- 33. Whereas many of the people other than those known to be merchants feel much aggrieved and injured by the Statute of Merchants made at Acton Burnell, <sup>18</sup> we ordain that hereafter this statute shall hold only as between merchant and merchant and with regard to dealings made between them. ... <sup>19</sup>
- 38. Item, we ordain that the Great Charter of Liberties and the Forest Charter issued by King Henry, son of King John, shall be observed in all their particulars, and that points in the said charters of liberties which are doubtful shall be explained in the next parliament after this by the advice of the baronage, the justices, and other persons learned in the law. And this is to be done because we are unable to attend to the matter during our term [of office].
- 39. Item, we ordain that the chancellor, the treasurer, the chief justices of both benches, the chancellor of the exchequer, the treasurer of the wardrobe, the steward of the king's household, and all justices, sheriffs, escheators, constables, investigators [named] for any cause whatsoever, and all other bailiffs and ministers of the king, whenever they receive their offices and bailiwicks, shall be sworn to keep and observe all the ordinances made by the prelates, earls, and barons for that purpose elected and assigned [to maintain] every one of those [ordinances] without contravening them in any particular.
- 40. Item, we ordain that in each parliament one bishop, two earls, and two barons shall be assigned to hear and determine all plaints of those wishing to complain of the king's ministers, whichever they may be, who have contravened the ordinances aforesaid. And if the said bishop, earls, and barons cannot all attend, or are prevented from hearing and determining the said plaints, then two or three of them shall do so. And those who are found to have contravened the said ordinances, in the interest of the king and in the interest of the plaintiffs, shall be punished at the discretion of the persons thus assigned.
- 41. Item, we ordain that the aforesaid ordinances are to be maintained and observed in all their particulars, and that our lord the king shall cause them to be issued under his great seal and sent into every county of England, to be published, held, and strictly kept as well within franchises as without. ...

These ordinances, having been shown to us<sup>20</sup> and published on Monday next before the feast of St. Michael just past, we agree to, accept, and confirm. And we will and grant, for us and our heirs, that all and several of the said ordinances, made according to the form of our letters aforesaid, shall be published throughout our entire realm, henceforth to be strictly maintained and observed. In testimony whereof we have caused these our letters patent to be drawn up.

Given at London, October 5, in the fifth year of our reign.

(French) Ibid., I, 157 f.

# EDWARD II'S ABDICATION (1327)

Whereas Sire Edward, recently king of England, of his free will and by the common counsel and assent of the prelates, earls, barons, and other nobles, and of the whole community of the realm, has abdicated the government of the realm; and whereas he has granted and wills that the government of the realm should devolve upon his eldest son and heir, Sire Edward, who should govern, reign, and be crowned king; and whereas all the great men have performed their homage [to the said heir]: we proclaim and publish the peace of our said lord, Sire Edward, the son [of King Edward]; and on his part we command and firmly enjoin each and every one, on pain of disherison and loss of life or members, not to break the peace of our said lord the king; for he is and shall be ready to enforce right for each and every one of the said kingdom in all matters and against all persons, both great and small. So, if any one has some demand to make of another, let him make it by means of [legal] action, without resorting to force or violence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> No. 52D.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> The seals for authenticating such transactions are to be entrusted to groups of substantial citizens elected in certain specified towns: Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Nottingham, Exeter, Bristol, Southampton, Lincoln, Northampton, London and Canterbury. The next four articles deal with reforms of the criminal law.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> King Edward II.

(French) Lodge and Thornton, English Constitutional Documents p. 21.

#### Richard II

in S&M, pp. 237-42, 251-7 (Nos., 63F-I, 66A)

Parliament of 1386

... In this parliament all the commons, assembled as one body and with a single purpose, came before the king, the prelates, and the lords in the parliament chamber and made bitter complaint concerning the last chancellor of England, Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who was there present; accusing him by word of mouth in the manner following. ... And on all these articles the commons asked the Judgment of parliament. To which the said earl replied in the manner following. ... And thereupon, after the response of the said earl to the accusations of the said commons, and the replies made to these [arguments] by the one side and the other, the said earl, at the request of the said commons, on account of the gravity of the offences thus charged against him, was arrested by the king's order and committed to the custody of the constable of England, and then released on bail. ... And for the misdeeds and offences aforesaid, of which the said earl through the insufficiency of his said responses has thus been convicted, it is adjudged that he is to be committed to the king's prison, to remain there during the king's pleasure; and he shall not be liberated from the said prison until he has paid fine and redemption at the king's pleasure. ...

The lords and commons of the realm assembled in this present parliament, for the defence of the kingdom and of the sea, and for the protection of trading, granted to our lord the king in full parliament certain subsidies and aids on certain conditions, according to the form and in the words that follow....<sup>21</sup> And in addition the said lords and commons have for the said reasons granted another half a tenth and half a fifteenth, to be levied from laymen at the quinzime of St. Michael next, on a certain condition: namely, that the aforesaid grants, except the said latter half a tenth and half a fifteenth, together with the other income of the king, may [be made to] suffice for the charges and defences of the kingdom during the coming year, through the care and good administration of ...<sup>22</sup>, who have been ordained and assigned by our lord the king under his commission sealed with the great seal ... to be of the continual council of our lord the king; and that until then the same latter half a tenth and half a fifteenth shall under no circumstances be levied or collected by any one in any way. ...<sup>23</sup>

Item, the commons very humbly pray that, for the honour of God, for the maintenance of your crown, for your own profit and that of all the prelates and lords, and for the relief of the poor commons of your realm, it may please you to ordain and appoint in this present parliament fit officials: namely, the chancellor, the treasurer, the keeper of the privy seal, the steward of your household, and also the other lords of your great and continual council. [And they petition] that the said lords and officials may have power to correct and amend all the defects that so greatly blemish your crown . .; likewise that a statute be made that no one, of whatsoever dignity, estate, nation, or condition, shall in private or in public be so bold as to effect or counsel the contravention of what the said lords and officials see fit to decide, and this under severe penalty. Which matters, through your benignity, you have partially put into execution, it is prayed that at present you may please to carry out the remainder. ... Response: The king so wills, providing that the commission and statutes asked in this petition shall be in effect for no more than one entire year. And as to the steward of his household, he will install a fit man by the advice of his council. ...

It should be remembered that the king in full parliament, before its close, made public protest by personal word of mouth that, on account of anything done in the said parliament, he was unwilling that prejudice should be incurred by himself or by his crown, and that his prerogative and the liberties of his said crown should be saved and guarded. ...

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> The grant was of half a tenth and half a fifteenth, and of tunnage and poundage until the end of the next year.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The dukes of York and Gloucester, two archbishops, two bishops, one abbot one earl, one baron, two knights, the chancellor, the treasurer, and the keeper of the privy seal.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Other provisions follow, prohibiting substitutions on the commission, interference with the members, etc.

<I fixed the first few footnotes. The rest will bring you back to British History Online.>

[p. iii-415] [col. a] [memb. 21]

ROTULUS PARLIAMENTI I HENRICI IV.

ROTULUS PARLIAMENTI SUMMONITI ET TENTI APUD WESTM' DIE LUNE IN FESTO SUMMONED AND HELD AT SANCTE FIDIS VIRGINIS, ANNO REGNI REGIS HENRICI QUARTI POST CONQUESTUM PRIMO.

#### Pronunciacioun du parlement.

1. Au parlement somons et tenuz a Westm' par le Roy Henry le quart, lundy le jour de Seinte Feie la virgine, qe feust le vi me jour d'Octobre, l'an du regne mesme le Roy Henry primer; seant Faith the virgin, which was the sixth day of mesme le roy en soun see roiale [en] la Grande Sale de Westm', en presence de luy mesmes et de toutz les seignours espirituelx et temporelx et sitting on his throne in the Great Hall of des communes y venuz par auctorite et somons du parlement, et des plusours autres gentils et communes esteantz a tresgrant nombre, Thomas d'Arundell' ercevesqe de Canterbirs reherceant, coment, le maresdy darrein passez qe feust lendemain de Seint Michel et le jour de Seint Jerome le doctour, a quel jour le Roy Richard second apres le conquest avoit sommonez soun parlement d'y estre tenuz; quele sommons ne feust du nulle force n'effect, a cause de l'acceptacioun de la [renunciacioun fait par] le dit Roy Richard, et de la deposicioun de mesme le Roy Richard qe feust fait le maresdy suisdit, come par le record et proces ent faitz et enrollez renunciation made by the said King Richard, en cest rolle du parlement piert pluis au plein,

2. [et] monstra et declara, coment mesme le maresdy, en presence du dit Roy Henry et des seignours espirituelx et temporelx et les communes suisditz, le dit ercevesqe avoit [monstre, qe cest honurable] roialme d'Engleterre, q'est la pluis habundant angle de

THE ROLL OF THE PARLIAMENT OF THE FIRST YEAR OF HENRY IV. THE ROLL OF THE PARLIAMENT WESTMINSTER ON MONDAY, THE FEAST OF ST FAITH THE VIRGIN, IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING HENRY THE FOURTH SINCE THE CONQUEST.

[The opening of parliament].

- 1. Opening of parliament. To the parliament summoned and held at Westminster by King Henry the fourth, on Monday, the day of St October, in the first year of the reign of the same King Henry - when the same king was Westminster, in his presence, and that of all the lords spiritual and temporal and that of the commons who had come there by the authority and summons of parliament, and of many other nobles and commons in great number -Thomas of Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, rehearsing how, on the previous Tuesday, which was the morrow of Michaelmas and the day of St Jerome the doctor [30 September] (on which day King Richard, the second since the conquest, had summoned his parliament to be held there; which summons was of no force or effect, because of the acceptance of the and of the deposition of the same King Richard, which took place on the same Tuesday, as appears more fully from the record and process of this made and enrolled on this roll of parliament)
- 2. both explained and revealed how, on the same Tuesday, in the presence of the said King Henry and of the lords spiritual and temporal and the aforesaid commons, the said archbishop had declared that this honourable realm of England, which is the most bountiful

richesse parmy tout le monde, avoit estee par longe temps mesnez, reulez, et governez par enfauntz, et conseil des [vefves; par ont mesme le] roialme feust en point de perdicioun, et d'avoir este mys a tresgrande desolacion et meschief tresdolorousement, s'il ne feusse ge Dieu toutpuissant de sa [grand grace et mercy avoit mys un homme] sachant et discret pur governance de mesme le roialme, le quele par l'eide de Dieu voet estre governez et conseillez par les sages et aunciens de soun [roialme, pur aide et confort de] luy mesmes et de tout soun roialme. Et dist outre, qe homme doit especialment considerer, coment mesme ceste honurable roialme, qe si longement ad endures [ove tiele meschevouse governance,] wast, et destruccioun, s'il eust este mys en bone et jouste government, waste and ruin, would have been, governance, et reulez par sage et sufficient conseil come il deust de droit: quele roialme, [d'avoir,] de richesse, habundance, [commoditees,] et pluseurs autres profitz, il vorroit avoir este entre toutz autres roialmes du monde.

- 3. Et sur ceo mesme l'ercevesqe prist a [son theame] le parole [de Machabeon] primo, endisant, 'Incumbit nobis ordinare pro regno', (fn. iii-415-9-1) c'este adire, q'il est la volunte du roy d'estre conseillez et governez par les honurables, sages et discretes persones de soun roialme, et par lour commune conseil et assent faire le meulx pur la governance de luy et de soun roialme; nient veullant estre governez de sa himself and of his realm; not wishing to be volunte propre, ne de soun purpos [voluntarie, singulere] opinione, mais par commune advis, conseil et assent, come desuis est dit. Et mesme l'ercevesqe [col. b] dist outre, coment il n'y ad roialme du monde q'a poy poet vivere par soy [mesmes sans aide d'autri] roialme si honurablement ne si graciousement ne plentiuousement come purra ceste honurable roialme d'Engleterre, qe Dieu saufe garde, et maintiegne.
- 4. Et sur ceo [allegea certeine auctorite,] endisant, 'quod inter omnia regna hoc principatum tenet'. (fn. iii-415-11-1) Et monstra sur ceo, coment al governance de chescun roialme trois choses sont requis en especiale; [c'estassavoir, justice,] les loies de la roialme

- and well-endowed corner of the whole world, had been for a long time led, ruled and governed by children, and by the advice of widows; as a result of which the same realm was on the brink of ruin, and of being most grievously and terribly destroyed and devastated, if almighty God had not through his great grace and mercy sent a wise and prudent man to govern the same realm, one who, with God's help, wishes to be ruled and advised by the wise men and elders of his realm, for his own advantage and assistance and that of all his realm. And furthermore he said, that people ought especially to consider in what state this same honourable realm, which had so long endured with such bad if it had been placed under good and just government and ruled by wise and suitable counsel, as it should by right have been; which realm, with its goods, wealth, riches, abundance, commodities and various other advantages, he wished to see take its place among all the other realms of the world.
- 3. Whereupon the same archbishop took for his theme the words of 1st Macchabees, saying, 'It behoves us to ordain for the kingdom', (fn. iii-415-9-1) that is, that it is the will of the king to be advised and ruled by the honourable, wise and prudent people of his realm, and by their common advice and consent to do the best for the government of governed by his own will, nor by his arbitrary inclinations or personal opinions, but by common advice, counsel and consent, as has been said above. And the same archbishop [col. b] said further, how there is no realm in the world which can come close to existing on its own, without the aid of any other realm, as honourably or as graciously or as abundantly as this honourable realm of England is able to, and may God safeguard and maintain it.
- 4. And then he cited a certain authority, saying, 'that among all kingdoms this one is the head'. (fn. iii-415-11-1) Whereupon he showed how, for the governance of each realm three things are especially required: that is, justice, the keeping of the laws of the realm,

en soun estat et degree: et allegeant sur ceo plusours causes pur queux ceste roialme doit estre graciousement [cherries et tenus] en tres grand honure et chierte especiale. Et dist outre, q'il feust la volunte du roy de garder cestes trois choses par l'aide de Dieux. Et outre ceo dist, qe la volunte du roy est en especiale, qe seint esglise eit et enjoise toutes ses libertees et franchises, et qe toutz les bons estatutz et ordinances faitz en temps de ses nobles progenitours soient fermement tenuz et gardez; et qe toutz les seignours espirituelx et temporelx, citees, et burghes, et toutz autres, aient et enjoient leur libertees et franchises solonc les grantes ent faitz par ses nobles progenitours suisditz: et ge par tant nul homme deust parler ne adjugger de nulle chose qe serroit affaire en cest parlement; gar il est la volunte du roy en sa foy et conscience de faire egale justice et equite de toutz partz, solonc la volunte et [aide] et grace de Dieu ent a luy donez.

5. Et outre ceo, le dit ercevesque monstra as toutz 5. And furthermore, the said archbishop les ditz seignours et communes, coment lundy proschein avenir nostre dit seignour le Roy Henry par la grace de Dieu purposa d'estre corones a Westm', pur quele solempnite faire ycovient d'avoir advys et deliberacioun diversement en le mesne temps. Et partant mesme l'ercevesqe pria depar le dit Roy Henry as toutz les seignours et communes, de continuer archbishop requested all the lords and ceste parlement tange maresdy lendemayn de la coronacioun suisdite, et qe de cele jour enavant mesme le roy ferroit sa diligence pur l'esploit de parlement. Sur quoi par commandement du dit roy il feust demandez par Henry de Percy, cont de Northumbr', et conestable d'Engleterre, de toutz les seignours espirituelx et temporelx, et des communes suisditz, s'ils vorroient consentir a la continuance suisdite. Les queux ent severalment examinez s'agreerent bien a mesme Northumberland, and constable of England, if la continuance. Et sur ceo le [dit] ercevesqe dist, they wished to agree to the aforesaid qe mesme nostre seignour le Roy Henry voillant prorogation. Asked about this individually, ge droit et justice se face a chescun de ses lieges they agreed willingly to the same prorogation. qi se vorroit compleindre en cest parlement, ad ordinez et assignez receivours et triours des peticions, en la forme q'ensuyt:

gardez, et chescune persone mesnez et governez and that each person should be ordered and governed according to his estate and degree: whereupon he cited many reasons why this realm should be graciously cherished, and held in the highest honour and especial affection. And furthermore he said that it was the king's will to uphold these three principles, with God's help. And moreover he said that it is especially the king's will that holy church should have and enjoy all her liberties and franchises, and that all the good statutes and ordinances made in the times of his noble progenitors should be firmly kept and observed; and that all the lords spiritual and temporal, the cities, boroughs, and all others, should have and enjoy their liberties and franchises, in accordance with the grants made to them by his aforesaid noble progenitors: and that therefore no man should speak on or adjudge anything which was to be done in this parliament; because it was the king's will in his faith and conscience to do equal justice and equity on all sides, according to the will and aid and grace of God given to him concerning this matter.

> explained to all the said lords and commons, how on the following Monday [13 October] our said lord King Henry, by the grace of God, proposed to be crowned at Westminster, and to carry out this ceremony it was fitting to have counsel and discussion in various ways in the meantime. And therefore the same commons, on behalf of the said King Henry, to prorogue this parliament until the Tuesday after the aforesaid coronation, and that from that day onwards the same king would work hard towards the accomplishment of the business of parliament. Whereupon, by command of the said king, all the lords spiritual and temporal, and the aforesaid commons, were asked by Henry Percy, earl of Whereupon the said archbishop said that our same lord King Henry, wishing right and justice to be done to each of his lieges who

should wish to make a complaint in this parliament, had ordained and appointed receivers and triers of petitions, in the form which follows:

[p. iii-416] [col. a]

- 6. Receivours des peticions d'Engleterre, Irland, 6. Receivers of petitions from England, Gales, et Escoce:
  - Sire Thomas Stanley
  - Sire Johan Wakeryng
  - Sire Johan Rome.
- 7. Receivours des peticions de Gascoigne, et des 7. Receivers of petitions from Gascony, and autres terres et paiis depardela la meer, et des Isles:
  - Mestre Richard Ronhale
  - Sire Johan Roderham
  - Sire Johan Chitterne.

Et ceux qi veullent liverer leur peticions, les baillent avant parentre cy et mesquerdy proschein apres le fest de Seint Edward proschein advenir, a pluis tard.

- 8. Et sont assignez triours des peticions d'Engleterre, Irland, Gales, et Escoce:
  - L'ercevesqe de Canterbirs
  - L'evesqe de Wyncestre
  - L'abbe de Seint Alban
  - L'abbe de Seint Esmon de Bury
  - Le cont de Warr'
  - Le cont de Northumbr'
  - Le sire de Roos
  - Le sire de Cobham
  - Monsire Wauter Clopton'
  - Monsire William Thirnyng
  - Johan Markham.

- Ireland, Wales, and Scotland:
  - Sir Thomas Stanley
  - Sir John Wakering
  - Sir John Rome.
- the other lands and countries overseas, and from the Channel Islands:
  - Master Richard Ronhale
  - Sir John Rotherham
  - Sir John Chitterne.

Those who wish to submit their petitions should deliver them between now and the Wednesday [15 October] following the coming feast of St Edward, at the latest.

- 8. The following are assigned to be triers of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland:
  - The archbishop of Canterbury
  - The bishop of Winchester
  - The abbot of St Albans
  - The abbot of Bury St Edmunds
  - The earl of Warwick
  - The earl of Northumberland
  - Lord Roos
  - Lord Cobham
  - Sir Walter Clopton
  - Sir William Thirning
  - John Markham.

Toutz ensemble, ou sys des prelatz et seignours To act all together, or at least six of the

avantditz au meyns; appellez a eux chanceller, tresorer, seneschal, et chamberleyn, et auxint les sergeantz le roy qant y bosoignera. Et tiendrent lour place en la Chambre du Chamberleyn, pres de la Chambre Depeinte.

- 9. Et sont assignez triours de peticions de Gascoigne, et d'autres terres et paiis depar dela la meer, et des Isles:
  - L'ercevesqe d'Everwyk
  - Le duc d'Everwyk
  - L'evesqe de Duresme
  - L'evesqe de Hereford
  - L'abbe de Glastenbirs
  - L'abbe de Evesham
  - Le cont de Westmerland
  - Le sire de Berkeleye
  - Le sire de Wilughby
  - Monsire Johan Hulle
  - Monsire Hugh Huls
  - Monsire William Hankeford.

Toutz ensemble, ou sys des prelatz et seignours avauntditz; appellez a eux chanceller, tresorer, seneschalle, et chamberleyn, et auxint les sergeantz le roy qant y bosoignera. Et tiendrent lour place en la Chambre Marcolf.

Les record et proces del renunciacioun du Roy Richard le second apres le conquest, et de l'acceptacioun de mesme la renunciacioun; ensemblement ove la deposicion de mesme le Roy Richard, ensuent cy apres.

## [memb. 20]

10. Memorandum, quod die lune in festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli, anno regni Regis Ricardi secundi vicesimo tertio, domini spirituales et temporales, et alie persone notabiles, videlicet Ricardus [col. b] Lescrop', archiepiscopus

aforesaid prelates and lords; consulting with the chancellor, treasurer, steward, and chamberlain, as well as the king's serjeants when necessary. And their session shall be held in the Chamberlain's Chamber, near the Painted Chamber.

- 9. The following are assigned to be triers of petitions for Gascony and the other lands and countries overseas, and for the Channel Islands:
  - The archbishop of York
  - The duke of York
  - The bishop of Durham
  - The bishop of Hereford
  - The abbot of Glastonbury
  - The abbot of Evesham
  - The earl of Westmorland
  - Lord Berkeley
  - Lord Willoughby
  - Sir John Hull
  - Sir Hugh Huls
  - Sir William Hankford.

To act all together, or six of the aforesaid prelates and lords, consulting with the chancellor, treasurer, steward, and chamberlain, as well as the king's serjeants when necessary. And their session shall be held in the Marcolf Chamber.

#### [The Record and Process].

The record and process of the renunciation of King Richard, the second since the conquest, and the acceptance of the same renunciation, together with the deposition of the same King Richard, follow here.

10. Be it remembered, that on Monday, the feast of St Michael the archangel [29] September], in the twenty-third year of the reign of King Richard the second, the lords spiritual and temporal, and other persons of

Eboracen', Johannes episcopus Hereforden'; Henricus comes Northumbr', et Radulphus comes Westmerlandie; Hugo dominus de Burnell', Thomas dominus de Berkeley; prior Cantuarien', et abbas Westmonasterii; Willelmus Lord Berkeley; the prior of Canterbury and the Thyrnyng, miles, et Johannes Markham, justiciarii; Thomas Stowe, et Johannes Burbache, legum doctores; Thomas de Erpyngham, et Thomas Gray, milites; Willelmus Thomas Erpingham and Thomas Grey, de Feriby, et Dionisius Lopham', notarii publici, knights; William Ferriby and Dennis Lopham, de quorundam dominorum spiritualium et temporalium, ac justiciariorum, et aliorum tam in jure civili et canonico quam in regni legibus peritorum, apud Westmonasterium in loco consueto consilii congregatorum, assensu et avisamento, ad actum subscriptum primitus deputati, ad presenciam dicti Regis Ricardi, infra turrim London' existentis, circiter nonam pulsacionem horilogii accesserunt.

11. Et recitato coram eodem rege per predictum comitem Northumbr', vice omnium predictorum presence of the same king by the aforesaid earl sibi ut premittitur adjunctorum, qualiter idem rex alias apud Conewey in North Wallia in sua libertate existens, promisit domino Thome archiepiscopo Cantuarien', et dicto comiti Northumbr', se velle cedere et renunciare corone promised lord Thomas, the archbishop of Anglie et Francie et sue regie magestati, ex causis per ipsum regem ibidem de sui inhabilitate et insufficiencia confessatis, et hoc melioribus modo et forma quibus facere poterit prout peritorum consilium melius duxerit ordinandum; idem rex coram dictis dominis et aliis superius nominatis ad hoc benigne respondens, dixit, se velle cum effectu perficere quod prius in ea parte promisit: desideravit tamen habere colloquium cum Henrico duce Lancastr', et prefato archiepiscopo, consanguineis suis, antequam promissum suum hujusmodi adimpleret. Petivit tamen copiam cessionis per eum faciende sibi tradi, ut super illa posset interim deliberare; qua quidem copia sibi tradita dicti domini et alii ad sua hospicia redierunt.

note, namely Richard [col. b] Lescrope, archbishop of York, John bishop of Hereford; Henry earl of Northumberland, and Ralph earl of Westmorland; Hugh Lord Burnell, Thomas abbot of Westminster; William Thirning, knight, and John Markham, justices; Thomas Stowe and John Burbach, doctors of law; notaries public; who had first been appointed with the consent and advice of certain lords, spiritual and temporal, and justices, and others learned both in civil and canon law and in the laws of the realm, and who had gathered at Westminster, in the accustomed place for the council, for the act described below, came into the presence of the said King Richard, who was then in the Tower of London, at about nine o'clock.

11. And when it had been explained in the of Northumberland, on behalf of all the aforesaid joined with him as has been said above, how the same king previously, when he was at liberty at Conwy in North Wales, Canterbury, and the said earl of Northumberland, that he was willing to resign and relinquish the crown of England and France and his royal majesty, by reason of his incapacity and insufficiency, which was admitted there by the king himself, and that he would do this in the best manner and form by which it could be done, as the advice of the learned should best consider it to be arranged; the same king, replying courteously to this before the said lords and others named above, said that he wished to put into effect what he had previously promised on this matter: he wished however to talk with Henry duke of Lancaster and the aforesaid archbishop, his kinsmen, before he fulfilled his promise in this way. He asked however, that a copy of the cession to be made by him should be given to him, so that he could consider it in the meantime; and when this copy had been handed to him, the said lords and others returned to their lodgings.

12. Postea eodem die post prandium, dicto rege plurimum affectante predicti ducis Lancastr' adventum, et illum diucius prestolante, tamen [sic: read 'tandem'] idem dux Lancastr', domini et persone superius nominati, ac eciam dictus archiepiscopus Cantuarien', venerunt ad presenciam dicti regis in turri predicta, dominis de Roos, de Wiloghby, de Bergeveney, et pluribus aliis tunc ibidem presentibus. Et postquam idem rex cum dictis duce et archiepiscopo Cantuarien' colloquium habebat ad partem, vultu hillari hincinde inter eos exhibite prout circumstantibus videbatur. tandem dictus rex. accercitis ad eum omnibus ibidem presentibus, dixit publice coram illis, quod paratus erat ad renunciandum et cedendum king, when all who were there present had secundum promissionem per eum ut premittitur factam. Sicque in continenti, licet potuisset ut sibi dicebatur ab aliis cessionem et renunciacionem, in quadam cedula pergameni redactam, per aliquem deputatum organum vocis said above. And thus immediately - although it sue fecisse pro labore tam prolixo lecture vitando, idem tamen rex gratanter, ut apparuit. ac hillari vultu, cedulam illam in manu sua tenens dixit semetipsum velle legere, et distincte the cession and renunciation, drawn up on a perlegit eandem; necnon absolvit ligeos suos, renunciavit, et cessit, juravit, et alia dixit et protulit in legendo, et se subscripsit manu sua propria, prout plenius continetur in dicta cedula, cheerful face, holding that schedule in his cujus tenor sequitur, in hec verba:

13. 'In Dei nomine, amen. Ego Ricardus, Dei gratia, rex Anglie et Francie, et dominus Hibernie, omnes dictorum regnorum et dominiorum archiepiscopos, episcopos, et alios quoscumque ecclesiarum secularium vel regularium prelatos, cujuscumque dignitatis, gradus, status, seu condicionis existant, ducesque, marchiones, comites, barones, milites, marquises, earls, barons, knights, vassals and vassallos, et valvassores, et ligeos homines meos vavasours, and all my liege men whatsoever, quoscumque, ecclesiasticos, vel seculares, quocumque nomine cenceantur, a juramento fidelitatis et homagii, et aliis quibuscumque michi factis, omnique vinculo ligeancie et

12. Later the same day, after dinner, when the same king was very anxiously awaiting the duke of Lancaster's arrival, and had been waiting for him for quite some time, at last the same duke of Lancaster, the lords and other people named above, and also the said archbishop of Canterbury, came into the presence of the said king in the aforesaid tower, with the lords Roos, Willoughby, Bergavenny, and several others present there at that time. And after the same king had spoken apart with the said duke and archbishop of Canterbury, with cheerful expressions shown on all sides, as it seemed to those who were standing round; at last the said been summoned to him, said publicly before them, that he was prepared to make his resignation and renunciation in accordance with the promise made by him, as has been would have been possible, as was explained to him by others, in order to avoid the labour of reading such a long document, to have made parchment schedule, through the voice of some other appointed person - nevertheless the same king willingly, as it appeared, and with a hand, said that he wished to read it himself, and he read it through clearly; and he also released his lieges, renounced, and yielded up, swore, and said and explained other things during the reading, and subscribed to the document with his own hand, as is more fully contained in the said schedule, the substance of which follows, in these words:

13. 'In the name of God, amen. I, Richard, by the grace of God, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, absolve all the archbishops, bishops, and all other prelates of secular or regular churches of the said realms and dominions, of whatever dignity, degree, estate or condition they are, and the dukes, ecclesiastical or secular, by whatever name they are described, from their oath of fealty and homage, and all other oaths of any kind made to me, and from all bonds of allegiance

regalie ac dominii quibus michi obligati fuerant, and regality and lordship by which they have vel sint, vel alias quomodolibet astricti, [p. iii-417][col. a] absolvo; et eos, et eorum heredes et obligation to me in any way; [p. iii-417][col. successores imperpetuum ab eisdem obligacionibus et juramentis, et aliis quibuscumque, relaxo, libero, et quieto; solutos, the same obligations and oaths, and from any quietos, et inmunes, quantum ad personam meam attinet, dimitto, ad omnem juris effectum qui ex promissis [sic: read 'premissis'] sequi poterit seu aliquo premissorum; omnique regie dignitati ac magestati et corone, necnon dominio aforesaid; and in these writings I renounce all et potestati dictorum regnorum et dominii, aliisque dominiis et possessionibus meis seu michi quomodolibet competentibus quibuscumque, quocumque nomine cenceantur, infra regna et dominia predicta vel alibi ubilibet constitutis; omnique juri et colori juris, ac titulo, name they are described, situated within the possessioni, et dominio que unquam habui, habeo, seu quovismodo habere potero, in eisdem else; and every law and colour of law, and seu eorum aliquo, vel ad ea, cum suis juribus et pertinenciis universis, seu dependentibus qualitercumque ab eisdem, vel eorum aliquo; necnon regimini, gubernacioni, et administracioni regnorum et dominiorum hujusmodi, omnibusque et omnimodis mero et mixto imperio ac jurisdiccioni in eisdem regnis et dominiis michi competentibus, seu competituris, nominique et honori, ac regalie et celsitudini regiis, pure, sponte, simpliciter, et absolute, melioribus modo, via, et forma quibus poterit, in hiis scriptis renuncio, et ea in totum resigno, ac re et verbo dimitto, et in eisdem cedo, et ab eisdem recedo imperpetuum. Salvis successoribus meis regibus Anglie in regnis et dominiis, et ceteris omnibus premissis imperpetuum, juribus in eisdem seu eorum aliquo competentibus et competituris quibuscumque; meque ad regimen et gubernacionem dictorum regnorum et dominiorum cum suis pertinenciis universis fateor, recognosco, reputo, et veraciter ex certa sciencia judico, fuisse et esse insufficientem penitus et inutilem, ac propter mea demerita notoria non inmerito deponendum. Et juro ad hec sancta evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod numquam premissis renunciacioni, resignacioni, dimissioni, et cessioni contraveniam, seu ea quomodolibet inpugnabo, facto vel verbo, per me vel alium, seu alios, seu contraveniri vel impungnari permittam, quantum contravene the aforesaid renunciation,

been, or are, bound to me, or otherwise under a] and I release, free and discharge them, and their heirs and successors in perpetuity from others; released, discharged and free, insofar as concerns my person, I dismiss them, with regard to every legal consequence which may follow from the aforesaid or any of the royal dignity and majesty and the crown, and also dominion and authority over the said realms and dominion, and any other dominions and possessions which are mine or which pertain to me in any way, by whatever aforesaid realms and dominions or anywhere title, possession, and authority which I ever had, have, or will in any way be able to have, in them or in any of them, or regarding them, with all their rights and appurtenances, and anything depending in any way either on them, or on any of them; and also the rule, government, and administration of these realms and dominions, and all and all kinds of pure and mixed authority and jurisdiction which pertain to me, or which will pertain to me, in the same realms and dominions, and the royal name and honour, and regality and eminence, fully, of my own will, simply, and absolutely, in the best manner, way and form possible, I resign wholly, and in word and in deed I give them up, and in them I yield my rights, and from them I withdraw perpetually. Saving to my successors kings of England, in my realms and dominions, and all the other things aforesaid, perpetually, any rights in the same or any of the same, which pertain to them or which will pertain to them; and I confess, recognise, consider, and truly and of certain knowledge judge that I was and am utterly inadequate and unequal to the rule and government of the said realms and dominions, with all their appurtenances, and, on account of my notorious faults, I deserve to be deposed from them. And I swear on these holy gospels, touched physically by me, that I shall never

in me est, publice vel occulte, set easdem renunciacionem, resignacionem, dimissionem, et challenge them in any way, by word or by cessionem imperpetuum ratas et gratas habebo, et firmiter tenebo et observabo, in toto et in omni sui parte; sicut me Deus adjuvet, et hec sancta Dei evangelia. Ego Ricardus rex antedictus propria manu me subscribo.'

- 14. Et statim idem rex renunciacioni et cessioni predictis verbotenus adjunxit, quod si esset in potestate sua, dictus dux Lancastr' succederet sibi in regno. Set quia hoc in potestate sua minime dependebat, ut dixit, dictos Ebor' archiepiscopum, et episcopum Hereforden', quos power, as he said, he asked the said protunc < suos > constituit procuratores ad declarandam et intimandam cessionem et renunciacionem hujusmodi omnibus statibus dicti regni, rogavit, ut intencionem et voluntatem suam in ea parte populo nunciarent. Et in signum sue intencionis et voluntatis hujusmodi, anulum auri de signeto suo patenti de digito suo tunc ibidem extraxit, et digito dicti took the golden ring of his patent signet from ducis apposuit, desiderans hoc ipsum ut asseruit his finger, and put it on the finger of the said omnibus regni statibus innotesci. Quo facto valefacientes hincinde omnes, turrim predictam exierunt ad sua hospicia reversuri.
- 15. In crastino autem, videlicet die martis in festo Sancti Jeronimi, in Magna Aula apud Westm' in loco ad parliamentum tenendum honorifice preparato, dictis archiepiscopis Cantuarien' et Eboracen', ac duce Lancastr', aliisque ducibus ac dominis tam spiritualibus quam temporalibus, quorum nomina describuntur inferius, populoque dicti regni tunc temporal, whose names are written below, and ibidem propter factum parliamenti in maxima multitudine congregato presentibus; ac prefato duce Lancastr' locum statui suo debitum et solitum occupante, ac sede regali cum pannis auri solempniter preparata tunc vacua absque presidente quocumque, supradictus archiepiscopus Eboracen' suo et dicti Hereforden' [col. b] episcopi nomine juxta dicti

- resignation, demission and cession, nor deed, on my own behalf or through another, or others, nor shall I permit them to be contravened or challenged, insofar as it is in my power, publicly or secretly, but I shall consider the same renunciation, resignation, demission and cession as perpetually ratified and accepted, and I shall firmly keep and observe them, in whole and in their every part; as God and these, God's holy gospels, may help me. I the aforesaid King Richard subscribe to this with my own hand.'
- 14. And immediately the same king added verbally to the aforesaid renunciation and cession, that if it was in his power, the said duke of Lancaster should succeed him in the realm. But because this was not at all in his archbishop of York, and bishop of Hereford, whom he had appointed for that time as his proctors to declare and announce this cession and renunciation to all the estates of the said realm, to make his intention and will in this matter known to the people. And as a sign of this intention and will of his, he then and there duke, wishing this same thing, as he declared, to be made known to all the estates of the realm. When this had been done, and all had mutually bid one another farewell, they left the aforesaid Tower to return to their lodgings.
- 15. The next day, therefore, that is on the Tuesday, the feast of St Jerome, in the Great Hall at Westminster, in the place ceremonially prepared for the holding of parliament, in the presence of the said archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the duke of Lancaster, and the other dukes and lords, both spiritual and the people of the said realm, gathered together then and there in a great assembly for the holding of parliament; and with the aforesaid duke of Lancaster occupying the due and accustomed place for his status, and the throne, solemnly prepared with its cloths of gold, empty at that time, without any person presiding, the aforesaid archbishop of York, in

regis injunctum, cessionem et renunciacionem per ipsum sic fuisse ut premittitur factam, eciam Hereford, [col. b] according to the injunction cum subscripcione regie manus, et tradicione signeti sui, publice declaravit, eandemque cessionem et renunciacionem per alium, primo in latinis verbis, et postea in anglicis, legi fecit ibidem. Et statim ut fuerat interrogatum a statibus et populo tunc ibidem presentibus, primo videlicet ab archiepiscopo Cantuarien' predicto, cui racione dignitatis et prerogative ecclesie sue Cantuarien' metropolitice in hac parte competit primam vocem habere inter ceteros prelatos et proceres regni, si pro eorum interesse, et utilitate regni, vellent renunciacionem et cessionem eandem admittere? Status iidem et populus reputantes, ex causis per ipsum regem in sua renunciacione et cessione predictis specificatis, hoc fore multum expediens, renunciacionem et cessionem hujusmodi singuli singillatim, et in communi cum populo, unanimiter et concorditer since they thought, from the causes specified admiserunt.

16. Post quam quidem admissionem fuerat publice tunc ibidem expositum, quod ultra cessionem et renunciacionem hujusmodi, ut prefertur, admissam, valde foret expediens ac utile regno predicto, < pro > omni scrupulo et sinistra suspicione tollendis, quod plura crimina < et > defectus per dictum regem circa malum regimen regni sui frequencius perpetrata, per modum articulorum in scriptis redacta, propter que, ut idem asseruit in cessione facta per eum, esset ipse merito deponendus, publice legerentur, quodque essent populo declarata. Sicque maxima pars articulorum illorum erat publice tunc perlecta; quorum omnium articulorum tenor talis est:

Sequitur forma juramenti soliti et consueti prestari per reges Anglie in eorum coronacione, quod archiepiscopus Cantuarien' ab eisdem regibus exigere et recipere consuevit, prout in libris pontificalium archiepiscoporum et

his name and that of the said bishop of of the said king, publicly announced that the cession and renunciation had been made by him, as has been said above, and also that it had been signed with the royal hand, and that he had handed over his signet; and he caused the same cession and renunciation to be read there by another, first in Latin, and then in English. And as soon as it had been asked of the estates and people present there at the time, that is firstly by the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury - to whom by reason of the dignity and prerogative of his metropolitan church of Canterbury, the right to have the first voice in this matter, among the other prelates and magnates of the realm, belonged if in their own interests, and for the good of the realm, they wished to accept the same cession and abdication; the estates and people, by the king himself in his aforesaid renunciation and cession, that this would be very expedient, unanimously and with one accord, each one individually, together with the people, accepted this renunciation and cession.

16. Following which acceptance, it was then publicly proposed there that, besides the acceptance of this cession and renunciation, as has been said, it would indeed be expedient and useful to the aforesaid realm, in order to remove every scruple and malevolent suspicion, that the many crimes and faults so frequently committed by the said king in the bad government of his realm, on account of which, as the same king admitted in his cession, he himself was worthy to be deposed, which had been put down in writing in the form of a series of articles, should be read in public, and should be made known to the people. And thus the greater part of those articles was then read through publicly; and the substance of all these articles follows.

Here follows the form of the accustomed and traditional oath sworn by the kings of England at their coronation, which the archbishop of Canterbury has been accustomed to demand and receive from the same kings, as is more

episcoporum plenius continetur. Quod quidem juramentum Ricardus rex Anglie post conquestum secundus in coronacione sua prestitit, et ab archiepiscopo Cantuarien' erat receptum: et illud idem juramentum dictus rex postmodum iteravit, prout in rotulis cancellarie plenius reperiri poterit de recordo.

17. Servabis ecclesie Dei, cleroque et populo, pacem ex integro et concordiam in Deo, secundum vires tuas. Respondebit, 'Servabo'.

Facies fieri in omnibus judiciis tuis equam et rectam justiciam et discrecionem in misericordia and discretion, with mercy and truth, to be et veritate, secundum vires tuas. Respondebit, 'Faciam'.

Concedis justas leges et consuetudines esse tenendas, et promittis per te eas esse protegendas, et ad honorem Dei corroborandas, quas vulgus elegerit, secundum vires tuas. Respondebit, 'Concedo et promitto'.

Adicianturque predictis interrogationibus que justa fuerint. Prenunciatisque omnibus, confirmet rex se omnia servaturum sacramento super altare prestito coram cunctis.

Seguntur objectus contra regem de deposicione ejusdem.

18. In primis obicitur regi, quod propter malum regimen suum, videlicet bona et possessiones ad on account of his evil rule, namely both in coronam suam spectantia eciam personis indignis donando, et alias indiscrete dissipando, his crown to unworthy persons, and otherwise et ob hoc collectas et alia onera gravia et inportabilia populo sine causa imponendo; necnon alia mala innumerabilia perpetrando. Alias de assensu et mandato suis per totum parliamentum ad gubernacionem regni certi prelati et alii domini temporales erant electi et assignati, qui totis viribus suis circa justam gubernacionem regni propriis sumptibus suis fideliter [p. iii-418][col. a] laborarunt, tamen rex facto per eum conventiculo cum suis complicibus dictos dominos tam spirituales quam temporales circa regni utilitatem occupatos de alta prodicione impetere proponebat; ac justiciarios regni ad suum nefandum propositum roborandum metu mortis et cruciatus corporis violenter attraxit, dictos

fully contained in the pontifical books of the archbishops and bishops. Which same oath Richard, king of England, the second since the conquest, made at his coronation, and it was received by the archbishop of Canterbury: and that same oath the said king afterwards repeated, as can be more fully found on record in the rolls of chancery.

17. You will wholly preserve for the church of God, and for the clergy and people, peace and concord in God, according to your power. He will reply, 'I will do so'.

You will cause impartial and honest justice done in all your judgments according to your power. He will reply, 'I will do so'.

You will grant that the just laws and customs which the people have chosen should be observed, and will promise that they will be protected by you, and confirmed, to the honour of God, according to your power. He will reply, 'I grant and promise this'.

Let other just questions be added to the aforesaid. When they have all been announced, the king will confim that he will observe them all by taking his oath on the altar before all.

The charges against the king, concerning his deposition, now follow.

18. Firstly, charges are made against the king, giving his goods and possessions pertaining to dissipating them carelessly, and, on account of this, imposing taxes and other weighty and insupportable burdens on the people without cause; and also committing innumerable other evil deeds. On one occasion, at his consent and command, certain prelates and other temporal lords had been chosen and appointed for the government of the realm by the whole parliament, who with all their strength, at their own expense, faithfully laboured for the just government of the realm; [p. iii-418][col. a] nevertheless the king, when an agreement had been made by him with his accomplices, proposed to impeach the said lords, both spiritual and temporal, occupied with the welfare of the realm, of high treason; and,

dominos destruere satagendo.

- 19. Item, idem rex nuper apud Salopiam coram se et aliis sibi faventibus venire fecit quamplures Shrewsbury, he caused to come before him, et majorem partem justiciariorum cameraliter, et and the others who supported him, in secret, eos per minas et terrores varias aceciam metus qui possent cadere inconstantes, induxit, fecit, et justices, and, through various threats and compulit, singillatim ad respondendum certis questionibus pro parte ipsius regis factis ibidem, and compelled those who might become tangentibus leges regni sui, preter et contra voluntatem eorum, et aliter quam respondissent si fuissent in libertate sua et non coacti. Quarum the laws of his realm, against and contrary to responsionum colore proposuit idem rex processisse postmodum ad destruccionem ducis replied if they had been at liberty and not Glouc', et comitum Arundell' et Warrewichie, ac aliorum dominorum, contra quorum facta et gesta predictus rex erat quamplurimum indignatus, maxime quia desiderabant eundem regem esse sub bono regimine. [Set], divino nutu obstante, resistencia et potencia dictorum dominorum rex propositum suum hujusmodi perducere non potuit ad effectum.
- 20. Item, cum dicti domini temporales ejus malicie et dolositati seipsos defendendo restitissent, dictusque rex diem parliamenti sui pro justicia eis et aliis regnicolis in hac parte ministranda prefixisset, dictique domini temporales in suis domibus sub spe et fiducia parliamenti predicti quiete et pacifice residissent, rex clanculo ducem Hibernie cum suis litteris et vexillo ad partes Cestrie destinavit, ibique nonnullas gentes ad arma commovit, et contra dictos dominos et magnates called many people to arms, and caused them regni, et rei publice servitores, insurgere fecit, vexillum ejus contra pacem per eum juratam publice erigendo, unde homicidia, captivitates, dissensiones, et alia mala infinita per totum regnum secuta fuerant; quare perjurium incurrebat.
- 21. Item, licet dictus rex omnem offensam dictis 21. Also, although the said king had pardoned duci Gloucestrie, et comitibus Arundellie et Warrewichie, et omnibus aliis sibi in hujusmodi and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and all

- endeavouring to destroy the said lords, violently coerced the justices of the realm into supporting his evil purpose, through fear of death and of the torture of their bodies.
- 19. Also, when the same king was formerly at very many people, and the greater part of the terrors and fears, individually induced, caused inconstant to reply to certain questions made there on behalf of the king himself, concerning their will, and other than they would have under compulsion. Under colour of these replies the same king proposed to proceed afterwards to the destruction of the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, and other lords, about whose words and deeds the aforesaid king was extremely angry, especially because they desired the same king to be under good government. But, with divine approval witheld, through the resistance and power of the said lords the king was not able to put this plan of his into effect.
- 20. Also, when the said temporal lords, defending themselves, resisted his malice and deceit, and the said king had appointed a day for his parliament, for administering justice to them and to other subjects on this matter, and the said temporal lords had retired quietly and peacefully to their houses, with the hope and faith of the aforesaid parliament, the king secretly sent the duke of Ireland with his letters and standard to Cheshire, and there to rise up against the said lords and magnates of the realm, and servants of the state, publicly raising up his banner against the peace he had sworn, as a result of which homicides, imprisonments, dissensions and endless other evils followed throughout the whole realm; by which he committed perjury.
- all the offences of the said duke of Gloucester, factis assistentibus, et aliis, in pleno parliamento others aiding them in these deeds, and others,

de assensu ejusdem pardonasset, pacisque et amoris signa per plures annos eisdem duci et comitibus et aliis vultum hillarem et benignum exhibuisset; idem tamen rex semper et continue fel in corde gerens, tandem oportunitate captata dictum ducem Gloucestrie, ipsius regis avunculum, necnon bone memorie Edwardi nuper regis Anglie filium, et constabularium Anglie, dicto domino regi cum processione solempni humiliter occurrentem, dictosque comites Arundellie et Warrewichie capi et arestari fecit, et ipsum ducem extra regnum Anglie usque villam Calesie duci fecit, et ibidem with a solemn procession; and he also arrested incarcerari, et sub custodia comitis Notyngh' unius ipsum ducem appellancium detineri, et sine responsione et processu quocumque legitimo occulte suffocari, strangulari, et murdrari inhumaniter et crudeliter fecit: comitemque Arundellie, tam cartam de dicta pardonacione generali quam cartam pardonacionis postea sibi concessam allegantem, et justiciam sibi fieri petentem, in parliamento suo viris armatis et sagittariis immensis vallato per impressionem populi per eum ad hoc collecti dampnabiliter decapitari fecit; comitemque Warrewichie, et dominum de Cobeham, perpetuis carceribus mancipavit, eorum terras et tenementa tam in feodo simplici quam in feodo talliato de se et heredibus suis, contra justiciam et leges regni sui et juramentum number of armed men and archers, to overawe suum expressum, nequiter confiscando, et eorum appellantibus concedendo.

[col. b]

22. Item, tempore quo idem rex in parliamento suo fecit adjudicari ducem Glouc', et comites Arundell' et Warrewichie, ut liberius posset excercere crudelitatem in eosdem; et voluntatem suam injuriosam in aliis adimplere, sibi attraxit magnam multitudinem malefactorum < de > comitatu Cestrie, quorum quidam cum rege transeuntes per regnum, tam infra hospicium regis quam extra, ligeos regni crudeliter

in a full parliament, by the assent of the same, and had for many years shown a cheerful and kindly face as signs of peace and love to the same duke and earls and others; nevertheless the same king always and continuously nourished hatred in his heart, and at last, seizing his opportunity, caused the said duke of Golucester - uncle of the king himself, and also son of Edward of good memory, the former king of England, and constable of England - to be captured and arrested, when he was coming to meet thesaid lord king humbly the said earls of Arundel and Warwick, and caused the duke himself to be taken outside the realm of England to the town of Calais, and to be imprisoned there, and to be detained in the custody of the earl of Nottingham, one of those who had appealed the duke himself, and caused him, without any legitimate response or process whatsoever, to be secretly suffocated, strangled and murdered, inhumanly and cruelly: and the earl of Arundel, although he cited both the charter of the said general pardon and a charter of pardon afterwards granted to him, and demanded that justice be done to him, he damnably caused to be beheaded in his parliament, which was surrounded by a great the people gathered there by him for this reason; and he consigned the earl of Warwick and lord Cobham to perpetual imprisonment, wickedly confiscating their lands and tenements, both those held in fee simple and those held in fee tail, from them and their heirs, against justice and the laws of his realm, and his express oath, and granting them to their appellants.

22. Also, at the time when the same king in his parliament caused the duke of Gloucester and the earls of Arundel and Warwick to be adjudged, in order that he might more freely act with cruelty against them, and wreak his unjust will on others, he gathered to himself a great multitude of evildoers from the county of Cheshire, of whom some, going about with the king through the realm, both within the king's

occiderunt, et quosdam verberaverunt, vulneraverunt, et depredarunt bona populi, et pro suis victualibus solvere recusarunt, et uxores wounded some, and plundered the goods of et alias mulieres rapuerunt et violaverunt. Et licet super eorum hujusmodi excessibus graves queremonie deferebantur ad audienciam dicti regis, idem < tamen > rex super hiis justiciam seu remedium facere non curavit, set favebat eisdem gentibus in maleficiis eorundem, confidens de eis et eorum presidio contra quoscumque alios regni sui. Propter quod fideles but favoured the same people in their evil regni sui magnam commocionis et indignacionis deeds, trusting in them and their protection materiam habuerunt.

23. Item, licet dominus rex per brevia sua proclamari fecerit per totum regnum suum, quod proclaimed by his writs throughout his whole avunculum suum ducem Glouc', ac comites Arundell' et Warr', capi fecerit et arestari, non pro aliquibus congregacionibus et equitacionibus per eos infra regnum Anglie factis, set pro quampluribus extorsionibus, oppressionibus, et aliis contra regaliam suam et regiam magestatem postmodum factis et perpetratis per eos: quodque non erat intencionis by them against his regality and royal majesty: ipsius regis, quod aliquis de familia predictorum and that it was not the intention of the king ducis Gloucestrie, ac comitum Arundell' et Warr', seu illorum qui in comitiva sua tempore congregacionis et equitacionis predictarum fuit, ea occasione molestetur aliqualiter, seu gravetur, were in their company at the time of the idem tamen rex tandem in parliamento suo dictos dominos non pro extorcionibus, oppressionibus, aut aliis predictis impeciit, set pro congregacionibus et equitacionibus supradictis eos adjudicavit ad mortem, et quamplures de familia eorundem dominorum et aliorum qui in comitiva sua tempore congregacionis et equitacionis fuerant, metu mortis compulit fines et redempciones facere, utpote proditores: ad gravem destruccionem quamplurium de populo suo. Sicque dictos dominos, et eorum familiares hujusmodi, et populum regni sui callide, fraudulenter, et maliciose decepit.

24. Item, postquam quamplures de personis illis facientibus fines et redempciones hujusmodi impetrarunt a rege litteras suas patentes

household and without, cruelly killed the lieges of the realm, and beat some, and the people, and refused to pay for their provisions, and carried off and raped wives and other women. And although on account of their excesses of this kind serious complaints were brought to the attention of the said king, nevertheless the same king had no interest in seeing justice or redress done for these things, against all others of his realm. On account of which the faithful people of his realm had great cause for distress and anger.

23. Also, although the lord king caused it to be kingdom, that he had caused his uncle the duke of Gloucester, and the earls of Arundel and Warwick, to be captured and arrested, not for any assemblies or ridings committed by them within the realm of England, but for various extortions, acts of oppression, and other things afterwards done and perpetrated himself, that anyone of the households of the aforesaid duke of Gloucester and earls of Arundel and Warwick, or any of those who aforesaid assemblies and ridings, should be harmed or molested in any way for that reason; nevertheless the same king, in his parliament, did not in the end impeach the said lords for the extortions, acts of oppression or other things aforesaid, but condemned them to death, for the aforesaid assemblies and ridings, and through fear of death he forced many members of the households of the same lords, and of others, who were in their company at the time of the assemblies and ridings, to make fines and redemptions, as traitors: to the great ruin of many of his people. And thus he deceived the said lords, and these members of their households, and the people of his realm, cunningly, falsely and maliciously.

24. Also, after many of those people making fines and redemptions of this sort sued to the king for his letters patent of full pardon in the pardonacionis plenarie in premissis, nullum comodum ex hujusmodi litteris pardonacionis poterant reportare donec novos fines et redempciones pro eorum vita conservanda fecissent: unde fuerant plurimum depauparati. Pro quo nomini et statui regio fuerat plurimum derogatum.

[memb. 19]

25. Item, in parliamento ultimo celebrato apud Salop', idem rex proonens [sic: read 'proponens'] Shrewsbury, the same king, aiming to oppress opprimere populum suum, procuravit subtiliter et fecit concedi, quod potestas parliamenti de consensu omnium statuum regni sui remaneret apud quasdam certas personas, ad terminandas, dissoluto parliamento, certas peticiones in eodem parliamento porrectas protunc minime expeditas. Cujus concessionis colore persone sic parliament and at that time not dealt with. By deputate [processerunt] ad alia generaliter parliamentum illud tangencia; et hoc de voluntate regis: in derogacionem status parliamenti, et in magnum incomodum tocius regni, et perniciosum exemplum. Et ut super factis eorum hujusmodi aliquem colorem et auctoritatem viderentur habere, rex fecit rotulos parliamenti pro voto suo mutari et deleri, contra effectum concessionis predicte.

[p. iii-419] [col. a]

26. Item, non obstante quod dictus rex in coronacione sua juraverit, 'Quod fieri faceret in omnibus judiciis suis equam et rectam justiciam impartial and honest justice and discretion, et discrecionem in misericordia et veritate, secundum vires suas', dictus tamen rex, absque omni misericordia rigorose inter cetera statuit et ordinavit sub gravibus penis, quod pro Henrico duce Lancastr' relegato pro aliqua gratia sibi facienda nullus rogaret aut intercederet apud eundem regem. In quo facto idem rex contra caritatis vinculum operabatur, juramentum predictum temere violando.

27. Item, quamvis corona regni Anglie, et jura ejusdem corone, ipsumque regnum, fuerint ab omni tempore retroacto adeo libera, quod dominus summus pontifex, nec aliquis alius extra regnum ipsum, se intromittere debeat de

aforesaid, they could get no benefit from these letters of pardon until they had paid new fines and redemptions to save their lives: through which they were very greatly impoverished. By virtue of which the royal name and estate were very much brought into disrepute.

25. Also, in the last parliament held at his people, subtly procured and caused it to be granted, that the power of parliament, with the agreement of all the estates of his realm. should remain with certain persons, in order to complete, once parliament had been dissolved, certain petitions delivered into the same authority of this concession, the persons thus appointed proceeded to other things touching generally upon that parliament; and this by will of the king: to the detriment of the estate of parliament, and to the great disadvantage of the whole realm, and as a pernicious example. And so that they should be seen to have some pretext and authority for their deeds of this sort, the king caused the rolls of parliament to be altered and erased, by his own will, against the intention of the aforesaid grant.

26. Also, notwithstanding that the said king swore at his coronation that he would cause with mercy and truth, to be done in all his judgments, according to his power, the said king, however, without any mercy, decided and ordained among other things, with great rigour, that, on pain of grave penalties, no-one should entreat or intercede with the same king for the banished Henry duke of Lancaster, in order for clemency to be shown to him. In which deed the same king acted against the bond of charity, rashly violating the aforesaid oath.

27. Also, although the crown of the realm of England, and the rights of the same crown, and the realm itself, have been from all time past free, in such a way that neither the lord pope, nor anyone else outside the realm itself, eisdem, tamen prefatus rex ad roboracionem statutorum suorum erroneorum supplicavit domino pape, quod statuta in ultimo parliamento strengthen his wrongful statutes, requested of suo ordinata confirmaret. Super quo dictus rex litteras apostolicas impetravit, in quibus < graves > censure proferuntur contra quoscumque qui dictis statutis in aliquo contravenire presumpserint. Que omnia contra coronam et dignitatem regiam, ac contra statuta et libertates dicti regni tendere dinoscuntur.

28. Item, licet dominus Henricus nunc dux Lancastr' billam suam statum et honorem regis concernentem ad ipsius regis mandatum contra Thomam ducem Norff' proposuisset, et eandem fuisset debite prosecutus, adeo quod juxta regis ordinacionem se ad duellum in omnibus paratum to the extent that, in accordance with the exhibuisset, prefatusque rex ipsum nunc ducem Lancastr' debitum suum in hac parte honorifice quantum in ipso fuerat implevisse pronunciasset had announced and declared by decree that he, et declarasset per decretum, et hoc coram toto populo ad duellum hujusmodi congregato fuisset duty in that matter honourably, insofar as it publice proclamatum; idem tamen rex predictum was in his power, and this had been publicly nunc ducem Lancastr', sine causa quacumque legitima, ad decennium relegari fecit et mandavit, contra omnem justiciam, et leges et consuetudines regni sui, ac jura militaria in hac parte: perjurium dampnabiliter incurrendo.

per litteras suas patentes domino Henrico nunc duci Lancastr', quod ipsius absentia, dum fuerat relegatus, generales attornati sui possent prosequi pro liberacione sibi facienda de quibuscumque hereditatibus sive successionibus inheritances or successions thereafter falling to ipsum extunc contingentibus; et quod homagium him, and that his homage ought to be respited suum respectuari deberet pro quodam fine racionabili faciendo, litteras illas patentes injuriose revocavit, contra leges terre; perjurium against the laws of the land; thereby incurrendo.

30. Item, non obstante quod statutum erat, quod 30. Also, notwithstanding that it had been in singulis annis officiarii regis, cum justiciariis, et aliis de consilio regis, vicecomites per omnes comitatus regni eligantur et nominarentur

should involve himself with these things, nevertheless the aforesaid king, in order to the lord pope that he should confirm the statutes decreed in his last parliament. With regard to which the said king requested apostolic letters, in which severe judgments were proclaimed against anyone who should presume to contravene the said statutes in anything. All these things are recognised as tending against the crown and the royal dignity, and against the statutes and liberties of the said realm.

28. Also, although lord Henry, now duke of Lancaster, had put forward his bill concerning the estate and honour of the king, against Thomas duke of Norfolk, at the command of the king himself, and had duly prosecuted it, king's decree, he had shown himself ready for a duel on all matters, and the aforesaid king now the duke of Lancaster, had fulfilled his proclaimed before the whole people gathered for this duel; nevertheless the same king caused and commanded the aforesaid present duke of Lancaster to be exiled for ten years, without any legitimate cause whatsoever, against all justice, and against the laws and customs of his realm, and the law of arms on this matter: thereby damnably committing perjury.

29. Item, postquam dictus rex gratiose concessit 29. Also, after the said king graciously granted by his letters patent to lord Henry, now the duke of Lancaster, that in his absence, when he had been exiled, his general attorneys could sue for livery to be made to him of any in return for payment of a reasonable fine, he wrongfully revoked those letters patent, committing perjury.

> decreed that each year the officers of the king, with the justices, and others of the king's council, should choose and nominate sheriffs

domino regi, secundum quod eorum discrecioni to the lord king for all the counties of the et consciencie pro bono et utilitate regni videbitur expedire, idem rex non nominatos aut electos hujusmodi, set alios pro sue libito voluntatis, quandoque suos familiares, et quandoque tales quos scivit nolle resistere voluntati sue, in vicecomites fieri demandavit, pro suo et aliorum commodo singulari; ad magnum gravamen populi sui, et contra leges regni sui; perjurium notorie incurrendo.

31. Item, tempore illo quo rex predictus petivit et habuit a quampluribus dominis, et aliis de regno, plures pecuniarum summas ex causa mutui, certo termino persolvendas, non obstante of money, by way of a loan, to be paid back quod idem Rex per singulas [col. b] litteras suas patentes promisit bona fide singulis personis a quibus mutuo recepit pecunias illas quod eis limitato termino predicto resolveret hujusmodi pecunias mutuatas, promissionem suam hujusmodi non adimplevit, nec de pecuniis illis est hactenus satisfactum: unde creditores hujusmodi valde gravantur, et non tam illi quam plures alii de regno regem reputant infidelem.

32. Item, ubi rex Anglie de proventibus regni sui, et patrimonio ad coronam suam spectante, posset honeste vivere, absque oppressione populi sui, dummodo regnum non esset guerrarum dispendio oneratum, idem rex, quasi toto tempore suo durantibus treugis inter regnum expense of wars, the same king, although for Anglie et adversarios ejus, non solum magnam ymmo maximam partem dicti patrimonii sui donavit eciam personis indignis, verumeciam propterea tot onera concessionis subditorum imposuit quasi annis singulis in regno suo, quod valde et nimium excessive populum suum oppressit, in depauperacionem regni sui: bona sic levata non ad commodum et utilitatem regni Anglie convertendo, set ad sui nominis ostentacionem et pompam ac vanam gloriam prodige dissipando. Et pro victualibus hospicii sui, et aliis empcionibus suis, maxime summe pecuniarum in regno suo debentur, licet diviciis et thesauris plus quam aliquis progenitorum

realm, according to what would seem to their discretion and knowledge to be fitting for the good and profit of the realm, the same king demanded that people not nominated or chosen in this way, but others chosen at his will, sometimes his familiars, and sometimes such as he knew would not resist his will, should become sheriffs, solely for the convenience of him and of some others; to the great injury of his people, and against the laws of his realm; notoriously committing perjury.

31. Also, at the time when the aforesaid king demanded and obtained from a great number of lords and others of the realm, various sums within a certain term, notwithstanding that the same king through his individual [col. b] letters patent promised in good faith to each person from whom he had received those sums of money on loan that he would pay back to them the money lent in this way at the aforesaid appointed time, he did not fulfil this promise of his, nor until now has reparation been made in the matter of this money: as a result of which these creditors are greatly wronged, and not only they, but many others of the realm consider the king to be untrustworthy.

32. Also, whereas the king of England could live honestly from the proceeds of his realm, and the patrimony pertaining to his crown, without the oppression of his people, provided that the kingdom was not burdened with the almost the whole of his time there were truces between the realm of England and its enemies, as well as giving not only a great but indeed the greatest part of his said patrimony to unworthy persons, also on account of this imposed so many burdens of grants on his subjects in his realm almost every year, that he oppressed his people greatly and too excessively, to the impoverishment of his realm: and he did not use the sums thus raised for the advantage and profit of the realm of England, but dissipated them prodigiously for the ostentation and pomp and vainglory of his name. And for provisions for his household,

suorum, de quo recolitur, habundavit.

- 33. Item, idem rex nolens justas leges et consuetudines regni sui servare seu protegere, set secundum sue arbitrium voluntatis facere quicquid desideriis ejus occurrerit, quandoque et desires according to the impulse of his will, at frequencius quando sibi expositi et declarati fuerant leges regni sui per justiciarios et alios de explained and declared to him by thejustices consilio suo, et secundum leges illas petentibus justiciam exhiberet, dixit expresse, vultu austero that he should do justice according to those et protervo, quod leges sue erant in ore suo, et aliquociens in < pectore > suo: et quod ipse solus posset mutare et condere leges regni sui. Et opinione illa seductus, quampluribus de ligeis and that he alone could alter and create the suis justiciam fieri non permisit, set per minas et laws of his realm. And, seduced by that terrores quamplures a prosecucione communis justicie cessare coegit.
- 34. Item, quod postquam in parliamento suo certa statuta erant edita, que semper ligarent donec auctoritate alicujus alterius parliamenti fuerint specialiter revocata; idem rex cupiens tanta libertate gaudere quod nulla hujusmodi statuta ipsum adeo ligarent quin posset exequi et no statutes of this kind should bind him or facere secundum sue arbitrium voluntatis, prout non potuit, procuravit subtiliter talem peticionem in parliamento suo pro parte communitatis regni sui porrigi, et sibi concedi in delivered into his parliament on the part of the genere, quod posset esse adeo liber sicut aliquis progenitorum suorum extitit ante eum. Quarum peticionis et concessionis colore, frequencius mandavit et fecit idem rex quamplura fieri contra statuta hujusmodi minime revocata; veniendo expresse et scienter contra juramentum very many things to be done against statutes of suum in coronacione sua prestitum, ut prefertur, prout inferius declaratur.
- nullus vicecomes officium suum occuparet continue ultra unum annum, set triennium laberetur antequam ad illud officium admitteretur de novo; idem rex, quandoque pro suo commodo singulari, et quandoque ad procuracionem aliorum pro eorum commodo et

- and other purchases of his, very great sums of money are owing in his realm, although he abounded in wealth and treasure more than any of his progenitors of whom there is memory.
- 33. Also, the same king wishing not to observe or protect the just laws and customs of his realm, but to do whatever appealed to his times, when the laws of his realm had been and others of his council, and when they asked laws, he frequently said expressly, with a stern and forbidding countenance, that his laws were in his mouth, or sometimes in his breast: opinion, he did not allow justice to be done to a great number of his lieges, but through threats and terror forced a great number to cease from the pursuit of common justice.
- 34. Also, that after certain statutes were made in his parliament, which would always be binding until they were specially revoked by the authority of some other parliament; the same king, wishing to enjoy such liberty that prevent him from acting or behaving according to the impulse of his will, as he could not, subtly arranged for a petition to be commons of his realm, and to be granted to him generally, to the effect that he could be as free as any of his progenitors had been before him. Under pretext of this petition and grant, the same king frequently ordered and caused this kind which were not revoked; thus going expressly and knowingly against his oath made at his coronation, as is said above, and as is explained below.
- 35. Item, licet statutum fuerit et ordinatum, quod 35. Also, although it was decreed and ordained that no sheriff should occupy his office continuously for longer than a year, but that three years should pass before he could be admitted again to that office; the same king, sometimes for his convenience alone, and sometimes at the instigation of others for their

utilitate, quosdam vicecomites stare et remanere convenience and advantage, allowed and permisit et fecit in eorum officiis continue, aliquociens per biennium, et aliquociens per triennium, contra tenorem et effectum statuti predicti, perjurium incurrendo. Et hoc est notorium, publicum, et famosum.

[p. iii-420] [col. a]

36. Item, licet de statuto et consuetudine regni sui in convocacione cujuslibet parliamenti populus suus in singulis comitatibus regni debeat esse liber ad eligendos et deputandos milites pro hujusmodi comitatibus, ad interessendum parliamento, et ad exponenda eorum gravamina, et ad prosequendum pro remediis superinde prout eis videbitur expedire; tamen prefatus rex, ut in parliamentis suis liberius consequi valeat sue temerarie voluntatis effectum, direxit mandata sua frequencius vicecomitibus suis, ut certas personas per ipsum frequently sent his commands to his sheriffs, regem nominatas ut milites comitatuum venire faciant ad parliamenta sua; quos quidem milites eidem regi faventes inducere poterat, prout frequencius fecit, quandoque per minas varias et terrores, et quandoque per munera, ad consenciendum illis que regno prejudicialia fuerant, et populo quamplurimum onerosa, et specialiter ad concedendum eidem regi subsidium lanarum ad terminum vite sue, et aliud subsidium ad certos annos; suum populum same king the subsidy on wools for the term of nimium opprimendo.

37. Item, idem rex, ut liberius adimpleri et sequi 37. Also, the same king, in order to fulfil and posset in singulis sue arbitrium voluntatis, illicite fecit et mandavit, quod vicecomites per totum regnum suum ultra antiquum et solitum juramentum jurarent, quod omnibus mandatis suis sub magno et privato sigillis suis, aceciam litteris sub signeto suo, quocienscumque eis directe fuerint, obedirent. Et in casu quo iidem vicecomites scire poterunt aliquos de ballivis suis, cujuscumque condicionis fuerint, aliquod malum dicere sive loqui publice vel occulte quod cedere possit in dedecus aut scandalum persone regis, ipsos arrestarent, vel facerent arrestari, et prisone mancipari, in eadem salvo custodiendos donec aliud a rege habuerint in

caused certain sheriffs to stay and remain in their offices continually, sometimes for two years, sometimes for three years, against the tenor and effect of the aforesaid statute, thereby committing perjury. And this is notorious, public and well-known.

36. Also, although by the statute and custom of his realm, at the summoning of any parliament his people in the individual counties of the realm ought to be free to choose and appoint knights for those counties, to be present at parliament and to explain their grievances, and to request such remedies on that account as seem appropriate to them; nevertheless the aforesaid king, so that in his parliaments he might more freely accomplish the carrying out of his audacious will, that certain persons nominated by the king himself should be caused to come to his parliaments as knights for the counties; and indeed he could, and often did, sometimes by various threats and terrors, and sometimes by bribes, persuade these knights who favoured the same king to consent to things which were prejudicial to the realm and very burdensome to the people, especially in granting to the his life, and another subsidy for a number of years; oppressing his people excessively.

accomplish the impulse of his will in individual things, illicitly caused and commanded, that the sheriffs throughout his whole realm should swear, beyond the ancient and customary oath, that they would obey all his commands under his great and privy seals, and even letters under his signet, whenever they were directed to them. And if it happened that thesame sheriffs knew of anyone in their bailiwicks, of whatever condition, who said or spoke anything evil, publicly or secretly, that could tend to the disgrace or scandal of the person of the king, they should arrest them, or cause them to be arrested, and thrown into mandatis; prout reperiri poterit de recordo. Quod prison, to be kept safely in the same until they

quidem factum posset verisimiliter tendere ad destruccionem quorumcumque ligeorum dicti regni.

38. Item, idem rex nitens subpeditare populum suum, et bona sua subtiliter sibi adquirere, ut diviciis superfluis habundaret, induci fecit populum de .xvij. comitatibus regni ad submittendos se regi tamquam proditores, per litteras sub sigillis eorum; cujus colore, optinuit magnas summas pecuniarum sibi concedi per clerum et populum comitatuum eorundem, pro benivolencia regis captanda. Et quamvis ad placendum populo idem rex fecerat eis restitui litteras illas obligatorias, tamen procuratores ipsius populi habentes plenariam potestatem eis concessam ad obligandos se et heredes suos dicto regi, idem rex fecit obligari sibi sub sigillis restored to him, nevertheless the same king eorum nomine ejusdem populi. Sicque decepit populum suum, et bona eorum subtiliter extorquebat ab eis.

39. Item, quamvis idem rex in coronacione sua juraverit de servando libertates ecclesie anglicane concessas, tamen dictus rex, racione viagii sui in terram Hibernie faciendi, quampluribus viris religiosis, videlicet abbatibus, et prioribus regni sui, per litteras ejus districte precipiendo mandavit, ut eorum aliqui certos equos, et aliqui eorundem non solum equos set eciam quadrigas sive charectas, alioquin magnas pecuniarum summas eidem regi pro dicto viagio suo, transmittere, in eisdem otherwise that they should send large sums of litteris expressatas. Per quem modum scribendi plures hujusmodi religiosos metu ductos artavit ad complendam voluntatem et preceptum ipsius regis: unde graviter depauperati fuerant et oppressi, in derogacionem libertatis ecclesiastice command of the king himself: by which they manifestam. Cujus pretextu dictus rex perjurium were seriously impoverished and oppressed, to incurrebat.

## [col. b]

40. Item, in pluribus magnis consiliis regiis, quando domini regni justiciarii, et alii, onerati fuerant ut fideliter consulerent regi in tangentibus statum suum et regni sui, iidem

had any commands from the king; as can be found on record. Which act, indeed, could in all probability tend towards the destruction of any of the lieges of the said realm.

38. Also, the same king, striving to trample on his people, and cunningly to acquire their goods for himself, in order to acquire superfluous wealth, caused the people of seventeen counties of the realm to be persuaded to submit themselves to the king as traitors, by means of letters under their seals; under pretext of which, he secured great sums of money to be granted to him by the clergy and people of the same counties, in order for them to obtain the goodwill of the king. And although, in order to please the people, the same king caused those letters obligatory to be caused proctors of the people themselves, who had full power granted to them to bind themselves and their heirs to the said king, to submit themselves to him under their seals in the name of the same people. And in this way he deceived his people, and cunningly extorted their goods from them.

39. Also, although the same king at his coronation swore to preserve the liberties granted to the English church, nevertheless the said king, by reason of his expedition to be made to the land of Ireland, commanded numerous religious men, that is, the abbots and priors of his realm, instructing them strictly by letter, that some of them should send various horses, and others of the same not only horses but also wagons or carts, or money, as specified in the same letters, to the same king for his said expedition. By writing in this way he compelled many religious of this sort, out of fear, to fulfil the will and the clear detriment of ecclesiastical liberty. On which pretext the said king committed perjury.

40. Also, in many royal great councils, when the lords of the realm, justices, and others, had been charged with faithfully counselling the king in matters touching his estate and that of

domini justiciarii, et alii, frequencius in dando consilium juxta discrecionem suam fuerant per regem subito et tam acriter increpati et reprobati, understanding were frequently rebuked and quod non essent ausi dicere pro statu regis et regni in consiliis suis dandis dicere [sic] veritatem.

- 41. Item, thesaurum, coronas, reliquias, et alia jocalia, videlicet bona regni, que ab antiquo dimissa fuerant in archivis regni, pro honore regis, et conservacione regni sui in omnem eventum, prefatus rex exiens regnum suum versus Hiberniam abstulit, et secum deferri fecit, the honour of the king and the preservation of sine consensu statuum regni; unde regnum illud fuisset valde depauperatum, nisi de recapcione bonorum hujusmodi contra voluntatem dicti regis Deus aliter providisset. Et preterea, rotulos that realm would have been truly recordorum statum et gubernacionem regni sui tangencium predictus rex deleri et abradi fecit, in magnum prejudicium populi, et exheredacionem corone regni predicti; et ut verisimiliter creditur, in favorem et sustentacionem sui mali regiminis.
- 42. Item, idem rex consuevit quasi continue esse 42. Also, the same king was accustomed adeo variabilis et dissimilans in verbis et in scripturis suis, et omnino contrarius sibi ipsi, et specialiter in scribendo pape et regibus, et aliis dominis extra regnum et infra, aceciam et aliis subditis ejus, quod quasi nullus vivens habens noticiam sue condicionis hujusmodi poterit aut velit de eo confidere. Ymmo reputatur adeo infidelis et inconstans, quod cedit ad scandalum non solum persone sue, set eciam tocius regni, et thought to be so untrustworthy and inconstant potissime apud extraneos tocius orbis inde noticiam optinentes.
- 43. Item, licet terre et tenementa, bona et catalla 43. Also, although the lands and tenements, cujuscumque liberi hominis, per leges regni ab omnibus retroactis temporibus usitatas, capi non laws of the kingdom in use for all time past, debeant nisi fuerint forisfacta; nichilominus dictus rex proponens et satagens leges hujusmodi enervare, in presencia quamplurium dominorum et aliorum de communitate regni

- the realm, the same lords, justices, and others, when giving counsel in accordance with their reprimanded, suddenly and so bitterly that they did not dare to speak the truth in giving their advice on the welfare of the king and the kingdom.
- 41. Also, the aforesaid king, on leaving his kingdom for Ireland, removed the treasure, crowns, relics, and other jewels, that is the goods of the realm, which from antiquity had been stored in the archives of the realm, for his realm in all events: and he caused them to be taken with him, without the agreement of the estates of the realm; as a result of which impoverished, had God not otherwise provided for the recapture of these goods, against the will of the said king. And furthermore, the aforesaid king caused the rolls of the records touching on the state and government of his realm to be deleted and erased, to the great prejudice of the people, and the disinheriting of the crown of the aforesaid realm; and, as is believed with some probablity, in favour and support of his evil regime.
- almost continually to be so changeable and dissembling in his words and writings, and altogether contrary to himself, especially in writing to the pope and to kings, and to other lords outside the realm and within it, and also to other subjects of his, that almost no living person who knew what sort of person he was, could or wished to trust him. Rather he was that it became a disgrace, not only to his person, but also to his whole realm, and especially among foreigners throughout the whole world who learnt of it.
- goods and chattels of any free man, by the should not be seized unless they are forfeit; nevertheless the said king, proposing and endeavouring to undermine the laws of this kind, in the presence of very many lords and

frequenter dixit et affirmavit, quod vita cujuscumque ligei sui, ac ipsius terre, tenementa, bona, et catalla sunt sua ad voluntatem suam, absque aliqua forisfactura: quod est omnino contra leges et consuetudines regni sui supradicti.

44. Item, quamvis statutum fuerit et ordinatum, aceciam hactenus confirmatum, 'Quod nullus liber homo capiatur etc. nec quod aliquo modo destruatur, nec quod rex super eum ibit, nec super eum mittet, nisi per legale judicium parium suorum, vel per legem terre'; (fn. iii-415- against him, unless by lawful judgment of his 111-1) tamen de voluntate, mandato, et ordinacione dicti regis, quamplures ligeorum suorum maliciose accusati, super eo quod debuissent aliquid dixisse publice vel occulte quod cedere poterit ad vituperium, scandalum, seu dedecus persone dicti regis, fuerant capti et imprisonati, et ducti coram constabulario et marescallo Anglie in curia militari. In qua curia dicti ligei accusati ad aliud responsum admitti non poterant nisi respondendo se in nullo fore culpabiles, et per eorum corpora et non aliter se justificarent et defenderent: non obstante quod accusatores et appellatores eorum essent juvenes that they were in no way guilty and that they fortes et sani, et illi accusati senes et impotentes, would justify and defend themselves by their mutulati vel infirmi: unde non solum destruccio dominorum et magnatum regni, seteciam omnium et singularum personarum communitatis ejusdem regni verisimiliter sequi posset. Cum igitur rex predictus hujusmodi regni sui [p. iii-421][col. a] statuto voluntarie contravenerit, non est dubium quin proinde perjurium incurrebat.

45. Item, quamvis populus regni Anglie vigore ligeancie sue satis plene regi suo teneatur et astringatur, ipseque rex populum suum si quovis their king by the strength of their allegiance, modo deliquerit per leges et consuetudines regni and the same king has the strength to correct corrigere valeat et punire; tamen dictus rex cupiens subpeditare ac nimis opprimere populum suum, ut liberius exequi et sequi valeret sue inepte et illicite voluntatis arbitrium, per suas litteras ad omnes comitatus regni sui directas induxit eciam et mandavit, ut ligei sui quicumque tam spirituales quam temporales certa juramenta prestarent in genere que eis

others of the community of the realm frequently said and declared that the life of any of his lieges, and his lands, tenements, goods and chattels, were his at his will, without any forfeiture: which is utterly against the laws and customs of his aforesaid realm.

44. Also, although it had been decreed by statute and ordained, and also until now maintained, that no free man should be arrested etc., or in any way destroyed, nor should the king proceed, or order any process peers, or by the law of the land; (fn. iii-415-111-1) nevertheless by the will, command and ordinance of the said king, a great number of his lieges, maliciously accused on the grounds of having been supposed to have said something publicly or secretly which could lead to the disparagement, scandal or disgrace of the person of the said king, were seized and imprisoned, and led before the constable and marshal of England in the court of chivalry. In which court the said accused lieges were not permitted to enter any reply except by replying bodies and not otherwise: notwithstanding that their accusers and appellants were strong and healthy young men, and those accused old and feeble, maimed or infirm: from which not only the destruction of the lords and magnates of the realm, but also of each and every person of the community of the same realm could plausibly follow. When therefore the aforesaid king wilfully [p. iii-421][col. a] contravened the statute of his realm in this way, there is no doubt that he consequently committed perjury.

45. Also, although the people of the realm of England are sufficiently held and bound to and punish his people through the laws and customs of the realm, if they have done wrong in any way; nevertheless the said king, desiring to subdue and severely oppress his people, so that he might more freely accomplish and pursue, foolishly and illegally, the impulse of his will, by his letters, addressed to all the counties of his realm,

fuerant nimium odiosa, queque verisimiliter causare possent destruccionem finalem populi sui; et quod sub litteris et sigillis eorum juramenta hujusmodi roborarent. Cui quidem mandato regio populus regni sui paruit et obedivit, ne ipsius indignacionem incurreret aut offensam, aceciam metu mortis.

46. Item, cum partes in foro ecclesiastico, in causis mere ecclesiasticis et spiritualibus litigantes, prohibiciones regias ad impediendum processum legitimum in eisdem a cancellario Anglie impetrare laborassent, et idem cancellarius ex justicia ad hoc rescribere recusasset; idem tamen rex per litteras sub signeto suo judicibus ecclesiasticis hujusmodi frequenter districte prohibuit, ne in causis hujusmodi procederent, libertates ecclesiasticas in magna carta approbatas, ad quas conservandas juratus extiterat, nequiter infringendo; perjurium et sentenciam excommunicacionis contra hujusmodi violatores committing perjury, and damnably incurring a sanctis patribus latam dampnabiliter incurrendo.

47. Item, dictus rex dominum Thomam de Arundell' archiepiscopum Cantuar', tocius Anglie primatem, patrem suum spiritualem, in parliamento suo viris armatis hostili more vallato, tunc de callido consilio dicti regis se absentantem, absque causa racionabili seu legitima quacumque, seu alio juris processu, contra leges regni sui, per ipsum ut prefertur juratas, in exilium perpetuum adjudicavit.

48. Item, per inspeccionem testamenti dicti regis, sub magno et privato sigillis suis et signeto signati, inter cetera continetur hec clausula, sive articulus: 'Item volumus, quod auri nostri residuum, solutis tamen nostrorum hospicii, camere, et garderobe veris debitis, ad que persolvenda legamus viginti milia librarum, reservatis executoribus nostris quinque vel sex milibus marcarum, quas pro uberiori sustentacione leprosorum ac capellanorum coram eis celebraturorum per nos apud Westm' et Bermondeseye ordinatorum volumus per

persuaded and even commanded that all his lieges both spiritual and temporal should take certain general oaths, which were extremely hateful to them, and which couldplausibly have caused the final destruction of his people; and that they should confirm these oaths with their letters and seals. The people of his realm submitted to and obeyed this royal command in order not to incur his anger or displeasure, and also through fear of death.

46. Also, when parties in an ecclesiastical court, litigating in cases which were purely ecclesiastical and spiritual, endeavoured to obtain royal prohibitions from the chancellor of England in order to prevent the legitimate process in these cases, and the same chancellor justly refused to comply with this; nevertheless the same king often, through letters under his signet, strictly prohibited such ecclesiastical judges from proceeding in such cases, wickedly infringing the liberties of the church approved in the Great Charter, to preserve which he had sworn; thereby the sentence of excommunication brought by the holy fathers against such violators.

47. Also, the said king, in his parliament, which was surrounded in a threatening manner by armed men, adjudged lord Thomas of Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all England, his spiritual father - who was at that time, through the artful scheming of the said king, absent - to perpetual exile, without any reasonable or legitimate cause whatever, or any other process of law, against the laws of his realm, sworn by himself as is said above.

48. Also, inspection of the will of the said king, sealed under his great and privy seals and his signet, reveals that it contains, among other matters, this clause, or article: 'Item, we wish that, once the true debts of our household, chamber and wardrobe have been paid, for the payment in full of which we leave twenty thousand pounds, and reserving to our executors five or six thousand marks, which we wish to be spent by our said executors for the better sustenance of the lepers and the chaplains ordained by us to celebrate before

dictos executores nostros expendi, nostro remaneat successori: dumtamen omnia et singula statuta, ordinaciones, stabilimenta, et judicia, in parliamento nostro decimo septimo die mensis Septembris, anno regni nostri vicesimo primo apud Westm' inchoato, et in eodem parliamento usque Salop' continuato et ibidem tento, facta, lata, et reddita; necnon omnia ordinaciones et judicia, ac stabilimenta, decimo sexto die Septembris anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo apud Coventre, postmodum apud Westm' decimo octavo die Martii anno predicto auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti, facta, habita, et reddita; aceciam omnia alia ordinaciones et judicia que auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti infuturo contigerit fieri, approbet, ratificet, et confirmet, teneat, et teneri faciat, ac firmiter observet. Alioquin, si predictus successor noster premissa facere noluerit, vel recusaverit, quod non credimus, volumus, quod Thomas dux Surr', Edwardus [col. b] dux d'Aumarle, Johannes dux Exon', et Willelmus Lescrope comes Wilteshirie, solutis prius debitis aforesaid, which we do not believe possible, nostrorum hospicii, camere, et garderobe, reservatis quinque vel sex milibus marcarum, ut [col. b] duke of Aumale, John duke of Exeter, supra, pro hujusmodi statutorum, stabilimentorum, ordinacionum, et judiciorum, sustentacione et defensione, secundum eorum posse eciam usque ad mortem si oporteat, residuum habeant et teneant memoratum. Super quibus omnibus et singulis eorum conscientias prout in die judicii respondere voluerint oneramus.' Per quem quidem articulum satis constare poterit, evidenter, quod idem rex illa statuta et ordinaciones, que sunt erronia et iniqua, et omni juri et racioni repugnancia, pertinaciter manutenere et defendere nitebatur, non tam in vita quam in morte; nec de anime sue obvious, that thesame king was stubbornly periculo, nec de dicti regni sui, seu ligeorum suorum ultima destruccione curando.

them at Westminster and Bermondsey, the residue of our gold should remain to our successor: provided that he approves, ratifies, and confirms, holds and causes to be held, and firmly observes each and every statute, ordinance, establishment and judgment, made, brought and given in our parliament begun at Westminster on the seventeenth day of the month of September, in the twenty-first year of our reign, and in the same parliament continued at Shrewsbury and held there; and also all the ordinances and judgments, and establishments, made, decreed and given on the sixteenth day of September of the twentysecond year of our reign at Coventry, and afterwards at Westminster on the eighteenth day of March of the same year by authority of the same parliament; and also all other ordinances and judgments which will be brought about in the future by authority of the same parliament. Otherwise, if our aforesaid successor does not wish or refuses to do the we wish that Thomas duke of Surrey, Edward and William Lescrope earl of Wiltshire, once the debts of our household, chamber and wardrobe have first been paid, saving the five or six thousand marks, as above, should have and possess the aforementioned remainder, for the upholding and protection of these statutes, establishments, ordinances and judgments, to the utmost of their ability, up to death if it is necessary. Each and every one of which we charge on their consciences as they would wish to answer on the day of judgment'. Through which article it is clearly sufficiently endeavouring to maintain and defend those statutes and ordinances which are erroneous and unjust, and repugnant to all law and reason, not only in life but in death: caring neither about the danger to his soul, nor about the final destruction of his said realm or of his lieges.

[memb. 18]

49. Item, anno undecimo dicti Regis Ricardi, idem rex, in capella manerii sui de Langeley, in presentia ducum Lancastr' et Ebor', ac aliorum

49. Also, in the eleventh year of the said King Richard, the same king, personally present in the chapel of his manor of Langley, in the

quamplurium dominorum personaliter constitutus, cupiens, ut apparuit, ut avunculus ejus dux Glouc' tunc ibidem presens de ipsius regis beneplacito plene consideret, ad venerabile Gloucester, then present there, should fully corporis dominici sacramentum, ibidem super altare repositum, sua sponte juravit, quod eundem ducem Gloucestrie, pro aliquibus factis Lord's body, placed on the altar there, that he ejus que contra personam ipsius regis dicebantur esse commissa, numquam extunc inferret sibi dampnum aliquod vel gravamen, set omnem offensam illius, si qua fuerat, hillariter et ex integro sibi remisit. Postea tamen, juramento hujusmodi non obstante, dictus rex prefatum ducem pro sic pretensis offensis horribiliter et crudeliter murdrari fecit, reatum perjurii dampnabiliter incurrendo.

50. Item, postquam unus de militibus comitatuum dicti regni vocem habens eorum in parliamento, dictum dominum Thomam archiepiscopum Cantuarien' super certis defectibus contra regiam magestatem, ut minus veraciter asserebatur, commissis, impeciit publice coram rege et omnibus statibus regni; quamquam idem archiepiscopus statim tunc ibidem optulit se paratum ad respondendum hujusmodi sibi impositis, et ad hoc pecierit se admitti per regem, satis plene confisus, ut dixit, se posse suam in ea parte innocenciam declarare; idem tamen rex machinans viis et modis quibus poterat eundem archiepiscopum Cantuarien' opprimere, et in nichilum redigere statum ejus, prout tandem rei exitus declaravit, benigno ac hillari vultu ipsum archiepiscopum alloquens in sede sua regali, consuluit et attente rogavit eundem archiepiscopum, quod illa vice taceret, tempus ad hoc magis aptum et congruum expectando. Quo die lapso, de die in diem, bene per quinque dies et amplius, rex prefatus ipsum archiepiscopum < fraudulenter > et dolose decepit, consulens et suadens quod non five days and more, the aforesaid king veniret ad parliamentum set apud hospicium suum intrepidus expectaret, quoniam ut idem rex fideliter sibi promisit, in ipsius archiepiscopi not to come to parliament, but to wait calmly absencia nullum sibi deberet inferri dispendium vel gravamen. Verumtamen dictus rex in suo parliamento predicto ipsum archiepiscopum, ut prefertur absentem ac ad responsum suum nullo modo vocatum, absque quacumque causa

presence of the dukes of Lancaster and York, and of very many other lords, desiring, as it appeared, that his uncle the duke of trust the goodwill of the king himself, willingly swore on the holy sacrament of the would henceforth never condemn or harm the same duke of Gloucester for any deeds of his which he might be said to have committed against the person of the king himself, but would willingly and entirely pardon him every offence of his, if there were any. Afterwards however, notwithstanding this oath, the said king caused the aforesaid duke to be horribly and cruelly murdered for offences thus alleged, damnably incurring the guilt of perjury.

50. Also, after one of the knights of the shire of the said realm, who was their spokesman in parliament, publicly impeached the said lord Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, for certain offences committed against the royal majesty, as was untruthfully claimed, before the king and all the estates of the realm; although the same archbishop immediately, then and there, showed himself ready to reply to the things imputed to him in this way, and asked to be allowed to do this by the king, believing completely, as he said, that he could make clear his innocence in this matter; the same king, however, devising ways and means by which he could crush the same archbishop of Canterbury, and reduce his state to nothing, as at last the outcome of the affair made clear, speaking with a kind and cheerful face to the archbishop himself from his throne, advised and earnestly requested the same archbishop that he would be quiet at that time, awaiting a more appropriate and fitting time for this. When this day had passed, every day, for fully deceived the archbishop himself fraudulently and cunningly, advising and persuading him at his lodging, for, as the same king faithfully promised him, in the absence of the archbishop himself no wrong or injury would be inflicted on him. Nevertheless the said king in his aforesaid parliament condemned the

racionabili adjudicavit in exilium, ad ipsius regis archbishop himself, absent, as is said above, beneplacitum duraturum; omnia bona sua contra and not called to make his reply, to be leges regni ac omnem justiciam voluntarie confiscando. Cujus pretextu perjurium incurrebat. Volens preterea dictus rex suam in ea goods arbitrarily, against the laws of the realm parte versuciam palliare, per ipsius blanda colloquia cum dicto archiepiscopo frequencius habita tantam sibi < illatam > injuriam a se prorsus excutere nitebatur, et ad aliorum facta transferre. Unde dictus archiepiscopus habens cum eodem rege, et cum duce Norff' et aliis dominis et magnatibus dicti regni colloquium, dixit, aliqualiter lamentando, quod ipse non erat primus qui exilium pertulit, nec erit novissimus, quia [p. iii-422][col. a] putabat quod infra breve Norfolk and other lords and magnates of the dictus dux Norff', et alii domini ipsum archiepiscopum sequerentur. Et constanter asseruit dicto regi, quod omnium premissorum asperitas in caput ipsius regis debeat finaliter retorqueri. Ad quod idem rex vultu demisso, ac si inde fuisset attonitus, incontinenti respondit, quod bene putabat illud accidere posse, quodque declared to the said king, that the severity of per ligeos suos a regno suo deberet expelli. Et ulterius dixit idem rex, quod si illud forsan accideret, vellet ad locum ubi idem archiepiscopus fuerit se conferre. Et ut dictus archiepiscopus huic assercioni fidem adhiberet indubiam, ostendit idem rex archiepiscopo memorato quoddam magnum auri monile, juxta fimbriam tunice dicti regis subtus vestem ejus exteriorem miro modo firmatum, intimans eidem archiepiscopo pro constanti, quod cum illud monile sibi pro intersigno transmitteret, non differret illo venire ubi dictus archiepiscopus moraretur. Et ut idem archiepiscopus majorem haberet materiam confidendi in eo, misit ipse rex prefato archiepiscopo, consulens sibi, quod omnia jocalia sua, et alia ad capellam suam spectancia, archbishop for certain, that when he passed dicto regi secrete transmitteret pro salva custodia eorundem; ne colore dicti judicii super ipsius exilio redditi quisquam ad bona predicta manus injuriosas apponeret. Quo sub maxima confidencia facto, prefatus rex bona hujusmodi visa per eum in quibusdam coffris reponi fecit, et coffras illas serari, ac per unum de clericis ipsius archiepiscopi sigillari. Retentisque penes illum hujusmodi coffris, claves earum per eundem clericum archiepiscopo memorato remisit. Et postmodum coffras illas, dicto

banished during the king's pleasure, without any reasonable cause; confiscating all his and all justice. By reason of which he committed perjury. Furthermore, the said king, wishing to cover his deceit, endeavoured, by the placatory conversations he frequently had with the said archbishop, to deny completely any such injury inflicted upon him, and to impute it to the doing of others. As a result of which the said archbishop, in conversation with the same king, and with the duke of said realm, said, lamenting somewhat, that he was not the first to suffer exile, nor would he be the last, because [p. iii-422][col. a] he thought that within a short time the said duke of Norfolk and other lords would follow the archbishop himself. And he constantly all the aforesaid should finally rebound on the head of the king. At which the same king's face fell, as if he were shocked by this, and hereplied immediately that he thought that this could well happen, and that he could be expelled from his realm by his lieges. And furthermore the same king said that if that should by chance happen, he would wish to take himself to the place where the same archbishop was. And so that the said archbishop would give undoubted credence to this assertion, the same king showed the aforementioned archbishop a certain large collar of gold, fastened in an intricate way to the border of the tunic of the said king, under his outer clothing, informing the same that collar to him as a token, his coming to where the archbishop was would not be long after that. And so that the same archbishop would have greater reason for trusting in him, the king himself sent a message to the aforesaid archbishop, advising him to secretly pass all his jewels, and other things pertaining to his chapel, to the said king for their safekeeping; so that no-one would wrongfully lay hands on the aforesaid goods under pretext of the said judgment brought concerning his

archiepiscopo hoc penitus ignorante, frangi mandavit, et de bonis hujusmodi mox disposuit pro sue libito voluntatis. Promisit eciam idem rex fideliter dicto archiepiscopo, quod si pararet se ad portum de Hampton' ut regnum exiret, saltem intercessione regine protinus revocaret eundem. Et si contigerit ipsum archiepiscopum regnum exire, citra Pascha proxima extunc sequens, sine fallo, rediret in Angliam, neque suum archiepiscopatum amitteret ullo modo. Et hoc fideliter promisit, jurando super crucem dudum Sancti Thome martiris Cantuarien' archiepiscopi per ipsum regem corporaliter tactam. Quibus promissionibus non obstantibus, idem rex dictum archiepiscopum regnum exire coegit, et statim ad sedem apostolicam pro ipsius translacione transmisit litteras speciales. Sicque, et alias per fraudes et dolositates dicti regis, erat idem archiepiscopus ut homo bone fidei callide circumventus.

< Commissarii constituti ad deponendum Regem Ricardum. >

51. Et quoniam videbatur omnibus statibus illis, 51. The commissioners appointed to depose superinde singillatim aceciam communiter interogatis, quod ille cause criminum et defectuum erant satis sufficientes et notorie ad deponendum eundem regem, attenta eciam sua confessione super ipsius insufficiencia et aliis in well-known enough to depose the same king, dicta renunciacione et cessione contentis patenter emissa, omnes status predicti unanimiter consenserunt, ut ex habundanti ad deposicionem dicti regis procederetur, pro majori securitate et tranquillitate populi, ac regni estates unanimously decided that they would comodo faciendam. Unde status et communitates predicti certos commissarios, videlicet episcopum Assaven', abbatem Glaston', security of the people, and the welfare of the comitem Glouc', dominum de Berkeleye,

exile. When this had been done in the greatest confidence, the aforesaid king caused these goods, seen by him, to be deposited in certain chests, and those chests to be locked, and sealed by one of the clerks of the archbishop himself. While these chests were kept with him, he sent back their keys to the aforementioned archbishop by the same clerk. And afterwards, with the said archbishop entirely ignorant of this, he ordered those chests to be broken open, and he soon disposed of these goods at his own will. The same king also faithfully promised the said archbishop that if he prepared himself to leave the realm at the port of Southampton, he would at all events recall him immediately by the intercession of the queen. And if it should happen that the archbishop himself should leave the realm, he would without fail return to England before the following Easter, and would cetainly not lose his archbishopric. And he promised this faithfully, swearing on the cross once belonging to St Thomas the martyr, archbishop of Canterbury, which was physically touched by the king himself. Notwithstanding these promises, the same king forced the said archbishop to leave the kingdom, and immediately sent special letters for his translation to the apostolic see. And thus, and otherwise by the tricks and frauds of the said king, the same archbishop, like a man of good faith, was cunningly cheated.

[Deposition of King Richard].

King Richard. And since it seemed to all those estates, questioned individually and also together on that account, that those examples of his crimes and faults were sufficient and bearing in mind also his clearly expressed confession concerning his own inadequacy and other things contained in the said renunciation and cession, all the aforesaid thereupon proceed to the deposition of the said king, to be done for the greater peace and realm. Whereupon the aforesaid estates and

Thomam Erpyngham et Thomam Grey, milites, communities unanimously and with one et Willelmum Thirnyng, justiciarium, unanimiter et concorditer constituerunt et deputarunt publice tunc ibidem, ad ferendum sentenciam depositionis hujusmodi, et ad deponendum eundem Ricardum Regem ab omni Berkeley, Thomas Erpingham and Thomas dignitate, magestate, et honore regiis, vice, nomine, et auctoritate omnium statuum predictorum, prout in consimilibus casibus de antiqua consuetudine dicti regni fuerat observatum. Et mox iidem commissarii onus commissionis hujusmodi in se assumentes, et ante dictam sedem regalem pro tribunali sedentes, prehabita super hiis deliberacione aliquali, hujusmodi deposicionis sentenciam in scriptis redactam, vice, nomine, et auctoritate predictis tulerunt, et per dictum episcopum Assaven', concommissarium [col. b] et collegam these matters, brought this sentence of suum, eandem sentenciam de ipsorum commissariorum voluntate et mandato legi et recitari fecerunt, in hec verba:

52. 'In Dei nomine amen. Nos Johannes episcopus Assaven', Johannes abbas Glaston', Thomas comes Gloucestrie, Thomas dominus de Glastonbury, Thomas earl of Gloucester, Berkeleye, Thomas de Erpyngham, et Thomas Gray, milites, ac Willelmus Thirnyng, justiciarius, per pares et proceres regni Anglie spirituales et temporales, et ejusdem regni communitates omnes status ejusdem regni representantes, commissarii ad infra scripta specialiter deputati, pro tribunali sedentes, attentis perjuriis multiplicibus, ac crudelitate, aliisque quampluribus criminibus dicti Ricardi, circa regimen suum in regnis et dominio supradictis pro tempore sui regiminis commissis said Richard, committed and perpetrated et perpetratis, ac coram dictis statibus palam et publice propositis, exhibitis, et recitatis; que adeo fuerunt et sunt publica, notoria, manifesta, et famosa, quod nulla poterant aut possunt tergiversacione celari; necnon confessione predicti Ricardi, recognoscentis et reputantis, ac known, that they could not and cannot be veraciter ex certa sciencia sua indicantis, se fuisse et esse insufficientem penitus et inutilem ad regimen et gubernacionem regnorum et dominii predictorum et pertinenciarum eorundem, ac propter sua demerita notoria non

accord, then and there, publicly designated and appointed certain commissioners, that is, the bishop of St Asaph, the abbot of Glastonbury, the earl of Gloucester, lord Grey, knights, and William Thirning, justice, to carry out this sentence of deposition, and to depose the same King Richard from every royal dignity, majesty and honour, on behalf of, in the name of and by authority of all the aforesaid estates, as had been done in similar cases by the ancient custom of the said realm. Thereupon the same commissioners, taking the burden of this commission upon themselves, and sitting as a tribunal before the said throne, having had some deliberation on deposition, put down in writing, on behalf of, in the name of and by authority of the aforesaid, and by the will and command of the commissioners themselves caused the same sentence [col. b] to be read and recited by the said bishop of St Asaph, their cocommissioner and colleague, in these words: 52. 'In the name of God, amen. We, John, bishop of St Asaph, John, abbot of Thomas lord Berkeley, Thomas Erpingham, and Thomas Grey, knights, and William Thirning, justice, commissioners specially appointed to what is written below by the peers and nobles of the realm of England, spiritual and temporal, and the communities of the same realm representing all the estates of the same realm, sitting as a tribunal, having considered the multiple perjuries, and the cruelty, and the very many other crimes of the during his rule in the aforesaid realms and dominion at the time of his rule, and before the aforesaid estates openly and publicly set out, displayed, and related; which were and are so public, notorious, manifest and wellhidden by any evasion; and also the confession of the aforesaid Richard, acknowledging and considering, and truly of his certain knowledge indicating, that he was and is utterly incapable and useless for the rule and

inmerito deponendum, per ipsum Ricardum prius emissa, ac de voluntate et mandato suis coram dictis statibus publicata, eisque notificata because of his notorious faults - already et exposita in vulgari; prehabita super hiis et omnibus in ipso negocio actitatis coram statibus antedictis, et nobis deliberacione diligenti; vice, estates, and announced to them and explained nomine, et auctoritate nobis in hac parte commissa, ipsum Ricardum ex habundanti, et ad careful deliberation on these and all matters cautelam ad regimen et gubernacionem dictorum regnorum et dominii, juriumque et pertinenciarum eorundem, fuisse et esse inutilem, inhabilem, insufficientem penitus, et indignum; ac propter premissa, et eorum pretextu, ab omni dignitate et honore regiis, si quid dignitatis et honoris hujusmodi in eo remanserit, merito deponendum pronunciamus, decernimus et declaramus, et ipsum simili cautela deponimus per nostram diffinitivam sententiam in hiis scriptis omnibus et singulis. Dominis archiepiscopis, episcopis, et prelatis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, militibus, vassallis, et valvassoribus, ac ceteris hominibus dictorum regnorum et dominii, ac aliorum locorum ad dicta regna et dominium spectancium, subditis ac ligeis suis quibuscumque, inhibentes expresse, ne quisquam ipsorum de cetero prefato Ricardo, tanquam regi vel domino regnorum aut dominii predictorum, pareat quomodolibet vel intendat.'

dominion and their appurtenances, and acknowledged by Richard himself, and at his will and command made public before the said in the vernacular - worthy to be deposed; after discussed relating to this business had been held before the aforesaid estates, and before us, by the commission, name and authority given to us on this matter, we moreover as a further precaution pronounce, decree and declare Richard himself to have been and to be useless, incapable, utterly incompetent and unworthy, for the rule and government of the said realms and dominion, and of the laws and appurtenances of the same; and on account of the aforesaid, and by reason of them, deservedly to be deposed from every royal dignity and honour, if any of this dignity and honour should remain in him, and as a similar precaution we depose him by our definitive sentence in each and every one of these writings. Expressly prohibiting any of the lord archbishops, bishops and prelates, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, knights, vassals and vavasours, and the other men of the said realms and dominion, and of other places pertaining to the said realms and dominion, or any of his subjects and lieges, from henceforth obeying or attending to the aforesaid Richard, as king or lord of the aforesaid realms or dominion.'

government of the aforesaid realms and

[Henry of Lancaster claims the throne].

< Vendicatio regni facta per Henricum ducem Lanc'. >

53. Volentes autem preterea dicti status, ut nichil desit quod valeat aut debeat circa premissa requiri, superinde singillatim interrogati, personas easdem prius commissarios which could or ought to be required nominatos constituerunt procuratores suos conjunctim et divisim ad resignanda et reddenda questioned individually on that account, dicto Regi Ricardo homagium et fidelitatem prius sibi facta, et ad premissa omnia hujusmodi as commissioners as their proctors, together deposicionem et renunciacionem tangencia si oportuerit intimandum. Et confestim, ut constabat ex premissis et eorum occasione regnum Anglie cum pertinenciis suis vacare, prefatus Henricus dux Lancastrie de loco suo

53. The claiming of the realm made by Henry duke of Lancaster. Furthermore the said estates, wishing that nothing should be lacking concerning the aforesaid, and having been appointed the same persons previously named and separately to resign and yield up to the said King Richard the homage and fealty previously performed to him, and, if appropriate, to inform him of all the aforesaid things touching on this deposition and

surgens, et stans adeo erectus quod satis intueri posset a populo, et muniens se humiliter signo crucis in fronte et in pectore suo, Christi nomine consequences that the realm of England with primitus invocato, dictum regnum Anglie, sic ut its appurtenances was vacant, the aforesaid premittitur vacans, una cum corona ac omnibus membris et pertinenciis suis, vendicavit in lingua materna, sub hac forma verborum:

'In the name of Fadir, Sone, and Holy Gost, I, Henry of Lancastr' chalenge vis rewme of Yngland, [p. iii-423][col. a] and ye corone with alle ye membres and ye appurtenances, als I yt am disendit be right lyne of the blode comyng fro the gude lorde Kyng Henry therde, and thorghe yat ryght yat God of his grace hathe sent third, and through that right that God in his me, with helpe of my kyn and of my frendes to recover it; the whiche rewme was in poynt to be undone for defaut of governance and undoyng of the gode lawes.'

54. Post quam quidem vendicacionem et clameum, tam domini spirituales quam temporales, et omnes status ibidem presentes, singillatim et comuniter interrogati, quid de illa vendicacione et clameo senciebant. Iidem status, and challenge. The same estates, with the cum toto populo, absque quacumque difficultate whole people, unanimously and without any vel mora ut dux prefatus super eos regnaret unanimiter consenserunt. Et statim ut idem rex ostendit statibus regni signetum Ricardi Regis, sibi pro intersigno traditum sue voluntatis ut premittitur expressum, prefatus archiepiscopus dictum Henricum Regem per manum dexteram apprehendens, duxit eum ad sedem regalem predictam. Et postquam idem rex coram dicta sede genuflexus parumper orasset, idem archiepiscopus Cantuar', assistente sibi archiepiscopo Ebor' predicto, dictum regem posuit et sedere fecit in sede regali predicta, populo pre nimio gaudio fortiter applaudante. Et seated the said king on the aforesaid throne, mox dictus archiepiscopus Cantuarien', vix facto while the people applauded loudly in their silencio propter gaudium omnium circumstancium, collacionem modicam fecit et protulit in hec verba: 'Vir dominabitur populo'. R[eges]. IX (fn. iii-415-143-1)°[[The following

renunciation. And immediately, since it was clear from the aforesaid and their Henry duke of Lancaster, rising from his place, and standing upright so that he could be seen sufficiently by the people, and humbly covering himself with the sign of the cross on his forehead and his chest, having first invoked the name of Christ, claimed the realm of England, thus vacant as is said above, together with the crown and all its members and appurtenances, in his mother tongue, in this form of words:

'In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster claim this realm of England, [p. iii-423][col. a] and the crown with all its members and its appurtenances, inasmuch as I am descended by right line of the blood from the good lord King Henry the grace has sent me, with the help of my kin and of my friends in recovering it; which realm was at the point of ruin for lack of governance and destruction of the good laws.'

54. After this claim and challenge, both the lords spiritual and temporal, and all the estates there present, were questioned individually and jointly as to what they felt about this claim difficulty or delay agreed that the aforesaid duke should reign over them. And immediately the same king showed the estates of the realm the signet of King Richard, given to him as a token of his will as is mentioned above; and the aforesaid archbishop, taking the said King Henry by the right hand, led him to the aforesaid throne. And after the same king had prayed on bended knee before the said throne for a short while, the same archbishop of Canterbury, with the aforesaid archbishop of York assisting him, placed and very great joy. And soon the said archbishop of Canterbury, when silence had with difficulty been achieved because of the joy of all the bystanders, delivered and pronounced a

text has been deleted: cap]].

55. Hec sunt verba summi regis loquentis ad Samuelem, et docentis eundem, qualem deberet instituere ad gubernandum populum quando petebat sibi dari regem populus ille: et non inepte de domino nostro rege moderno dici possunt. Que verba si intime considerentur prebent nobis materiam magne consolacionis. Non enim Deus nobis comminatur sicut quondam per Ysai comminabatur populo, dicens consolation. For God does not threaten us as Ysai III: 'Dabo pueros principes eorum'. (fn. iii- he once threatened the people through Isaiah, 415-145-1) Set ex sua misericordia, qui cum irascitur misericordie recordatur, visitavit plebem suam; et non modo, ut prius fuerat, in regno pueri dominabuntur, set dicit dominus vobis quod 'vir dominabitur populo'. Poterat enim de rectoribus istius regni sive eorum quolibet preteritis in persona parvuli non inconvenienter dici illud apostoli, [[The following text has been deleted: Cor. XIII]]: 'Cum essem parvulus loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus'. (fn. iii-415-145-2) [Ecce ter] dicit apostolus, loquebatur ut parvulus, sapiebat, et cogitabat. Quantum ad loquelam, certum est quod parvulus inconstans est in loquendo, faciliter vera loquitur, faciliter falsa; faciliter verbo promittit, set quod promittit cito obliviscitur. Hec enim sunt inconveniencia et nimis molesta regno, nec possibile est regnum feliciter stare ubi hee condiciones regnant. Set ab istis defectibus liberatur regnum cum vir dominatur, ad virum namque pertinet circa linguam servare custodiam. Modo autem non puer dominatur set vir, de quo spero dici potest illud, Ecc. IX, 'Beatus vir qui non est lapsus in lingua'. (fn. iii-415-145-3) Post inquid apostolus, 'sapiebam ut parvulus'. Parvulus enim rules, of which I hope that, with Ecclesiasticus non sapit nisi placencia et adulatoria, arguentem 9, it can be said, 'Blessed is the man who does secundum veritatem non diligit, ymmo odit supra modum. [...] Quondam autem veritas fuerat subpeditata, ut nullus auderet loqui. Satis constat, et per hoc patet, quod ille qui regnabat sapiebat ut parvulus; vir enim non sapit talia, set and flattering, and does not love a person who sapienciam. Unde per Dei gratiam dici poterit de censures him according to the truth, but hates isto viro quod scribitur Eccl. IX: 'Beatus vir qui him beyond measure. Previously, however, the in sapiencia morabitur'. (fn. iii-415-145-4) Sicut truth was trampled underfoot, so that no-one enim puer diligit vanitatem, ita vir sapit

short sermon on these words: 'A man shall reign over the people'. Kings 9. (fn. iii-415-143-1)

55. These are the words of the High King talking to Samuel, and teaching the same what sort of person he ought to choose to govern the people, when those people were asking for a king to be given to them: and they cannot be said to be inappropriate to our lord the present king. These words, if they are considered deeply, present us with material for great saying, in Isaiah 3: 'And I will give children to be their princes'. (fn. iii-415-145-1) But in his mercy, he who when he is angry remembers mercy visited his people; and no longer, as was the case before, will boys rule in the realm, but the lord says to you that 'a man will rule the people'. For that saying of the apostle's in Corinthinans 13: 'When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child', (fn. iii-415-145-2) could not inappropriately be used of the past rulers of this realm of yours, or of any of them, in the person of a child. Behold, the apostle says three times, he spoke, he understood, and he thought as a child. With regard to speaking, it is certain that a child is inconstant in speaking, he easily speaks the truth, easily tells lies; he easily promises with a word, but what he promises he quickly forgets. These things are inappropriate and extremely damaging to a kingdom, nor is it possible for a kingdom where these conditions reign to stand happily. But the realm is liberated from these defects when a man rules, for it belongs to a man to keep a guard on his tongue. Now however not a boy but a man not make a slip with his tongue'. (fn. iii-415-145-3) Afterwards the apostle says, 'I understood as a child'. For a child does not understand anything except what is pleasing dared to speak. It is sufficiently well-known,

veritatem et sapienciam. Veritas ergo intrabit, adulacio recedat, que tot mala in regno nostro fecerunt, quia 'vir dominabitur populo', qui veritatem sapit < non qui vanitatem vel adulacionem > . Et dicitur, 'Cogitabam ut parvulus'. Parvulus enim solum studet facere omnia voluntarie, non ex racione. [col. b] Cum igitur puer regnat, voluntas sola regnat, racio exul. Ubi vero voluntas regnat et racio recessit, constancia fugata est, et ita iminet [memb. 17] magnum periculum. Ab isto periculo liberati sumus, quia 'vir dominabitur' : ille scilicet, qui dicit non sicut parvulus set sicut racione perfectus, 'Non veni facere voluntatem meam set only desires to do everything wilfully, not ejus qui misit me', scilicet Dei. Et ideo de viro isto non solum dicemus, quod in sapiencia morabitur, set eciam ut vir et non < ut > puer in sensu cogitabit circumspeccionem Dei, id est circumquaque diligenter aspiciat ut Dei voluntas danger [memb. 17] threatens. From this non sua fiat. Et ita loco pueri voluntarie lascivientis vir modo dominabitur in populo: et iste vir est talis quod dicetur, 'Regnabit rex, et sapiens erit, et faciet judicium et justiciam in terra'. (fn. iii-415-145-5)

56. Qua collacione completa, dictus dominus Rex Henricus ad ponendos suorum subditorum animos in quiete, dixit publice tunc ibidem hec verba:

'Sires, I thank God and yowe spirituel and temporel and alle the astates of the lond; and do yowe to wyte, it es noght my wille that noman thynk yt be waye of conquest I wold disherit any man of his heritage, franches, or other ryghtes that hym aght to have, no put hym out of that that he has and has had by the gude lawes and custumes of the rewme; except thos persons that has had by the good laws and customs of the has ben agan the gude purpose and the commune profyt of the rewme.'

and through this it is plain, that he who ruled understood as a child: for a man does not understand such things, but wisdom. Whence through the grace of God what is written in Ecclesiasticus 9 may be said of that man: 'Blessed is he who dwells in wisdom'. (fn. iii-415-145-4) For, just as a boy loves vanity, in the same way a man understands truth and wisdom. Truth therefore will enter, let flattery draw back, which has caused so many evils in our realm, because a man will rule the people, who understands truth, not vanity or flattery. And it is said, 'I thought as a child'. For a child through reason. [col. b] When therefore a boy reigns, will alone reigns, and reason is exiled. Where indeed will reigns and reason draws back, constancy is put to flight, and thus great danger we have been freed, because a man rules: he, that is, who rules not as a child but as one perfect in reason: 'I did not come to do my will, but that of him who sent me', that is, God's. And therefore of that man we will not only say, that he will live in wisdom, but also that, as a man and not as a boy, he will reflect in his understanding on the circumspection of God, that is, let him look carefully on all sides, so that God's will, not his own, is done. And thus in the place of a boy wilfully running riot, a man will now rule over the people: and that man is such that it will be said, 'a king shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the earth'. (fn. iii-415-145-5) 56. When this sermon was finished, the said lord King Henry, to put his subjects' minds at rest, then and there publicly said these words:

'My lords, I thank God and you, the lords spiritual and temporal, and all the estates of the land; and know that it is not my will that anyone should think that by means of conquest I wish to disinherit any man of his inheritance, franchise or any other rights that he ought to have, or to expel him from what he has and realm; excepting those persons who have acted contrary to the good purpose and the common advantage of the realm.'

57. Et protinus hoc attento, quod [...] prius vacante sede regali per cessionem et deposicionem predictis [sic: read 'predictam'] cessavit omnis potestas quorumcumque justiciariorum, vicecomitum, et aliorum officiariorum ubique per regnum, ne exhibicio justicie in gravamen populi dilacionis incomodo very place his principal officers, and also subjaceret, suos officiaros principales, aceciam justiciarios deputavit ibidem, juramento consueto regi prestito per singulos eorundem. Et justice should be subject to the inconvenience fuit ilico de dicti regis mandato publice proclamatum ibidem, quod die lune proximo post festum Sancti Michaelis parliamentum ibidem teneri et celebrari deberet: quodque die lune proximo extunc sequente, videlicet in festo Michaelmas, parliament would be held and Sancti Edwardi, coronacio dicti regis fieret apud celebrated there: and on the next Monday after Westmonasterium: et quod omnes illi qui vendicare voluerint aliquod servicium se in dicta October], the coronation of the said king coronacione facturos, et eo pretextu aliquid sibi deberi, venirent ad Albam Aulam palacii, coram those who wished to claim that they should senescallo, constabulario, et marescallo Anglie, die sabbati proximo ante diem parliamenti predicti, quod in ea parte justum fuerit petituri, quibus plena justicia fieret in petitis. Quantum autem ad abbreviacionem assignacionis diei parliamenti predicti, fuerat pro parte dicti regis protestacio talis facta: videlicet, quod non erat intencionis sue ut statibus regni sui prejudicium afferatur exinde, nec quod hoc trahatur de cetero With regard however, to the shortness of the in exemplum; quinymmo, quod abbrevacio illa fiebat tantummodo pro commodo et utilitate regni; et specialiter, ut quorumcumque ligeorum was made on behalf of the king, namely, that it suorum parcatur laboribus et expensis, quodque super gravaminibus populi celere possit remedium adhiberi. Quibus omnibus sic peractis, rex de sede sua regali surgens, et populum vultu hillari et benigno respiciens, abinde populo congaudente recessit, et in Alba Aula predicta communibus regni, proceribus, ac generosis illuc in multitudine maxima congregatis, eodem die solempnissime celebravit.

57. And immediately this had been attended to, because previously with the throne vacant because of the aforesaid cession and deposition, all power of all justices, sheriffs, or other officers had ceased everywhere throughout the realm, he appointed in that justices, with the customary oath made to the king by each of them, lest the exercise of of delay, to the misfortune of the people. And it was immediately publicly proclaimed there by command of the said king, that on the next Monday [6 October] after the feast of that, that is on the feast of St Edward [13 would take place at Westminster: and that all perform some service in the said coronation, or that anything was owing to them for that reason, should come to the White Hall of the palace, before the steward, constable and marshal of England, on the Saturday before the day of the aforesaid parliament, to ask for what was just in that matter, and full justice would be done to them in what they requested. time before the day designated for the aforesaid parliament, the following declaration was not his intention that this should be in any way prejudicial to the estates of his realm, nor that it should henceforth be taken as as example; but rather, that that shortness was purely for the welfare and advantage of the realm; and especially, that the effort and expenses of each of his lieges should be spared, and that a remedy could swiftly be applied to the hardships of the people. When all these things had been dealt with in this way, the king, rising from his throne, and looking at the people with a cheerful and kindly face, went from there, with the people rejoicing greatly, into the aforesaid White Hall, where the commons of the realm, the magnates, and the gentlemen had gathered in an immense crowd, and on that same day celebrated most solemnly.

58. Et postmodum, die mercurii proximo extunc 58. And afterwards, on the next Wednesday sequente, dicti procuratores, ut premittitur, deputati, ad presenciam dicti Ricardi nuper regis appointed as is said above, approached the infra dictam turrim existentis prout eis injunctum fuerat accesserunt, et prefatus dominus Willelmus Thirnyng, justiciarius, pro se et dictis sociis et comprocuratoribus suis nomine omnium statuum et populi predictorum, admissionem dicte renunciacionis, [p. iii-424][col. a] ac modum, causam, et formam sentencie deposicionis hujusmodi eidem Ricardo Richard of the acceptance of the said notificavit, ac plenius declaravit. Et statim homagium et fidelitatem eidem Ricardo nuper regi, ut premittitur, facta resignavit et reddidit, sub hiis verbis.

Les paroles qe William Thirnyng parla a Monsire Richard nadgairs Roy d'Engleterre, a le my lord Richard, formerly king of England, in toure de Loundres, en sa chambre, le mesqerdy prochein apres le fest de Seint Michell l'archaunchelle, s'ensuent:

< Les paroles qe Willyam Thirning parla a Monsire Richard nadgairs roi d'Englettere. >

59. Sire, it is wele knowe to yowe, that ther was a parlement somond of alle the states of the reaume for to be at Westmynstre, and to begynne on the teusday in the morue of the fest of Seint Michelle the archaungelle that was yesterday, by cause of the whiche sommons alle begin on the Tuesday, on the morrow of the the states of this londe were ther gadyrd, the whiche states hole made thes same persones that yesterday, because of which summons all the ben comen here to yowe nowe her procuratours, estates of this land were gathered there, and and gafen hem fulle auctorite and power, and charged hem, for to say the wordes that we salle proctors the same people who have come here say to yowe in her name and on thair be halve: that is to wytten, the bysshope of Seint Assa for ersbisshoppes and bysshoppes; the abbot of Glastenbury for abbotes and priours, and alle other men of holy chirche seculers and rewelers; the erle of Gloucestre for dukes and erles; the lord of Berkeley for barones and banerettes; Sire the other men of holy church, secular and Thomas Irpyngham, chaumberleyn, for alle the bachilers and commons of this lond be southe; Sire Thomas Grey for alle the bachilers and commons by northe; and my felawe Johan Markham and me, for to come wythe hem for alle thes states. And so, Sire, thes wordes and

then following [1 October], the said proctors, presence of the said Richard, formerly king, who was then within the said Tower, as they had been commanded, and the aforesaid lord William Thirning, justice, speaking for himself and his said companions and coproctors in the name of all the aforesaid estates and the people, informed the same renunciation, [p. iii-424][col. a] and the means, cause and form of this sentence of deposition, and more fully explained them. And immediately he resigned and yielded up the homage and fealty performed, as is said above, to the same Richard, the former king, in these words.

The words which William Thirning spoke to his chamber in the Tower of London, on the Wednesday after the feast of St Michael the archangel, follow:

[King Richard is informed of his deposition].

59. The words which William Thirning spoke to my lord Richard, formerly king of England. My lord, it is well known to you that a parliament of all the estates of the realm was summoned to be held at Westminster, and to feast of St Michael the archangel, which was these estates unanimously appointed as their to you now, and gave them full authority and power, and charged them to say the words that we shall say to you in their name and on their behalf: namely, the bishop of St Asaph for the archbishops and bishops; the abbot of Glastonbury for the abbots and priors, and all regular; the earl of Gloucester for the dukes and earls; the lord Berkeley for the barons and bannerets; Sir Thomas Erpingham, chamberlain, for all the bachelors and commons in the south of this land; lord Thomas Grey for all the bachelors and

the doyng that we salle say to yowe is not onlyche our wordes bot the wordes and the doynges of alle the states of this lond and our charge and in her name. And he answerd and sayd, that he wyst wele that we wold noght say bot os we were charged. Sire, ye remembre yowe wele, that on moneday in the fest of Seint Michelle the archaungelle, ryght here in this chaumbre, and in what presence, ye renounsed and cessed of the state of kyng, and of lordesshipe and of alle the dignite and wirsshippe that longed ther to, and assoiled alle your lieges of her ligeance and obeisance that longed to yowe, uppe the fourme that is contened in the same renunciacioun and cessioun, whiche ye redde your self by your mouthe, and affermed it by your othe and by your owne writyng. Opon whiche ye made and ordeyned your procuratours the ersbysshoppe of York, and the bysshoppe of Hereford, for to notifie and declare in your name thes renunciacioun and cessioun at Westmynstre to alle the states and alle the poeple that was ther gadyrd by cause of the sommons forsayd; the whiche thus don yesterday by thes lordes your procuratours, and wele herde and understondene, thes renunciacioun and cessioun ware pleineliche and freliche accepted and fulliche agreed by alle the states and poeple forsayd. And over this, Sire, at the instance of alle thes states and poeple ther ware certein articles of defautes in your governance redde there: and tho wele herd and pleineliche understondene to alle the states forsaide, hem thoght hem so trewe and so notorie and knowen, that by tho causes and by mo other, os thei sayd, your government were read there: and when and havyng consideracioun to your owne wordes in your owne renunciacioun and cessioun, that ye were not worthy, no sufficeant, considered that they were so true, and so ne able, for to governe for your owne demerites, notorious and well-known, that for these os it is more pleinerlyche contened ther in, hem thoght that was resonable and cause for to depose yowe, and her commissaries that their made and ordeined, os it is of record ther, declared and decreed, and adjugged yowe for to be deposed and pryved, and in dede deposed yowe and pryved yowe of the astate of kyng, and of the lordesshipe contened in the renunciacoun [sic: read 'renunciacioun'] and cessioun forsayd, [col. b] and of alle the dignite declared, decreed and adjudged that you

commons in the north; and my fellow John Markham and me, to come with them on behalf of all these estates. And so, my lord, these words, and the deeds that we shall tell you of, are not only our words, but the words and deeds of all the estates of this land, and it is our charge and done in their name. And he answered by saying that he knew well that we would speak only as we were charged. Lord, you will remember well, that on Monday, on the feast of St Michael the archangel, here in this chamber - and you will remember well in whose presence - you renounced and yielded up the estate of king, and the lordship, and all the dignity and worship that belong thereto, and you absolved all your lieges of their allegiance and obedience which they owed to you, according to the form which is contained in the same renunciation and cession, which you read yourself with your own mouth, and affirmed by your oath and by your own hand. Whereupon you made and ordained the archbishop of York and the bishop of Hereford your proctors, to notify and proclaim this renunciation and cession in your name at Westminster to all the estates and all the people that were gathered there because of the aforesaid summons; when this was done yesterday by these lords your proctors, and was fully heard and understood, this renunciation and cession were clearly and freely accepted and fully agreed by all the aforesaid estates and people. And furthermore, my lord, at the request of all these estates and people certain articles concerning faults in they had been fully heard and clearly understood by all the aforesaid estates, they reasons and for many others, as they said, and considering your own words in your own renunciation and cession, that you were not worthy, or competent, or able, to govern, through your own faults, as is more clearly contained therein, and they considered that that was a reason and grounds for deposing you, and their commissioners, whom they appointed and ordained (as is on record there)

that longed ther to. And we, procuratours to alle indeed depose and deprive you of the estate of thes states and poeple forsayd, os we be charged king, and of the lordship specified in the by hem, and by hir autorite gyffen us, and in her aforesaid renunciation and cession, [col. b] name, yelde yowe uppe, for alle the states and poeple forsayd, homage liege and feaute, and alle ligeance, and alle other bondes, charges, and we, proctors to all these aforesaid estates and services that longe ther to. And that non of alle thes states and poeple fro this tyme forward ne bere yowe feythe, ne do yowe obeisance os to thar kyng.

60. And he answerd and seyd, that he loked not ther after; bot he sayde, that after alle this he hoped that is cosyn wolde be goode lord to hym. he hoped that his cousin would be a good lord

[memb. 16]

Coronacioun du Roy Henry.

roy et confessour, le dit Roy Henry feust coronez a Westm', ove toute la solempnitee et honour q'affiert; et certeins seignours et autres firent severalment leur service a mesme le Roy Henry solonc lour tenures, en manere acustume a temps de tiele coronacioun.

#### Presentacioun du parlour.

62. Item, le maresdy ensuant, les communes du roialme presenterent au roy Monsire Johan Cheyne pur lour parlour et procuratour en parlement, a qi le roi s'agrea bien. Et puis le dit Monsire Johan fist humblement requeste au roy, parliament, whom the king readily accepted. q'il purroit faire protestacioun, qe s'il dirroit riens par ignorance, necligence, ou autre voie qe of the king that he might make protestation n'estoit assentuz par ses compaignons, ou qe serroit displesance au roy, ou encontre soun roial estat ou regalie, qe le roy luy vorroit avoir ent pur excusez; et q'il se purroit corriger et amender par ses ditz compaignons; et q'ils purroient avoir lour libertee en parlement, come ils ont ewe devant ces heures; et ge ceste protestacioun soit entrez de record en rolle du parlement. Quele requeste sembla au roy

and wyrsshippe, and of alle the administracioun should be deposed and deprived, and they did and of all the dignity and worship, and of all the administration that pertained to them. And people, as we are commanded by them, and by their authority given to us, and in their name, yield up to you, on behalf of all the aforesaid estates and people, liege homage and fealty, and all allegiance, and all the other bonds, obligations and services that pertain to it. And none of these estates and people will from this time forth bear you faith or do obedience to you as their king.

> 60. And he answered by saying that he did not look to the future; but he said that after all this to him.

[The coronation of Henry IV].

61. Le lundy, qe feust le jour de Seint Edward le 61. The coronation of King Henry. On the Monday, which was the day of St Edward, king and confessor [13 October], the said King Henry was crowned at Westminster, with all appropriate solemnity and honour; and certain lords and others individually performed their service to the same King Henry in accordance with their tenures, in the accustomed manner at the time of such a coronation.

[The presentation of the speaker].

62. Presentation of the speaker. Also, the following Tuesday [14 October], the commons of the realm presented to the king Sir John Cheyne as their speaker and proctor in And then the said Sir John humbly requested that if he said anything through ignorance, negligence, or in any other way which his companions had not assented to, or which displeased the king, or went against his royal estate or regality, that the king should hold him excused for it; and that he could be corrected and set right by his said companions; and that they could have their liberty in parliament, as they had had previously; and

honeste et raisonable, et l'ad ottroiez.

that this protestation should be entered as a matter of record on the roll of parliament. This request seemed to the king to be honest and reasonable, and he agreed to it.

[The roll continues for approximately 75 more pages]

# **Footnotes**

- <u>iii-415-9-1</u>. 1 Maccabes vi.57
- <u>iii-415-11-1</u>. Joshua xi.10
- <u>iii-415-111-1</u>. Magna Carta, c. xxxix
- iii-415-143-1. 1 Samuel ix.17
- <u>iii-415-145-1</u>. Isaiah. iii.4
- <u>iii-415-145-2</u>. 1 Corinthians xiii.11
- <u>iii-415-145-3</u>. Ecclesiasticus. xxv.11
- iii-415-145-4. Ecclesiasticus. ix.13
- <u>iii-415-145-5</u>. Jeremiah xxiii.5

p. v-373]

[col. a]

## PARLIAMENTUM DE ANNO XXXIX ° HENRICI SEXTI.

[memb. 1]

1. Memorandum quod die martis, septimo die Octobris, anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum tricesimo nono, ipso domino rege in [camera] depicta infra palacium suum Westm', regali solio residente; presentibus eciam quampluribus prelatis et proceribus, et communibus regni Anglie, ad parliamentum tunc ibidem summonitum auctoritate regia convocatis; venerabilis pater Georgius episcopus Exon', cancellarius Anglie, causam summonicionis parliamenti predicti, de mandato ipsius domini regis, notabiliter declaravit, assumens pro suo themate: Congregate populum, sanctificate ecclesiam. Johelis secundo. (fn. v-373-6-1) Collacione per prefatum cancellarium notabiliter facta et completa, idem cancellarius, communibus 'Gather together the people and make holy the regni tunc ibidem convocatis, nomine regio firmiter dedit in mandatis, quod in domo sua communi et consueta in crastino convenirent, et unum prelocutorem suum eligerent ac sic electum eidem domino regi presentarent. Et ulterius idem cancellarius declaravit, qualiter idem dominus rex, pro justicia conqueri volentibus celerius adhibenda, certos receptores et triatores peticionum in dicto parliamento exhibendarum constituit et assignavit, in forma sequenti.

- 2. Receivours dez peticions d'Engleterre, Irland, Gales et Escoce:
  - Sire Robert Kirkeham
  - Sir Johan Faukes
  - Sire Johan Chamburleyn.
- 3. Receivours dez peticions de Gascoigne, et d'autres terres et paiss de par de la, et des Isles:
  - Sire Richard Wetton

## THE PARLIAMENT OF THE THIRTY-NINTH YEAR OF HENRY VI.

[The opening of parliament.] 1. Be it remembered that on Tuesday, 7 October, in the thirty-ninth year of the reign of King Henry, the sixth since the conquest [1460], with the lord king sitting on the royal throne in the Painted Chamber within his palace of Westminster; there being also present many prelates and nobles and the commons of the kingdom of England, assembled at the parliament then summoned there by royal authority; the venerable father George, bishop of Exeter, chancellor of England, by order of the lord king memorably announced the reason for summoning the aforesaid parliament, taking as his theme: church'. Joel, chapter II. (fn. v-373-6-1) When the speech had been memorably delivered and finished by the aforementioned chancellor, the same chancellor firmly ordered the commons of the kingdom then summoned there, in the king's name, to assemble on the following day in their common house as usual and elect one of their number as speaker; and present the man thus elected to the same lord king. And the same chancellor moreover announced that the same lord king, so that justice might be done more swiftly to those wishing to complain, had appointed and assigned certain receivers and triers of the petitions to be presented in the said parliament, in the following form.

- 2. Receivers of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland:
  - Sir Robert Kirkham
  - Sir John Faukes
  - Sir John Chamberlain.
- 3. Receivers of petitions from Gascony, and the other lands and countries overseas, and from the Channel Islands:

- Sire Johan Pemberton
- Sire Richard Freston.

Et ceux qi voillent deliverer lour petitions les baillent parentre cy et le lunedy proschein avenir. should deliver them between now and

#### [col. b]

- 4. Et sount assignes triours des peticions d'Engleterre, Irland, Gales et Escoce:
  - L'ercevesqe de Canterburs
  - L'evesqe de Loundres
  - L'eversqe de Wircestr'
  - L'evesqe de Norwych
  - Le count de Warwyk
  - Le viscount de Bourgchier
  - L'abbe de Malmesbury
  - Le priour de Seint Johan Jerusalem en Engleterre
  - Le seignour Grey de Ruthyn
  - Le seignour de Dacre
  - Le seignour Fitz Waryn,
  - Sire Piers Ardeyn
  - Johan Markham
  - Richard Davers [sic: read 'Danvers']
- toutz ensemble, ou sis de prelates et seignours avauntditz, appellez a eux lez chaunceler et tresorer, et auxi les serjantes du roy, quaunt y bosoignera. Et tiendront lour place en la chambre de chamberleyn, pres la chambre depeintee.
- 5. Et sount assignes triours des peticions de Gascoigne, et d'autres terres et paiis de par dela, et des Isles:
  - L'evesqe de Nicoll

- Sir Richard Wetton
- Sir John Pemberton
- Sir Richard Freston.

And those who wish to submit their petitions Monday next.

- 4. And the following are assigned triers of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland:
  - The archbishop of Canterbury
  - The bishop of London
  - The bishop of Worcester
  - The bishop of Norwich
  - The earl of Warwick
  - The Viscount Bourchier
  - The abbot of Malmesbury
  - The prior of St John of Jerusalem in England
  - Lord Grey of Ruthin
  - Lord Dacre
  - Lord Fitzwarin
  - Sir Piers Ardeyn
  - John Markham
  - Richard Danvers
- to act all together, or at least six of the aforesaid prelates and lords, consulting with the chancellor and treasurer, and also the king's serjeants, when necessary. And they shall hold their session in the chamberlain's room, near the Painted Chamber.
- 5. And the following are assigned triers of petitions for Gascony, and the other lands and countries overseas, and for the Channel Islands:
  - The bishop of Lincoln

- L'evesqe de Ely
- Le count de Saresburs
- Le priour de Coventr'
- Le seignour de Scrop'
- Le seignour de Bonevyle
- Le seignour de Berners
- Le seignour de Rugemond Grey
- Walter Moyle
- Richard Nedeham
- toutz ensemble, ou quatre dez prelates et seignours avauntditz, appellez a eux lez chaunceler et tresorer, et auxi lez serjantes du roy, quaunt y bosoignera. Et tiendront lour place en la chambre marcolf.

## Eleccio prelocutoris.

6. Memorandum quod die veneris, quarto die presentis parliamenti, communes regni Anglie in presenti parliamento convocati per quosdam de sociis suis declarabant domino cancellario Anglie, qualiter ipsi, juxta mandatum primo die parliamenti eis injunctum, elegerunt Johannem Grene prelocutorem suum; humillime deprecando, ut idem cancellarius electionem illam celsitudini regie intimaret; et quando eidem domino regi eundem prelocutorem sibi presentari chancellor would inform his royal highness of placeret. Intimacione de hujusmodi eleccione dicto domino regi [p. v-374][col. a] per prefatum lord king to have the same speaker presented cancellarium facta, prefatis communibus, ex parte to him. When the said lord king had been regia responsum fuit, quod eodem die prelocutorem suum predictum coram dicto domino rege presentarent.

### Presentacio prelocutoris.

7. Item, eodem die, prefati communes coram prefato domino rege in pleno parliamento comparentes, presentaverunt prefatum Johannem Grene pro prelocutore suo: qui quidem Johannes, plura de sui insufficiencia proponens, prefato domino regi instantissime supplicabat < ipsum > de predicte occupacionis onere excusari. Cui, de

- The bishop of Ely
- The earl of Salisbury
- The prior of Coventry
- Lord Scrope
- Lord Bonville
- **Lord Berners**
- Lord Richmond Gray
- Walter Moyle
- Richard Nedeham
- to act all together, or at least four of the aforesaid prelates and lords, consulting with the chancellor and treasurer, and also the king's serjeants, when necessary. And they shall hold their session in the Marcolf Chamber.

The election of the speaker.

6. Be it remembered that on the Friday, the fourth day of the present parliament, the commons of the kingdom of England assembled in the present parliament, through certain of their colleagues, announced to the lord chancellor of England that they, according to the order given them on the first day of parliament, had elected John Green as their speaker; humbly praying that the same that election, and ask when it would please the notified of this election [p. v-374][col. a] by the aforementioned chancellor, an answer was given to the aforementioned commons on the royal behalf, that they should present their speaker before the said lord king on the same day.

The presentation of the speaker.

7. Item, on the same day the aforementioned commons, appearing before the said lord king in full parliament, presented the said John Green as their speaker: which John, propounding his many inadequacies, immediately requested the aforementioned lord king to excuse him from the burden of the mandato regio, per prefatum dominum cancellarium extitit responsum quod prefatus dominus rex, eleccionem dicti prelocutoris fore unitatis et concordie intelligens, quamvis ipse inhabilem se reddiderit, ipsum habiliorem reputavit firmiter injungendo eidem ut onus predictum super se assumeret. Quapropter idem Johannes prefato domino regi humillime exorabat, quatenus omnia et singula per ipsum in parliamento predicto, nomine dicte communitatis proferenda et declaranda, sub tali posset protestacione proferre et declarare, quod si ipse aliqua sibi per prefatos socios suos injuncta, aliter the aforesaid parliament in the name of the quam ipsi concordati, fuerint, aut in addendo vel omittendo declararet, ea sic declarata per predictos socios suos corrigere posset et emendare; et quod protestacio sua hujusmodi in rotulo parliamenti inactitaretur; quod ei concessum fuit: et ulterius quatenus communes predicti, omnibus libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus suis, ita libere et large, prout temporibus progenitorum ipsius domini regis, hujusmodi libertatibus et liberis consuetudinibus uti et gaudere consueverunt, uti et gaudere possent: et hoc eis extitit largitum.

Repellacio totius parliamenti apud Coventr' ultimo tenti.

8. Memorandum quod quedam peticio exhibita fuit dicto domino regi in presenti parliamento per prefatos communes, sub eo qui sequitur tenore:

To the kyng oure soverayne lord prayen the commens in this present parlement assembled that where dyvers sedicious and evill disposed persones, noo regard havyng to the drede of God, ne to the hurt of the prosperous estate of youre moost noble persone, ne of this youre realme, synesterly and ymportunely laboured youre highnes to somon and calle a parlement to be holden at youre citee of Coventre, the .xx. day of Novembre, the yere of youre noble reigne .xxxviij. ti , oonly to thentent to distroy certayne of the grete, noble and faithfull true lordes and estates of youre blode, and other of youre true liege people of this youre realme, for the grete rancour, hate and malice, that the seid sedicious persones of long tyme had avenst theym, and of

aforesaid responsibility. To whom, on the king's orders, the reply was made by the aforementioned chancellor that the aforementioned lord king, understanding that the election of the said speaker had been unanimous and harmonious, even though he declared himself unfit, considered him all the more fit and firmly ordered him to undertake the aforesaid charge. Whereupon the same John most humbly requested the aforementioned lord king that each and every thing to be proposed or announced by him in said commons, he might propose and announce under the protestation that if he should say anything enjoined upon him by the aforementioned colleagues other than they had agreed, either by adding or omitting matter, that what he had said might be corrected or amended by his aforesaid colleagues; and that his protestation might be enacted in this way on the roll of the aforesaid parliament, which was granted to him: and moreover that the aforesaid commons might use and enjoy all their liberties and free customs as freely and liberally as they had been accustomed to use and enjoy them in the times of the progenitors of the lord king: and this was granted them. The repeal of the whole parliament last held at

Coventry.

8. Be it remembered that a petition was presented to the said lord king in the present parliament by the aforementioned commons, the tenor of which follows:

To the king our sovereign lord, the commons assembled in this present parliament pray that various seditious and ill-disposed persons, having no regard for the fear of God, or for the harm of the prosperous estate of your most noble person, or of this your realm, in a malicious and importunate manner urged your highness to summon and call a parliament to be held at your city of Coventry, on 20 November, in the thirty-eighth year of your noble reign [1459], with the sole intention of destroying certain of the great, noble and faithful true lords and estates of your blood, and others of your true liege people of this your realm, because of the great rancour, hatred and malice that the said seditious

their insaciable covetyse to have the landes, enheritaunces, possessions, offices and goodes of the seid lordis, and true lieges; by which labour, certain actes, statutes and ordenauncez, ayenst all good feith and conscience, were made in the seid last parlement, to destroy fynally youre seid true lordes, states and liege people, and their issuez, aswell innocents as other, and their heires perpetuelly; which parlement was unduely sommoned, and a grete parte of the knyghts for dyvers shyres of this youre realme, and many citezeins and burgeys for dyvers citees and burghes apperyng in the same, were named, retourned and accepted, som of theym without dieu and free election, and som of theym withoute any election, ayenst the cours of youre lawes and the libertees of the commens of this youre realme, by the mean and labour of the seid sedicious persones; wheruppon hath ensued many grete jeoperdies and inconveniences, full nere to [col. b] the ruyne and universall subversion of this youre seid realme.

Please it youre highnes to considre the premisses and that the seid lordes, states and other youre lieges, ayenst whome the seid acts, statutis and ordenaunces were made, have ever had grete and feithfull love to the preferryng and suertee of the welfare of youre moost roiall persoon, accordyng to their duetee; and that there were fewe acts or ordynaunce in the seid last parlement holden at Coventre, made for the wele of you, ne of youre seid realme, but the more parte of the actis, statutes and ordynauncez made in the same were laboured by the conspiryng, procuryng and excitacion of the seid evill disposed persones for [...] the introduction and accomplisshement of their rancour, and inordinate covetyse; to ordeyne, enacte and establissh, by thavis and assent of the lordes spirituell and temporell in this the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in present parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, that the said parlement holden at youre seid citee of Coventre be voide and taken for noo parlement; and that all acts, statutis and ordenaunces, by the auctorite of the same made, be reversed, adnulled, cassed, irrite, repeled, revoked, voide and of noo force ne effect.

Qua quidem peticione, in parliamento predicto

persons had long felt towards them, and because of their insatiable greed for the lands. hereditaments, possessions, offices and goods of the said lords and true lieges; by which urging, certain acts, statutes and ordinances were made in the said last parliament against all good faith and conscience, to completely destroy your said true lords, estates and liege people, and their issue, innocents as well as others, and their heirs perpetually; which parliament was improperly summoned, and a great number of the knights for various shires of this your realm and many citizens and burgesses for various cities and boroughs who attended the same, were named, returned and accepted without proper and free election in some cases, and without any election at all in others, contrary to legal process and the liberties of the commons of this your realm, by the means and efforts of the said seditious persons; whereupon many great dangers and troubles have ensued, bringing [col. b] the near ruin and complete overthrow of this your said realm.

May it please your highness to consider the foregoing, and that the said lords, estates and other of your lieges, against whom the said acts, statutes and ordinances were made, have ever had a great and faithful love for the promotion and safety of the welfare of your most royal person, according to their duty; and that there were few acts or ordinances made for the weal of you or of your realm in the said last parliament held at Coventry, but most of the acts, statutes and ordinances made in the same were urged by the conspiracy, instigation and incitement of the said illdisposed persons to initiate and accomplish their rancour and inordinate greed; to ordain, enact and decree, by the advice and assent of this present parliament, and by authority of the same, that the said parliament held at your said city of Coventry is invalid and not to be considered a parliament; and that all the acts, statutes and ordinances made by authority of the same be reversed, annulled, cancelled, invalidated, repealed, revoked, void and of no force or effect.

When this petition had been read, heard and

lecta, audita et plenius intellecta, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in dicto parliamento existencium, et ad requisicionem communitatis predicte, respondebatur eidem in forma sequenti:

Le roy le voet.

Pro Waltero Clerk, uno burgense pro presenti parliamento.

9. Item, quedam alia peticio exhibita fuit eidem domino regi, in parliamento predicto, per prefatos communes, sub eo qui sequitur tenore:

To the kyng oure soverayne lord prayen the commons for alsmoch that grete delaye hath been pray that there has been great delay in this in this parlement, be that that Waulter Clerk, burgeyes of Chypenham in the shire of Wiltes', which com by your high commaundement to this youre present parlement, and attendyng to the same in the house for the commens accustumed. the fredome of which commens soo called, hath ever afore this tyme been and oweth to be, the same commens to have fre commyng, goyng, and that the same commons have free coming, their abidyng; ayens which fredome the seid Waulter was, after his said commyng, and duryng the said Walter was, after his said arrival and this your present parlement, arested at your sute, for a fyne to be made to youre highnes, and inprisoned in the counter of London, and from thens remoeved in to your escheker, and then committed into your prysone of Flete, aswell for .xl.li. in which he was condempned to < youre highnes, > and also for .xx. marks, in which he was condempned to Robert Basset, in an accion of trespas, and also for .xx.li. in which he was condempned to John Payne, in an action of mayntenaunce, and for the fynes due to youre highnes in the same condempnacion; and sithen that committyng, the seid Waulter was outelawed at the sute of the said John Payne, and for that and other premisses, in the same pryson of Flete is reteigned, ayens the libertees and fredomes used, had and enjoyed afore this tyme by youre seid commons.

Please it youre highnes, in eschewyng the seid delaye caused by the premisses, by thavis and assent of the lordes spirituell and temporal in this and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal present parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, to ordeyne and stablyssh that your chaunceller of Englond have power [memb. 2] to direct youre writte or writtes to the warden of the power [memb. 2] to direct your writ or writs

fully understood in the aforesaid parliament, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in the said parliament, and at the request of the aforesaid commons, it was answered in the following form:

The king wills it.

For Walter Clerk, a burgess for the present parliament.

9. Item, another petition was presented to the same lord king in the aforesaid parliament by the aforementioned commons, the tenor of which follows:

To the king our sovereign lord, the commons parliament because of Walter Clerk, burgess of Chippenham in the county of Wiltshire, who came by your high command to this your present parliament, and attending to the same in the usual house for the commons, the freedom of the commons thus called has always before this time been and should be going and staying; contrary to which freedom during this your present parliament, arrested at your suit for a fine to be made to your highness, and imprisoned in the counter of London, and from there removed into your exchequer, and then committed to your Fleet prison for £40 in which he was condemned to your highness, as well as for 20 marks in which he was condemned to Robert Basset in an action of trespass, and also for £20 in which he was condemned to John Payne in an action of maintenance, and for the fines due to your highness in the same condemnation; and after that commital, the said Walter was outlawed at the suit of the said John Payne, and for that and the other things stated he is kept in the same Fleet prison, contrary to the liberties and freedoms used, had and enjoyed before this time by your said commons.

May it please your highness, to avoid the said delay caused by the aforesaid, by the advice assembled in this present parliament, and by authority of the same, to ordain and decree that your chancellor of England shall have the

seid prison of Flete, commaundyng hym by the same to have the seid Waulter afore hym without him by the same to have the said Walter delaye, and then hym to dysmysse at large, and to brought before him without delay, and then to [p. v-375][col. a] discharge the seid warden of hym, of and for every of the premisses, so that the seid Waulter may tende daily of this youre parlement, as his dute is to doo. And that by the seid auctorite, nouther youre seid chaunceller, warden of Flete, nor any other persone nor persones in eny wise be hurt, endamaged nor greved, because of the seid dismissyng at large of the seid Waulter. Savyng alway aswell to you, soverayne lord, youre execucion of youre seid .xl.li., and of youre seid fyne, and all other youre interese in that partie, as to the seid Robert Basset £40, and of your said fine, and all your other and John Payne, and iche of theym, their execucion in the premisses, after the dissolvyng of this your present parlement, the seid arest of the seid Waulter, and the seid committing and prisonyng of hym to warde notwithstandyng, also said arrest of the said Walter, and the said plenerly and effectually, as if the same Waulter at committing of him to ward and imprisonment eny tyme for any of the premisses never had been notwithstanding, as fully and effectually as if arested nor committed to warde. Savyng also to youre seid commens called nowe to this youre parlement, and their successours, their hole libertees, fraunchises and privileges, in alse ample fourme and manere as your seid commens at eny tyme afore this day have had, used and enjoyed, and oweth to have, use and enjoye, this present acte and peticion in eny wise notwithstandyng.

Qua quidem peticione, in parliamento predicto lecta, audita et plenius intellecta, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in dicto parliamento existentium, et ad requisicionem communitatis predicte, respondebatur eidem in forma sequenti:

Le roy le voet. (fn. v-373-54-1)

10. Memorandum, that the .xvi. day of Octobre, the .ix. th daye of this present parlement, the counseill of the right high and myghty prynce Richard duc of York brought into the parlement chambre a writyng conteignyng the clayme and title of the right that the seid duc pretended unto the corones of Englond and of Fraunce, and lordship of Irelond, and the same writyng delyvered to the right reverent fader in God George bisshop of Excestre, chaunceller of

to the keeper of the said Fleet prison, ordering set him free, and to [p. v-375][col. a] discharge the said keeper of him, with regard to every one of the things stated, so that the said Walter may attend this your parliament daily, as it is his duty to do. And that by the said authority, your said chancellor, the keeper of the Fleet or any other person or persons shall not be harmed, injured or grieved in any way because of the said setting free of the said Walter. Saving always to you, sovereign lord, your execution of your said interest in that matter, as well as to the said Robert Basset and John Payne, and each of them, their execution in the aforesaid after the dissolution of this your present parliament, the the same Walter had never been arrested at any time for any of the things stated or committed to ward. Saving also to your said commons now called to this your parliament, and their successors, all their liberties, franchises and privileges, in as ample a form and manner as your said commons at any time before this day have had, used and enjoyed, and ought to have, use and enjoy, notwithstanding this present act and petition in any way.

When this petition had been read, heard and fully understood, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal in the said parliament, and at the request of the aforesaid commons, it was answered in the following form:

The king wills it. (fn. v-373-54-1)

[The duke of York's claim to the crown.] 10. Be it remembered that on 16 October, the ninth day of this present parliament, the counsel of the most high and mighty prince Richard, duke of York, brought into the parliament chamber a document containing the claim and title of the right that the said duke claimed in the crowns of England and France, and the lordship of Ireland, and delivered the same document to the most

Englond, desirying hym that the same writing myght be opened to the lordes spirituelx and temporely assembled in this present parlement, and that the seid duc myght have brief and expedient answere therof: wheruppon the seid chaunceller opened and shewed the seid desire to the lordes spirituelx and temporelx, askyng the question of theym whither they wold the seid writyng shuld be openly radde before theym or noo. To the which question it was answered and agreed by all the seid lordes: in asmuche as every persone high and lowe, suyng to this high court of parlement of right must be herd, and his desire and peticion understande, that the said writyng shuld be radde and herd, not to be answered without the kyngs commaundement, for so moche document should be read and heard, but not as the mater is so high, and of soo grete wyght and poyse. Which writyng there than was radde; the tenour wherof followeth, in these wordes:

Exhibicio tituli Ricardi ducis Ebor' ad coronam.

11. It is not to be forgoten that the right noble and 11. It is not to be forgotten that the most noble wurthy prince, Henry kyng of Englond the third, had issue and leefully gate Edward his first begoten son, born at Westm' the .xv. kalends of Juyll, in the vigill of Seint Marc and Marcellian, the yere of Oure Lord .mccxxxix., and Edmond his secund goten son, which was born on Seint Marcell day, the yere of Oure Lord .mccxlv. The which Edward, after the deth of the seid Kyng Herry his fader entitled and called Kyng Edward the first, had issue Edward his first begoten son, entitled and called after the decesse of the seid first Edward his fader, Kyng Edward the secund, which [col. b] had issue and lefully gate the right noble and honorable prynce Edward the third, true and undoubted kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irelond; which Edward the third, true and undouted kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Ireland, had issue and lefully England and of France, and lord of Ireland, gate Edward his first begoten son, prince of Wales, William Hatfeld secund begoten, Leonell third begoten, duc of Clarence, John of Gaunte fourth begoten, duc of Lancastre, Edmond Langley fyft goten, duc of York, Thomas Wodestok sixt goten, duc of Gloucestre, and William Wyndesore the seventh goten. The seid Edward prynce of Wales, which dyed in the lyf of Windsor the seventh-born. The said Edward,

reverent father in God, George, bishop of Exeter, chancellor of England, requesting that the same document might be shown to the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this present parliament, and that the said duke might have a brief and prompt answer to it: whereupon the said chancellor explained and showed the said request to the lords spiritual and temporal, asking them whether they wished the said document to be openly read before them or not. To which question all the said lords answered and agreed that because every person high and low suing to this high court of parliament must of right be heard, and his request and petition understood, the said answered without the king's command, because the matter is so high, and of such great weight and importance. This document was then read there; the tenor of which follows in these words:

The presentation of the title of Richard, duke of York, to the crown.

and worthy prince, Henry III, king of England, had issue and lawfully fathered Edward his first-born son, born at Westminster on the fifteenth of the calends of July, on the vigil of St Mark and Marcellian [17 June] 1239, and Edmund his second son, who was born on St Marcellus's day [16 January 1245. Which Edward, after the death of the said King Henry his father, became King Edward I, and had issue Edward his first-born son, who became King Edward II after the death of the said first Edward his father: who [col. b] had issue and lawfully fathered the most noble and honourable prince, Edward III, true and undoubted king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland; which Edward III, true and undoubted king of had issue and lawfully fathered Edward his first-born son, prince of Wales, William of Hatfield second-born, Lionel third-born, duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt fourth-born, duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley fifth-born, duke of York, Thomas of Woodstock sixthborn, duke of Gloucester, and William of

the seid Edward kyng, had issue and lefully gate Richard, the which succeeded the same Edward kyng his grauntsire in roiall dignite, entitled and called Kyng Richard the secund, and died without same King Edward his grandfather in royal issue. William Hatfeld the secund goten son of the seid Edward kyng dyed withoute issue. Leonell the third goten son of the same Edward kyng, duc of Clarence, had issue and lefully gate Phelippe his oonly doughter and heire; which, by the sacrament of matrymonye copled unto Edmund Mortymer erle of Marche, had issue and Philippa his only daughter and heir; who, lefully bare Rogier Mortymer erle of Marche, hir son and heire; which Roger erle of Marche had issue and lefully gate Edmund erle of Marche, Rogier Mortymer, Anne and Alianore; which Edmund, Roger and Alianore dyed withoute issue, and the seid Anne, under the sacrament of matrymony copled unto Richard erle of Cambrigge, the son of the seid Edmund Langley, the fyft goten son of the seid kyng Edward as it is joined by the sacrament of matrimony to afore specified, had issue and lefully bare Richard Plantaginet, commonly called duc of York. The seid John of Gaunt, the fourth goten son of the seid Kyng Edward, and the yonger brother of the seid Leonell, had issue and lefully gate Henry erle of Derby, which incontynent after of Gaunt, the fourth-born son of the said King the tyme that the seid Kyng Richard resigned the corones of the seid realmes, and the seid lordship Lionel, had issue and lawfully fathered Henry, of Ireland, unrightwissely entred uppon the same, earl of Derby, who immediately after the said then beyng on lyve Edmund Mortymer erle of Marche, son to Roger Mortymer erle of Marche, son and heire of the said Phelippe, doughter and heire of the seid Sir Leonell, the third son of the seid Kyng Edward the third; to the which Edmund the right and title of the seid corones and and heir of the said Philippa, daughter and lordship by lawe and custume belonged. To the which Richard duc of York, as sonne to Anne, doughter to Rogier Mortymer erle of Marche, son right and title of the said crowns and lordship and heire to the seid Phelippe, doughter and heire to the seid Leonell, the third goten son of the seid Richard, duke of York, as son of Anne, Kyng Edward the third, the right, title, dignite roiall and estate of the corones of the realmes of Englond and of Fraunce, and of the lordship and land of Irelond, of right, lawe and custume apperteyneth and belongeth, afore eny issue of the seid John of Gaunt, the fourth goten son of the same Kyng Edward.

prince of Wales, who died during the lifetime of the said King Edward, had issue and lawfully fathered Richard, who succeeded the dignity, with the title and name of King Richard II, and died without issue. William of Hatfield the second-born son of the said King Edward died without issue. Lionel the thirdborn son of the same King Edward, duke of Clarence, had issue and lawfully fathered joined by the sacrament of matrimony to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, had issue and lawfully bore Roger Mortimer, earl of March, her son and heir; which Roger, earl of March, had issue and lawfully fathered Edmund, earl of March, Roger Mortimer, Anne and Eleanor; which Edmund, Roger and Eleanor died without issue, and the said Anne, Richard, earl of Cambridge, the son of the said Edmund of Langley, the fifth-born son of the said King Edward, as detailed above, had issue and lawfully bore Richard Plantagenet, commonly called duke of York. The said John Edward, and the younger brother of the said King Richard had resigned the crowns of the said realms and the said lordship of Ireland, unlawfully entered upon the same, there then being alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, son of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son heir of the said Sir Lionel, the third son of the said King Edward III; to which Edmund the by law and custom belonged. To which daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son and heir of the said Philippa, daughter and heir of the said Lionel, the third-born son of the said King Edward III, the right, title, royal dignity and estate of the crowns of the realms of England and of France, and of the lordship and land of Ireland, of right, law and custom pertain and belong, before any issue of the said John of Gaunt, the fourth-born son of the same King Edward.

Declared to the king.

12. And afterward, the .xvij. day of October, the .x. th day of this present parlement the seid chaunceller shewed and declared to the seid lordes spirituelx and temporelx beyng in the same announced to the said lords spiritual and parlement, howe that the counseill of the seid duc temporal in the same parliament, how the of York gretely desired to have answere of such writyng as uppon the .xvi. day of October last passed was put into this present parlement, on the to this present parliament on 16 October last behalf of the seid duc, and theruppon asked the seid lordes what they thought was to be doon in that matier. To the which question it was answered and thought by all the seid lordes that the matier was so high and of such wyght, that it was not to eny of the kynges subgetts to enter into communicacion therof, withoute his high commaundement, agreement and assent had therto. And ferthermore, for asmoch as the seid duc desired and required bref and undelaied answere of the seid writyng, and in eschuyng and the said document, and to prevent and avoid avoidyng [p. v-376][col. a] of grete and manyfold inconveniences that weren lykly to ensue yf hasty provision of good answere in that behalf were not had, it was thought and agreed by all the lordes, that they all shuld goo unto the kyng, to declare and open the seid mater unto his highnes, and to understond what his good grace wuld to be doon ferther therin.

And theruppon incontynent all the seid lordes spirituelx and temporelx went to the kyngs high presence, and therunto opened and declared the seid mater, by the mouth of his said chaunceller of Englond. And the same matier by the kynges highnes herd and conceyved, it pleased hym to pray and commaunde all the seid lordes, that they him to pray and order all the said lords to shuld serche for to fynde in asmuch as in them was, all such thyngs as myght be objecte and leyde ayenst the cleyme and title of the seid duc. And the seid lordes besaught the kyng that he wuld remember hym, yf he myght fynde any resonable mater that myght be objected ayenst the be objected against the said claim and title, seid cleyme and title, in so moche as his seid highnes had seen and understouden many dyvers writyngs and cronicles.

Wheruppon, on the morn the .xviij. day of October, the .xi. th day of this present parlement, the forseid lordes sent for the kyngs justices into the parlement chambre, to have their avis and counsell in this behalf, and there delyvered to theym the writing of the cleyme of the seid duc,

[The duke of York's claim shown to the king.] 12. Declared to the king. And afterwards, on 17 October, on the tenth day of this present parliament, the said chancellor showed and counsel of the said duke of York much desired to have an answer to the document submitted on the said duke's behalf, and thereupon asked the said lords what they thought should be done in that matter. To which question all the said lords answered and thought that the matter was so high and of such weight, that it was not for any of the king's subjects to enter into discussion of it, without his high command, agreement and assent. And furthermore, because the said duke desired and requested a brief and prompt answer to [p. v-376][col. a] the great and manifold troubles that were likely to ensue if an answer was not speedily provided, it was thought and agreed by all the lords that they all should go to the king to announce and explain the said matter to his highness, and to learn what his good grace wished to be done about it.

And immediately all the said lords spiritual and temporal went to the king's high presence, and the said chancellor of England explained and announced the said matter to him. And when the same matter had been heard and understood by the king's highness, it pleased search as best they could for anything which might be objected and laid against the claim and title of the said duke. And the said lords begged the king to search his memory to see if he could find any reasonable matter that might because his said highness had seen and understood many different writings and chronicles.

[York's claim referred to the judges.] Whereupon, on the morning of 18 October, the eleventh day of this present parliament, the aforesaid lords sent for the king's justices to come to the parliament chamber, to have their advice and counsel in this matter, and

and in the kyngs name gave theym straitely in commaundement, sadly to take avisament therin, and to serche and fynde all such objections as myght be levde ayenst the same, in fortefying of the kynges right.

Wherunto the same justices, the Monday, the .xx. [The judges refuse to give an opinion.] day of Octobre then next ensuyng, for their answere uppon the seid writyng to theym delyvered seiden that they were the kyngs justices, and have to determyne such maters as com before theym in the lawe, betwene partie and determine such matters as came before them partie, and in such maters as been betwene partie and partie they may not be of counseill; and sith this mater was betwene the kyng and the seid duc they could not act as counsel; and since this of York as two parties, and also it hath not be accustumed to calle the justices to counseill in such maters, and in especiall the mater was so high, and touched the kyngs high estate and regalie, which is above the lawe and passed ther lernyng, wherfore they durst not enter into eny communicacion therof, for it perteyned to the lordes of the kyngs blode, and thapparage of this his lond, to have communicacion and medle in such maters; and therfore they humble by sought all the lordes, to have theym utterly excused of eny avyce or counseill, by theym to be yeven in that matier.

And then the seid lordes, consideryng the answere of the said juges, and entendyng to have the advice and good counseill of all the kynges counseillers, < sent for all the kyngs sergeauntes > and attourney, and gave theym straight commaundement in the kyngs name, that they sadly and avisely shuld serche and seke all such thinges as myght be best and strengest to be alegged for the kynges availe, in objection and defetyng of the seid title and clayme of the seid

Wherunto the seid sergeaunts and attourney, the Wensday than next ensuying, answered and seiden the following Wednesday, answered and said that the seid mater was put unto the kynges justices; and howe, the Monday then last passed, the same justices seiden and declared to the seid lordes that the seid mater was soo high and of soo to the said lords that the said matter was so grete wight, that it passed their lernyng, and also they durst not entre eny communicacion in that matier, to yeve eny evyce or counseill therin; and sith that the seid matier was soo high that it

there delivered to them the document of the claim of the said duke, and in the king's name firmly ordered them to give it serious examination and to search for and find all the objections which might be brought against it, to strengthen the king's right.

To which the same justices, on Monday 20 October next, gave as their response to the said document delivered to them that they were the king's justices, and were meant to in the law, between party and party, and in such matters as were between party and party matter was between the king and the said duke of York as two parties, and also since it had not been the custom to call the justices to give advice in such matters, and in particular because the matter was so high, and touched the king's high estate and regality which was above the law and surpassed their learning, they dared not enter into any discussion of it, for it pertained to the lords of the king's blood and the peerage of this his land to discuss and intervene in such matters; and therefore they humbly requested all the lords to excuse them completely from giving any advice or counsel in that matter.

[The serjeants-at-law are consulted.] And then the said lords, considering the answer of the said judges, and intending to have the advice and good counsel of all the king's counsellors, sent for all the king's serjeants and his attorney and firmly ordered them in the king's name to search and seek seriously and carefully for everything that might be best and most strongly alleged on the king's side, to object to and defeat the said title and claim of the said duke.

To which the said serjeants and attorney, on that the said matter had been submitted to the king's justices; and how, on the said Monday last, the same justices had said and announced high and of such great weight that it surpassed their learning, and also that they dared not enter into any discussion of it, to give any advice or counsel on it; and since the said

passed the lernyng of the justices, it must nedes excede their lernyng, and also they durst not entre learning of the justices, it must needs exceed eny communication in that matier, and prayed and besought all the lordes to have theym excused of vevyng env avice or counsaill therin.

#### [col. b]

To whome it was answered, by thavis of all the lordes, by the seid chaunceller, that they myght not so be excused, for they were the kynges particuler counseillers, and therfore they had their counsellors, and for that reason received their fees and wages. And as to that the seid sergeaunts fees and wages. And as to that, the said and attourney seiden that they were the kyngs counseillers in the lawe, in such things as were under his auctorite or < by > commission, but this as were under his authority or by commission, mater was above his auctorite, wherin they myght but that this matter was above his authority, in not medle, and humbly besought the said lordes to have they mexcused of yevyng env counseill in humbly prayed the said lords to excuse them that matier: and it was answered agayn that the lordes wuld not hold theym excused, but let the kynges highnes have knowleche what they seid. And theruppon, the seid chaunceller remembred the lordes spirituely and temporely of the seivinges and excuses of the justices, and the seying and excuses of the sergeaunts and attourney, and also the grete commaundement of the kynges highnes that they had to fynde all such attorney, and also the great order they had objections as myght be moost myghty, to defend the kynges right and title, and to defete the title and clayme of the seid duc of York: and also that the kyng myght understond that the seid lordes diden their true and feithfull devoire and acquitaille in the seid mater, desired all the lordes that every of theym shuld sey what he cowede sey in fortefiyng the kyngs title, and in defetyng of the clayme of the seid duc. And than it was agreed by all the lordes, that every lord shuld have his fredome to sey what he wuld sey, withoute eny reportyng or magre to be had for his seiyng. And theruppon, after the seiyng of < all the > lordes, every after other, it was concluded, that these maters and articles hereunder writen shuld be alegged and objecte ayenst the seid clayme and title of the seid duc.

Objectiones contra titulum predictum.

13. First, it is thought that the lords of this lond must nedes calle to their remembrauncez the grete othes the which they have made to the kyng they have made to the king our sovereign lord,

matter was so high that it surpassed the their learning, and they also dared not enter into any discussion of that matter, and prayed and requested all the lords to excuse them from giving any advice or counsel on it.

To whom the said chancellor answered, on the advice of all the lords, that they might not be so excused, for they were the king's special serjeants and attorney said that they were the king's counsellors on the law, on such things which they might not intervene, and they from giving any counsel in that matter: and it was answered again that the lords would not hold them excused, but that the king's highness should have knowledge of what they said. And thereupon the said chancellor reminded the lords spiritual and temporal of the words and excuses of the justices, and the words and excuses of the serjeants and received from the king's highness to find all the strongest objections to defend the king's right and title, and to defeat the title and claim of the said duke of York: and also, so that the king might understand that the said lords were doing their best to acquit themselves truly and faithfully in the said business, he requested all the lords that each one should say what he could to strengthen the king's title, and defeat the claim of the said duke. And then it was agreed by all the lords, that every lord should have the freedom to say what he wished to say, in confidence and without criticism. And thereupon, after all the lords had spoken one after another, it was decided that these matters and articles written below should be put forward and objected against the said claim and title of the said duke.

Objections to the aforesaid title.

13. First, it is thought that the lords of this land must remember the great oaths which seid duc of York, and that the lordes may not breke thoo othes.

Item, it is thought also that it is to be called to remembraunce, the grete and notable acts of parlements, made in dyvers parlements of dyvers of the kyngs progenitours, the which acts be sufficient and resonable to be levde ageyn the title of the seid duc of York: the which acts been of moche more auctorite than eny cronycle, and also of auctorite to defete eny manere title made to eny persone.

Item, it is thought that ther is to be leyde ageyn the seid title, dyvers entayles made to the heires males as for the corone of Englond, as it may appere by dyvers cronicles and parlementes.

### [memb. 3]

Item, it is thought yf the seid duc shuld make eny Item, it is thought that if the said duke claims title or clayme, by the lyne of Sir Leonell, that the any title or interest by the line of Sir Lionel, same duc shuld bere the armes of the same Leonell, and not the armes of Edmund Langley late duc of York.

Item, it is to be allegged ageyn the title of the seid Item, it is to be brought against the title of the duc that the tyme that Kyng Herry the fourth toke said duke, that at the time when King Henry uppon hym the corone of Englond, he seid he entred and toke uppon hym the corone as right enheriter to Kyng Herry the third, and not as a conquerour.

To the which articles the seid duc of York yave his answers in writyng, as folowen.

[p. v-377]

[col. a]

Responsiones prefati ducis ad objectiones tituli sui predicti.

14. Here under followen the answeres of Richard Plantaginet, called commonly duc of York, etc., to certain raisons and colours alleged as it is said ayenst the matier of his right and title, etc.:

Furst, where it is said that it is thought that the lordes must nedes calle to theire remembraunce the grete othes which they have made to the kyng, which may be levde to the seid duc, and that they may not breke thoo othes.

The said Richard answereth and saith that every man, under the peyne of everlastyng dampnacion, is bounden to obeye to the lawe and

oure soverayn lord, the which may be leyde to the which may be argued against the said duke of York, and that the lords may not break those oaths.

> Item, it is also thought that the great and notable acts of parliament, made in various parliaments of the king's progenitors, should be borne in mind, which acts are enough and reasonable to be argued against the title of the said duke of York: which acts are of much greater authority than any chronicle, and also have the authority to defeat any kind of title made to any person.

Item, it is thought that various entails made to the heirs male with regard to the crown of England can be argued against the said title, as may appear from various chronicles and parliaments.

the same duke should bear the arms of the same Lionel, and not the arms of Edmund of Langley, late duke of York.

IV took upon him the crown of England, he said that he entered upon and took upon him the crown as rightful heir of King Henry III, and not as a conqueror.

To which articles the said duke of York gave his answers in writing, as follow.

The answers of the aforementioned duke to the objections to his aforesaid title.

14. Here follow the answers of Richard Plantagenet, commonly called duke of York, etc., to certain reasons and arguments levelled, as said above, against the matter of his right and title, etc.:

First, where it is said that it is thought that the lords must needs remember the great oaths they have made to the king, which may be argued against the said duke, and that they may not break those oaths.

The said Richard answers and says that every man, on pain of everlasting damnation, is bound to obey the law and commandments of commaundementes of God, by the which lawe and commaundementes trouth and justice owe to bee preferred and observed, and untrouth and injustice leved apart and repressed; and soo it is, that of this bonde and duetee of obedyence to Godds lawe, noo man may discharge hymsilf by his owen dede or act, promisse or ooth, for elles of the contrary wold ensue innumerable inconveniences. Wherfore sith it is soo, that the mater of the title and clayme of the seid Richard Plantaginet is openly true and lawfull, and grounded upon evident trouth and justice, it foloweth that man shuld have rather consideracion to trouth, right and justice in this mater accordyngly with the wille of the lawe of God, then to any promise or ooth made by hym into the contrarie; considered namely, that by the lawe and determinacion of holy chirche, an oth made by oon persone unto the prejudice or hurt of another, contrary to truth, justice and charity, < an other, > contrary to trouth, justice and charitee, in the which standeth the plenitude and perfection of Godds lawe, is voide and of noon effect, neither in any wise obligatorie; and that the vertu and nature of an ooth is to conferme trouth, and of noo wise to ympugne it; and over that, that by the ooth of feaute, homage or ligeaunce, noo man is bounden to any inconvenient or unlawfull thyng. And howe bee it adequately meets all the objections that may that this answere is suffisant to all maner objections that may be made avenst his clayme and entent in this partie, by reason or occasion of any ooth, vit natheles the seid Richard, for asmuch as the mater of othes is a mater spirituell, clearer demonstration of his conscience, for more declaracion of his conscience, honeste, and trouth in this partie, offreth hym silf redy to answere before any juge spirituell competent, in place and tyme covenable, to all manere of men that any thyng wull purpose ayenst hym in that behalf.

And to shewe clerely that lawfully, withouten offence of God and conscience, he may clayme and pursue his right and desire justice in such forme as he dooth, and that all other persones, and namely the peres and lordes of this reaume may, and by the lawe of God and man aught, to helpe and assiste hym in trouth and justice, notwithstondyng any ooth of feaute or other by hym or theym herebefore made.

15. Overe this, where it is thought also that it is to 15. Furthermore, where it is also thought that be < called > to remembraunce, the grete and

God, by which law and commandments truth and justice should be preferred and observed, and untruth and injustice set aside and repressed; and so it is, that no man may discharge himself by his own deed or act, promise or oath from this bond and duty of obedience to God's law, for otherwise innumerable troubles will ensue. Wherefore, given that the said Richard Plantagenet's title and claim is plainly true and lawful, and grounded on clear truth and justice, it follows that man should be guided by truth, right and justice in this matter in accordance with the will of the law of God, rather than by any promise or oath made by him to the contrary; considering in particular that by the law and determination of holy church, an oath made by one person to the prejudice or hurt of in which stands the plenitude and perfection of God's law, is void and of no effect, and in no way binding; and that the virtue and nature of an oath is to confirm truth, and not to impugn it in any way; and moreover, that by the oath of fealty, homage or allegiance, no man is bound to anything unfitting or unlawful. And although this answer be made to his claim and intention in this matter, by reason or occasion of any oath, yet nevertheless the said Richard, because the matter of oaths is a spiritual matter, as a honesty and truth in this matter, stands ready to answer before any competent spiritual judge, at a suitable place and time, anyone who brings a complaint against him on those grounds.

And to show clearly that he may lawfully, without offence to God or conscience, claim and pursue his right, and request justice in the way that he does, and that all other persons, and especially the peers and lords of this realm, may, and by the law of God should, help and assist him in truth and justice, notwithstanding any oath of fealty or other oath made by him or them in the past.

the great and notable acts of parliament, made

notable acts of parlement, made in dyvers parlementes of dyvers of the kynges progenitours, progenitors, should be borne in mind, which the which actes been sufficient to be leved avenst acts are enough to be argued against the title the title of the said duc, and of more auctorite then env cronvcle, and also of auctorite to defete any manere title made to eny person.

And also where it is seid that it is to be leyde ayenst the said title, dyvers entailles made to the heires males as for the corone of Englond, as it may appere by dyvers cronicles and parlementes.

that in trouthe ther been noon such actes and tailles made by eny parlement herebefore, as it is surmysed; but oonly in the vij th yere of Kyng Herry the fourth, a certayn acte and ordynaunce was made in a parlement by hym called, wherin he made the reaumes of Englond [col. b] and Fraunce amonges other, to be unto hym and to the heires of his body commyng, and to his .iiij. sonnes and the heires of thair bodyes commyng, in manere and fourme as it apperith in the same acte. (fn. v-373-101-1) And yf he myght have obteigned and rejoysed the said corones, etc., by title of enheritaunce, discent or succession, he neither neded ner wold have desired or made thaym to bee graunted to hym in suche < wise as > they be by the seid acte; the which taketh noo place, neyther is of any force or effect ayenst hym that is right enheriter of the said corones, as it accordeth with Godds lawe, and all naturall lawes, howe it bee that all other actes and ordenaunces made in the said parlement and sithen, been good and suffisant ayenst all other persones.

16. Item, where it is thought that yf the seid duc shuld make any title or clayme by the lyne of Sire duke claims any title or interest by the line of Leonell, he shuld bere the armes of the same Sire Leonell, and not the armes of Edmond Langley late duke of York.

The seid duc answereth and saith that trouth is. that he myght lawfully have born the arms of the he might lawfully have borne the arms of the said Sire Leonell herebifore, and also the same armes that Kyng Edward the third bare, that is to say, the armes of the reaumes of Englond and of Fraunce; but he absteyned of beryng of the seid armes, lyke as he absteigned for the tyme of purposyng and pursuyng of his right and title,

in various parliaments of the king's of the said duke, and are of greater authority than any chronicle, and are also of an authority to defeat any kind of title made to any person.

And also where it is said that various entails made to the heirs male with regard to the crown of England can be argued against the said title, as may appear from various chronicles and parliaments.

The seid Richard Plantaginet answereth and saith The said Richard Plantagenet answers and says that in truth there are no such acts and entails made by any parliament in the past, as is claimed; but only in the seventh year of King Henry IV [1406] when a certain act and ordinance was made in a parliament summoned by him, in which he settled the realms of England [col. b] and France, among other things, on him and the heirs born of his body, and on his four sons and the heirs born of their bodies, in the manner and form which appear in the same act. (fn. v-373-101-1) Yet if he had obtained and enjoyed the said crowns, etc., by inheritance, descent or succession, he would neither have needed nor have requested and caused them to be granted to him in such a way as they are by the same act; which cannot displace, or be of any force or effect against him who is the true heir of the said crowns, in accordance with God's law and all natural laws, even though all the other acts and ordinances made in the said parliament and since, are good and adequate against all other persons.

> 16. Item, where it is thought that if the said Sir Lionel, he should bear the arms of the same Sir Lionel, and not the arms of Edmund of Langley, late duke of York.

The said duke answers and says that, in truth, said Sir Lionel in the past, and also the same arms that King Edward III bore, that is to say, the arms of the realms of England and of France; but he abstained from bearing the said arms, as he abstained for a time from seeking and pursuing his right and title, etc., for

etc., for causes not unknowen to all this reaume; for though right for a tyme rest and bee put to silence, yit it roteth not ner shall not perissh.

17. Item, where it is allegged ayenst the title of the said duc that the said Herry of Derby, at such tyme as he toke upon hym the corone of Englond, and that he entred and toke the same corone upon entered and took upon him the same crown as hym as right enheriter to Kyng Herry the third and not as a conquerour.

The seid duc therto saith that such saying of the seid Kyng Herry the fourth, may in noo wise be true, and that the contrary therof, which is trouth, shall be largely ynough shewed, approved and justified, by sufficiant auctorite and matere of record. And over that, that his said saying was oonly to shadowe and colour fraudulently his said said words were only to conceal and unrightwise and violent usurpacion, and by that moven to abuse discevvably the people stondyng aboute hym.

18. Item, the Saturday, the < .xvij. > day of this present parlement, it was shewed unto the lordes spirituelx and temporelx beyng in this present parlement, by the mouth of the seid chaunceller, that the seid duc of York called besily to have hasty and spedy answere of such maters as touched his title abovesaid; and howe that for asmoche as it is thought by all the lordes that the title of the seid duc can not be defeted, and in eschuyng of the grete inconvenients that may ensue, a meane was founde to save the kyngs honour and astate, and to apease the seid duc, yf he wuld; which is this, that the kyng shall kepe the corones, and his astate and dignite roiall duryng his lyf; and the seid duc and his heires to succede hym in the same: exhortyng and steryng all the seid lordes that yf eny of theym cowde fynde eny other or better meane, that it myght be shewed.

Wheruppon, after sad and ripe communicacion in [The arbitration of the lords.] this matere had, it was concluded and agreed by all the seid lordes that sith it was soo that the title discussion of the matter, it was decided and of the seid duc of York can not be defeted, and in agreed by all the said lords that since the title eschuyng the grete inconvenients that myght ensue, to take the mean above rehersed, the othes that the seid lordes had made unto the kynges highnes at Coventre [p. v-378][col. a] and other places saved, and their consciences therin clered. And over that, it was agreed by the seid lordes

reasons not unknown to the entire realm: for although right for a time rests and is silenced, yet it does not rot nor shall it perish.

17. Item, where it is brought against the title of the said duke that the said Henry of Derby, when he took upon him the crown of England, the rightful heir of King Henry III and not as a conqueror.

The said duke says to this that such words of the said King Henry IV can in no way be true, and that the opposite, which is the truth, shall be readily enough shown, proved and justified, by adequate authority and as a matter of record. And furthermore, that his fraudulently disguise his said unlawful and violent usurpation, and by those means deceitfully to mislead the people around him.

[The arbitration of the lords.]

18. Item, on the Saturday, the seventeenth day of this present parliament, it was explained to the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament through the said chancellor, that the said duke of York called urgently for a swift and speedy answer to such matters as concerned his aforesaid title; and that because it is thought by all the lords that the title of the said duke cannot be defeated, and to avoid the great troubles which may ensue, a way was found to save the king's honour and estate, and to appease the said duke if he would agree; which is that the king shall keep the crowns and his estate and royal dignity during his lifetime; and the said duke and his heirs shall succeed him in the same: exhorting and encouraging all the said lords that if any of them could find any other or better way, that it might be revealed.

Whereupon, after serious and mature of the said duke of York could not be defeated, and to avoid the great troubles which might ensue, the way described above should be taken, so saving the oaths that the said lords had made to the king's highness at Coventry [p. v-378][col. a] and other places, to the kynges highnes. And forthwith they went towardes the kyng, where he was in his chambre within his palice of Westm'. And in their goyng oute of the parlement chambre the seid chaunceller asked of the seid lordes, that sith it was soo that the seid meane shuld be opened by his mouth to the kyngs good grace, yf they wuld abyde by hym howe so ever that the kyng toke the mater; and all they answered and seid yee.

All these premisses thus shewed and opened to the kynges highnes, he, inspired with the grace of the Holy Goost, and in eschuyng of effusion of Cristen blode, by good and sad deliberacion and avvce had with all his lordes spirituelx and temporelx, condescended to accord to be made betwene hym and the seid duc, and to be auctorized by thauctorite of this present parlement. The tenour of which accord hereafter ensueth, in manere and fourme following.

Concordia facta inter regem et prefatum ducem.

19. Blessed be Jehsu, in whos hande and bountie restith and is the peas and unitee betwixt prynces, and the wele of every realme, thurgh whos direction agreed it is, appointed and accorded as foloweth, betwixt the moost high and moost myghty prynce Kyng Herry the sixt, kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irelond, on that oon partie, and the right high and myghty prynce Richard Plantaginet duc of York, on that other partie, uppon certain materes of variaunce moeved betwixt theym, and in especiall uppon the clayme and title unto the corones of Englond and of Fraunce, and roiall power, estate and dignite apperteignyng to the same, and lordship of Ireland, opened, shewed and declared by the seid duc afore all the lordes spirituelx and temporelx beyng in this present parlement: the seid agrement, appointement and accord to be auctorised by the same parlement.

First, where the seid Richard duc of York, hath declared and opened as above his said title and cleyme, in manere as foloweth.

That the right noble and worthye prynce Herry

that the seid meane shuld be opened and declared and clearing their consciences. And moreover, it was agreed by the said lords that the said way should be revealed and explained to the king's highness. And at once they went to find the king in his chamber within his palace of Westminster. And as they were leaving the parliament chamber the said chancellor asked the said lords whether, since it was he who was to explain the said way to the king's good grace, they would stand by him however the king took the matter; and they all answered ves.

> When all the foregoing had been thus revealed and explained to the king's highness, he, inspired with the grace of the Holy Ghost, and to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, by good and serious deliberation and the advice of all his lords spiritual and temporal, agreed to a settlement being made between himself and the said duke, to be authorised by authority of this present parliament. The tenor of which agreement here follows, in this manner and form.

An agreement made between the king and the aforementioned duke.

19. Blessed be Jesus, in whose hands and bounty rest and exist peace and unity between princes, and the weal of every realm, through whose direction it is agreed, decided and settled as follows, between the most high and most mighty prince King Henry VI, king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, on the one side, and the most high and mighty prince Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, on the other, upon certain points of difference between them, and in particular with regard to the claim and title to the crowns of England and France, and the royal power, estate and dignity pertaining to the same, and the lordship of Ireland, revealed, showed and announced by the said duke before all the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament: the said agreement, decision and accord to be authorised by the same parliament.

First, the said Richard, duke of York, has announced and revealed as above his said title and claim, in the manner following.

That the most noble and worthy prince, Henry

kyng of Englond the third, had issue and leefully III, king of England, had issue and lawfully gate Edward his furst begoten son, born at Westm' the .xv. kalends of Juyll, in the vigill of Seint Marc and Marcellian, the yere of Oure Lord July, on the vigil of St Mark and Marcellian .mccxxxix., and Edmund his secund goten son, which was born on Seint Marcell day, the yere of Oure Lord .mccxlv. The which Edward, after the deth of the seid Kyng Herry his fader entitled and of the said King Henry, his father, became called Kyng Edward the first, had issue Edward his first begoten son, entitled and called after the decesse of the seid first Edward his fader, Kyng Edward the secund: which had issue and leefully gate the right noble and honorable prynce, Edward the third, true and undoubted kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irelond; which Edward the third, true and undoubted kyng true and undoubted king of England and of of Englond and of Fraunce, and lord of Irelond, had issue and leeffully gate Edward his first begoten son, prynce of Wales, William Hatfeld secund begoten, Leonell third begoten, duc of Clarence, John of Gaunt fourth begoten, duc of Lancastre, Edmund Langley fyft goten, duc of York, Thomas Wodestok sixt goten, duc of Gloucestre, and William Wyndesore the seventh goten. The seid Edward prynce of Wales, which dyed in the lyf of the seid Edward kyng, had issue Wales, who died during the lifetime of the and leefully gate Richard, the which succeded the said King Edward, had issue and lawfully same Edward kyng his grauntsire in roiall dignite, fathered Richard, who succeeded the same entitled and called Kyng Richard the secund, and dyed withoute issue. William Hatfeld the secund goten son of the seid Edward kyng dyed withoute and died without issue. William of Hatfield issue. Leonell the third goten son of the same [col. b] Edward kyng, duc of Clarence, had issue died without issue. Lionel the third-born son and leeffully gate Phelippe his oonly doughter and heire; which, by the sacrament of matrymony copled unto Edmund Mortymer erle of Marche, had issue and leefully bare Rogier Mortymer erle of Marche, hir son and heire; which Rogier erle of Marche, had issue and leefully gate Edmund erle of Marche, Rogier Mortymer, Anne and Alianore; which Edmund, Rogier and Alianore dyed withoute issue; and the said Anne, under the Edmund, earl of March, Roger Mortimer, sacrament of matrymony copled unto Richard erle of Cambrigge, the son of the said Edmund Langley, the fyft goten son of the said Kyng Edward, as it is afore < specified, > had issue and Richard earl of Cambridge, the son of the said leeffully bare Richard Plantaginet, commonly called duc of York. The seid John of Gaunt, the fourth goten son of the seid Kyng Edward, and the yonger brother of the seid Leonell, had issue

fathered Edward his first-born son, born at Westminster on the fifteenth of the calends of [17 June] 1239, and Edmund his second-born son, who was born on St Marcellus's day [16 January 1245. Which Edward, after the death King Edward I, and had issue Edward his first-born son, who became King Edward II after the death of the said first Edward his father; who had issue and lawfully fathered the most noble and honourable prince, Edward III, true and undoubted king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland; which Edward III, France, and lord of Ireland, had issue and lawfully fathered Edward his first-born son, prince of Wales, William of Hatfield secondborn, Lionel third-born, duke of Clarence, John of Gaunt fourth-born, duke of Lancaster, Edmund of Langley fifth-born, duke of York, Thomas of Woodstock sixth-born, duke of Gloucester, and William of Windsor the seventh-born. The said Edward, prince of King Edward his grandfather in royal dignity, with the title and name of King Richard II, the second-born son of the said King Edward of the same [col. b] King Edward, duke of Clarence, had issue and lawfully fathered Philippa his only daughter and heir; who, joined by the sacrament of matrimony to Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, had issue and lawfully bore Roger Mortimer, earl of March, her son and heir; which Roger, earl of March, had issue and lawfully fathered Anne and Eleanor; which Edmund, Roger and Eleanor died without issue; and the said Anne, joined by the sacrament of matrimony to Edmund of Langley, the fifth-born son of the said King Edward, as detailed above, had issue and lawfully bore Richard Plantagenet, commonly called duke of York. The said John

and leefully gate Henry erle of Derby, which incontynent after the tyme that the seid Kyng Richard resigned the corones of the seid reaumes, and the seid lordship of Irelond, unrightwisly entred upon the same, then beyng onlyve Edmund Mortymer erle of Marche, son to Rogier Mortymer erle of Marche, son and heire of the said Phelippe, doughter and heire of the seid Sire Leonell, the third son of the seid Kyng Edward the third; to the which Edmund the right and title of the said corones and lordship by lawe and custume belonged. To the which Richard duc of York, as son to Anne, doughter to Rogier Mortymer erle of Marche, son and heire to the said Phelippe, doughter and heire to the said Leonell, the third goten son of the seid Kyng Edward the third, the right, title, dignite roiall and of the said Philippa, daughter and heir of the estate, of the corones of the reaumes of Englond and of Fraunce, and of the lordship and land of Irelond, of right, lawe and custume apperteyneth and belongeth, afore eny issue of the seid John of Gaunt, the fourth goten son of the same Kyng Edward.

# [memb. 4]

20. The said title natheles natwithstandyng, and withoute prejudice of the same, the seid Richard duc of York, tenderly desiryng the wele, rest and prosperite of this lande, and to set apart all that that myght be trouble to the same; and considering the possession of the seid Kyng Herry the sixt, and that he hath for his tyme bee named, taken and reputed kyng of Englond and of Henry VI, and that he has hitherto been Fraunce, and lord of Irelond; is content, agreed and consenteth, that he be had, reputed and taken kyng of Englond and of Fraunce, with the roiall estate, dignitee and preemynence belongyng therto, and lord of Irelond, duryng his lyf naturall; and for that tyme the said duc withoute hurte or prejudice of his said right and title shall take, wurship and honour hym for his soverayn lord.

21. Item, the said Richard duc of York shall promitte and bynde hym by his solempne othe, in harass the king.] manere and fourme as followeth:

of Gaunt, the fourth-born son of the said King Edward, and the younger brother of the said Lionel, had issue and lawfully fathered Henry, earl of Derby, who immediately after the said King Richard had resigned the crowns of the said realms and the said lordship of Ireland, unlawfully entered upon the same, there then being alive Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, son to Roger Mortimer earl of March, son and heir of the said Philippa, daughter and heir of the said Sir Lionel, the third son of the said King Edward III; to which Edmund the right and title of the said crowns and lordship by law and custom belonged. To which Richard, duke of York, as son of Anne, daughter of Roger Mortimer, earl of March, son and heir said Lionel, the third-born son of the said King Edward III, the right, title, royal dignity and estate of the crowns of the realms of England and of France, and of the lordship and land of Ireland, of right, law and custom pertain and belong, before any issue of the said John of Gaunt, the fourth-born son of the same King Edward.

[The king to enjoy the crown for his lifetime.] 20. Nevertheless notwithstanding the said title, and without prejudice to it, the said Richard, duke of York, tenderly desiring the weal, peace and prosperity of this land, and to set aside all that might trouble it; and considering the possession of the said King named, taken and believed to be king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland; is content, agrees and consents that he be held, taken and believed to be king of England and of France, with the royal estate, dignity and pre-eminence thereto belonging, and lord of Ireland, during his natural life; and during that time the said duke, without hurt or prejudice to his said right and title, shall accept, worship and honour him as his sovereign lord.

[The duke of York and his sons swear not to

21. Item, the said Richard, duke of York, shall promise and bind himself by his solemn oath, in the manner and form which follow:

In the name of God, amen. I Richard duc of York, In the name of God, amen. I, Richard, duke of promitte and swere by the feith and trouth that I owe to Almyghty God, that I shall never doo, consente, procure or stirre, directely or indirectely, in prive or appert, ner asmuch as in me is and shall bee, suffre to bee doo, consented, procured or stirred, any thing that may bee or sowne to the abriggement of the naturall lyf of Kyng Herry the sixt, or to the hurt or amenusyng of his reigne or dignite roiall, by violence or eny other wise, ayenst his fredome and libertee: but that vf any persone or persones wold doo or presume any thyng to the contrary, I shall with all would do or presume anything to the contrary, my power and myght withstonde it, and make it to bee withstoude as ferre as my power wull strecche berunto; soo helpe me God, and thees Holy Evangelies.

York, promise and swear by the faith and truth that I owe to Almighty God, that I shall never do, agree, instigate or incite, directly or indirectly, in private or in public, or as far as I can or shall be able, allow to be done, agreed, instigated or incited, anything which may cause or lead to the shortening of the natural life of King Henry VI, or the harm or injury of his reign or royal dignity, by violence or in any other way, against his freedom and liberty: but that if any person or persons I shall oppose it with all my power and strength, and cause it to be withstood as best I may; so help me God, and these holy gospels.

[p. v-379] [col. a]

Item, Edward erle of Marche and Edmund erle of Item, Edward, earl of March, and Edmund, Ruthlond, the sonnes of the seid Richard duc of York, shall make lyke ooth.

22. Item, it is accorded, appoynted and agreed that the seid Richard duke of York rejoissh, bee entitled, called and reputed from hens forth, verrey and rightfull heire to the corones, roiall estate, dignite and lordship abovesaid; and after the decesse of the said Kyng Herry, or when he wull ley from hym the seid corones, estate, dignitee and lordship, the seid duc and his heires shall ymmediatly succede to the said corones, roiall estate, dignitee and lordeship.

23. Item, the seid Richard duc of York shall have by auctorite of this present parlement, castelx, maners, landes and tenementes, with the wardes, mariages, releves, services, fynes, amerciaments, offices, advousons, fees, and other appurtenaunces to theym belongyng, what soo ever they bee, to the yerely value of .x <sup>m</sup> . marc, overe all charges and reprises: wherof .v <sup>m</sup> . marc shall bee to his owne estate, .iij m vc. marc to Edward his first begoten son erle of Marche, for his estate, and .m.li. to Edmund erle of Ruthlond his secund goten son, for his yerely sustentacion; for such consideracions, and to such entent, as shalbe declared by the lordes of the kynges counsaill.

earl of Rutland, the sons of the said Richard. duke of York, shall take the same oath.

[The duke declared heir apparent.] 22. Item, it is settled, decided and agreed that the said Richard, duke of York, shall enjoy, be entitled, called and taken from now on as true and rightful heir to the crowns, royal estate, dignity and lordship abovesaid; and after the death of the said King Henry, or when he chooses to lay down the said crowns, estate, dignity and lordship, the said duke and his heirs shall immediately succeed to the said crowns, royal estate, dignity and lordship.

[Estates assigned to York and his sons.] 23. Item, the said Richard, duke of York, shall have by authority of this present parliament, castles, manors, lands and tenements, with the wards, marriages, reliefs, services, fines, amercements, offices, advowsons, fees and the other appurtenances belonging to them, whatever they are, to the yearly value of 10,000 marks after all charges and expenses: of which 5,000 marks shall be for his own estate, 3.500 marks to Edward his first-born son, earl of March, for his estate, and £1,000 to Edmund, earl of Rutland, his second-born son, for his yearly maintenance; for such considerations, and to such purpose, as shall be announced by the lords of the king's

24. Item, if eny persone or persones ymagine or compasse the deth of the seid duc and therof provably be atteinte of open dede doon by folkes of their condicion, that it be demed and adjuged high treson.

25. Item, for the more establisshyng of the seid accord, it is appointed and consented that the lordes spirituelx and temporelx beyng in this present parlement shall make oothes to accepte, take, wurship and repute the seid Richard duc of York, and his said heires, as above is reherced; and kepe, observe and strengthin as muche as apperteyneth unto thaym all the thinggs abovesaid, and resiste to thair power all thaym that wull presume the contrary, according to thair things, and resist as best they can all those estatis and degrees.

26. Item, the seid Richard duc of York, erles of Marche and Ruthlond shall promitte and make oth to helpe, aide and defend the said lordes and every of theym, ayenst all thoo that wolle quarell or any thyng attempte ayenst the said lordes, or any of theym, by occasion of agreement or consentyng to the seid accorde, or assistence yevyng to the seid duc and erles, or any of thaym. against the said lords, or any of them, by

Item, it is agreed and appointed that this accorde and every article berof, bee opened and notified by the kyngs lettres patentes or otherwise, at such tymes and places, and in manere as it shall bee thought expedient to the seid Richard duc of York, with thavis of the lordes of the kynges counsaill.

27. The kyng, understandyng certainly the said title of the seid Richard duc of York juste, lawfull, true and suffisant, by thavis and assent of the lordes spirituell and temporelx, and commens, lawful, true and adequate, by the advice and in this parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same parlement, declareth, approveth, ratifieth, confermeth and accepteth the said title, just, good, lawfull and < true, > and therunto yeveth his assent and agreement, of his free will [col. b] and libertee. And over that, by the seid advis and auctorite declareth, entitleth, calleth, stablissheth, affermeth and reputeth the seid

council.

[The duke's person declared sacred.] 24. Item, if any person or persons scheme or plot the death of the said duke, and are provenly convicted of overt action against him by their peers, that it shall be deemed and adjudged high treason.

[Oaths of the peers to York and his heirs.] 25. Item, for the firmer establishment of the said settlement, it is decided, appointed and agreed that the lords spiritual and temporal in this present parliament shall take oaths to accept, take, worship and acknowledge the said Richard, duke of York, and his said heirs, as described above; and keep, observe and strengthen as far as they may all the abovesaid who presume the contrary, according to their estates and degrees.

[The oaths of the duke and his sons to the lords.1

26. Item, the said Richard, duke of York, and the earls of March and Rutland shall promise and take an oath to help, aid and defend the said lords and each of them against all those who wish to dispute or attempt anything occasion of their agreement or consent to the said settlement, or their assisting the said duke and earls, or any of them.

Item, it is agreed and decided that this settlement, and every article of it, shall be proclaimed and published by the king's letters patent or otherwise, at such times and places, and in such a way as the said Richard, duke of York, shall think expedient, with the advice of the lords of the king's council.

[Royal assent given.]

27. The king, perceiving indeed that the said title of the said Richard, duke of York, is just, assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled in this parliament, and by authority of the same parliament, declares, approves, ratifies, confirms and accepts the said title as just, good, lawful and true, and gives his assent and agreement to it, of his free will [col. b] and liberty. And furthermore, by the said advice and authority,

Richard duc of York verrey, true and rightfull heire to the corones, roiall estate and dignite of the realmes of Englond and of Fraunce, and of the lordship of Ireland aforesaid; and that according to the wurship and reverence that therto belongeth, he bee taken, accepted and reputed, in wurship and reverence, by all thestats of the seid realme of Englond, and of all his subgetts berof: savyng and ordeignyng by the same auctorite the kyng to have the seid crounes, realmes, roiall estate, dignite and preemynence of the same, and the seid lordship of Irelond, duryng that the king shall have the said crowns, his lyf naturall.

And ferthermore, by the same advis and auctorite, [Royal assent given.] wolle, consenteth and agreeth that after his decesse, or when it shall please his highnes to ley from hym the said corones, estate, dignitee and lordship, or therof cesseth, the seid Richard duc of York and his heires shall ymmediatly succede hym in the said corones, roiall estate, dignite and lordship, and thaym then have and joy, any act of parlement, statute, ordynaunce, or other thyng to the contrary made, or interrupcion or discontynuance of possession, notwithstondyng. And more over, by the said advis and auctorite, stablissheth, graunteth, confermeth, approveth, ratifieth and accepteth the said accorde, and all thyngs therin conteigned, and therunto frely and absolutely assenteth and agreeth.

And by the same advis and auctorite, ordevneth and establisheth, that yf eny persone or persones ymagine or compasse the deth of the seid duc and therof provably be atteinte of open dede doon by folkes of their condition, that it be deemed and adjuged high treason.

28. And ferthermore ordenneth, graunteth and stablissheth, by the seid advis and auctorite, that all statutez, ordynaunces and acts of parlement made in the tyme of the seid Kyng Herry the fourth, by the which he and the heires of his body commyng, or Herry late kyng of Englond the fyft, by which he and the heirs of his body, or the son and heire of the said Kyng Herry the fourth, and the heires of the body of the same Kyng Herry the fyft commyng, were or be enheritable to the said corones and reaumes, or to the heritage or enheritement of the same, be adnulled, repelled, revoked, dampned, cancelled,

he declares, names, calls, decrees, affirms and acknowledges the said Richard, duke of York, to be the very true and rightful heir to the crowns, royal estate and dignity of the realms of England and of France, and of the aforesaid lordship of Ireland; and that according to the worship and reverence that belong thereto, he shall be taken, accepted and held in worship and reverence, by all the estates of the said realm of England, and all his subjects thereof: saving and ordaining by the same authority realms, royal estate, dignity and pre-eminence of the same, and the said lordship of Ireland, during his natural life.

And furthermore, by the same advice and authority, he wills, consents and agrees that after his death, or when it shall please his highness to lay down or yield the said crowns, estate, dignity and lordship, the said Richard, duke of York, and his heirs shall immediately succeed him in the said crowns, royal estate, dignity and lordship, and then have and enjoy them, notwithstanding any act of parliament, statute, ordinance, or other thing made to the contrary, or any interruption or break in possession. And moreover, by the said advice and authority, he decrees, grants, confirms, approves, ratifies and accepts the said settlement, and everything contained in it, and freely and absolutely assents and agrees to it.

And by the same advice and authority, he ordains and decrees that if any person or persons scheme or plot the death of the said duke, and are provenly convicted of overt action taken against him by their peers, that it be deemed and adjudged high treason.

[The statute of entail repealed.] 28. And furthermore he ordains, grants and decrees, by the said advice and authority, that all statutes, ordinances and acts of parliament made in the time of the said King Henry IV, Henry V, late king of England, the son and heir of the said King Henry IV, and the heirs of the body of the same King Henry V, did or do possess a hereditary right to the said crowns and realms, or to the heritage or inheritance of the same, shall be annulled,

voide and of noo force or effect. (fn. v-373-157-1) And by the said advis and auctorite, the same statutes, ordynaunces and acts of parlement, adnulleth, repelleth, revoketh, dampneth, cancelleth, voideth and putteth from all force and effect. And overe this, the kyng, by the seid advis, assent and auctorite, wolle, ordeyneth and establisheth that all other acts and statutez made afore this tyme, by auctorite of eny parlement, nat ordains and decrees that all other acts and repelled or adnulled by lyke auctorite or otherwise voide, bee in such force, effect and vertue as they were afore the makyng of this ordynaunce; and that noo lettres patentes roialx of of such force, effect and virtue as they were recorde nor actis judiciall made or doon afore this before the making of this ordinance; and that tyme, nat repelled, reversed, ne otherwise voide by the lawe, bee prejudiced or hurt by this present acts made or done before this time and not acte: so alway, if theire can not herafter be aleged repealed, reversed or otherwise invalidated by and proved, a more better and sufficient title to the defetyng of this same acte.

29. Memorandum that after the agreemnt of the seid acte of accord by the kyng and three estates in this present parlement assembled, the seid duc of York, and erles of Marche and Rutlonde, in the three estates assembled in this present vigill of All Halowes, come personelly into the chambre of the same parlement, before the kyng, in presence of the lordes spirituelx and temporelx; and there and then, everyche of the seid duc and erles severally [p. v-380][col. a] made promesse and ooth, accordyng to the seid agreement and accord, with protestacion that if the individually [p. v-380][col. a] made a kyng for his partie duely kept and observed the same accord and acte theruppon made, which the kyng at that tyme promysed so to doo. And then the seid duc and erles instantely desired that this her protestacion and also the seid promesse made by the kyng, myght be entred of record.

Assignacio facta prefato duci de .x <sup>m</sup> . < marc. >

30. Item, quedam cedula sive billa, signo manuali 30. Item, a schedule or bill, signed by the lord domini regis signata, exhibita fuit in presenti parliamento, hanc seriem verborum continens: Where by an acte and ordynaunce made in this present parlement, among other things it is ordeyned and established by auctorite of the same it is ordained and decreed by authority of the

repealed, revoked, negated, cancelled, void and of no force or effect. (fn. v-373-157-1) And by the said advice and authority annuls, repeals, revokes, negates, cancels and invalidates the same statutes, ordinances and acts of parliament, and deprives them of all force and effect. And furthermore, the king, by the said advice, assent and authority, wills, statutes made before this time, by authority of any parliament, not repealed or annulled by similar authority or otherwise invalid, shall be no royal letters patent of record or judicial the law, shall be prejudiced or damaged by this present act: provided always that there cannot later be alleged or proved a better and more adequate title to defeat this same act.

#### [Oaths enrolled.]

29. Be it remembered that after the agreement of the said act of settlement by the king and parliament, the said duke of York, and the earls of March and Rutland, came in person into the parliament chamber on the vigil of All Hallows [31 October], before the king, in the presence of the lords spiritual and temporal; and then and there the said duke and earls promise and oath, according to the said agreement and settlement, on condition that the king for his part should duly keep and observe the same settlement and act made thereon, which the king at that time promised to do. And then the said duke and earls immediately requested that this condition, and also the said promise made by the king, might be formally recorded.

Assignment made to the aforementioned duke of 10,000 marks.

king's sign manual, was presented in the present parliament, containing these words: Forasmuch as by an act and ordinance made in this present parliament, among other things

that Richard duc of York shall have castelx. manoirs, londes and tenementes, with wardes, mariages, relefes, services, amerciamentes, advousons, fees and other appurtenauncez, what so ever they bee, to the yerely value of  $.x^{m}$ . marc, over all charges and reprises: wherof .v <sup>m</sup>. marc shall be to his owne estate, .iij m. and .dc. [sic: read '.v.c.'] marc to Edward his son his heire for his own estate, 3,500 marks to Edward his apparant, erle of Marche, for his estate, and .m.li. to Edmond erle of Rutland his third [sic: read 'second'] goten son, for his yerely sustenaunce; for such consideracions, and to such entent, as shalbe declared by the lordes of the kynges counsell.

Dominus rex, consideracione premissorum, ex assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium, ac communitatis regni sui Anglie, in presenti parliamento existencium, et auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti, dat et concedit dicto Ricardo duci Ebor', carissimo consanguineo suo, ad terminum vite ipsius regis, < principatum Wall', una cum omnibus dominiis et terris in Northwall', Westwall' et Suthwall', que fuerunt in manibus ipsius regis > primo die Julii anno regni sui vicesimo; ac dominio, castro, villa et comitatu de Caernarvan; dominio, castro et villa de Conwey, cum quatuor commotis de Issaph et Uphaph, Naveconewey et Cruthyn, in predicto comitatu de and county of Caernarvon; the lordship, castle Caernarvan; ac dominio, castro et villa de Curkith; dominio, castro et villa de Hardelagh, cum toto comitatu de Meryonnyth; dominio, castro, villa et comitatu de Kermerdyn; dominio, castro et villa de Lampadarvaur; dominio et senescalcia de Contremaur'; dominio, castro, villa lordship, castle and town of Harlech, with all et comitatu de Kardygan; dominio et castro de Haverford, cum prisis vinorum ibidem; castro et dominio de Newecastell in Emelyn in Southwall'; ac dominio de Newen et Pulgheley in Northwall'; comitatu et dominio de Anglesey in Northwall'; castro de Beaumaries in eodem comitatu de Anglesey; ac omnibus dominiis, terris et tenementis, que fuerunt Resi ap Mereduk, et que ad manus inclite memorie domini Edwardi, filii regis Henrici quondam regis Anglie progenitoris sui devenerunt: una cum omnibus aliis dominiis, civitatibus, castris, burgis, villis, maneriis, membris, hamelettis, terris, tenementis, feodis militum, advocacionibus ecclesiarum collegiatarum, parochialium, prebendarum, et aliarum quarumcumque; necnon abbatiarum,

same that Richard, duke of York, shall have castles, manors, lands and tenements, with wards, marriages, reliefs, services, amercements, advowsons, fees and the other appurtenances, whatever they are, to the yearly value of 10,000 marks, after all charges and expenses: of which 5,000 marks shall be son and heir apparent, earl of March, for his estate, and £1,000 to Edmund, earl of Rutland, his second-born son, for his yearly maintenance; for such considerations, and to such purpose, as shall be declared by the lords of the king's council.

The lord king, having considered the foregoing, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of his kingdom of England being in the present parliament, and by authority of the same parliament, gives and grants to the said Richard, duke of York, his most beloved kinsman, for term of the king's life, the principality of Wales, together with all lordships and lands in North Wales, West Wales and South Wales which were in the king's hands on 1 July in the twentieth year of his reign [1442]; and the lordship, castle, town and town of Conway, with the four commotes of [Arllechwedd] Isaf and [Arllechwedd] Uchaf, Nantconwy and Creuddyn, in the aforesaid county of Caernarvon; and the lordship, castle and town of Criccieth; the the county of Merioneth; the lordship, castle, town and county of Carmarthen; the lordship, castle and town of Aberystwyth; the lordship and seneschalry of Cantref Mawr; the lordship, castle, town and county of Cardigan; the lordship and castle of Haverford, with prises of wines there; the castle and lordship of Newcastle Emlyn in South Wales; and the lordship of Nefyn and Pwllheli in North Wales; the county and lordship of Anglesey in North Wales; the castle of Beaumaris in the same county of Anglesey; and all the lordships, lands and tenements which belonged to Rhys ap Maredudd, and which fell into the hands of the lord Edward of famous memory, son of King Henry once king prioratuum, capellarum, hospitalium, cantariarum, vicariarum, et aliarum domorum religiosarum, et beneficiorum et officiorum quorumcumque; pensionibus, porcionibus, annuitatibus, corrodiis, officiis, mineris, libertatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, custumis, prisis et excercicio omnis justiciatus, cancellariatus, homagiis, serviciis, redditibus, proficuis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, wrecco maris, piscariis, moris, mariscis, turbariis, forestis, chaceis, parcis, boscis, warennis, hundredis, commotis, ragloriis, ringeldiis, senescalciis, amobragiis, curiis, wardewardiis, constabulariis, ballivis, forestariis, coronatoriis, reversionibus, feriis, mercatis, wardis, maritagiis, [col. b] releviis, escaetis, et serviciis tenencium, tam liberorum quam nativorum, et omnibus aliis ad dictum principatum dicto primo die Julii in partibus predictis spectantibus quoquo modo; adeo plenarie et integre, sicut carissimus progenitor suus Edwardus nuper princeps Wall', et carissimus dominus et pater suus rex defunctus, habuerunt et tenuerunt, seu eorum alter habuit et tenuit, seu habere et tenere debuisset; una cum titulis, accionibus, placitis, sectis, demandis, calumpniis, punicionibus quibuscumque; forisfacturis terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum et serviciorum; ac escaetis, wardis, maritagiis, presentacionibus ad quecumque officia et beneficia ecclesiastica, et aliis rebus quibuscumque, ac juribus universis ad ipsum regem ante hec tempora < in dicto principatu, ubicumque, quandocumque > et qualitercumque concernentibus, seu sibi ante hec tempora, de iure vel consuetudine partium predictarum quomodolibet pertinentibus; adeo plene et integre sicut idem rex ea seu eorum aliquod habere posset vel deberet, sicut dictus principatus in manibus ipsius regis remansisset non concessus: ac etiam cum reversionibus omnium et singulorum aliorum maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, feodorum, advocacionum, annuitatum, officiorum et aliarum and also with the reversions of all other possessionum quarumcumque ad ipsum principatum predictum, post mortem quorumcumque tenencium eorumdem, in feodo talliato, in dotem per legem Anglie, ad terminum vite vel annorum, seu alias qualitercumque spectantibus imperpetuum.

Et ulterius idem dominus rex, auctoritate

of England his progenitor; together with all other lordships, cities, castles, boroughs, towns, manors, members, hamlets, lands, tenements, knights' fees, advowsons of collegiate and parish churches, of prebends, and all others, and also of abbeys, priories, chapels, hospitals, chantries, vicarages and of other religious houses, and of all benefices and offices; with pensions, portions, annuities, corrodies, offices, mining rights, liberties, free customs, customs, prises, and exercise of all the duties of justiciar and chancellor, homage, services, rents, profits, meadows, grazing, pastures, wreck of sea, fisheries, moors, marshes, turbaries, forests, chases, parks, woods, warrens, hundreds, commotes, offices of rhaglaws, rhingylls, seneschalries, amobrs, courts, offices of woodwards, constables, bailiffs, foresters, coroners, reversions, fairs, markets, wards, marriages, [col. b] reliefs, escheats, and services of tenants, both free and villein, and everything else pertaining in any way to the said principality on the said 1 July [1442] in the aforesaid regions; as fully and entirely as his most beloved progenitor, Edward, late prince of Wales, and his most beloved lord and father the late king, had and held, or either of them had and held, or should have had or held; together with all titles, actions, pleas, suits, demands, accusations and penalties; forfeitures of lands, tenements, rents and services; and escheats, wardships, marriages, presentations to all ecclesiastical offices and benefices, and any other things, and all the rights belonging to the king before this time anywhere in the said principality, at any time or in any way, or pertaining to him before this time in any way by right or custom of the aforesaid regions; as fully and entirely as the same king could or should have had them or any of them, if the said principality had remained ungranted in the king's hands; manors, lands, tenements, fees, advowsons, annuities, offices, and any other possessions pertaining to the aforesaid principality, after the death of any of their tenants in fee-tail, in dower by the law of England, for the term of life or years, or in any other way, forever.

And moreover the same lord king, by the

predicta, dedit et concessit prefato duci, quandam aforesaid authority, gave and granted to the feodi firmam, centum et tresdecim librarum, sex solidorum et octo denariorum per annum, exeuntem de dominio, castro et villa de Buelt cum pertinenciis; necnon quandam feodi firmam, quinquaginta et sex librarum, tresdecim solidorum et quatuor denariorum per annum, exeuntem de dominio, castro et villa de Monte Gomery cum pertinenciis: salvis semper, quibuscumque ligeis ipsius domini regis, jure, titulo et interesse suis, de et in castris, dominiis, maneriis, villis, terris, tenementis et ceteris premissis quibuscumque, et qualibet parcella eorumdem, que ipsi seu eorum aliquis, antecessores vel predecessores sui, habuerunt seu habuit in premissis, seu aliquo premissorum, primo die regni sui, aliter quam per litteras ipsius regis patentes sibi seu eorum alicui inde confectas.

Et ulterius idem dominus rex, de assensu, avisamento et auctoritate predictis, dat et concedit aforesaid assent, advice and authority, gives dicto duci, ad terminum vite ipsius regis, comitatus palatinos Cestr' et Flynt, et castra de Cestr', Bestone, Rotheland, Hope et Flynte, et terras et tenementa que fuerunt in manibus ipsius regis dicto primo Julii ibidem; ac maneria et terras de Hope et Hopedale et Frodesham; necnon cantredum et terram de Inglefeld, et omnia alia maneria et tenementa que fuerunt in manibus ipsius regis dicto primo die Julii in comitatibus predictis cum pertinenentiis; una cum feodis militum tam forinsecis in Anglia, quam aliis, et advocacionibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratuum, hospitalium, capellarum, cantariarum, vicariarum, et aliarum domorum religiosarum, beneficiorum et officiorum quorumcumque; pensionibus, porcionibus, annuitatibus, corrodiis, officiis, prisis, custumis, libertatibus, regalitatibus, liberis consuetudinibus, customs, liberties, regalities, free customs, franchesiis, dominiis, commotis, hundredis, escaetis, forisfacturis, feriis, mercatis, forestis, chaceis, parcis, boscis, warennis, maritagiis, releviis, serviciis, piscariis, molendinis, dominiis, possessionibus, proficuis et emolumentis quibuscumque, quibuscumque nominibus censeantur, et omnibus aliis rebus ad eadem comitatus, [memb. 5] castra, maneria, terras, cantredum, commotos et hundreda, tam in Anglia quam < in marchia Wallie, qualitercumque > spectantibus seu de jure pertinere debent; adeo

aforementioned duke, a fee-farm of £113 6s. 8d. per annum, issuing from the lordship, castle and town of Builth with the appurtenances; and also a certain fee-farm of £56 13s. 4d. per annum, issuing from the lordship, castle and town of Montgomery with the appurtenances: saving always to any of the lord king's lieges their right, title and interest of and in the castles, lordships, manors, towns, lands, tenements and any other things stated, and each part of them, which they or any of them, their ancestors or predecessors, had in the foregoing, or any of them, on the first day of his reign, other than by the king's letters patent made to them or to any of them.

And moreover the same lord king, by the and grants to the said duke, for term of the king's life, the county palatines of Chester and Flint, and the castles of Chester, Beeston, Rhuddlan, Hope and Flint, and the lands and tenements which were in the lord king's hands on the said 1 July; and the manors and lands of Hope and Hopedale and Frodsham; and also the cantref and land of Englefield, and all the other manors and tenements which were in the king's hands on the said 1 July in the aforesaid counties, with the appurtenances; together with knights' fees, including those in England, and advowsons of churches, abbeys, priories, hospitals, chapels, chantries, vicarages and of any other religious houses, benefices and offices; with any pensions, portions, annuities, corrodies, offices, prises, franchises, lordships, commotes, hundreds, escheats, forfeitures, fairs, markets, forests, chases, parks, woods, warrens, marriages, reliefs, services, fisheries, mills, lordships, possessions, profits and emoluments, by whatever name they are known, and everything else however pertaining or which by right ought to pertain to the same counties, [memb. 5] castles, manors, lands, cantref, commotes and hundreds, both in England and in the march of Wales; as fully and entirely,

plene et integre, et eisdem modis et conditionibus, sicut carissimus progenitor ipsius regis Edwardus nuper comes Cestr', aut carissimus dominus et pater suus rex defunctus, [p. v-381][col. a] seu aliquis alius comes predictorum comitatuum Cestr' et Flynt, dicta comitatus, castra, maneria, terras, cantredum, feoda, dominia et possessiones cum pertinentibus predictis tenuit et habuit, seu tenere et habere de jure debuisset, sine ullo retenemento; necnon feodis militum, et advocacionibus ecclesiarum. prebendarum, capellarum, cantariarum, vicariarum, porcionum, pensionum, ac aliorum beneficiorum et officiorum, ad dictum comitatum benefices and offices, relating or pertaining to Cestr' infra eundem comitatum Cestr' pertinentibus sive spectantibus; una cum titulis, accionibus, placitis, sectis, demandis, calumpniis, punicionibus quibuscumque, et forisfacturis terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum et serviciorum, ac escaetis, wardis, maritagiis, presentacionibus ad quecumque officia et beneficia ecclesiastica, et aliis rebus quibuscumque, ac juribus universis, ipsum regem this time anywhere in the said counties, at any ante hec tempora in dictis comitatibus, ubicumque et quocumque modo et qualitercumque concernentibus, seu nuper sibi de of those regions; as fully and completely as jure vel de consuetudine partium illarum quomodolibet pertinentibus; adeo plene et integre, sicut idem rex, ea seu eorum aliquod habere posset vel deberet si dicti comitatus in manibus ipsius regis remansissent non concessi: ac etiam cum reversionibus omnium et singulorum aliorum maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, feodorum, advocacionum, annuitatum, officiorum et aliarum possessionum quarumcumque, ad ipsum regem, dicto primo die Julii, infra comitatus predictos, post mortem aliquorum tenencium eorumdem maneriorum, terrarum, tenementorum, feodorum, advocacionum, annuitatum, officiorum et aliarum their right, title and interest of and in the possessionum quarumcumque, in feodo talliato, in dotem per legem Anglie, ad terminum vite vel annorum, seu alias qualitercumque spectantibus imperpetuum. Salvis semper, quibuscumque ligeis ipsius domini regis jure, titulo et interesse suis de et in castris, dominiis, maneriis, villis, terris et tenementis, et ceteris premissis quibuscumque, et in qualibet parcella eorumdem, them. que ipsi seu eorum aliquis, antecessores seu predecessores sui, habuerunt seu habuit in

and on the same terms and conditions, as the king's most beloved progenitor, Edward, late earl of Chester, or his most beloved lord and father the late king, [p. v-381][col. a] or any of the other earls of the aforesaid counties of Chester and Flint, held and had the said counties, castles, manors, lands, cantref, lordships and possessions, with the aforesaid appurtenances, or should by right have had and held them, without any reservation; and also with knights' fees, and advowsons of churches, prebends, chapels, chantries, vicarages, portions, pensions, and other the said earldom of Chester within the same county of Chester; together with any titles, actions, pleas, suits, demands, accusations and penalties, and forfeitures of lands, tenements, rents and services, and escheats, wardships, marriages, presentations to any ecclesiastical offices and benefices, and any other things, and all rights belonging to this king before time or in any way, or pertaining to him before this time in any way by right or custom the same king could or should have had them or any of them if the said principality had remained ungranted in the king's hands: and also with the reversions of all manors, lands, tenements, fees, advowsons, annuities, offices and any other possessions within the aforesaid counties, on the said 1 July, after the death of any of the tenants of any of the same manors, lands, tenements, fees, advowsons, annuities, offices and other possessions, in fee-tail, in dower by the law of England, for the term of life or years, or in any other way, forever. Saving always to any of the lord king's lieges castles, lordships, manors, towns, lands and tenements and any of the other things stated, and each part of them, which they or any of them, their ancestors or predecessors, had in the foregoing, or any of them, on the first day of the reign of the said lord king, other than by his letters patent made to them or to any of

premissis, seu aliquo premissorum, primo die regni dicti domini regis, aliter quam per litteras suas patentes sibi seu eorum alicui inde confectas.

Et insuper idem dominus rex, de avisamento, assensu et auctoritate predictis, dat et concedit dicto duci Ebor', ad terminum vite ipsius regis, ducatum Cornubie, et omnia honores, dominia, castra, maneria, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones, firmas, feodi firmas, feodi militum, advocaciones ecclesiarum, capellarum et omnium knights' fees, advowsons of churches, chapels aliorum beneficiorum, hospitalium, cantariarum, que fuerunt ipsius regis dicto primo die Julii: una cum omnibus libertatibus, franchesiis, officiis, curiis, visibus franciplegii, wayffs, straiffs, forisfacturis, wreccis maris, prisis vinorum, custumis, haveneriis, tolnetis, cunagiis stanni et stannariorum, mercatis, feriis, nundinis, cum omnibus rebus, possessionibus, hereditamentis, proficuis et commoditatibus, cum omnibus eorum possessions, hereditaments, profits and pertinenciis, dicto ducatui annexis, unitis, pertinentibus sive spectantibus, seu parcella eorumdem, aliquo modo in manibus ipsius regis dicto primo die Julii existentibus: ita large, libere, being in the king's hands on the said 1 July: as integre et in tam ampla forma, sicut princeps Edwardus filius regis Edwardi tertii unquam ante hec tempora ea habuit, gaudebat seu possidebat; aliquo actu seu ordinacione ante hec tempora facto non obstante.

regis jure, titulo et interesse suis, de et in honoribus, castris, dominiis, maneriis, terris, tenementis et ceteris premissis quibuscumque, et in qualibet parcella eorumdem, que ipsi seu eorum aliquis, antecessores seu predecessores sui, interest those lieges or any of them, their seu aliqui < alii > seu aliquis alius, quorum seu cujus statum, titulum et interesse ipsi ligei, seu aliquis antecessorum seu predecessorum suorum, habuerunt seu habuit in premissis, seu aliquo premissorum, dicto primo die regni ipsius regis, aliter quam per litteras patentes ipsius domini regis sibi, seu eorum alicui inde confectas.

[col. b]

And the forsaid duc shall by his letters patentes gif and graunte to the seid Edward, his son his heire aparant erle of Marche, for terme of lyf of the kyng oure soverayn lord, that oure lord prosper in long contynuance to his pleasure, landes and tenementes, parcell of the said castely, his pleasure, lands and tenements which are

And moreover the same lord king, by the aforesaid advice, assent and authority, gives and grants to the said duke of York, for term of the king's life, the duchy of Cornwall, and all honours, lordships, castles, manors, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, farms, fee-farms, and of all other benefices, hospitals, chantries, which belonged to the same king on the said 1 July [1442]; together with all liberties, franchises, offices, courts, views of frankpledge, waifs, strays, forfeitures, wrecks of the sea, prises of wines, customs, harbour dues, tolls, coinage of tin and stannaries, markets, marts, fairs, with all things, commodities, with all their appurtenances, annexed, united, pertaining or belonging to the said duchy, or part of them in any way, largely, freely and completely and in as full a form as Prince Edward, son of King Edward III, ever had, enjoyed or possessed them before this time; notwithstanding any act or ordinance made before this time.

Salvis semper quibuscumque ligeis ipsius domini Saving always to any of the lord king's lieges their right, title and interest of and in any of the honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, and the rest of things stated, and each part of them, which estate, title or ancestors or predecessors, or any others or any other, had in the foregoing, or any of them, on the said first day of the king's reign, other than by the lord king's letters patent made to them or to any of them.

> And the aforesaid duke shall by his letters patent give and grant to the said Edward, his son and heir apparent, the earl of March, for term of the life of the king our sovereign lord, which may God long continue in prosperity to

lordships and other of the premisses, to the yerely part of the said castles, lordships and other value of .iii mdc. [sic: read '.v.c.'] marc, for his estate: and to Edmond erle of Rutheland the third [sic: read 'second'] goten son of the said duc, for his yerely sustenaunce, for terme of lyf of oure said soverayn lord, landes and tenementes, parcell of the seid castelx, lordships and other of the premisses, to the yerely value of .m.li. (fn. v-373-173-1)

Provided alwey that this acte extend not nor in any wise be prejudiciall to us, nor to oure heires of or in the duchie of Lancastre, in, of, or for any castels, honours, maners, londes and tenementes. or other enheritementes, that are or late were parcell of oure duchie of Lancastre, the first day of oure reigne, or that were unyte or annexed to the same duchie, by auctorite of parlement or otherwise, afore the same day.

31. Item, due alie cedule exhibite fuerunt in parliamento predicto, et cedule sive bille predicte annexe, quarum cedularum tenor unius seguitur sub his verbis:

Salvis semper et reservatis venerabili in Cristo patri Georgio, Dei gracia episcopo Exon', et successoribus suis, decimis cunagii stanni in comitatibus Devon' et Cornub'. Salvis eciam, eidem episcopo et successoribus suis, ac decano et capitulo ecclesie cathedralis beati Petri Exon', et successoribus suis, omnibus et singulis privilegiis, franchesiis, libertatibus, consuetudinibus et immunitatibus, eis seu eorum alicui per dominum regem, seu per aliquem vel aliquos predecessorum suorum, quondam regum Anglie, ante hec tempora concessis, seu per ipsum episcopum, aut aliquem predecessorum suorum, quondam episcoporum ejusdem ecclesie, the same bishop, or any of his predecessors, aut per dictos decanum et capitulum, vel aliquos predecessores eorumdem decani et capituli, ante hec tempora habitis et usitatis. Salvis etiam, eidem episcopo et successoribus suis, episcopis loci predicti, ac prefatis decano et capitulo et successoribus suis, visibus franciplegii, wapentagiis, hundredis, letis, commotis, cantredis ac curiis quibuscumque, tam eidem episcopo seu predecessoribus suis predictis, quam prefatis decano et capitulo seu predecessoribus suis predictis, per dominum regem, seu aliquem vel aliquos predecessorum suorum predictorum, ante

things stated, to the yearly value of 3,500 marks, for his estate: and to Edmund, earl of Rutland, the second-born son of the said duke, for his yearly maintenance, for term of the life of our said sovereign lord, lands and tenements belonging to the said castles, lordships and other things stated, to the yearly value of £1,000. (fn. v-373-173-1)

Provided always that this act shall not extend or be prejudicial to us in any way, or to our heirs of or in the duchy of Lancaster, with regard to any castles, honours, manors, lands and tenements, or other hereditaments, that are or were of late part of our duchy of Lancaster, on the first day of our reign, or that were united or annexed to the same duchy, by authority of parliament or otherwise, before the same day.

[Exceptions to the said grant.] 31. Item, two other schedules were presented in the aforesaid parliament, and annexed to the aforesaid schedule or bill, the tenor of one of which follows in these words:

Saving always and reserving to the venerable father in Christ George, by the grace of God, bishop of Exeter, and his successors, the tithes of the coinage of tin in the counties of Devon and Cornwall. Saving also to the same bishop and his successors, and to the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St Peter of Exeter, and their successors, each and all of the privileges, franchises, liberties, customs and immunities granted before this time to them or to any of them by the lord king, or by any of his predecessors, once kings of England, or had and used before this time by once bishops of the same church, or by the said dean and chapter, or any predecessors of the same dean and chapter. Saving also to the same bishop and his successors, the bishops of the aforesaid place, and to the aforementioned dean and chapter and their successors, all views of frankpledge, wapentakes, hundreds, leets, commotes, cantrefs and courts, granted before this time both to the same bishop or his aforesaid predecessors, and to the aforementioned dean and chapter or their predecessors aforesaid, by the lord king, or

hec tempora concessis, seu per eundem episcopum aut predecessores suos predictos, aut per dictos decanum et capitulum vel predecessores suos predictos, ante hec tempora qualitercumque habitis et usitatis, presenti actu non obstante. (fn. v-373-180-1)

Proviso etiam quod eidem episcopo seu successoribus suis predictis, aut dictis decano et capitulo vel successoribus suis predictis, nullum dampnum seu prejudicium in premissis seu aliquo premissorum per actum predictum aliqualiter seu fiat.

Tenor vero alterius cedule seguitur sub hiis verbis:

Provided also that this ordenaunce, graunte or acte extende not nor in any wise be prejudiciall to shall not extend or be prejudicial in any way any disceveraunce, disanexion nor disunyon made of the manoir of Istilworth with the appurtenauncez in the counte of Midd', from the seid duchie of Cornewaill; nor to any gifte, graunte or grauntez, assignacion, ratificacion, confirmacion or warante, had or made by oure fader of blessed memorie to the abbesse and convent of oure monasterie of Seint Saveour, and Seintes Marie the Virgine and Birgitte of Sion, of Mary the Virgin and St Bridget of Syon, of the ordre of Seint Austyn of Seint Saveour called, the order of St Augustine called of St Saviour, by oure seid fader within the same manoir of Istilworth made and founded, or to their predecessours or successours, or [p. v-382][col. a] to any other persone or persones to their use or to any of theym, by auctorite of his parlement holden at Westm' the secund day of May, the .ix. th yere of his moost noble reigne, or by his lettres patentes, or in any other wise, of or in the seid manoir of Istilworth with thappurtenauncez, or any parcell of the seid manoir; nor to any other thyng comprised within the acte of the same parlement theruppon had or made; for asmoche as the act of the same parliament had or made oure seid fader, by auctorite of his seid parlement, annexed and unyed to the seid duchie dyvers other manoirs, londes, tenementes and possessions comprised within the seid acte, excedyng the value of the seid manoir of Istilworth, as in the rolles of the same parlement therof made more openly hit doth appere. (fn. v-373-186-1)

Oue quidem cedula sive billa, et due alie cedule predicte, transportate fuerunt et deliberate communibus regni Anglie in eodem parliamento

any of his aforesaid predecessors, or had or used in any way before this time by the same bishop or his aforesaid predecessors, or by the said dean and chapter or their aforesaid predecessors, notwithstanding this present act. (fn. v-373-180-1)

Provided also that no injury or prejudice in the foregoing or any of them shall be done in any way by the aforesaid act to the same bishop or his aforesaid successors, or to the said dean and chapter or their aforesaid successors.

The tenor of the other schedule follows in these words:

Provided also that this ordinance, grant or act to any severance, sundering or separation made of the manor of Isleworth with the appurtenances in the county of Middlesex, from the said duchy of Cornwall; or to any gift, grant or grants, assignment, ratification, confirmation or warrant, had or made by our father of blessed memory to the abbess and convent of our monastery of St Saviour and St made and founded by our said father within the same manor of Isleworth, or to their predecessors or successors, or [p. v-382][col. a] to any other person or persons to their use or to any of them, by authority of his parliament held at Westminster on 2 May, in the ninth year of his most noble reign [1421], or by his letters patent, or in any other way, with regard to the said manor of Isleworth with its appurtenances, or any part of the said manor; or to any other thing contained within thereon; because our said father, by authority of his said parliament, annexed and united to the said duchy various other manors, lands, tenements and possessions contained within the said act, exceeding the value of the said manor of Isleworth, as appears more plainly in the rolls of the same parliament. (fn. v-373-186-1)

Which schedule or bill, and the two other schedules aforesaid, were taken and delivered to the commons of the kingdom of England in existentibus, quibus iidem communes assensum suum prebuerunt sub hac forma:

A cest bille, et a les cedules a cest bille annexes, les commyns sount assentuz.

Quibus quidem billa, cedulis et assensu predictis, in parliamento predicto lectis, auditis et plenius intellectis, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in dicto parliamento existentium, ac communitatis predicte, necnon auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti, respondebatur eisdem in forma sequenti:

### Le roy le voet.

Prefatus tamen dominus rex, certis de causis ipsum moventibus, quasdam provisiones et exceptiones in dicto parliamento deliberavit, quas super istis premissis inactitari mandavit; quarum tenores hic inferius annotantur:

Savyng alwey to Richard Wydevyll Lord Ryvers and Jaquette his wyf, duchesse of Bedford, the annuite to they assigned to have in dower of the Bedford, the annuity assigned to them for the said duchesse, to be perceyved yerely at the resceit of the duchie of Cornewaill. (fn. v-373-198-1)

Proviso semper, quod actus iste in aliquo non sit ad dampnum nec prejudicium Alicie ducisse Suff', de et in quadraginta et quatuor libris, septem solidis et octo denariis, percipiendis singulis annis de exitibus cunagii stanni in Cornub', que eadem ducissa tenet < in > dotem ei contingentem post mortem Thome nuper comitis Sar', nuper viri ipsius ducisse, de ducentis marcis annuis per dominum Edwardum nuper regem Anglie tertium post conquestum Willelmo de Monte Acuto nuper comiti Sar', et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis, de exitibus cunagii stanni predicti annuatim percipiendis concessis. (fn. v-373-200-1)

Provided and except alway, that neither the castell, maner nor lordship of Hawardyn with thappurtenauncez in the counte of Chestre, neither the castell, maner, nor lordship of Mohault, and Mohautesdale in the marche of Wales with thappurtenauncez, passe unto any of the said Richard duke of York, Edward erle of Marche or Edmund erle of Ruthland, by any acte, appointment, assignement, lyvere or graunte

the same parliament, to which the same commons offered their assent in this form:

To this bill, and to the schedules annexed to this bill, the commons are agreed.

When this bill, schedules and aforesaid assent had been read, heard and fully understood in the aforesaid parliament, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal being in the said parliament, and of the aforesaid commons, and also by authority of the same parliament, they were answered in the following way:

The king wills it.

[Further exceptions.]

Nevertheless, the aforementioned lord king, for certain reasons prompting him, delivered certain provisos and exceptions to the said parliament, which he ordered to be enacted with regard to the things stated; the tenors of which are noted below:

Saving always to Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, and Jacquetta his wife, duchess of dower of the said duchess, to be received yearly at the receipt of the duchy of Cornwall. (fn. v-373-198-1)

Provided always that this act shall not be injurious or prejudicial in any way to Alice, duchess of Suffolk, with regard to £44 7s. 8d. received each year from the issues of the coinage of tin in Cornwall, which the same duchess holds by way of dower after the death of Thomas, late earl of Salisbury, late husband of the duchess, from 200 marks a year granted by Edward III, late king of England, to William Montagu, late earl of Salisbury, and the legitimate heirs male of his body, to be received each year from the issues of the aforesaid coinage of tin. (fn. v-373-200-1)

Provided and excepted always that neither the castle, manor or lordship of Hawarden with the appurtenances in the county of Chester, nor the castle, manor or lordship of Mold and Moldsdale in the march of Wales, with the appurtenances, shall pass to the said Richard, duke of York, Edward, earl of March, or Edmund, earl of Rutland, by any act, appointment, assignment, livery or grant made made in this present parlement. But that the seid castell, manoir and lordship of Hawardyn with thappurtenauncez in the counte of Chestre, and the said castell, manoir and lordship of Mohault and Mohaultesdale in the marche of Wales with thappurtenauncez, be forprised, except and oute taken of this acte, and every other acte made in this present parlement. (fn. v-373-202-1)

And also provided that the same acte, appointement, assignement, lyvere or graunte made in this present parlement, extend not nor be prejudiciall unto Thomas [col. b] Stanley Lord Stanley, in, to, or of any graunte made by us, by any oure lettres patentes under oure seall of oure counte of Chestre, to hym, or to Thomas Stanley late Lord Stanley his fader, by what name or names so ever they or any of theym be or wher called, of the offices of stewarde of Macclesfeld, maisterfostershippes of the forestes of Macclesfeld, Mare and Mondrem, surveiour and ridership of the same; nor in, to, or of any graunte, by oure letters patentes under the said seale by us made, that the said offices shuld remayne after the deth of the seid Thomas Stanley late Lord Stanley, to the heires male of the body of the same late Lord Stanley lawfully begoten; nor to the fees and wages of the said offices, or any of theym, due and accustumed; ne that this seid acte, ne any other acte in this present parlement made, extend ne be prejudiciall to any graunte by us made under the seid seall to Thomas Stanley late Lord Stanley, by what name so evere he was called therin, of any grounde, pasture or medowes within the same forestes, or any of theym, by what name or names so ever the forests, or any of them, by whatever name or same grounde, pasture or medowes be called or named in the seid grauntes, yeldyng therfore to us are called or named in the said grants, paying and oure heires .v.li. yerely.

Quod vicecomites sint intendentes prefato duci.

32. The kyng, understandyng and heryng the grete rebellions, murdres, riottes, unlawfull and felenouse spulyng of his subgetts, haynous extorsions and oppressions daily used, attempted and committed in dyvers parties of his reaume of Englond and Wales, ayenst the good publique and common wele therof; wherof is nat unlyke to growe and ensue, nat oonly the subversion of the good and restfull governance of the said realme, good and peaceful governance of the said

in this present parliament. But that the said castle, manor and lordship of Hawarden with the appurtenances in the county of Chester, and the said castle, manor and lordship of Mold and Moldsdale in the march of Wales, with the appurtenances, shall be excluded, excepted and taken out of this act, and every other act made in this present parliament. (fn. v-373-202-1)

And provided also that the same act, appointment, assignment, delivery or grant made in this present parliament shall not extend or be prejudicial to Thomas [col. b] Stanley, Lord Stanley, with regard to any grant made by us, by any of our letters patent under our seal of our county of Chester, to him, or to Thomas Stanley, late Lord Stanley his father, by whatever name or names they or any them are or were called, of the offices of steward of Macclesfield, master-forester of the forests of Macclesfield, Delamere and Mondrum, surveyor and rider of the same; or with regard to any grant made by us by our letters patent under the said seal, that the said offices should remain after the death of the said Thomas Stanley, late Lord Stanley, to the legitimate heirs male of his body; or to the due and customary fees and wages of the said offices, or any of them; and that this said act, or any other act made in this present parliament, shall not extend or be prejudicial to any grant made by us under the said seal to Thomas Stanley, late Lord Stanley, by whatever name he was called therein, of any ground, pasture or meadows within the same names the same ground, pasture or meadows yearly for them to us and our heirs £5.

That sheriffs shall be obedient to the aforementioned duke.

32. The king, understanding and hearing that great rebellions, murders, riots, unlawful and felonious looting of his subjects, heinous extortion and oppression are daily practised, attempted and committed in various regions of his realm of England and Wales, contrary to the public good and common weal; so that it is probable that not only the overthrow of the

but also the outrageous and ymmesurable perturbacion and violence of the peas and tranquillite therof; wherof to daungerouse and to perilous courage mowe be put in the hertis and myndes of his enemyes and adversaries of Scotland and Fraunce, to avaunce and hast hem into thexecucion of their indurat and insaciat malice, purposed and ymagined uppon his seid reaume and his subgettz therof, which in late dayes have born and suffred, and daily bere and suffre, to grete, to lamentable, and to grevous assaultes and hurtes of the said enemyes; hath, by thavis of the lordes spirituely and temporely, and commens, in this present parlement assembled, and by auctorite therof, ordeyned and stablisshed that his derrest cousyn Richard, vray and rightfull heire of the reaumes of Englond and Fraunce, and ordained and decreed that his dearest cousin of the lordship and land of Ireland, duc of York, have and take uppon hym the charge and labour to ride into the parties of the seid realme of Englond and Wales, where the seid rebellions, murdres, riottes, spoilyng, extorsions and oppressions be used, committed and attempted, to England and Wales where the said rebellions, represse, subdue and appese them, and also to resist his seid enemyes of Fraunce and Scotland within his said realme; (fn. v-373-207-1) wherunto is necessariely required thattendaunce of the said subgetts; and therfore graunteth, ordeyneth and stablisseth, by the seid advis and auctorite, that every shirref, with the power and myght of his shirwyk, and every maire, baillyf, officer, minister and subgett, of his seid realme of Englond and of Wales, shall attend upon his seid cousyn for the said entent, as the cas shall require, and to the same entent be redy at the commaundement of his said cousyn, and the same obeye and perfourme, in lyke cas as they aught to doo to his commaundement, after the cours of the lawes of England, and in Wales after the custumes there. (fn. v-373-207-2)

And furthermore ordeyneth, graunteth and stablisseth, by the seid advis and auctorite, that rebellion, insurreccion, disobeisaunce, offence doon to or ayenst his said cousyn, in execucion of the seid charge under the kynges auctorite or any thyng belongyng therto, by any persone or persones of what [p. v-383][col. a] estate or

realm, but also the outrageous and immeasurable disturbance and violation of its peace and tranquillity will result and ensue; in consequence of which his enemies and adversaries of Scotland and France may be encouraged, to our danger and peril, to advance and hasten to put into practice the unyielding and insatiable malice which they have schemed and plotted against his said realm and its subjects, who have recently borne and suffered, and daily bear and suffer, the too great, too lamentable and too grievous assaults and injuries of the said enemies; has, by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons assembled in this present parliament, and by its authority, Richard, true and rightful heir of the realms of England and France, and of the lordship and land of Ireland, the duke of York, shall have and take upon himself the charge and task of riding into the regions of the said realm of murders, riots, looting, extortion and oppression are practised, committed and attempted, to repress, subdue and pacify them, and also to resist his said enemies of France and Scotland within his said realm; (fn. v-373-207-1) for which the support of the said subjects is necessarily required; and therefore grants, ordains and decrees, by the said advice and authority, that every sheriff, with the power and might of his shrievalty, and every mayor, bailiff, officer, official and subject of his said realm of England and of Wales, shall support his said cousin in the said purpose, as the case requires, and for the same purpose shall be ready at the command of his said cousin, to obey him and perform his command as they would obey the king's command, according to due legal process in England, and in Wales according to the customs there. (fn. v-373-207-2)

And furthermore he ordains, grants and decrees, by the said advice and authority, that any rebellion, insurrection, disobedience or offence done to or against his said cousin, in executing the said charge under the king's authority or doing anything associated with it, by any person or persons of whatever [p. vcondicion soo ever he or they bee, bee taken, demed, reputed, had and accepted, as thing in lyke cas doon to or ayenst his persone and commaundement. And furthermore ordevneth, graunteth and stablissheth, by the seid advis and auctorite, that his said cousyn, at any tyme that he the said advice and authority, that his said taketh upon hym to ride to the oppressyng of any of the said rebellions or riottis, shall have such competent, convenient and agreable reward for his costes and charges, as shall be thought resonable to the kyng and his counseill, and therof shall have sure and sufficient [[The following text has been deleted: paiement.]]/memb. 61 paiement. And the kyng ordeyneth, by the seid advis and auctorite, that all such persones as shall happen so to be repressed, subdued and appesed, be then after that demeaned after the seid lawes and custumes.

Provided alwey, that this acte in noo wise be prejudiciall nor hurt to the kynges prerogatyf and power roiall.

nor of the commons of this roialme be bounde or compelled to yeve any attendaunce or assistence to the said duc of York, in execucion or excercisyng of the premisses, in any other wyse, manere or fourme, than the seid lordes and commens after the fourme of the lawes of this lande and statutez owen or shuld doo to the kyng oure soverayne lord, yf he in his owen persoon excercised the premisses. Reserved alway unto the kyng, his power roiall to graunt his grace and pardon of lyf and lyme, and forfaiture, to eny person, of what estate or degre he be of, and to restore hym to his estate and degre. [editorial note: The sentence "Reserved alwey.....estate and degre." is written in a different, contemporary hand. It is followed by gap of about fifteen lines in the manuscript.]

Concernens ducatum Lancastr'.

33. For asmuche as dyvers honours, castelles, lordships, manoirs, londes, tenementes, rentes, hundredes, wapentakes, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghts fees and other possessions of oure duchie knights' fees and other possessions of our of Lancastre been in the north parties of this oure reaume, wherof in the dayes of oure noble progenitours dukes of Lancastre, ther hath been oon chief steward, oon auditour; and also dyvers honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes,

383][col. a] estate or condition he or they may be, shall be taken, deemed, considered, held and accepted, as if it had been done to or against the king's person and command. And furthermore he ordains, grants and decrees, by cousin, whenever he takes it upon himself to ride against any of the said rebellions or riots. shall have such adequate, suitable and acceptable reward for his costs and expenses, as shall be thought reasonable by the king and his council, and shall have sure and adequate payment of it. [memb. 6] And the king ordains, by the said advice and authority, that all such persons thus repressed, subdued and pacified, shall afterwards be dealt with according to the said laws and customs.

Provided always that this act shall not in any way be prejudicial or damaging to the king's prerogative and royal power.

Provided also, that by this acte noon of the lordes, Provided also that by this act none of the lords or commons of this realm shall be bound or compelled to give any support or assistance to the said duke of York, in executing or exercising the foregoing, in any other way, manner or form, than the said lords and commons ought to or should do for the king our sovereign lord according to the laws and statutes of this land, if he was acting in person. Reserving always to the king, his royal power to grant his grace and pardon of life and limb, and forfeiture, to any person, of whatever estate or degree he be, and to restore him to his estate and degree.

Concerning the duchy of Lancaster.

33. Forasmuch as various honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, duchy of Lancaster are in the northern regions of this our realm, for which in the days of our noble progenitors, the dukes of Lancaster, there has been one chief steward and one auditor; and also various honours, castles,

tenementes, rentes, hundredes, wapentakes, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtes fees and other possessions of oure said duchie been in the south parties of this oure said reaume, wherof in the daies of oure said noble progenitours ther hath been an other chief steward and oon auditour; and in and of all oure said duchie, ther hath been in the seid dayes, oon chaunceller, oon generall receyvour, oon generall attourney; and also of oure counte palayne of Lancastre, oon chaunceller, oon chief steward, and a generall attourney; which officers have had, for excercisyng of their said offices, fees and wages therunto of old tyme due and accustumed. And where we have putte in feoffement dyvers honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementez, rentez, hundredez, wapentakes, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghts fees and other possessions, parcell of the seid honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementes, rentez, hundredez, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyght fees and other possessions, etc., for the perfourmyng and fulfillyng of oure wille, with the revenuez, profittez and issuez growyng of the with the revenues, profits and issues coming same; and therof we nowe late have made and ordeyned an other chaunceller, oon other chief steward, oon other generall receyvour, a generall attourney, other two auditours. The which officers of the same honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementz, rentez, hundredez, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions by us late putte in feoffement, take and perceyve yerely of the issuez, profittez, revenuez of the same, grete and excessive fees and wages for excercisyng of the same offices, to oure grete hurte and charge in that [col. b] behalf; notwithstandyng that all the seid honours, castelles, lordships, maners, londes, tenementez, rentez, hundredes, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions afore reherced, in the dayes of oure noble progenitours, and also in oures before the seid feoffement made, were by the said old officers full honourably, wisely, discretely and profitably rewled and governed.

We therfore, by thavis and assent of the lordes spirituell and temporell, and the commens, in this lords spiritual and temporal, and the oure present parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, will and ordeyn, that all

lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions of our said duchy are in the southern regions of this our realm, for which in the days of our said noble progenitors there has been another chief steward and one auditor; and for the whole duchy, there have been in the said days, one chancellor, one receiver-general and one attorney-general; and also for our county palatine of Lancaster, one chancellor, one chief steward and an attorney-general; which officers have had, for exercising their said offices, the traditional and customary fees and wages. And forasmuch as we have enfeoffed various honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions, part of the said honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions, etc., for the performance and fulfilment of our will, from them; for which we have recently made and ordained another chancellor, another chief steward, another receiver-general, an attorneygeneral and another two auditors. These officers of the same honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions lately enfeoffed by us, take and receive yearly from the issues, profits and revenues of the same, great and excessive fees and wages for exercising the same offices, to our great damage and expense in that [col. b] regard; notwithstanding that all the said honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions previously listed, were in the days of our noble progenitors, and also in our days before the said enfeoffment was made, most honourably, wisely, discreetly and profitably ruled and governed by the said old officers.

We therefore, by the advice and assent of the commons, assembled in this our present parliament, and by authority of the same, will lettres patentes by us of the same officez and occupacions severally made to the same chief steward, chaunceller, generall receyvour, generall responsibilities to the same chief steward, attourney, and auditours of the same honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementez, rentez, hundredez, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions, < or parcell of theym, late by us in forme afore reherced putte > in feoffement, be from hensforth voide and of noon effect, and by thaym nor any of theym in noo wise occupied; and that the same honours, castelles, lordships, maners, londes, tenementez, rentez, hundredes, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions, by us put in feoffement, be demeaned, governed and occupied possessions enfeoffed by us, shall be dealt by oure officers of oure said duchie of Lancastre not put in feoffement, in lyke wise and fourme, as of the unenfeoffed lands of our said duchy of they shuld and owe to have been, yf the same honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementes, rentes, hundredes, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions, late by us putte in feoffement, had not by us been putte in feoffement, nor such officers therof made; takyng therfore such fees, wages and reward as such officers of the seid duchie toke afore the seid feoffement made, and noon other. And that all manere fees, annuitees and charges afore this tyme graunted by oure letters patentes under the seall ordeyned for the same honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementez, rentez, hundredez, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions, by us in forme aforeseid putte in feoffement, except fees and wages belonging to any office, or graunted for doyng or excercisyng any office, which were office before the same feoffement, be voide from hensforth: and also that the same seall, and all things by us hereafter to be graunted by or under the same seall, be voide and of noon auctorite nor effecte. And that all fermes, issuez, profittez, rentez, revenuez and arreragez, of all the seid honours, castelles, lordships, maners, landes, tenementes, rentez, hundredez, wapentages, vewes of fraunciplegge, knyghtz fees and other possessions, put in feoffement in forme aforesaid, of frankpledge, knights' fees and other not rered ne leved by the officers of the same, be rered, leved and resceyved by the receyvours of oure said duchie, and by thaym to be delyvered to same, shall be raised, levied and received by

and ordain that all letters patent, individually made by us of the same offices and chancellor, receiver-general, attorney-general and auditors of the same honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions, or part of them, lately enfeoffed by us as described above, shall be henceforth void and of no effect, and not occupied by them or any of them in any way; and that the same honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other with, governed and occupied by our officers Lancaster, in the same manner and form as they should and ought to have been if the same honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees and other possessions lately enfeoffed by us, had not been enfeoffed by us, and no such officers appointed for them; taking for this only such fees, wages and reward as such officers of the said duchy took before the said enfeoffment was made. And that all the fees, annuities and charges previously granted by our letters patent under the seal ordained for the same honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views of frankpledge, knights' fees, and other possessions enfeoffed by us in the aforesaid way, except the fees and wages belonging to any office, or granted for doing or exercising any office, which was an office before the same enfeoffment, shall be void from now on; and also that the same seal, and everything granted by us hereafter by or under the same seal, shall be void and of no authority or effect. And that all the farms, issues, profits, rents, revenues and arrears of all the said honours, castles, lordships, manors, lands, tenements, rents, hundreds, wapentakes, views possessions enfeoffed in the aforesaid way, not raised or levied by the officers of the

the generall receyvour of our said duchie for the the receivers of our said duchy and delivered tyme beyng, to be enployed to the perfourmyng of oure wille. (fn. v-373-217-1)

Oualiter revenciones dicti ducatus deducerentur.

34. Item, quedam peticio exhibita fuit prefato domino regi, in presenti parliamento, per communitates regni Anglie in dicto parliamento existentes, sub eo qui sequitur tenore verborum:

To the kyng oure soverayne lord, prayen the commens in this present parlement assembled, as for provision of redy money to be had to the entent of necessite in this present parlement opened and disclosed, to ordeyne, enacte and establissh, by thavis of the lordes spirituell and temporell in this present parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, that all manere issuez, profittez and revenuez, comyn, growyn [p. v-384][col. a] or due, or comyng, growyng or to be due, of all honoures, lordships, maneres, londes and tenementes of youre duchie of Lancastre beyng in youre handes, and of that partie of the same duchie, beyng in the handes of youre feoffes of youre seid duchie, and of every of theym, by any mean due and owyng, in whos handes so evere they bee or be becomyn, from the morowe next after the fest of Seint John Baptiste, the yere of youre reigne .xxxviij., unto the last day of September, the yere of youre seid reigne .xxxix., and from the same last day of September, unto the last day of September then next sewyng, be levyed, taken and resceyved by youre generall revceyvour of the seid partie of the seid duchie beyng in youre handes; the same generall resceyvoure to delyvere all the seid sommes to youre tresourer of Englond then beyng, to be emploied to such use as shall be thought resonable to youre highnes, by thavis of youre lordes spirituall and temporall in this present parlement assembled, for the seid necessite and the wele of this youre reaume: and that all maner of grauntes and assignementes, and the weal of this your realm: and that all the every of theym, to be taken and resceyved of the seid duchie or env partie therof, to env persone or be taken and received from the said duchy or persones at eny tyme made afore the fest of All Halowen, the yere of youre seid reigne .xxxix., be or persons before the feast of All Hallows, in differred and putt in suspence, of any paiement to the thirty-ninth year of your said reign [1 be had, made or levved by force of the said

by them to the receiver-general of our said duchy at the time, to be employed in the performance of our will. (fn. v-373-217-1) How the revenues of the said duchy should be levied.

34. Item, a petition was presented to the aforementioned lord king, in the present parliament, by the commons of the kingdom of England being in the said parliament, in the tenor following:

To the king our sovereign lord, the commons assembled in this present parliament pray that, to provide ready money to meet the need explained and disclosed in this present parliament, he ordain, enact and decree, by the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this present parliament, and by authority of the same, that all the issues, profits and revenues that have come, grown [p. v-384][col. a] or are due, or are coming, growing or will be due, from all the honours, lordships, manors, lands and tenements of your duchy of Lancaster in your hands, and from that part of the same duchy in the hands of your feoffees of your said duchy, and of each of them, by any means due and owing, in whosever hands they be or shall be, from the day after the feast of St John the Baptist, in the thirty-eighth year of your reign [25 June 1460], until the last day of September, in the thirty-ninth year of your said reign [1460], and from the same last day of September until the last day of the following September, shall be levied, taken and received by your receiver-general for the said part of the said duchy in your hands; the same receivergeneral to deliver all the said sums to your treasurer of England at the time, to be put to such use as shall be thought reasonable to your highness, by the advice of your lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this present parliament, for the said necessity and grants and assignments, and each of them, to any part of it, made at any time to any person November 1460], shall be deferred and

grauntes and assignementez, or env of theym, unto the fest of Cristemasse that shall be in the yere of Oure Lord God .mcccclxij.: and that aswell the seid receyvour, as all other persone and persones delyveryng the seid sommes to youre seid receyvour, for reseyte and delyveraunce of the same sommes, be in noo wise and delivery of the same sums shall be in no chargeable nor charged ageyn youre highnes, nor eny other persone or persones, havyng eny title or highness or any other person or persons interest as well in the forseid honoures, lordships, maneres and other premisses, as in the forseid graunts and assignementez, or env of theym, but oonly the seid resceyvour to be chargeable ageynst youre highnes. (fn. v-373-222-1)

Savyng alway all manere fees, rewardes and wages, of old tyme due and accustumed to all officers of the partie of the seid duchie beyng in youre handes, and of the partie of the same beyng in feoffement. Savyng also that it shall be lawfull to the seid resceyvour generall to content, make, or do to be made, to Richard erle of Warrewyk, payment of all such sommes of money and other duetees as be due unto hym of the seid duchie, beyng in the handes and possessions of youre seid feoffes, of or for eny covenaunts, assignementez or grauntez, by you to the seid erle you to the said earl before this time for afore this tyme made for kepyng of the see, in recompense of the portes of Sandewych and Southampton, this acte notwithstondyng. Savyng also that the seid resceyvour generall shall have auctorite and power, duryng the seid tyme, to paye unto the councell of the seid duchie all such fees, wages, expenses and rewardes as shall be thought necessarie and convenient for the seid duchie, by the heede officers of the same.

Qua quidem peticione, in parliamento predicto lecta, audita et plenius intellecta, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium, et ad requisicionem communitatis predicte, in dicto parliamento existentis, respondebatur eidem sub hac forma:

The kyng agreeth to this peticion: savyng alway, that it extend not to eny thyng of the seid duchie by his highnes put in feoffement.

Provided also that the receyvour generall of his duchie of Lancastre be not called ne charged to accompte in his eschequer, by vertue of eny acte suspended, with regard to any payment to be had, made or levied on the strength of the said grants and assignments, or any of them, until Christmas 1462: and that the said receiver, and every other person and persons delivering the said sums to your said receiver, for receipt way chargeable or charged against your having any title or interest in the aforesaid honours, lordships, manors and other things aforesaid, or in the aforesaid grants and assignments, or any of them, but only the said receiver is to be chargeable against your highness. (fn. v-373-222-1)

Saving always all the traditional and customary fees, rewards and wages of all officers of the part of the said duchy in your hands and of the part now enfeoffed. Saving also that it shall be lawful to the said receivergeneral to satisfy, make, or cause to be made to Richard, earl of Warwick, payment of all the sums of money and other dues, as are due to him from the said duchy, in the hands and possession of your said feoffees, for any agreements, assignments or grants made by keeping the sea, in recompense for the ports of Sandwich and Southampton, notwithstanding this act. Saving also that the said receivergeneral shall have the authority and power, during the said time, to pay to the council of the said duchy all such fees, wages, expenses and rewards as shall be thought necessary and convenient for the said duchy by the head officers of the same.

When this petition had been read, heard and fully understood in the aforesaid parliament, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and at the request of the aforesaid commons being in the said parliament, it was answered in the following

The king agrees to this petition: saving always that it shall not extend to anything of the said duchy enfeoffed by his highness.

Provided also that the receiver-general of his duchy of Lancaster shall not be called or charged to account in his exchequer, by virtue made or to be made in this present parlement, but of any act made or to be made in this present oonly byfore his auditours of his said duchie, in manere and fourme as it hath been of old tyme used. (fn. v-373-230-1)

[col. b]

[memb. 7]

Feoffamentum factum de certis parcellis ducatus Lanc'.

35. Rex, omnibus ad quos, etc., cum nos nuper per litteras nostras patentes sub sigillo nostro ducatus nostri Lancastrie factas, quarum datum est apud manerium nostrum de Shene, penultimo die Novembris, anno regni nostri vicesmo secundo, ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris, certis de causis nos intime moventibus, dederimus, concesserimus et per easdem confirmaverimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johanni Wygorn', per nomen Johannis Carpenter electi Wygorn' ecclesie, Waltero Norwicen', per nomen Walteri Lyhert, clerici, Johanni Menev', per nomen Johannis Delabere, clerici, episcopis; Johanni vicecomiti Beaumont; Radulpho domino de Sudeley, Johanni domino de Beauchamp, militibus, Edmundo Hungreford, militi; Johanni Hampton et Johanni Noreys, armigeris, adhuc superstitibus, ac aliis jam defunctis, castrum, manerium et hundredum de Hiegham Ferrers cum Higham Ferrers with the appurtenances; the pertinenciis; maneria de Raundes, Rushden, Caldecote, Irenchestre, Daventre et Deisburgh, molendina de Desheford, ac omnia terras et tenementa, redditus et servicia tunc nostra cum pertinenciis in Welledon'; necnon omnia terras et tenementa cum pertinenciis, que nuper fuerunt Stephani Rumbylowe in Daventr' predicta; et omnia terras et tenementa, redditus et servitia tunc nostra cum pertinenciis, que nuper fuerunt Willelmi Croiser, militis, in Hiegham Ferrers et Caldecote predicta, in comitatu Norht'; feodi firmam centum et viginti librarum ville de Gormonchestre; feodi firmam quadraginta et trium librarum ville de Huntyngdon; et maneria de Glatton cum Holme cum pertinenciis in comitatu Hunt'; manerium de Wardyngton in comitatu Buk'; manerium de Aldeborne in comitatu Wiltes'; maneria de Aylysham, Wighton, Snetisham, Fakenham, Grymmyngham, Tunsted et Thetford, cum viginti et octo libris, sex solidis et octo denariis, de feodi firma prioris

parliament, but only before his auditors of his said duchy, in the traditional manner and form. (fn. v-373-230-1)

Enfeoffment made of certain parts of the duchy of Lancaster.

35. The king, to all to whom, etc., we recently by our letters patent made under our seal of our duchy of Lancaster, given at our manor of Sheen on 29 November in the twenty-second year of our reign [1443], of our sure knowledge and free will, for certain reasons deeply concerning us, gave, granted and confirmed by the same, for us and our heirs, to Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of Worcester, by the name of John Carpenter, the elect of the church of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, by the name of Walter Lyhert, clerk, John of St David's, by the name of John Delabere, clerk, bishops; John, Viscount Beaumont; Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp, knights, Edmund Hungerford, knight; John Hampton and John Norreys, esquires, still living, and to others now deceased, the castle, manor and hundred of manors of Raunds, Rushden, Caldecote, Irchester, Daventry and Desborough, the mills of Ditchford, and all the lands and tenements, rents and services then belonging to us, with the appurtenances, in Weldon; and also all the lands and tenements with the appurtenances which formerly belonged to Stephen Rumbylowe in the aforesaid Daventry; and all the lands and tenements, rents and services then belonging to us, with the appurtenances, which formerly belonged to William Croyser, knight, in the aforesaid Higham Ferrers and Caldecote in the county of Northampton; a fee-farm of £120 from the town of Godmanchester: a fee-farm of £43 from the town of Huntingdon; and the manors of Glatton and Holme with the appurtenances in the county of Huntingdon; the manor of Wardington in the county of Buckingham; the manor of Aldbourne in the county of Wiltshire; the manors of Aylsham, Wighton,

et conventus monachorum de Thetford; et manerium de Methewolde, cum terris et tenementis tunc nostris vocatis Rodmer juxta Methewold; ac hundredum tunc nostrum [sic: read 'hundreda tunc nostra'] de Northerpyngham, Southerpyngham, Gallowe et Brothercros, cum pertinenciis, in comitatu Norff'; maneria tunc nostra de Hungreford. Estgarston et Standen in comitatu Berk: et manerium tunc nostrum de Swoham in comitatu Cant'. Habenda et tenenda eadem castrum, manerium, [sic: read 'maneria'] hameletta, feodi firmas, hundreda, molendina, terras, tenementa, redditus et servicia cum pertinenciis, una cum feodis militum, ac omnibus tenements, rents and services, with the aliis proficuis et commoditatibus eisdem castro, maneriis, terris et tenementiis spectantibus sive pertinentibus, eisdem episcopis, vicecomiti, Radulpho, Johanni Beauchamp, Edmundo, Johanni Hampton, et Johanni Noreys, ac predictis Ralph, John Beauchamp, Edmund, John aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo alio nobis vel heredibus nostris inde reddendo. Salvis semper et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastr'. advocacionibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratuum, vicariarum, cantariarum, capellarum, hospitallium et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, eisdem castris, [sic: read 'castro'] maneriis sive terris et tenementis ullo modo spectantibus. Et per easdem and tenements. And by our same letters we litteras nostras obligaverimus nos et heredes nostros ad castrum, maneria ac omnia et singula premissa cum pertinenciis, prefatis episcopis, etc., et prefatis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warantizandum et defendendum.

Ac per alias litteras nostras patentes, sub eodem sigillo, datas apud manerium nostrum de Shene septimo die Julii anno regni nostri vicesimo secundo, ex certa scientia et mero motu predictis, [1444], of the aforesaid sure knowledge and dederimus et concesserimus, et per easdem litteras nostras confirmaverimus, pro nobis et heredibus nostris, prefatis episcopis, vicecomiti, Radulpho, Johanni domino de Beauchamp, Edmundo, Johanni Hampton, et Johanni Noreys, per nomina in predictis primis litteris contenta, ac predictis aliis jam defunctis, [p. v-385][col. a] maneria de Somborn', Weston, Hertley et Langstok, cum pertinenciis in comitatu South'; maneria de Everley, Colynborne, Trobrigge,

Snettisham, Fakenham, Gimingham, Tunstead and Thetford, with £28 6s. 8d. from the feefarm of the prior and convent of Thetford; and the manor of Methwold, with our lands and tenements called Rodmere by Methwold; and our hundreds of North Erpingham, South Erpingham, Gallow and Brothercross, with the appurtenances, in the county of Norfolk; our manors of Hungerford, East Garston and Standen in the county of Berkshire; and our manor of Soham in the county of Cambridge. To have and to hold the same castle, manors, hamlets, fee-farms, hundreds, mills, lands, appurtenances, together with knights' fees and all other profits and commodities belonging or pertaining to the same castle, manors, lands and tenements, to the same bishops, viscount, Hampton and John Norreys, and the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, from us and our heirs, by fealty, without paying anything else for them to us or our heirs. Saving always and reserving to us and our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, the advowsons of churches, abbeys, priories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, hospitals and any other ecclesiastical benefices pertaining in any way to the same castle, manors or lands bound ourselves and our heirs to warrant and defend the castle, manors and each and every thing stated, with the appurtenances, to the aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforementioned others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, against all people.

And by our other letters patent, under the same seal, given at our manor of Sheen on 7 July in the twenty-second year of our reign free will, we gave and granted, and by our same letters confirmed, for us and our heirs, to the aforementioned bishops, viscount, Ralph, John, Lord Beauchamp, Edmund, John Hampton and John Norreys, by the names given in the aforesaid first letters, and to the aforesaid others now deceased, [p. v-385][col. a] the manors of [King's] Somborne, Weston, Hartley and Longstock, with the appurtenances, in the county of Southampton;

Berwyk et Esterton, cum pertinenciis in comitatu the manors of Everleigh, Collingbourne, Wiltes'; maneria [sic: read 'manerium'] de Shepynglamborn cum pertinenciis in comitatu Berk'; maneria de Kyngstonlacy, Wymborn, Blanford et Shapwyk, cum pertinenciis, in comitatu Dors'; manerium de Mynsterworth cum pertinenciis in comitatu Glouc'; manerium de Hodenak cum pertinenciis in marchia Wallie: manerium et socam de Snaith cum pertinenciis in comitatu Ebor'. Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta maneria et socam cum pertinenciis suis quibuscumque, una cum feodis militum et omnibus aliis proficuis et commoditatibus predictis maneriis et soce spectantibus, eisdem episcopis, vicecomiti, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, de nobis et together with knights' fees and all other profits heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo alio nobis vel heredibus nostris inde reddendo. Salvis semper et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastr', advocacionibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratuum, vicariarum, cantariarum, capellarum, hospitalium et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, eisdem maneriis et soce cum pertinenciis ullo modo spectantibus. Et per easdem litteras nostras obligaverimus nos et heredes nostros ad warantizandum et defendendum omnia premissa cum pertinenciis eisdem episcopis, etc., et heredibus et assignatis suis, prout, etc.

Ac etiam, per alias litteras nostras patentes sub sigillo nostro predicto, quarum datum est apud castrum nostrum de Wyndesore, vicesimo tercio die Februarii, anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio, dederimus, concesserimus et per easdem litteras nostras confirmaverimus prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, per nomina in dictis primis litteris contenta, manerium, dominium de Bernolwyke cum pertinenciis in comitatu Ebor'; manerium de Kylborne cum pertinenciis in eodem comitatu; feodi firmam vocatam Whitgift, cum pertinenciis in comitatu predicto. Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta maneria, dominium et feodi firmam cum pertinenciis suis quibuscumque, una cum feodis militum et omnibus aliis proficuis et commoditatibus predictis maneriis, dominio et feodi firme spectantibus sive pertinentibus,

Trowbridge, Berwick and Easterton, with the appurtenances, in the county of Wiltshire; the manor of Chipping Lambourne with the appurtenances in the county of Berkshire; the manors of Kingston Lacy, Wimborne, Blandford and Shapwick, with the appurtenances, in the county of Dorset: the manor of Minsterworth with the appurtenances in the county of Gloucester; the manor of Hadnock with the appurtenances in the march of Wales; the manor and soke of Snaith with the appurtenances in the county of York. To have and to hold all the aforesaid manors and soke, with all their appurtenances, and commodities pertaining to the aforesaid manors and soke, to the same bishops, viscount, etc., and to the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, from us and our heirs, by fealty, without paying anything else for them to us or our heirs. Saving always and reserving to us and our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, the advowsons of churches, abbeys, priories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, hospitals and all other ecclesiastical benefices pertaining in any way to the same manors and soke, with the appurtenances. And by our same letters we bound ourselves and our heirs to warrant and defend all the aforesaid with the appurtenances to the same bishops, etc., and their assigns, as, etc.

And also, by our other letters patent under our aforesaid seal, given at our castle of Windsor on 23 February in the twenty-third year of our reign [1445], we gave, granted and by our same letters confirmed to the aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, by the names given in the aforesaid first letters, the manor [and] lordship of Barnoldswick with the appurtenances in the county of York [now Lancashire]; the manor of Kilbourne with the appurtenances in the same county; the fee-farm called Whitgift with the appurtenances in the aforesaid county. To have and to hold all the aforesaid manors, lordship and fee-farm, with all the appurtenances, together with knights' fees and all other profits and commodities belonging or pertaining to the aforesaid manors, lordship

eisdem episcopis, etc., heredibus et assignatis suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem heirs and assigns, from us and our heirs, by tantum, absque aliquo alio nobis vel heredibus nostris inde reddendo imperpetuum. Salvis semper et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastr', advocacionibus ecclesiarum, abbatiarum, prioratuum, vicariarum, cantariarum, abbeys, priories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, capellarum, hospitallium et aliorum beneficiorum hospitals and any other ecclesiastical ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque eisdem maneriis, dominio et feodi firme cum pertinenciis lordship and fee-farm, with the appurtenances. spectantibus. Et per easdem litteras nostras, obligaverimus nos et heredes nostros ad warantizandum et defendendum eadem maneria, dominium et feodi firmam, ac omnia et singula in every thing stated in the same letters, to the eisdem litteris premissa, prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes.

Ac etiam, per alias litteras nostras patentes, sub sigillo nostro predicto factas, quarum datum est apud castrum nostrum de Wyndesore vicesimo nono die Julii [sic: read 'Junii'] anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio, dederimus, concesserimus et per easdem litteras nostras confirmaverimus prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, per nomina in dictis primis litteris contenta, castra, dominia et maneria de Kedwelly, Karkenny, Hiskenny et Karnewalthon, cum membris et pertinenciis suis; castrum, dominium et manerium de Oggemore, cum membris et pertinenciis suis; castra, dominia, et maneria de Monmouth, Grosemonde, Skenfrith et Whitcastell, cum membris et pertinenciis suis; manerium et dominium de Elbothe, cum membris their members and appurtenances; the manor et pertinenciis suis in Southwall' et marchiis ejusdem; castrum, dominium, manerium et honorem de Pevensey, cum membris et pertinenciis suis in comitatu Sussex'; dominium, manerium, et villam de Bestone super Mare, cum membris et pertinenciis suis, in comitatu [col. b] Norff'; castrum, dominium et manerium de Casteldonyngton, cum membris et pertinenciis suis in comitatu Leyc'; feoda comitatuum Lincoln' et Derb', cum pertinenciis suis: castrum. villam, dominium, manerium et honorem de Tykhull, cum membris et pertinenciis suis, in comitatu Ebor'. Habenda et tenenda omnia predicta castra, dominia, villas, maneria, honores et feoda comitatuum, cum membris et pertinenciis suis quibuscumque, una cum feodis militum et omnibus aliis proficuis et

and fee-farm to the same bishops, etc., their fealty, without paying anything else to us or our heirs for them forever. Saving always and reserving to us and our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, the advowsons of churches, benefices pertaining to the same manors, And by our same letters, we bound ourselves and our heirs to warrant and defend the same manors, lordship and fee-farm, and each and aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, against all people.

And also, by our other letters patent, made under our aforesaid seal, given at our castle of Windsor on 29 June in the twenty-third year of our reign [1445], we gave, granted, and by our same letters confirmed to the aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, by the names given in the said first letters, the castles, lordships and manors of Kidwelly, Carreg Cennen, Iscennen and Carnwyllion, with their members and appurtenances; the castle, lordship and manor of Ogmore with its members and appurtenances; the castles, lordships and manors of Monmouth, Grosmont, Skenfrith and White Castle, with and lordship of Ebboth with its members and appurtenances in South Wales and the marches of the same; the castle, lordship, manor and honour of Pevensey with its members and appurtenances in the county of Sussex; the lordship, manor and town of Beeston [Regis] with its members and appurtenances in the county [col. b] of Norfolk; the castle, lordship and manor of Castle Donington with its members and appurtenances in the county of Leicester; the fees of the counties of Lincoln and Derby, with their appurtenances; the castle, town, lordship, manor and honour of Tickhill with its members and appurtenances in the county of York. To have and to hold all the aforesaid castles, lordships, towns, manors, honours and commoditatibus eisdem castris, dominiis, villis, maneriis, honoribus et feodis comitatuum spectantibus sive pertinentibus, eisdem episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, de nobis et heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo alio nobis vel heredibus nostris inde reddendo.

Salvis semper et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastr', advocacionibus ecclesiarum, abbaciarum, prioratuum, vicariarum, cantariarum, capellarum, hospitallium et aliorum beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, eisdem castris, dominiis, villis, maneriis, honoribus et feodis comitatuum cum membris et pertinenciis suis ullo modo spectantibus. Et per easdem litteras, obligaverimus nos et heredes nostros ad warantizandum et defendendum eadem warrant and defend the same castles, castra, dominia, villas, maneria, honores et feoda lordships, towns, manors, honours and fees of comitatuum, ac omnia in eisdem litteris premissa cum pertinenciis, prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis personis jam defunctis, heredibus et aforementioned bishops, etc., and the assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes. Quas quidem omnes predictas litteras nostras, auctoritate parliamenti nostri apud Westm', [vicesimo] quinto die Februarii anno regni nostri vicesimo tercio incepti, et usque duodecimum diem Marcii anno regni nostri vicesimo quarto, et February in the twenty-third year of our reign postea durantis, eodem duodecimo die ratificaverimus, confirmaverimus et approbaverimus, ac omnia et singula castra, dominia, maneria, hameletta, feodi firmas, hundreda, molendina, terras, tenementa, redditus, servitia, honores, villas, socas et feoda comitatuum, ac cetera premissa in eisdem litteris contenta, nominata sive specificata, eisdem episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis personis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, auctoritate predicta, dederimus et concesserimus. (fn. v-373-240-1) Habenda sibi et heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum, ad perficiendam et perimplendam voluntatem nostram, de et super disposicione eorumdem castrorum, dominiorum, maneriorum, hamelettorum, feodi firmarum, hundredorum, molendinorum, terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, servitiorum, honorum, hundreds, mills, lands, tenements, rents, villarum, socarum et feodorum comitatuum, ac ceterorum premissorum, per nos tunc imposterum counties, and the other things stated, to be

fees of counties, with all their members and appurtenances, together with knights' fees and all other profits and commodities belonging or pertaining to the same castles, lordships, towns, manors, honours and fees of counties, to the same bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, from us and our heirs by fealty, without paying anything else for them to us or our heirs.

Saving always and reserving to us and our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, the advowsons of churches, abbevs, priories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, hospitals and any other ecclesiastical benefices pertaining in any way to the same castles, lordships, towns, manors, honours and fees of counties, with their members and appurtenances. And by the same letters we bound ourselves and our heirs to counties, and all the things stated in the same letters, with the appurtenances, to the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, against all people. All of which our aforesaid letters patent we ratified, confirmed and approved by the authority of our parliament at Westminster, begun on 25 [1445], and lasting until 12 March and longer in the twenty-fourth year of our reign [1446], on the same twelfth day, and gave and granted all the aforesaid castles, lordships, manors, hamlets, fee-farms, hundreds, mills, lands, tenements, rents, services, honours, towns, sokes and fees of counties, and the rest of the foregoing contained, named or specified in the same letters, to the same bishops, etc., and the aforesaid other persons now deceased, their heirs and assigns, by the aforesaid authority. (fn. v-373-240-1) To have to them and their heirs and assigns forever, to perform and implement our will declared and explained to our same feoffees aforesaid on our behalf, concerning the disposition of the same castles, lordships, manors, hamlets, fee-farms, services, honours, towns, sokes and fees of

fiendum et ordinandum, eisdem feoffatis nostris predictis ex parte nostra declarandam et notificandam. Salvis quibuscumque ligeis nostris, title and interest, and any wages, fees, statu, possessione, jure, titulo et interesse suis, ac vadiis, feodis, annuitatibus, custodiis, officiis et firmis quibuscumque, de dicto ducatu nostro Lancastr', aut aliqua parcella premissorum, si que habuerint in eisdem.

Ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris. auctoritate parliamenti nostri apud Westm', duodecimo die Februarii, anno regni nostri vicesimo septimo incepti, et usque decimum sextum diem Julii eodem anno, et postea durantis, July and longer in the same year on the same eodem decimo sexto die dederimus, concesserimus et carta nostra confirmaverimus Willelmo Wynton', ac prefatis Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johanni Wygorn', Waltero Norwicen', Johanni Meney', Johanni Lincoln', per nomen Johannis Chedworth clerici, episcopis; necnon prefatis vicecomiti, Radulpho domino de Sudeley, Johanni domino de Beauchamp; necnon Willelmo Westbury, Henrico Sever, Ricardo Andrewe, Willelmo Say, Roberto Wodelarke, Thome Barker, clericis; Edmundo Hungerford, militi; Johanni Hampton, Johanni Noreys et Johanni Say, armigeris; ac aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, castrum, dominium sive manerium de Novo Castro subtus Lymam in comitatu Staff', cum pertinenciis; wapentachium sive socagium de Werkesworth et Assheburn, ac wapentachium de Plumtre [p. v-386][col. a] et Ryseley, cum singulis eorum pertinenciis, in comitatu Derb'; wapentachium de Allerton cum pertinenciis; maneria de Laugton, Gryngeley et Wheteley, cum pertinenciis, in comitatu Notyngh' et alibi: manerium de Fullmodeston, necnon firmam et redditus ejusdem in comitatu Norff', cum pertinenciis; manerium de Bradford cum pertinenciis; castrum, dominium et manerium de Knaresburgh; maneria de Screven, Rouclyff et Aldelburn; ballivam burgi de Knaresburgh, molendina de Knaresburgh, et forestam sive chaceam de Knaresburgh, cum pertinenciis; una cum omnibus et singulis exitibus, firmis, revencionibus, proficuis et commoditatibus de Warfedale, Swyndon, Okenden et Fullwich, cum pertinenciis, ac aliis proficuis dicte foreste quibuscumque; parcum de Haywra, parcum de Bilton et parcum del Hay, cum pertinenciis, cum omnibus et singulis firmis, proficuis,

made and ordained by us in future. Saving to all of our lieges their estate, possession, right, annuities, custodies, offices and farms from our said duchy of Lancaster, or any parts of the foregoing, which they have in the same.

And of our sure knowledge and free will, by authority of our parliament at Westminster begun on 12 February in the twenty-seventh year of our reign [1449], and lasting until 16 sixteenth day we gave, granted, and by our charter confirmed to William of Winchester, and the aforementioned Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, John of St David's, John of Lincoln, by the name of John Chedworth, clerk, bishops; and also the aforementioned viscount, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; and also William Westbury, Henry Sever, Richard Andrew, William Say, Robert Woodlark, Thomas Barker, clerks; Edmund Hungerford, knight; John Hampton, John Norreys and John Say, esquires; and others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, the castle, lordship or manor of Newcastle under Lyme in the county of Stafford with the appurtenances; the wapentake or soke of Wirksworth and Ashbourne, and the wapentake of Plumtree [p. v-386][col. a] and Risley, with everything pertaining to them, in the county of Derby; the wapentake of Allerton with the appurtenances; the manors of Laughton, Gringley and Wheatley, with the appurtenances, in the county of Nottingham and elsewhere; the manor of Fulmodestone, and also the farm and rents of the same in the county of Norfolk with the appurtenances; the manor of Bradford with the appurtenances; the castle, lordship and manor of Knaresborough; the manors of Scriven, Roecliffe and Aldborough; the bailiwick of the borough of Knaresborough, the mills of Knaresborough, and the forest or chase of Knaresborough with the appurtenances; together with all the issues, farms, revenues, profits and commodities of Wharfedale, Swinton, Oakdale and Fulwith, with the appurtenances, and any other profits

revencionibus et commoditatibus ballive libertatis of the said forest; the park of Haverah, the de Knaresburgh predicte, [molendina] de Burghbrigge et wapentachium de Stanclyf, cum pertinenciis; castrum, dominium et manerium de Pykeryng cum pertinenciis; manerium de Scalby cum pertinenciis et cum agistamento et omnibus aliis proficuis ejusdem manerii: una cum exitibus, Staincliffe, with the appurtenances; the castle, proficuis, revencionibus et commoditatibus ballive libertatis de Pykeryng predicte in comitatu appurtenances; the manor of Scalby with the Ebor' et alibi; manerium de Honton cum pertinenciis; manerium de Wodespene cum pertinenciis in comitatu Berk': et manerium de Pole cum pertinenciis in comitatu Wiltes'; necnon of the bailiwick of the liberty of Pickering omnia et singula terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones et servicia cum pertinenciis; una cum feodis militum, parcis, warennis, chaceis, mineris, piscariis ac omnibus et singulis aliis proficuis et commoditatibus, que nobis vel heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastrie, racione dictorum castrorum, dominiorum, villarum, maneriorum, socagii, wapentachiorum, ballivarum, terrarum et tenementorum, ac ceterorum premissorum in comitatibus predictis vel alibi, que parcella ducatus nostri Lancastr' predicti tunc extiterunt, pertinebant vel competebant, aut pertinere vel competere tunc possent quovis modo; et que nos aut progenitores by reason of the said castles, lordships, towns, vel antecessores nostri duces Lancastr', in eisdem castris, dominiis, villis, maneriis, burgo, socagio, wapentachiis, ballivis, terris, tenementis ac ceteris premissis, racione ducatus nostri predicti habere seu percipere consuevimus; necnon cum omnibus proficuis, exitibus, revencionibus et emolumentis de quibus per feodarios nostros seu progenitorum nostrorum vel antecessorum nostrorum ducum Lancastr', comitatibus Sussex', Norff', Somers', Dors', Sutht', Wiltes', Oxon' et Berk' cum pertinenciis, seu aliorum aliquem, nobis vel aliquibus dictorum progenitorum sive antecessorum nostrorum ante illa tempora responderi usitatum fuerit vel consuetum. Habenda et tenenda omnia et singula predicta castra, dominia, villas, maneria, socagium, wapentachia, molendina, ballivas, forestam sive chaceam, parcos, agistamentum, terras, tenementa, redditus, reversiones et servicia, cum pertinenciis; una cum exitibus, proficuis, revencionibus et commoditatibus, emolumentis et aforesaid castles, lordships, towns, manors, ceteris premissis quibuscumque, prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis defunctis,

park of Bilton and the park of Hay, with the appurtenances, with all the farms, profits, revenues and commodities of the aforesaid bailiwick of the liberty of Knaresborough, [the mills] of Boroughbridge and the wapentake of lordship and manor of Pickering with the appurtenances, and with the agistment and all other profits of the same manor; together with the issues, profits, revenues and commodities aforesaid in the county of York and elsewhere; the manor of Hinton with the appurtenances; the manor of Speen with the appurtenances in the county of Berkshire; and the manor of Poole with the appurtenances in the county of Wiltshire; and also all the lands, tenements, rents, reversions and services, with the appurtenances, together with knights' fees, parks, warrens, chases, mining rights, fisheries, and all other profits and commodities which pertained or belonged, or might then have pertained or belonged in any way to us or our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, manors, soke, wapentakes, bailiwicks, lands and tenements, and the other things stated in the aforesaid counties or elsewhere, which were then part of our aforesaid duchy of Lancaster; and which we or our progenitors or ancestors the dukes of Lancaster were accustomed to have or receive by reason of our aforesaid duchy in the same castles, lordships, towns, manors, borough, soke, wapentakes, bailiwicks, lands, tenements and the other things stated; and also with all the profits, issues, revenues and emoluments for which our feodaries or those of our progenitors or our ancestors the dukes of Lancaster used in the past to answer us or any of our said progenitors or ancestors in the counties of Sussex, Norfolk, Somerset, Dorset, Southampton, Wiltshire, Oxford and Berkshire, with the appurtenances, or any of them. To have and to hold each and all of the soke, wapentakes, mills, bailiwicks, forest or chase, parks, agistment, lands, tenements,

heredibus et assignatis suis, a festo Sancti Michelis Archangeli tunc ultimo preterito imperpetuum, de nobis et heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem tantum, absque aliquo nobis vel heredibus nostris reddendo; adinde perficiendum et perimplendum voluntatem nostram, per nos tunc factam et ordinatam, vel per nos super eisdem extunc fiendum et ordinandum, ac eisdem forever, from us and our heirs, by fealty, episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, ex parte nostra declarata et notificata, vel imposterum declarandam vel notificandam. Salvis semper et reservatis nobis et heredibus nostris ducibus Lancastrie, advocacionibus ecclesiarum. abbatiarum, prioratuum, vicariarum, cantariarum, notified on our behalf, or to be declared or capellarum, hospitallium et aliorum beneficiorum notified in future. Saving always and ecclesiasticorum quorumcumque, eisdem castris, dominiis, villis, maneriis, terris seu tenementis, aut alicui eorum, ullo modo spectantibus. Et eadem [col. b] auctoritate, obligaverimus nos et heredes nostros ad warantizandum et defendendum predicta castra, dominia, villas, maneria, socagium, wapentachia, molendina, ballivas, forestam, parcos, agistamentum, terras, tenementa, redditus, servicia et reversiones, cum pertinenciis, una cum omnibus et singulis aliis premissis, exceptis preexceptis et reservatis, prefatis episcopis, etc., et predictis aliis jam defunctis, heredibus et assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes.

Concesserimus etiam, auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti, quod omnes feoffati nostri predicti in omnibus premissis tunc superstites, haberent et exercerent talia et hujusmodi libertates, jura regalia, consuetudines, franchesias, immunitates et privilegia, una cum omnibus et omnimodis proficuis eorumdem, in omnibus et per omnia, ac eis gauderent et utantur adeo plene et integre sicut nos aut progenitores sive antecessores nostri we or our aforesaid progenitors or ancestors predicti duces Lancastr', ea unquam plenius seu liberius habuimus seu percepimus. Et quod dicta castra, dominia, honores, ville, maneria, terre, tenementa et cetera premissa quecumque, per tales et hujusmodi officiarios et ministros regerentur et gubernarentur per quales eadem castra, dominia, ville, honores, maneria, terre,

rents, reversions and services, with the appurtenances; together with the issues, profits, revenues and commodities, emoluments and all the rest of the things stated, to the aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others deceased, their heirs and assigns, from Michaelmas then last past without paying anything to us or our heirs; to perform and implement our will as it was then made and ordained by us, or to be made or ordained by us in future, and to the same bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, declared and reserving to us and our heirs the dukes of Lancaster, the advowsons of churches. abbeys, priories, vicarages, chantries, chapels, hospitals and all other ecclesiastical benefices pertaining in any way to the same castles, lordships, towns, manors, lands or tenements, or any of them. And by the same [col. b] authority, we bound ourselves and our heirs to warrant and defend the aforesaid castles, lordships, towns, manors, soke, wapentakes, mills, bailiwicks, forest, parks, agistment, lands, tenements, rents, services and reversions, with the appurtenances, together with all the other things stated, except the former exceptions and reservations, to the aforementioned bishops, etc., and the aforesaid others now deceased, their heirs and assigns, against all people.

We also granted, by authority of the same parliament, that all our aforesaid feoffees named in all the aforesaid and then surviving, should have and exercise such liberties, royal rights, customs, franchises, immunities and privileges, together with each and every kind of profit from them, in and by everything, and enjoy and use them as fully and completely as the dukes of Lancaster ever had or received them fully and freely. And that the said castles, lordships, honours, towns, manors, lands, tenements and all the other things stated should be ruled and governed by such officers and officials as those by whom the same castles, lordships, towns, honours, manors,

tenementa et cetera premissa, tam tempore nostro, ante concessiones supradictas, quam temporibus aliorum progenitorum seu antecessorum nostrorum predictorum ducum Lancastrie, virtute quarumcumque cartarum per progenitores seu predecessores nostros reges Anglie, seu auctoritate aliorum parliamentorum ante illa tempora tentorum facta, uti, habere [sic: read 'haberi'], ac regi et gubernari consueverunt. [memb. 8]

Concesserimus eciam, eadem auctoritate, inter alia, quod omnes et singuli homines, tenentes residentes et alii residentes, de et in predictis castris, dominiis, honoribus, villis, maneriis, socagio, ballivis, wapentachiis, terris et tenementis, ac aliis possessionibus predictis quibuscumque, talibus hujusmodi franchesiis, libertatibus et privilegiis adeo plene et libere gauderent et utentur, dummodo eadem castra, honores, dominia, ville, maneria et cetera premissa, in manibus predictorum episcoporum et of the things stated, should happen to be in the aliorum, etc., heredum seu assignatorum suorum, aut eorum alicujus, virtute concessionum predictarum existere contingerent, sive in manibus nostris virtute aliquarum dimissionum inde nobis per eosdem episcopos et alios, etc., vel time by the same bishops and others, etc., or partem eorum, ante illa tempora factarum, aut per eos, heredes seu assignatos suos, vel eorum aliquos, extunc faciendum existere contingeret, quibus et qualibus ac sicut aliqui homines, tenentes residentes seu alii residentes in eisdem usi et gavisi fuerunt, temporibus quibus dicta castra, honores, ville, dominia, maneria, socagium, ballive, wapentachia, terre et tenementa, ac cetere possessiones predicte, in manibus nostris, seu aliquorum progenitorum aut antecessorum nostrorum predictorum ducum Lancastrie, extiterunt: sine occasione vel impedimento nostri, vel heredum nostrorum, justiciariorum, escaetorum, vicecomitum, coronatorum aut aliorum ballivorum seu ministrorum nostrorum, vel heredum nostrorum quorumcumque. (fn. v-373-246-1)

Jamque, pro eo quod quamplures feoffatorum predictorum ab hac luce migraverunt, nos, de fidelitate, circumspectione et conscienciis Thome Cantuar', Willelmi Ebor', archiepiscoporum; Thome London', Willelmi Wynton', Johannis Roffen', Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johannis Wigorn', Walteri Norwicen', Georgii Exon',

lands, tenements and the other things stated were used, had, ruled and governed, both in our time, before the abovesaid grants, and in the times of our other progenitors or ancestors the dukes of Lancaster, by virtue of certain charters made by our progenitors or predecessors the kings of England, or by authority of other parliaments held in the past.

We also granted, by the same authority, among other things, that all men, resident tenants and other residents of and in the aforesaid castles, lordships, honours, towns, manors, soke, bailiwicks, wapentakes, lands and tenements and all other aforesaid possessions, should enjoy and use such franchises, liberties and privileges of whatever kind as fully and freely while the same castles, honours, lordships, towns, manors and the rest hands of the aforesaid bishops and others, etc., their heirs or assigns, or any of them, by virtue of the aforesaid grants, or in our hands by virtue of any release made to us before that part of them, or to be made by them, their heirs or assigns, or any of them, in such a way and as other men, resident tenants or other residents in the same used and enjoyed them when the said castles, honours, towns, lordships, manors, soke, bailiwicks, wapentakes, lands and tenements, and the rest of the aforesaid possessions, were in our hands, or those of our other progenitors or predecessors aforesaid, the dukes of Lancaster; without interference or hindrance from us or our heirs, justices, escheators, sheriffs, coroners, or any other bailiffs or officials of us or our heirs. (fn. v-373-246-1)

And now, because several of the aforesaid feoffees have departed this world, we, fully trusting in the fidelity, circumspection and conscience of Thomas of Canterbury, William of York, archbishops; Thomas of London, William of Winchester, John of Rochester, Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of

Johannis Hereforden', Johannis Lincoln', Laur' Dunolm', Johannis Coventren' et Lichefelden', episcoporum; Johannis Whetehamstede, abbatis Sancti Albani; Jasperis comit' Pembroch', Ricardi Lichfield, bishops; John Whetehamstede, comitis Warrewic', Willelmi comitis Arundell', Johannis comitis Oxon', Ricardi comitis Sar'; Henrici vicecomitis Bourgchier; Edmundi domini Arundel, John, earl of Oxford, Richard, earl of de Gray de Ruthyn, Leonis domini de Welles, Radulphi domini de Sudeley, Johannis domini de Beauchamp; Johannis Nevill militis, Thome [p. v-387][col. a] Tyrell militis; Roberti Stillyngton, Willelmi Say, Jacobi Godwell, [sic: read 'Goldwell'] Roberti Wodelarke, Willelmi Westbury, Willelmi Millyngton, Hugonis Damlet, Robert Woodlark, William Westbury, William Thome Barker, clericorum; Johannis Say, Johannis Hampton, Johannis Grene et Nicholai Sharp, armigerorum, plenius confidentes; ac certis de causis nos intime moventibus, ex certa sciencia et mero motu nostris, auctoritate presentis parliamenti nostri apud Westm', septimo present parliament held at Westminster on 7 die Octobris anno regni nostri tricesimo nono tenti, ordinamus, concedimus et stabilimus, quod predictus status predictorum Johannis Delaber Meney' episcopi, Edmundi Hungerford militis, Johannis Noreys, in omnibus premissis et in qualibet parcella eorumdem amodo cesset: quodque predicti Thomas Cantuar' et Willelmus Eboracen', archiepiscopi; Thomas London', Willelmus Wynton', Johannes Roffen', Thomas Bathon' et Wellen', Johannes Wygorn', Walterus Norwicen', Georgius Exon', Johannes Hereforden', Johannes Lincoln', Laur' Dunolm', et George of Exeter, John of Hereford, John of Johannes Coventren' et Lychfelden', episcopi; Johannes, abbas Sancti Albani; Jasper comes Pembroch', Ricardus comes Warrewici, Willelmus comes Arundell', Johannes comes Oxon', Ricardus comes Sar'; Henricus vicecomes Bourgchier; Edmundus dominus de Gray de Ruthyn, Leo dominus de Welles, Radulphus dominus de Sudeley, Johannes dominus de Beauchamp; Johannes Nevill, miles, Thomas Tyrell, miles; Robertus Stillyngton, Willelmus Say, Jacobus Goldwell, Robertus Wodelarke, Willelmus Westbury, Willelmus Millyngton, Hugo Damlet, Thomas Barker, clerici; Johannes Say, Johannes Hampton, Johannes Grene et Nicholaus Sharp, armigeri; habeant statum in omnibus castris, maneriis, dominiis, possessionibus, terris, tenementis, serviciis, feodis firmis, feodis comitatuum, libertatibus,

Worcester, Walter of Norwich, George of Exeter, John of Hereford, John of Lincoln, Laurence of Durham, John of Coventry and abbot of St Albans; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Richard, earl of Warwick, William, earl of Salisbury; Henry, Viscount Bourchier; Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin, Lionel, Lord Welles, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; John Neville, knight, Thomas [p. v-387][col. a] Tyrell, knight; Robert Stillington, William Say, James Goldwell, Millington, Hugh Damlet, Thomas Barker, clerks; John Say, John Hampton, John Green and Nicholas Sharp, esquires; and for certain reasons deeply concerning us, of our sure knowledge and free will, by authority of our October in the thirty-ninth year of our reign [1460], ordain, grant and decree that the aforesaid estate of the aforesaid John Delaber, bishop of St David's, Edmund Hungerford, knight, and John Norreys, in all the aforesaid and in each part of the same shall cease from now on: and that the aforesaid Thomas of Canterbury and William of York, archbishops; Thomas of London, William of Winchester, John of Rochester, Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, Lincoln, Laurence of Durham, and John of Coventry and Lichfield, bishops; John, abbot of St Albans; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Richard, earl of Warwick, William, earl of Arundel, John, earl of Oxford, Richard, earl of Salisbury; Henry, Viscount Bourchier; Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin, Lionel, Lord Welles, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; John Neville, knight, Thomas Tyrell, knight; Robert Stillington, William Say, James Goldwell, Robert Woodlark, William Westbury, William Millington, Hugh Damlet, Thomas Barker, clerks; John Say, John Hampton, John Green and Nicholas Sharp, esquires; shall have estate in all the castles, manors, lordships, possessions, lands, tenements, services, fee-farms, fees of counties, liberties, franchises, and all the rest

franchesiis et ceteris premissis quibuscumque, et ea omnia habeant et teneant sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis imperpetuum; ad perficiendam et perimplendam inde voluntatem nostram, de et super disposicione eiusdem declarata seu declaranda, de nobis et heredibus nostris, per fidelitatem tantum, pro omnibus serviciis; una cum feodis militum, etc., et aliis proficuis et commoditatibus supradictis quibuscumque, adeo plene et integre, et eisdem modo et forma, sicut nos omnia premissa prefatis Willelmo Winton', Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johanni Wygorn', Waltero Norwyc', Johanni Menev', Johanni Lincoln', per nomen Johannis Chedworth clerici, episcopis; necnon Johanni vicecomiti Beaumont; Radulpho domino de Sudeley, Johanni domino de David's, John of Lincoln, by the name of John Beauchamp; necnon Willelmo Westbury, Henrico Chedworth, clerk, bishops; and also John, Sever, Ricardo Andrewe, Willelmo Say, Roberto Wodelarke, Thome Barker, clericis; Edmundo Hungerford, militi; Johanni Hampton, Johanni Noreys et Johanni Say, armigeris; per predictas alias litteras nostras patentes, et auctoritate aliorum parliamentorum predictorum, conjunctim John Hampton, John Norreys and John Say, dedissemus, concessemus et confirmavissemus. Et nos et heredes nostri omnia premissa cum pertinenciis, prefatis Thome Cantuar', Willelmo Ebor', archiepiscopis; Thome London', Willelmo Wynton', Johanni Roffen', Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johanni Wygorn', Waltero Norwicen', Georgio Exon', Johanni Hereford', Johanni Lincoln', Laurenc' Dunolm', Johanni Coventr' et Lychefelden', episcopis; Johanni abbati; Jasperi comiti Pembroch', Ricardo comiti Warrewic', Willelmo comiti Arundell', Johanni comiti Oxon', Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Richard, earl of Ricardo comiti Sar'; Henrico vicecomiti Bourgchier; Edmundo domino de Gray, Leoni domino de Welles, Radulpho domino de Sudeley, Viscount Bourchier; Edmund, Lord Grey, Johanni domino de Beauchamp; Johanni Nevill militi, Thome Tyrell militi; Roberto Stillyngton, Willelmo Say, Jacobo Goldwell, Roberto Wodelarke, Willelmo Westbury, Willelmo Millyngton, Hugoni Damlet, Thome Barker, clericis; Johanni Say, Johanni Hampton, Johanni Grene et Nicholao Sharp, armigeris, heredibus et assignatis suis; contra omnes gentes warantizabimus imperpetuum.

Salvis nobis [col. b] statu et termino nostris, quos Saving to us [col. b] the estate and interest habemus in premissis, ex dimissione predictorum Willelmi Wynton', Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johannis Wygorn', Walteri Norwic', Johannis

of the things stated, and they shall have and hold all those things to themselves, their heirs and assigns forever of us and our heirs, by fealty, for all services, to perform and implement our will on the terms declared or to be declared; together with knights' fees, etc., and all the other aforesaid profits and commodities, as fully and entirely, and in the same manner and form, as we, by our aforesaid other letters patent, and by authority of the other aforesaid parliaments, jointly gave, granted and confirmed all the foregoing to the aforementioned William of Winchester, Thomas of Bath and Wells. John of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, John of St Viscount Beaumont; Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; and also William Westbury, Henry Sever, Richard Andrew, William Say, Robert Woodlark, Thomas Barker, clerks; Edmund Hungerford, knight; esquires. And we and our heirs warrant all the things stated with the appurtenances against all people forever to the aforementioned Thomas of Canterbury, William of York, archbishops; Thomas of London, William of Winchester, John of Rochester, Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, George of Exeter, John of Hereford, John of Lincoln, Laurence of Durham, John of Coventry and Lichfield, bishops; Abbot John; Warwick, William, earl of Arundel, John, earl of Oxford, Richard, earl of Salisbury; Henry, Lionel, Lord Welles, Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; John Neville, knight, Thomas Tyrell, knight; Robert Stillington, William Say, James Goldwell, Robert Woodlark, William Westbury, William Millington, Hugh Damlet, Thomas Barker, clerks; John Say, John Hampton, John Green and Nicholas Sharp, esquires, their heirs and assigns.

which we have in the foregoing, by the release of the aforesaid William of Winchester, Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of

prefatorum Johannis vicecomitis Beaumont; Radulphi domini de Sudeley, Johannis domini de the aforementioned John, Viscount Beaumont; Beauchamp; necnon Willelmi Westbury, Henrici Sever, Ricardi Andrewe, Roberti Wodelarke, Thome Barker, clericorum; Edmundi Hungerford, Richard Andrew, Robert Woodlark, Thomas milit'; Johannis Hampton', Johannis Noreys et Johannis Say, armigerorum. Insuperque, auctoritate presentis parliamenti, ordinamus, volumus et stabilimus quod omnia exitus, proficua et emolumenta, de omnibus premissis, necnon de arreragiis eorumdem, ultra onera ea incumbencia provenientia, in nullos alios usus convertantur, nisi tantummodo in perfeccionem et have been met, be used for no other purpose complementum voluntatis nostre, super disposicione eorumdem per nos declarata vel imposterum declaranda; quamvis nos premissa vel aliquod premissorum ad terminum diutiorem, ex dimissione predictorum Thome Cantuar', Willelmi Ebor', archiepiscoporum; Thome London', Willelmi Wynton', Johannis Roffen', Thome Bathon' et Wellen', Johannis Wygorn', Walteri Norwic', Georgii Exon', Johannis Hereford', Johannis Lincoln', Laurenc' Dunolm', Johannis Coventr' et Lychefeld', episcoporum; Johannis abbatis; Jasperis comitis Pembroch', Ricardi comitis Warrewic', Willelmi comitis Arundell', Johannis comitis Oxon', Ricardi comitis Sar'; Henrici vicecomitis Bourgchier; Edmundi domini de Gray, Leonis domini de Welles, Radulphi de Sudeley, Johannis domini de Viscount Bourchier; Edmund, Lord Grey, Beauchamp; Johannis Nevill, militis, Thome Tyrell, militis; Roberti Stillyngton, Willelmi Say, Lord Beauchamp; John Neville, knight, Jacobi Goldwell, Roberti Wodelarke, Willelmi Westbury, Willelmi Millyngton, Thome Barker, clericorum; Johannis Say, Johannis Hampton, Johannis Grene et Nicholai Sharp, armigerorum, ad certum terminum habuerimus in futuro.

Et ulterius, auctoritate dicti presentis parliamenti nostri, concedimus, ordinamus et stabilimus, quod omnes et singuli dicti homines, tenentes residentes et alii residentes, habeant, gaudeant et excerceant, omnia libertates, franchesias, privilegia, jura regalia, consuetudines, immunitates supradicta: ac etiam quod omnia et singula premissa, per officiarios et ministros nostros dicti ducatus nostri Lancastrie, et per sigillum nostrum ejusdem ducatus, et non aliter, gubernentur et conserventur; et quod status et

Meney', Johannis Lincoln', episcoporum; necnon Worcester, Walter of Norwich, John of St David's, John of Lincoln, bishops; and also of Ralph, Lord Sudeley, John, Lord Beauchamp; and also William Westbury, Henry Sever, Barker, clerks; Edmund Hungerford, knight; John Hampton, John Norreys and John Say, esquires. And moreover, by authority of the present parliament, we ordain, will and decree that all the issues, profits and emoluments arising from all the things stated, and also from their arrears, after necessary expenses than the performance and implementation of our will, on the terms declared by us or to be declared in the future; even if we shall at any point have the aforesaid or any of the aforesaid for a longer time by the release of the aforesaid Thomas of Canterbury, William of York, archbishops; Thomas of London, William of Winchester, John of Rochester, Thomas of Bath and Wells, John of Worcester, Walter of Norwich, George of Exeter, John of Hereford, John of Lincoln, Laurence of Durham, John of Coventry and Lichfield, bishops; Abbot John; Jasper, earl of Pembroke, Richard, earl of Warwick, William, earl of Arundel, John, earl of Oxford, Richard, earl of Salisbury; Henry, Lionel, Lord Welles, Ralph Sudeley, John, Thomas Tyrell, knight; Robert Stillington, William Say, James Goldwell, Robert Woodlark, William Westbury, William Millington, Thomas Barker, clerks; John Say, John Hampton, John Green and Nicholas Sharp, esquires.

> Moreover, by authority of our said present parliament, we grant, ordain and decree that each and all the said men, resident tenants and other residents, shall have, enjoy and exercise all the aforesaid liberties, franchises, privileges, royal rights, customs and immunities: and also that each and all of the foregoing shall be governed and kept by our officers and officials of our said duchy of Lancaster, and by our seal of the same duchy, and not otherwise; and that our estate and

terminus noster in premissis sit et pertineat nobis interest in the foregoing shall be and pertain to in jure ducatus nostri predicti. (fn. v-373-250-1)

Proviso semper, quod presens actus non sit prejudicialis alicui officiarum seu ministrorum nostrorum ducatus nostri predicti, aut aliquorum premissorum vel alicujus inde parcelle, de, in, seu aforesaid or any part of the same, with regard pro aliquibus officiis, feodis, vadiis et regardis eis to any offices, fees, wages and rewards vel eorum alicui inde ante hec tempora concessis sive imposterum concedendis.

#### Liveries.

36. Item, quedam alia peticio exhibita fuit prefato 36. Liveries. Item, another petition was domino regi, in presenti parliamento per Johannem Nevyll militem, et Isabellam uxorem ejus, cum quadam cedula eidem peticioni consuta, sub eo qui seguitur tenore verborum:

To the kyng oure soverain lord, sheweth unto your most noble grace John Nevyll, knyght, and Isabell his wyf, doghter and heire to Edmund Yngaldesthorp, knyght, that late discesid, the which Edmund held tyme of his deth of yowe in chief divers maners, londes and tenementz; aftre whos deth wyrtes [sic: read 'wrytes'] of diem clausit extremum was severally directed to eschetours of every shire, whervn the seid Edmund had eny londes or tenementz tyme of his Edmund had any lands or tenements at the deth; uppon divers of which wyrtes [sic: read 'wrytes'] it was founde emong othre that the seid Edmund held tyme of his deth of you in chief: and that the seid Isabell [...] is doghter and heir to hym, and of the [p. v-388][col. a] age of .xiiij. yere and more tyme of his deth, as by inquisicions tane uppon ychone of the same wyrtes [sic: read 'wrytes'] retournyd in your chauncerie it more pleynly appereth of record. Aftre which wyrtes [sic: read 'wrytes'] and ynquisicions retournyd into youre seid chauncerie, the seid John and Isabell come into the same chauncerie, and there required your chaunceller at that tyme beyng, to have livere of all be seid londez and tenementes, founden for hir tenements, which she was found by the said bi the seid inquisicions to hafe as doghter and heir to be seid Edmund: and that to do your seid chaunceller refusid; for asmoch as your highnes afore bat tyme, after the deth of be saide Edmund, time, after the death of the said Edmund, had had graunted the warde of be seide londes and tenementez, with the mariage of the seid Isabell, unto be quene oure soverain lady bat nowe is, to

us by right of our aforesaid duchy. (fn. v-373-250-1)

Provided always that the present act shall not be prejudicial to any of our officers or officials of our aforesaid duchy, or any of the granted to them or any of them before this time or to be granted in future.

[Inheritance of Isabel Ingaldesthorp.]

presented to the aforementioned lord king in the present parliament by John Neville, knight, and Isabel his wife, with a schedule stitched to the same petition, the tenor of which follows:

To the king our sovereign lord, John Neville, knight, and Isabel his wife, daughter and heir of Edmund Ingaldesthorp, knight, lately deceased, show to your most noble grace that Edmund, at the time of his death, held of you in chief various manors, lands and tenements; after whose death writs of diem clausit extremum were individually directed to the escheators of every county in which the said time of his death; upon various of which writs it was found among other things that the said Edmund held of you in chief at the time of his death: and that the said Isabel was his daughter and heir, and was [p. v-388][col. a] fourteen years old or more at the time of his death, as appears more fully on record in inquests taken upon each of the same writs and returned in your chancery. After these writs and inquests had been returned to your said chancery, the said John and Isabel came to the same chancery, and there requested your chancellor at that time that they might have livery of all the said lands and inquests to have as daughter and heir of the said Edmund: and this your said chancellor refused; because your highness before that granted the ward of the said lands and tenements, with the marriage of the said Isabel, to the present queen our sovereign

howe be it that women beyng of the age of .xiiii. yere, tyme of deth of their auncestres, owe to hafe death of their ancestors ought to have livery of livere of thare londes, bi the comun lawe of this youre roialme. Wheryn be seid John and Isabell referres theym to your jugges: and so were the seid londes and tenementz keped in your handes by the space of two yere and more, aftre the seid xiiii, yere, unto the tyme the seid John, and othre said fourteenth year, until the said John, and sufficiaunt persones with hym, agreaid to be bounden by severall reconisauncez in .m.li. to oure seid soverain lady; uppon which agrement it was promytted by certeyn of the counseill of the quene, to be seid John and Isabell, that in case the lawe were ayenst the quene, that the seid graunt made unto hir of the seide warde and mariage were noght availlable, bi cause the seid Isabell was of .xiiij. yere of age at tyme of deth of the seid Edmund, that the quene wold take no peny of the seid John and Isabell, and that the quene wold abide the determinacion of the lawe, as your submit to legal process and your justices' justices wold sey whedre the seid graunt were to hir availlable or no.

Whereuppon the seid John Nevill and othre with hym, trustyng to the seid promes, weere bounden in divers reconisauncez in divers sommez, amountyng the somme of .m.li., to the quene our sovereyn lady, in your chauncerye of record, bi the names contenid in the same reconisaunce; wherof the tenour herto is annexed. Aftre the which reconisauncez so made, the seid John and Isabell, to there grete costes, effectually labored and desirid dyvers dayes and many of the chaunceller of Ynglond atte that tyme beyng, to call togidre youre jugges to make a determynacion of the lawe, whethire the seid graunte made to the quene, were to hir availlable in the lawe or no; wheren the seid John and Isabell, no spede ne day could gitte ne hafe. And yet, the premysses notwithstondyng, the sollicitours for the quene mad leve of .c.li., parcell of the seid .m.li., ageyns all reason and conscienz, and causid the seid John and Isabell to sue a speciall livere of the seid londes and tenementes, to thare grete hurt, charge and impoverysshyng.

Wherfore, please it your highnes tendirle to considre the premyssez, and theruppon by the advise and assent of your lordes spirituall and temporall, and of your communs, in this present

hafe to hir duryng the nonnage of the seid Isabell, lady, to hold during the minority of the said Isabel, although women aged fourteen at the their lands, by the common law of this your realm. On which ground the said John and Isabel referred their case to your judges: and so the said lands and tenements were kept in your hands for two years or more, after the other sufficient persons with him, agreed to be bound by several recognizances amounting to £1,000 to our said sovereign lady; upon which agreement some of the queen's counsel promised the said John and Isabel that if the law was against the queen and the said grant made to her of the said ward and marriage was invalid, because the said Isabel was fourteen vears of age at the death of the said Edmund, the queen would take not a penny from the said John and Isabel, and that the queen would decision on whether the said grant was valid for her or not.

> Whereupon the said John Neville and others with him, trusting to the said promise, were bound by various recognizances in various sums, totalling the sum of £1,000, to the queen our sovereign lady, as recorded in your chancery, by the names contained in the same recognizance; the tenor of which is attached to this. After the recognizances had been made, the said John and Isabel, at their great cost, assiduously sued to the chancellor of England at the time to appoint a date to call together your judges to make a decision in law as to whether the said grant made to the queen was valid according to the law or not; in which matter the said John and Isabel made no progress and were not appointed a date. And yet, notwithstanding the foregoing, the solicitors for the queen levied £100, part of the said £1,000, against all reason and conscience, and caused the said John and Isabel to sue a special livery of the said lands and tenements, to their great hurt, expense and impoverishment.

> Wherefore, may it please your highness to consider the foregoing sympathetically, and by the advice and assent of your lords spiritual and temporal and of your commons,

parlement assembled, to ordeine and establyssh, by auctorite of be same parlement, that the seid reconysauncez and ychone of theme, be voide and of none effect ne value; and also that women beyng of the age of .xiiij. yere at tyme of deth of thaire auncestres, withoute question or difficulte, have livere of their londes and tenementez to them descended, for so the lawe of this londe will without question or difficulty, for the law of that then thei shuld have: and the seid John and Isabell shall pray to God for youre most noble astate.

[col. b]

Tenor cedule predicte sequitur in hec verba:

Johannes Nevill, nuper de Myddelham in comitatu Ebor', miles; et Willelmus Brandon de Suthwerk in comitatu Surr', armiger, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie, centum libras, solvendas ei in festo Sancti Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to Martini in yeme proximo futuro. Et nisi fecerint, concesserunt quod dicta pecunia levetur de terris et catallis suis et utriusque eorum, in comitatu et civitate predictis et alibi. Teste rege apud Westm', them and each of them in the aforesaid county .x. die Maii.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Fulco Stafford, nuper de The same John Neville and Fulk Stafford, late Hervyngton in comitatu Wygorn', armiger, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Pentecost' quod erit anno Domini millesimo payable to her at Whitsun 1459. And if etc., as .cccclix. °. Et nisi etc., ut supra. Teste ut supra.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Thomas Nevill, nuper de The same John Neville and Thomas Neville, Erysby in comitatu Lincoln', miles, respondent se late of Eresby in the county of Lincoln, et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Sancti Martini in yeme quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclix. o . Et nisi, etc. Teste rege apud Westm', .ix. die Maii.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Thomas Nevill. respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas in festo Pentecost' quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclix. °. Et nisi etc., ut supra. Teste ut supra. Idem Johannes Nevill et Thomas Bekwyth, de Clynte in comitatu Ebor', armiger, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Sancti Martini in yeme quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclx. Et nisi etc. Teste rege apud Westm', .x.

assembled in this present parliament, to ordain and decree by authority of the same parliament, that the said recognizances and each one of them are invalid and of no effect or value; and also that women aged fourteen at the death of their ancestors should have livery of their inherited lands and tenements this land wills that they should have them then; and the said John and Isabel shall pray to God for your most noble estate.

The tenor of the aforesaid schedule follows in these words:

John Neville, late of Middleham in the county of York, knight, and William Brandon of Southwark in the county of Surrey, esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe her at Martinmas next. And if they do not do this, they have agreed that the said money shall be levied from the lands and chattels of and city and elsewhere. Witness the king at Westminster on 10 May.

of Harvington in the county of Worcester, esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, above. Witness as above.

knight, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to her at Martinmas 1459. And if etc. Witness the king at Westminster, on 9 May.

The same John Neville and Thomas Neville acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable at Whitsun 1459. And if etc., as above. Witness as above.

The same John Neville and Thomas Beckwith. of Clint in the county of York, esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, to be paid to her at Martinmas 1460. And if etc. Witness the king at Westminster, on 10 May.

die Maii.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Humfridus Bourghchier, The same John Neville and Humphrey de Chesthunt in comitatu Midd', armiger. respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Pentecost' quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclxi. o . Et nisi etc. Teste ut supra.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Johannes Radclyff, de Attilburgh in comitatu Norff', armiger, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Sancti Martini in yeme quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclxi. °. Et nisi etc. Teste ut Witness as above. supra.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Ricardus Fenys, de Hyrst Mounceux in comitatu Sussex', miles, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Pentecost' quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclxij. °. Et nisi etc., ut supra. Teste ut supra. [memb. 9]

Idem Johannes Nevill et Gerardus Salvan, nuper de Northalverton in comitatu Ebor', respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Sancti Martini in yeme quod erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclxij. ° . Et nisi etc. Teste rege apud Westm', .xi. die Maii.

Idem Johannes Nevill et Robertus Babthorp, de Babthorp in comitatu Ebor', armiger, respondent se et utrumque eorum debere Margarete regine Anglie .c.li., solvendas ei in festo Pentecost' quod Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to erit anno Domini millesimo .cccclxiij. ° . Et nisi etc. Teste rege apud Westm', .xxvij. die Junii, anno .xxxvi. to .

Quibus quidem peticione et cedula, in parliamento predicto lectis, auditis et plenius intellectis, de avisamento et assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium, ac communitatis regni Anglie, in eodem parliamento existentium, respondebatur eisdem in forma sequenti:

Soit fait come il est desire. (fn. v-373-287-1)

Bourchier, of Cheshunt in the county of Middlesex [ recte Hertford], esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to her at Whitsun 1461. And if etc. Witness as above.

The same John Neville and John Radcliff of Attleborough in the county of Norfolk, esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to her at Martinmas 1461. And if etc.

The same John Neville and Richard Fiennes, of Herstmonceux in the county of Sussex, knight, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to her at Whitsun 1462. And if etc., as above. Witness as above.

The same John Neville and Gerard Salvan, late of Northallerton in the county of York, acknowledge that they and each of them owe Margaret, queen of England, £100, payable to her at Martinmas 1462. And if etc. Witness the king at Westminster, on 11 May.

The same John Neville and Robert Babthorp, of Babthorp in the county of York, esquire, acknowledge that they and each of them owe her at Whitsun 1463. And if etc. Witness the king at Westminster, on 27 June, in the thirtysixth year [1458].

When this petition and schedule had been read, heard and fully understood in the aforesaid parliament, by the advice and assent of the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of the kingdom of England being in the same parliament, it was answered in the following way:

Let it be done as it is desired. (fn. v-373-287-1)

Appendix: 1460

Source: PRO C49/32/8 [the manuscript is only partly legible]

Rehearses that Henry earl of Northumberland is holding Wressle castle by force, although he was ordered by the king's letters patent to deliver it and Pontefract castle to Richard, earl of Salisbury upon pain of forfeiting all that he and his associates might forfeit. (fn. app1460-1) Servants of the earl murdered the king's messenger John Drayton when he attempted to deliver the king's writ and the earl and his named associates still hold the castle. By the authority of parliament the chancellor is commanded to direct a writ to the sheriffs of London ordering them to make immediate proclamation that the earl and his associates appear before the king in person in the quindene of Hillary next to answer for the said disobedience and contempt.

Address: [none]

Answer: The kyng agreeth to this acte provided alweys that notwithstondyng this act he be not put fro his libertee in usyng of his prerogatif to eny persone or persones comprised in the said acte or to eny othir that to whom the seid acte may extende

The bill bears the royal sign manual at the head and the number xxxix at the foot.

# **Footnotes**

- <u>int1460-1</u>. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: register of the ministers and of the members of both houses 1439-1509* (HMSO, 1938), p. 267n.
- int1460-2. Jean de Waurin, *Recueil des Croniqueset anchiennes istories de la Grant Bretaigne*, ed. W. & E. L. C. P. Hardy (5 vols, Rolls Series, 1864-91), V, p. 313.
- <u>int1460-3</u>. J. C. Wedgwood, *History of Parliament: biographies of the members of the commons house 1439-1509* (HMSO, 1936), pp. 391-2.
- int1460-4. N. Davis (ed.), *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century* (2 vols, Oxford, 1971-6), II, no. 613 dates York's landing but the writer's dating of the letter to 12 October, although accepted by Gairdner and Davis, must be a slip of the pen. It was evidently written before parliament met on 7 October.
- int1460-5. H. T. Riley (ed.), *Registrum Abbatiae Johannis Whethamstede* (2 vols, Rolls Series, 1872-3), I, pp. 376-7.
- <u>int1460-6</u>. G. L. & M. A. Harriss (eds), *John Benet's Chronicle for the years 1400-1462* in Camden Miscellany XXIV, Camden Society fourth series 9 (1972) pp. 227-8.
- <u>int1460-7</u>. P. A. Johnson, *Duke Richard of York 1411-1460* (Oxford, 1988), pp. 213-4.
- <u>int1460-8</u>. The debate is surveyed by M. K. Jones, 'Edward IV, the earl of Warwick and the Yorkist claim to the throne', *HR*, 70 (1997), 342-52.
- <u>int1460-9</u>. J. S. Davies (ed), *An English Chronicle*, Camden Society, original series 64 (1856), p. 100; Waurin, *Croniques*, p. 316.
- <u>int1460-10</u>. Johnson, *Richard of York*, p. 213. This reading is further supported by A. H. Thomas & I. D. Thornley (eds), *The Great Chronicle of London* (1938), p. 192.
- <u>int1460-11</u>. The account of events by Pius II agrees that this was the first item of business: F. A Gragg, *Commentaries of Pius II*, ed. L. C. Gabel, books II and III (Smith

College Studies in History, 25, 1939-40), p. 270. Stow dissents, placing it after the agreement between York and the king: John Stow, *The Annales of England* (1592), p. 675.

- int1460-12. N. H. Nicolas (ed.), *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council of England* (6 vols, Record Commission, 1834-7), VI, p. 306; *CPR* 1452-61, p. 647.
- <u>int1460-13</u>. Davis, *Paston Letters*, I, p. 259.
- <u>int1460-14</u>. N. Pronay & J. Cox (eds), *The Crowland Chronicle Continuations 1459-1486* (1986), pp. 110-11.
- <u>int1460-15</u>. Davis, *Paston Letters*, I, p. 259.
- int1460-16. C. Welch, *History of the Worshipful Company of Pewterers of the City of London* 2 vols (1902), I, p. 28.
- <u>int1460-17</u>. F. W. D. Brie (ed.), *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, EETS, original series, 131, 136 (1906-8), II, p. 530.
- <u>int1460-18</u>. *Great Chronicle*, p. 193.
- <u>int1460-19</u>. Davies, *English Chronicle*, p. 106; for York's appellation as heir, *CPR* 1452-61, pp. 653-4.
- <u>int1460-20</u>. R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster* (1953), pp. 210-15 summarises the various enfeoffments of duchy land made for Henry VI's will.
- int1460-21. PRO C 49/32/4.
- int1460-22. Harriss, Benet's Chronicle, p. 228.
- int1460-23. R. Flenley (ed.), Six Town Chronicles of England (Oxford, 1911), p. 151; Great Chronicle, p. 193.
- <u>int1460-24</u>. Flenley, *Town Chronicles*, p.153; Harriss, *Benet's Chronicle*, p. 229; J. Gairdner (ed.), *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, Camden Society second series 17 (1876), p. 208; Wedgwood, *Register*, p. 266n.
- <u>int1460-25</u>. Harriss, *Benet's Chronicle*, p. 229. Bourgchier had been returned as knight of the shire for Lincolnshire.
- <u>int1460-26</u>. C. Richmond, 'The Nobility and the Wars of the Roses: the parliamentary session of January 1461', *Parliamentary History* 18 (1999), 261-9; Davis, *Paston Letters*, I, p. 197. William Paston also gives him the title when reporting his death (*ibid*., p. 165), but it is not used in his inquisition post mortem. If Radcliff was still out of London when parliament met it might explain why Benet overlooked his elevation.
- int1460-27. Harriss, Benet's Chronicle, p. 229; Wedgwood, Register, p. 266n.
- v-373-6-1. Joel 2:16.
- v-373-54-1. PRO C49/32/1-2.
- v-373-101-1. Parliament of 1406, item 38.

- <u>v-373-157-1</u>. Parliament of 1406, item 38.
- <u>v-373-173-1</u>. PRO C49/32/3.
- <u>v-373-180-1</u>. PRO C49/63/8.
- v-373-186-1. Parliament of 1421, item 20; PRO C49/63/7.
- <u>v-373-198-1</u>. PRO C49/63/6.
- <u>v-373-200-1</u>. PRO C49/63/5.
- <u>v-373-202-1</u>. PRO C49/63/4.
- <u>v-373-207-1</u>. *CPR 1452-61* , 653-4.
- <u>v-373-207-2</u>. PRO C49/32/4.
- <u>v-373-217-1</u>. PRO C49/32/5.
- <u>v-373-222-1</u>. PRO C49/32/6/2.
- v-373-230-1. PRO C49/32/6/1; the rest of this membrane has been left blank.
- <u>v-373-240-1</u>. Parliament of 1445, item 17
- <u>v-373-246-1</u>. Parliament of 1449, unenrolled.
- <u>v-373-250-1</u>. PRO C49/32/7.
- <u>v-373-287-1</u>. PRO SC8/28/1398-9.
- <u>app1460-1</u>. *CPR* 1452-61 p. 610 (24 August 1460).

[p. vi-237] [col. a] [memb. 21]

ROTULUS PARLIAMENTI DE ANNO REGNI THE ROLL OF THE PARLIAMENT REGIS RICARDI TERTII PRIMO I °.

## [memb. 1]

Memorandum quod die veneris, vicesimo tercio die Januarii, anno regni regis Ricardi tercii post conquestum primo, videlicet, primo die parliamenti, ipso domino rege in camera depicta, infra palacium suum Westm', regali solio sedente, presentibus tunc [quampluribus dominis spiritualibus et temporalibus, ac communibus] regni Anglie, ad parliamentum predictum de mandatis regiis convocatis; [venerabilis pater Johannes Lincoln' episcopus, cancellarius Anglie, causas] summonicionis parliamenti predicti notabiliter pronunciavit et declaravit; assumens pro suo themate, [In corpore multa] quidem sunt membra, non autem omnia eundem actum habent. and announced the reasons for summoning the (fn. vi-237-5-1) In quibus verbis fidelitatem quam aforesaid parliament, taking as his theme: 'In subditi [regis ac officia] singulorum membrorum principali membro debitur, graviter et multum politice declaravit, ponens tria corpora, [naturale, artificiosum, scilicet, et politicum,] inducens dragmam decimam (fn. vi-237-5-2), unam, scilicet, ex indumentis preciosissimis hujusce Anglorum [corporis politici, deperditam fore, pro cujus] investigacione ac invencione regem, cunctos dominos spirituales et temporales hoc tempore parliamenti [maxime assiduos diligentesque] fore debere ratus est; concludens quod post invencionem decime dragme, que in rebus agendis [perfeccionem significare, hoc] corpus nostrum politicum Anglorum scilicet sanum incolum haud sauciatum vulneratum ve gloriose ac per tempora [longeva continuat regem, regni] proceres, ac comunitatem interius et politic of England would endure gloriously extra, pacem pacisque auctorem perhenniter colere. Post cujus [quidem pronunciacionis et] declaracionis conclusionem, idem cancellarius prefatis communibus nomine regio dedit firmiter in mandatis, quod in [domo sua communi et consueta] in crastino convenirent, et unum prelocutorem sibi eligerent; ac sic electum eidem domino regi presentarent. [Declaravit insuper idem] cancellarius, quod dictus dominus rex,

[HELD] IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE REIGN OF KING RICHARD THE THIRD.

[The opening of parliament.] [1.] Be it remembered that on Friday, 23 January in the first year of the reign of King Richard the third since the conquest [1484], that is, on the first day of parliament, with the lord king sitting on the royal throne in the Painted Chamber within his palace of Westminster, then being present many lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the realm of England, assembled at the aforesaid parliament at the king's command, the venerable father John, bishop of Lincoln, chancellor of England memorably declared the body there are many limbs, but not all have the same function'. (fn. vi-237-5-1) In which words he gravely and very astutely explained the fealty which subjects of the king and the functions individual members owe to the principal member, asserting that there are three kinds of body, namely the natural, the aggregate and the politic, and going on to suggest that one coin, the tenth, (fn. vi-237-5-2) had been lost from the most precious fabric of the body politic of England and that to hunt for it and find it would require the king and all the lords spiritual and temporal to be very assiduous and diligent during this parliament; concluding that after the finding of the tenth coin, which signifies perfection, our body and for a long time, healthy, safe and free from all damage or injury; the king, the great men of the realm and the commons eternally cherishing peace outward and inward and the author of that peace. At the end of which declaration and announcement, the aforesaid chancellor in the king's name firmly ordered the commons to assemble on the following day in their common house as usual and elect

volens justiciam conqueri volentibus in dicto
parliamento tam [indigenis quam extraneis
celerius] adhiberi, certos receptores peticionum in
eodem parliamento exhibendarum constituit et
assignavit in [forma que sequitur.]

one of their number as their speaker, a
present the man thus elected to the san
king. The same chancellor announced
moreover that the said lord king, wishi
justice to be done more swiftly both to

Receivours des peticions d'Engleterre, Irland, Gales et Escoce:

- Sir Thomas Barowe
- Sir Thomas Hutton
- Sir William Bolton
- Sir Richard Skipton.

[col. b]

Receivours des peticions de Gascoigne et des autres terres et paiis de par dela, et des Isles:

- Sir William Morland
- Sir John Broun
- Sir William Kelet
- Sir Robert Blakwalls.

Et ceux qi voillent deliverer lours peticions, les baillent deinz sept jours proschein venantz.

Et sount assignez triours des peticions d'Angleterre, Irland, Gales et Escoce:

- Le cardinall et erchevesqe de Canterburys
- Le duc de Norfolk
- L'evesqe de Loundres
- L'evesqe de Baa
- L'evesqe de Norwiche
- Le count de Kent
- Le viscount Lovell
- L'abbe de Glouc'

one of their number as their speaker, and to present the man thus elected to the same lord king. The same chancellor announced moreover that the said lord king, wishing justice to be done more swiftly both to denizens and aliens wishing to complain in the said parliament, had appointed and assigned certain receivers of the petitions to be presented in the same parliament in the following form.

Receivers of petitions from England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland:

- Sir Thomas Barowe
- Sir Thomas Hutton
- Sir William Bolton
- Sir Richard Skipton.

Receivers of petitions from Gascony, and the other lands and countries overseas, and from the Channel Islands:

- Sir William Morland
- Sir John Brown
- Sir William Kelet
- Sir Robert Blackwalls.

And those who wish to submit their petitions should deliver them within the next seven days.

And the following are assigned triers of petitions for England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland:

- The cardinal archbishop of Canterbury
- The duke of Norfolk
- The bishop of London
- The bishop of Bath
- The bishop of Norwich
- The earl of Kent
- Viscount Lovell

- L'abbe de Ramsey
- L'abbe de Abyndon
- Sir William Huse
- Sir Richard Neele
- toutz ensemble, ou size des prelates et seignurs avaunditz, appellez as eux les chanceller et tresorer, et auxi les sergeauntz du roy, quant y besoignera. Et tiendront lour place en la chambre du chamberleyn, pres la chambre Depeincte.

[p. vi-238] [col. a]

Et sount assignez triours des peticions de Gascoigne et des autres terres et paiis de par dela, petitions for Gascony and the other lands and et des Isles:

- L'erchevesqe d'Everwyk
- L'evesqe de Wurcestr'
- L'evesqe de Seint Asse
- L'evesqe de Rochestr'
- Le counte de Surr'
- L'abbe de Saint Augustin de Canterbury
- L'abbe de Hyde
- L'abbe de Bury
- L'abbe de Peterburgh
- Le sire de Grey
- Le sire de Audeley
- Le sire de Powyk
- Sire Thomas Bryan
- Sire Guy Fairfax
- toutz ensemble, ou size des avauntditz prelates et seignurs, appelles as eux les chaunceller et tresorer, et auxi les sergeauntz du roy, quant y

- The abbot of Gloucester
- The abbot of Ramsey
- The abbot of Abingdon
- Sir William Huse
- Sir Richard Neele
- to act all together, or at least six of the aforesaid prelates and lords, consulting with the chancellor and treasurer, and also the king's serjeants, when necessary. And they shall hold their session in the chamberlain's chamber, near the Painted Chamber.

And the following are assigned triers of countries overseas, and for the Channel Islands:

- The archbishop of York
- The bishop of Worcester
- The bishop of Saint Asaph
- The bishop of Rochester
- The earl of Surrey
- The abbot of Saint Augustine's, Canterbury
- The abbot of Hyde
- The abbot of Bury
- The abbot of Peterborough
- Lord Grey
- Lord Audley
- Lord Powick
- Sir Thomas Brian
- Sir Guy Fairfax
- to act all together, or at least six of the aforesaid prelates and lords, consulting with the chancellor and treasurer, and also the

bosoignera. Et tiendront lour place en la chambre king's serjeants, when necessary. And they Marcolf.

Eleccio prelocutoris.

Item, die sabbati, secundo die parliamenti, prefati [2.] Item, on Saturday, the second day of communes per quosdam socios suos, declaraverunt dominis spiritualibus et temporalibus in presenti parliamento, quod ipsi. mandatum domini regis pridie sibi injunctum cum parliament that they, executing the order of omni diligencia exequentes, elegerunt prelocutorem suum, non nominando personam; humillime deprecando, quatenus ipsi id regie magestati intimare dignarent, et quando eidem domino regi dictum prelocutorem sibi presentarent placeret. Super quo, prefato domino regi prius allocuto, prefatis communibus extitit responsum, quod in die lune tunc proximo future, idem dominus rex hujusmodi presentacionem sibi aforesaid commons were answered that the fieri vellet.

Presentacio prelocutoris.

Item, die lune, quarto die parliamenti, prefati communes, coram domino rege in pleno parliamento comparentes, presentaverunt domino regi Willielmum Catesby prelocutorem suum, de quo idem dominus rex se bene contentavit. Qui quidem Willielmus, post excusacionem suam coram domino rege factam, pro eo quod ipsa sua excusacio ex parte dicti domini regis admitti non potuit, eidem domino regi humillime supplicavit, quatenus omnia et singula per ipsum in parliamento predicto nomine dicte communitatis proferenda et declaranda, sub tali posset proferre et declarare protestacione, quod si ipse aliqua sibi he might propose and announce under the per prefatos socios suos injuncta, aliter quam ipsi concordati fuerint, aut in addendo vel omittendo declaravint, ea sic declarata per predictos socios suos corrigere posset et emendare; et quod protestacio sua hujusmodi in rotulo parliamenti inactitaretur. Cui per prefatum dominum cancellarium de mandato domini regis extitit responsum, quod idem Willielmus tali protestacione frueretur et gauderet, quali alii prelocutores hujusmodi, tempore nobilium progenitorum suorum regum Anglie, in hujusmodi parliamentis uti et gaudere consueverunt.

shall hold their session in the Marcolf Chamber.

The election of the speaker.

parliament, the aforesaid commons announced through certain of their colleagues to the lords spiritual and temporal in the present the lord king given them the previous day with all diligence, had elected an unnamed person as their speaker; humbly requesting that they would deign to make this known to his majesty, and when it pleased the same lord king they would present the said speaker to him. Concerning this, when it had been discussed with the aforesaid lord king, the same lord king wished that this presentation be made to him on the Monday immediately following.

The presentation of the speaker.

[3.] Item, on Monday, the fourth day of parliament, the aforesaid commons, appearing before the lord king in full parliament, presented William Catesby as their speaker to the lord king, with whom the same lord king was well satisfied. Which William, having made his excuse before the lord king, because his excuse could not be allowed by the said lord king, humbly requested the same lord king that each and every thing to be proposed and announced by him in the aforesaid parliament in the name of the said commons protestation that if he should announce anything enjoined on him by his aforesaid colleagues other than they had agreed, either by adding or omitting anything, what he had said might be corrected and amended by his aforesaid colleagues; and that his protestation might be enrolled on the roll of the aforesaid parliament. To which the aforesaid lord chancellor answered, on the order of the lord king, that the same William might reap and enjoy the protestation other speakers have used and enjoyed in such parliaments in the time of his noble progenitors, kings of England.

Concessio subsidiorum.

Memorandum quod communes regni Anglie in presenti parliamento existentes, et coram domino rege in pleno parliamento predicto, vicesimo die Februarii, anno predicto, videlicet, ultimo die presentis parliamenti, comparentes, per Willielmum Catesby prelocutorem suum declarabant, qualiter ipsi, de assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in parliamento predicto existencium, concesserunt prefato domino regi certa subsidia, tam de indigenis quam alienigenis, sub certa forma in quadam indentura inde confecta et eidem domino regi adtunc ibidem exhibita contenta levanda; cujus quidem indenture tenor sequitur in hec verba:

[col. b] [memb. 2]

To the worshippe of God; we youre poure commons by your high commaundement common commons who have come to this your present to this youre present parlement for the shires, citees and boroughs of this youre noble reame, by the counties, cities and boroughs of this your thassent of all the lordes spirituelx and temporelx in this your present parlement assembled, graunte by this present indenture to you, oure soveraine lord, for the defence of this your seid reame and in especiall for the saffgarde and kepyng of the see, a subsidie called tonnage, to be take in maner the safeguard and keeping of the sea, a and fourme followyng; that is to sey, .iij. s. of every tonne of wyne commyng into this youre said reame and of every tonne of swete wyne commyng into the same youre reame, by eny marchaunt alien, aswell by the marchauntes of Hance and of Almayn, as of eny oder marchaunte every alien merchant, including the merchants aliene, .iij. s., over the seid .iij. s. afore graunted; to have and to perceyve verely the seid subsidie from the first day of this present parlement, for terme of youre lyf naturall. And over that, we youre said commens, by thassent aforesaid, graunte to you, oure said soverayne lord, for the safegard and kepyng of the see, a nother subsidie called poundage; that is to say, of all maner marchaundises of every marchaunt deynsiene and aliene, aswell of the marchaunts of Hance and of Almayne, as of eny other merchaunt aliene, caried oute of this youre said reame or brought into the same by wey of marchaundise, of the value of every .xx. s. .xij. d. except tynne, wherof into it by way of trade, except tin, for which

The grant of subsidies.

[4.] Be it remembered that the commons of the realm of England being in this present parliament, appearing before the lord king in the aforesaid full parliament, on 20 February in the aforesaid year, that is to say, on the last day of the present parliament, announced through William Catesby, their speaker, how they, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal being in the aforesaid parliament, have granted certain subsidies to the aforementioned lord king, from denizens as well as from aliens, to be levied on the terms contained in a certain indenture made thereon and then and there presented to the same lord king; the tenor of which indenture follows in these words:

To the honour of God; we your poor parliament by your high commandment for noble realm, by the assent of all the lords spiritual and temporal assembled in this your present parliament, grant you, our sovereign lord, by this present indenture, for the defence of this your said realm and in particular for subsidy called tonnage, to be taken in the manner and form following: that is to say, 3s. from every tun of wine coming into this your said realm and from every tun of sweet wine coming into your same realm, and 3s. from of the Hanse and of Germany, in addition to the said 3s. previously granted; to have and receive the said subsidy yearly from the first day of this present parliament, for term of your natural life. And moreover, we your said commons, by the aforesaid assent, grant you, our said sovereign lord, for the safeguard and keeping of the sea, another subsidy called poundage: that is to say, 12d. for every 20 shillings-worth of all kinds of merchandise of every denizen and alien merchant, including the merchants of the Hanse and of Germany, exported from this your said realm or brought

the marchantes straungiers to pay for subsidie, of the foreign merchants shall pay 2s. for the the value of every .xx. s. .ij. s.; and the marchauntes deynsiens .xij. d.; and all suche maner marchaundises of every marchaunt deynsien, to be valued after that they cost at the first bying or achate, by their othes, or of their servauntes byers of the seid marchaundises in their absence, or by their lettres, the which the same marchauntes have of such bying from their factours; all maner wollen cloth made and wrought within thys youre reame, by eny marchaunt devnsiene not borne aliene, to be caried oute of the same reame within the tyme of this graunte, all maner wolle, wolfell and hydes goyng oute of the same, and every maner of corne, floure, all maner of fresshfisshe, bestall and wyne, into this youre reame commyng, ale, and all maner vitaill goyng oute of this youre seid coming into this your realm, ale and all reame for the vitaillyng of youre toune of Caleis, and of the marches there undre youre obeysaunce, victualling your town of Calais and the oute of this graunte alwey except; to have and to perceyve yerely the said subsidie of poundage fro the said first day of this present parlement, duryng youre lif naturall; except afore except. And if eny concelement be founde in the merchauntes of the dutie aforesaid, that they for such concelament pay therof oonly the double subsidie, withoute env other hurt or forfeiture in that behalfe; and that thiese grauntes be not take in ensample to the kynges of Englond in tyme to come. And that it may please youre highnes that aswell marchauntes deynsiens as straungers, commyng into this youre said reame with their marchaundises, be well and honestly entreated and demeaned in their subsidies and all other thinges, and that the seid marchauntes be entreated and demeaned as they were in the tyme of youre noble progenitours, withoute oppressioun to be doone to the marchauntes aforesaid by the tresorer of Englond for the tyme beyng, custumers, countrollers, serchours or eny other youre officers, paying theire subsidies aboveseid. And that the seid subsidies and every parcell of theym be emploied and applied for the safegard and kepyng of the see, and defence of this youre seid reame, in maner and fourme as it is before reherced.

And over that, we youre seid poure commons, by thassent aforesaid, graunte to you, our seid

subsidy on every 20 shillings worth, and the denizen merchants 12d.; and all such merchandise of every denizen merchant shall be valued at its cost when first bought or purchased, by their oath or, in their absence, that of their servants who bought the said merchandise, or by the letters concerning the purchase which the same merchants have from their factors; always excepting from this grant all kinds of woollen cloth made and produced within this your realm and exported from the same realm during the time of this grant by any denizen merchant not born an alien, all kinds of wool, woolfells and hides exported from the same, and every kind of corn, flour, all fresh fish, meat and wine victuals exported from this your said realm for marches under your obedience there; to have and receive the said subsidy of poundage yearly from the said first day of this present parliament during your natural life, with the exceptions noted above. And if merchants are found guilty of any concealment of the aforesaid duty, they shall only pay double the subsidy for such concealment, without any other loss or forfeiture in that respect; and these grants are not to be taken as a precedent by the kings of England in time to come. And may it please your highness that denizen merchants as well as foreigners coming into this your said realm with their merchandise be treated and dealt with well and honestly in their subsidies and all other things, and that the said merchants be treated and dealt with as they were in the time of your noble progenitors, without harassment by the treasurer of England at the time, the customers, controllers, searchers or any other of your officers of the aforesaid merchants who pay their aforesaid subsidies. And that the said subsidies, and every part of them, be used and applied to the safeguard and keeping of the sea, and for the defence of this your said realm, in the manner and form described above.

And moreover, we your said poor commons, by the aforesaid assent, for the great affection soveraine lord, for the grete affectioun and true humble hertes that we have to youre highnes, for the defence of this youre noble reame, a subsidie of wolles, wolfelles and [p. vi-239][col. a] hydes, a subsidy on wool, woolfells and [p. vito be paied and levyed in maner and fourme that folouyth; that is to sey, of every marchaunt deynsiene for the subsidie of every sak of woll .xxxiij. s. .iiij. d., and of every .ccxl. wolfell .xxxiij. s. .iiij. d., and of every last of hides .lxvi. s. .viij. d., to have and perceyve the seid subsidie, from the said first day of this present parlement, for terme of youre lif; and of every marchaunt straunger, not born youre liegeman, aswell those that ben made devnsiens, as herafter shalbe made liegeman, including those who have been or by youre lettres patentes or otherwise, as of other marchauntes straungers, of every sak of wolle .lxvi. s. .viij. d., and of every .ccxl. wolfell .xvli. s. .viij. d., and of every last of hides .lxxiij.s. .iiij. d., goyng oute of this youre said reame; to have and to perceyve the seid subsidies of the marchaundises of the said aliens, from the seid first day of this present parlement, duryng youre naturall lif: the oon half of all the seid subsidies by the marchauntes devnsiens to be paied at the ende of .vi. monethes next after the going oute of the marchaundises, and the other half at the ende of .vi. monethes thay next following, for to dispose and ordevne after your right graciouse will and discrecioun for the defence abovesaid. And if env marchaundises of woll, wolfelles, hydes or eny oder marchaundises of any marchaunt deynsiene borne youre liegeman, which marchaundise shall passe oute of this lond after the said first day, duryng the terme of the said graunt, be taken by ennemyes upon the see, or perisshed by infortune in eny shippe or shippes which happen to be taken or lost hereafter that shall happe to be taken or perisshed herafter within the tyme of this graunte, wherof the subsidie to you due or to be due is or shalbe duly paied or agreed, or suerties therfore founde, withoute fraude or collusioun, and such lost or losses, as ben before reherced, be founde or proved before the tresorer of Englond or the chief baron of your exchequer at the time, by baroun of youre escheker for the tyme beyng, by the examynacioun of the same marchauntes if they be on lif, or of their executours or adminystratours if they be dede, or .ij. true credible persones sworne, witnessyng the same, or other resonable witnes and proves sworne, witnessyng the same marchaundise so to be lost

and true humble hearts that we have towards your highness, grant you, our said sovereign lord, for the defence of this your noble realm, 239][col. a] hides, to be paid and levied in the manner and form following: that is to say, from every denizen merchant 33s. 4d. for the subsidy on every sack of wool, 33s. 4d. on every 240 woolfells, and 66s. 8d. on every last of hides, to have and receive the said subsidy from the said first day of this present parliament for term of your life; and from every foreign merchant not born your will be made denizens by your letters patent or otherwise, as well as other foreign merchants, 66s. 8d. on every sack of wool, 66s. 8d. on every 240 woolfells, and 73s. 4d. on every last of hides exported from this your said realm, to have and receive the said subsidies on the merchandise of the said aliens from the said first day of this present parliament during your natural life; one half of all the said subsidies to be paid by the denizen merchants six months after the export of the merchandise, and the other half at the end of the following six months, to be laid out and employed for the aforesaid defence at your most gracious will and discretion. And if any merchandise of wool, woolfells, hides or any other merchandise of any denizen merchant born your liegeman, exported from this land after the said first day during the period of the said grant, is taken by enemies at sea, or lost by misfortune in any ship or ships during the time of this grant, for which the subsidy due or to be due to you is or will be duly paid or agreed, or sureties found for it, without fraud or collusion, and the loss or losses described above are found or proved before the treasurer of England or the chief examination of the same merchants if they are alive, or of their executors or administrators if they are dead, or two honest and trustworthy people witnessing the same on oath, or other reasonable sworn witness and proofs, witnessing that the same merchandise has indeed been lost or destroyed; that then the

or perisshed; that than the same marchauntes devnsens that were or shalbe owners of the seid woll, wolfell, hides or of other marchaundises as was so perisshed or lost, if they be on lif, or their elost, if they are alive, or their executors or executours or adminystratours if they be dede, and every of theyme, by force and vertue of the seid auctorite, when theyme liketh, duryng the said terme, shall move shippe asmoche woll, wolfell, hydes or other marchaundises, in the same port or portes in which the same woll, wolfell, hydes or other marchaundises were shipped, as was so perisshed or lost, without env subsidie of the wolles, wolfell, hydes or other marchaundise, or eny other subsidie nowe graunted, to be had or paied therfore to you in eny granted, to be had or paid to you for it in any wise; and that all such proves of the seid marchaundise so lost or perisshed, be certified into youre chauncerie of record by youre seid tresorer or chief baroun of youre eschequer; and after such certificate made, the chaunceller of Englond for the tyme beyng, doe make and deliver to the seid marchauntes, executours or administratours of eny of theyme, or the attorney or attorneys of theyme or eny of theyme, as many writtes or warrantes, to be direct aswell to the custumers in the seid porte or portes, as to the tresorer and barons of youre eschequer for the tyme beyng, suche and as meny as to the seid marchauntes, their executours, administratours or attourney or attorneys of theyme or eny of theyme, shalbe necessarie and behovefull in that partie; and that every merchaunt devnsiene that shippeth eny woll, wolfell or other marchaundise herafter in eny caryk or galey, that then he pay the subsidie as a straunger. Provided alway and except that this graunte of subsidie or subsidies, [col. b] nor eny parcell therof, nor eny thyng conteyned therin, be hurtfull or prejudiciall in eny it, or anything contained in it, shall not be wise unto the mair, felishippe and marchauntes of harmful or prejudicial in any way to the the staple at Caleis, their successours, or env of theyme, to, in or for an acte made in the parlement sommoned and holden at Westm' the .vi. day of Octobre, in the .xij. th yere of the reigne summoned and held at Westminster on 6 of Kyng Edward the fourth late kyng of Englond, and proroged unto the .viij. th day of Feverer then next ensuyng, and there the same .viii. th day holden; by whiche acte, amonges other, is ordeyned and graunted to the said maier, felishippe and marchauntes of the said staple at Caleis, and their successours for the tyme beyng,

same denizen merchants who were or will be the owners of the said wool, woolfells, hides or of the other merchandise thus destroyed or administrators if they are dead, and each of them, by force and virtue of the said authority, may ship when they please during the said period as much wool, woolfells, hides or other merchandise in the same port or ports in which the same wool, woolfells, hides or other merchandise which were thus destroyed or lost were shipped, without any subsidy on the wool, woolfells, hides or other merchandise, or any other subsidy now way; and all such proofs of the said merchandise thus lost or destroyed shall be certified on record in your chancery by your said treasurer or the chief baron of your exchequer; and after such certification has been made, the chancellor of England at the time shall make and deliver to the said merchants, the executors or administrators of any of them, or the attorney or attorneys of them or any of them, as many writs or warrants as shall be necessary and expedient for the said merchants, their executors, administrators or the attorney or attorneys of them, or any of them, in that matter, to be directed to the customers in the said port or ports as well as to the treasurer and barons of your exchequer at the time; and every denizen merchant who hereafter ships any wool, woolfells or other merchandise in any carrack or galley shall pay the subsidy as a foreigner. Provided always and excepting that this grant of subsidy or subsidies, [col. b] or any part of mayor, fellowship and merchants of the staple at Calais, their successors, or any of them, with regard to an act made in the parliament October in the twelfth year of the reign of King Edward IV [1472], late king of England, and prorogued until the following 8 February, and held there on the same eighth day; by which act, among other things, it is ordained and granted to the said mayor, fellowship and merchants of the said staple at Calais and their the .viii, day of April next afore the seid .viii, day sixteen years from 8 April immediately before of Feverer, to reteyne all maner custumes and subsidies of their wolles and wollefelles, and felles called shorlyng and morlyng, and of every of theires, to be shipped oute of the reame of Englond to the staple at Caleys duryng that terme, the realm of England to the staple at Calais without env thyng therefore to be volden during that period, without yielding or paying or paied to the kyng or his heires, or to the custumers or collectours of the custume and subsidie for the tyme beyng in any porte or portes the custom and subsidy at the time in any port of this reame, otherwise then in the same acte after is expressed; the kynges duties called the devoirs or custumes of Caleis except. And also that the seid maier, felishippe and marchauntes of the seid staple have and reteyne all custumes and subsidies of wolles and wolfelles, and felles called shorlyng and morlyng, of all other persones, to be shipped to the said staple by the handes of the seid custumers and collectours, as more playnly in the seid acte is conteyned; (fn. vi- hands of the said customers and collectors, as 237-33a-1) but that the seid acte made in the seid parlement holden the seid .viij. day of Feverer, and every thyng conteyned in the same, be by auctorite of this present parlement goode and effectuell, and stonde in his strengh; the forwriten graunte of subsidie and subsidies, or eny other graunte made or to be made in this present parlement, in eny thyng notwithstondyng. And that it be ordevned by the seid auctorite that the seid mair, felishippe and marchauntes, and every of theyme, and every other persone shippyng eny wolles, wolfelles and felles called shorlyng and morlyng, or eny of theyme, afore thende of the seid .xvi. yeres, to the seid staple at Caleis, have and reteigne, accordyng to the seid acte made at the seid parlement holden the seid .xij. th yere, and be discharged of any subsidie paying to the kyng oure soveraine lorde for the same, duryng the seid parliament held the said twelfth year, and be yeres, other than shalbe reteigned or paied accordyng to the seid acte made the seid .xij. th yere; this acte, or any oder acte made or to be made in this present parlement, notwithstandyng. And over this, if eny woll, wolfell, hydes or eny other marchaundise of eny marchaunt deynsiene borne youre liegeman, that hath passed oute of this londe at eny tyme afore the said first day, and woolfells, hides or any other merchandise of hath ben taken by ennemyes or perisshed by infortune in eny shippe or shippes, of which marchaundises the subsidie therof due hath or is

and every of theyme, for terme of .xvi. yeres from successors, and each of them, for a period of the said 8 February, that they may retain all manner of customs and subsidies on their wool and woolfells, and fells called shorling and morling, and all of them, shipped out of anything from or for the same to the king or his heirs, or to the customers or collectors of or ports of this realm, otherwise than is afterwards described in the same act; with the exception of the king's dues called the duties or customs of Calais. And also that the said mayor, fellowship and merchants of the said staple may have and retain all customs and subsidies on all other people's wool and woolfells, and fells called shorling and morling, shipped to the said staple by the is more fully contained in the said act; (fn. vi-237-33a-1) but that the said act made in the said parliament held on the said 8 February, and everything contained in it, shall be by authority of this present parliament good and effectual and stand in its strength; notwithstanding the grant of the subsidy and subsidies written above, or any other grant made or to be made in this present parliament. And be it ordained by the said authority that the said mayor, fellowship and merchants, and each of them, and every other person shipping any wool, woolfells and fells called shorling and morling, or any of them, to the said staple at Calais before the end of the said sixteen years, shall have and retain the same, according to the said act made at the said discharged of paying any subsidy to our sovereign lord the king for it, during the said years, other than will be retained or paid according to the said act made in the said twelfth year; notwithstanding this act or any other act made or to be made in this present parliament. And moreover, if any wool, any denizen merchant born your liegeman, which have been exported from this land at any time before the said first day and have

to be paied, and suche losse or losses before reherced be founde or proved, withoute fraude or collusioun, before the tresorer of Englond or the chief baroun of youre eschequer, by thexaminacioun of the same marchauntes if they been on lif, or of their executours or admynistratours if they been dede, or .ij. true credible persones sworne, witnessyng the same, or other resonable witnesse or proves, witnessyng the same marchaundises to be lost or perisshed; that then the same marchauntes devnsiens that were owners of the seid marchaundisez so perisshed or lost, if they be on lif, or theire executours or administratours if they ben dede, and every of theyme, by force and vertue of the seid auctorite, when theyme liketh, shall mowe shippe herafter, duryng the seid tyme, asmoche woll, wolfell, [p. vi-240][col. a] hydes or other marchaundises as were so perisshed and lost, withoute eny subsidie of the same wolles, wolfelles, hides or other marchaundises, or eny other subsidie nowe graunted, to be had or paied therfore to you in eny wise; so that the same marchauntes have not shipped afore this tyme, for same wool, woolfells, hides or other any such marchaundises so perisshed or lost, any wolles, wolfelles, hydes or eny other marchaundises, withoute subsidie therof paied or hadd.

[memb. 3]

[editorial note: Responsio.]

Nostre seignur le roy, enmerciant a sez comenz de lour bons cuers enfaisauntz les suisditz grauntez, mesmez les grauntes ad accepte, et tout le content en l'endenture avauntdit especifie ad graunte, oveqe lez provisions cy ensuantez:

Provided alwey that this acte, nor any other acte, statute or ordynaunce made or to be made in this present parliament, extend not nor be prejudiciall, or in any wise derogacion or hurtfull in any thyng, to the marchauntes of the Hans in Almayne havyng a house in the cite of London, comenly called Guyldhalla Teutonicorum, by what name or names they be named or called.

Provided always that this acte, or eny other acte in Provided always that this act, or any other act this present parlement made or to be made,

been taken by enemies or lost by misfortune in any ship or ships, for which the subsidy due on the same merchandise has or is to be paid, and such previously described loss or losses are found or proved, without fraud or collusion, before the treasurer of England or the chief baron of your exchequer, by examination of the same merchants if they are alive, or of their executors or administrators if they are dead, or two true credible people witnessing the same on oath, or other reasonable witness or proofs, witnessing that the same merchandise has been lost or destroyed; that then the same denizen merchants who were owners of the said merchandise thus destroyed or lost, if they are alive, or their executors or administrators if they are dead, and each of them, by force and virtue of the said authority, may hereafter ship when they please during the said term, as much wool, woolfells, [p. vi-240][col. a] hides or other merchandise as were thus destroyed and lost, without any subsidy on the merchandise, or any other subsidy now granted, to be had or paid to you for the same in any way; on condition that the same merchants have not already shipped any wool, woolfells, hides or any other merchandise for any such merchandise thus destroyed or lost, without having or paying the subsidy on them.

[editorial note: Answer.]

Our lord the king, thanking his commons for their good hearts in making the aforesaid grants, has accepted the same grants, and has granted all that is contained in the aforesaid indenture, with the following provisos:

Provided always that this act, or any other act, statute or ordinance made or to be made in this present parliament, shall not extend or be prejudicial, detrimental or harmful in any way to the merchants of the Hanse in Germany who have a house in the city of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Germans, by whatever name or names they are named or called.

made or to be made in this present parliament,

extend not nor be in any wise prejudiciall to the nacioun and marchauntes of Spayne in eny thyng, to the nation and merchants of Spain in any by what name or names they be called or named.

# Titulus regius.

1. Memorandum quod quedam billa exhibita fuit coram domino rege in parliamento predicto, in hec verba:

Where late heretofor, that is to say, before the consecracion, coronacion and intronizacion of oure souverain lord the King Richard the thirde, a our sovereign lord King Richard III, a roll of rolle of perchement, conteignyng in writyng certain articles of the tenour undrewriten, on the behalve and in the name of the thre estates of this reame of Englond, that is to wite, of the lordes spirituelz and temporelx, and of the comons, by many and diverse lordes spirituelx and temporelx, England, that is, the lords spiritual and and other nobles and notable persounes of the comons in grete multitude, was presented and actualy delivered unto our said souverain lord the king, to thentent and effect expressed at large in the same rolle; to the which rolle, and to the consideraciouns and instant peticion comprised in roll, and to the considerations and urgent the same, our said souveraine lord, for the public wele and tranquillite of this land, benignely assented.

Nowe forasmoch as neither the said thre estates, neither the said persounes, which in thair name presented and delivered, as is abovesaid, the said rolle unto oure said souverain lord the king, were assembled in fourme of parliament, by occasion wherof diverse doubtes, quescions and ambiguitees been moeved and engendred in the myndes of diverse persounes, as it is said; therfor, to the perpetuell memorie of the trouth and declaracioun of the same, bee it ordeigned, provided and stablisshed in this present parliament that the tenour of the said rolle, with all the continue of the same, presented as is abovesaid and delivered to oure beforesaid souverain lord the king in the name and on the behalve of the said thre estates out of parliament, nowe by the same thre estates assembled in this present parliament, and by auctorite of the same, bee ratified, enrolled, recorded, approved and auctorized into removyng the occasion of doubtes enrolled, recorded, approved and authorised in and ambiguitees, and to all other laufull effect that shall mowe therof ensue; so that all thinges said, affirmed, specified, desired and remembred

shall not extend or be prejudicial in any way respect, by whatever name or names they are called or named.

The royal title.

1.[5.] Be it remembered that a bill was presented before our lord king in the aforesaid parliament, in these words:

Recently, that is to say before the consecration, coronation and enthronement of parchment, containing in writing certain articles of the tenor written below, was presented and actually delivered to our said sovereign lord the king on behalf and in the name of the three estates of this realm of temporal and the commons, by numerous lords spiritual and temporal and a great multitude of other nobles and notable people of the commons, to the intent and effect described at length in the same roll; to which petition contained in it, our said sovereign lord kindly assented, for the public weal and tranquillity of this land.

Now, because neither the said three estates nor the said people who presented and delivered the said roll to our said sovereign lord the king in their name, as is abovesaid, were assembled in the form of a parliament, as a result of which various doubts, questions and ambiguities are said to have been prompted and engendered in the minds of various people; therefore, so that the truth may be made clear and kept perpetually in mind, be it ordained, provided and decreed in this present parliament that the tenor of the said roll, with everything contained in it, presented as is abovesaid and delivered to our aforesaid sovereign lord the king in the name and on behalf of the said three estates outside parliament, by the same three estates now assembled in this present parliament, and by authority of the same, shall be ratified, order to remove the occasion for doubts and ambiguities, and for all other legal consequences that might thereof ensue; so that in the said rolle, and in the tenour of the same undrewriten, in the name of the said thre estates, to the effect expressed in the same rolle, bee of like effect, vertue and force, as if < all > the same things had ben soo [col. b] said, affirmed, specified, desired and remembred in a full parliament, and by auctorite of the same accepted and approved. The tenoure of the said rolle of parchement, wherof above is made mencion, followeth and is such:

To the high and myghty prince Richard duc of Gloucestr'.

Please it youre noble grace to understande the consideracions, eleccion and peticion undrewriten, of us the lordes spirituelx and temporelx and comons of this reame of Englond, and therunto agreably to yeve your assent, to the comon and public wele of this lande, to the comforte and gladnesse of all the people of the same.

Furst, we considre how that heretofore in tyme passed this lande many yeres stode in grete prosperite, honour and tranquillite, which was caused forsomoch as the kinges than reignyng used and folowed the advise and counsaill of certain lordes spirituely and temporely, and othre < persounes > of approved sadnesse, prudence, polecie and experience, dreding God and havyng tendre zele and affeccion to indifferent ministracion of justice, and to the comon and politique wele of the land; than oure lord God was dred, luffed and honoured; than within the land was peas and tranquillite, and among neghbours concorde and charite; than the malice of outward enemyes was myghtily resisted and repressed and the land honorably defended with many grete and glorious victories; than the entrecourse of marchandises was largely used and great and glorious victories; then trade was exercised; by which thinges aboveremembred, the extensively used and exercised; by which land was greatly enriched, soo that aswele the marchantes and artificers as other poure people, labouryng for thair livyng in diverse occupacions, well as other poor people who labour for their had competent gayne to the sustentacion of thaym living in various occupations, earned enough and their householdes, livyng without miserable and intollerable povertie. But afterward, whan that such as had the rule and gouvernaunce of this poverty. But afterwards, when those who had land, delityng in adulacioun and flatery and lede by sensualite and concupiscence, followed the

all the things said, affirmed, detailed, requested and remembered in the said roll, and in the tenor of the same written below, in the name of the said three estates, to the effect described in the same roll, shall be of the same effect, virtue and force as if all the same things had been thus [col. b] said, affirmed, detailed, requested and remembered in a full parliament, and accepted and approved by authority of the same. The tenor of the said roll of parchment mentioned above follows and is thus:

To the high and mighty Prince Richard, duke of Gloucester.

May it please your noble grace to understand the considerations, election and petition written below, of us the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of this realm of England, and willingly give your assent to it, for the common and public weal of this land and for the comfort and joy of all its people.

First, we consider how, hitherto in times past, for many years this land stood in great prosperity, honour and tranquillity, because the kings then reigning used and followed the advice and counsel of certain lords spiritual and temporal, and other people of demonstrable gravity, prudence, astuteness and experience, fearing God and having tender zeal and affection for the impartial administration of justice, and for the common and politic weal of the land. Then our lord God was feared, loved and honoured; then there was peace and tranquillity within the land, and concord and charity among neighbours; then the malice of foreign enemies was mightily resisted and repressed and the land honourably defended with many things listed above the land was greatly enriched, so that merchants and artificers, as to maintain themselves and their households, living without miserable and intolerable the rule and governance of this land, delighting in adulation and flattery and led by

counsaill of persounes insolent, vicious and of inordinat avarice, despisyng the counsaill of good, vertuouse and prudent persounes, such as above be remembred, the prosperite of this land daily decreased, soo that felicite was turned into miserie, and prosperite into adversite, and the ordre of polecye, and of the lawe of God and man, confounded; wherby it is likely this reame to falle into extreme miserie and desolacion, which God defende, without due provisioun of covenable remedie bee had in this behalfe in all goodly hast.

Over this, amonges other thinges, more specially we consider howe that, the tyme of the reigne of Kyng Edward the .iiij. th , late decessed, after the ungraciouse pretensed mariage, as all Englond hath cause soo to say, made bitwixt the said King Edward and Elizabeth, somtyme wife to Sir John Grey knyght, late namyng hir self and many yeres John Grey, knight, lately and for many years heretofore quene of Englond, the ordre of all poletique rule was perverted, the lawes of God and of Goddes church, and also the lawes of nature and of Englond, and also the laudable customes and liberties of the same, wherin every Englisshman is inherite, broken, subverted and contempned, ayenst all reason and justice, soo that this land was ruled by silf will and pleasur, fere and drede, almaner of equite and lawes leide apart and dispised, wherof ensued many inconvenientes and myschefes, as murdres, extorsions and oppressions, namely of poore and impotent people, soo that no man was sure of his lif, land ne lyvelode, ne of his wif, doughter ne servaunt, every good maiden and woman standing was sure of his life, land or livelihood, or of in drede to be ravysshed and defouled. And besides this, what discordes, inwarde battailles, effusion [p. vi-241][col. a] of Cristen mens blode, and namely, by the destruccion of the noble blode of this londe, was had and committed vi-241][col. a] of Christian men's blood were within the same, it is evident and notarie thorough done and committed within the same land, all this reame, unto the grete sorowe and hevynesse of all true Englisshmen. And here also we considre howe that the seid pretensed mariage well known throughout this realm, to the great bitwixt the abovenamed King Edward and Elizabeth Grey was made of grete presumpcioun, And here we also consider how the said without the knowyng and assent of the lordes of this lond, and also by sorcerie and wichecrafte committed by the said Elizabeth and hir moder Jaquet duchesse of Bedford, as the comon opinion and assent of the lords of this land, and also

sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsel of insolent, vicious people of inordinate avarice, despising the counsel of good, virtuous and prudent people such as are described above, the prosperity of this land decreased daily, so that felicity was turned into misery, and prosperity into adversity, and the order of policy and of the law of God and man confounded; as a result of which it is likely that this realm will fall into extreme misery and desolation, which God forbid, unless due provision of a suitable remedy is made in this matter in all goodly haste.

Moreover, among other things, we consider more particularly how, during the reign of King Edward IV, late deceased, after the ungracious feigned marriage, as all England has reason to say, made between the said King Edward and Elizabeth, once the wife of Sir previously calling herself queen of England, the order of all politic rule was perverted, the laws of God and of God's church, and also the laws of nature and of England, and also its laudable customs and liberties, to which every Englishman is heir, were broken, subverted and disregarded, contrary to all reason and justice, so that this land was ruled by self-will and pleasure, and fear and dread and all equity and law were laid aside and despised, as a result of which many calamities and misfortunes ensued, such as murders, extortions and oppressions, particularly of poor and powerless people, so that no man his wife, daughter or servant, with every virtuous maiden and woman standing in dread of being ravished and defiled. And besides this, what discords, civil war, outpouring [p. particularly as a result of the destruction of the noble blood of this land, are obvious and sorrow and heaviness of all true Englishmen. feigned marriage between the abovenamed King Edward and Elizabeth Grey was presumptuously made without the knowledge

of the people and the publique voice and fame is thorough all this land, and herafter, if and as the caas shall require, shalbee proved sufficiently in tyme and place convenient. And here also we consider howe that the said pretensed mariage was made privaly and secretely, without edicion of bannes, in a private chambre, a prophane place, place, if thought necessary. And we also and not openly in the face of the church aftre the lawe of Goddes churche, bot contrarie therunto and the laudable custome of the church of Englond. And howe also that at the tyme of contract of the same pretensed mariage, and bifore and longe tyme after, the seid King Edward church, but contrary to it and to the laudable was and stode maried and trouthplight to oone Dame Elianor Butteler, doughter of the old erle of how when he contracted the same feigned Shrowesbury, with whom the same King Edward had made a precontracte of matrimonie longe tyme byfore he made the said pretensed mariage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in maner and fourme abovesaid. Which premisses being true, as Shrewsbury, with whom the same King in veray trouth thay been true, it appereth and foloweth evidently that the said King Edward duryng his lif, and the seid Elizabeth lyved togedre sinfully and dampnably in aduultre, ayenst the lawe of God and of his church; and therfore noo marvaille that the souverain lord and the hed of this land, being of such ungoodly disposicion and provokyng the ire and indignacion of oure lord God, such haynouse myschieffes and inconvenientes, as is above remembred, were used and committed in the reame amonges the subgettes. Also it apperith evidently and followeth that all thissue and children of the seid King Edward been bastardes, and unable to enherite or to clayme any thing by enheritance, by the lawe and custome of Englond.

Moreover we considre howe that afterward, by the thre estates of this reame assembled in a parliament holden at Westm', the .xvij. yere of the parliament held at Westminster in the regne of the said King Edward the .iiij. th, he than seventeenth year of the reign of the said King being in possession of the coroune and roiall estate, by an acte made in the same parliament, George duc of Clarence, brother to the said King Edward nowe decessed, was convicted and atteinted of high treason, as in the same acte is conteigned more at large. (fn. vi-237-49-1)

by sorcery and witchcraft committed by the said Elizabeth and her mother Jacquetta, duchess of Bedford, as is the common opinion of the people and the public voice and fame throughout this land, and as can be adequately proved hereafter at a convenient time and consider here how the said feigned marriage was made privately and secretly, without the publishing of banns, in a private chamber, a profane place, and not openly in the face of the church according to the law of God's custom of the church of England. And also, marriage, and previously and for a long time after, the said King Edward was and stood married and troth-plighted to one Dame Eleanor Butler, daughter of the old earl of Edward had made a pre-contract of matrimony long before he made the said feigned marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey in the abovesaid manner and form. If all that is true, as in very truth it is, it clearly appears and follows that during his life the said King Edward and the said Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnably in adultery, contrary to the law of God and of his church; and it is therefore no wonder that, with the sovereign lord and the head of this land being of such ungodly disposition and provoking the ire and indignation of our lord God, such heinous misfortunes and calamities, as are described above, were used and committed in the realm among the subjects. Also, it clearly appears and follows that all the issue and children of the said King Edward are bastards, and unable to inherit or claim anything by inheritance, by the law and custom of England.

Moreover, we consider how afterwards, by the three estates of this realm assembled in a Edward IV [1478], he then being in possession of the crown and royal estate, by an act made in the same parliament, George, duke of Clarence, brother to the said King Edward, now dead, was convicted and attainted of high treason, as is contained at

Bicause and by reason wherof, all the issue of the greater length in the same act. (fn. vi-237-49said George was and is dishabled and barred of all right and clayme, that in any wise thay myght issue of the said George was and is disabled have or chalenge by enheritance, to the crown and and barred from all right and claim to the dignite roiall of this reame, by the auncien lawe and custome of this same reame.

#### [memb. 4]

Over this, we considre howe that ye be the undoubted son and heire of Richard late duke of Yorke, verray enheritour to the seid crowne and dignite roiall, and as in right kyng of Englond by wey of enheritaunce, and that at this tyme, the premisses duely considered, there is noon other persoune lyvyng but ye only, that by right may clayme the said coroune and dignite royall by way of enheritaunce; and howe that ye be born withyn this lande, by reason wherof, as we deme in oure myndes, ye be more naturall enclyned to the prosperite and comen wele of the same, and all the thre estatis of the lande have, and may have, more certayn knowlage of youre byrth and filiacion aboveseid. We considre also the greate wytte, prudence, justice, princely courage and the memorable [col. b] and laudable actes in diverse batalles whiche as we by experience knowe ye heretofore have don, for the salvacion and defence of this same reame, and also the greate noblesse and excellence of your byrth and blode, as of hym that is descended of the thre moost royall houses in Cristendom, that is to say, England, Fraunce and Hispanie.

Wherfore, these premisses by us diligently considred, we desyryng effectuously the peas, tranquillite and wele publique of this lande and the reduccion of the same to the auncien honourable estate and prosperite, and havyng in youre greate prudence, justice, princely courage and excellent vertue, singuler confidence, have chosen in all that that in us is, and by this our wrytyng choise you, high and myghty prynce, into oure kyng and soveraign lorde etc., to whom we knowe for certayn it apperteygneth of enheritaunce so to be chosen. And heruppon we humbly desire, pray and require youre seid noble grace that, accordyng to this eleccion of us the thre estates of this lande, as by youre true enherritance, ve woll accepte and take upon you

1) Because and by reason of which, all the crown and royal dignity of this realm, which they might in any way have or claim by inheritance, by the ancient law and custom of this same realm.

Moreover, we consider how you are the undoubted son and heir of Richard, late duke of York, the true inheritor of the said crown and royal dignity, and by right king of England by way of inheritance, and that at this time, the things stated duly considered, there is no other person living, except you, who by right may claim the said crown and royal dignity by way of inheritance; and how you were born within this land, by reason of which we judge that you are more naturally inclined towards its prosperity and common weal, and all the three estates of the land have, and may have, more certain knowledge of your aforesaid birth and parentage. We also consider the great wit, prudence, justice, princely courage and the memorable [col. b] and laudable acts in various battles which we know by experience that you have previously displayed for the salvation and defence of this same realm, and also the great nobility and excellence of your birth and blood, as one who is descended from the three most royal houses in Christendom, that is to say, of England, France and Spain.

Wherefore, having diligently considered the foregoing, strongly desiring the peace, tranquillity and public weal of this land and its restoration to its ancient honourable estate and prosperity, and having singular confidence in your great prudence, justice, princely courage and excellent virtue, we have wholeheartedly chosen, and by this our writing choose, you, high and mighty prince, to be our king and sovereign lord etc., convinced that it is your inheritance to be thus chosen. And hereupon, we humbly desire, pray and request your said noble grace that, according to the choice made by us the three estates of this land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take upon

the said crown and royall dignite, with all thynges yourself the said crown and royal dignity, therunto annexed and apperteyning, as to you of right bilongyng, aswele by enheritaunce as by lawfull eleccion. And, in caas ye so do, we promitte to serve and to assiste youre highnesse as true and feithfull subgiettes and liegemen, and to lyve and dye with you in this matter and every other juste quarrell. For certainly we be determined, rather to aventure and committe us to the perell of oure lyfes and jopardye of deth, than to lyve in suche thraldome and bondage as we have lyved long tyme heretofore, oppressed and injured by extorcions and newe imposicions, ayenst the lawes of God and man, and the libertees, old police and lawes of this reame wheryn every Englisshman is enherited. Owre Lorde God, kyng of all kynges, by whose infynyte goodnesse and eternall providence all thynges been pryncipally governed in this world, lighten youre soule and graunte you grace to do, aswele in this matier as in all other, all that that may be according to his wille and pleasure, and to the comen and publique wele of this lande; so that after great cloudes, troubles, stormes and tempestes, the son of justice and of grace may shyne uppon us, to the comforte and gladnesse of all true Englisshmen.

Albeit that the right, title and estate whiche oure soveraigne lorde the Kyng Richard the third hath to and in the crown and roiall dignite of this reame of Englond, with all thynges therunto within the same reame, and without it, united, annexed and apperteyning, been juste and lawefull, as grounded upon the lawes of God and of nature, and also upon the < auncien > lawes and laudable customes of this said reame, and so taken and reputed by all suche persounes as ben lerned in the abovesaid lawes and custumes. Yit neverthelesshe, for asmoche as it is considred that Yet nevertheless, it is thought that most of the the most parte of the people of this lande is not suffisantly lerned in the abovesaid lawes and custumes, wherby the trueth and right in this behalf of liklyhode may be hyd and nat clerely knowen to all the people, and theruppon put in doubt and quescion. And over this, howe that the courte of parliament is of suche auctorite, and the people of this lande of suche nature and disposicion, as experience techeth, that manifestacion and declaracion of any trueth or right made by the thre estates of this reame

with everything belonging and pertaining to it, as belonging to you by right, by inheritance as well as by lawful election. And, if you do so, we promise to serve and assist your highness as true and faithful subjects and liegemen, and to live and die with you in this matter and every other just quarrel. For we are certainly determined rather to venture and commit ourselves to the peril of our lives and risk of death, than to live in such thraldom and bondage as we have lived in for a long time hitherto, oppressed and injured by extortions and new impositions, contrary to the laws of God and man, and the liberties, old policy and laws of this realm which every Englishman inherits. Our Lord God, king of all kings, by whose infinite goodness and eternal providence all things are principally governed in this world, lighten your soul and grant you grace to do, in this matter as well as in all others, everything in accordance with his will and pleasure, and for the common and public weal of this land; so that after great clouds, troubles, storms and tempests, the sun of justice and grace may shine upon us, to the comfort and joy of all true Englishmen.

The right, title and estate which our sovereign lord King Richard III has to and in the crown and royal dignity of this realm of England, with everything joined, attached and pertaining to it inside and outside the same realm, are just and lawful, being grounded upon the laws of God and of nature, and also upon the ancient laws and laudable customs of this said realm, and are taken and acknowledged to be so by everyone who is learned in the abovesaid laws and customs. people of this land are not sufficiently learned in the aforesaid laws and customs, and as a result the truth and right in this matter is likely to be hidden and not clearly known to all the people, and thereby put in doubt and question. And moreover, the court of parliament is of such authority, and experience teaches that the people of this land are of such nature and disposition, that the manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three estates of this realm assembled in

assembled in parliament, and by auctorite of the same, maketh, before all other thynges, moost feith < and certaynte; > and, quietyng mens myndes, remoeveth the occasion of all doubtes and sedicious langage. Therfore, at the request and by assent of the thre estates of this reame, that is to say, the lordes spirituelx and temporelx and comens of this lande assembled in this present [p. vi-242][col. a] parliament, by auctorite of the same, bee it pronunced, decreed and declared that oure said soveraign lorde the kyng was and is veray and undoubted kyng of this said sovereign lord the king was and is the reame of Englond, with all thynges therunto withvn the same reame, and without it, united. annexed and apperteynyng, aswele by right of consanguinite and enheritaunce as by lawefull elleccion, consecracion and coronacion. And over inheritance as well as by lawful election, this, that, at the request and by the assent and auctorite abovesaid, be it ordeigned, enacted and establisshed that the said crown and roiall dignite of this reame, and the enheritaunce of the same, and other thynges therunto within this same reame, or withoute it, unite, annexed and nowe apperteigning, rest and abyde in the persoune of oure said soveraign lorde the kyng, duryng his lyff, and, after his decesse, in his heires of his body begoten. And in especiall, at the request and life, and, after his death, in his heirs begotten by assent and auctorite abovesaid, be it ordeigned, enacted, establed, pronunced, decreed and declared that the high and excellent prynce Edward, son of oure said soveraign lorde the kyng, be heire apparant of the same our soveraign lorde the kyng, to succede to hym in the abovesaid crown and roiall dignite, with all thynges as is aforesaid therunto unite, annexed and apperteigning; to have them after the decesse everything joined, attached and pertaining to of oure said soveraign lorde the kyng, to hym and it, as is aforesaid, and shall have them after to his heires of his body laufully begoten.

Que quidem billa communibus regni Anglie in dicto parliamento existentibus transportata fuit; cui quidem bille iidem communes assensum suum prebuerunt sub hiis verbis:

A cest bille les comenz sount assentuz.

Quibus quidem billa et assensu coram domino rege in parliamento predicto lectis, auditis et plenius intellectis, de assensu dominorum spiritualium et temporalium in dicto parliamento similiter existencium, ac communitatis predicte,

parliament, and by authority of the same, before all other things commands the most faith and certainty, and, in quieting men's minds, removes the occasion of all doubt and seditious language. Therefore, at the request and by the assent of the three estates of this realm, that is to say, the lords spiritual and temporal and the commons of this land assembled in this present [p. vi-242][col. a] parliament, by authority of the same, be it pronounced, decreed and announced that our true and undoubted king of this realm of England, with everything joined, attached and pertaining to it, inside and outside the same realm, by right of consanguinity and consecration and coronation. And moreover. at the request and by the abovesaid assent and authority, be it ordained, enacted and decreed that the said crown and royal dignity of this realm, and the inheritance of the same, and the other things joined, attached and now pertaining to it, inside and outside this same realm, shall rest and remain in the person of our said sovereign lord the king during his of his body. And particularly, at the request and by the aforesaid assent and authority, be it ordained, enacted, decreed, pronounced, declared and announced that the high and excellent Prince Edward, son of our said sovereign lord the king, is heir apparent of our same sovereign lord the king, to succeed him in the abovesaid crown and royal dignity, with the death of our said sovereign lord the king, to him and to his heirs lawfully begotten of his body.

This bill was conveyed to the commons of the realm of England being in the said parliament; to which bill the same commons gave their assent in these words:

To this bill the commons are agreed.

When this bill and assent had been read, heard and fully understood before the lord king in the aforesaid parliament, by the assent of the lords spiritual and temporal also being in the said parliament and of the aforesaid

necnon auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti, pronunciatum, decretum et declaratum existit, omnia et singula in billa predicta contenta fore vera et indubia; ac idem dominus rex, de assensu dictorum trium statuum regni et auctorite predicta, omnia et singula premissa in billa predicta contenta concedit, ac ea pro vero et indubio pronunciat, decernit et declarat.

edicta, omnia et singula premissa in billa assent of the three estates o the aforesaid authority, gradelubio pronunciat, decernit et declarat. aforesaid bill, and pronounciat announced it to be true and

[memb. 5]

Pro rege de terris nuper ducis et ducisse Exon'.

2. Memorandum quod quedam billa exhibita fuit coram dicto domino rege in parliamento predicto, in forma sequenti:

commons, and also by authority of the same parliament, it was pronounced, decreed and announced that each and every thing contained in the aforesaid bill was true and undoubted; and the same lord king, by the assent of the three estates of the realm and by the aforesaid authority, granted each and every thing of the foregoing contained in the aforesaid bill, and pronounced, decreed and announced it to be true and undoubted.

For the king concerning lands which formerly belonged to the duke and duchess of Exeter.

2.[6.] Be it remembered that a bill was presented before the said lord king in the aforesaid parliament, in the following form:

# **Footnotes**

- vi-237-5-1. I Corinthians 12.25.
- vi-237-5-2. Luke 15.8-9
- <u>vi-237-33a-1</u>. Parliament of 1472-5, roll 1, item 59
- <u>vi-237-49-1</u>. Parliament of 1478, appendix, item 1.

the said income between Michaelmas and Candlemas, with responsible and discreet examination of all faults and injuries of all officials accountable severally in their offices, wherein the auditors of the Exchequer can never have so evident knowledge for the reformation of the same.

Also that receivers of good and true disposition ... see to the repair of castles, manors, mills, parks, and others, and in the circuit of their receipt see to the welfare of every lordship.

Also it is thought that all the auditors aforesaid, as well those of the Exchequer as those of the outside income, should yearly make declaration of all such income as they have in charge before such persons as the king's grace will assign thereto in London, always between Candlemas and Palm Sunday, so that his grace may be informed yearly of the whole revenues of all his income, and what thereof is paid and what is owing and in whose default.

Also whereas lords, knights and squires, many of them unlettered, are made stewards of the king's income in divers regions, they taking great fines and rewards of the king's tenants to their own use, to the king's hurt and impoverishment of his said tenants, and also lacking wisdom and discretion to order and direct the said income properly, with many more inconveniences, therefore it is thought that men learned in the law would be most profitable to be stewards of the said income for many causes concerning the king's profit and the welfare of his tenants.

Also it is thought that all lands in the king's hand by reason of wardship of lords' sons or other noble men should not be let to farm on a definite tenure, but that the same lands should remain in the king's hands during the nonage and that auditors of the same lands should yearly determine the accounts thereof and make declaration as is above said, for the greater profit to the king, etc.

Also, for temporalities of bishoprics, abbeys, and priories likewise.

Also it is thought that all the aforesaid auditors, every year at the feast of Michaelmas next after the declaration made of all outside income before the said persons so assigned by the king, should deliver or cause to be delivered the books of account of the same into the king's Exchequer before dhe barons ... there to remain of record so that the books of accounts of the latter year be always in the hands of the said auditors as precedents, the Duchy of Lancaster, the lordships of Glamorgan and Abergavenny always excepted.

### Henry VII and Henry VIII: Statute, Parliament, Council, Household

ACT OF SUCCESSION (1485) S&M, pp. 298–303 (No. 73A)

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France and lord of Ireland, at the parliament holden at Westminster the seventh day of November, in the first year of the reign of King Henry VII after the Conquest. To the pleasure of Almighty God, the wealth, prosperity, and surety of this realm of England, to the singular comfort of all the king's subjects of the same and in avoiding of all ambiguities and questions: be it ordained, established, and enacted by authority of this present parliament that the inheritances of the crowns of the realms of England and of France, with all the pre-eminence and dignity royal to the same pertaining, and all other seignories to the king belonging beyond the sea, with the appurtenances thereto in any wise due or pertaining, be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of our now sovereign lord, King Henry VII, and in the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other.

Statutes of the Realm, II, 499: 1 Henry VII, c. 1.