with all there powers for the defence of them, there wifs, chylderyn, and godes, and heriditaments ayenst the seid malicious purposes and conspiracions which the seid auncient enemies have made with the Kynggs seid rebelles and traitours, for the fynall distruccion of this lande as is aforesaid. And our said soveraign Lord, as a wele willed, diligent, and coragious Prynce, wel put his moost roiall persone to all labour and

payne necessary in this behalve for the resistence and subduyng of his seid enemys, rebells, and traitours to the moost com forte, wele, and suerte of all his true and feithfull liege men and subgetts.

And over this, our seid sovereign Lord willith and comaundith all his seid subgetts to be redy in there most defensible arraye to do his Highnes servyce of werre, when thy be opyn proclamacion, or otherwise shall be comaunded s to do, for the resistence of the Kynggs seid rebelles, traitours, and enemyes. Et hoc sub periculo, &c.- T. me ipso apud Westmonasterium, xxij. die Junij, Anno regni nostri secundo.

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The duke of Norfolk to John Paston

Welbelovyd frend, I cummaunde me to yow, letyng yow to undyrstond that the Kyngs enmysse be a land, and that the Kyng wold hafe set forthe as uppon Monday but only for Howre Lady Day ; but for serten he gothe forward as uppon Tewsdays, for a servant of myne browt to me the sertente.

Wherfor, I pray yow that ye met with me at Bery, for, be the grace of God, I purposse to lye at Bery as uppon Tewsdays nyght, and that ye brynge with yew seche company of tall men as ye may goodly make at my cost and charge, be seyde that ye have promysyd the Kyng; and I pray yow ordeyne them jakets of my levery, and I shall contente yow at your metyng with me.

Yower lover,
J. Norfolk.

***Tudor Royal Proclamations: The Early Tudors (1485-1553)*, ed. by Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, 3 vols (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1964), i.**

p. 3

Announcing the death of Richard III

[York, 25 August 1485. I Henry VII]

HENRY, by the grace of God King of England and of France, Prince of Wales and lord of Ireland, strictly chargeth and commandeth, upon pain of death: that no manner of man rob nor spoil no manner of commons coming from the field, but suffer them to pass home to their countries and dwelling places, with their horses and harness; and moreover, that no manner of man take upon him to go to no gentleman's place, neither in the country nor within cities nor boroughs, nor pick no quarrels for old or for new matters, but keep the peace, upon pain of hanging.

And moreover, if there be any man afearde to be robbed and spoiled of his goods, let him come to Mr. Richard Borow, the King's sergeant here, and he shall have a warrant for his body and his goods, unto the time the King's pleasure be known.

And moreover, the King ascertaineth you that Richard, Duke of Gloucester, late called King Richard, was slain at a place called Sandford within the shire of Leicester, and brought dead off the field into the town of Leicester, and there laid openly, that every man might see

and look upon him. And also there was slain upon the same field John, late Duke of Norfolk; John, late Earl of Lincoln; Thomas, late Earl of Surrey; Francis, Viscount Lovell; Sir Walter Deveres, Lord Ferrers; Richard Ratclyff, knight; Robert Brackenbury, knight; with many other knights, squires, and gentlemen. Of whose souls God have mercy.

pp. 3-4

Pardoning Northern Rebels

[Westminster, 11 October 1485, I Henry VII]

FORASMUCH as many and divers persons of the north parts of this our land, knights, squires, gentlemen, and other, have done us now of late great displeasure, being against us in the field with the adversary of us, enemies of nature, of all public weal; which, as we be informed, repenting their defaults, desire to do us such pleasure and service as might reduce them unto our grace and favor;

We, moved as well of pity as for the great dangers, perils, losses of goods and lives, that the ancestors of the inhabitants of that country have borne and suffered for the quarrel and title of the most famous prince, and of blessed memory, King Henry VI, our uncle; and also for that, that they of those parts be necessary, and according to their duty must defend this land against the Scots: of our especial grace, pardon to all and to every person or persons of the estate and degree above named or under, of what condition they be of or be, what name or names they or any of them be called or named, within our counties of Nottingham, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmorland, our city of York and bishopric of Durham, all manner riots, murders, treasons, felonies, insurrections, confederations, conspiracies, against their allegiances done and committed; and all other offenses and trespasses, whatsoever they be, by them or any of them done against us before the 22nd day of September in the first year of our reign.

Except Sir Richard Ratclyff, Sir James Haryngton, Sir Robert Haryngton, Sir Thomas Pylkynton, Sir Thomas Broughton, Sir Robert Myddelton, Thomas Metcalve, and Miles Metcalve.

Wherefore we will and grant that all knights, esquires, gentlemen, and other thrifty commoners of our counties, city and the bishopric aforesaid, except above except, that will sue to have our pardon under our great seal, shall have expedition thereof of our Chancellor of England for the time being, so that they make their suit before the Feast of the Purification of Our Lady next coming after the date of these presents;

And all other persons of the counties, city, and bishopric abovesaid, as be not of power to sue in like form for our said pardon, that these presents be to them sufficient discharge against us in the law, concerning and touching the premises.

Historical Manuscripts Commission. Twelfth Report Appendix Part IV. The Manuscripts of his Grace the duke of Rutland, GCB, preserved at Belvoir Castle, vol. 1 (London, 1888), pp. 7-8.

Letter, RICHARD III to HENRY VERNON, squire of his body, RICHARD VERNON, and...VERNON, squires, and to every of them.

[1485,] August 11. Beskwood Lodge.— “Trusty and welbeloved we grete you wele. And forasmuche as our rebelles and traitours accompanied with our auncient enemyes of Fraunce and othre straunge nacions departed out of the water of Sayn (Seine) the furst day of this present moneth making their cours westwardes ben landed at Nangle besides Mylford Haven in Wales on Soneday last passed, as we be credibly enfourmed, entending our uttre destruccion, thextreme subversion of this oure realme and disheriting of oure true subgiettes of the same, towardes whoes recontring, God being our guyde, we be utterly determined in oure owne persone to remeove in all haste goodly that we can or may. Wherfor we wol and straitely charge you that ye in your persone with suche nombre as ye have promysed unto us

sufficiently horsed and harneised be with us in all hast to you possible, to yeve utno us your atendaunce without failing, al manere excuses sette apart, upon peyne of forfaitre unto us of all that ye may forfait and loose. Yeven under our signet at our logge of Bekewode the xj day of August. Sign manual.”

TNA C.82/367/no.15: signet warrant, 1511

Transcribed in O.D. Harris, ‘The Bosworth Commemoration at Dadlington’, *The Ricardian*, 7.90 (1985), pp. 115-31 (p. 124). An image of the warrant is reproduced in Peter Foss, *The Field of Redemore: The Battle of Bosworth, 1485*, 2nd edn (Leicestershire, 1998), p. 39.

Henry

By the king.

Moost reverend fader in god right trusty and right entierly welbiloved we grete you well. And wol and comaunde you that under our great seyle beying in your keeping ye doo make oute our lettres patents of licence unto the churchwardeyns of the parishe churche of Dadlington in our countie of Leicestr’, to aske demaunde and levye thalmes of our welbiloved subgietts within the Dioceses of Lincoln’ Cestr’ Worcestr’ and Norwiche, for and towardis the biolding of a chapel of sainte James standing upon a parcell of grounde where Bosworth’ feld, otherwise called Dadlyngton’ feld, in our countie of Leicestr’ was done, and towardis the salary of a prist by the said churchwardeynes provided to sing in the said chapel – principally for the soules of all suche persones as were slayn in the said feld, the same our licence to endure the space of seven yeres from the date of our said lettres patents to be accompted. And thise our lettres shalbe your sufficient warraunte and discharge in that behalf. Yeven under our signet at our castell of Notingham the xxiiijth day of August the thirde yere of our reigne.

[Endorsement:] To the moost reverende fader in god our right trusty and right entierly welbiloved tharchbisshop of Canterbury primate of all England and our chauncellour of the same.

***Letters and Papers, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, ed. by Brewer, Gairdner and Brodie, 21 vols (1862-1932; repr. Vaduz, 1965), I, p.454**

18. Dadlington, Leic. Warrant for a licence to the churchwardens to ask alms, for seven years, in the dioceses of Lincoln, Chester, Worcester, and Norwich, towards building a chapel of St. James's, standing on ground "where Bosworth field, otherwise called Dadlyngton field, in our county of Leicester, was done," and for the stipend of a priest to pray for the souls of the persons slain in the said field. Nottingham Castle, 24 Aug., 3 Hen. VIII. S.B. (*sealed. Counter-Signed: W. Atwater*). [1848.]

From the website of the Richard III Society, American branch. www.r3.org

‘The Ballad of Bosworth Fielde’, BL Additional MS 27879, fos. 434-443. Printed in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1868), iii, pp. 233-59.

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GOD:*that* shope both sea and Land,& ffor all creatures dyed ont tree,sauē and keepe the
realme of England
to liue in peace & tranquillitye ! 1.4

St. George, to vs a sheild thou bee !
ffor we haue cause to pray, both old & younge,
with stedfast hart fful devatlye,
& say “welcome HENERY, right-wise King!” 2.8

welcome right-wise *King*, & loy royall,
he *that* is grounded with grace !
welcome the ffortune *that* hath befall,
which hath beene seene in many a place ! 3.12

who wend *that* England itt was,
soe suddenlye changed shold haue beene ?
therfore lett vs thanke god of his grace,
& say “welcome Henery, right-wise *King* !” 4.16

how had wee need to remember, & to our minds call
how England is transported miraculouslye
to see the great Mischeefe *that* befall
sith the Martyrdome of the holy *King* HENERY ! 5.20

how many lords haue beene deemed to dye,
young innocents *that* neuer did sinn !
therfore lett vs thanke god hartilye,
& say, “welcome HENERY, right-wise *King* !” 6.24

some time a *King* raigned in this land,
that was Edward of hye ffelicytye;
he was dowedt & dread, as I vnderstand,
through all the nations in Christentye. 7.28

he serued Iesus ffull heartilye:
these examples may be taken by him
which hath preuailed him with royaltie
to weare the crowne & be our *King*. 8.32

for with tounge I haue heard it told,
when HENERY was in a ffar cuntrye,

that 8 times he was bought & sold
through the might of gold & fee. 9.36

he served Iesus full hartlye :
this example may be said by him
which prevailed right royallye
he wore the crowne and be our King. 10.40

they banished him over the flood,
over the flood & streames gray ;
yet his right in England was good,
as hereafter know you may. 11.44

there was he banished over the flood,
& into a strange Land they can him bring
that time Raigned Richard with royallye,
he wore the crowne & was our Kinge. 12.48

that was well seene at streames stray ;
at Milford haven, when he did appeare
with all his Lords in royall array,
he said to them *that* with him wore: 13.52

“into England I am entred here,
my heritage is this Land within ;
they shall me boldly bring & beare,
& loose my life, but I be King. 14.56

“Iesus *that* dyed on good fryday,
& Marry mild *that*s full of might
send me the love of Lord Stanley !
he married my mother, a Lady bright: 15.60

“*that* is long sith I saw her with sight;
I trust in Iesu we shall meete with winne
& I shall maintaine her honor right
over all England when I am Kinge. 16.64

“had I the Love of *that* Lord in rich array
that hath proved his manhood soe well at need,
& his brother Sir William, the good Stanley ;—
a better *Knigh*t neuer vmstrode steede ! 17.68

“*that* hath bene seene in mickle dread ;
much was the worshipping *that* happened him ;
a more nobler *Knigh*t at neede
came neuer to maintaine Kinge.” 18.72

now leave we HENERY, this prince royall,
& talke of Richard in his dignitie,
of the great misfortune did him befall :
the causer of his owne death was hee. 19.76

wicked councell drew *Richard* neere,
of them *that* had the prince in their guiding ;
ffor wicked councell doth mickle deere
that bringeth downe both Emperour & *King*. 20.80

the *Lord* Stanley bothe sterne & stout,—
he might be called fflower of fflowers—man dye.
that was well seene without doubt
att Barwicke walls with towers hye ; 21.84

when all the *Lords* of England let itt bee,
that castle wightlye can hee winn.
was there euer Lord in England, ffare or neere (12)
that did such iorney to his Kinge ? 22.88

then Richard bade a messenger to ffare
soe ffare into the west cuntrye
to comfort his knights, squiers lesse & more,
& to set good rule amongst his comintye. 23.92

then wicked councell drew Rich[ard] neere :
these were they words they said to him,
"wee thinke yee worke vnwittilye
in England, & yee will continue *King*. 24.96

“ffor why, the *Lord* Stanley is lent in this Land,
the *Lord* Strange & the Chamberlaine; these 3
they may show vpon a day a band
such as may noe Lorde in Christentye. 25.100

“lett some of them vnder *your* bondage bee,
if any worshipp you thinke to winn ;
or else short while continue shall yee
In England to be our Kinge.” 26.104

then they made out messengers with maine & might
soe ffarr into the west cuntrye ;
to the *Lord* Stanley *that* noble Knight
they kneeled downe vpon their knee 27.108

& said “Richard *that* raignes with royaltie,
Emperour of England this day within,
hee longeth you sore, My Lord, to see ;
you must come & speake with our Kinge.” 28.112

then the *Lord* busked him vpon a day
To ryde to *King* Richard with royaltie,
& hee ffell sicke att Manchester by the way :
as the will of god is, all things must bee. 29.116

the *Lord* strange then called [he] him nee ;
these were the words hee said to him :
“In goodlye hast now ryde must yee
to witt the will of Richard, our Kinge.” 30.120

Then this *Lord* bowned him ffull right
to ryde to *King* Richard hastilye.
when hee came before his soueraigne in sight,
he kneeled downe vpon his knee. 31.124

“welcome, *Lord* Strange, & kinsman nye !”
these were the words he said to him :
“was there euer any Baron in England of ancetrye
shold be soe welcome his to his *King*?” -- 32.128

alas, *that* euer he cold soe say
soe ffoward a hart as hee had vnder !
that was well seene after vpon a day;
itt cast him & his crowne assunder. 33.132

& brought his body into bale & blunder,
these wicked words he cold begin ;
thus ffalshood endeth in shame & wonder,
whether itt be with Emperour or *King*. 34.136

of itt heere is no more to say,
but shortlye to ward comanded was hee.
new messengers were made without delay
soe ffarr into the west countrye 35.140

to the *Lord* stanley soe wise & wittye :
these were the words the said to him,
“you must raise those *that* vnder you bee,
& all the power *that* you may bringe; 36.144

“yonder cometh Richmond over the fflood
with many allyants out of ffarr countrye,
bold men of bone and blood ;
the crowne of England chalengeth hee. 37.148

“you must raise those *that* vnder you bee,
& all the power *that* yee may bringe,
or else the *Lord* strange you must neuer see,
which is in danger of our *King*.” 38.152

In a studye this *Lord* can stand,
& said, “deere Iesus ! how may this bee?
I draw wittenes to him *that* shope both sea & land,
that I neuer delt with noe trecherye. 39.156

“Richard is a man *that* hath no mercye ;
hee wold mee & mine into bondage bringe ;
therefore cleane against him will I bee,
of all England though hee bee *King*.” -- 40.160

then another messenger he did appeare
to william Stanley, *that* noble *Knight*,
& saith, “Richard *that* weareth the crowne soe cleare,
& in his Empire raigneth right, -- 41.164

“willeth you to bring *your* powere to helpe him to ffight ;
ffor all his trust itt is you in.”
then answered *that* gentle *Knigh*t,
“I haue great marueill of your *King* ; 42.168

“hee keepeth the[r]e my nephew, my brothers heyre;
a truer knight is not in christentye :—
that Richard shall repent ffull sore,
ffor any thing *that* I can see. 43.172

“bidd him array him with royaltie
& all the power *that* hee may bringe ;
ffor hee shall either ffight, or fflee,
or loose his liffe, if hee bee Kinge. 44.176

“I make mine avow to Marye, *that* may,
& to her sonne *that* died on tree,
I will make him such a breakefast vpon a day
as neuer made *Knigh*t any *King* in Cristentye ! 45.180

“tell thou *King* Richard these words from me :
ffor all the power *that* he may bringe,
in the ffeild he shall either ffight, or fflee,
or loose his liffe or hee be Kinge.” 46.184

then this messenger fforth hee went
to carry to *King* Richard with royaltie,
& saith, “in yonder countrie I haue beene sent,
soe greued men are not in Christentye. 47.188

“ffor loue of the *Lord* strange *that* in bale doth bee.
these were the words hee sayd to him :
“you must either ffight or fflee,
or loose *your* liffe, if you bee Kinge.” 48.192

att *that* King Richard smiled small,
& sware, “by Iesu ffull of might,
when they are assembled with their powers all,
I wold I had the great turke against me to ffight, 49.196

“or Prester Iohn in his armor bright,
the Sowdan of Surrey with them to bringe !
yett with manhood & with might
in England I shold continue *King*. 50.200

“I sweare by Iesu *that* dyed on a tree,
& by his mother *that* mayden blythe,
ffrom the towne of Lancaster to Shrewsburie,
*Knigh*t nor squier Ile leaue none aliue. 51.204

“I shall kindle their cares riffe,
& giue their Lands to my *Knights* keene ;
many a man shall repent the while
that euer they rose against their King. 52.208

“ffrom the holy-head to St. davids Land,
where now be towers & castles hye,
I shall make *parkes* & plaine ffeilds to stand,
ffrythes ffaire, & fforrests ffree. 53.212

“Ladyes, ‘well-away!’ shall crye ;
widdowes shall weepe & their hands wringe ;
many a man shall repent *that day*
that euer they rose against their Kinge.” 54.216

then he made out messengers with maine & might
throughout England ffarr & neere,
to Duke, Erle, Barron & Knight,
& to euery man in his degree. 55.220

you *neuer* heard tell of such a companye
att sowte, seege, nor noe gatheringe :
part of their names here shall yee
that came that day to serue their King. 56.224

thither came the duke of Norffolke vpon a day
& the Erle of Surrey *that* was his heyre :
the Erle of Kent was not away
the Erle of Shrewsbury breme as beare. 57.228

the Erle of Lincolne wold not spare,
the Erle of Northumberland ready bowne,
the Erle of westmoreland great othes sware,
all they said *Richard* shold Keepe his crowne. 58.232

theres was my *Lord Zouch*, sad at assay:
my *Lord Mattrevis*, a noble *Knight* ;
young Arrundell dight him vpon a day,
the *Lord wells*, both wise and wight ; 59.236

the *Lord Gray Cotner* in his armour bright,
the *Lord Bowes* made him bowne,
the *Lord Audley* was ffeirce to ffight,
& all said *Richard* shold keepe his crowne. 60.240

there was my *Lord Bartley*, sterne on a steede,
the *Lord fferryes* of chartlye, the *Lord fferryes* of Strobe,
the *Lord Bartley* noble att neede,
chamberlaine of England *that day* was hee. 61.244

the *Lord ffittz Hugh* & his cozen nye,
the *Lord Scroope* of vpsall, the *Lord scroope* of Bolton ;
the *Lord Dacres* raised all the North cuntrye ;
& all said *Richard* shold keepe his crowne. 62.248

There was many nobles mustered to ffight:
the *Lord Audley* & the *Lord Lumley*,
the *Lord Gray-stocke* in his armour bright,
he brought with him a noble companye. 63.252

he sware by Iesus *that* dyed on a tree,
“*that* his enemyes shold be beaten downe ;
he was not [in] England, ffarr nor neere,
that shold lett Richard to weare his crowne.” 64.256

there was Sir Iohn Spencer, a noble *Knight*,
Sir Raph hare-bottle in rich array,
Sir william ward, alwayes *that* was wight,
Sir Archeobald, the good Rydley ; 65.260

Sir Nicholas Moberly was not away,
nor yett Sir Robert of Clotton,
alsoe Sir Oliuer, the hend horsley ;
all said Richard shold keepe his crowne. 66.264

there was Sir Henery Percy, sterne on steede,
Sir Roger Bowmer in his companye,
Sir Richard Manners, noble att neede,
Soe was Sir Henery the hend Hatteley ; 67.268

Sir Robert Conway in companye,
Sir Raphe Smyth & Sir Roger Akerston,
& Sir William, his cozen nye,
& all sayd Richard shold keepe his crowne. 68.272

There was a noble *Knight*, Sir Iohn the Gray,
& Sir Thomas of Mountgomerye ;
Sir Rodger Sanfort was not away ;
ffrom London came Sir Robert Brakenburye ; 69.276

Sir Henery Bowdrye was not away,
nor yett Sir Richard the good Chorlton;
Sir Raphe Robbye made him yare;
all said Richard wold keepe his crowne. 70.280

there ws Sir Marmaduke Constable, a noble *Knight*,
of King Richards counsell hee was nye;
Sir william Counyous, allwayes *that* was wight,
Sir Robert Thribald with his meanye; 71.284

soe was Sir Martine of the wardley,
& Sir Richard the good Horton,
& Sir Richard Rosse sware smartlye
that King Richard shold keepe his crowne. 72.288

There was Sir Robert, the sterne Sturley;
Sir Iohn of Melton, thither Came hee,
Sir Garuis Clyfton in rich array,
Sir Henery Perpoint in his degree, 73.292

Sir Thomas North with royaltie,
& alsoe Sir Iohn of Babington,
Sir Hemphrey Stafford sware certainlye
that King Richard shold keepe his crowne. 74.296

there was *Sir Robert Ryder*, a man of might,
Sir Robert Vtridge in his dignity;
Sir Iohn Huntington was ffeirce to ffight,
soe was *Sir Iohn willmarley*. 75.300

Sir Robert Swayley with royaltie,
& alsoe *Sir Bryan* of stableton,
& *Sir william* his cozen nye,
& all said *Richard* shold keepe his crowne. 76.304

There was *Sir Richard Ratcliffe*, a noble *Knight*,
of *King Richards* counsell was hee;
Sir William his brother was ffeirce to ffight,
& *Sir Thomas*, they were brethren 3. 77.308

& *Sir Richard* the Mallinere,
& *Sir Iohn* the good Hortton,
& *Sir Thomas* the good Mallynere,
& all said Rich[ard] shold keepe his crowne. 78.312

There was *Sir Raphe Dacres* out of the North,
& *Sir Christopher* the Moresbye;
Sir William Musgreau was stiffe to stand,
soe was *Sir Alexander ffawne* in his dignity. 79.316

Sir George Murkenffeild behind wold not bee,
nor yett *Sir Thomas* the doughtye Boughton:
Sir Christopher Owen made him readye,
& all sayd Rich[ard] shold weare his crowne. 80.320

there was *Sir william Tempest* out of the vale,
& *Sir Richard* his cozen nye;
Sir Raph Ashton, hee made not ffaile,
Sir Thomas Maclefeild in Companye. 81.324

Sir Richard ward behind wold not bee,
nor yett *Sir Robert* of Middleton;
Sir Iohn Coleburne sware certainelye
that King Richard shold keepe his crowne. 82.328

there was *Sir Iohn Neuill* of bloud soe hye,
Sir Iohn Hurlstean in rich array,
Sir Rodger Herne behind wold not bee,
Sir Iames Harrington, sad att assay. -- 83.332

Sir Robert his brother was not away,
nor yett was *Sir Thomas* of Pilkinton ;
& all these, great othes sware they
that King Richard shold keepe his crowne. 84.336

had wee not need to Iesus to pray,
that made the world, the day & night,
to keepe vs out of bale and woe ?
2 shires against all England to ffight. 85.340

& maintaine HENERY *that* came ffor his right,
& in the realme of England was ready bowne !
ffreinds, & yee will harken me right,
I shall tell you how Henery gott his crowne. 86.344

the Lord Stanley sterne and stout,
that euer hath beene wise and wittye,
ffrom Latham Castle withouten doubt
vpon a munday bowned hee 87.348

with *Knights* & squiers in companye.
they had their banners in the sunn glitteringe ;
they were as ffeirce as ffawcon to fflye,
to maintaine HENERY *that* was their *King*. 88.352

then this Lord bowned him vpon a day
with noble men in companye ;
towards Newcastle vnder Line he tooke the way,
& told his men both gold and ffee. 89.356

Sir william Stanley wise and wight,
ffrom the castle of Holt with holts hye
to the Nantwich hee rydeth straight,
& tooke his men wages of gold and ffee. 90.360

all the north wales ffor the most *partye*,
the fflower of Cheshire, with him hee did bringe ;
better men were not [in] christentye
that euer came to maintaine their *King*. 91.364

Erly vpon Tuesday att Morne
Sir william Stanley, *that* noble *Knight*,
remoued ffrom Nantwiche to the towne of stone,—
by then was Henery come to stafford straight,— 92.368

he Longed sore to see him in sight,
& straight to stafford towne is gone.
& kneeled downe anon-right,
by the hand he hath him tane : 93.372

hee said, “I am ffull glad of thee ;”
& these were the words he said to him :
“through the helpe of my Lord thy ffather, & thee,
I trust in England to continue Kinge.” 94.376

then he hent *that* noble prince by the hand,
& said, “welcome my soueraigne *King* HENERY !
challenge thy Herytage & thy Land,
that thine owne is, & thine shall bee. 95.380

“be Eger to ffight, & lothe to fflee !
let manhood be bredd thy brest *within* !
& remember another day who doth ffor thee,
of all England when thou art Kinge.” 96.384

after, there was noe more to say,
but leaue of the prince he hath taken
& came againe by the light of the day
to the litle prettye towne of stone. 97.388

Early vpon Saturday att morne,
to Lichffeild they remoue, both old & younge.
att woosley bridge them before,
there had they a sight of our Kinge. 98.392

& to Lichefeild they ridden right,
with answerable army came royallye :
to nomber the companye *that* was with the *Knight*,
itt was a goodlye sight to see. 99.396

guns in Lichefeild they cracken on hye
to cheere the countye both more & min,
& glad was all the Chiualrye
that was on heneryes parte, our Kinge. -- 100.400

throughout Lichefeild rydeth the Knight,
on other side there tarryed hee ;
a messenger came to him straight,
& kneeled downe vpon his knee, 101.404

& saith, “the *Lord Stanley* is his enemy nye,
that are but litle way ffrom him ;
they will ffight *within* these houres 3
with *Richard that* is Englands Kinge.” 102.408

“*that* wold I not,” the Knight can say,
“ffor all the gold in Christentye !”
towards Tamworth he tooke the way,
& came to Hattersey, & neighed nye 103.412

where *Lord Stanley* in a dale cold bee,
with trumpetts & tabours tempered with him :
itt was a comelye sight to see
as euer was to maintaine Kinge. 104.416

All *that* night there tarryed they,
& vpon the sunday gods service did see.
toward the ffeild they did them array ;
the vawward the *Lord Stanley* tooke hee. 105.420

Sir William Stanley the rerward wold bee,
& his sonne *Sir Edward* with a winge.
thé did remaine in their array
to waite the coming of *Richard King*. 106.424

then they Looked to a fforrest syde,
they hard trumpetts & tabours tempered on hye :
they thought *King Richard* had comen there,
& itt was the Noble prince, *King HENERYE*. 107.428

ouer a riuer then rydeth hee ;
he brake the ray, & rode to him :
itt was a comelye sight to see
the meeting of our *Lord & Kinge*. 08.432

then in their host there did ffall affray
a litle time before the night ;—
you neuer saw men soe soone in their array
with ffell weapons ffeirce ffor to ffight. 109.436

vpon a keene courser *that* was wight,
other *Lords* with him hee cold bringe ;
thus in array came ryding straight,
HENERY of England, our noble Kinge. 110.440

he lowted low & tooke his hatt in his hand,
& thanked the states and cominaltye :
“to quitt you all I vnderstand ;
I trust in Iesus *that* day to see.” 111.444

many a cry in the host *that* night did bee ;
& anon the Larke began to singe ;
truth of the battell heere shall yee,
that euer was betweene *King* and *King*. 112.448

King HENERY desired the vaward right
of the *Lord* stanley *that* was both wise & wittye ;
& hee hath granted him in sight,
& saith “but small is *your* companye.” 113.452

4 of the Noble *Knights* then called hee ;
their names to you then I shall minge ;
he bade array them with their chiuallrye,
& goe to the vaward with our Kinge. 114.456

Sir Robert Tunsall, a Noble Knight,
& come of royall anceytree ;
Sir Iohn Savage, wise & wight,
Sir Hugh Persall ; there was 3 : 115.460

Sir Humphrey Stanley the 4th did bee,
that proued noble in euerye thinge ;
they did assay them with their chiuallrye,
& went to the vaward with our kinge. 116.464

the *Lord* stanley bothe sterne and stout,
2 battells *that* day had hee
of hardye men, withouten doubt
better were not in christentye. 117.468

Sir william, wise and worthye,
was hindmost att the outsettinge ;
men said *that* day *that* dyd him see,
hee came betime vnto our *King*. 118.472

then he remoued vnto a mountaine full hye,
& looked into a dale ffull dread ;
5 miles compasse, no ground they see,
ffor armed men & trapped steeds. 119.476

theyr armor glittered as any gleed ;
in 4 strong battells they cold fforth bring ;
they seemed noble men att need
as euer came to maintaine [a] King. 120.480

the duke of Norfolke avanted his banner bright,
soe did the young Erle of Shrewsburye,
to the sun & wind right speedylye dight,
soe did Oxford, *that* Erle, in companye. 121.484

to tell the array itt were hard ffor me,
& they Noble power *that* they did bring.
And of the ordinance heere shall yee,
that had *that* day Richard our Kinge. 122.488

they had 7 scores Sarpendines without dout,
that locked & Chained vppon a row,
as many bombards *that* were stout ;
like blasts of thunder they did blow. 123.492

10000 Morespikes, with-all,
& harquebusyers, throwlye can thé thringe
to make many a noble man to ffall
that was on HENERYS *part*, our kinge. 124.496

King Richard looked on the mountaines hye,
& sayd, “I see the banner of the Lord Stanley.”
he said, “ffeitch hither the Lord Strange to mee,
ffor doubtlesse hee shall dye this day ; 125.500

“I make mine avow to Marye, *that* may,
that all the gold this Land within
shall not saue his liffe this day,
in England iff I be Kinge !” 126.504

then they brought Lord Strange into his sight ;
he said, “ffor thy death make thee readye.”
then answered *that* noble Knight,
& said, “I crye god & the world mercye ! 127.508

“& Iesus, I draw wittnesse to thee
that all the world ffrom woe did winn,
since the time *that* I borne did bee,
was I neuer traitor to my Kinge.” 128.512

a gentleman then called hee,—
men said Latham was his name,—
“& euer thou come into my countrye,
greete well my gentlemen eche one; 129.516

“my yeomen Large of blood and bone,
sometimes we had mirth att our meetinge ;
they had a *Master*, & now they haue none,
ffor heere I must be martyred with the Kinge !” 130.520

there he tooke a ring of his ffingar right,
& to *that* squier raught itt hee,
& said, "beare this to my Lady bright,
for shee may thinke itt longe or shee may see ; 131.524

“yett att doomes day meete shall wee,—
I trust in Iesu *that* all this world shall winn—
In the celestyall heauen vpon hye
in presence of a Noble *King*. 132.528

“& the ffeild be lost vpon our *partye*,—
as I trust in god it shall not bee,—
take my eldest sonne *that* is my heyre,
& fflee into some ffar countrye. 133.532

“yett the child a man may bee,—
hee is comen of a *Lords* kinn,—
another day to reuenge mee
of Richard of England, if he be *King*.” 134.536

then to King Richard there came a *Knight*,
saith, "I hold noe time about this to be,
see yee not the vawards beginning to ffight?
when yee haue the ffather, the vnkle, all 3, 135.540

“looke what deathe you will haue them to dye ;
att *your* will you may them deeme.”
through these ffortunate words eskaped hee
out of the danger of *Richard* the Kinge. 136.544

then the *partyes* countred together egerlye.
when the vawards began to ffight,
King Henery ffought soe manfullye,
soe did Oxford, *that* Erle soe wight ; 137.548

Sir Iohn Sauage, *that* hardy *Knight*,
deathes dints he delt *that* day
with many a white hood in fight,
that sad men were att assay. 138.552

Sir Gilbert Talbott was not away,
but stoutly stirred him in *that* ffight ;
with noble men att assay
he caused his enemyes lowe to light. 139.556

Sir Hugh Persall, with sheild & speare
ffull doughtylye *that* day did hee ;
he bare him doughtye to this warr,
as a man of great degree. 140.560

King Richard did in his army stand,
he was n[u]mbered to 40000 and 3
of hardy men of hart and hand,
that vnder his banner there did bee. 141.564

Sir William Stanley, wise & worthie
remembred the brea[k]ffast hee hett to him ;
downe att a backe then cometh hee,
& shortlye sett vpon the Kinge. 142.568

then they countred together sad & sore ;
archers they lett sharpe arrowes fflee,
they shott guns both ffell & ffarr,
bowes of vewe bended did bee, 143.572

springalls spedd them speedylye,
harquebusiers pellets throughly did thringe ;
soe many a banner began to swee
that was on Richards partye, their King. 144.576

then our archers lett their shooting bee,
with ioyned weapons were growden ffull right,
brands rang on basenetts hye,
battell-axes ffast on helmes did light. 145.580

there dyed many a doughtye *Knight*,
there vnder ffoot can thé thringe ;
thus they ffought with maine & might
that was on HENERYES part, our King. 146.584

then to *King Richard* there came a Knight,
& said, "I hold itt time ffor to fflee ;
ffor yonder stanleys dints they be soe wight,
against them no man may dree. -- 147.588

"Heere is thy horse att thy hand readye ;
another day thou may thy worshipp win,
& ffor to raigne with royaltie,
to weare the crowne, and be our *King*." 148.592

he said, "giue me my battell axe to my hand,
sett the crowne of England on my head soe hye !
ffor by him *that* shope both sea and Land,
King of England this day I will dye ! 149.596

"one ffoote will I neuer fflee
whilest the breath is my brest *within* !"
as he said, soe did it bee ;
if hee lost his liffe, if he were King. 150.600

about his standard can thé light,
the crowne of gold thé hewed him ffroe,
with dilffull dints his death thé dight,
the Duke of Norffolke *that* day thé slowe. 151.604

the Lord fferrers & many other moe,
boldye on bere they can them bringe ;
many a noble *Knigh*t in his hart was throwe,
that lost his liffe with Richard the King. 152.608

there was slaine Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a noble *Knigh*t,
of King Richards counsell was ffull nye ;
Sir william Conyas, allwayes *that* was wight,
& Sir Robert of Brakenburye. 153.612

a *Knigh*t there dyed *that* was ffull doughtye,
that was Sir Richard the good Chorlton ;
that day there dyed hee
with Richard of England *that* ware the crowne. 154.616

amongst all other *Knights*, remember
which were hardy, & therto wight :
Sir william Brandon was one of those,
King Heneryes Standard he kept on height, 155.620

& wanted itt with manhood & might
vntill with dints hee was dr[i]uen downe,
& dyed like an ancye*nt* *Knigh*t,
with HENERY of England *that* ware the crowne. 156.624

Sir Perciuall Thriball, the other hight,
& noble *Knigh*t, & in his hart was true ;
King Richards standard hee kept vp*ri*ght
vntill both his leggs were hewen him froe ; 157.628

to the ground he wold neuer lett itt goe,
whilest the breath his brest ws within ;
yett men pray ffor the *Knights* 2
that euer was soe true to their King. 158.632

then they moued to a mountaine on height,
with a lowde voice they cryed king HENERY ;
the crowne of gold *that* was bright,
to the Lord stanley deliuered itt bee. 59.636

anon to King HENERY deliuered itt hee,
the crowne *that* was soe deliuered to him,
& said, “methinke ye are best worthy
to weare the crowne and be our King.” 160.640

Then they rode to Leister *that* night
with our noble prince King HENERY ;
they brought King Richard thither with might
as naked as he borne might bee, 161.644

& in Newarke Laid was hee,
that many a one might looke on him.
thus ffortunes raignes most maruelously
both with Emperour & with king. 162.648

now this doubtffull day is brought to an end,
Iesu now their soules haue mercye !
& hee [that] dyed this world to amend,
sauē stanleys blood, where-soeuer they bee, 163.652

to remaine as *Lords* with royaltie
when truth & conscyence shall spread & spring,
& *that* they bee of counsell nye
to James of England *that* is our *King* ! 164.656

ffinis.

Marginal Notes

The marginal notes to the Hales & Furnivall edition are listed below according to stanza and line, or lines, to which they correspond in the text. Stanza 1: 1.1 - May Christ; 1.3 - Keep England; 1.4 - in peace!

Stanza 2: 1.6 - We have cause to; 1.7 - welcome Henry VII.

Stanza 4: 1.13 - Who thought England; 1.14 - would have changed; 1.15 - so soon?

Stanza 5: 1.17 - We know; 1.20 - that Henry VI was martyred.

Stanza 6: 1.23 - Let us thank God; 1.24 - for Henry VII.

Stanza 7: 1.26 - King Edward.

Stanza 8: 1.29 - served Jesus.

Stanza 9: 1.34 - Henry VII.

Stanza 10: 1.37 - did so too.

Stanza 11: 1.41 - He was banished.

Stanza 12: 1.47 - When Richard III; 1.48 - was king.

Stanza 13: 1.49 - but he landed; 1.50 at Milford Haven.

Stanza 14: 1.53 - And claimed; 1.54 his heritage 1.56 to be king.

Stanza 15: 1.57-59 - He prayed for the help of Lord Stanley.

Stanza 17: 1.67 - and his brother Sir William.

Stanza 18: 1.71 - That noble knight.

Stanza 19: 1.73-74 - But we'll talk of Richard III.

Stanza 20: 1.77-80 - Wicked counsellors ruined him.

Stanza 21: 1.81-84 - He condemned to death Lord Stanley who won Berwick for him.

Stanza 22: 1.85 - When no other Lord could.

Stanza 24: 1.93 - His bad counsellors.

Stanza 25: 1.97-98 - told him Lord Stanley and others were too strong.

Stanza 26: 1.101 - he must put them down

Stanza 27: 1.105-107 - So messengers are sent to Lord Stanley

Stanza 28: 1.109 - and bid him; 1.112 - come to the King

Stanza 29: 1.113 - He sets off; 1.115 - but falls sick at Manchester

Stanza 30: 1.117 - and sends on Lord Strange; 1.120 - to know Richard's will

Stanza 31: 1.121 - Lord Strange; 1.124 - kneels to Richard

Stanza 32: 1.125 - who welcomes him; 1.126 - with kind words

Stanza 33: 1.130 - but froward heart.

Stanza 35: 1.137 - and casts him into prison.; 1.139 - Other messengers come to

Stanza 36: 1.141 - Lord Stanley; 1.142 - and say; 1.143 - "Raise all your men; for

Stanza 37: 1.145 - Richmond is coming; 1.148 - to claim the crown.

Stanza 38: 1.151 - or you'll never see; 1.152 - Lord Strange again.

Stanza 39: 1.153 - Lord Stanley; 1.154 - says,

Stanza 40: 1.157 - "Richard has no mercy.; 1.159 - I am against him."

Stanza 41: 1.161 - Richard's messenger; 1.162 - asks Sir William Stanley
 Stanza 42: 1.165 - to help the King.; 1.168 "What!
 Stanza 43: 1.169 - when he keeps my nephew in hold.; 1.171 - He shall repent it sore!
 Stanza 44: 1.173 - Let him arm; 1.175 - and fight.; 1.176 - and flee or die.
 Stanza 45: 1.177 - By Mary; 1.178 - and Christ; 1.179 - I'll make him a meal!
 Stanza 46: 1.181 - Tell him; 1.183 - to fight and flee; 1.184 - or die!"
 Stanza 47: 1.185 - The messenger tells Richard; 1.187 - how all the country; 1.188 - rebel at
 Stanza 48: 1.189 - Lord Strange's imprisonment.; 1.191 - He must fight.; 1.192 - flee, or die.
 Stanza 49: 1.193 - Richard swears that; 1.194 - whosoever opposes,
 Stanza 50: 1.200 - he'll still be King.
 Stanza 51: 1.203 - he'll leave no Lancashire; 1.204 squire alive.
 Stanza 53: 1.209 - and will lay waste Wales,
 Stanza 54: 1.214 - make widows weep.; 1.215 - and rebel; 1.216 - rue.
 Stanza 55: 1.217-218 - He sends all over England for his nobles,
 Stanza 56: 1.223-224 - and they come to serve their King:
 Stanza 57: 1.225-228 - the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Kent, Shrewsbury,
 Stanza 58: 1.229-231 - Lincoln, Northumberland, Westmoreland;
 Stanza 59: 1.233-236 - Lords Zouch, Maltravers, Arundel, Wells,
 Stanza 60: 1.237-239 - Grey of Codnor, Bowes, Audley,
 Stanza 61: 1.241-243 - Berkeley, Ferrers of Chartley, Ferrers of Groby,
 Stanza 62: 1.245-247 - Fitzhugh, Scrope of Upsal, Scrope of Bolton; Dacres,
 Stanza 63: 1.250-251 - Lumley, Greystocke;
 Stanza 65: 1.257 - Sirs J. Spencer, 1.259 - W. Ward,
 Stanza 66: 1.261-263 - N. Moberly, R. Clutton, O. Horsley,
 Stanza 67: 1.265 - H. Percy; 1.267 - R. Manners,
 Stanza 68: 1.269 - R. Conway; 1.271 - W. Akerston,
 Stanza 69: 1.273 - Jn. Gray.; 1.275 - R. Sanfort,
 Stanza 70: 1.277 - H. Bowdrye.; 1.279 - R. Robbye,
 Stanza 71: 1.281 - M. Constable.; 1.283 - W. Conyers,
 Stanza 72: 1.285 - M. Wardley.; 1.287 - R. Rosse,
 Stanza 73: 1.289 - R. Sturley.; 1.291 - G. Clyfton,
 Stanza 74: 1.295 - H. Stafford,
 Stanza 75: 1.297 - R. Ryder.; 1.299 - J. Huntington,
 Stanza 76: 1.301 - R. Swayley.; 1.303 - W. Stapleton,
 Stanza 77: 1.305 - R. Ratcliffe.; 1.307 - W. Ratcliffe,
 Stanza 78: 1.309 - R. Malinere.; 1.311 - T. Mallynere,
 Stanza 79: 1.313 - R. Dacres.; 1.315 - W. Musgrave,
 Stanza 80: 1.317 - G. Murkenffield.; 1.319 - C. Owen
 Stanza 81: 1.321 - W. Tempest.; 1.323 - R. Ashton,
 Stanza 82: 1.325 - R. Ward.; 1.327 - J. Coleburne,
 Stanza 83: 1.329 - J. Neville.; 1.331-332 - R. Herne, J. Harrington,
 Stanza 84: 1.333 - R. Harrington; 1.335-336 - All swear Richard shall reign.
 Stanza 85: 1.340 - 2 shires alone fight for Henry.
 Stanza 87: 1.345 - Lord Stanley; 1.347 - leaves Latham Castle
 Stanza 89: 1.353 - and marches towards; 1.355 - Newcastle.
 Stanza 90: 1.357 - Sir Wm. Stanley; 1.359 - marches to Nantwich,
 Stanza 91: 1.362 - with the flower of Cheshire;
 Stanza 92: 1.367 - thence to Stone,
 Stanza 93: 1.369-370 - from whence he goes to meet Henry,
 Stanza 94: 1.373 - who is full glad of him.
 Stanza 95: 1.378-379 - He exhorts Henry to claim his crown.
 Stanza 96: 1.381 - be eager to fight.; 1.383-384 - and, when he wins, to remember his friends.
 Stanza 97: 1.385 - Then Sir William; 1.387-388 - returns to Stone.
 Stanza 98: 1.389 - On Saturday; 1.390 - he marches to Lichfield
 Stanza 99: 1.395 - with a goodly company,

Stanza 101: 1.401 - and rides though the town.; 1.403 - Then he hears
Stanza 102: 1.405 - that Lord Stanley; 1.407 - is about to fight Richard.
Stanza 103: 1.411 - He passes on to Hattersey,
Stanza 104: 1.413 - and joins Lord Stanley.
Stanza 105: 1.418-419 - On Sunday they set their battle in array,
Stanza 106: 1.424 - waiting Richard's attack.
Stanza 107: 1.428 - But Henry first comes,
Stanza 108: 1.431 - (comely it was to see the meeting)
Stanza 110: 1.437 - on a swift courser.; 1.440 - our noble King.
Stanza 111: 1.441-443 - He thanked the lords and commons, and said he hoped to requite them.
Stanza 112: 1.446 - Next morning
Stanza 113: 1.449 - he asked to lead the van.
Stanza 114: 1.453 - Lord Stanley gave it to him.; 1.456 - with 4 good knights,
Stanza 115: 1.457 - Tunstall.; 1.459 - Savage; 1.460 - Perschall,
Stanza 116: 1.461 - Humphrey Stanley,
Stanza 117: 1.465-466 - Lord Stanley has two battalions,
Stanza 118: 1.469-470 - Sir Wm. Stanley has the rearguard.
Stanza 119: 1.473 - He sees Richard's host.; 1.475 - five miles of men,
Stanza 120: 1.478 - in four battalions,
Stanza 121: 1.481 - Norfolk in the van.
Stanza 122: 1.487 - Their artillery was,
Stanza 123: 1.489 - 140 serpentines.; 1.491 - 140 bombards,
Stanza 124: 1.493-494 - 10,000 morris-pikes and harquebusiers.
Stanza 125: 1.497-498 - Richard sees Lord Stanley's banner.
Stanza 126: 1.501 - and swears; 1.503 - Lord Strange shall die.
Stanza 127: 1.505 - Strange is brought out; 1.508 - he calls
Stanza 128: 1.509-512 - Christ to witness that he never was a traitor.
Stanza 129: 1.515-516 - He sends a message to his gentlemen
Stanza 130: 1.517 - and yeomen,
Stanza 131: 1.521 - a ring to his Lady,
Stanza 132: 1.525 - and hopes that; 1.527 - they all may meet in heaven,
Stanza 133: 1.529 - If Henry loses.; 1.531 - his son is to be taken abroad;
Stanza 134: 1.533 - and when he's a man.; 1.535-536 - he is to revenge him on Richard.
Stanza 135: 1.537 - Richard hears; 1.539 - that the vans are fighting,
Stanza 136: 1.541 - waits to take the Stanleys; 1.543 - and Strange escapes death.
Stanza 137: 1.547 - Henry fights manfully,
Stanza 138: 1.549 - and so do Savage,
Stanza 139: 1.553 - Talbot,
Stanza 140: 1.557 - and Pearsall,
Stanza 141: 1.561 - Richard has 40,003 men.
Stanza 142: 1.565 - Sir William Stanley; 1.568 - attacks him.
Stanza 143: 1.570 - Arrows fly.; 1.571 - guns shoot;
Stanza 144: 1.575 - Richard's men begin to fail.
Stanza 145: 1.577-578 - Henry's archers take to their swords,
Stanza 146: 1.583 - and his men fight mightily.
Stanza 147: 1.585 - A knight advises; 1.586 - Richard to flee.
Stanza 149: 1.593-594 - But Richard calls for his battle-axe and crown: 1.596 - he will die a King.
Stanza 150: 1.597 - and never flee.
Stanza 151: 1.602 - Richard is slain.; 1.604 - Norfolk, too.
Stanza 152: 1.605 - Lord Ferrers,
Stanza 153: 1.609 - Sir Richard Ratcliffe.; 1.611 - Sir William Conyers,
Stanza 154: 1.614 - and Sir Richard Chorlton.
Stanza 155: 1.619 - Sir William Brandon.; 1.620 - Henry's standard-bearer,

Stanza 156: l.622 - was killed.
 Stanza 157: l.625 - and also Sir P. Triball,; l.627 - Richard's standard-bearer
 Stanza 159: l.633 - Henry is proclaimed King,; l.636 - and Lord Stanley
 Stanza 160: l.637 - hands the crown of England to him.
 Stanza 161: l.641 - They ride to Leicester,
 Stanza 162: l.645 - and lay Richard's body in Newark.
 Stanza 163: l.649 - Jesu have mercy on their souls,
 Stanzas 163-164: ll.652-654 - and save Stanley's blood as Lords wherever truth shall spread!

Footnotes

For the purposes of adaptation, the numerical sequence of the notes in the Hales & Furnivall edition has been altered. Original numbers appear in parentheses below.

1. (1) rightwise, i.e., righteous, —P. A.-S. *rihtwís*—F.
2. (2) wen'd, ween'd —P.
3. (3)? him superfluous, see 1.39
4. (1) MS. hin. —F.
5. (2) Lord Stanley, (afterwards Earl of Derby) had married as his second wife the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VII. She was his wife as early as 1473, if not earlier. —G.E. Adams
6. (1) A.S. win, pleasure. —F.
7. (2) bestrode. —P. *vm*, *um-*, means 'round'. —F.
8. (3) only half the *n* in the MS. —F.
9. (4) Four strokes for *ui* in the MS. —F.
10. (5) A.-S. dar, daru, destruction, injury. —F.
11. (6) maun, i.e. must. —P.
12. (1) far or nere, or perhaps neie. —P.
13. (2) A day's work. —Dyce. Cp. Fr. *Bonne journée fait qui de foe se delivre*. Pro he does an excellent *day's work* that rids himself of a foole. Cotgrave. —F.
14. (3) far. —P.
15. (4) the. —P.
16. (5) an, if. —F.
17. (6) lend, to dwell, remain, tarry. —Halliwell. —F.
18. (7) John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Chamberlain. —G.E.A.
19. (1) busked, i.e., dressed. —P.
20. (2) bowned, i.e., prepared. —P.
21. (3) ancestry. —P.
22. (1) i.e., allyants, aliens. —P.
23. (2) i.e., shaped. —P.
24. (1) sair (i.e., sore). —Dyce.
25. (1) Syria. —Robson.
26. (2) nee. —P.
27. (1) assault, siege. —F.
28. (2) MS, brenne. —F.
29. (3) MS, Lincolme. —F.
30. (4) stedfast in trial. —F.
31. (5) Maltrevers. —P.
32. (6) i.e., Lord Grey of Codnor. —P.
33. (1) Ralph, Lord Greystock, who died in 1487, without male issue, when the barony became united with that of Dacre. —G.E. Adams.
34. (2) hinder. —Robson.
35. (3) Harbottle. —P.

36. (4) Sir Henry Percy. —P.
37. (1) Conyers. —P.
38. (2) Sir Gervase Clyfton. —P.
39. (3) Sir Bryan Stapleton. —P.
40. (1) Perhaps Thoresby. —P.
41. (2) Sir Thomas Macklesfield. —P.
42. (3) Neville. —P.
43. (4) ? MS, Hurfslean. —F.
44. (1) gane (i.e., gone). —Dyce.
45. (2) This should be “*brother*”: Thomas, Lord Stanley, the father of Sir William, and then (1485) Lord Stanley, having died in 1458. —Adams.
46. (3) tane. —P.
47. (4) yinge. —Dyce.
48. (1) nobles. —F.
49. (2) quite, i.e., requite. —P.
50. (3) MS, betine. —F.
51. (2) burning coal. —Dyce.
52. (1) Norfolk was on the side of Richard. Shrewsbury, a minor, probably with his uncle, Sir Gilbert Talbot, was on the side of Henry. *Oxford* was a chief commander of Henry’s side. —Adams.
53. (2) availed, or perhaps avanced. —P. advanced, raised. —Dyce.
54. (3) MS, bamer. —F.
55. (4) Fr. Artillerie, Ordinance. —Cotgrave. —P.
56. (5) A kind of cannon. Halliwell. Fr. *Serpentine*, the Artillerie called a Serpentine or Basiliskoe. Cotgrave. —F.
57. (6) See Florio, ed. 1611, pp.100, 112, 127. Halliwell. Fr. *Bombarde*. A Bumbard, or murthering peece. Cotgrave. —F.
58. (7) a large pike. Halliwell. —F.
59. (8) A.-S. bringen = to rush. —F.
60. (9) Vide Pag. 478. St. 236, & sequens [The 6th Part of *Ladye Bessye*, below.] —P.
61. (1) me. —F.
62. (1) i.e., encountered. —P.
63. (1) See line 179, page 242. —F.
64. (2) MS, gums. —F.
65. (3) yewe. —P.
66. (4) Springal, an ancient military engine for casting stones and arrows. Halliwell. —F.
67. (5) swee, qu. perhaps flee. —P. sway (& fall). —F.
68. (6) ? grownden. —F.
69. (7) Vide Pag. 479, St. 255 [of MS...last part of *Ladye Bessye*] et sequentes. —P.
70. (1) Conyers. —P.
71. (1) A place in Leicester so called. —P.
72. (2) This Poem was certainly written before the time of King James, but some transcriber applied the Prayer to the reigning Prince. —P.

British Library Additional Ms 27879. Printed in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1868), iii, pp. 187-94.

The Rose of Englande.

TROUGHOUT: a garden greene & gay,
a seemlye sight itt was to see
how fflowers did flourish fresh and gay,
& birds doe sing Melodiouslye

in the midst of a garden there sprange a tree
which tree was of a mickle price,
& there vppon sprang the rose soe redd,
the goodlyest *that* euer sprange on rise.

this rose was ffaire, ffresh to behold,
springing with many a royall Lance ;
a crowned King, with a crowne of gold
ouer England, Ireland, and of ffrance.

then came in a beast men call a bore,
& he rooted this garden vpp and downe,
by the seede of the rose he sett noe store,
but afterwards itt wore the crowne.

hee tooke the branches of this rose away,
and all in sunder did them teare ;
& he buryed them vnder a clodd of clay,
swore they shold neuer bloome nor beare.

then came in an Egle gleaming gay,
of all ffaire birds well worth the best ;
he took the branche of the rose away,
& bore itt to Latham to his nest.

but now is this rose out of England exiled,
this certaine truth I will not Laine ;
but if itt please you to sitt a while,
He tell you how the rose came in againe.

att Milford hauen he entered in;
to claime his right, was his delight ;
he brought the blew bore in with him,
to encounter with the bore soe white.

the[n] a messenger the role did send
to the Egles nest, & bidd him hye ;
“to my ffather the old Egle I doe [me] comend,
his aide and helpe I craue speedylye.”

saies “I desire my father att my cominge
of men and mony att my need,
&. alsoe my mother of her deer blessing,

then better then I hope to speede.”

& when the messenger came before thold Egle,
he kneeled him downe vpon his knee,
saith, “well greeteth you my *Lord* the rose,
he hath sent you greetings here by me,
“safe ffrom the seas Christ hath him sent,
now he is entered England within.”
“let vs thanke god,” the old Egle did say,
“ he shall be the fflower of all his kine !

“wend away, messenger, with might and maine;
itts hard to know who a man may trust ;
I hope the rose shall fflourish againe,
& haue all things att his owne lust.”

then Sir Rice ap Thomas drawes wales with him :
a worthy sight itt was to see,
how the welchmen rose wholly with him,
& shogged him to Shrewsburye.

Att *that* time was baylye in Shrewsburye
one *Master* Mitton in the towne.
the gates were strong, & he mad them ffast,
& the portcullis he lett downe ;

& throug a garrett of the walls,
ouer severne these words said hee,
“att these gates no man enter shall.”
but he kept him out a night & a day.

these words Mitton did Erle Richmond tell ;
I am sure the Chronicles of this will not Lye ;
but when lettres came from Sir *William* Stanley of
the holt castle,
then the gates were opened *presentlye*.

then entred this towne the noble Lord
the Erle Richmond, the rose soe redd,
the Erle of Oxford with a sword
wold haue smitt of the bailiffes head.

“ but hold your hand” saies Erle Richmond,
“ ffor his loue *that* dyed vpon a tree !
ffor if wee begin to head so soone,
in England wee shall beare no degree.”

“what offence haue I made thee,” sayd Erle
Richmonde,
“*that* thou Kept me out of my towne?”
“I know no King,” sayd Mitton then,
“but Richard now *that* weares the crowne.”

“why, what wilt thou say,” said Erle Richmonde,
“when I haue put *King* Richard downe?”

“why, then Ile be as true to you, my Lord,
after the time *that* I am Sworne.”

“were itt not great pittie,” sayd Erle Richmond,
“ *that* such a man as this shold dye?”
such Loyall service by him done,
the cronickles of this will not Lye.

“thou shalt not be harmed in any case.”
he *pardone[d]* him *presentlye*.
they stayd not past a night & a day,
but towards Newport did they hie.

but [at] Atterston these Lords did meete;
a worthy sight itt was to see,
how Erle Richmond tooke his hatt in his hand,
& said, “Cheshire & Lancashire, welcome to me.”

but now is a bird of the Egle taken;
ffrom the white bore he cannot flee.
therefore the old Egle makes great moane,
& prayes to god most certainly:

“O stedfast god, verament,” he did say –
“3 persons in one god in Trinytye !
saeue my sonne, the young Egle, this day
ffrom all ffalse craft & trecherye !”

then the blew bore the vanward had :
he was both warry and wise of witt ;
the right hand of them he tooke,
the sunn & wind of them to gett

then the Egle ffollowed fast vpon his pray ;
with sore dints he did them smyte.
the Talbott he bitt wonderous sore,
soe well the vnicome did him quite.
& then came in the harts head ;
a worthy sight itt was to see,
they Iacketts *that* were of white & redd,
how they Laid about them lustilye.

but now is the ffeirce ffeeld foughten & ended,
& the white bore there Lyeth slaine ;
& the young Egle is *preserued*,
& come to his nest againe.

but now this garden fflourishes ffreshly & gay,
with ffragrant fflowers comely of hew ;
& gardners itt doth maintaine ;
I hope they will proue lust & true.

our *King*, he is the rose soe redd,
that now does fflourish ffresh and gay.

Confound his ffoes, Lord, wee beseeche,
& loue his grace both night & day!...ffinis.

From the website of the Richard III Society, American Branch. www.r3.org

‘The Song of Ladye Bessiye’, British Library Harleian MS 367, fos. 89-100. Printed in *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript. Ballads and Romances*, ed. J. W. Hales and F. J. Furnivall, 3 vols. (London, 1868), III, pp. 319-363.

Electronic text prepared by Roberta Lamaere. (Please note that this is a work in progress; these documents have been converted but not checked, and need to be labelled with citation data and acknowledgements. Students especially are cautioned that this is not a definitive electronic edition).

Ladye Bessiye

[Part I.]

[How the princess Elizabeth persuades Lord Derby to help her and her lover Richmond.]

GOD: *that* is most of might
& borne was of a maiden ffree,
sae & keepe our comelye Kinge
& all the pore cominaltye ! 1.4

for whereas *King Richard*, I vnd[e]rstand,
had not raigned yeeres three,
But the best duke in all the Land
he caused to be headed att Salsburye. 2.8

that time the Stanleys without doubt
were dread ouer England ffarr & neere,
next *King Richard*, *that* was soe stout,
of any Lord in England Ire. 3.12

there was a Lady faire on mold,
the name of her was litle Bessye ;
shee was young, shee was not old,
but of the age of one and twentye ; 4.16

shee cold write, & shee cold reede,
well shee cold worke by *prophe*sye ;
shee soiornd in the Citye of London
that time with the Erle of Darbye. 5.20

vpon a time, as I you tell,
there was noe more but the Erle & shee ;
shee made complaint of Richard the *King*,
that was her vnckle of blood soe nye: 6.24

“helpe, ffather stanley, I doe you pray !
for of *King Richard* wroken I wold bee.
he did my brethren to the death on a day

in their bedd where they did lye ; 7.28

“he drowned them both in a pipe of wine ;
itt was dole to heare and see !
& he wold haue put away his Queene
for to haue lye by my bodye ! 8.32

helpe *that* he were put away,
for all the royall blood destroyed wilbee !
BUKINGAM, *that* duke of England,
was as great with *King Richard* as now are yee. 9.36

“the crowne of England there tooke hee,—
forsooth, *Lord*, this is no lye,—
& crowned *King Richard* of England free,
that after beheaded him att Salsburye. 10.40

“helpe, father Stanley, I you pray !
for on *that* traitor wroken wold I bee ;
& helpe Erle Richmond, *that* Prince soe gay,
that is exiled ouer the sea ! 11.44

“for & he were *King*, I shold be Queene ;
I doe him loue, & neuer him see.
thinke on Edward, my father, *that* late was *King*,
vpon his deathe-bed where he did lye : 12.48

“of a litle child he put me to thee,
for to goerne and to guide ;
into *your* keeping hee put mee,
& left me a booke of *prophecy* ;— 13.52

“I haue itt in keeping in this citye ;—
he knew *that* yee might make me a *Queene*,
father, if thy will itt be ;
for *Richard* is no righteous Kinge, 14.56

“nor vpon no woman borne was hee ;
the royall blood of all this land,
Richard my vnkle will destroye
as he did the DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, 15.60

“Who was as great with *King Richard* as now are yee.
for when he was Duke of Gloster,
he slew good King Henerye
in the Tower of London as he lay there. 16.64

“*Sir william* Stanley, thy brother deere
in the hol[t]e where he doth lye,
he may make 500 fightinge men
by the marryage of his faire Ladye. 17.68

“your sonne George, the *Lord* Strange,
in Latham where he doth lye,
he may make a 1000 ffighting men in ffere,

& giue then wages for monthes three. 18.72

“Edward stanley *that* is thy sonne,
300 men may bring to thee.
thy sonne Iames, *that* young preist,
warden of Manchester was made latelye. 19.76

Sir Iohn Sauage, thy sisters sonne,—
he is thy sisters sonne of blood soe nye—
hee may make 1500 fighting men,
& all his men white hoods to giue ; 20.80

“he giueth the pikes on his banner bright ;
vpon a feild backed was neuer hee.
Sir Gilbert Talbott, a man of might,
in Sheffeild castle where he doth lye, 21.84

“Hele make a 1000d men of might,
& giue them wages ffor monthes three.
& they selfe a 1000 Eagle ffitt to ffight,
that is a goodlye sight to see ; 22.88

“for thou & thine withouten pine
may bring Richemond ouer the sea ;
for & he were *King*, I should be Queene ;
ffather Stanley, remember bee !” 23.92

then answered the Earle againe ;
these were the words he sayd to BESSYE :
“& *King* Richard doe know this thing,
wee were vndone, both thou and I ; 24.96

“In a ffire you must brenn,
my liffe & my lands are lost from mee ;
therfore these words be in vaine :
leau & doe away, good ESSYE !” 25.100

“ffather stanley ! is there no grace ?
noe Queene of England *that* I must bee ?
then BESSYE stodee studying in *that* place
with teares trickling ffrom her eyen : 26.104

“Now I know I must neuer be Queene !
all this, man, is longe of thee !
but thinke on the dreadffull day
when the great doame itt shalbe, 27.108

“when righteousnesse on the rainbowe shall sitt,
& deeme he shall both thee and mee,
& all ffalshood away shall flitt
when all truth shall by him bee ! 28.112

“I care not whether I hange or drowne,
soe *that* my soule saued may bee ;
make good answer as thou may,

ffor all this, man, is long of thee.” 29.116

with *that* shee tooke her head grace downe,
& threw itt downe vpon the ground,
both pearles & many a *precyous* stone
that were better than a 1000 pound. 30.120

her ffaxe *that* was as white as silke,
shortly downe shee did itt rent ;
with her hands as white as any milke,
her ffaire ffaxe thus hath shee spilt ; 31.124

her hands together can shee wringe,
& with teares shee wipes her eye ;
“welladay, BESSYE !” can shee sing,
& *parted* with the Erle of darbye. 32.128

“ffare-well, man ! now am I gone !
itt shall be long ere thou me see !”
the Erle stood still as any stone,
& all blarked was his blee. 33.132

when he heard BESSYE make such mone,
the teares fell downe from his eye,
“abyde, BESSYE ! wee *part* not soe soone !
heere is none now but thee and I ; 34.136

“ffeild hath eyen, & wood hath eares,
you cannott tell who standeth vs by ;
but wend forth, BESSYE, to thy Bower,
& looke you doe as I bidd yee : 35.140

“put away thy maydens bright,
that noe person doth vs see ;
for att nine of the clocke *within* this night,
in thy bower will I be *with* thee ; 36.144

“then of this matter wee will talke more,
when there is no moe but you and I ;
A charcole [fire] att my desire,
that no smoke come in our eye ; 37.148

“Peeces of wine many a one,
& diuers spices be therbye,
pen, Inke, *paper*, looke thou want none,
but haue all things ffull readye.” 38.152

BESSYE made her busines, & forth is gone,
& tooke her leaue att the Erle of DARBYE,
& put away her maydens anon,
no man nor mayd was therby ; 39.156

A charcole fire was ready bowne,—
there cane no smoke *within* his eye,—
peeces of wine many a one,

& diuers spices lay therby, 40.160

Pen, Inke, & paper, shee wanted none,
& hadd all things there ffull readye,
& sett her selfe vpon a stone
without any companye. 41.164

shee tooke a booke in her hande,
& did read of *prophecye*,
how shee shold bee Queene of England,
but many a guiltesse man first must dye ; 42.168

& as shee read ffurther, shee wept.
with *that* came the Erle of Darbye ;
att nine of the clocke att night
to bessyes bower Cometh hee. 43.172

shee barred the dore aboue and vnder,
that no man shold come them nye ;
shee sett him on [a] seate [soe] rich,
& on another shee sett her by ; 44.176

shee gaue him wine, shee gaue him spice,
sais, “blend in, ffather, & drinke to me.”
the fire was hott, the spice itt bote,
the wine itt wrought wonderffullye. 45.180

then kind in heat, god wott,
then weeped the noble Erle of Darbye :
“aske now, BESSYE then, what thou wilt,
& thy boone granted itt shalbee.” 46.184

“Nothing,” said BESSYE, “I wold haue,
neither of gold nor yett of ffee.
but ffaire Erle Richmond, soe god me saue,
that hath lyen soe long beyond the sea.” 47.188

“Alas, Bessye ! *that* noble Lord
& thy boone, fforsooth, grant wold I thee ;
but there is no clarke *that* I dare trust
this night to write ffor thee and mee, 48.192

“because our matter is soe hye,
lest any man wold vs bewray.”
BESSYE said, “ffather, itt shall not neede ;
I am a clarke ffull good, I say.” 49.196

shee drew a paper vpon her knee,
pen and Inke shee had full readye,
hands white & ffingars long ;
shee dressed her to write speedylye. 50.200

“ffather Stanley, now let me see,
ffor euery word write shall I.”
“BESSYE, make a letter to the Holt

there my brother *Sir* William doth Lye ; 51.204

“bidd him bring 7 sad yeomen,
all in greene clothes lett them bee,
& change his Inn in euery towne
where before hee was wont to Lye ; 52.208

“& lett his fface be towards the benche,
lest any man shold him espie ;
& by the 3d day of May
that he come and speake *with* mee. 53.212

“Commend me to my sonne George,
the *Lord* strange, where he doth lye,
& bidd him bring 7 sadd yeomen ;
all in greene clothes lett them bee, – 54.216

“& lett himselfe be in the same suite,
& change his Inn in euery towne,
& lett his back be ffroe the benche,
Lest any man shold him knowne ; 55.220

“& by the 3d day of May
bidd him come & speake *with* mee.
Commend me to Edward my sonne,
the warden & hee togetherr bee, 56.224

“& bidd them bring 7 sadd yeomen,
& all in greene lett them bee,
changing their Inn in euery towne
where before they were wont to Lye ; 57.228

“lett their backes be ffrom the bench,
lest any man shold them see ;
& by the 3d day of May
bidd them come & speake *with* mee. 58.232

Comend me to *Sir* Iohn Sauage
& *Sir* Gilbert Talbott in the north cuntrye,
& [let] either of them [bring] 7 sad yeomen,
and all in green lett them bee, 59.236

“Changing their Inn in euery towne
before where they were wont to bee ;
& by the 3d day of May
lett them come & speake *with* me.” 60.240

BESSYE writeth, the Lord he sealeth ;
“ffather Stanley, what will yee more ?”
“alas !” sayd *that* royall Lord,
“all our worke is fforlore ! 61.244

“ffor there is noe messenger *that* wee may trust
to bring the tydings to the north cuntrye,
lest any man shold vs betraye,

because our matter is soe hye.” 62.248

“Humphrey Bretton,” said litle Bessye,
“he hath beene true to my father & mee,
hee shall haue the writting in hand,
& bring them into the North cuntrye. 63.252

“goe to thy bedd, ffather, & sleepe,
& I shall worke, ffor thee & mee,
to-Morrow by rising of the sunn
Humphrey Bretton shall be with thee.” 64.256

shee brought the Lord to his bedd,
all *that* night where he shold Lye ;
& BESSYE worketh all the night ;
there came no sleepe in her eye. 65.260

[Part II.]

[How Humphrey Bretton, for the Princess Elizabeth’s sake, carries the Letters of Lord
Derby to his Adherents.]

In the morninge when the day can spring,
vp riseth BESSYE in *that* stower,
to Humphrey Bretton gone is shee ;
but when shee came to Humphreys bower, 66.264

with a small voice called shee.
Humphrey answered *that* Lady bright,
& saith, “lady, who are yee
that calleth on me ere itt be light ?” 67.268

I am *King* Edwards daughter,
the countesse cleere, young BESSYE :
in all the hast thou can,
thou must come speake with the Erle of Darbye.” 68.272

Humphrey cast vpon [him] a gowne,
a paire of slippers on his ffeete.
for[th] of [his] Chamber then he came,
& went with *that* Lady sweet. 69.276

shee brought him to the bed side
where they *Lord* lay in bed to sleepe.
when they Erle did Humphrey see,
full tenderlye can hee weepe, 70.280

& said, “my loue, my trust, my liffe, my Land,
all this, Humphrey, doth Lye in thee !
thou may make, & thou may marr,
thou may vndoe BESSYE & mee ! 71.284

“take sixe letters in thy hand,
& bring them to the north countrye ;
they be written on they backside,

where they letters deliuered shold bee.” 72.288

he receiued the letterrs sixe ;
into the west wend wold hee.
then meeteth him *that* Ladye bright,
she said, “abide, Humphrey, & speake with mee. 73.292

“a poore reward I shall thee giue,
itt shall be but pounds three ;
if I be Queene, & may liue,
better rewarded shalt thou bee. 74.296

“A litle witt god hath sent mee :
when thou rydest into the west,
I pray thee take no companye
but such as shall be of the best, 75.300

“sitt not too long drinking thy wine,
lest in heat thou be too merrye ;
such words you may cast out then,
to-morrow fforthought itt may bee.” 76.304

Humphray of BESSYE *receiued* noble[s] nine ;
with a peece of wine shee cold him assay ;
hee tooke leaue of *that* Ladye sheene,
& straight to the holt he took h[i]s way. 77.308

when *Sir* william stanley did him see,
he said to him with words free,
“Humphrey Brettom, what maketh thee heere,
that hither dost ryde soe hastilye ? 78.312

How [fareth] *that* Lord, my brother deare,
That lately was made the Erle of darby,
is he dead without letting,
or with *King* Richard his counsell is hee ? 79.316

“Or he be suspected without lett,
or taken into the tower so hye,
London gates shall tremble & quake
but my brother borrowed shall bee ! 80.320

“tell me, Humphrey, withouten lett,
that rydest hither, soe hastilye.”
“breake *that* letter,” said Humphrey then ;
“behold then, and you shall see.” 81.324

when the *Knight* Looked the Letter on,
he stood still in a studdinge :
answer to Humphrey gaue he none,
but still hee gnew on his staffe end. 82.328

he plucket the letter in peeces three,
into the water he cold itt fflinge :
“haue here, Humphrey,” said the *Knight*,

“I will giue thee a 100 shillinge ; 83.332

“thou shalt not tarry heere all night,
straight to Latham ryd shall yee.”
“alas,” sais Humphrey, “I may not ryde,
my horsse is tyred, as ye may see; – 84.336

“I came ffrom London in this tyde,
there came no sleepe within mine eye,”
“Lay thee downe, Humphrey,” he said, “& sleepe
well the space of houres three ; 85.340

a ffresh horsse I thee behett,
shall bring [thee] through the north countrye.”
Humphray slept but howers 2,
but on his Iourney well thought hee ; 86.344

a ffresh horsse was brought to him
to bring him through the west countrye.
he tooke his leaue at the *Knight*,
& straight to Latham rydeth hee, 87.348

& att 9 of Clocke in the night,
att Latham gates knocketh hee.
the porter ariseth anon-right,
& answerd Humphray *with words* ffree, 88.352

“In good ffaith, itt is tó Late
to call on me this time of the night.”
“I pray the, porter, open the gate,
& lett me in anon-right ; 89.356

“with the *Lord* strange I must speake,
from his ffather, the Erle of Darbye.”
the porter opened vp the gates,
& came his horsse and hee. 90.360

the best wine *that* was therin,
to Humphrey Bretton fforth brought hee,
with torches burning in *that* tyde,
& other lights *that* he might see, 91.364

& brought him to the bed syde
wheras the *Lord* strange Lay.
the *Lord* he mused in *that* tyde,
& sayd, “Humphrey, what has thou to say ? 92.368

“how ffareth my ffather, *that* noble *Lord* ?
in all England he hath no peere.”
Humphrey tooke a letter in his hand,
& said, “behold & yee may see.” 93.372

when they *Lord* strange looked the letter vpon,
the teares trickled downe his eye ;
he sayd, “wee must vnder a cloude,

for wee may neuer trusted bee ;
wee may sigh & make great moane ;
this world is not as itt shold bee. 94.378

“commend me to my father deere,
his daylye blessing he wold giue me;
for & I liue another yeere,
this appointment keepe will I.” – 95.382

he receiued gold of my *Lord* Strange,
& straight to Manchester rydeth hee ;
And when hee came to Manchester,
Itt was prime of the day ;
he was ware of the warden & Edward Stanley,
together their Mattins ffor to say. 96.388

then one brother said to the other,
“behold, brother, & you may see,
heere cometh Humphrey Bretton,
some hastye tydings bringheth hee.” 97.392

he betooke them either a letter,
& bidd them looke & behold ;
& read they did thsesse *letterrs* readylye,
& vp they lope, & laught aloude, 98.396

And saith, “ffaire ffall *our* ffather *that* noble Lord !
to stirre and rise beginneth hee ;
Buckinghams blood shall be roken,
that was beheaded att Salsbuyrye. 99.400

“ffaire ffall the Countesse, the *Kings* daughter,
that good Councell giue cold shee ;
wee trust in god ffull of might
to bring her Lord ouer the sea ! 100.404

“haue heere, Humphray, of either 40s ;
better rewarded shall thou bee !”
he tooke the gold att their hand ;
to Sir Iohn Sauage rydeth hee, 101.408

& hee tooke him a letter in hand,
bade him “behold, read, and see.”
& when the *Knight* the Letter hadd,
all blanked was his blee : 102.412

“womens witt is wonder to heare !
my vnckle is turned by *your* BESSYE !
& wether itt turne to weale or woe,
att my vnckles biddinge will I bee. 103.416

“haue heere, Humphrey, 40s :
better rewarded may thou bee !
to Sheffield Castle Looke thou ryde

in all the hast *that* may bee.” 104.420

fforth then rydeth *that* gentle *Knight* ;
Sir Gilbert Talbott ffindeth hee ;
hee tooke him a letter in his hand,
& bidd him, “reade & yee may see.” 105.424

when Sir Gilbert Talbott the *lettre* looked on,
a loude laughter laughed hee :
“ffaire ffall *that* Lord of hye renowne !
to rise and stirr beginneth hee ! 106.428

“ffaire ffall Bessye, *that* Countesse cleere,
that such counsell giueth trulye !
Comend me to my nephew deare,
the young Erle of Shrewsbyrye, 107.432

“bidd him neuer dread for no death,
In London Towre if hee bee ;
I shall make London tremble & quake
but my nephew borrowed shalbee ! 108.436

“Comend me to *that* Countesse cleere,
King Edwards daughter, young Bessye ;
tell her, I trust in god *that* hath no peere
to bring her loue ouer the sea. 109.440

“Comend me to *that* Lord without dread
that latelye was made Erle of darbye ;
& euery haire of my head
for a man counted might bee, 110.444

“with *that* Lord withouten dread,
with him will I liue and dye !
haue heree, Humphray, pounds three ;
better rewarded may thou bee ! 111.448

“Straight to London looke thou ryde
in all the hast *that* may bee ;
Comend mee to the *Kings* daughter, young Bessye,
King Edwards daughter forssooth is shee, 112.452

“In all this Land shee hath no peere.”
he taketh his leaue att the *Knight*,
& straight to London rydeth hee.
& when he came to London right 113.456

Itt was but a litle before eueni[n]ge,
there was he ware, walking in a garden greene,
[of] both the Erle & Richard our Kinge.
when the Erle had Humphrey see[ne,] 114.460

he guae him a priuye twinkle with his eye.
then Humphrey came before the *King* soe ffree,
& downe he ffalleth vpon his knee.

“welcome, Humphray !” said the Erle of Darbye : 115.464

“where hast thou beene, Humphray !” said the Erle,
“ffor I haue mist thee weekes three.”
“I haue beene in the west, my Lord,
where I was borne and bredd trulye, 116.468

“ffor to sport me & to play
amonge my ffreinds ffarr & nye.”
“tell me, Humphrey,” said the Erle,
“how ffareth all *that* Countrye ?
tell me, Humphrey, I thee pray,
how ffareth *King* Richards Comunaltye ? 117.474

“of all Countryes, I dare well say,
they beene the fflower of archerye,
ffor they will be trustye with their bowes,
for they will ffight & neuer fflee.” 118.478

when *King* Richard heard Humphray soe say,
in his hart hee was ffull merrye ;
hee with his Cappe *that* was soe deere
thanked him ffull curteouslye,
& said, “ffather Stanley, thou art to mee neere,
you are cheeffe of *your* Comynaltye, 119.484

“halfe of England shalbe thine,
& equally devided betweene thee & mee ;
I am thine, & thou art mine,
& for 2 ffellowes will wee bee. 120.488

“I sweare by Marry, maid mild.
I know none such vnder the skye !
whilst I am *King* & weare the Crowne,
I will be cheeffe of the poore Comynaltye. 121.492

“tax nay mise I will make none,
in noe Cuntry ffarr nor neare ;
ffor if by their goods I shold plucke them downe,
for me they will ffaight ffull ffainteouslye. 122.496

“There is no riches to me soe rich
as is the pore Comynaltye.”
when they had ended all their speche,
they tooke their leaue ffull gladlye, 123.500

& to his Bower the *King* is gone.
then the Erle and Humphrey Bretton,
to Bessyes bower they went anon,
& ffound Bessye there alone. 124.504
when Bessye did see Humphrey anon,
anon shee kissed him times three,
saith, “Humphray Bretton, welcome home !
how hast thou spedd in the west Countrye ?” 125.508

Into a *parler* they went anon,
there was no more but hee & shee :
Humphray, tell mee of hence I gone,
some tydings out of the west Countrye ! 126.512

“If I shold send ffor yonder Prince
to come ouer ffor the Loue of mee,
and murdered amongst his ffoes to bee,
alas, *that* were ffull great pittye ! 127.516

“fforsooth, *that* sight I wold not see
for all the gold in Christentye !
tell me, Humphray, I thee pray,
how hast thou done in the west countrye.” 128.520

vnto Bessye anon he told
how hee had sped in the west countrye,
what was the answers of them hee had,
& what rewards hee had trulye : 129.524

“By the third day of May, Bessye,” he sayd,
“In London there will they bee ;
thou shalt in England be a Queene,
or else doubtlesse they will dye.” 130.528

[Part III.]

[How Lord Derby's friends come to London; and how the Princess Elizabeth send
Humphrey Bretton to her lover, Richmond.]

thus they *prouided* in the winter time
their councell to keepe all three.
the Erle wrought by *prophecye*,
he wold not abyde in London trulye, 131.532

but in the suburbs without the Cittye
an old Inn Chosen hath hee,
& drew an Eagle vpon the entrye
that the westerne men might know where to Lye. 132.536

Humphrey stood in a hye tower,
& looked into the west Countrye ;
Sir William Stanley & 7 in greene
came straight ryding to the Citye. 133.540

when he was ware of the Eagle drawne,
he drew himself wonderous nye,
& bade his men goe into the towne,
& dranke the wine and make merrye. 134.544

Into the Inn where the Eagle did bee,
fforsooth shortlye is hee gone.
Humphray Looked into the west,
& saw the *Lord* strange & 7 come 135.548

ryding in greene into the Cittye.
when hee was ware of the Eagle drawen,
he drew himselfe wonderous nye,
& bade his men goe into the towne, 136.552

& spare no cost, & where they come
& drinke the wine & make good cheere ;
& hee himselfe drew ffull nye
into the Inn where his ffather Lay. 137.556

Humphrey looked more into the west;
Six-teene in greene did hee see,
the warden & Sir Edward Stanley
cam ryding both in companye. – 138.560

there as the Eagle was drawen,
the gentlemen drew itt nye,
& bade their men goe into the towne,
& drinke the wine & make merrye ; 139.564

& went into the same Inn
there where their ffather Lay.
yett Humphray beholdeth into the west,
& looked towards the North countrye ; 140.568

he was ware of Sir Iohn sauage & Sir Gylbert Talbott
came ryding both in companye.
when they where ware of the Eagle drawen,
then they drew themselues ffull nye, 141.572

& bade their men goe into the towne,
& drinke the wine & make merrye ;
& yode themselues into the inne
where the Erle and Bessye Lay. 142.576

when all the *Lords* together mett,
among them all was litle Bessye ;
with goodlye words shee them grett,
& said, “Lords, will yee doe ffor mee ? 143.580

“what, will yee releue yonder Prince
that is exiled beyond the sea?”
the Erle of Darbye came fforth then ;
these be they words he said to Bessye : 144.584

“ffourty Pound will I send,
Bessye, ffor the loue of thee ;
& 20000 Eagle ffeette,
a queene of England to make thee.” 145.588

Sir William stanley cam fforth then ;
these were the words hee sayd to BESSYE :
“remember, Bessye, another time,
who doth the best ffor thee. 146.592

“10000 Cotes *that* beene red,
in an howers warning ready shalbee.
In England thou shall be a queene,
or else doubtelesse I will dye.” 147.596

Sir Iohn Sauage came fforth then ;
these were the words he said to Bessye :
“1000 marke ffor thy sake
I will send thy loue beyond the sea.” 148.600

the Lord strange Came fforth then;
these were the words he said to Bessye:
“a little mony & ffew men
will bring thy loue ouer the sea; – 149.604

“Lett vs keepe our gold att home
for to wage our companye.
if wee itt send ouer the sea,
wee put our gold in Ieopardye.” 150.608

Edward Stanley came forth then ;
these were the words he sayd to Bessye :
“remember, BESSYE, another time,
he *that* doth now best ffor thee ; 151.612

“ffor there is no power *that* I haue,
nor no gold to giue thee ;
vnder my ffathers banner will I bee
either ffor to liue or dye.” 152.616

BESSYE cam fforth before the Lords all,
& vpon her knees then ffalleth shee ;
10000 pound I will send
to my loue ouer the sea. 153.620

“who shall be our messenger
to bring the gold ouer the sea ?
Humphrey Bretton,” said BESSYE ;
“I know none soe good as hee.” 154.624

“alas !” sayd Humphrey, “I dare not take in hand
to carry the gold ouer the sea ;
they Galley shipps beene soe stronge,
they will me neigh wonderous nighe, 155.628

“they will me robb, they will me drowne,
they will take they gold ffrom mee.”
“hold thy peace, Humphrey,” sayd litle BESSYE,
“thou shalt itt carry *without* Ieopardye ; 156.632

“thou shalt haue no baskett nor no male ;
no buchett nor sacke-cloth shall goe with thee ;
three Mules *that* bee stiffe & stronge,
loded with gold shall they bee ;
with saddles side skirted, I doe thee tell,

wherin the gold sowed shalbe. 157.638

“if any man sayes, `who is the shipp
that sayleth fforth vpon the sea ?
Say itt is the *Lord Liles* ;
in England & ffrance welbeloued is hee.” 158.642

then came fforthe the Erle of Darbye ;
these were the words he sayd to BESSYE ;
he said: “BESSYE, thou art to blame
to poynt any shipp vpon the sea ! 159.646

“I haue a good shipp of my owne
shall carry *Humphrey* & my mules three ;
an Eagle shalbe drawen vpon the top mast,
that the out allyants may itt see. 160.650

“there is no ffreake in all ffrance
that shipp *that* dare come nye.
if any man aske whose is the shipp,
say `itt is the Erle of Darbyes.” 161.654

HUMphrey tooke the Mules three ;
into the west wind taketh hee ;
att Hippon withouten doubt
there shipping taketh hee ;
with a ffaire wind & a Coole
thus he sayleth vpon the sea 162.660

[Part IV.]

[How Humphrey Bretton takes money from Princess Elizabeth to Richmond; and who are
on Richmond's side.]

To BIGERAM abbey, where the English *Prince* was.
the porter was an Englishman,
well he knew *HUMphrey* Breiton,
& ffast to him can he gone. 163.664

Humphrey knocked att the gate priuilye,
& these words he spake surelye,
“I pray thee, Porter, open the gate
& receiue me & my mules three,
I shall thee giue withouten lett
ready gold to thy meede.” 164.670

“I will none of thy gold,” the Porter said,
“nor yett, *HUMphrey*, none of thy ffee ;
but I will open the gates wyde,
& receiue thy mules and thee, 165.674

“ffor a Cheshire man borne am I,
ffrom the Malpas but miles three.”
the porter opened the gates soone,
& receiued him & the Mules three ; 166.678

the best wine readilye then
to HUMphrey Bretton giueth hee.
“alas !” sayd Humphrey, “how shall I doe?
for I am stead in a strange countrye ; – 167.682

“The Prince of England I do not know ;
before I did him neuer see.”
“I shall thee teach,” said the Porter then,
“the Prince of England to know trulye. 168.686

“loe, where he shooteth att the butts,
& with him are Lords three ;
he weareth a gowne of veluett blacke,
& itt is coted above his knee ;
with long visage & pale ;
therby the Prince know may yee ; 169.692

“a priuye wart, withouten lett,
a litle aboue the chin ;
his face h[i]s white, the wart is red,
therby you may him ken.” 170.696

now ffrom the Porter is he gone ;
with him hee tooke the Mules 3 :
to Erle Richmand he went anon
where the other Lords bee. 171.700

when he came before the Prince,
lowlye hee kneeled vpon his knee ;
he deliuered the *lettre that* Bessye sent,
& soe he did the mules three, 172.704

[&] a rich ring with a stone.
there the prince glad was hee ;
he tooke the ring att HUMphrey then,
& kissed itt times 3. 173.708

HUMphrey kneeled still as any stone,
assuredlye as I tell to thee ;
HUMphrey of the Prince word gatt none,
therfore in his hart was not merrye. 174.712

HUMphrey standeth vpp then anon ;
to the prince these words said he,
“why standeth thou soe still in this stead,
& no answer does giue mee ? 175.716

“I am come ffrom the stanleys bold,
King of England to make thee,
& a ffaire Lady to the ffere,
there is none such in Christenyte ; 176.720

“shee is Countesse, a Kings daughter,
the name of her is BESSYE,

a louelye Lady to looke vpon,
& well shee can worke by profecye. 177.724

“I may be called a lewd messenger,
for answer of thee I can gett none ;
I may sayle hence with a heauy heart ;
what shall I say when I come home?” 178.728

the prince tooke the *Lord* Lisle,
& the Lord of Oxford was him by ;
they *Lord* fferres wold him not beguile ;
to counsell thé goeth all 3. 179.732

when they had their counsell tane,
to *HUMphrey* Bretton turneth hee,
“answer, *HUMphrey*, I can giue none
for the space of weekes 3. 180.736

“when 3 weekes are come & gone,
Then an answer I will giue thee.”
the mules into a stable are tane ;
the saddle skirtts then rippeth hee ; 181.740

therin he ffindeth gold great plentye
for to wage a companye.
he caused the houshold to make him cheare ;
“in my stead lett him bee.” 182.744

Erly in the morning, as soone as itt was day,
with him he tooke the Lords three,
& straight to paris he tooke the way,
there armes to make readye. 183.748

to the *King* of ffrance wendeth hee,
of men and mony he doth him pray,
that he wold please to Lend him shippes,
& ffor to bring him ouer the sea : 184.752

“the Stanleys stout ffor me haue sent,
King of England ffor to make mee,
& if euer I weare the crowne,
well quitt the *King* of ffrance shalbe.” 185.756

then answereth the *King* of ffrance,
& shortlye answereth, “by St. Iohn,
no shippes to bring him ouer the seas,
men nor money bringeth he none !” 186.760

thus the Prince his answer hath tane.
both the Prince & Lords gay
to *BIGGERAM* abbey rydeth hee,
wheras *HUMphrey* Bretton Lay. 187.764

“haue heere *HUMphrey* a 100 markes ;
better rewarded shalt thou bee ;

comend me to Bessye, *that* Countesse cleere,—
& yett I did neuer her see,— — 188.768

“I trust in god she shall be my Queene,
for her I will trauell the sea.
comend me to my ffather stanley,—
my owne mother married hath hee,— — 189.772

“bring him here a loue *lettre*,
& another to litle Bessye ;
tell her I trust in the Lord of might
that my Queene shee shalbee. 190.776

“Comend me to Sir *william* stanley,
that noble *Knigh*t in the west cuntrye ;
tell him, about Micchallmasse
I trust in god in England to bee. 191.780

“att Mylford hauen I will come in,
with all the power *that* I can bringe ;
the ffirst towne *that* I may win
shalbe the towne of shrewsburye 192.784

“pray Sir *william*, *that* noble *Knigh*t,
that night *that* hee wold looke on mee.
comend me to Sir Gilbert Talbott *that* is soe wight ;
he lyeth still in the north cuntrye.” 193.788

“I will none of thy gold, Sir Prince,
not yett none of they ffee ;
if euery haire of my head were a man,
with you, Sir Prince, *that* they shold bee. 194.792

thus HUMphrey his leaue hath tane,
& fforth hee sayleth vpon the seas ;
straight to London can he ryde,
there as the Erle and Bessye Lyes. 195.796

he tooke them either a *lettre* in hand,
& bade then reade and see.
the Erle tooke leaue of Richard the King,
& into the west rydeth hee. 196.800

& leaueth Bessye att Leicecster,
& bade her lye there in priuitye :
“ffor if King Richard knew thee there,
in a ffyer brent must thou bee.” 197.804

straight to Latham is he gone,
Where the Lord strange he did Lye,
& sent the Lord strange to London
to keepe King Richard companye. 198.808

then to Sir *william* stanley, with 10000 cotes
in an howers warning readye to bee :

they were all as red as blood,
there they harts head is sett full hye. 199.812

Sir Gilbert Talbott, 10000 doggs
in an howers warning readye to be.
Sir Iohn Sauage, 1500 white hoods,
ffor they will fflight & neuer fflee. 200.816

Sir Edward Stanley, 300 men ;
there were no better in Christentye.
Rice apthomas, a *Knicht* of wales,
800 spere-men brought hee. 201.820

[Part V.]
[How Richmond lands in England, and marches to Bosworth.]

Sir William stanley, att the holt hee lyes,
& looked ouer his head soe hye ;
“*which way standeth the wind?*” he sayes ;
“if there be any man can tell mee.” 202.824

“The wind itt standeth south west,”
soe sayd a *Knicht that* stood him by.
“this night, yonder royall prince,
into England entreth hee.” 203.828

he called *that* gentleman *that* stood him by,
his name was Rowland Warburton,
he bade him goe to Shrewsburye *that* night,
& bade them lett *that* prince in come. 204.832

by *that* Rowland came to Shrewsburye
the portcullis was letten downe ;
thé called the Prince in ffull great scorne,
& said “in England he shold weare no crowne.” 205.836

Rowland bethought him of a wile,
& tyed the writtings to a stone ;
he threw the writtings ouer the wall,
& bade the baliffes looke them vpon. 206.840

then they opened the gates wyde,
& mett the Prince with *processyon* ;
he wold not abyde in shrewsburye *that* night,
for *King Richard* heard of his cominge, 207.844

& called his *Lords* of great renowne.
Lord Percye came to him then,
& on his knees he kneeled him downe
& sayd, “my leege, I haue 30000 ffighting men.” 208.848

the Duke of Norffolke came to the *King*,
& downe he kneeleth on his knee ;
the Erle of Surrey came *with* him,
they were both in companye. 209.852

the Bishopp of Durham was not away,
Sir william Bawmer stood him by,
the *Lord* scroope & the Erle of Kent
they were both in companye : 210.856
“& wee haue either 20000 men
ffor to keepe the crowne with thee.”
the good Sir william Harrington
said they wold ffight & neuer fflee. 211.860

King Richard made a messenger,
& send into the west countrye,
“bidd the Erle of Derbye make him readye
& bring 20000 men vnto mee, 212.864
“or the *Lord* stranges head I shall him send ;
for doubtlesse hee shall dye.
without hee come to me soone,
his owne sonne hee shall neuer see.” 213.868

then another Herald can appeare :
“to Sir william stanley *that* noble *Knight*,
bidd him bring 10000 men,
or to death he shalbe dight.” 214.872

then answered *that* doubtye *Knight*,
& answered the herald without lettinge :
“Say, on Bosworthe feilde I wyll hym meete
On munday earlye in the morninge. 215.876

“such a breakeffast I him hett
as neuer subiect did to Kinge !”
the messenger is home gone
to tell *King* Richard this tydand. 216.880

the *King* together his hands can ding,
& say[d], “the *Lord* Strange shall dye !”
hee bade, “put him into the tower,
ffor I will him neuer see.” 217.884

now leaue wee Richard & his *Lords*
that were prest all with pryde,
& talke wee of the stanleys bold
that brought in the Prince of the other side. 218.888

Now is Richmond to stafford come,
& Sir william Stanley to litle stone.
the Prince had leuer then any gold
Sir william Stanley to looke vppon. 219.892

a messenger was readye made,
that night to stone rydeth hee ;
Sir william rydeth to stafford towne,
with him a small companye. 220.896

when the *Knight* to stafford came,
that Richmond might him see,
he tooke him in his armes then,
& kissed him times three ; 221.900

“the welfare of thy body comfortheth me more
then all the gold in christentye !”
then answered that royall *Knight* ;
to the Prince thus speaketh hee : 222.904

“in England thou shalt weare the crowne,
or else doubtlesse I will dye.
a faire Lady thou shalt ffind to thy ffere,
as any is in christentye,
a *Kings* daughter, a countesse clere ;
yea, shee is both wise & wittye. 223.910

“I must goe to stone, my soueraigne,
ffor to comfort my men this night.”
the Prince tooke him by the hand,
& sayd, “ffarwell, gentle *Knight*!” 224.914

now is word comen to Sir *william stanley*
Early on the sunday morninge,
that the Erle of Darby, his brother deere,
had giuen battell to *Richard* the Kinge. 225.918

“that wold I not,” said *Sir william*,
“for all the gold in christentye,
except I were with him there,
att the Battell ffor to bee. 226.922

then straight to Lichefeild can he ryde
in all the hast that might bee.
& when they came to the towne,
they all cryed, “*King HENERY* !” 227.926

then straight to Bosworth wold he ryde
in all he hast that might bee.
when they came to Bosworth ffeild,
there they mett with a royall companye. 228.930

[Part VI.]

[How Richmond fights and wins the Battle of Bosworth Field, and marries the Princess
Elizabeth, Lady Bessy.]

The Erle of Darbye he was there,
& 20000 stode him by ;
Sir John Savage, his sisters sone,
he was his nephew of blood soe nye,
he had 1500 ffigthing men ;
there was no better in christentye. 229.936

Sir william stanley, that noble *Knight*,
10000 red Cotes had hee.

Sir Rice ap Thomas, he was there
with a 1000 speres mightye of tree. 230.940

Erle Richmond came to the Erle of Darbye,
& downe he kneeleth vpon his knee ;
he sayd, “ffather stanley, I you pray,
the vaward you will giue to me ; 231.944

“for I come for my right ;
ffull ffaine waged wold I bee.”
“stand vp,” hee sayd, “my sonne deere,
thou hast thy mothers blessing by mee.” 232.948

“the vanward, conne, I will thee giue ;
ffor why, by me thou wilt [ordered be],
Sir William Stanley, my brother deere,
in *that* battell he shalbee; 233.952

Sir Iohn Sauage, *that* hath no peere,
hee shall be a winge to thee ;
Sir Rice ap Thomas shall breake the wray,
ffor he will ffight & neuer fflee ;
& I my selfe will houer on this bill,
that ffaire battell ffor to see.” 234.958

King Richard [houed] on the mountaines,
& was ware of the banner of the Lord stanley.
he said, “ffeitch hither the Lord strange to me
ffor doubtlesse hee shall dye this day.” 235.962

“to the death, Lord, make thee bowne !
ffor by Mary, *that* mild mayde,
thou shalt dye ffor thy vnckles sake !
his name is william stanleye.” 236.966

“if I shold dye,” sayd the Lord Strange,
“as god fforbidd itt soe shold bee !
alas ffor my Lady att home,
itt shold be long ere shee mee see ! 237.970

“but wee shall meete att domesday,
when the great dome itt shalbee.”
he called a gentleman of Lancashire,
his name was Latham trulye, 238.974

& [a] ring beside his ffingar he tooke,
& cast itt to the gentleman,
& bade him “bring itt to Lancashire,
to my Ladye *that* is att home ; 239.978

“att her table shee may sitt ;
ere shee see her Lord, itt may be Longe.
I haue no ffoot to scutt or fflytt,
I must be Martyred with tyrant stronge. 240.982

“if itt ffortune my vnckle to lose the ffeild—
as god defend itt shold soe bee !—
pray her to take my eldest sonne
& exile him ouer the sea ; 241.986

“he may come in another time;
by ffeild, ffrith, tower or towne,
wreake hee may his ffathers death
vpon *King Richard that* weares the crowne.” – 242.990

a *Knigh*t to the *King* did appeare,
good Sir william Harrington ;
saies, “lett him haue his liffe a while
till wee haue the ffather, the vnckle, & the sonne. 243.994

“wee shall haue them soone on the ffeild,
the ffather, the vnckle, the sonne, all 3 ;
then may you deeme them with *your* mouth,
what Kind of death *that* they shall dye.” 244.998

but a blocke on the ground was cast,
thervpon the *Lords* head was Layde ;
an axe ouer his head can stand,
& out of passyon itt was brayd. 245.1002

he saith, “there is no other boote
but *that* the *Lord* needs must dye.”
Harrington heard itt, & was ffull woe
when itt wold no better bee : 246.1006

he saith, “our ray breaketh on euery syde ;
wee put our ffolke in ieopardye.”
then they tooke vp the *Lord* on liue ;
King Richard did him nuere see. 247.1010

then he blew vp bewgles of brasse,
the shott of guns were soe ffree
that [made] many wiues cry alas,
& many children ffatherlesse. 248.1014

Rice ap Thomas with the blacke gowne,
shortlye he brake the ray :
with 30000 ffighting men
the *Lord* Percy went his way. 249.1018

the Duke of Norfolke would haue f fled ;
with 20000 in his companye
he went vp to a wind-mill,
& stood vpon a hill soe hye, 250.1022

there he met Sir Iohn Savage, a valyant *Knigh*t ;
with him a worthy companye :
to the death the duke was dight,
& his sonne, prisoner taken was hee. 251.1024

then they *Lord* dakers began to fflee,
soe did many others more.
when *king Richard* that sight did see,
[Then his heart was ffull w]oe : 252.1030

“I pray you, my men, be not away,
ffor like a man ffree will I dye!
ffor I had leuer dye this day,
the[n] with the stanleys taken bee !” 253.1034

a *Knight* to *King* Richard can say,
good Sir william of harrington,
he saith, “wee are like all heere
to the death soone to be done ;— — 254.1038

“there may no man their strokes abyde,
the stanleys dints they beene soe stronge ;—
yee may come in another time ;
therefore methinke yee tarry too longe ; 255.1042

“*your* horsse if ready att *your* hand,
another day you may *your* worshipp win,
& to raigne with royaltie,
& weare *your* crowne & be our *King*.” 256.1046

“giue me my battell axe in my hand,
& sett my crowne on my head so hye !
ffor by him *that* made both sunn & moone,
King of England this day I will dye !” 257.1050

besides his head thé hewed the crowne,
& dange on him as they were wood ;
thé stroke his Basnett to his head
vntill his braines came out *with* blood. 258.1054

thé carryed him naked vnto Leicester,
& buckeled his haire vnder his chin.
Bessye mett him *with* merry cheere ;
these were they words shee sayd to him : 259.1058

“how likest thou they slaying of my brethren twaine ?”
she spake these words to him alowde :
“now are wee wroken vpon thee heere !
welcome, gentle vnckle, home !” 260.1062

great solace itt was to see,
I tell you, *masters*, without lett,
when they red rose of Mickle price
& our BESSYE were mett. 261.1068

a Bishopp them marryed with a ringe,
they 2 bloods of hye renowne.
BESSYE sayd, “now may wee sing,
wee tow bloods are made all one.” 262.1070

the Erle of Darbye he was there,
& Sir william Stanley a man of might ;
vpon their heads they sett the crowne
in presence of many a worthy wight. 263.1074

then came hee vnder a cloud,
that sometime in England was ffull high ;
the hart began to cast his head ;
after, noe man might itt see. 264.1078

but god *that* is both bright & sheene,
& borne was of [a] mayden ffree,
sauē & keepe our comelye *King*
& the poore cominaltye ! 265.1082

ffinis.

Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555 version)

**A hypertext critical edition by Dana F. Sutton, The University of California, Irvine,
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The *Anglica Historia* is organised into books and, within those, chapters.

Book XXV.

19. At the time when Earl Henry was staying in France for the sake of soliciting aid, many of the French nobility, who were Regents because of King Charles' youth, disagreed among themselves. The principal instigator of this quarrel was Duke Louis of Orléans, who was married to Charles' sister Joan and was striving to obtain first place in the government of the commonwealth. So it came about that supreme power was not conferred on any single man, and Earl Henry, who day and night let slip no opportunity to speed his return to his homeland, was compelled to dance attendance on them all individually. And so the business was dragging along, when Marquis Thomas of Dorset, whom I said above was being summoned home by his mother, partly for this reason, partly because he despaired of Henry's success, and partly because he had been corrupted by Richard's promises, left Paris furtively by night, and hastened to Flanders. As soon as the earl and the other English nobles found this out, they were deeply disturbed and requested Charles' permission to retrieve this man from wherever he was, because he was party to their plans. This they were readily granted, and they began to scour all the highways. But Humphrey Cheney was best at scenting the trail of this runaway, and followed the marquis straight to the town of Compiègne, and was so successful at persuading him that a little he return to his comrades. Earl Henry, free of that trouble, lest he lose opportunities by hesitating and frittering away his days, and so the wait would do no more to torment the minds of his friends who were waiting upon him, decided he could not delay, but rather that great speed had to be used. Therefore he obtained a small escort of soldiers and borrowed money both from him and from his private friends, with whom he left the marquis as a guarantor (or rather as a hostage) together with John Bouchier, and went to Rouen. While he stayed there and outfitted a fleet in the mouth of the Seine, the rumor came to his ears that King Richard's wife had died, and that he had decided to marry Elizabeth, the daughter of his brother Edward, and to marry off Cecily, Edward's other daughter, to some unworthy no-account. This was a matter of no small importance, for it cut off all hope of achieving their plan from his followers, and it began to gnaw Henry greatly, since for this reason he saw he could not hope to marry any of Edward's daughters, and so he saw he must fear lest his friends desert him. Therefore this matter was brought to

the attention of only a few of them, and they elected to attach more importance to this than to their departure, so they might attempt to attract more help. And it struck them as advantageous to draw Walter Herbert, a man of long-standing power among the Welsh, into their association by means of an affinity, for at home he had a sister of marriageable age. To procure this, messengers were sent to Earl Henry of Northumbria, married to another of Walter's sisters, asking him to manage this business. But the highways were so blocked that nobody was able reach him. Better news came from John Morgan, a lawyer, who at the same time indicated that Richard Thomas, a very useful man and a vigorous one, and John Savage were great supporters of Henry, and that Reginald Bray had scraped together no mean sum of money for the payment of soldiers, and so he advised Henry to come to Wales as soon as he could.

20. Then Henry, thinking that speed was of the essence so that his friends would no longer hang suspended between hope and fear, after he prayed to God for success and prosperity, sailed from the mouth of the Seine on August 1 with only 2,000 soldiers and a few ships. And, enjoying a gentle southerly breeze and clear weather, on the seventh day he reached Wales after sunset, being borne into the port of Milford. Landing immediately, he first occupied a place called Dalley, where he had heard some companies of his adversaries had been stationed during the previous winter, to keep him away. Departing from there at first light, he went to Haverford, a town less than ten miles from Dalley, and was received with great enthusiasm, and he did this so quickly that he was present in the flesh as soon as he was said to be coming. Here he discovered that, contrary to what he had been informed in Normandy, Richard Thomas and John Savage were energetically supporting Richard with their resources and those of their friends. But the inhabitants of Pembroke cheered everyone's troubled minds. For, by means of their spokesman Arnold Butler, a brave fellow, they begged forgiveness for their former offences and said they were ready to support their Earl Jasper. With his army thus increased, Henry

left Haverford and marched five miles towards Cardigan. While his soldiers were refreshing themselves there, it is said that an anonymous rumor spread through his camp that Walter Herbert and those encamped at Caermarden were not far away, together with a great army. This started a commotion as each man began to don his armor and brandish his weapons. At the same time a passing fear overcame them all, until the horsemen sent ahead by Henry as scouts reported that everything was tranquil (as was the case), and no danger threatened their route of march. But Gryfyn, a man of high degree, did the most to cheer them. Although he had previously sided with Walter Herbert and Richard, at about this same time he defected to Henry with his small band of soldiers. On the selfsame day John Morgan came to Henry. Henry continued his progress, making almost no delays, and to travel all the faster he attacked some places garrisoned by his adversaries and took them with next to no trouble. Afterwards, when his scouts saw that Herbert and Richard were up in arms and standing in his path, he decided to march against him, either defeating him or bringing them over to his side, and then hasten on against King Richard. To inform his friends of all these things, he sent his most faithful supporters to his mother Margaret, to the Stanleys, and to Talbot and others, bearing his instructions. And this was their gist, that he, relying on his friends' help, had decided to cross the Severn and make his way through Shropshire towards London, and so he asked them to meet him, and at opportune times and places he would divulge more of his plans to them. His messengers departed, bearing these instructions, and he was hastening towards Shrewsbury, when on his journey he encountered Richard Thomas with a goodly number of soldiers. He received Thomas' homage and took him into his service. Two days earlier he had promised to make Thomas his Lord Lieutenant of Wales, if he would do so, which after gaining the throne he generously granted. Meanwhile the messengers he had sent did as they were instructed, and, laden down with the money contributed by the individuals to whom they had been sent, they returned to Henry on the very day he came to Shrewsbury, and indicated that his friends were ready to do their duty at the proper time. Henry was put in good hopes by this news, and he hastened along along his way, arriving at a village its inhabitants call Newport. Encamping on a nearby hill, he spent the night there. In the evening Gilbert Talbot joined him with more than 500 soldiers. Then he continued to Stafford, and while staying

there William Stanley made his appearance, accompanied by a few men, and after a brief conversation he returned to the soldiers he had collected. Then Henry turned aside and sought Litchfield, where he passed a night outside its walls. Early on the morning of the following day he entered the city, and was honorably received. On the third day before Thomas Stanley had come to that place accompanied by a little less than 5,000 armed men. Learning of Henry's arrival, he went ahead to the village of Adderstone, to wait there until Henry came up. He did this in order to avoid suspicion, for he feared that, if he openly sided with Henry, Richard, who so far did not completely distrust him, would kill his son George, whom I have already shown to be held hostage by the king.

21. Meanwhile Richard, who was at Nottingham at this time, learned that Henry and the other exiles who followed him had come to Wales, and that his unprepared and weak forces were opposed to his own very well prepared ones, whom he had stationed to guard that province. This rumor so raised his confidence that at first he did not think it warranted great attention, for he fancied that Henry, having proceeded rashly because of the small number of his men, was destined to have a bad end when he would either be compelled to fight against his will or be taken alive by Walter Herbert and Richard Thomas, who governed Wales with near-equal authority. But after reflecting that in war a small thing sometimes produces a great result, and that it was the better part of prudence not to scorn his enemy's forces, no matter how slender, he thought he should quickly take provision for future exigencies. Therefore he commanded Earl Henry of Northumbria and other friendly nobles, whom he hoped would place more importance on his safety than on their personal fortunes, to conduct an immediate levy and to hasten to him with their equipped soldiers. Likewise by frequent messengers and letters he instructed Robert Brackenbury, the Governor of the Tower of London, to come to him as soon as possible, bringing with him Thomas Bouchier, Walter Hungerford, and several other knights as if they would be participating in the war, for he held them in suspicion. Amidst these things he heard that Henry had reached Shrewsbury, suffering no inconvenience. Troubled by this news, Richard began to burn with chagrin, rail at the crime of those who had broken their oaths, and at the same time to trust the others less confidently. The result was that he decided to confront his adversaries as soon as possible, and suddenly sent forth scouts to spy what route his enemies were taking. They performed their duty with diligence, and reported that Henry was encamped at Litchfield. Learning this, since by now a huge number of armed men had collected, he marshaled his soldiers and immediately ordered them to march in square formation along the same highway he had learned his enemies to be using, with their baggage in the center. He followed along with his bodyguard, and horsemen ranged on either side. Thus disposed in their ranks, they reached Leicestershire by sunset, while meanwhile Henry moved from Litchfield and went to the nearby village of Tamworth, met along the way by Walter Hungerford, Thomas Bouchier, and a number of others who entered into his service. For they, perceiving themselves to be suspect to Richard, so as they would not be conveyed to their enemy against their will, abandoned their leader Robert Brackenbury a little beyond Stony Stratford, and, traveling by night, made their way to Henry. Other nobles also came flocking to him, who day by day had come to hate Richard worse than all men.

22. A memorable thing befell Henry while making this journey. For although he was in high spirits and his forces increasing wherever he went, he was nevertheless in no small anxiety because he could assure himself of nothing concerning Thomas Stanley, who, as I have shown, was remaining neutral because he feared the harm Richard might do to his son. And, contrary to what his friends were telling him, he was informed that nothing was stronger than Richard's forces, nothing more ready. And so, since his fear was not groundless, he halted on his march, accompanied only by twenty armed men, so as to deliberate what to do. Then too, he had heard Richard was approaching with a countless army. While he gloomily followed at a distance, all this army arrived at Tamworth, and when night fell he lost sight of its tracks. After he had wandered about a long while and could not find it, he fearfully came to a certain hamlet more than three miles from his camp. So not to fall into a trap, he did not dare ask the way of anybody, and he spent his night there, not so afraid of his present danger as of that yet to come. For he feared this was an omen of some future disaster. His army was no less distraught over the sudden absence of its commander, and then on the next day, as the sky

grew light, Henry returned to the army, offering the excuse that this had happened on purpose rather than by his mistake, for he had been outside the camp to receive some welcome news from certain secret friends. Then he secretly went to Adderstone where the brothers Thomas and William Stanley were encamped. Here Henry met with Thomas and William, and they shook hands and congratulated each other upon their mutual stature, and all their minds were eased. Then they discussed how to wage war against Richard, if it came to blows, since they had heard he was not far away. In the evening John Savage, Brian Sanford, Simon Digby, and other defectors from Richard came to Henry with a choice band of soldiers. This both reinforced Henry and filled him with great good hope.

23. Meanwhile Richard, hearing his enemy was approaching, was the first to come to the place of battle, the village of Bosworth, a little beyond Leicester. There he pitched camp, and that night he refreshed his men from their exertions, making a lengthy speech to encourage them for the coming battle. They say that during this night Richard had a fearful dream. For he dreamt he was surrounded by evil demons, who did not let him rest. And this division did not assault his heart with sudden panic so much as it filled him with anxious cares. For immediately thereafter, sick at mind, from this apparition he foresaw the evil outcome of the battle, and he did not prepare himself for the fight with his usual eager expression. But so that it would not be said that he was displaying this melancholy because he feared the enemy, in the morning he related his dream to many men. But I believe this to have been no dream, but rather his conscience, burdened by his many crimes; his conscience, I say, which was all the heavier because his sin was the greater. Although our conscience may not trouble us at other times, on our dying day is it wont to make us recollect the sins we have committed, and show

us our destined punishments, so that we may deservedly repent of our ill-spent existence and be compelled to depart this life in sadness. Now back to my narrative. On the following day Richard, very prepared in all respects, led all his army out of camp and set up a battle-line of astonishing length, composed of both foot and horse, so that it might terrify those who saw it from afar by its multitude of armed men. He stationed his archers in front, like a wall, and placed Duke John of Norfolk over them. After this lengthy line came the king himself with a choice company of soldiers. Meanwhile Henry left this conference with his friends and began to be more uplifted. Without delay he encamped near his enemies and spent the night there. Early in the morning he ordered his soldiers to arm themselves, and at the same time sent to Thomas Stanley, who was now approaching, midway between the two armies, asking that he would come with his forces and place his soldiers in battle order. Stanley replied that he would bring his forces into the battle after making his appearance with his army in battle array. This response was not what Henry had expected, and was contrary to what the opportunity and importance of the thing demanded. So Henry was filled with no little anxiety and began to ponder, although, obliged by necessity, he was no slower in ordering his soldiers. He established a simple battle-line because of the paucity of his men, stationing his bowmen before the line under the command of Earl John of Oxford. On his right wing he placed Gilbert Talbot to defend it, and John Savage on the left. He himself, relying on the help of Thomas Stanley, followed along with one squadron of horse and a handful of foot. For the number of all his soldiers was barely 5,000, not counting those belonging to Stanley, of whom about 3,000 were present at the battle under William's leadership. The royal forces were at least twice as large.

24. And so, when both battle-lines had been drawn up and the soldiers caught sight of each other from afar, they put on their helmets and prepared for the fight, awaiting the signal for battle with cocked ears. Between the armies was a marsh which Henry purposely kept on his *right (dextram)*, so it would serve to protect his men. *At the same time, also by doing this he left the sun behind (Simul etiam id faciendo solem a tergo reliquit)*. When the king saw the enemy pass by the marsh, he commanded his men to attack. They raised a sudden shout and first attacked the enemy with arrows. They, in turn, did nothing to slow the fight, but began to shoot their own arrows. When they drew close to each other, they henceforth did their work with the sword. Meanwhile the Earl of Oxford, fearing lest his men be outflanked in the fight, passed an order through the ranks that no man was to stray more than ten feet from the standards. Receiving this command, all his men crowded together and retired a little from the

fight. The adversaries, frightened by this and suspecting trickery, broke off the fight themselves for a little while. Nor did they begrudge doing so, for they preferred to see their king dead rather than safe, and so fought with less enthusiasm. Then Oxford, directing all his companies at one place, renewed his attack on the enemy, and in another quarter others formed a wedge and, pressing forward together, renewed the fight. While the first lines were thus engaged, Richard was first informed by his scouts that Henry was at a distance, defended by a small bodyguard. Then, as he drew closer, he identified Henry more definitely because of his standards. Enraged, he spurred forward his horse and attacked him from the flank, riding outside the battle-line. Henry perceived Richard coming against him, and, since all his hope was in his arms, he eagerly entered the fray. At their first collision, when some men had been killed and Henry's standard had been overthrown together with his standard-bearer William Brandon, Richard encountered John Cheyney, a very brave man who threw himself in the way, and with great force *threw him to the ground (magna vi in terram trudit)*, cutting his way wherever he went. After Henry had withstood this attack longer than even his own soldiers expected, for they had almost despaired of victory, behold, William Stanley came to their aid with his 3,000 men. Then indeed in a trice, the rest of his men took to their heels, and Richard was killed, fighting in the thick of the fray. Meanwhile after a brief encounter Oxford quickly routed the others fighting in the forefront, of whom a goodly number were killed in their flight. But many more not unwillingly abstained fighting because they had followed Richard out of fear rather than of their own free will. These left the field having suffered no harm, since they were not seeking the salvation, but rather the downfall of their hated sovereign. About a thousand men were killed, including, out of the nobility, Duke John of Norfolk, Lord Walter Ferris, Robert Brackenbury, Richard Ratcliffe, and many others. Two days later the lawyer William Catesby was executed at Leicester, together with a number of others. And of the refugees, Lord Francis Lovell, Humphrey Stafford and his brother Thomas, and many of their companions fled to the asylum of St. John, which is at Colchester, a town on the Essex coast. The number of those taken captive was great, since as soon as Richard was killed everybody cast away their weapons and voluntarily submitted to Henry's power, which the majority would have done at the very beginning, if Richard's spies, flying hither and thither, would have let them. Among these were the noblemen Earl Henry of Northumbria and Earl Thomas of Surrey, of whom the latter was placed in custody, where he stayed for a long time, whereas the former, being a willing friend, was taken into Henry's good graces. In that fight Henry scarcely lost a hundred soldiers, among whom the single nobleman was William Brandon, who had carried Henry's battle-standard. The battle was fought on August 22 of the year of human salvation 1485, and lasted a little more than two hours.

25. The story goes that Richard could have rescued himself by flight. For those around him, seeing that from the beginning of the battle that their soldiers were fighting slowly and sluggishly, and that others were furtively slinking away from the battlefield, suspected fraud and urged him to flee. And then, when the battle had clearly turned against him, they brought him a swift horse. But he was not unaware that the people loathed him and abandoned all hope of future success, and is said to have replied that on that day he would make an end either of fighting or of his life, such was the man's ferocity and spirit. Because he knew for sure that on that day he would either pacify his realm or lose it forever, he went into battle wearing the crown, so as to make

either a beginning or an end of his reign in that battle. And so the wretch quickly suffered that same end that it went to befall those who equate right, law, and honor with their own will, impiety, and rascality. These are indeed examples which can deter those who keep no hour free of crime, cruelty, and felony, more vividly than can any words. Having gained his victory, Henry immediately thanked God Almighty with many prayers for the victory he had gained, then, overcome by incredible happiness, he climbed a nearby hill, where, after he had praised his soldiers and ordered the wounded to be tended to, and the dead to be buried, gave his undying thanks to all his nobles and promised he would remember their support. Meanwhile with a great shout his soldiers acclaimed as him as king, and cheered him most willingly. Seeing this, Thomas Stanley promptly placed on his head Richard's crown, which

had been discovered amidst the spoils, just as if he had been hailed as king in the traditional way in accordance with popular will. This was the first harbinger of his blessedness. After this, Henry took up all his baggage and reached Leicester in the evening, with his victorious army. There he remained for two days, to refresh his soldiers after their effort and prepare for his march on London. Meanwhile Richard's naked body was slung over a horse, its head, arms and legs dangling, and was brought to the Franciscan monastery at Leicester, a sorry spectacle but a sight worthy of the man's life, and there it was given burial two days later, without any funeral ceremony. He reigned two years, two months, and one day. He was slight of stature, misshapen of body, with one shoulder higher than the other, and had a pinched and truculent face which seemed to smack of deceit and guile. While he was plunged in thought, he would constantly chew his lower lip, as if the savage nature in that miniature body was raging against itself. Likewise with his right hand he was constantly pulling the dagger he always wore halfway in and out. He had a sharp, clever, wily wit, fit for pretence and dissimulation. His spirit was lively and fierce, and did not fail him even in death. For when abandoned by his own men, he preferred to take up the steel than to save his life by shameful flight, unsure whether he might soon lose it by disease or by suffering his comeuppance.

Book XXVI.

IN the preceding Book I have set forth what Richard did after the death of Edward, the defection of the nobles, and also his death. It is now convenient for me to relate the sequel. Having gained control, right from the beginning Henry made up his mind that sedition was to be quashed. Before leaving Leicester, he sent Robert Willing into Yorkshire to fetch Edward Earl of Warwick, the fifteen year-old son of George Duke of Clarence, whom Richard had been holding in the castle of Sheriff Hutton. It was indeed not without cause that Henry feared that some very bold fellows might harm him by means of this boy, since, having been vexed by evils ever since coming to manhood, he hoped for nothing more than to live in peace. Traveling there, Robert took the boy, handed over by the castle governor, and brought him to London, where the poor lad, born for misfortune, was immediately imprisoned. In the same castle was the maiden Elizabeth, Edward's eldest daughter, whom Richard had been reserving as a bride for himself, as I have shown above, and yet the girl was so far removed from finding this agreeable that she greatly loathed and abominated him. What shall we say about the fact that the entire populace greatly blamed not only Richard for this most importunate lust, but also his Privy Council for endorsing the man's criminal plan? And yet God aided the maiden's chaste mind and defended her from this, and within a short while she returned to her mother at London, escorted by many men and matrons. Meanwhile Henry began to make his way towards London, with the country folk everywhere rejoicing, congratulating, and hailing him as king. And when he drew close to the city, Lord Mayor Thomas Hill, Sheriffs Thomas Bretain and Richard Chester, together with all the aldermen and the entire city most dutifully came to greet him, and not only did each and every man offer his greetings, but everybody desired to clasp the victorious hands of the approaching men who had killed the tyrant, as one man offered his congratulations, another gave his thanks that by their doing the republic was safe, the authors of those evils having been done away with. And so rejoicing was celebrated by all orders of society, and in all the saints' churches throughout the city God was honored with thanksgiving for several days. But Edward's friends were particularly happy because in their minds they perceived that the opposite faction was doomed to destruction. Following these things, a parliament was summoned in the traditional manner and day appointed for Henry to wed the girl Elizabeth, something which increased the joy of the Peerage and gained Henry great popularity with the Commons, since it was assured that the day had dawned upon which the the fount and seedbed of factions had been exhausted. Afterwards, when a parliament had been convened at Westminster on October 31, by the bidding of Peerage and Commons Henry was crowned king, under the name of Henry VII. This was in the year of our salvation 1485. Thus Henry gained the throne, as had been preordained by God's will and plan, since, as I have recalled earlier, 797 years previously Cadwallader had forecast that his stock would reign once more.

Men's minds had already been gripped by the belief that Henry had been brought to the throne by this prophecy, and Henry VI had also predicted it.

2. And so Henry, duly crowned, thought he should imitate the ancient Athenian custom (as it is said to have been) of declaring an amnesty for all deeds and injuries committed. Thus, after the state of the realm had been established by Lords and Commons in that parliament, it was his pleasure, by public edict, to spare all men who had been loyal to Henry VI and had sworn him their fealty, and to restore to them their goods; and whatever men did not come forward within forty days after the power of obtaining this pardon had been granted were to be accounted public enemies. Whereby it came to pass that many men who had been maintaining themselves in asylum returned to their senses, forgetful of partisan enthusiasm. Then consideration was had for his friends, of whom some were enhanced in rank, and others in wealth, according to their individual merits. Among these, Henry's uncle Jasper was created Duke of Bedford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, and Giles Dabney and Robert Willoughby were made Lords. Likewise Edward, eldest son of Henry Duke of Buckingham, was restored to his father's title and holdings, which King Richard had confiscated along with the goods of the other exiles. In that parliament, finally, certain decrees of Richard and the Londoners were nullified, and laws passed which appeared to be opportune and useful for the realm. With these public affairs set in order and the parliament dismissed, Henry, thinking that even absent men should be remembered, arranged for Thomas Marquis of Dorchester and John Bouchier, who he had left behind at Paris as bondsmen for money he had borrowed, and also John Bishop of Ely, then in Flanders, to be brought home. He likewise appointed a Privy Council by whose advise all things might be governed properly and justly, and by which causes could be settled without the bitterness of the courtroom. He initially chose for this council men famed for their singular prudence, faith and gravity: Earl of John Oxford, Duke Jasper of Bedford, Thomas Stanley Earl of Derby, his son George Lord Strange, his brother William (his First Gentleman of the Bedchamber), Robert Lord Brook (his Lord Chamberlain or Steward), Reginald Bray, John Morton, Bishop of Ely, Richard Fox, John Dynam (whom he subsequently created Lord Treasurer of England), Giles Dabney, Richard Tildford, John Cheney, Richard Tunstall, Richard Edgecombe, Thomas Lovell, Edward Poyning. And later he selected other men of wisdom as councilors, and constantly consult them about how to transact business. In their number were the Welshman Richard Thomas, Morgan Kidwell, Thomas Gray Marquis of Dorchester, a good, prudent, man, George Talbot Earl of Shropshire, a noble man, wise, and moderate in all the departments of life, John Risley, Earl Thomas of Ormond, an Irishman, Henry Marney, William Say, a leading member of his knightly order, William Ody, Gilbert Talbot, William Udall, Thomas Troys, Richard Nanfant (a sometime Governor of Calais), Robert Point, James Hubert, Charles Somerset, a ready and noble gentleman, Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, a man of consummate prudence, gravity, and steadiness, Henry Bouchier Earl of Essex, endowed with singular goodness, John Fiennes, Peter Edgecombe, Hugh Conway, Thomas Tyrell, Henry Wyatt, Robert Throckmorton, Thomas Brandon, a doughty and experienced gentleman, John Wingfield, distinguished for his nobility and virtue, Edmund Dudley, Edward Belknap, Richard Hemson, and many others of good counsel. To consolidate the present state of affairs, it remained that Henry should marry Edward's daughter Elizabeth, in accordance with his promise, and so he did. After this it appeared as if the people of England had achieved tranquility, because Lancaster and York, those two families most preeminent for wealth and nobility, had at last combined into a single house from which an undoubted royal child was destined to be produced, who in later years would gain the throne. Although everything seemed safe and sound after these these things had been done, nevertheless Henry, schooled by his past misfortunes, thought he must still be fearful of his enemies' schemes, because mortals who had been brought up from the cradles steeped in factional hatred could not easily rid their systems of this poison. Therefore he was the first of all the Kings of England to have a bodyguard, a feature he is said to have acquired from the sovereigns of France. But since arms abroad sometimes fail to ward off peril unless there is counsel at home, he gathered to himself the most grave and wise men, particularly those who from the outset had been his allies, helpers, and partners, being a man who believed all his cares should be concentrated on

governing the kingdom aright, mindful that was why he was called to the throne by the English people. He therefore thought it was of great importance to take care that the realm might flourish once more in its laws, institutions and manners, and that hopes for its further improvement would be reborn for all men. Such was the foundation for his government that Henry laid from the outset.

Polydore Vergil, *Anglica Historia* (1555 version)

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POLYDORI VERGILII ANGLICAE HISTORIAE LIBER XXV

19. Id temporis quo Henricus comes apud Francos auxilii impetrandi causa morabatur, permulti principes propter Caroli regis aetatem, regni rectores, erant inter se parum consentientes. Cuius simultatis princeps caput erat Ludovicus Aurelianensium dux, qui cum in matrimonio haberet Ioannam Caroli sororem, primas in republica administranda partes tenere nitebatur. Quibus rebus fiebat ut neminem unum imperii summa deferretur, et Henricus comes, qui dies noctesque nullum locum praetermittebat itineris in patriam maturandi, cogere sigillatim omnes adire, rogare, obsecrare. Ita res extrahebatur, cum Thomas Dorcestriae marchio, quem supra diximus a matre domum vocari, partim ob id, de secessu Henrici desperans, partim Ricardi promissis surbornatus, clam et noctu Lutetia discessit, magnisque itineribus in Flandriam contendebat. Quod simul atque comes et alii Anglici principes cognoverunt, valde commoti a Carolo petiverunt ut per eius mandatum liceret sibi hominem suorum consiliorum conscium ubicunque inveniretur remorari, eaque re facile impetrata, per omnes vias discurrere coeperunt. Sed Humfredus Chenius vestigia antecedentis sagacius odorando recta via secutus marchionem ad Compendium oppidum consecutus est, atque ita ei persuasit ut aliquanto post ad socios reversus sit. Comes Henricus, ea molestia liberatus, ut ne dubitando et dies prolatando magnas opportunitates amitteret, neve amicorum qui ipsum praestolabantur mentes amplius expectatio cruciaret, statuit sibi non cunctandum, sed atque adeo maxima utendum celeritate. Itaque, impetrato a Carolo levi praesidio, ac tam ab eo quam a privatis amicis pecuniam mutuatus, pro qua marchionem sponsorem vel potius obsidem una cum Ioanne Burscherio reliquerat, Rothomagum proficiscitur. Dum hic moratur et ad ostium Sequanae classem parat, ad eius aures rumor detulit Ricardum regem, mortua uxore, statuisse in matrimonium ducere Elizabeth filiam Edouardi fratris ac Ceciliam aliam ipsius Edouardi filiam nupsisse cuidam filio terrae, viro minus se digno. Coepit ea res haud parvi omnino momenti, quippe quae spem omnem capti consilii exequendi sociis praecidebat, Henricum graviter mordere, quod per id iam videret sibi non licere ullius Edouardi filiarum nuptias expectare, quamobrem pertimescendum putabat ne illius amici se desererent. Igitur, re ad paucorum consilium delata, placuit eam profectioni anteverti, quo tentaretur si alia adiungi auxilia possent, atque ex usu visum est trahere in societatem belli per affinitatem Gualterum Harbertum, veteris hominem inter Wallos potentiae, qui sororem nubilem domi haberet, et ad id procurandum nuntii missi ad Henricum Northumbriae comitem, qui aliam Gualteri sororem in matrimonio habebat, ut ille id negotii gereret. Sed viae adeo obsessae erant ut nullus illorum ad eum penetrare quiverit. Atqui melior nuntius venit a Ioanne Morgano iurisconsulto,

qui eodem tempore significavit Ricardum cognomento Thomam, virum magni usus ac strenuum, et Ioannem Savagium rebus Henrici summe studere, ac Reginaldum Braium non mediocrem pecuniae summam in stipendium militum confecisse, et propterea monebat ut primo quoque tempore Valliam recta peterent.

20. Tum Henricus, maturato opus esse ratus, ut amici inter spem metumque haud quaquam amplius suspensi tenerentur, postquam Deum precatus est ut felix faustumque esset, cum duobus tantum armatorum millibus ac paucis navibus Calendis Augusti ex Sequanae ostio solvit, qui Austro lenissimo, coelo sereno, septimo post die sub solis occasum Walliam attigit, in portum delatus quem Mylfordium vocant, ac confestim in terram egressus primum occupavit locum cui Dalla nomen est, ubi aliquot adversariorum cohortes sui arcendi causa praeterita hyeme stativa habuisse audierat. Inde prima luce discedens Haverfordium, quod est oppidum minus decem millia passuum procul a Dalla, profectus est, summa omnium voluntate receptus, idque adeo celeriter fecit ut simul adesse et venire nuntiatum sit. Hic intelligit Ricardum Thomam et Ioannem Savagium, contra atque in Normania factus fuerat certior, suis et suorum optibus Ricardum enixe iuvare. Caeterum Penbruchenses omnium animos perturbatos eodem tempore confirmarunt, qui per Arnoldum Bottelreium, hominem fortem, petita praeteritorum commissorum venia, se suo Gaspari comiti opem dare paratos esse significarunt. Henricus, aucto sic exercitu, Haverfordio discedit, ac milla passuum quinque Caediganiam versus progreditur. Dum hic milites se reficiunt, profertur repente per castra incerto autore rumor Gualterum Harbertum et qui ad Charmardinum oppidum castra habebant cum ingenti armatorum manu non longe abesse. Ex qua re orto statim tumultu, pro se quisque expedire arma atque tela tentare intendereque incipiebat, simul aliquantus timor omnes occupabat, cum equites ab Henrico exploratum praemissi omnia, uti erant, quieti esse, ac nullum viae incommodum impendere renuntiarunt. Sed longe maxima omnes laetitia affecit Grifinus, vir summa nobilitate, qui quanquam se antea cum Gualtero Harberto et Ricardo coniunxerat, tamen eodem pene temporis puncto ad Henricum cum suis etsi paucis militibus defecit. Illo ipso quoque die Ioannes Morganus ad ipsum Henricum venit. Procebat Henricus, nullo fere loco moratus, qui, ut expeditius iter faceret, nonnulla loca adversariorum praesidiis munita agressus nullo fere negotio expugnavit, et cum secundum haec per speculatores intellexisset Harbertum ac Ricardum ante in armis esse, statuit in eos contendere et, illis aut fugatis vel in fidem receptis, adversus Ricardum regem properare. Sed ut amicos rerum omnium certiores faceret, allegavit ad Margaritam matrem, ad Stanleios, ad Talbotum, ad alios ex suis fidissimos quosque cum mandatis. Erat autem haec summa mandatorum, se amicorum fretum auxilio decrevisse Sabrinam transire et per agrum Salopiensem Londinum petere, propterea illos rogare ut sibi obviam essent, cum quibus et loco et tempore opportuno de suis consiliis plura communicaret. Ita cum his mandatis abeuntibus nuntiis, ipse Salopiam ire pergit, cui in itinere fit obviam Ricardus Thomas cum bene magno militum numero, seque accepta atque date fide in eius potestatem tradit. Biduo ante Henricus promiserat Ricardo Thomae praefecturam perpetuam Walliae si in suam fidem veniret, quam postea regni potitus dedit liberaliter. Nuntii missi interea diligenter mandata executi, et pecunia quam acceperant a singulis ad quos missi fuerant onusti, rediere ad Henricum eo ipso die quo ille Salopiam pervenerat, significaruntque amicos paratos in tempore ad officium praestandum. Hoc nuntio in bonam spem Henricus adductus iter in initum ire contendit, ac ad pagum quem incolae Newportum appellant pervenit, positisque in proximo colle castris, illic pernoctat. Venit ad eum ad vesperum Gilbertus Talbotus cum quingentis et amplius armatis. Deinde Staffordiam progreditur, ad quem dum ibi moratur accessit Gulielmus Stanleius paucis comitatus, qui, habito brevi cum eo colloquio, ad suos milites, quos cogeat, reversus est.

Inde digressus Lichefeldiam petit, atque extra moenia eam noctem manet, postero die multo mane in urbem introit, honorifice accipitur. Nudiustertius fuerat ad eum locum Thomas Stanleius paulo minus quinque millibus armatorum stipatus, qui, cognito Henrici adventu, sine mora ad vicum quam Aderstonam vocant praecessit, illic dum Henricus accederet expectaturus. Hoc avertendae suspicionis causa fecit, veritus, si priusquam ad manus veniretur se cum Henrico stare et sentire palam ostenderet, ne Richardus, qui adhuc eius fidei nequaquam penitus diffidebat, Georgium filium morte non afficeret, quem supra diximus apud illum in custodia teneri loco obsidis.

21. At Ricardus interim, quippe per idem tempus Nothyngamiae erat, factus est certior Henricum cum caeteris exulibus qui illum sequebantur in Walliam pervenisse, ac eius imparata et infirma omnia contra suos paratissimos, quos ad custodiam provinciae disposuisset. Is rumor sic illius animum inflavit ut primum id non magnopere curandum existimarit, arbitrans Henricum propter paucitatem suorum temere progressum, malum utique habiturum exitum cum eo pervenisset ubi aut invitus dimicare cogeretur aut vivus caperetur per Gualterum Harbertum et Ricardum Thomam, qui Walliam pari prope imperio obtinerent. Veruntamen postea secum reputans, rem interdum parvam in bello magnum facere motum, ac prudentiae esse non contemnere hostium vires, quamvis modicas, casibus futuris mature providendum iudicavit. Itaque Henricum Northumbriae comitem ac alios amicos principes, quos opibus suis ipsius salutem anteposituros sperabat, iussit habere protinus delectum militum, atque cum instructis copiis ad se propere venire. Item crebris nuntiis atque literis praecepit Roberto Brachyngburio praefecto turris Londinensis ut ad se quamprimum accederet duceretque secum tanque belli socios Thomam Burscherium, Gualterum Hungerfordium, compluresque alios equestris ordinis viros quos ipse suspectos habebat. Inter haec vero auditum est Henricum sine ullo accepto incommodo Salopiam pervenisse. Quo rex nuntio commotus, ardere dolore, scelusque suorum qui fidem fefellissent maximae clamare, simulque aliis minus confidere coepit, adeo ut sibi primo quoque die occurrendum adversariis statuens subito praemiserit exploratores qui specularentur quam viam tenerent hostes. Illi diligenter officio functi non multo post revertuntur, indicantque Henricum ad Lichefeldiam castra habere. Quod ubi cognovit, quia iam armatorum numerus ingens convenerat, continuo, militibus in ordines deductis, iubet acies quadrato agmine incedere per eam viam qua intellexerat hostes venturos esse, cunctis in medium coactis impedimentis, ipse cum suis stipatoribus sequitur, alis utrinque discurrentibus equitum. Ita servatis ordinibus Lecestriam sub solis occasum pervenerunt, cum interea Henricus Lichefeldia se movens ad proximum vicum, quem Thomworth dicunt, ire contendebat, cum in itinere obvii fuere Gualterus Hungerfordius, Thomas Burscherius, ac plerique alii qui se in eius fidem permiserunt. Ii enim advertentes se Ricardo suspectos esse, ut ne ad inimicum inviti ducerentur, parum ultra Stonyngstratfordiam Robertum Brachyngburium duces deserentes nocturnis itineribus ad Henricum transierunt. Confluebant passim et alii nobiles ad eum, qui Ricardum in dies singulos peius omnibus mortalibus oderant.

22. Accidit in itinere casus Henrico memorabilis. Is enim, licet magno esset animo et eius copiae passim augerentur, tamen in timore non parvo erat quod nihil certi videretur sibi polliceri posse de Thoma Stanleio, qui, uti demonstravi, propterea quod a Ricardo periculum filio metuebat, neutro adhuc inclinabat, et de Ricardi rebus, longe aliter ac amici significarant, nuntiaretur nihil firmitus esse, nihil paratius. Quocirca cum eius timor non de nihilo esset, ipse viginti tantum comitatus armatis substitit in itinere incertus consilii, ut deliberaturus quidnam faceret. Accedebat ad hoc quod audierat Ricardum cum innumerabili exercitu appropinquare. Dum ita subtristis a longe sequebatur, omnis exercitus Thomworth pervenit, et cum interventu

noctis ipse praecedentium vestigia videre nequiret, postquam diu errabundus suos non invenisset, ad quendam viculum a quo castra aberant plus tria milliaria venit, plenus timoris. Qui ne in insidias incideret, nihil a quoquam sciscitari ausus, mansit illa nocte ibidem, non magis ob praesens quam ob futurum periculum territus. Porro verebatur ut id alicuius futurae plagae prodigium foret. Neque minus exercitus ob subitam ducis absentiam moestus erat, cum Henricus postridie, albescente coelo, ad exercitum rediit, excusans se id non errore sed de industria fecisse, quod esset extra castra, gratum nuntium a quibusdam occultis amicis accepturus. Deinde Aderstonam clam proficiscitur, ubi Thomas Stanleius et Gulielmus fratres stativa habebant. Hic Henricus cum Thoma et Gulielmo congregitur, iunctis dextris ac credita mutuo salute de communi statu inter se gratulantur, atque omnium animi ad laetitiam excitantur. Post haec consilium faciendi praelii cum Ricardo, si ad manus veniret, quem haud procul abesse audiebant, inter se conferunt. Sub vesperum eius die Ioannes Savagius, Briannus Sanfordius, Simon Dygby compluresque alii a Ricardo deficientes ad Henricum cum electa armatorum manu veniunt. Quae res et viribus auxit et bona spe Henricum magnopere implevit.

23. Interea Ricardus, audiens hostem adventare, prior ad locum pugnae parum ultra Lecestriam, Bosworth (id pagi nomen est) accedit, ibique positis castris suos ea nocte a laboribus recreat, hortaturque multis verbis ad futurum praelium. Fertur eadem nocte fuisse Ricardo terribile somnium. Visus est enim per quietem videre circa se obversari imagines quasi malorum daemonum horrida, et illas non sinere se quiescere. Quae equidem visio non tam subito pavore eius pectus perculit quam anxiis implevit curis. Nanque statim post, animo aeger, ex ea re gravem pugnae futurae eventum praesagiebat, ac non ea animi aut vultus alacritate qua ante ad certamen accedebat, qui ut ne hostium metu territus diceretur eam prae se ferre tristitiam, multis mane somnium suum recitavit. Verum id, credo, non fuit somnium, sed conscientia scelerum, conscientia, inquam, eo gravior quo culpa maior, quae si alias nunquam, at extremo vitae die solet nobis commissorum nostrorum memoriam repraesentare, ac illorum simul impendentes poenas monstrare, ut merito ad id temporis punctum male actae vitae poenitentes hinc tristes migrare cogamur. Iam ad propositum redeo. Postero die Ricardus, rebus omnibus paratissimis, cuncto exercitu ex castris educto, aciem dirigit mirabili longitudine productam, ac peditibus equitibusque confectam, ut procul aspicientibus terrorem ob multitudinem armatorum praebeat, et in fronte sagittarios locat instar munitissimi valli. His sagittariis praeficitur Ioannes dux Northfolciae. Post eam longam aciem sequebatur ipse rex cum electo militum robore. Interim Henricus a colloquio amicorum digressus animo iam erectiore esse incipit, qui, nulla facta mora, propius hostes castra ponit ibique pernoctat, bene autem mane militem se ad arma expedire iubet, simulque mittit ad Thomam Stanleium, qui iam, ut medius loco pugnae appropinquaret, cum suis copiis accedat ad milites ordinandos. Is respondet ut ille suos in aciem ducat dum ipse instructo exercitu adsit. Quo responso Henricus, contra atque opinabatur, temporisque opportunitas ac magnitudo rei postulabat, dato, quamvis nonnihil anxius reddatur pendereque animi incipiebat, tamen nihil cunctatus necessario ita suos ordinat. Aciem instruit simplicem propter suorum paucitatem, sagittarios ante aciem constituit, quibus praeficit Ioannem comitem Oxoniensem, in dextero cornu aciei locat Gilbertum Talbotum qui id tueatur, in sinistro vero ponit Ioannem Savagium. Ipse autem, fretus auxilio Thomae Stanlei, cum una equitum turma paucisque peditibus sequebatur. Nam omnium militum eius omnino numerus vix erat quinque millia absque Stanleianis, quorum tria circiter millia, duce Gulielmo, pugnae interfuerunt. Regiarum vero copiarum bis alterum tantum fuit.

24. Ita, utrinque instructa acie, ubi procul inter se milites conspicerere sese

galeis armant atque ad pugnam parant, expectantes arrectis auribus invadendi signum. Inter untrunque exercitum intercedebat palus quam Henricus de industria ad dextram dimisit, ut suis instar munitionis esset. Simul etiam id faciendo solem a tergo reliquit. At rex, ubi vidit hostes praeterisse paludem, suos impetum in eos facere iubet. Illi subito sublato clamore primum sagittis hostem petunt, qui pugnam nihil retardans, ferociter et ipse sagittis ferire incipit, sed ubi cominus ventum est, gladiis deinde res agitur. Oxoniensis comes interim, veritus ne sui praeliando a multitudine circumvenirentur, edixit per ordines ne quis miles a signis plus decem pedes procederet. Quo cognito mandato, cum sese cuncti spisse coegissent et parum a certamine cessassent, adversarii, ut territi ob eam rem aliquid fraudis suspicati, ipse quoque parumper pugnam intermiserunt, et id quidem multi non gravitate, qui malebant regem perditum, quam salvum, ac ideo minus fortiter pugnabant. Tum Oxoniensis, una in parte confertis manipulis, in hostes impetum renovat, et alii in parte altera, facto cuneo, una urgentes integrant pugnam. Dum ita inter primas acies utrinque dimicatur, Ricardus primo a speculatoribus procul Henricum paucis stiptatum armatis esse intelligit, deinde iam propius accedentem certius ex signis Henricum cognoscit, qui tum inflammatus ira concitat calcaribus equum atque in eum ex altero latere ultra acies incurrit. Sensit contra se Henricus Ricardum ire, et, quia omnis spes salutis in armis erat, se certamini avide offert. Ricardus primo impetu, aliquot interfectis et vexillo Henrici deiecto una cum Gulielmo Brandono vexillario, congregitur cum Ioanne Chenio, homine longe fortissimo, qui se venienti obtulit, quem magna vi in terram trudit, viam sibi ferro ubique faciens. Sustinuit tamen Henricus impetum diutius quam etiam eius milites putarant, qui victoriam iam pene desperabant, cum ecce, Gulielmus Stanleius cum tribus armatorum millibus subsidio venit, Tum vero temporis puncto, reliquis in fugam se dantibus, Ricardus inter confertissimos hostes praelians interficitur. Interea Oxoniensis post breve certamen caeteros etiam, qui in prima acie pugnabant, in fugam quamprimum coniecit, quorum bene magnus numerus in ipsa fuga cecidit. Sed multo plures non inviti, qui Ricardum metu, non item voluntate, secuti erant, se praelio abstinerunt, atque nullo accepto detrimento abierunt, quippe qui non salutem sed exitium principi quem oderant expetebant. Caesi sunt mille circiter homines, et in iis ex nobilibus Ioannes dux Northfolchiae, Gualterus Ferrysus regulus, Robertus Brachyngburius, Richardus Ratteclyffus compluresque alii. Biduo post Lecestriae Gulielmus Chatysby leguleius cum paucis suis sociis supplicio afficitur. Ex illis autem qui se in pedes dederant Franciscus Lovellus regulus, Humfredus Staffordius cum Thoma fratre ac multis comitibus confugerunt in asylum divi Ioannis, quod est ad Colcestriam oppidum Essexiae maritimum. Captivorum vero numerus maximus fuit, quoniam occiso Ricardo cuncti evestigio, proiectis armis, in Henrici potestatem ultro se tradiderunt, quorum maior pars id a principio fecisset si per Ricardi exploratores ultro citroque volitantes licuisset. In iis principes fuere Henricus Northumbriae et Thomas Surriae comites, hic in custodiam traditur, ubi diu fuit, ille ut voluntarius amicus in gratiam recipitur. Amisit Henricus in ea pugna vix centum milites, inter quos unus princeps fuit Gulielmus Brandonus, qui Henrici militare signum ferebat. Pugnatum est ad xj Kalendas Septembris anno salutis humanae MCCCLXXXVI, duravitque dimicatio amplius duas horas.

25. Ricardus potuit, ut fama est, salutem fuga quaerere. Nam qui circa eum erant, ubi videretur militem iam inde ab initio certaminis languide ac segniter arma movere, atque alios clam praelio excedere, fraudem suspicati, hortati sunt eum ad fugam, et cum iam manifeste res inclinata esset, equum velocem adduxerunt. Ille vero, quem non fugiebat populum sibi infestum esse, spe deposita omnis posthac futuri eventus, fertur respondisse se eo die aut

bellorum aut vitae finam facturum, adeo magna ferocia magnaue vis animi in eo fuit. Qui propterea sciens certo illum diem vel regnum sibi deinceps pacatum redditurum vel perpetuo adempturum, corona regia redimitus in certamen descendit, ut aut initium finemve regnandi ex illo faceret. Ita miser subito similem exitum habuit atque iis accidere solet qui ius, qui fas, qui honestum pro eo habent ac voluntatem, impietatem, improbitatem. Sane ista sunt exempla longe hominum vocibus vehementiora ad deterrendum eos qui nullam horam vacuum a scelere, crudelitate, flagitio praeterire patiuntur. Henricus adeptam statim victoriam Deo optimo maximo multis precibus acceptam retulit, dein incredibili laetitia perfusus in proximum collem se recepit, ubi postquam collaudavit milites iussitque curari vulneratos atque occisos sepeliri, immortales omnibus principibus gratias egit, pollicitus se memorem beneficiorum fore, milite interea eum magno clamore regem salutante, plaususque libentissimo animo dante. Quo viso, Thomas Stanleius coronam Ricardi inter spolia repertam capiti protinus imposuit, perinde ac si iam populi iussu rex fuisset more maiorum renuntiatus, atque id primum fuit felicitatis omen. Post haec Henricus, collectis omnibus sarcinis, cum victore exercitu Lecestriam ad vesperam perrexit, ubi reficiendi a labore militis itinerisque Londinum versus parandi causa duos moratur dies. Interim Ricardi corpus, cuncto nudatum vestitu ac dorso equi impositum, capite et brachiis ac cruribus utrinque pendentibus, Lecestriam ad coenobium Franciscanorum monachorum deportatur, spectaculum mehercule miserabile sed hominis vita dignum, ibique sine ullo funere honore biduo post terra humatur. Regnavit annos duos et totidem menses, plusque die uno. Statura fuit pusilla, corpore deformi, altero humero eminentiore, facie brevi ac truculenta, quae olere malitiam et dolum ac fraudem clamitare videretur. Dum in cogitatione aliqua versabatur, inferius labrum assidue mordebat quasi ita fera in eo corpusculo natura in seipsam furente. Simul pugionem quem semper gestabat dextra manu ex vagina dimidio tenus pariter recondendo atque condendo. Ingenium vero habuit acutum, sagax, versutum, ad simulandum atque dissimulandum aptum. Animum autem elatum ac ferocem, qui eum etiam non defecit in morte, quam destitutus a suis maluit per ferrum capere quam per turpem fugam, incertae ac fortasse post paulo morbo vel supplicio interiturae vitae parcere.

POLYDORI VERGILII ANGLICAE HISTORIAE LIBER XXVI

UAE post mortem Edouardi gesserit Ricardus ac nobilium defectionem, praeterea eius interitum, superiore libro explicavimus. Nunc autem quae postea acciderunt commodum exequemur. Henricus rerum potitus a primo sibi seditiones extinguendas statuit, qui priusquam Lecestria discederet Robertum Wyllugby in agrum Eboracensem misit qui duceret ad se Edouardum comitem Varvici Georgii ducis Clarentiae filium, decem et quinque annos natum, quem Ricardus in arce quam Schereshutton vocant hactenus tenuerat. Enimvero Henricus non sine causa verebatur ne per hunc puerum ab hominibus audacissimis sibi aliquando noceretur, qui, permultis ab ineunte aetate pressus malis, nihil potius optabat quam in pace esse. Robertus ad arcem profectus Edouardum a praefecto sibi traditum Londinum deduxit, ubi misellus puer ad calamitatem natus in custodiam protinus conicitur. Erat in eadem arce Elizabeth virgo, Edouardo filia aetate maior, quam Ricardus ad connubium sibi servabat, quemadmodum supra demonstravi, verum tantum aberat ut puella ad id consentiret ut etiam maximopere detestaretur perhorresceretque. Quid quod omnis populus eam longe importunissimam libidem non modo Ricardo, sed eius domestico senatui summo crimini verterat, quod tam nefarium hominis consilium corroborasset? Proinde Deus castam virginis mentem iuivit, ab eoque defendit, quae paulo post multis

cum viris tum matronis comitata Londinum ad matrem revertit. Interea Henricus iter Londinum versus facere coepit, ingenti passim rura incolentium laetitia et congratulatione eum regem appellantium. Sed ubi appropinquavit urbi, Thomas Hylle praetor ac Thomas Bretayn Ricardusque Chester vicecomites, et cum his totus senatus atque omnis civitas in eum summe officiosa obviam effusa est, non modo universi salutabant, verum etiam pro se quisque victrices venientum dexteris quae tyrannum occidissent contingere cupiens alius gratulabatur, alius gratias agebat, quod eorum opera incolumis esset respublica, sublatis malorum autoribus. Igitur gaudium generatim celebratum, ac Deo aliquot dierum supplicationibus ad omnia divorum templa passim honor habitus est. Caeterum amici speciatim laetitia exultabant quod animo cernerent factionem adversariam exterminatum iri. Secundum haec concilium more maiorum indicitur ac dies dictus quo Henricus Elizabeth puellam in matrimoniam duceret. Ea porro res et gaudium principibus adauxit, et Henrici nomen in magna apud populum gratia posuit, pro certo habentem venisse diem cum factionum fons et seminarium tandem aliquando exhauriretur. Postea, coacto ad Westmonasterium concilio, pridie calendas Novembris Henricus principum atque populi iussu rex creatur. Dictus est Henricus eo nomine Septimus. Fuit ille annus salutis MCCCCLXXXVI. Henricus sic regnum adeptus est quod Dei nutu atque concilio provisum est, quamdo abhinc ex hoc anno salutis 1486 annos dccxcvij memoriae proditum fuerit vocem divinitus Cadovalladro ultimo Britannicorum regi, ut supra memoravi, redditam eius progeniem rursus regnaturam. Istius vocis fato Henricum ductum regnum obtinuisse opinio per animos hominum iampridem pervaserat, quod et Henricus Sextus futurum praedixerat.

2. Igitur Henricus rex rite factus primum omnium vetus Atheniensium exemplum, ut dicitur, sibi revocandum putat, hoc est, omnem actarum rerum pariter ac iniuriarum memoriam delendam. Itaque post fundatum in eo concilio patrum ac populi autoritate regni statum, placuit publico edicto omnibus parci ac bona restitui qui in Henrici fidem venirent in eiusque verba iurarent, et qui non venissent post xl dies quam potestas venienda facta foret numero hostium patriae haberi. Quo factum est ut bene multi qui se asyulis tenebant ad sanitatem redierint, studiorum diversarum partium obliti. Deinde de amicis ratio habita, et alii dignitate, alii opibus quisque pro meritis aucti. In iis Gaspar Henrici patruus dux Bedfordiae, Thomas Stanleius comes Derbii, Aegidius Dabeneius et Robertus Wyllugby reguli creantur (regulos, sicut alibi diximus, vulgus dominos vocat), et Edouardus filius maior natu Henrici ducis Buchyngamiae restituitur in paternam dignitatem atque possessiones, quas Ricardus rex publicaverat, una cum aliis exulum bonis. Postremo in eo conventu quaedam a Ricardo ac Londinensibus decreta rescinduntur, atque leges quae id temporis e republica esse videbantur populo dantur. Constitutis rebus publicis ac dimisso concilio, Henricus absentium etiam rationem habendum ratus Thomam Dorcestriae marchionem ac Ioannem Burscherium, quos Lutetiae pro accepta pecunia quasi pignori reliquerat quamprimum redemit, atque Ioannem Elyensem episcopum ex Flandria accersendum curavit. Item consilium domi constituit, de cuius sententia cuncta iuste et recte gubernarentur, causaeque ad ipsum relatae sine litium acerbitate deciderentur. In quod quidem consilium a principio viros propter prudentiam singularem, fidem et gravitatem claros delegit, Ioannem Oxoniensem comitem, Gasparem ducem Bedfordiae, Thomam Stanleium Derbiensem comitem, Georgium regulum Strangium eius filium, et Gulielmum fratrem sui regii cubiculi praepositum, Robertum Broke regulum, suae domus regiae praefectum, quem stouardum dicunt, Reginaldum Braium, Ioannem Mortonum Elyensem episcopum, Ricardum Fox, Ioannem Dynham, quem postea fecit Angliae thesaurarium quem vocant, id est quaestorem, Aegidium Dabneium, Ricardum Gildforium, Ioannem Chenium, Ricardum Tonstallum, Ricardum Eggecombium, Thomam Lovellum, Edouardum Ponyngym ac alios deinde sapientes

homines sibi consiliarios optavit, ac consiliaque rerum gerendarum continenter adhibuit, quo in numero erat Ricardus Thomas homo Wallus, Morganus Kydvellus, Thomas Graius marchio Dorcestriae, homo bonus et prudens, Georgius Talbotus Salopiae comes, vir nobilis, sapiens, ac in omnibus vitae partibus moderatus, Ioannes Rysleius, Thomas Ormondiae comes, homo Hybernus, Henricus Marneius, Gulielmus Say, vir sui equestris ordinis primarius, Gulielmus Ody, Gilbertus Talbotus, Gulielmus Udallus, Thomas Troys, Ricardus Nanfantus (is aliquandiu Caleti praefectus fuit), Robertus Poyntus, Iacobus Hubertus, Carolus Somersetus, homo paratus atque nobilis, Thomas Havardus comes Surrae, vir prudentia, gravitate, constantia summa, Henricus Burscherus Essexiae comes, singulari bonitate praeditus, Gulielmus Blontus Monioii regulus, disertus, ornatus, Ioannes Buscherius, Ioannes Fyneux, Petrus Eggecombuis, Hugo Conveius, Thomas Terellus, Henricus Wyat, Robertus Throgmortonus, Thomas Brandonus, homo fortis ac experiens, Ioannes Vynghildus, nobilitate aequae ut virtute praeclarus, Edmundus Dudleius, Edouardus Belknapus, Ricardus Hemsonus, ac deinceps plerique alii consilio boni. Restabat ad corroborandum praesentem rerum statum ut Henricus Elizabeth puellam Edouardi filiam, perinde ac pollicitus erat, sibi matrimonio iungeret, quod et fecit. Ex illo quies Anglicano populo iam parta visa est, quod Lancastria et Eboracensis, duae praepollentes aequae opibus ut nobilitate familiae, tandem aliquando in unam coivissent domum, unde certa regia proles ventura esset quae in posterum tempus regnum obtineret. Quibus rebus actis, etsi omnia quieta ac tuta videbantur, Henricus tamen praeteritis malis doctus sibi adhuc inimicorum insidias pertimiscendas ducebat, quod mortales ab incunabulis odio factionum imbuti non facile solent virus ex animo expuere. Itaque primus omnium Angliae regum stipatores corporis habere coepit, quod a Francis principibus sumpsisse fertur. Caeterum quia ad cavenda pericula parum interdum foris arma valent nisi sit consilium domi, idcirco suum domesticum senatum, quemadmodum supra dictum est, constituit, in eumque gravissimos quosque ac sapientissimos viros, et praesertim eos quos omnium suorum consiliorum, periculorum, calamitatum iam inde ab initio socios, adiutores, participes habuerat, adscivit, utpote qui cunctas suas curas in republica recte regenda sibi designandas putabat, memoria tenens se ad imperium a populo Anglico eius rei causa eum vocatum, ac propterea sua permagni interesse curare quo regnum legibus, institutis, moribus pariter refloreret, atque spes cunctis renascere fore melius. Atque tale gubernationis fundamentum Henricus a principio iecit.

Vitellius A XVI. Printed in *Chronicles of London*, ed. by C. L. Kingsford (London, 1905; reprinted, Stroud, 1977).

p. 193.

Also this yer the xxij day of August was the ffeeld of Bosworth, where kyng Richard was slayne, and the Duke of Northfolk vpon his party, and therle (the Earl) of Surrey, son vnto the said Duke, was taken vpon the said ffeeld, and many other men slayn, as Brakynbury and other, by the power of kyng Henry the vijth. And after the ffeeld doon, the said Kyng Richard was carried vpon an hors behind a man all naked to Leyciter, fast by the ffeeld; and there buryed wt in the fferes. And the xxvij of August was the said kyng Henry brought in to the Cite, wt the Mayr, Aldermen and the ffelishippys clothed in violet; and so to the palays (Palace) at powles, and there lodged.

***The York House Books 1461-1490: House Books One and Two/Four*, ed. by Lorraine C. Attreed (Alan Sutton, for Richard III and Yorkist History Trust, 1991), i.**

Text 1

York City Archives, HB 2/4, f. 169v (*York House Books*, i, pp. 368-369)

Martes vigilia Sancti Bartholomei videlicet xxiiij^o die Augusti anno etc., vacat regalis partas

Mayor: Nicholas Loncastre. 12: William Snawsell, John Tong, William Welles, William Chymney. Sheriff: Thomas Fynche. 24: John Lightlope, Thomas Alan, William Spense, William Tayte, Richard Clerc, John Hagg, Michael White, William White, Miles Grenebank, Richard Hardsang.

Wer assembled in the counsaill chambre where and when it was shewed by diverse personnes and especially by John Sponer send unto the feld of Redemore to bring tidinges frome the same to the citie, that King Richard late mercifully reigning upon us was through grete treason of the duc of Northfolk and many othre that turned ayenst hyme, with many othre lordes and nobilles of this north parties, was pitiously slane and mured to the grete hevynesse of this citie, the names of whome foloweth hereafter.

Wherfor it was determyned for somoch as it was said that therle of Northumberland was comen to Wressill, that a lettre shuld be consaved unto the said erle, beseking hyme to yeve unto them his best advise how to dispose them at this wofull season, both to his honour and worship and well and prouffit of this citie, the tenour wherfor foloweth hereafter:

copie Right prepotent and right noble our moost honourable, especiall and singler good lord in our moost humble wise we recommend us unto your good lordship, loving almightie God of your home cummyng at this woofull season, beseching your good lordship to be towards us and this citie as ye have be hertofore right good and tendre lord and soo to advertise us at this tyme as may be to the honour of your lordship, the well and prouffit of us and sauffegard of this said citie, wherunto we shall applie us both with bodie and goodes and ever to owe unto your lordship our faithfull hertes and true service. Further we besech your lordship to yeve full faith and credence unto our servaunt John Nicholson the berer herof in such thinges as he shall shewe unto your lordship of our behalve, and the blessed trinitie etc.

Yours etc., maire, aldermen, shereffes, xxiiiijti of the counsaill of the citie of York with thole communtie of the same

To etc., therle of Northumberland

Text 2

York City Archives HB 2/4, f.169 recto. (*York House Books*, i, p. 368), Translation by L. Attreed.

Dies Lune videlicet xxij^o die Augusti anon domini m^o ccccm^o lxxxv^o apud Redemore <iuxta Leicestre> fuit bellum inter dominum nostrum regem Ricardum iij et alios proceres suos ex una parte et Henricum comitem de Richmond' et alios proceres suos ex altera parte. In quo bello dictus Ricardus rex anno regni sui iij^o, Johannes dux Northfolc', (Thomas comes Lincoln', Thomas comes Surr' filius dicti ducis, Franciscus vicecomes Lovell') dominus Walterus Deveres dominus de Ferez, Ricardus Ratcliff miles et Robertus Brakanbury miles, dominus rex apud Sandferth iuxta Leicestre et alii in campo ibidem cum aliis quampluribus nobiles, militibus, armigeris et generosis interfecti fuerunt etc.

[On Monday, namely 22 August 1485, at Redemore beside Leicester, there was a battle between our lord king Richard III and various of his nobles on the one side, and Henry earl of Richmond and various of his nobles on the other side. In this battle the said King Richard in the third year of his reign, John duke of Norfolk, Lord Waiter Deveres Lord de Ferez, Sir Richard Ratcliff, and Sir Robert Brakanbury, the lord king at Sandeferth beside Leicester, and others in the same field, with many other nobles, knights, squires, and gentlemen were killed, etc.]

Text 3

Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736), pp. 121-122 (printed in *York House Books Appendix V*, pp. 734-735)

Meetings with Sir Henry Percy and Henry VII's Messenger, Wages of Bosworth Soldiers, 24 August 1485

Mercurii festum Sancti Bartholomei, videlicet xxiiii^o die Augusti, anno etc., vacat regalis potestas

Mayor: Nicholaus Lancastre, etc., N^o 13.

Wer assembled in the counsail chambre wher and when it was determined that the maire with his brethre shuld attend and mete Sir Henry Percey at ii. o' the klok at afternone, at the miln in the strete without Walmgate-bar, ther to understand how they shall be disposed enent the king's grace Henry the sevent, so proclamed and crowned at the feld of Redemore.

Also it was determined that oon Sir Roger Cotam knight unto the said kings grace, now comen to this citie to proclame the said king Henry, shuld be presented with ii. [blank] and ii. gallons of wyne at the chambre cost.

Also John Nicholson which was sent to Wressell to the erle of Northumberland with writing, appered in the counsail chambre, and shewed how it was shewed unto hym by Sir Henry Percy being ther, that the said erle was with the king at Leicestre for the well of himself and this citie, and that the said Sir Henry wold be at the milne without the bar as above. Wherefore it was determined to meet with hyme ther.

Also the same day forsomuch as the forsaid Sir Roger Cotam durst not for fere of deth come through the citie to speake with the maire and his brethre, it was thought that they shuld goo unto him, wherupon the maire and his brethre went unto the sign of the boore and ther they speak with the said knight, which shewed unto them that the king named and proclamed Henry the vii. grete them well, and wold be unto them and this citie as good and gratiouse sovereign lord as any of his noble progenitors was before. With othyr words of comforth. Wherof the maire and his brethre thanks him moch and soo departed.

Also it was determined that such sogiers as went furth of this citie having wages for x. dayes, xii d. by the day, and was furth but iiii dayes and a half, shuld have wages for vi. dayes and no more, and the residue of the money to be repaid to the chamberlaynes to pay to such parishes as paid the same.

Text 4

Drake, *Eboracum*, pp121-122. Printed in *York House Books*, Appendix V, pp. 735-736

City Officials Ride to King Henry, Royal Proclamation Read in City, 25 August 1485

*Jovis post festum Sancti Bartholomei, videlicet xxv^o die Augusti anno domini
M.CCCC.LXXXV.*

Mayor: Nicholaus Lancastre, etc., N^o 11.

Wer assembled in the counsail chambre, wher and when it was determined that William Wells, William Chimney, Robert Hawk aldermen, [and] William Tayte and John Hay of the xxiv, shall ride unto the kings grace Henry the vii. in the name of th'ole bodie of this citie, beseching his grace to be good and gracious lord unto this citie as othyr his noble progenitours hath ben tofore, and to confirme of his most habundant grace all such franchises, liberties, fees and freedoms as hath ben granted to the said citie hertofore by his said noble progenitours; and that ther be several letters made as well to the erle of Northumberland as the lord Stanelay for the good speed of the premises. Also that the said aldermen and ii. of the xxiiii. be accompanied with xv. yomen and horses, and have gownes of must[er]deviles, and ther [blank] gownes of othyr color convenient for them. And that Alexander Dauson chamberlayn, ride with the same personnes and bere all costs provided of the chambre.

Also, that ther shal be a proclamacion mad through out this citie, which proclamacion was delivered unto the mayre and his brethre by one of the kings herolds called Wyndsore in the counsail chambre, having upon hym a cote armor of the armes of England and Fraunce; which herold shewed unto the mayre by mouthe, that the kings grace grete hym and his bredre wele, and would be as good and gracious lord unto this citie as any of his progenitours were before him, with othyr moch wordes of comforth, wherfore he desired hym on the kings behalve to make a prodamacion after the tenor that foloweth:

[p.122] Copia prodamationis Henrici regis Anglie VII.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England, and of Fraunce, prince of Wales, and lord of Irland strictly charges and commaundeth upon peyne of deth, that no manner of man robbe nor spoyle na manner of commons comyng from the feld; but suffre theme to passe home to ther cuntrees and dwelling places with their horses and harnessse. And morover that noo manner of man take upon hym to goe to noo gentilmanz place neither in the cuntree nor within cities nor borows, nor pike no quarells for old or for new matters, but kepe the kings peace upon payne of hanging, etc. And morover if ther be any man affered to be robbed and spoyled of his goods, let hym come to master Richard Borow, the king's sergeant here, and he shall have a warrant for his bodie and his goods, unto the tyme the kings pleasure be knowne. And morover the king assertayneth you, that Richard due of Gloucestre, late callid king Richard, was slayne at a place called Sandeford, within the shyre of Leicestre, and brought dede of the feld unto the towne of Leicestre, and ther was laide oppenly that every man might se and luke upon him. And also ther was slayne uppon the same feld John late duc of Northfolk, John late erle of Lincoln, Thomas late erle of Surrey, Fraunceys vicount Lovell, Sir Walter Deveres, Lord Ferreres, Richard Ratcliff knight, Robert Brachenbury knight, with many othyr knights, squires and gentilmen, of whose soules God have mercy.

After which proclamation made, the said mayre and his brethre comyng to the chambre agayn, ,chambre vi. marks iiiii. aungells.

Text 5

Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 122. Printed in *York House Books*, Appendix V, p.736

Letter to Earl of Northumberland, 26 August 1485

Copie of a letter directed to the erle of Northumberland for the good spede forsaid:

Right potent and right noble our moost especial and singular good lord in our moost humble wise we recommend us unto your good lordship, loving almighty God of your prosprouse lif the which Jesu continue in felicity both ghostly and bodily, thanking your good lordship of your tendre luff and favor which your lordship ever hath borne towards us and this citie, whom we beseeche you continue and in especial at this season, in the which we know right wele your lordship unto us is moost necessarye. And wheras we send up unto the kings grace

iii. of our aldermen and othyr of our counsail chambre to beseche his grace to accept us benignely unto his grace, graunting unto us and this citie all such fraunchises, liberties, freedoms, and annual fees, with all othyr commodities and prouffitts unto the same belonging and graciously graunted by all othyr his moost noble progenitours; we beseche your good lordship in the good furtherance and spede herof to shew unto our said brethre your noble advise how to labor to the said kings grace for the same; and we shall ever pray for the staite of you right potent and right

noble our moost especial and singular good lord in felicitie ever to endure.

From York the xxvith day of August

Your orators and servants, the mayre, aldermen and sheruffs, and xxiv of the counsail of the citie of York, with th'ole communalitie of the same

Text 6

Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736), p. 122. Printed in *York House Books*, Appendix V, p. 737.

King Henry Sends Warrants for Arrests, 27 August 1485

Sabbati, videlicet xxvii^o die Augusti anno regni regis Henrici septimi primo incipiens

Mayor: Nicholaus Lancastre, etc., N^o 5.

Wer assembled in the counsail chambre, when and wher oon Robert Rawdon gentilman, sergeant unto the kings grace personally appered and gave unto the maire and the counsail a commandement and warrant under the kings signet and signe manual to him direct to attache Robert [Stillington] bishop of Bath, and Sir Richard Ratcliff knight, and to bring them personaly unto his highnesse and to sease into his hands all their goods, moveable, and immoveable, as it appereth more at large in the warrant, wherof the tenor wherof followeth hereafter. Wherupon the said Rawdon instantly desired the said maire and sheriffs on the kings behalve as his true liege men and subgetts that in the execution of his said warrant they wold geve ther attendaunce, aid and assistance. Wherin after som consultation upon the same, for so moch as the said bishop was attached tofore by oon herald Wyndsore and Robert Borow gentilman, the kings servants, and broght unto the citie and lay within the franchise and liberty of the same, and was sore erased by reason of his trouble and carying, the maire taking with hym the above written of the counsail of the chambre the said Rawdon and Rob[ert] Borow, instantly prepared to go to the said bishop to master Neleson place, to speke with him; being come unto hym unto the said place, [p.123] wher and when it was appointed of the consent of the said Rawdon, that the said bishop shuld continue still within the said citie for iv. or v. days for his ease and rest. The tenor of the warrant foloweth:

Henry by the grace of God, king of England, and of Fraunce, and lord of Irland, to our trusty and wel-beloved Robert Rawdon gentleman, greting. For as moch as Robert bishop of Bath

and Sir Richard Ratcliff knight, adherents and assistents to our grete enemy Richard late duc of Gloucestre, to his aide and assistance, have by deverse ways offended agenst the crowne to us of right appurteyneing, we will and charge you and by this our warrant commit and geve you power to attache the said bishop and knight, and them personally bring unto us, and to sease into our hands all such goods, moveables and immoveables as the xxiid day of August the first year of our reigne appurteyned and belonged unto them whersoever they be found, as well in places privileged as elleswhere, and the same soo seased to put into such suerte and savegard as ye will answer to us for them at all tymes. Chargyng morover, and strictly commaundyng all our true subgettes and legemen that to the execution herof they geve you attendaunce, aide, and assistance, without doeing of any thyng that shall be prejudicial to the premisses, as they will avoyde our grievous displeasure and answer unto us at their peril.

Geven undre our signet at our towne of Leicestre the xxiiid day of August, the first yere of our reign.

Other material

York City Archives Book 2/4, f.168v. *York House Books*, i, p. 367.

[Defence of City, Measures against Pestilence, 16 August 1485]

Martis post festum Assumptionis Beate Marie Virginis videlicet xvj^o die Augusti anno regni regis Ricardi iij iij^o

Mayor: Nicholas Loncastre. 12: William Snawsell, John Tong, William Chymney. Sheriffs: John Gilyot, Thomas Fynche. 24: Thomas Catour, William Spense, William Tayte, Richard Clerc, John Hagg, William White, Richard Hardsang.

Wer assembled in the counsaill chambre upon Ouse brig wh'er and when it was determyned by the same that John Sponer seriaunt to the mase shuld ride to Notingham to the kinges grace to understand his pleyser as in sending up any of his subgiettes within this cite to his said grace for the subduyng of his ennemyes late arryved in the parties of Wallez or otherwise to be disposed at his moost high pleyser.

Also it was determyned that all such aldermen and other of the counsaill as was soioumyng for the plage that reigneth without the cite shuld be sent for to yeve ther best advises in suche thinges as concerned the well and savegard of this said cite, with othre inhabiting within the same cite of the same cite [*sic*].

Also that evere warden of this cite serch the inhabitauntes within his ward, that they have sufficent wapens and aray for ther defence and the well of this cite.

Also that ther shall proclamacions be maid throughtout this cite that evere man fraunchest within this cite be redie in ther moost defensible aray to attend upon the mayre for the wilfare of this cite within an owre warnyng upon pagne of imprisonment etc.

York City Archives House Book 2/4, f.169. *York House book*, i, pp. 367-368

[City Soldiers Sent to King Richard, 19 August 1485]

Veneris post festum Assumpcionis etc., videlicet xix^o die Augusti

Mayor: Nicholas Lancastre. 12: William Snawsell, John Tong, William (Chymney) Wells, William Chymney, Robert Hancok. 24: Thomas CatouT, Thomas Alan, William Tayte, WiBiam Spense, Michael White, Richard Clerc, John Hag, William White, Miles

Grenebank, Richard Hardsang.

Wer assembled in the counsaill chambre where and when it was determynd upon the report of John Nicholson which was comen home from the kinges grace fro Beskwod that iiiiijxx men of the citie defensible araiyed, John Hastings gentilman to the mase being capitayn, shuld in al hast possible depart towards the kinges grace for the subduyng of his ennemyes forsaide, wherapon evere parish in the citie was sessid as it appereth hereafter. And that eevere sojour shuld have x s. for x days being furth, xij d. by day. And also that the counsaill shuld mete at ij of the clok at after none the same day at the Yeld Hallther to poynt such personnes as shuld men as shuld [*sic*] take wages and ther to receve the same.