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1422—1509 A.D.

A NEW EDITION

FIRST PUBLISHED IN 1874

CONTAINING UPWARDS OF FOUR HUNDRED
LETTERS, ETC., HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED

EDITED BY

JAMES GAIRDNER

OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE

VOLUME I.

1422-1461 A.D.

WESTMINSTER

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.

1896

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

All the errata noted by the Editor in the last edition have been corrected, with the exception of the following :—

INTRODUCTION.

Page lxiv., lines 13-16.—*Delete* the whole of the clause from “and it would seem” to the end of the paragraph, as it appears that Letter 134 does not belong to this period.

TEXT.

Page 71.—The preliminary note to Letter 58 is wrong. As the letter is dated from Mautby, the writer must be Edmund, the son of John and Margaret Paston, not the brother of that John Paston.

Pages 177-181, Nos. 134, 135.—See corrections of date and other particulars with regard to these two letters in Vol. II., Nos. 430, 431.

Page 368, No. 265.—This note should have been omitted.

In the previous edition there appeared the following erratum among others :—

INTRODUCTION.

Page xxvii., line 36.—*For* “flung at her from behind fences,” *read* “addressed to her in church.” The passage as it stands was written from a misinterpretation of the language of Letter 162, which is noted further on.

The correction has been made, but it is thought that the explanation of the mistake is of sufficient interest to warrant attention being drawn to it here.

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v.1

TO THE
REVEREND JOHN S. BREWER, M.A.,
PREACHER AT THE ROLLS,
HONORARY FELLOW OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD,
AND PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LITERATURE
IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

MY DEAR MR. BREWER,

There was a time when dedications were written to secure patronage; this of mine shall be to confess a debt. It has been my privilege for many years to be brought into close official relations with you at the Record Office; and by having to assist, in a humble way, in some of your labours there—an honour I esteem more highly than any credit I hope to gain for work of my own,—I feel that I have learned nearly all I know of the value of historical documents, or how to use them. Certain I am that, whoever is familiar with your “Letters and Papers of

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the Reign of Henry VIII." will have little difficulty in perceiving how much this work is indebted to yours in respect of its plan and system. I only trust that, in its execution, it may not be found unworthy of the teaching from which I have so much profited, and in gratitude for which I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

JAMES GAIRDNER.

P R E F A C E.

PUBLIC attention was first drawn to the Paston Letters in the year 1787, when there issued from the press two quarto volumes with a very lengthy title, setting forth that the contents were original letters written “by various persons of rank and consequence” during the reigns of Henry VI., Edward IV., and Richard III. The materials were derived from autographs in the possession of the Editor, a Mr. Fenn, of East Dereham, in Norfolk, who seems to have been known in society as a gentleman of literary and antiquarian tastes, but who had not at that time attained any degree of celebrity. Horace Walpole had described him, thirteen years before, as “a smatterer in antiquity, but a very good sort of man.” What the great literary magnate afterwards thought of him we are not informed, but we know that he took a lively interest in the Paston Letters the moment they were published. He appears, indeed, to have given some assistance in the progress of the work through the press. On its appearance he expressed himself with characteristic enthusiasm:—“The letters of Henry VI.’s reign, &c., are come out, and *to me* make all other letters not worth reading. I have gone through one volume, and cannot bear to be writing when I am so eager to be reading. . . . There are letters from *all* my acquaintance, Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings, the Earl of Warwick, whom I remember still better than Mrs. Strawbridge, though she died within these fifty years. What antiquary would be answering a letter from a living countess, when he may read one from Eleanor Mowbray, Duchess of Norfolk?”¹

So wrote the great literary exquisite and virtuoso, the man whose opinion in those days was life or death

¹ Walpole's Letters (Cunningham's ed.), ix. 92.

to a young author or a new publication. And in spite of all that was artificial and affected in his character,—in spite even of the affectation of pretending a snobbish interest in ancient duchesses,—Walpole was one of the fittest men of that day to appreciate such a publication. Miss Hannah More What was thought of them by some. was less easily pleased, and she no doubt was the type of many other readers. The letters, she declared, were quite barbarous in style, with none of the elegance of their supposed contemporary Rowley. They might perhaps be of some use to correct history, but as letters and fine reading, nothing was to be said for them.¹ It was natural enough that an age which took this view of the matter should have preferred the forgeries of Chatterton to the most genuine productions of the fifteenth century. The style of the Paston Letters, even if it had been the most polished imaginable, of course could not have exhibited the polish of the eighteenth century, unless a Chatterton had had some hand in their composition.

Yet the interest excited by the work was such that General interest in the work. the editor had no reason to complain of its reception. The Paston Letters were soon in everybody's hands. The work, indeed, appeared under royal patronage, for Fenn had got leave beforehand to dedicate it to the King as "the avowed patron" of antiquarian knowledge. This alone had doubtless some influence upon the sale; but the novel character of the publication itself must have excited curiosity still more. A whole edition was disposed of in a week, and a second edition called for, which, after undergoing some little revision, with the assistance of Mr. George Steevens, the Shakspearian editor, was published the same year. Meanwhile, to gratify the curious, the original MS. letters were deposited for a time in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries; but the King having expressed a wish to see them, Fenn sent them

¹ Roberts's "Memoirs of Hannah More," ii. 50.

to the palace, requesting that, if they were thought worthy of a place in the Royal Collection, His Majesty would be pleased to accept them. They were accordingly added to the Royal Library; and as an acknowledgment of the value of the gift, Fenn was summoned to Court, and received the honour of knighthood.

But the two volumes hitherto published by Fenn contained only a small selection out of a pretty considerable number of original letters of the same period in his possession. The reception these two volumes had met with now encouraged him to make a further selection, and he announced with his second edition that another series of the Letters was in preparation, which was to cover the same period as the first two volumes, and to include also the reign of Henry VII. Accordingly a third and fourth volume of the work were issued together in the year 1789, containing the new letters down to the middle of Edward IV.'s reign. A fifth and concluding volume, bringing the work down to the end of Henry VII.'s reign, was left ready for publication at Sir John Fenn's death in 1794, and was published by his nephew, Mr. Serjeant Frere, in 1823.

Of the original MSS. of these letters and their descent, Fenn gives but a brief account in the preface to his first volume, which we will endeavour to supplement with additional facts to the best of our ability. The letters, it will be seen, were for the most part written by or to particular members of the family of Paston in Norfolk. Here and there, it is true, are to be found among them State papers and other letters of great interest, which must have come to the hands of the family through some indirect channel; but the great majority are letters distinctly addressed to persons of the name of Paston, and in the possession of the Pastons they remained for several generations. In the days of Charles II. the head of the family, Sir Robert Paston, was created Earl of Yarmouth; but his son William, the second bearer of the title, having got into debt and encumbered

his inheritance, finally died without male issue, so that his title became extinct. While living in reduced circumstances, he appears to have parted with his family papers, which were purchased by the great antiquary Owned by Peter Le Neve. and collector, Peter Le Neve, Esq., Norroy King of Arms. Le Neve was a Norfolk man, possessed of considerable estates at Witchingham and elsewhere in the county; and he made it a special object to collect MSS. and records relating to both Norfolk and Suffolk. What intentions he may have had as to their ultimate disposal I have not been able to ascertain, but on his death in 1729 his library was sold by auction, and the MSS., which he had brought together with so much industry, were dispersed.

A large part of them, however, came to the hands of his brother antiquary, Thomas Martin, whose name By Martin of Palgrave. has been handed down to antiquaries of the present day with the epithet by which he himself wished it to be distinguished, as Honest Tom Martin of Palgrave. Shortly after Le Neve's death, Martin found himself a widower, and married the widow of his friend. He thus came into the possession of a valuable collection of pictures, antiquities, and other articles, besides a considerable remainder of the books and MSS. not yet submitted to the hammer; so that, having already bought a good number of those which had been sold, he for a time secured against further dispersion the treasures which it had cost Le Neve forty years of labour to bring together. The collection was still spoken of as Le Neve's collection, and Francis Blomefield, who was at this time engaged in composing his invaluable "History of Norfolk,"¹ alludes to it under that name. Blomefield had the free use of all Le Neve's MSS., and appears to have made some collections of his own, though doubtless on a smaller scale. In the preface to his "History of

¹ The first volume of this work was published in 1739, ten years after Le Neve's death.

Norfolk," he tells the reader that he has made distinct reference to the several authors and originals he had made use of in all cases, "except," says he, "where the originals are either in Mr. Le Neve's or my own collections, *which at present I design to join to his, so that, being together, they may be consulted at all times.*" It would appear from these words that it was at this time Martin's intention, and may have been that of Le Neve before him, to bequeath or sell the whole collection to some public body for the use of literary inquirers in after times. But if so, he failed to carry out his project. He lived, indeed, for nearly forty years after his marriage with Le Neve's widow, but his necessities compelled him to part with some of his treasures. Still, as he grew old, he did not altogether drop the project: he frequently formed resolutions that he would, *next year*, arrange what remained of them, and make a selection for public use. But at last, at the age of seventy-four, he suddenly died in his chair, without having carried out his intention.¹

His executors seem to have done what they could to preserve the integrity of his collections. A catalogue of Martin's library was printed at Lynn in 1771, in the hope that some purchaser would be found to take the whole. Such a purchaser did present himself, but not in the interest of the public. A certain Mr. John Worth, a chemist at Diss, bought both the library and the other collections, as a speculation, for £630. The printed books he immediately sold to a firm at Norwich, who disposed of them by auction; the pictures and smaller curiosities he sold by auction at Diss, and certain portions of the MSS. were sent, at different times, to the London market. But before he had completed the sale of all the collections, Mr. Worth died suddenly in December 1774. That portion of the MSS. which contained the Paston

By Mr. Worth.

¹ Fenn speaks of him, without mentioning his name, in the preface to his first Volume, p. x. That Martin is the "great collector" here referred to will be seen by a comparison with the account given of him a little further on at p. xxi.

Letters he had up to that time reserved. Mr. Fenn immediately purchased them of his executors, and they had been twelve years in his possession when he published his first two volumes of selections from them.

Up to this point, the history of the MSS. is tolerably free of obscurity; the only question that arises being as to their having been owned in part by Francis Blomefield. If it be true that Le Neve was the first purchaser of the Earl of Yarmouth's MSS., it seems scarcely probable that any part of them could have been bought by a country clergyman like the incumbent of Fersfield. Indeed, there is no reason to believe that the Paston family papers were not at this time kept together in their integrity. Yet Blomefield not only saw them all, but wrote his initials on several, and marked a good many others with a mark by which he was in the habit of distinguishing original documents that he had examined and noted. These liberties he may perhaps have taken by permission of Mr. Martin; but in one case, at least, I find that he exercised full right of ownership himself by giving away to a friend the original of a letter which must certainly have been once in the Paston family archives. The truth of the matter probably is that Le Neve had bequeathed some of these documents to Blomefield.

But from the days of Sir John Fenn the history of the Paston MSS. is mysterious. On the 23d May 1787, Fenn received his knighthood at St. James's, having then and there presented to the king three bound volumes of MSS. which were the originals of his first two printed volumes. Since that time they have disappeared, and no one can tell what has become of them. There is a tradition that they were last seen in the hands of Queen Charlotte, who, it is supposed, must have lent them to one of her ladies in attendance. If so, it is strange that they should have been altogether lost sight of. All that can be said upon the matter is that they have since been sought

for in vain. They are not in the library of King George III., which is now in the British Museum, nor do they appear to be in any of the Royal Palaces. The late Prince Consort, just before his death, instituted a search which he had great hope would at last bring them to light. I have been informed that it has since been completed, but the missing originals remain still unaccounted for.

Nor is this all. The originals of the other three volumes were all for a long time equally undiscoverable. Those of the third and fourth volumes, with the exception of one single document, have not been found to this day; and Mr. Serjeant Frere, when he published the fifth volume after Sir John Fenn's death, declared that he had not been able to find the originals of that volume either. Strange to say, however, they were in his house all the time, and were discovered by his son, Mr. Philip Frere, in the year 1865, just after an ingenious *littérateur* had made the complete disappearance of *all* the MSS. a ground for casting doubt on the authenticity of the published letters. It is certainly a misfortune for historical literature that the owners of ancient documents commonly take so little pains to ascertain what it is that they have got.¹

Thus we have the following strange occurrences in the history of these MSS. The originals of the first two volumes are missing, though they were presented to the King in 1787, bound in three volumes, and no doubt the binding was a handsome one. The originals of the third and fourth volumes are missing, but they were not presented to the King, and apparently were not bound up; for it happens that the first document in vol. iii. has been actually found, and is now in the British Museum. Finally, the originals of vol. v. were for a long time missing like the others, but were discovered six years ago at the house of the late Mr. Philip Frere at Dungate, in Cambridgeshire, along with

¹ The proceedings of the Historical MSS. Commission are, however, at length bringing to light a vast quantity of unsuspected materials for history in the hands of private owners.

a large mass of additional MSS. belonging to the same collection. Among these was the document just alluded to—the one single paper that has been recovered of the originals of vol. iii.

The late Mr. Philip Frere, after he had discovered the originals of vol. v., was strongly urged by myself and others to make a thorough search in his house for those of vols. iii. and iv. He did so, and the examination brought to light a vast quantity of papers of different ages, many of them very curious, but not a single other document was discovered belonging to those two volumes. All that he could find manifestly belonging to the Paston Collection, he sold to the British Museum. The rest he disposed of by auction. It would seem, therefore, that the originals of vols. iii. and iv. must have somehow got into different hands from the other Paston papers.

Dispersion of the Letters. Indeed, there are but too many evidences that the importance of preserving this interesting correspondence in its integrity has never been sufficiently appreciated. Single letters which once formed part of it occasionally turn up at auctions, and some have been sold to foreign purchasers. No less than twenty came to the hands of the late Mr. Francis Douce, and are now among his MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Two separate volumes of Fastolf and Paston papers have also been in the market, and are now in the library of the late Sir Thomas Phillipps at Cheltenham. Nor is it possible to say how many other letters have been lost along with the printed originals—how many important links are missing to enable us to understand fully the correspondence that remains.

Nevertheless, the recovery of the originals of the fifth volume, and of such a large number of unprinted letters along with them, suggested to me strongly the desirability of a new edition, as complete as it could possibly be made. The errors in Fenn's chronology are numerous, and so exceedingly

misleading that, indispensable as these Letters now are to the historian, there is not a single historian who has made use of them but has misdated some event or other, owing to their inaccurate arrangement. Even writers who have been most on their guard in some places have suffered themselves to be misled in others. This is no reproach to the former Editor, whose work is indeed a perfect model of care and accuracy for the days in which he lived; but historical criticism has advanced since that time, and facilities abound which did not then exist for comparing one set of documents with another, and testing the accuracy of dates by public records. The completion of Blomefield's History of Norfolk, and the admirable index added to that work of late years by Mr. Chadwick, have also been of eminent service in verifying minute facts. Moreover, the comprehensive study of the whole correspondence, with the advantage of having a part already published to refer to, has enabled me in many cases to see the exact bearing of particular letters, which before seemed to have no certain place in the chronology, not only upon public events, but upon the private affairs of the Paston family. I trust therefore, when this edition is completed, it will be found not only more full, but more accurate and even more interesting than the former one.

Still, it is certainly produced under a disadvantage in the absence of so many of the original MSS., and were there any reasonable hope of their being recovered within a definite and not very remote period of time, it might perhaps have been a question whether a new edition should not be delayed till then. But there is no apparent reason why MSS. which have been undiscovered for more than eighty years should not remain so eighty years longer, if the indifference or the accident, whatever it may be, which has caused them to be overlooked, be made an argument against turning to the best account those which we now actually possess. And there is the less reason for hesitating,

because we have very satisfactory evidence that in reprinting from Fenn's edition those letters of which the originals are lost, we are not likely to reproduce any very serious blunders. The care taken by Sir John Fenn to secure the accuracy of his text can be proved by many tests. It might, indeed, be inferred from the elaborate plan of editing that he adopted, exhibiting in every case two transcripts of the same letter, the one to show the precise spelling and punctuation of the original, the other to facilitate the perusal by modern orthography. A work on which so much pains were bestowed, and which was illustrated besides by numerous fac-similes of the original handwritings, signatures, paper-marks, and seals of the letters, was not likely to have been executed in a slovenly manner, in so far as the text is concerned. But we are not left in this case to mere presumptive evidence. The originals of the fifth volume have been minutely examined by a committee of the Society of Antiquaries, and compared all through with the printed text, and the general result of this examination was that the errors are very few, and for the most part trivial. Now, if this was the case with regard to that volume, which it must be remembered was published after Fenn's death from transcripts prepared for the press, and had not the benefit of a final revision of the proof sheets by the editor, we have surely every reason to suppose that the preceding volumes were at least not less accurate.

At all events, any inaccuracies that may exist in them were certainly not the result of negligence. I have been favoured by Mr. Almack, of Melford, near Sudbury, in Suffolk, with the loan of several sheets of MS. notes bequeathed to him by the late Mr. Dalton, of Bury St. Edmund's, who transcribed a number of the original MSS. for Sir John Fenn. These papers contain a host of minute queries and criticisms, which were the result of a close examination of the first four volumes, undertaken at Fenn's request. Those on the

first two volumes are dated on the 3d and 7th of May 1788, more than a year after the book was published. But on vols. iii. and iv. there are two separate sets of observations, the first of which were made on the transcripts before they were sent to press, the other, like those on the two first volumes, on the published letters. From an examination of these criticisms, and also from the results of the examination of the fifth volume by the committee of the Society of Antiquaries,¹ I have been led to the opinion that the manner in which Sir John Fenn prepared his materials for the press was as follows:—Two copies were first made of every letter, the one in the exact spelling and punctuation of the original, the other in modern orthography. Both these copies were taken direct from the original, and possibly in the case of the first two volumes they were both made by Fenn himself. In vols. iii. and iv., however, it is stated that many of the transcripts were made by Mr. Dalton, while those of vol. v. were found to be almost all in his handwriting when that volume was sent to press in 1823.² But this statement probably refers only to the copies in the antique spelling. Those in modern spelling I believe to have been made for the most part, if not altogether, by Fenn himself. When completed, the two copies were placed side by side, and given to Mr. Dalton to take home with him. Mr. Dalton then made a close comparison of the two versions, and pointed out every instance in which he found the slightest disagreement between them, or where he thought an explanation might be usefully bracketed into the modern version. These comments in the case of vol. iii. are upwards of 400 in number, and extend over eighteen closely written pages quarto. It is clear that they one and all received the fullest consideration from Sir John Fenn before the work was published. Every one of the discrepancies pointed

Mode in which
Fenn prepared
the letters for
publication.

¹ Archæol. vol. xli. p. 39.

² See Advertisement in the beginning of the volume, p. vii.

out between the two versions is rectified in the printed volume, and there cannot be a doubt that in every such case the original MS. was again referred to, to settle the disputed reading.

One or two illustrations of this may not be unacceptable to the reader. The following are among the observations made by Mr. Dalton on the transcripts of vol. iii. as prepared for press. In

Examples.

Letter viii. was a passage in which occurred the words, "that had of your father certain lands *one* seven years or eight years ago." Mr. Dalton's experience as a transcriber appears to have suggested to him that "one" was a very common misreading of the word "over" in ancient MSS., and he accordingly suggested that word as making better sense. His surmise turned out to be the true reading, and the passage stands corrected accordingly in the printed volume. In Letter xxiv. there was a discrepancy in the date between the transcript in ancient spelling and the modern version. In the latter it was "the 4th day of December," whereas the former gave it as the 3d. On examination, it appears that the *modern* version was found to be correct, a Roman "iiij." having been misread in the other as "iij." Thus we have very sufficient evidence that the modern copy could not have been taken from the ancient, but was made independently from the original MS. Another instance of the same thing occurs in the beginning of Letter xli., where the words "to my power" had been omitted in the literal transcript, but were found in the modern copy.

Mr. Dalton's part in the work of transcription appears clearly in several of his observations. One of the transcripts is frequently referred to as "my copy;" and an observation made on Letter lxxxvi. shows pretty clearly that the copy so referred to was the literal one. At the bottom of that letter is the following brief post-script:—"Utinam iste mundus malignus transiret et concupiscentia ejus;" on which Mr. Dalton remarks



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with which Sir John Fenn prepared his materials for the press.

It has, therefore, been our principle in this publication to reprint from Fenn's edition all those letters of which the originals have not yet been recovered, and to print carefully from the MSS. in all cases where the MSS. are accessible. In following the text given by Fenn, the only liberty we have allowed ourselves has been to extend the contracted words, so as to make them intelligible to the ordinary reader; and even in this we have always been guided by the interpretation given by Fenn himself in his modern version. The public has, therefore, in this edition a complete transcript of all the important letters of this collection, of which the text could be in any way obtained. At the same time we have not thought fit to omit all notice whatever even of those letters that seemed to be of too little interest to merit publication. Of every such letter an abstract will be found inserted in what is believed to be its true place in the series. Abstracts are also given of documents that are too lengthy and formal to be printed, and, in one case, of a letter sold at a public sale, of which a transcript is not now procurable. In the same manner, wherever I have found the slightest note or reference, whether in Fenn's footnotes or in Blomefield's Norfolk—where a few such references may be met with—to any letter that appears originally to have belonged to the Paston correspondence, even though the original be now inaccessible, and our information about the contents the most scanty, the reader will find a notice of all that is known about the missing document in the present publication.

Plan of this
Edition.

INTRODUCTION.



THE little village of Paston, in Norfolk, lies not far from the sea, where the line of the shore, proceeding eastward from Cromer, begins to tend a little towards the south. It

Paston
in Norfolk.

is about twenty miles north of Norwich. The country around is flat, but not without interest; the coast is dangerous to mariners; and as no railways have yet approached the neighbourhood, the district is almost unvisited by strangers. Here, however, lived for several centuries a family which took its surname from the place, and whose private correspondence at one particular epoch sheds no inconsiderable light on the annals of their country.

Of the early history of this family our notices are scanty and uncertain. A Norman descent is claimed for them by Blomefield, the Norfolk historian, on the evidence of certain documents which have been since dispersed. But at the time when they and their doings become best known to us, their social position was merely that of small gentry. One of these, however, was a justice

The Paston
family.

of the Common Pleas in the reign of Henry VI., whose uprightness of conduct caused him to be commonly spoken of by the name of the Good Judge. He had a son, John, brought up to the law, who became executor to the old soldier and statesman, Sir John Fastolf. This John Paston had a considerable family, of whom the two eldest sons, strange to say, both bore the same Christian name as their father. They were also both of them soldiers, and each, in his time, attained the dignity of knighthood. But of them and their father, and their grandfather the judge, we shall have more to say presently.

After them came Sir William Paston, a lawyer, one of whose daughters, Eleanor, married Thomas Manners, first Earl of Rutland. He had also two sons, of whom the first, Erasmus, died before him. The second, whose name was

Clement Pas-
ton.

Clement, was perhaps the most illustrious of the whole line. Born at Paston Hall, in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, he had an early love for ships, was admitted when young into the naval service of Henry VIII., and became a great commander. In an engage-

ment with the French he captured their admiral, the Baron de St Blankheare or Blankard, and kept him prisoner at Caister near Yarmouth till he had paid 7000 crowns for his ransom, besides giving up a number of valuables contained in his ship. Of this event Clement Paston preserved till his death a curious memorial among his household utensils, and we read in his will that he bequeathed to his nephew his "standing bowl called the Baron St Blankheare." He served also by land as well as by sea, and was with the Protector Somerset in Scotland at the battle of Pinkie. In Mary's reign he is said to have been the person to whom the rebel Sir Thomas Wyatt surrendered. In his later years he was more peacefully occupied in building a fine family seat at Oxnead. He lived till near the close of the reign of Elizabeth, having earned golden opinions from each of the sovereigns under whom he served. "Henry VIII.," we are told, "called him his champion; the Duke of Somerset, Protector in King Edward's reign, called him his soldier; Queen Mary, her seaman; and Queen Elizabeth, her father."¹

Clement Paston died childless, and was succeeded by his nephew, another Sir William, whose name is well-known in Norfolk as the founder of North Walsham School, and whose effigy in armour is visible in North Walsham Church, with a Latin epitaph recording acts of munificence on his part, not only to the grammar school, but also to the cathedrals of Bath and Norwich, to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and to the poor at Yarmouth.

From Sir William the line descended through Christopher Paston (who, on succeeding his father, was found to be an idiot, incapable of managing his affairs), Sir Edmund and Sir William Paston, Baronet, to Sir Robert Paston, who, in the reign of

The Earl of
Yarmouth. Charles II., was created first viscount, and afterwards earl, of Yarmouth. He is described as a person of good learning, and a traveller who brought home a number of curiosities collected in foreign countries. Before he was raised to the peerage he sat in Parliament for Castle Rising. It was he who, in the year 1664, was bold enough to propose to the House of Commons the unprecedented grant of two and a half millions to the King for a war against the Dutch.² This act not unnaturally brought him into favour with the Court, and paved the way for his advancement. Another incident in his life is too remarkable to be passed over. On the 9th of August 1676 he was waylaid while travelling in the night-time by a band of ruffians, who shot five bullets into his coach, one of which entered his body. The wound, however, was not mortal, and he lived six years longer.

His relations with the Court were not altogether of good omen for his family. We are told that he once entertained the King

¹ Blomefield's History of Norfolk, vi. 487, 488.

² Clarendon's Life. ii. 440.

and Queen, and the King's brother, James, Duke of York, with a number of the nobility, at his family seat at Oxnead. His son, William, who became second Earl of Yarmouth, married the Lady Charlotte Boyle, one of King Charles's natural daughters. This great alliance, and all the magnificence it involved, was too much for his slender fortunes. Earl William was led into a profuse expenditure which involved him in pecuniary difficulties. He soon deeply encumbered his inheritance; the library and the curiosities collected by his accomplished father had to be sold. The magnificent seat at Oxnead was allowed to fall into ruin; and, on the death of this second earl, it was pulled down, and the materials turned into money to satisfy his creditors. The family line itself came to an end, for Earl William had survived all his male issue, and the title became extinct.

From this brief summary of the family history we must now turn to a more specific account of William Paston, the old judge in the days of Henry VI., and of his children. Of them, and of their more immediate ancestor Clement, we have a description drawn by an unfriendly hand some time after the judge's death; and as it is, notwithstanding its bias, our sole authority for some facts which should engage our attention at the outset, we cannot do better than quote the paper at length:—

Thrifty
ancestors

“ A remembrance of the worshipful kin and ancestry of Paston, born in Paston in Gemyngham Soken.

“ First, There was one Clement Paston dwelling in Paston, and he was a good, plain husband (*i.e.* husbandman), and lived upon his land that he had in Paston, and kept thereon a plough all times in the year, and sometimes in barlysell two ploughs. The said Clement yede (*i.e.* went) at one plough both winter and summer, and he rode to mill on the bare horseback with his corn under him and brought home meal again under him, and also drove his cart with divers corns to Wynterton to sell, as a good husband [man] ought to do. Also, he had in Paston a five score or a six score acres of land at the most, and much thereof bond land to Gemyngham Hall, with a little poor water-mill running by a little river there, as it appeareth there of old time. Other livelode nor manors had he none there, nor in none other place.

“ And he wedded Geoffrey of Somerton (whose true surname is Goneld)'s sister, which was a bondwoman, to whom it is not unknown (to the prior of Bromholm and Bakton also, as it is said) if that men will inquire.

“ And as for Geoffrey Somerton, he was bond also, to whom, &c., he was both a pardoner and an attorney; and then was a good world, for he gathered many pence and halfpence, and therewith he made a fair chapel at Somerton, as it appeareth, &c.

“ Also, the said Clement had a son William, which that he set to school, and often he borrowed money to find him to school; and after that he yede (went) to court with the help of Geoffrey Somerton, his uncle, and learned the law, and there begat he much good; and then he was made a serjeant, and afterwards made a justice, and a right cunning man in the law. And he purchased much land in Paston, and also he purchased the moiety of the fifth part of the manor of Bakton, called either Latymer's, or Styward's, or Huntingfield, which moiety stretched into Paston; and so with it, and with another part of the said five parts he hath seignory in Paston, but no manor piace; and thereby would John Paston, son to the said William, make himself a lordship there, to the Duke (qu. Duchy?) of Lancaster's great hurt.

“And the said John would and hath untruly increased him by one tenant as where that the prior of Bromholm borrowed money of the said William for to pay withal his dismes, the said William would not lend it him unless the said prior would mortgage to the said William one John Albon, the said prior's bondsman, dwelling in Paston, which was a stiff churl and a thrifty man, and would not obey him unto the said William ; and for that cause, and for evil will that the said William had unto him, he desired him of the prior. And now after the death of the said William, the said John Albon died ; and now John Paston, son to the said William, by force of the mortgage sent for the son of the said John Albon to Norwich.”

The reader will probably be of opinion that several of the facts here recorded are by no means so discreditable to the Pastons as the writer certainly intended that they should appear. The object of the whole paper is to cast a stigma on the family in general, as a crafty, money getting race who had risen above their natural rank and station. It is insinuated that they were originally mere *adscripti glebæ* ; that Clement Paston was only a thrifty husbandman (note the original signification of the word “housebondman”), that he married a bondwoman, and transmitted to his son and grandson lands held by a servile tenure ; and the writer further contends that they had no manorial rights in Paston, although William Paston the justice had purchased land in the neighbourhood, and his son John was endeavouring to “make himself a lordship” there to the prejudice of the rights of the Duchy of Lancaster. It is altogether a singular statement, very interesting in its bearing upon the obscure question of the origin of copyholds, and the gradual emancipation of villeins. Whether it be true or false is another question ; if true, it appears to discredit entirely the supposed Norman ancestry of the Pastons ; but the remarkable thing is that an imputation of this kind could have been preferred against a family who, whatever may have been their origin, had certainly long before obtained a recognised position in the county.

It would appear, however, from the accuser's own statement, that Clement Paston, the father of the justice, was an industrious peasant, who tilled his own land, and who set so high a value on a good education, that he borrowed money to keep his son at school. With the help of his brother-in-law, he also sent the young man to London to learn the law, a profession which in that day, as in the present, was considered to afford an excellent education for a gentleman.¹ The good education was not thrown away. William Paston rose in the profession and became one of its ornaments. He improved his fortunes by marrying Agnes, daughter and heiress of Sir Edmund Berry of Harlingbury Hall, in Hertford-

William Paston
the justice.

¹ “Here everything good and virtuous is to be learned; all vice is discouraged and banished. So that knights, barons, and the greatest nobility of the kingdom, often place their children in those Inns of Court; not so much to make the law their study, much less to live by the profession (having large patrimonies of their own), but to form their manners, and to preserve them from the contagion of vice.” Fortescue de Laudibus Legum Angliæ (ed. Amos), 185.

shire. Some years before his father's death, Richard Courtenay, bishop of Norwich, appointed him his steward. In 1414 he was called in, along with two others, to mediate in a dispute which had for some time prevailed in the city of Norwich, as to the mode in which the mayors should be elected; and he had the good fortune with his coadjutors to adjust the matter satisfactorily.¹ In 1421 he was made a serjeant, and in 1429 a judge of the Common Pleas.² Before that time we find him acting as trustee for various properties, as of the Appleyard family in Dunston,³ of Sir Richard Carbonel,⁴ Sir Simon Felbrigg,⁵ John Berney,⁶ Sir John Rothenhale,⁷ Sir John Gyney of Dilham,⁸ Lord Cobham,⁹ and Ralph Lord Cromwell.¹⁰ He was also executor to Sir William Calthorp.¹¹ The confidence reposed in him by so many different persons is a remarkable testimony to the esteem in which he was held. He was, moreover, appointed one of the king's council for the duchy of Lancaster, and on his elevation to the judicial bench the king gave him a salary of 110 marks (£73, 6s. 8d.), with two robes more than the ordinary allowance of the judges.

In addition to all this he is supposed to have been a knight, and is called Sir William Paston in Fenn's publication. But this dignity was never conferred upon him in his own day. There is indeed one paper among the MSS. which are missing that speaks of him in the heading as "Sir William Paston, Knight;" but I have no doubt when the original MS. is found, the heading so printed will prove to be an endorsement of a more modern date. That there were a number of such endorsements on the original MSS. we know for certain. Fenn himself mentions them occasionally, and many similar ones will be found on the originals which are now in the British Museum. Nor is this the only case in which I have found reason to suspect that Fenn has printed a later endorsement as a convenient title for a paper which had no original address or heading. My reasons for believing so in the present instance, are simply that I can find no other evidence that William Paston was ever knighted. His name occurs over and over again on the patent rolls. He is named in at least one commission of the peace every year to his death, and in a good many other commissions besides, as justices invariably were. He is named also in many of the other papers of the same collection, simply as William Paston of Paston Esquire; and even in the body of the petition so inaccurately headed, he is simply styled William Paston, one of the justices. Nor does there appear to be any other foundation for the error than that single

Not a
Knight.

¹ Blomefield's Norfolk, iii. 126.

² Dugdale's Origines.

³ Blomefield, v. 56.

⁴ *Ib.* ii. 257, 285, vii. 217.

⁵ *Ib.* viii. 109.

⁶ *Ib.* x. 67.

⁷ See Letter 9.

⁸ Blomefield, vi. 353.

⁹ *Ib.* x. 176.

¹⁰ *Ib.* v. 27.

¹¹ *Ib.* vi. 517.

heading. He left a name behind him of so great repute, that Fuller could not help giving him a place among his "Worthies of England," although, as he remarks, it did not fall strictly within the plan of his work to notice a lawyer who was neither a chief justice nor an author.

Of his personal character we are entitled to form a favourable estimate, not only from the honourable name conferred on him as a judge, but also from the evidences already alluded to of the general confidence felt in his integrity. True it is that among these papers we have a complaint against him for accepting fees and pensions when he was justice, from various persons in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk;¹ but this only proves, what we might have expected, that he had enemies and cavillers as well as friends. Of the justice of the charges in themselves we have no means of forming an independent judgment; but in days when all England, and not least so the county of Norfolk, was full of party spirit and contention, it was not likely that a man in the position of William Paston should escape imputations of partiality and one-sidedness. Before his elevation to the bench, he had already suffered for doing his duty to more than one client. Having defended the prior of Norwich in an action brought against him by a certain Walter Aslak, touching the advowson of the church of Sprouston, the latter appears to have pursued him with unrelenting hatred. The county of Norfolk was at the time ringing with the news of an outrage committed by a band of unknown rioters at Wighton. On the last day of the year 1423, one John Grys of Wighton had been entertaining company, and was heated with "wassail," when he was suddenly attacked in his own house. He and his son and a servant were carried a mile from home and led to a pair of gallows, where it was intended to hang them; but as ropes were not at once to be had, they were murdered in another fashion, and their bodies horribly mutilated before death.² For nearly three years the murderers went unpunished, while the country stood aghast at the crime. But while it was still recent, at a county court holden at Norwich, Aslak caused a number of bills, partly in rhyme, to be posted on the gates of Norwich priory, and of the Grey Friars, and some of the city gates, distinctly threatening William Paston with the fate of John Grys, and insinuating that even worse things were in store for him.

Against open threats like these William Paston of course appealed to the law; but law in those days was but a feeble protector. Aslak had the powerful support of Sir Thomas Erpingham, by which he was enabled not only to evade the

¹ No. 19.

² See No. 4. Compare J. Amundesham Annales, 16. In the latter Grys's Christian name is given as William, and the outrage is said to have taken place on Christmas day instead of New Year's eve.



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that it was by no means insignificant. Situated by the seashore, with a flat, unbroken country round about, they are conspicuous from a distance both by sea and land. Among the numerous monasteries of Norfolk, none but Walsingham was more visited by strangers, and many of the pilgrims to Walsingham turned aside on their way homeward to visit the Rood of Bromholm. For this was a very special treasure brought from Constantinople two hundred years before, and composed of a portion of the wood of the true Cross. Many were the miracles recorded to have been wrought in the monastery since that precious relic was set up; the blind had received their sight, the lame had walked, and lepers had been cleansed; even the dead had been restored to life. It was impossible that a native of Paston could be uninterested in a place so renowned throughout all England.

Yet about this time the priory must have been less prosperous than it had once been. Its government and constitution were in a transition state. It was one of the twenty-eight monasteries in England which belonged to the Cluniac order, and were originally subject to the visitation of the Abbot of Clugny in France. Subjection to a foreign head did not tend at any time to make them popular in this country, and in the reign of Henry V. that connection was suddenly broken off. An act was passed suppressing at once all the alien priories, or religious houses that acknowledged foreign superiors. The priors of several of the Cluniac monasteries took out new foundation charters, and attached themselves to other orders. Those that continued signed deeds of surrender, and their monasteries were taken into the king's hands. About nine or ten years later, however, it would seem that a vicar of the Abbot of Clugny was allowed to visit England, and to him William Paston made an appeal to profess in due form a number of virtuous young men who had joined the priory in the interval.

From the statement already quoted as to the history of the Paston family, it appears that William Paston purchased a good deal of land in Paston besides what had originally belonged to them. It was evidently his intention to make a family residence, and transmit to his sons a more absolute ownership in the land from which they derived their name. Much of his father's land in Paston had been copyhold belonging to the manor of Gimingham Hall; but William Paston bought "a moiety of the fifth part" of the adjacent manor of Bacton, with free land extending into Paston. He thus established himself as undoubted lord of the greater part of the soil, and must have felt a pardonable pride in the improved position he thereby bequeathed to his descendants. To carry out the improvements he proposed to make on that and other parts of his property, he obtained licence from the king a year before his death to divert two public highways, the one at

Land purchased by Judge Paston.

Highways diverted.

Paston and the other at Oxnead, a little from their course.¹ The alterations do not appear to have been of a nature that any one had a right to complain of. Full inquiry was made beforehand by an inquisition *ad quod damnum*² whether they would be to the prejudice of neighbours. At Paston the extent of roadway which he obtained leave to enclose was only 32½ perches in length by one perch in breadth. It ran on the south side of his mansion, and he agreed to make a new highway of the same dimensions on the north side. The vicar of Paston seems to have been the neighbour principally concerned in the course that the new thoroughfare was to take, and all particulars had been arranged with him a few months before William Paston died.

But it would seem that upon the judge's death his great designs were for some time interrupted. The family were looked upon by many as upstarts, and young John Paston, who was only four and twenty, though bred to the law like his father, could not expect to possess the same weight and influence with his neighbours. A claim was revived by the lord of Gimmingham Hall to a rent of eight shillings from one of Paston's tenants, which had never been demanded so long as the judge was alive. The vicar of Paston pulled up the "doles" which were set to mark the new highway, and various other disturbances were committed by the neighbours. It seems to have required all the energies not only of John Paston upon the spot, but also of his brother Edmund, who was in London at Clifford's Inn, to secure the rights of the family; insomuch that their mother, in writing to the latter of the opposition to which they had been exposed, expresses a fear lest she should make him weary of Paston.³ And, indeed, if Edmund Paston was not weary of the dispute, his mother herself had cause to be; for it not only lasted years after this, but for some years after Edmund Paston was dead the stopping of the king's highway was a fruitful theme of remonstrance. When Agnes Paston built a wall it was thrown down before it was half completed; threats of heavy ameracements were addressed to her in church, and the men of Paston spoke of showing their displeasure when they went in public procession on St. Mark's day.⁴

John Paston
has disputes
with his
neighbours.

The Manor of Oxnead, which in later times became the principal seat of the family, was also among the possessions purchased by Judge Paston. He bought it of William Clopton of Long Melford, and settled it upon Agnes, his wife. But after his death her right to it was disputed. It had formerly belonged to a family of the name of Hauteyn, and there suddenly started up a claimant in the person

Oxnead, John
Hauteyn.

¹ Patent 6 July, 21 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 10.

² Inquis. *a. q. d.* (arranged with Inquisitions *post-mortem*), 21 Henry VI., No. 53.

³ Letter 46.

⁴ Nos. 160, 161, 162.

of one John Hauteyn, whose right to hold property of any kind was supposed to have been entirely annulled by the fact of his having entered the Order of Carmelite Friars. It seems, however, he had succeeded in getting from the Pope a dispensation to renounce the Order on the plea that he had been forced into it against his will when he was under age, and being thus restored by the ecclesiastical power to the condition of a layman, he next appealed to the civil courts to get back his inheritance. This danger must have been seen by William Paston before his death, and a paper was drawn up (No. 35) to show that Hauteyn had been released from his vows on false pretences. Nevertheless he pursued his claim at law, and although he complained of the difficulty of getting counsel (owing, as he himself intimated, to the respect in which the bar held the memory of Judge Paston, and the fact that his son John was one of their own members) he seems to have had hopes of succeeding through the influence of the Duke of Suffolk. His suit, however, had not been brought to a successful determination at the date of Suffolk's fall. It was still going on in the succeeding summer, but as we hear no more of it after that, we may presume that the altered state of the political world induced him to abandon it. According to Blomefield, he and others of the Hauteyn family released their rights to Agnes Paston "about 1449;" but this date is certainly at least a year too early.¹

William Paston also purchased various other lands in the county of Norfolk. Among others, he purchased from Thomas Chaucer, a son of the famous poet, the manor of Gresham,² of which we shall have something more to say a little later. We also find that in the fourth year of Henry VI. he obtained, in conjunction with one Thomas Poye, a grant of a market, fair and free-warren in his manor of Shipden which had belonged to his father Clement before him.³

The notices of John Paston begin when he was on the eve of marrying, a few years before his father's death. The match was evidently one that was arranged by the parents, after the fashion of the times. The lady was of a good family—daughter and heiress of John Mauteby, Esq., of Mauteby in Norfolk. The friends on both sides must have been satisfied that the union was a good one; for it had the one great merit which was then considered everything—it was no disparagement to the fortunes or the rank of either family. Beyond this hard business view, indeed, might have been found better arguments to recommend it; but English men and women in those days did not read novels, and had no great notion of cultivating sentiment for its own sake. Agnes Paston writes to her husband to intimate "the bringing home of the gentlewoman from Reedham," according to the arrangement

¹ Nos. 47, 66, 70, 100; Blomefield, vi. 479.

² Blomefield, viii. 127.

³ Patent roll, 4 Hen. VI., p. 2, m. 13; Blomefield, viii. 102.

he had made about it. It was, in her words, "the first acquaintance between John Paston and the said gentlewoman" (one would think Dame Agnes must have learned from her husband to express herself with something of the formality of a lawyer); and we are glad to find that the young lady's sense of propriety did not spoil her natural affability. "She made him gentle cheer in gentle wise, and said he was verily your son; and so I hope there shall need no great treaty between them." Finally the judge is requested by his wife to buy a gown for his future daughter-in-law, to which her mother would add a goodly fur. "The gown," says Dame Agnes, "needeth for to be had; and of colour it would be a goodly blue, or else a bright sanguine."

"The gentlewoman" thus introduced to John Paston and the reader proved to the former a most devoted wife during about six and twenty years of married life. Her letters to her husband form no inconsiderable portion of the correspondence in these volumes, and it is impossible to peruse them without being convinced that the writer was a woman not only of great force of character, but of truly affectionate nature. It is true the ordinary style of these epistles is very different from that of wives addressing their husbands now-a-days. There are no conventional expressions of tenderness—the conventionality of the age seems to have required not tenderness but humility on the part of women towards the head of a family; the subjects of the letters, too, are for the most part matters of pure business; yet the genuine womanly nature is seen bursting out whenever there is occasion to call it forth. Very early in the correspondence we meet with a letter of hers (No. 36) which in itself is pretty sufficient evidence that women, at least, were human in the fifteenth century. Her husband was at the time in London just beginning to recover from an illness which seems to have been occasioned by some injury he had met with. His mother had vowed to give an image of wax the weight of himself to Our Lady of Walsingham on his recovery, and Margaret to go on a pilgrimage thither, and also to St Leonard's at Norwich. That she did not undertake a journey of a hundred miles to do him more efficient service was certainly not owing to any want of will on her part. The difficulties of travelling in those days, and the care of a young child, sufficiently account for her remaining in Norfolk; but apparently even these considerations would not have deterred her from the journey had she not been dissuaded from it by others. "If I might have had my will," she writes, "I should have seen you ere this time. I would ye were at home, if it were for your ease (and your sore might be as well looked to here as it is there ye be), now liever than a gown, though it were of scarlet." Could the sincerity of a woman's wishes be more artlessly expressed?

Character
of his wife.

Let not the reader suppose, however, that Margaret Paston's acknowledged love of a scarlet gown indicates anything like

frivolity of character or inordinate love of display. We have little reason to believe from her correspondence that dress was a ruling passion. The chief aim discernible in all she writes—the chief motive that influenced everything she did—was simply the desire to give her husband satisfaction. And her will to do him service was, in general, only equalled by her ability. During term time, when John Paston was in London, she was his agent at home. It was she who negotiated with farmers, receiving overtures for leases and threats of lawsuits, and reported to her husband everything that might affect his interests, with the news of the country generally. Nor were threats always the worst thing she had to encounter on his account. For even domestic life, in those days, was not always exempt from violence; and there were at least two occasions when Margaret had to endure, in her husband's absence, things that a woman ought to have been spared.

One of these occasions we proceed to notice. The manor of Gresham, which William Paston had purchased from the son of the poet Chaucer, had been in the days of Edward II. the property of one Edmund Bacon, who obtained from that king a licence to embattle the manor-house. It descended from him to his two daughters, Margaret and Margery. The former became the wife of Sir William de Kerdeston, and her rights were inherited by a daughter named Maud, who married Sir John Burghersh.¹ This moiety came to Thomas Chaucer by his marriage with Maud Burghersh, the daughter of the Maud just mentioned. The other became at first the property of Sir William Molyne, who married Bacon's second daughter Margery. But this Margery having survived her husband, made a settlement of it by will, according to which the reversion of it after the decease of one Philip Vache and of Elizabeth his wife, was to be sold; and William, son of Robert Molyne, was to have the first option of purchase. This William Molyne at first declined to buy it, being apparently in want of funds; but he afterwards got one Thomas Fauconer, a London merchant, to advance the purchase money, on an agreement that his son should marry Fauconer's daughter. The marriage, however, never took effect; the Molyne family lost all claim upon the manor, and the same Thomas Chaucer who acquired the other moiety by his wife, purchased this moiety also, and conveyed both to William Paston.²

¹ Inquisitions post mortem, 27 Edw. III., No. 28, and 30 Edw. III., No. 42. Blomefield inaccurately makes Maud, whom Sir John Burghersh married, the daughter of Edmund Bacon instead of his granddaughter. (*Hist. of Norf.* viii. 127).

² No. 10. Blomefield gives a somewhat different account, founded doubtless on documents to which I have not had access. He says that Margery, widow of Sir William Molyne, settled her portion of the manor on one Thomas de la Lynde, with the consent of her son Sir William Molyne, who resigned all claim to it.

The whole manor of Gresham thus descended to John Paston, as his father's heir. But a few years after his father's death, he was troubled in the possession of it by Robert Hungerford, son of Lord Hungerford, who, having married Eleanor Molyne, a descendant of the Sir William Molyne above referred to, had been raised to the peerage as Lord Molyne, and laid claim to the whole inheritance of the Molyne family. He was still but a young man,¹ heir-apparent to another barony; and, with the prospect of a great inheritance both from his father and from his mother, who was the daughter and sole heir of William Lord Botraux, he certainly had little occasion to covet lands that were not his own. Nevertheless he listened to the counsels of John Heydon of Baconsthorpe, a lawyer who had been sheriff and also recorder of Norwich, and whom the gentry of Norfolk looked upon with anything but good will, regarding him as the ready tool of every powerful oppressor. His chief patron, with whom his name was constantly coupled, was Sir Thomas Tuddenham; and the two together, especially during the unpopular ministry of the Duke of Suffolk, exercised an ascendancy in the county, of which we hear very numerous complaints. Heydon persuaded Lord Molyne that he had a good claim to the manor of Gresham; and Lord Molyne, without more ado, went in and took possession on the 17th of February 1448.²

Claimed by
Lord Molyne.

To recover his rights against a powerful young nobleman connected with various wealthy and influential families, required, as John Paston knew, the exercise of great discretion. Instead of resorting at once to an action at law, he made representations to Lord Molyne and his legal advisers, to show how indefensible was the title they had set up for him. He secured some attention for his remonstrances by the intercession of Waynflete, bishop of Winchester.³ Conferences took place between the counsel of both parties during the following summer, and the weakness of Lord Molyne's case was practically confessed by his solicitors, who in the end told Paston to apply to his lordship personally. Paston accordingly, at no small expense to himself, went and waited upon him at Salisbury and elsewhere, but was continually put off. At last, on the 6th of October, not, as I believe, the same year but the year following, he succeeded in doing to Lord Molyne to some extent what Lord Molyne had already done to him. He took possession of "a mansion within the said town," and occupied it himself, having doubtless a sufficiency of servants to guard against any sudden surprise. After this fashion, he maintained his rights for a period of over

¹ According to the inquisition taken on his father's death (Inq. p. m., 37 Hen. VI., No. 17), he was over thirty in June 1459. If we are to understand that he was then only in his thirty-first year, he could not have been twenty when he first dispossessed John Paston of Gresham.

² No. 77

³ No. 61.

three months. The usual residence of Lord Molyneſ was in Wiltſhire, and his agents probably did not like the reſponſibility of attempting to remove John Paſton without expreſs orders from their maſter. But on the 28th of January 1450, while John Paſton was away in London on buſineſs, there came before the manſion at Greſham a company of a thouſand perſons, ſent to recover poſſeſſion for Lord Molyneſ. They were armed with cuirasses and brigandines, with guns, bows, and arrows, and with every kind of offensive and defensive armour. They had alſo mining inſtruments, long poles with hooks, called cromes, uſed for pulling down houſes, ladders, pick-axes, and pans with fire burning in them. With theſe formidable implements they beſet the houſe, at that time occupied only by Margaret Paſton and twelve other perſons; and having broken open the outer gates, they ſet to work undermining the very chamber in which Margaret was. Reſiſtance under the circumſtances was impoſſible. Margaret was forcibly carried out. The houſe was then thoroughly rifled of all that it contained—property eſtimated by John Paſton at £200¹—the door-poſts were cut aſunder, and the place was left little better than a ruin. Further, that there might be no miſtake about the ſpirit in which the outrage was perpetrated, the rioters declared openly, that if they had found John Paſton, or his friend John Damme, who had aided him with his counſel about theſe matters, neither of them ſhould have eſcaped alive.²

John Paſton drew up a petition for redreſs to Parliament, and another to the Lord Chancellor; but it was ſome months before his caſe could be attended to, for that year was one of confuſion and diſorder unparalleled. It was that year, in fact, which may be ſaid to have witneſſed the firſt outbreak of a long intermittent

Troubled
times,
A.D. 1450.

civil war. History has not paſſed over in ſilence the troubles of 1450. The rebellion of Jack Cade, and the murder of two biſhops in different parts of the country, were facts which no hiſtorian could treat as wholly inſignificant. Many writers have even repeated the old ſlander, which there is not the ſlighteſt reaſon to believe, that Jack Cade's inſurrection was promoted by the intrigues of the Duke of York; but no one appears to me to have realiſed the precise nature of the criſis that neceſſarily followed the removal of the Duke of Suffolk. And as we have now arrived at the point where the Paſton Letters begin to have a moſt direct bearing on Engliſh hiſtory, we muſt endeavour in a few words of hiſtorical reſpect to make the matter as clear as poſſible.

Fall of
the Duke
of Suffolk.

As to the cauſes of Suffolk's fall we are not left in ignorance. Not only do we poſſeſs the full text of the long indictment drawn up againſt him this year in Parliament, but a number of political ballads

¹ A value probably equal to about £3000 of our money. ² Nos. 77, 107.



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urged that his familiarity with the Duke of Orleans and other French prisoners lately detained in England, brought him under suspicion at home, and rendered him a less fitting ambassador for arranging matters with France. Finally he obtained from the King and Council an instrument under the Great Seal, pardoning him beforehand any error of judgment he might possibly commit in conducting so critical a negotiation.¹

His success, if judged by the immediate result, seemed to show that so much diffidence was unnecessary. The people at large rejoiced in the marriage of their king; the bride, if poor, was beautiful and attractive; the negotiator received the thanks of Parliament, and there was not a man in all the kingdom,—at least in all the legislature,—durst wag his tongue in censure. The Duke of Gloucester, his chief rival and opponent in the senate, was the first to rise from his seat and recommend Suffolk, for his services, to the favour of the Crown.² If he had really committed any mistakes, they were as yet unknown, or at all events uncriticised. Even the cession of Maine and Anjou at this time does not seem to have been spoken of.

Suffolk's
ascendancy.

Happy in the confidence of his sovereign, Suffolk was promoted to more distinguished honour. From an earl he was raised to the dignity of a marquis; from a marquise, a few years later, to a dukedom. He had already supplanted older statesmen with far greater advantage of birth, and pre-eminence of rank. The two great rivals, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, and Cardinal Beaufort, were both eclipsed, and both died within six weeks of each other, two years after the king's marriage, leaving Suffolk the only minister of mark. But his position was not improved by this undisputed ascendancy.

A. D. 1447.

The death of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, aroused suspicions in the public mind that were probably due merely to time and circumstance. Duke Humphrey, with many defects in his character, had always been a popular favourite, and just before his death he had been arrested on a charge of treason. That he could not possibly have remained quiet under the new régime, is a fact that we might presume as a matter of course, but there is no reason to suppose he was guilty of intrigue or conspiracy. The king, indeed, appears to

¹ Rymer, xi. 53.

² Rolls of Parl. v. 73. That Gloucester secretly disliked Suffolk's policy, and thought the peace with France too dearly bought, is more than probable. At the reception of the French ambassadors in 1445, we learn from their report that Henry looked exceedingly pleased, especially when his uncle the French King was mentioned. "And on his left hand were my Lord of Glo'ster, at whom he looked at the time, and then he turned round to the right to the chancellor, and the Earl of Suffolk, and the Cardinal of York, who were there, smiling to them, and it was very obvious that he made some signal. And it was afterwards mentioned by——— (*blank in orig.*), that he pressed his Chancellor's hand and said to him in English, 'I am very much rejoiced that some who are present should hear these words. They are not at their ease.'" Stevenson's Wars of the English in France, i. 110-1.

have thought otherwise, but his opinions were formed by those of Suffolk and the Queen; and both Suffolk and the Queen were such enemies of Duke Humphrey, that they were vehemently suspected of having procured his death.

Complaints against the minister now began to be made more openly, and his conduct touching the surrender of Anjou and Maine was so generally censured, that he petitioned the King that a day might be appointed on which he should have an opportunity of clearing himself before the council. On the 25th of May 1447 his wish was granted, and in the presence of a full council, including the Duke of York, and others who might have been expected to be no very favourable critics, he gave a detailed account of all that he had done. How far he made a really favourable impression upon his hearers we do not know; but in the end he was declared to have vindicated his integrity, and a proclamation was issued forbidding the circulation of such slanders against him in future, under penalty of the king's displeasure.¹

The nature of the defence that he set up can only be a matter of speculation; but it may be observed that as yet no formal delivery of Anjou or Maine had really taken place at all. The former province, though it had been before this overrun and laid waste by the English, does not appear ever to have been permanently occupied by them. Delivery of Anjou would therefore have been an idle form; all that was required was that the English should forbear to invade it. But with Maine the case was different. It had been for a long time in the hands of the English, and pledges had certainly been given by Suffolk for its delivery. As yet, however, nothing had been concluded by way of positive treaty. No definite peace had been made with France. Difficulties had always started up in the negotiations, and the ambassadors appointed on either side had been unable to do more than prolong from time to time the existing truce, leaving the matter in dispute to be adjusted at a personal interview between the two kings, for which express provision was made at the time of each new arrangement. But the personal interview never took place. In August 1445 it was arranged for the following summer. In January 1446 it was fixed to be before November. In February 1447 it was again to be in the summer following. In July it was settled to be before May 1448; but in October the time was again lengthened further.² There can be little doubt that these perpetual delays were due merely to hesitation on the part of England to carry out a policy to which she was already pledged. Charles, of course, could not allow them to go on for ever. In the treaty of July 1447, an express provision was for the first time inserted, that the town and castle of Le Mans, and other places within the county of Maine, should

¹ Rymer, xi, 173.

² Rymer, xi. 97, 108, 151, 182, 189, &c.

be delivered up to the French. It seems also to have been privately arranged that this should be done before the 1st of November; and that the further treaty made at Bourges on the 15th of October, should not be published until the surrender was accomplished.¹ But the year 1447 had very nearly expired before even the first steps were taken to give effect to this arrangement. At length, on the 30th of December, an agreement was made by Matthew Gough, who had the keeping of Le Mans, that the place should be surrendered by the 15th of January, on receipt of letters patent from the King of France, for compensation to be made to grantees of the English crown.

Even this arrangement, however, was not adhered to. Matthew Gough still found reasons for refusing or delaying the surrender, although the English government protested the sincerity of its intentions. But Charles now began to take the matter into his own hands. Count Dunois and others were sent to besiege the place, with a force raised suddenly out of various towns; for France had been carefully maturing during those years of truce, a system of conscription which was now becoming serviceable. At the first rumour of these musters the English government was alarmed, and Sir Thomas Hoo, Lord Hastings, Henry's Chancellor of France, wrote urgently to Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Poitou, who had been the chief negociator of the existing truce, deprecating the use of force against a town which it was the full intention of his government to yield up honourably.² Such protests, however, availed nothing in the face of the obvious fact that the surrender had not taken place at the time agreed on. The French continued to muster forces. In great haste an embassy was despatched from England, consisting of Adam de Moleyns, bishop of Chichester and Sir Thomas Roos; but the conduct of the garrison itself rendered further negociation nugatory. By no means could they be induced, even in obedience to their own king, to surrender the city peacefully. Dunois and his army accordingly drew nearer. Three sharp skirmishes took place before the siege could be formed; but at length the garrison were fully closed in. All that they could now do was to make a composition with the enemy; yet even this they would not have attempted of themselves. The efforts of the English envoys, however, secured for the besieged most favourable terms of surrender. Not only were they permitted to march out with bag and baggage, but a sum of money was delivered to each of the captains, by the French King's orders; with which, and with a safe conduct from Charles, they departed into Normandy.³

It was on Friday, the 15th of March 1448, the day on which

¹ Stevenson's Wars, ii. [714, 715].

² Stevenson's Wars, i. 198. See also a letter of the 18th Feb. 1448, of which an abstract is given in vol. ii. of the same work, p. 576.

³ Chron de Mat. de Coussy (in Buchon's collection), p. 34.

the truce between the two countries was to have expired, that the brave Matthew Gough, along with his colleague, Fulk Eton, formally delivered up to the French, not only the town and castle of Le Mans, but also the whole county of Maine except the lordship of Fresnay. Standing on the outer bridge, they made a public protest before their soldiers, and caused a notary to witness it by a formal document, that what they did was only in obedience to their own king's commands, and that the king himself, in giving up possession of the county of Maine by no means parted with his sovereign rights therein; that he only gave up actual possession in order that King René and his brother, Charles of Anjou, might enjoy the fruits of their own lands, and in the hope that a firm peace might be established between England and France. Four days before this was done, the truce had been prolonged for two years more.¹

Its sur-
render.

The reluctant cession of such a valuable province as Maine, boded ill for the security of the neighbouring duchy of Normandy. The government of Normandy was at this time committed to Edmund Beaufort, Marquis of Dorset, who had just been created Duke of Somerset. His appointment to the post had been due rather to favour than to merit. The Duke of York was then Regent of France, and had given good proof of his competence to take charge of the entire kingdom. But Somerset, who was head of the house of Beaufort, nearly allied in blood to the Crown, and who had come into possession of immense wealth by the death of his uncle, the Cardinal of Winchester, had the ambition of an Englishman to show his talent for governing. His influence with the King and Suffolk obtained for him the government of Normandy, and that he might exercise it undisturbed, York was recalled from France. The change was ill advised; for the times demanded the best of generalship, and the utmost political discretion. Somerset, though not without experience in war, had given no evidence of the possession of such qualities; and they had been notoriously wanting in his brother John, who was Duke of Somerset before him, when his ambition, too, had been gratified by a command in France. Duke John, we are told, absolutely refused to give any one his confidence as to what he was going to do at any period of the campaign. He used to say that if his shirt knew his plans he would burn it; and so, with a great deal of manœuvring and mystery, he captured a small place in Brittany called La Guerche, made a vain attempt to reduce another fortress, and then returned to England.² It may have been owing to public discontent at the small result of his great preparations, that he was accused of treason on his return; when,

¹ Rymer, xi. 199, 204. Stevenson's Wars, i. 207.

² Basin. Histoire de Charles VII., &c., i. 150-1.

unable to endure so great a reproach, he was believed to have put an end to his own life.¹

With a full recollection of the indiscretions of his brother John, the King's Council must have hesitated to confide to Duke Edmund such an important trust as the government of Normandy. They must have hesitated all the more, as the appointment of Somerset involved the recall of the Duke of York. And we are told that their acts at the time betrayed symptoms of such irresolution; insomuch that one day a new governor of Normandy was proclaimed at Rouen, and the next his commission was revoked and another named in his stead.² But at last the influence of Somerset prevailed. He was not, however, permitted to go abroad without warning of the dangers against which he had to provide. The veteran Sir John Fastolf drew up a paper for his guidance, pointing out that it was now peculiarly important to strengthen the fortifications on the new frontier, to protect the sea-ports, to preserve free communication with England, and (what was quite as politic a suggestion as any) to appoint a wise chancellor and council for the impartial administration of justice so as to protect the inhabitants from oppression.³ From the comment made upon these suggestions, either by Fastolf himself or by his secretary William Worcester, it would seem that they were not acted upon; and to this cause he attributed the disasters which soon followed in quick succession, and brought upon the Duke of Somerset the indignation and contempt of a large number of his countrymen. These feelings, probably, were not altogether just. The Duke had done good service before in France, and part of the blame of what occurred may perhaps be attributed to divided management—more especially to the unruly feelings of a number of the English soldiers.

The garrison which had been compelled against its will to give up Le Mans found it hard to obtain quarters in Normandy. It was doubtful whether they were not labouring under their own king's displeasure, and the captains of fortified towns were afraid to take them in. At last they took possession of Pontorson and St. James de Beuvron, two towns situated near the confines of Brittany which had been laid waste during the previous wars, and had since been abandoned. They began to victual and fortify themselves in these positions to the alarm of their neighbours, until the Duke of Brittany felt it necessary to complain to the Duke of Somerset, requesting that they might be dislodged. Somerset, in reply, promised to caution them not to do anything in violation of the truce, but declined to bid them evacuate their positions. Diplomatic intercourse went on between one side and the other, always in the most courteous

¹ Contin. of Chronicle of Croyland, 519.

² Stevenson's Wars, ii. [592].

³ Basin, i. 192.

terms, but every day it was becoming more apparent that all confidence was gone.

At last, in March 1449, the English justified the suspicions that had long been entertained of them. A detachment of about 600 men, under François de Surienne, popularly named L'Arragonois, a leader in the pay of England,¹ who had, not long before, been knighted by Henry, crossed the frontier southwards into Brittany, took by assault the town and castle of Fougères, and made dreadful havoc and slaughter among the unsuspecting inhabitants. The place was full of wealthy merchants, for it was the centre of a considerable woollen manufacture, and the booty found in it was estimated at no less than two millions of gold.² Such a prize in legitimate warfare would undoubtedly have been well worth the taking; but under the actual circumstances the deed was a glaring, perfidious violation of the truce. Somerset had been only a few days before protesting to the King of France that, even if all his towns were open and undefended, they would be perfectly secure from any assault by the English;³ yet here was a town belonging to the Duke of Brittany, a vassal of the King of France, who had been expressly included in the truce, assaulted and taken by fraud. Somerset disavowed the deed, but refused to make restitution. He professed to write to the King for instructions how to act; but he utterly destroyed his flimsy pretence of neutrality by writing to the King of France, desiring him not to give assistance to the Duke of Brittany.⁴

A. D. 1449.

Capture of
Fougères.

The truth is that the expedition had been fully authorised, not only by Somerset in Normandy, but by the King and the Duke of Suffolk in England. It was suggested to L'Arragonois when he was in England by Suffolk himself, who assured him that he would do the King a most excellent service by taking a place of so much consequence. He was further given to understand that he incurred no danger or responsibility; for even if he were besieged by the Duke of Brittany, ample succours would be despatched to relieve him. Unfortunately, during the next few months, the English had too much to do to keep their word, and L'Arragonois was compelled to surrender the place again to the Duke of Brittany after a five weeks' siege. Feeling himself then absolved from every engagement to England he next year sent back the Order of the Garter to Henry, declaring himself from that time a subject of his natural lord the King of Arragon, in whose country he proposed to spend the remainder of his days.⁵

Notwithstanding the richness of the booty won by the capture

¹ Stevenson's Wars, i. 473; ii. 573.

² Stevenson's Reductio Normanniæ, 406.

³ *Ib.* 402.

⁴ Reductio Normanniæ, 406.

⁵ Stevenson's Wars, i. 275, 278, &c.

of Fougères, the English ought to have been aware that they would have a heavy price to pay for it. The alienation of a friend in the Duke of Brittany evidently did not grieve them, although that, in itself should have been a matter of some concern; for the Duke, though nearly related to the French King, had studied to keep himself neutral hitherto. To his and his father's pacific policy it was owing that the commerce of Brittany had prospered, and Fougères itself became rich, while neighbouring districts were exposed to the ravages of war. But the resentment of the Duke of Brittany was not a cause of much apprehension. The effect of the outrage upon the French people was a much more serious matter, and this was felt immediately. The King of France, when he heard the news, was at Montils by Tours on the point of starting for Bourges. He immediately changed his purpose and turned back to Chinon that he might be nearer Brittany. A secret treaty was made between the King and the Duke to aid each other on the recommencement of hostilities with the English. A plot was also laid to surprise the town of Pont-de-l'Arche on the Seine, just as Fougères had been surprised by the English. It was completely successful, and Pont-de-l'Arche was captured by stratagem early in the morning of the 16th of May, by a body of adventurers professedly in the service of Brittany. There could be no mistake about the significance of the retribution. To the Duke of Brittany the capture of Pont-de-l'Arche was of no value, except in the way of retaliation, for it was at a great distance from his borders; while to France it was a most important gain if used with a view to the recovery of Normandy. But France was quite as free to disavow the deed as the English government had been to disavow the taking of Fougères.

Pont-de-l'Arche
taken by the
French.

Charles had, in fact, gained, in a strategic point of view, quite as great an advantage as the English had gained in point of material wealth. But morally his advantage was greater still, for he showed himself perfectly open to treat for the redress of outrages on both sides, and was willing to put Pont-de-l'Arche again into the hands of the English if they would have restored Fougères. All conferences, however, were ineffectual, and the French followed up their advantage by taking Gerberoy and Conches. In the south they also won from the English two places in the neighbourhood of Bordeaux.¹ Still, Charles had not yet declared war, and these things were avowedly no more than the acts of desultory marauders. His ambassadors still demanded the restitution of Fougères, which possibly the English might now have been willing to accord if they could have had the French captures restored to them, but that in the surrender of the place they would have had to acknowledge Brittany as a

¹ *Reductio Normanniæ*, 251.



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terms, agreed to surrender not only it but the fortresses of Arques, Caudebec, and several other places, leaving the gallant Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, as a hostage until they were delivered up. Meanwhile, the Duke of Brittany overran Lower Normandy and recovered his own Fougères after a siege of little more than a month. Francois L'Arragonois, finding no hope of succours, surrendered the place and afterwards went over to the French.

In short, before the end of the year, the English had lost nearly everything in the North of France. The inhabitants everywhere conspired to betray towns and garrisons, and every man not English born took part against the English. Even King René, Henry's father-in-law, assisted Charles at the siege of Rouen, and shared the honours of his triumphal entry. At the end of the year 1449 the English held nothing in Normandy except a few towns upon the sea-coast or a little way inland—the chief of these being Honfleur, Bayeux, Caen, and Cherbourg. The last named fortress remained untaken till the 12th of August in the following year. When it surrendered, the whole of Normandy was finally lost.

The news of these reverses so rapidly following each other of course produced in England the most profound dissatisfaction. The Parliament to which Somerset had applied for aid had been removed after Whitsunday to Winchester on account of the insalubrity of the air in London and Westminster, and had been finally dissolved on the 16th of July. A new Parliament was then called for a winter session to provide for the defence of Normandy, when, in fact, it was too late.¹ By the time it had

Unpopularity of Suffolk. assembled Rouen was already lost. The secret odium with which the policy of Suffolk had been viewed for years past could now no longer be restrained. It was difficult to persuade the many that the disgrace which had befallen the English arms was not due to treachery as much as to incompetence. The cession of Maine and Anjou was more loudly blamed than ever, and Suffolk was considered to have negotiated the King's marriage mainly with a view to his own advantage. It was remembered how he had once imprudently boasted that he possessed no less weight in the counsels of the King of France than in those of his own sovereign; it was again murmured that he had been the cause of Gloucester's death. And notwithstanding the protection of the court, these feelings found expression in Parliament.

A.D. 1450. At the beginning of the New Year, an incident occurred which served still further to precipitate

¹ Rolls of Parl., v. 143, 171. Even when the new Parliament met at Westminster on the 6th November it was obliged to adjourn to the City of London on account of the unhealthiness of the air. We must remember that Westminster was then little better than a flat muddy island, with a vast extent of marshy land and stagnant pools between Pimlico and the Thames.

his ruin. Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, keeper of the Privy Seal, who, as we have seen, had been sent over to France in the beginning of 1448, to arrange the peaceful cession of Le Mans, was at this time sent to Portsmouth to pay the wages of certain soldiers and sailors. He was a scholar as well as a statesman, and corresponded occasionally with the celebrated Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius II.¹ But, like Suffolk, he was believed to make his own advantage out of public affairs. He had the reputation of being very covetous; the king's treasury was ill supplied with money, and he endeavoured to force the men to be satisfied with less than their due. On this they broke out into open mutiny, cried out that he was one of those who had sold Normandy, and thereupon put him to death.² This was on the 9th day of January 1450. During the altercation he let fall some words, probably in justification of his own conduct, which were considered to reflect most seriously upon that of the Duke of Suffolk,³ and a cry arose for the Duke's impeachment in Parliament.

Murder of the
Bishop of
Chichester.

It must certainly be acknowledged by any candid student of history, that the state of the English Constitution in early times did not admit of true and impartial justice being done to an accused minister. So long as a man in Suffolk's position was upheld by the power of the Crown, it was to the last degree dangerous to say anything against him; but when the voice of complaint could no longer be restrained, the protection he had before received ceased to be of any use to him. It became then quite as dangerous to say anything in his favour as it had been formerly to accuse him. The Crown could not make common cause with one whose conduct was under suspicion; for the King could do no wrong, and the minister must be the scapegoat. The party, therefore, which would insist on any inquiry into the conduct of a minister, knew well that they must succeed in getting him condemned, or be branded as traitors themselves. Such proceedings accordingly began inevitably with intrigue. Lord Cromwell was Suffolk's enemy at the council table, and used his influence secretly with members of the House of Commons, to get them to bring forward an impeachment in that chamber. That he was a dangerous opponent Suffolk himself was very well aware. A little before Christmas, William Tailboys, one of the Duke's principal supporters, had set a number of armed men in wait for him at the door of the Star Chamber, where the council met, and Lord Cromwell narrowly escaped being killed. The attempt, however, failed, and Tailboys was committed to the Tower; from which it would seem that he

¹ Æneæ Sylvii Epp. 80, 186.

² According to his friend, Æneas Sylvius, the mode of death inflicted on him was decapitation. (Opera, 413.)

³ Rolls of Parl., v. 176.

must soon afterwards have been released. Cromwell then brought an action against him, in the Court of Exchequer, to recover damages for the assault, and was awarded £3000; on which Tailboys was committed to the Sheriff of London's prison; and this was all the redress obtained by Cromwell till, by a special act in the ensuing Parliament, Tailboys was removed from that place of confinement, and lodged in the Tower once more, for a period of twelve months. Owing to the King's protection he was not brought to trial.¹

An evil day, nevertheless, had arrived for the Duke of Suffolk, which not all the influence of the King, nor the still greater influence of Margaret of Anjou, who owed to him her proud position as Henry's consort, was able to avert. On the 22d of January the Duke presented a petition to the King that he might be allowed to clear himself before Parliament, of the imputations which had been cast on him in consequence of the dying words of Bishop Moleyns. He begged the King to remember how his father had died in the service of King Henry V. at Harfleur, —how his elder brother had been with that King at Agincourt, —how two other brothers had fallen in the King's own days at Jargeau, when he himself was taken prisoner, and had to pay £20,000 for his ransom, —how his fourth brother had been a hostage for him in the enemies' hands and died there. He also reminded the King that he had borne arms for four and thirty years, had been thirty years a Knight of the Garter, and had served in the wars abroad for seventeen years at a time, without ever coming home. Since then he had been fifteen years in England about the King's person, and he prayed God that if ever he died otherwise than in his bed, it might be in maintaining the quarrel that he had been at all times true to Henry.²

Four days after this a deputation from the Commons waited on the Lord Chancellor, desiring that as Suffolk had confessed the prevalence of injurious reports against him, he might be committed to custody. This request was laid by the Chancellor before the King and Council on the following day, and the opinion of the judges being taken as to the legality of the proposed arrest, he was allowed to remain at liberty until a definite charge should be brought against him. Such a charge was accordingly declared two days later by the Speaker, who did not hesitate to tell the Lord Chancellor, in the name of the Commons, that Suffolk was believed to be in league with the French King to promote an invasion of England, and had fortified the castle of Wallingford with a view of assisting the invaders. The Duke, on this, was committed to the Tower.

¹ W. Worc. Rolls of Parl., v. 200. I find by an entry in the Controlment Roll, 30 Hen. VI., that on St. Bartholomew's day 1451, William Tailboys and nineteen other persons belonging to South Kyme, in Lincolnshire, were outlawed at the suit of Elizabeth, widow of John Saunderson, for the murder of her husband.

² Rolls of Parl., v. 176.

On the 7th of February he was formally impeached by the Commons. A copy of the articles of impeachment will be found in the Paston Letters (No. 76). Nothing was said in them of the fortification of Wallingford Castle, but a number of specific charges were made, many of them authenticated by the exact day and place when the alleged treasonable acts were committed, tending to show that in his communications with the French he had been invariably opposed to the interests of his own country. It was alleged that he had been bribed to deliver Anjou and Maine, and that as long ago as the year 1440 he was influenced by corrupt motives to promote the liberation of the Duke of Orleans; that he had disclosed the secrets of the English council chamber to the French King's ambassadors; that he had even given information by which France had profited in the war, and that he had rendered peace negotiations nugatory by letting the French know beforehand the instructions given to the English envoys. Further, in the midst of invasion and national disgrace, he had hoped to gratify his own ambition. The King, who was still childless, was to be deposed; and the Duke had actually hoped to make his own son king in his place. It seems that he had obtained some time before a grant of the wardship of Margaret Beaufort, daughter of the late Duke of Somerset, who was the nearest heir to the crown in the Lancastrian line, and since his arrest he had caused her to be married to his own son, Lord John De la Pole.¹ Such was the foundation on which the worst charge rested.

Suffolk
impeached.

A month passed before he was heard in his own defence. The Commons impeached, but it was for the Lords to try him. Meanwhile, another bill of indictment had been prepared by the malice of his enemies, in which all the failures of his policy were visited upon him as crimes, and attributed to the worst and most selfish motives. For his own private gain, he had caused the crown to be prodigal of grants to other persons, till it was so impoverished that the wages of the household were unpaid, and the royal manors left to fall into decay. He had granted the earldom of Kendal, with large possessions both in England and in Guienne to a Gascon, who ultimately sided with the French, but had happened to marry his niece. He had weakened the king's power in Guienne, alienated the Count of Armagnac, and caused a band of English to attack the king's German allies; he had disposed of offices to unworthy persons without consulting the Council, granted important possessions in Normandy to the French king's councillors, given to the French queen £13,000 of

¹ So it is stated in the impeachment. According to the inquisition on Suffolk's death, his son was born on the 27th September 1442, and was therefore at this time only in his eighth year.—Napier's Historical Notices of Swyncombe and Eweline, 108.

the revenues of England, appropriated and misapplied the king's treasure, and the subsidies granted by Parliament for the keeping of the sea. These and some minor charges formed the contents of the second bill of indictment.¹

He was brought from the Tower on the 9th day of March, and required to make answer before the Lords to the contents of both bills. He requested of the king that he might have copies, which were allowed him; and that he might prepare his answer more at ease, he was removed for a few days to a tower within the king's palace at Westminster. On the 13th he

His defence. was sent for to make his answer before the king and lords. Kneeling before the throne he replied to each of the eight articles in the first bill separately. He denied their truth entirely, and offered to prove them false in whatever manner the king would direct. He declared it absurd to consider Margaret Beaufort as heir-presumptive to the Crown, and used other arguments to show the improbability of his designs on the succession. In all else he shewed that the other lords of the Council were quite as much committed as he; and as to the delivery of Anjou and Maine, he laid the responsibility entirely upon the murdered Bishop of Chichester.²

Next day, the Chief Justice, by the King's command, asked the Lords what advice they would give the King in the matter. It was a Saturday, and the Lords deferred their answer till the following Monday; but on the Monday nothing was done. On the Tuesday the King sent for all the Lords then in London to attend him in his own palace, where they met in an inner chamber. When they were assembled, Suffolk was sent for, and kneeling down, was addressed briefly by the Lord Chancellor. He was reminded that he had made answer to the first bill of the Commons without claiming the right of being tried by his Peers; and he was asked if he had anything further to say upon the subject. He replied that the accusations were too horrible to be further spoken of, and he hoped he had sufficiently answered all that touched the King's person, and the state of his kingdom. Nevertheless, he submitted himself entirely to the King, to do with him whatever he thought good.³

On this an answer was returned to him in the King's name by the Lord Chancellor. A miserably weak and evasive answer it was, shewing clearly that the King desired to protect his favourite, but had not the manliness to avow he thought him worthy of protection. The Lord Chancellor was commissioned to say, that as to the very serious charges contained in the first bill, the King regarded Suffolk as not having been proved either guilty or innocent; but touching those contained in the second bill, which amounted only to misprisions, as Suffolk did not put himself upon his peerage, but submitted entirely to the King,

¹ Rolls of Parl., v. 179-182.

² *Ib.* 182.

³ *Ib.*

the latter had determined, without consulting the Lords, and not in the way of judgment (for he was not sitting in tribunal), but merely in virtue of the Duke's own submission, to bid him absent himself from England for five years, from the first day of May ensuing.¹

He is ordered to leave England.

It is clear upon the face of the matter, that although the King was made to take the sole responsibility of this decision, it was really a thing arranged, and not arranged without difficulty, between the friends of Suffolk and some of the leading members of the House of Lords. Immediately after it was pronounced, Viscount Beaumont, who was one of Suffolk's principal allies, made a protest on behalf of the Lords, that what the King had just done, he had done by his own authority, without their advice and counsel. He accordingly besought the King that their protest might be recorded in the Rolls of Parliament, for their protection, so that the case might not henceforth be made a precedent in derogation of the privileges of the peerage.² Thus it was clearly hoped on all sides, a great crisis had been averted. Suffolk was got rid of, but not condemned. A victim was given over to popular resentment, but the rights of the Peers for the future were to be maintained. And though the Crown lowered itself by an avowed dereliction of duty, it was not severely censured for preferring expediency to justice.

On the following night the Duke left Westminster for Suffolk. The people of London were intensely excited, and about two thousand persons sallied out to St. Giles' hoping to intercept his departure, but they succeeded only in capturing his horse and some of his servants, whom they maltreated, as might have been expected. Even after this the excitement was scarcely diminished. Seditious manifestoes were thrown about in public and secretly posted on church doors.³ The Duke had more than a month to prepare for leaving England, and seems to have spent the time in the county of Suffolk. On Thursday the 30th of April he embarked at Ipswich for Flanders; but before going he assembled the gentlemen of the country, and, taking the sacrament, swore he was innocent of the sale of Normandy and of the other treasons imputed to him.⁴ He also wrote an interesting letter of general admonitions for the use of his young son, at that time not eight years old, whom he was not to see again for at least five years, and too probably not at all. This letter, which is known to us only by a copy preserved in the Paston correspondence (No. 91), can hardly fail to awaken sympathy with the writer. As an evidence of unaffected piety to God and sincere loyalty to his king, it will probably outweigh with most readers all the aspersions cast by Parliament on the purity of his intentions.

He embarks for Flanders:

¹ Rolls of Parl. v. 183.

² *Ib.*

³ Rymer, xi. 268.

⁴ W. Worc. 468, 469.

Two ships and a little pinnace conveyed him from the Suffolk coast southwards till he stood off Dover, when he despatched the small vessel with letters to certain persons in Calais to ascertain how he should be received if he landed there. The pinnace was intercepted by some ships which seem to have been lying in wait for his passage; and when it was ascertained where the Duke actually was, they immediately bore down upon him. Foremost among the pursuers was a ship called the *Nicholas of the Tower*, the master of which, on nearing Suffolk's vessel, sent out a boat to ask who they were. Suffolk made answer in person, and said that he was going by the King's command to Calais; on which they told him he must speak with their master. They accordingly conveyed him and two or three others in their boat to the *Nicholas*. When he came on board the master saluted him with the words, "Welcome, traitor!" and sent to know if the shipmen meant to take part with the Duke, which they at once disowned all intention of doing. The Duke was then informed that he must die, but was allowed the whole of the next day and night to confess himself and prepare for the event.¹ On Monday the 2d of May the rovers consummated their design. In sight of all his men Suffolk was drawn out of the *Nicholas* into a boat in which an axe and block were prepared. One of the crew, an Irish churl, then bade him lay down his head, telling him in cruel mockery that he should be fairly dealt with and die upon a sword. A rusty sword was brought out accordingly, and with nearly half-a-dozen strokes the fellow clumsily cut off his head. He was then stripped of his russet gown and velvet doublet. His body was brought to land and thrown upon the sands at Dover; and his men were at the same time allowed to disembark.²

is murdered
at sea.

The source from which we learn most of these particulars is a letter of William Lomner to John Paston written when the news was fresh. The writer seems to have been quite overpowered by the tragic character of the event, and declares he had so blurred the writing with tears that he fears it would not be easy to decipher. Indications of genuine human feeling like this are so rare in letters of an early date that we are in danger of attributing to the men of those days a coldness and brutality which was by no means so universal as we are apt to suppose. The truth is that when men related facts they regarded their own feelings as an impertinence having nothing whatever to do with the matter in hand.³ The art of letter writing, besides, had not

¹ English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 69.

² Paston Letters, Nos. 93, 94.

³ Even the passage above referred to would probably be an illustration of this if the original letter were recovered. AS we have reprinted it from Fenn, it stands thus: "Right worshipful Sir, I recommend me to you, and am right sorry of that I shall say, *and have so wesshe this little bill with sorrowful tears that uneathes ye shall read it.*" The words in italics would



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Introduction.

Yclosed we have our Velvet Hat^f

That covered us from many stormes brown.

The White Lion^g is laid to sleep,

Thorough the envy of th' Apè^h Clog ;

And he is bounden that our door should keep ;

That is Talbot, our good dog.

The Fisherⁱ has lost his angle hook ;

Get them again when it will be.

Our Millè-sail^k will not about,

It hath so long gone empty.

The Bear^l is bound that was so wild,

For he hath lost his Ragged Staff.

The Carte-nathe^m is spoke-less

For the counsel that he gaf.

The Lilyⁿ is both fair and green ;

The Conduit^o runneth not, I wean.

The Cornish Chough^p oft with his train

Hath made our Eagle^q blind.

The White Hart^r is put out of mind

Because he will not to them consent ;

Therefore, the Commons saith, is both true and
kind,

Both in Sussex and in Kent.

The Water Bouge^s and the Wine Botell

With the Fetterlock's^t chain bene fast.

The Wheat Ear^u will them sustain

As long as he may endure and last.

The Boar^v is far into the West.

That should us help with shield and spear.

The Falcon^w fleeth and hath no rest

Till he wit where to bigg his nest."

^f The Cardinal
Beaufort.

^g The Duke of
Norfolk who had
gone on pilgrim-
age to Rome in
1447. (Dugdale)

^h The Duke of
Suffolk.

ⁱ Lord Faucon-
berg, who was
taken prisoner
by the French at
the capture of
Pont-de-l'Arche.

^k Robert, Lord
Willoughby.

^l The Earl of
Warwick.

^m The Duke of
Buckingham.

ⁿ Thomas Daniel.
He and the two
next are courtiers

^o John Norris.

^p Daniel Trevilian

^q The King.

^r Earl of Arundel.

^s Lord Bourchier.

^t Prior of St
John's.

^u The Duke of
Exeter.

^v The Earl of
Devonshire.

^w The Duke of
York, who had
been sent into
Ireland to be out
of the way.

Almost concurrently with the news of Suffolk's murder came tidings, mentioned by William Lomner in the very same letter, of another disaster in France, more gloomy, if possible, than any that had occurred before. A force under Sir

Defeat of Sir
T. Kiriell.

Thomas Kiriell had been sent to the aid of the Duke of Somerset in Normandy after the loss of

Rouen. It disembarked at Cherbourg, and proceeding towards Caen, where the Duke had now taken up his position, besieged and took Valognes. They were now in full communication with the garrisons of Caen and Bayeux, when they were suddenly attacked at the village of Fourmigni, and routed with great

slaughter. Between three and four thousand Englishmen were left dead upon the field; Kiriell himself was taken prisoner; even the brave Matthew Gough (well known to Frenchmen of that day as Matago) found it needful to fall back with his company of 1500 men for the safeguard of Bayeux, which a month afterwards he was compelled after all to give up to the enemy.¹

Meanwhile the Parliament, which had been prorogued over Easter, was ordered to meet again at Leicester instead of Westminster. The reason given for the change of place was still, as before, the unhealthiness of the air about Westminster; and doubtless it was a very true reason. It is possible, however, that the political atmosphere of London was quite as oppressive to the Court as the physical atmosphere could be to the Parliament. During their sitting at Leicester a much needed subsidy was voted to the King, and an Act passed for the application of certain revenues to the expenses of the Royal Household in order to stop the exactions of purveyors. But they had hardly sat a month when the session was suddenly put an end to from a cause which we proceed to notice.

The murder of the Duke of Suffolk had not made things better than they had been before. The ablest of the ministers, who had hitherto guided the King's counsels, was now removed, but his place was left for a time altogether unsupplied. The men of Suffolk's party, such as Lord Say, Viscount Beaumont, and Thomas Daniel, still remained about the King, and were nearly as unpopular as he had been. The offices formerly held by Suffolk were divided among them and their particular friends.² Even if the Court had desired to call in men of greater weight, they were not then at hand. The Duke of Somerset was in France, and the Duke of York in Ireland; so that some time must have elapsed before either of them could have taken part in public affairs at home. Meanwhile it was said that the resentment of the Court for Suffolk's murder would be visited upon the county of Kent; and the county of Kent was of opinion that it suffered abuses enough already. The exactions of the King's officers, both in the way of taxation and purveyance, were felt to be extortionate and capricious. The collectors of the revenue were appointed by the knights of the shire, and these, instead of being freely chosen by the people, were but the nominees of a few great men who compelled their tenants to vote according to their pleasure. There were, besides, grave cases of injustice in which people were accused of treason, and kept in prison without trial, on the information of persons about the Court who had influence to obtain grants of their lands from the Crown.

¹ Berry's narrative in Stevenson's *Expulsion of the English from Normandy*, 336. *Wars of the Engl.*, ii. [360.] *Paston Letters*, No. 93.

² See No. 96. William Worcester says Lord Beauchamp was made treasurer, and Lord Cromwell the king's chamberlain. Lord Beauchamp's appointment is on the Patent Rolls. See *Calendarium Rot. Patent.*, p. 294.

Hence arose Jack Cade's rebellion, a movement which we must not permit ourselves to look upon as a vulgar outbreak of the rabble. Whole districts of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, rose in arms, clamouring for redress of grievances; and it is certain that the insurgents met with a large amount of sympathy, even from those who did not actually take part with them.¹ As their leader, they selected a man who called himself Mortimer, and who, besides some experience in war, was evidently possessed of no small talent for generalship. It afterwards turned out that his real name was Cade, that he was a native of Ireland, and that he had been living a year before in the household of Sir Thomas Dacre in Sussex, when he was obliged to abjure the kingdom for killing a woman who was with child. He then betook himself to France and served in the French war against England. What induced him to return does not appear, unless we may suppose, which is not unlikely, that some misdemeanour when in the service of France made the French soil fully as dangerous to him as the English. In England he seems to have assumed the name of Aylmer, and passed himself off as a physician. He married a squire's daughter, and dressed in scarlet; and when the rebellion broke out in Kent he called himself John Mortimer, a cousin of the Duke of York.

The first disturbances took place at Whitsuntide in the latter end of May. On the first of June a considerable army from the counties of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, encamped upon Blackheath. The King, who, on receiving news of the rising, had dissolved the parliament then sitting at Leicester, arrived in London on Saturday the 6th, and took up his quarters at the priory of St. John's, near Smithfield. He had with him 20,000 men under arms, but for some reason or other did not set out against the rebels till the following Thursday, the 11th. They, meanwhile, had withdrawn in the night time,² and the King and his host occupied their position on Blackheath. The royal forces, however, proceeded no further. Only a detachment, under Sir Humphrey Stafford and his brother William, was sent to pursue the insurgents. An encounter took place at Sevenoaks on the 18th,³ in which both the Staffords were killed. Their

¹ Mr. Durrant Cooper, in an interesting paper read before a meeting of the Kent Archæological Society, has examined the long list of names given on the patent roll of 28 Henry VI., and proves from them that the insurrection was by no means of a very plebeian or disorderly character. "In several hundreds," he says, "the constables duly, and as if legally, summoned the men; and many parishes, particularly Marden, Penshurst, Hawkhurst, Northfleet, Boughton-Malherbe, Smarden, and Pluckley, furnished as many men as could be found in our day fit for arms."

² According to No. 92 of our collection this retreat would appear to have been on the 22d June, but that date is certainly an error.

³ The 18th June is given as the date of Sir Humphrey Stafford's death in *Inquis. post mortem* 28 Henry VI. No. 7.

defeat spread dismay and disaffection in the royal camp. The noblemen who had accompanied the King to Blackheath could no longer keep their men together, the latter protesting that unless justice were done on certain traitors who had misled the King, they would go over to the captain of Kent. To satisfy them, Lord Say was arrested and sent to the Tower; but even with this concession the King did not dare presume upon their loyalty. He withdrew to Greenwich, and the whole of his army dispersed. The King himself returned to London by water, and made preparations during the next two or three days to remove to Kenilworth. The mayor and commons of the city went to him to beseech him to remain, offering to live and die with him, and pay half a year's cost of his household. But all was to no purpose. The King had not even the manliness of Richard II. at Smithfield, and he took his departure to Kenilworth.¹

The city, thus deserted by its sovereign, knew not for a time what to do. A party within the Common Council itself ventured to open negotiations with the insurgents, and Alderman Cooke passed to and fro under the safe conduct of the Captain.² To many it may have seemed doubtful loyalty to support the government of Lord Say and his friends against an oppressed population. On the 1st day of July the insurgents entered Southwark. On the 2d a Common Council was called by the Lord Mayor to provide means for resisting their entry into the city; but the majority voted for their free admission, and Alderman Robert Horne, who was the leading speaker against them, was committed to prison for his boldness. That same afternoon the so-called Mortimer and his followers passed over London Bridge into the city. The Captain, after passing the drawbridge, hewed the ropes asunder with his sword. His first proceedings were marked by order and discipline. He issued proclamations in the King's name against robbery and forced requisitions, but he rode through the different streets as if to place the capital under military government, and when he came to London Stone he struck it with his sword, saying "Now is Mortimer lord of this city." Finally, he gave instructions to the Lord Mayor about the order to be kept within his jurisdiction, and returned for the night to his quarters in Southwark. On the following morning, Friday the 3d, he again entered the city, when he caused Lord Say to be sent for from the Tower. No resistance seems to have been made to this demand by Lord Scales, who had the keeping of the fortress, and Lord Say was formally arraigned at the Guildhall before the Lord Mayor and other justices who were then holding sessions. But when the unfortunate nobleman claimed

The rebels
enter
London.

¹ W. Worc.—Chronicle in Lambeth MS. 306.—Chronicle in MS. Cott. Vitell. A. xvi.

² Holinshed, iii. 632.

the constitutional privilege of being tried by his peers, the pre-
tence of law was finally laid aside. A company of the insurgents
took him from the officers and hurried him off to the Standard
in Cheap, where, before he was half shriven, his head was cut off
and stuck upon a long pole. A son-in-law of his named Crow-
mer, who was then very unpopular as sheriff of Kent, met with a
similar fate. He was beheaded in Cade's presence at Mile End.
Barbarity now followed violence. The lifeless heads of Say and
Crowmer were carried through the streets, and made to kiss each
other. At the same time one Bailey was beheaded at White-
chapel on a charge of necromancy, the real cause of his death
being, as it was reported, that he was an old acquaintance of
Cade's who might have revealed something of his past history.

It may have been the expectation of inevitable exposure that
induced Cade now to relax discipline, and set an example of
spoliation himself. He entered and pillaged the house of Philip
Malpas, an alderman known as a friend of the Court, and there-
fore unpopular in the city. Next day he dined at a house in the
parish of St. Margaret Pattens, and then robbed his host. At
each of these acts of robbery the rabble were sharers of the spoil.
But, of course, such proceedings completely alienated all who
had anything to lose, and the Mayor and Aldermen began to
devise measures for expelling Cade and his followers from the
city. For this end they negotiated with Lord Scales and Mat-
thew Gough, who had then the keeping of the Tower.

For three days successively Cade had entered the city with
his men, and retired in the evening to Southwark. But on Sun-
day, the 5th of July, he for some reason remained in Southwark
all day. In the evening the mayor and citizens, with a force
under Matthew Gough, came and occupied London Bridge to
prevent the Kentish men again entering the city. The captain
called his men to arms, and attacked the citizens
With such impetuosity, that he drove them back
from the Southwark end of the bridge to the draw-
bridge in the centre. This the insurgents set on
fire, after inflicting great losses on the citizens, many of whom
were slain or drowned in defending it. Matthew Gough himself
was among those who perished. Still, the fight was obstinately
contested, the advantage being for the moment now with one
party and now with the other. It continued all through the
night till nine on the following morning; when at last the Kent-
ish men began to give way, and a truce was made for a certain
number of hours.

A favourable opportunity now presented itself for mediation.
Although the King had retired to Kenilworth he had left behind
him in London some leading members of his council, among
whom were Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of York,¹ then Lord

¹ Inaccurately called Archbishop of Canterbury by Fabyan and others.
He was not translated to Canterbury till 1452.

Chancellor, and Waynflete, bishop of Winchester. The former had taken refuge in the Tower, under the protection of Lord Scales; and he called to him the latter, who lay concealed at Holywell.¹ A conference was arranged between them and the insurgents, and bishop Waynflete² and some others crossed the river and met with Cade in St. Margaret's Church in Southwark. In the end matters were satisfactorily arranged, and the bishop produced two general pardons sent by the Chancellor, the first for the captain himself, and the second for his followers. The offer was embraced with eagerness. The men were by this time disgusted with their leader, and alarmed at the result of their own acts. By thousands they accepted the amnesty and began to return homewards. But Cade, who knew that his pardon would avail him little when the history of his past life came to be investigated, wisely made friends to himself after the fashion of the Unjust Steward. He broke open the gaols of the King's Bench and Marshalsea, and formed a new company out of the liberated prisoners.³ He then despatched to Rochester a barge laden with the goods he had taken from Malpas and others in London, and prepared to go thither himself by land. He and his new following appear to have been still in Southwark on the 8th of July, but to have passed through Dartford to Rochester on the 9th, where they continued still in arms against the King on the 10th and 11th.⁴ An attempt they made upon the castle of Queenborough was resisted by Sir Roger Chamberlain, to whom a reward was given in the following year in acknowledgment of his services.⁵ Meanwhile a proclamation was issued offering a reward of a thousand marks for Cade's apprehension, and ten marks for that of any of his followers; "for," says a contemporary chronicler, "it was openly known that his name was not Mortimer; his name was John Cade; and therefore his charter stood in no strength."⁶

The feeble remains of the rebellion were already quarrelling about the booty Cade had conveyed out of London. Their leader now took horse and escaped in disguise towards the woody country about Lewes. He was pursued by Alexander Iden, a

¹ Hall's Chronicle. Holy Well was a mineral spring to the north of London, much frequented before the Reformation, when it was stopped up as being considered a place of superstitious resort. A century afterwards it was discovered anew by a Mr. Sadler, from whom the locality is named to this day Sadlers Wells.

² According to Hall *both* prelates crossed the river; but as earlier authorities say that the Chancellor *sent* pardons under the Great Seal, it is more probable that he stayed behind. William Worcester makes no mention of the Archbishop, but says that the Bishop of Winchester and others of the King's Council spoke with the captain of Kent.

³ Hall's Chronicle.

⁴ See Act of Attainder, 29 Hen. VI. Rolls of Parl., vi. 224.

⁵ Devon's Issue Rolls, 471. Davies' English Chron. 67.

⁶ MS. Lambeth, 306.

gentleman who had just been appointed sheriff of Kent in place of the murdered Crowmer. Iden over-took him in a garden at Heathfield, and made him prisoner, not without a scuffle, in which Cade was mortally wounded, so that on being conveyed to London he died on the way. It only remained to use his carcase as a terror to evil-doers. His head was cut off and placed upon London Bridge, with the face looking towards Kent. His body was drawn through the streets of London, then quartered, and the quarters sent to four different places very widely apart,—one of them to Blackheath, one to Norwich, one to Salisbury, and one to Gloucester.¹

If the dispersion of traitors' limbs for exhibition in many places could have effectually repressed disloyalty, the whole realm ought now to have been at rest. The quarters of another Kentish rebel, who, under the name of Bluebeard, had raised disturbances in the preceding February, were at that moment undergoing public exhibition in London, Norwich, and the Cinque Ports. Those of two others were about this time despatched by the sheriffs of London to Chichester, Rochester, Portsmouth, Colchester, Stamford, Coventry, Newbury, and Winchester. The heads of all these wretches were set upon London Bridge, which in the course of this miserable year bore no less than twenty-three such horrid ornaments.²

But with all this, sedition was not put down, even in the county of Kent; for I find by the evidence of authentic records that a new rising took place in August at Feversham, under one William Parminter, who, undeterred by the fate of Cade, gathered about him 400 men, and called himself *the second* Captain of Kent. This affair is quite unnoticed by historians, and all I know of it is derived from a pardon to one of those engaged in it.³ But even Parminter was not the last "Captain of Kent" that made his appearance this year; for the very same title was immediately afterwards assumed by one John Smyth, for whose capture a reward of £40 was ordered to be paid to the Duke of Somerset on the 3d of October.⁴ And the chroniclers, though they do not mention these disturbances, tell us that such things were general over all the kingdom. In Wiltshire, at the time that Cade was at Blackheath, William Ayscough, bishop of Salisbury, had one day said mass at Edington, when he was dragged from the altar by a band of his own tenants and murdered in his alb and stole at the top

¹ W. Worc. Fabyan. Davies' English Chronicle (Camden Soc.), 67. Ellis' Letters, 2d Ser. i. 115.

² Ellis, *ib.* MS. Vitell. A. xvi.

³ See document in Appendix to this Introduction. See also Devon's Issue Rolls, p. 472. It would seem as if the entry there dated 5th August ought to have been 5th September, as Parminter does not seem to have been taken even on the last day of August.

⁴ Nicolas' Proceedings of the Privy Council, vi. 101.



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him, in the Duke's coat of arms. At four quarters of the field the herald proclaimed with an *Oyez* that Payn had been sent as a spy upon them by the greatest traitor in England or France, namely, by one Sir John Fastolf, who had diminished all the garrisons of Normandy, Le Mans, and Maine, and thereby caused the loss of all the King's inheritance beyond sea. It was added that Sir John had garrisoned his place with the old soldiers of Normandy, to oppose the commons when they came to Southwark; and, as the emissary of such a traitor, Payn was informed that he should lose his head.

He was brought to the captain's tent, where an axe and block were produced. But fortunately he had friends among the host; and Robert Poynings, Cade's swordbearer and carver, who afterwards married John Pastou's sister Elizabeth, declared plainly that there should die a hundred or two others if Payn were put to death. He was therefore allowed to live on taking an oath that he would go to Southwark and arm himself, and return to join the Commons. He accordingly carried to Fastolf a statement of their demands, advising him at the same time to put away his old soldiers and withdraw himself into the Tower. The old warrior felt that the advice was prudent; he left but two of his servants in the place, and but for Payn the insurgents would have burned it to the ground. The faithful dependant, however, had to pay the full penalty of his master's unpopularity. He seems to have entertained the rioters for some time at his own cost. Afterwards the captain took from him some valuable clothes and armour, and sent men to ransack his chamber of bonds, money, and other stores. The insurgents also robbed his house in Kent, and threatened to hang his wife and children. Finally, on the night of the battle on London Bridge, Cade thrust him into the thickest of the combat, where he continued six hours unable to extricate himself, and was dangerously wounded.

To have passed through all this was surely a severe enough trial; yet after that commotion he had further trouble to endure. He was impeached by the Bishop of Rochester, and thrown into the Marshalsea by command of the Queen. He was also threatened to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, in order that he might accuse his master Fastolf of treason; but in the end his friends succeeded in procuring for him a charter of pardon. To earn this, however, as we find from the document itself, he had to appear before the King in person, during a progress which he made in Kent the year after the rebellion, and, amid a crowd of other supplicants whose bodies were stripped naked down to their legs, humbly to beg for mercy.¹

Cade's rebellion was attributed by the Court to the machinations of the Duke of York. The disturbances that had prevailed

¹See Appendix to Introduction.

for some months previously, seem to have been partly associated with his name. When Adam de Moleyns, Bishop of Chichester, was murdered in the beginning of the year, the malcontents talked of inviting York over from Ireland to redress the wrongs of the people. The exclusion of York and other Lords of royal blood from the King's Councils was also made an express ground of complaint by the Kentish insurgents. The repetition of his name in the mouths of the disaffected was anything but grateful to the party then in power. It was construed as being in itself an evidence of his disloyalty. But the popular complaints as to his treatment were both just and reasonable, for it was a matter that concerned the public weal. The rank, wealth, and lineage of the Duke of York, his connection with the blood royal, his large possessions, and finally his well proved ability both as a general and an administrator,—all marked him out as one who ought to have been invited to take a leading part in the government of the realm; but a faction about the King had taken care to keep him as much as possible at a distance from the Court. Moreover, it had maligned and aspersed him in his absence, so that it would have been positively insecure for himself to allow the charges to accumulate. A time had clearly come when it was no longer his duty to obey the orders of others. His enemies were becoming more and more unpopular every day, and the only hope of improving the administration of affairs depended upon his taking the initiative.

The Duke of York.

He accordingly determined to avail himself of the privilege due to his rank, and lay his requests at the foot of the throne. A little before Michaelmas he came over from Ireland, collected 4000 of his retainers upon the Welsh Marches, and with them proceeded to London. His coming, although unsolicited by the King and without leave asked, was nevertheless not altogether unexpected. Attempts were made to stop his landing at Beaumaris, and bodies of men lay in wait for him in various places to interrupt his progress. For this, however, he could not have been unprepared. He knew well the hatred entertained towards him at the Court, for he had experienced pretty much the same thing years before in going to Ireland, as now in coming from it. Although he was sent to that country in the King's service, and as the King's lieutenant, there were persons commissioned to apprehend him at several points in his journey thither; and now on his return similar efforts were made to prevent his advance to London. As regards himself they were altogether fruitless; but it is not improbable that they succeeded in deterring many of his followers from joining him. William Tresham, the Speaker of the last Parliament, having received a summons from the Duke to meet him, was waylaid and murdered in Northamptonshire by a body of the retainers of Lord Grey of Ruthin. For two

Comes over from Ireland.

months the murderers went at large. The sheriff of the county durst not arrest them, and it was only on the meeting of Parliament that a special act was passed for their punishment.¹

York, however, pursued his way, in spite of all opposition, to the royal presence, and great was the dismay of those then about the King. According to an act passed against him nine years later, his approach was not unaccompanied by violence. He and his followers, it is said, came in warlike array to Westminster Palace, and "beat down the spears and walls" in the King's chamber. If so, we should infer that his access to the King was opposed even at the last moment. But the opposition was ineffectual, and the reception he met with from Henry himself did not indicate that the King at all resented his conduct.

It must have been on his first interview with Henry that he presented a petition and received a reply from him, which are printed in Holinshed as follows:—

*Richard Duke of York, his letter to King Henry.*²

Please it your Highness to conceive that since my departing out of this your realm by your commandment, and being in your service in your land of Ireland, I have been informed that divers language hath been said of me to your most excellent estate which should sound to my dishonour and reproach and charge of my person; howbeit that I have been, and ever will be, your true liegeman and servant, and if there be any man that will or dare say the contrary or charge me otherwise, I beseech your rightwiseness to call him before your high presence, and I will declare me for my discharge as a true knight ought to do. And if I do not, as I doubt not but I shall, I beseech you to punish me as the poorest man of your land. And if he be found untrue in his suggestion and information, I beseech you of your highness that he be punished after his desert in example of all other.

Please it your Excellency to know that as well before my departing out of this your realm for to go into your land of Ireland in your full noble service, as since, certain persons have lain in wait for to hearken upon me, as Sir John Talbot, knight, at the castle of Holt, Sir Thomas Stanley, knight, in Cheshire, Pulford at Chester, Elton at Worcester, Brooke at Gloucester, and Richard, groom of your chamber, at Beaumaris; which had in charge, as I am informed, to take me, and put me into your castle of Conway, and to strike off the head of Sir William Oldhall, knight, and to have put in prison Sir William Devereux, knight, and Sir Edmund Malso (Mulso), knight, without enlarging until the time that your Highness had appointed their deliverance.

Item, at such time as I was purposed for to have arrived at your haven of Beaumaris, for to have come to your noble presence to declare me your true man and subject, as my duty is, my landing was stopped and forebarred by Henry Norris, Thomas Norris, William Buckley, William Grust, and Bartholomew Bould, your officers in North Wales, that I should not land there, nor have victuals nor refreshing for me and my fellowship, as I have written to your Excellency here before; so far forth, that Henry Norris, deputy to the chamberlain of North Wales, said unto me that he had in commandment that I should in no wise have landing, refreshing, nor lodging, for men nor horse, nor other thing that might turn to my worship or ease; putting the

¹ Rolls of Parl., v. 211-12.

² The whole of this correspondence is attributed by Holinshed and Stow to the year 1452; but it appears to me clearly to belong to the year 1450, when the Duke had just returned from Ireland. See Chronicle of London, 136; though internal evidence alone will, I think, satisfy the careful student.

blame upon Sir William Say, usher of your chamber, saying and affirming that I am against your intent and [held] as a traitor, as I am informed. And, moreover, certain letters were made and delivered unto Chester, Shrewsbury, and to other places, for to let mine entry into the same.

Item, above all wrongs and injuries above said, done unto me of malice without any cause, I being in your land of Ireland in your honorable service, certain commissions were made and directed unto divers persons, which for the execution of the same sat in certain places, and the juries impanelled and charged. Unto the which juries certain persons labored instantly to have me indicted of treason, to the intent for to have undone me and mine issue, and corrupted my blood, as it is openly published. Beseeching your Majesty royal of your righteousness to do examine these matters, and thereupon to do such justice in this behalf as the cause requireth; for mine intent is fully to pursue to your Highness for the conclusion of these matters.

The Answer of King Henry to the Duke of York.

Cousin, we have seen the bill that ye took us late, and also understand the good humble obedience that ye in yourself show unto us, as well in word as in deed; wherefore our intent is the more hastily to ease you of such things as were in your said bill. Howbeit that at our more leisure we might answer you to your said bill, yet we let you wit that, for the causes aforesaid, we will declare you now our intent in these matters. Sith it is that a long time among the people hath been upon you many strange language, and in especial anon after your [qu. their?] ¹ disordinate and unlawful slaying of the bishop of Chichester, ² divers and many of the untrue shipmen and other said, in their manner, words against our estate, making menace to our own person by your sayings, that ye should be fetched with many thousands, and ye should take upon you that which ye neither ought, nor, as we doubt not, ye will not attempt; so far forth that it was said to our person by divers, and especially, we remember, of one Wasnes which had like words unto us. And also there were divers of such false people that went on and had like language in divers of our towns of our land, which by our subjects were taken and duly executed. Wherefore we sent to divers of our courts and places to hearken and to take heed if any such manner coming were, and if there had been, for to resist it; but coming into our land our true subject as ye did, our intent was not that ye, nor less of estate of our subjects, nor none of your servants should not have been letted nor warned, but in goodly wise received; howbeit that peradventure your sudden coming, without certain warning, caused our servants to do as they did, considering the causes abovesaid. And as to the indictment that ye spoke of, we think verily and hold for certain, that there was none such. And if ye may truly prove that any person was thereabouts, the matter shall be demeaned as the case shall require, so that he shall know it is to our great displeasure. Upon this, for the easing of your heart in all such matters, we declare, repute and admit you as our true and faithful subject, and as our faithful cousin.

So far, York had gained his object. The charges against him were repudiated by the highest authority in the kingdom. But it was impossible that the matter could rest there. His own interests and those of the public alike compelled him to demand a full inquiry into the machinations of his adversaries, and when admitted to freer intercourse with Henry he was able to support this request by most inconvenient arguments. Town and country

¹ I have no doubt this is a misreading of the contracted form "v^r" which was intended for "their." To accuse York of the murder of the bishop of Chichester, and apparently as a principal, not an accessory in that murder, when he was at the time in Ireland, would have been absurd. Besides, the tenor of the whole of this reply is to exculpate York of all charges.

² Misprinted Chester in Holinshed.

now listened with eagerness for news of a long looked for crisis, while, as it seemed, the old *régime* was being quietly laid aside at Westminster. “Sir, and it please,” writes one news-monger, William Wayte, the clerk of Justice Yelverton, “Sir, and it please, I was in my lord of York’s house, and I heard much thing more than my master writeth unto you of. I heard much thing in Fleet Street. But, sir, my lord was with the King, and he visaged so the matter that all the King’s household was and is afraid right sore. And my said lord hath put a bill to the King and desired much thing which is much after the Commons’ desire ; and all is upon justice, and to put all those that be indicted under arrest without surety or mainprise, and to be tried by law as law will ; insomuch that on Monday Sir William Oldhall was with the King at Westminster more than two hours, and had of the King good cheer.”¹

Sir William Oldhall, a friend and companion in arms of the Duke of York in France, had been summoned to the King’s councils more than once before.² But the last occasion was eleven years before this, at a time when it was doubtless felt to be necessary to obtain the sanction beforehand of all parties in the State to the proposed negotiations for peace at Calais. From that day till now we do not hear of him, and we may presume that he was not invited to Court. But now the old exclusiveness was defeated. Men whose patriotism and generalship, it was believed, would have averted the loss of France, were at length allowed free access to their sovereign ; while men who were believed to have culpably misdirected the King, and by their favoritism and partiality to have perverted the course of justice throughout the kingdom, stood in fear of a strict inquiry being made into their misdeeds. For such was the sole purport of the “bill” or petition presented by the Duke of York as mentioned by William Wayte, the exact text of which will be seen in No. 114. The King’s answer to this is preserved in Holinshed as follows :—

The Answer of King Henry to the Duke of York.

Cousin, as touching your bill last put up to us, we understand well that ye, of good heart, counsel and advertise us to the setting up of justice and to the speedy punishing of some persons indicted or noised, offering your service to be ready at commandment in the same ; sith it is, that for many causes moving us to have determined in our soul to stablish a sad and substantial Council, giving them more ample authority and power than ever we did before this, in the which we have appointed you to be one. But sith it is not accustomed, sure, nor expedient, to take a conclusion and conduct by advice or counsel of one person by himself, for the conservation(?) it is observed that the greatest and the best, the rich and the poor, in liberty, virtue and effect of their³ voices be equal ; we have therefore determined within ourself to send for our Chancellor of England and for other Lords of our

¹ See No. 113.

² Nicolas’ Proceedings of the Privy Council, iv. 212, v. 108.

³ Misprinted “your” in Holinshed.

Council, yea and all other, together within short time, ripely to common of these and other our great matters. In the which communication such conclusions, by the grace of God, shall be taken, as shall sound to his pleasure, the weal of us and our land, as well in these matters as in any other.

The time was favourable to men like John Paston, who had been wronged by a powerful neighbour such as Lord Molyne, and had been hitherto denied redress. There seemed also a hope of destroying, once for all, the influence of Tuddenham and Heydon in the county of Norfolk. It was proposed that on the Duke of York visiting Norfolk, which he intended to do, the mayor and aldermen of Norwich should ride to meet him, and that complaints should be preferred against the party of Tuddenham and Heydon in the name of the whole city. "And let that be done," adds William Wayte, "in the most lamentable wise; for, Sir, but if (*i.e.* unless) my Lord hear some foul tales of them, and some hideous noise and cry, by my faith they are else like to come to grace." Owing to the influence of the Duke of York, a new Parliament was summoned to meet in November, and John Paston was urged by some friends to get himself returned as a member. But it was still more strongly recommended that the Earl of Oxford should meet the Duke, apparently with the view of arranging the list of candidates; a responsibility which the Earl, for his part, seems to have declined. The Duke of Norfolk met with the Duke of York at Bury St. Edmunds, and these two Dukes settled that matter between them. The Earl of Oxford modestly contented himself with reporting their decision, and advising that their wishes should be carried into effect.¹

The Parliament met on the 6th November, and Sir William Oldhall was chosen Speaker. About the same time a commission of *Oyer and Terminer* which had been issued as early as the first of August,² began its labours at Norwich, and the Earl of Oxford stayed away from Parliament to attend it. Mr. Justice Yelverton was sent down from Westminster to sit on that tribunal along with him. There seemed hope at last of redress being had for the wrongs and violence that had prevailed in the county of Norfolk; but the course of justice was not yet an easy one. Great pressure had been put upon the King, even at the

¹ Nos. 113, 116, 119, and 120. The influence of a powerful nobleman on the elections was evidently quite a matter of course. What use York made of it, or even attempted to make of it cannot so easily be determined. Of the two candidates proposed by him for the county of Norfolk, only one was returned, the name of Sir Miles Stapleton being substituted for that of Sir William Chamberlain (see p. 161, note). It appears from two of the above cited letters that Stapleton was a favourite candidate with the Pastons and their friends, and that he was urged to wait on the Duke of York on his coming to Norwich.

² See No. 92.

last moment, that Yelverton should be countermanded, and Lord Molynes had spoken of his own dispute with Paston in the King's presence, in a manner that made the friends of the latter wish he had been then at Westminster to see after his own interests. The Lords of the Council, however, determined that Yelverton should keep his day for going into Norfolk. When he arrived there, he had occasion to report that there were many persons ill disposed towards Tuddenham and Heydon, but that it was most important they should be encouraged by a good sheriff and under-sheriff being appointed, else there would be a total miscarriage of justice. For the annual election of sheriffs had been delayed this year, apparently owing to the state of parties. Until the Duke of York arrived in London for the Parliament, his friends would not allow them to be nominated.

The truth is, the Duke of York had not yet succeeded in establishing the government upon anything like a firm or satisfactory basis. In times like our own there is little difficulty in determining the responsibility of ministers; but in the rough judgment of the "Commons" of those days an error in policy was nothing short of treason. Who ever took upon him to guide the King's counsels knew very well the danger of the task; and York (if I understand his character aright) was anxious throughout his whole career never to assume more authority than he was distinctly warranted in doing. He could not but remember that his father had suffered death for conspiring to depose Henry V., and that his own high birth and descent from Edward III. caused his acts to be all the more jealously watched by those who sought to estrange him from his sovereign. He therefore made it by no means his aim to establish for himself a marked ascendancy. He rather sought to show his moderation. I find, indeed, that at this particular period he not only removed two members of the Council, Lord Dudley and the Abbot of St. Peter's at Gloucester, but sent them prisoners to his own castle of Ludlow.² This, however, he could hardly have done without permission from the King, as it was the express object of his petition above referred to, that persons accused of misconducting themselves in high places should be committed for trial; and judging from the terms of the King's answer, I should say that it must have been done by the authority of the new Council, which Henry therein declared it to be his intention to constitute.

This new Council was probably what we should call in these days a coalition ministry. York's great rival, the Duke of Somerset, had come over from Normandy a little before York himself came over from Ireland. On the 11th of September, while the Cardinal Kemp,

¹ Stow's Chronicle, p. 392.



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for pacifying the King's subjects at home, and punishing the disturbances which had lately been so frequent. But practically nothing was done about any of these matters before Christmas. An act was passed for the more speedy levying of a subsidy granted in the last Parliament, and also an act of attainder against the murderers of William Tresham. The Lord Chancellor then, in the King's name and in his presence, prorogued the Parliament till the 20th of January, declaring that the matters touching the defence of the kingdom were too great and difficult to be adequately discussed at that time. The same excuse, however, was again used for further prorogations until the 5th of May; and meanwhile fears began to be entertained in the country that all that had been done hitherto for a more impartial administration of justice was about to be upset. At a county court held at Norwich on Childermas day (the 28th December), a regular uproar took place in consequence of a rumour that the under-sheriff had a writ to make a new election. It was also looked upon as a bad sign by those who knew the circumstances, that John Paston, who had hastened up to London on hearing that Lord Molyne had spoken of him before the King in Council, found himself unable to return to Norwich before Christmas.¹

All these matters seemed to show that the good beginning already made was not likely to be maintained. Yet a good beginning certainly had been effected. Notwithstanding the delay that had occurred in the appointment of sheriffs, the first appearance of John Jermyn, the new sheriff, in Norfolk, had been in every way encouraging. He had come, indeed, rather unexpectedly at the last; but on holding sessions along with Yelverton, both he and Yelverton distinctly intimated a message from the King, which must have been delivered to them both by Henry himself. The King, they said, had been greatly displeased to hear of a "riotous fellowship" in the county of Norfolk, which was maintained at the instigation of one or two evil-disposed persons. The King had expressly mentioned Sir Thomas Tuddenham and Heydon. He desired a full investigation of the complaints against those who had hitherto borne the rule in the county, and the sheriff urged every one who had a grievance not to be afraid to make it known.²

Such was the language held by the King's own officers, speaking in his name, in December 1450. But unfortunately during the whole course of the succeeding year the anticipations which such language was calculated to encourage were continually disappointed. Even at the very opening of the year we hear complaints that the new sheriff, Jermyn, had not shown himself so impartial as he had promised to be, but was endeavouring to suppress complaints against certain per-

A new
Sheriff.

A. D. 1451.

¹ Nos. 134, 135. Rolls of Parliament, v. 210-4.

² No. 134.

sons at the coming sessions at Lynn. From London, too, men wrote in a manner that was anything but encouraging. The government was getting paralysed alike by debt and by indecision. "As for tidings here," writes John Bocking, "I certify you that all is nought, or will be nought. The King borroweth his expenses for Christmas. The King of Arragon, the Duke of Milan, the Duke of Austria, the Duke of Burgundy, would be assistant to us to make a conquest, and nothing is answered nor agreed in manner save abiding the great deliberation that at the last shall spill all together." Chief Justice Fortescue had been for a week expecting every night to be assaulted, probably for no other reason than his high impartiality. The only symptom of vigour at headquarters was the despatch of a commission of *oyer and terminer* into Kent, for the trial of those who had raised disturbances during the preceding summer. As for the county of Norfolk, the only hope lay in a strong clamour being raised against oppressors. Sir John Fastolf showed himself anxious about the prosecution of certain indictments against Heydon, and his servant Bocking urged that strong representations should be made to Lord Scales against showing any favour to that unpopular lawyer.¹

By and by it was seen what good reason the friends of justice had for their apprehensions. It had been arranged that Tuddenham and Heydon should be indicted at a sitting of the commission of *oyer and terminer* at Norwich in the ensuing spring. Rumours, however, began to prevail in Norwich that they who had promoted this commission in the county of Norfolk,—the Earl of Oxford and Justice Yelverton, as well as John Paston and John Damme,—were to be indicted in Kent by way of revenge. John Damme had before this caused Heydon to be indicted of treason for taking down one of those hideous memorials of a savage justice—the quarter of a man exposed in public. The man was doubtless a political victim belonging to Heydon's own party; but Heydon was now looking to recover his influence, and he contrived to get the charge of treason retorted against Damme. Symptoms were observed in Norwich that the unpopular party were becoming bolder again. "Heydon's men," wrote James Gloys to John Paston, "brought his own horse and his saddle through Aylesham on Monday, and they came in at the Bishop's Gates at Norwich, and came over Tombland and into the Abbey; and sithen they said they should go to London for Heydon. Item, some say that Heydon should be made a knight, and much other language there is which causeth men to be afear'd, weaning that he should have a rule again."²

Full well might Sir John Fastolf and others apprehend that if Heydon or Tuddenham appeared in answer to the indictment it

¹ Nos. 138, 140—142.

² Nos. 147 and 148.

would be with such a following at his back as would overawe the court. No appearance was put in for them at all at several of the sessions of *oyer and terminer*. One sitting was held at Norwich on the 2d of March. Another was held just after Easter on the 29th of April, and Justice Prisot, not the most impartial of judges, was sent down to Norwich to hold it. Strong complaints were put in against Tuddenham and Heydon on the part of the city of Norwich, and also by the town of Swaffham, by Sir John Fastolf, Sir Harry Inglos, John Paston, and many others; but, as Fastolf's chaplain afterwards informed his master, "the judges, by their wilfulness, might not find in their heart to give not so much as a beck nor a twinkling of their eye toward, but took it to derision, God reform such partiality!" The one-sidedness of Prisot, indeed, was such as to bring down upon him a rebuke from his colleague Yelverton. "Ah, Sir Mayor and your brethren," said the former, "as to the process of *your* complaints we will put them in continuance, but in all other we will proceed." Yelverton felt bound to protest against such unfairness. Yet even this was not the worst; for Prisot, seeing that,

with all he could do, the result of the proceedings at Norwich would scarcely be satisfactory to Tuddenham and Heydon, took it upon him, apparently by his own authority, to remove them to Walsingham, where they had most supporters. And there accordingly another session was opened on Tuesday the 4th of May.¹

It was, according to Sir Thomas Howys, "the most partial place of all the shire." All the friends and allies of Tuddenham and Heydon, knights and squires, and gentlemen who had always been devoted to their pleasure, received due warning to attend. A body of 400 horse also accompanied the accused, and not one of the numerous complainants ventured to open his mouth except John Paston. Even he had received a friendly message only two days before that he had better consider well whether it was advisable to come himself, as there was "great press of people and few friends;" and, moreover, the sheriff was "not so whole" as he had been. What this expression meant required but little explanation. As Sheriff of Norfolk, John Jermyn was willing to do Paston all the service in his power, but simple justice he did not dare to do.²

He had but too good an excuse for his timidity. Of John Paston's complaint against Tuddenham and Heydon we hear no more; we can easily imagine what became of it. But we know precisely what became of an action brought by Paston at this sessions against his old adversary Lord Molyne, for his forcible expulsion from Gresham in the preceding year. John Paston, to be sure, was now peaceably reinstated in the possession of

John Paston
and Lord
Molyne.

¹ Nos. 92, 151, 152, 158.

² Nos 155, 158.

that manor;¹ but he had the boldness to conceive that undermining his wife's chamber, turning her forcibly out of doors, and then pillaging the whole mansion, were acts for which he might fairly expect redress against both Lord Molyne and his agents. He had accordingly procured two indictments to be framed, the first against his Lordship, and the second against his men. But before the case came on at Walsingham, Sheriff Jermyn gave notice to Paston's friends that he had received a distinct injunction from the King to make up a panel to acquit Lord Molyne.² Royal letters of such a tenor do not seem to have been at all incompatible with the usages of Henry VI.'s reign. John Paston himself said the document was one that could be procured for six and eightpence.

There was no hope therefore of making Lord Molyne himself responsible for the attack on Gresham. The only question was whether the men who had done his bidding could not be made to suffer for it. After the acquittal of their master, John Osbern reports a remarkable conversation that he had with Sheriff Jermyn in which he did his best to induce him to accept a bribe in Paston's interest. The gift had been left with the under sheriff for his acceptance. Jermyn declined to take it until he had seen Paston himself, but Osbern was fully under the impression that he would be glad to have it. Osbern, however, appealed also to other arguments. "I remembered him," he tells Paston, "of his promises made before to you at London, when he took his oath and charge, and that ye were with him when he took his oath and other divers times; and for those promises made by him to you at that time, and other times at the *oyer and terminer* at Lynn, ye proposed you by the trust that ye have in him to attempt and rear actions that should be to the avail of him and of his office." The prospect of Paston being valuable to him as a litigant had its weight with the sheriff, and he promised to do him all the good in his power except in the action against Lord Molyne's men; for not only Lord Molyne himself but the Duke of Norfolk had written to him to show them favour, and if they were not acquitted he expected to incur both their displeasure and the King's. In vain did Osbern urge that Paston would find sufficient surety to save the sheriff harmless. Jermyn said he could take no surety over £100, and Lord Molyne was a great Lord who could do him more injury than that.³

The diplomacy on either side seems to have been conducted with considerable *finesse*. Jermyn declared that he had been offered twenty nobles at Walsingham in behalf of the Lord Molyne, but that he had never received a penny either from him or from any of Paston's adversaries. Osbern then offered if he would promise to be sincere towards Paston, that the latter would give him a sum in hand, as much as he could desire, or would

¹ No. 146.² No. 155.³ No. 159.

place it in the hands of a middle man whom Jermyn could trust. In the end, however, he was obliged to be satisfied with Jermyn's assuring him that if he found it lay within his power to do anything for Paston, he would take his money with good will. The negotiator's impression was that he was fully pledged to get Lord Molyne's men acquitted, but that in all other actions he would be found favourable to Paston.¹

About this time Parliament, which had now been prorogued for nearly five months, met again at Westminster. Parliament. The King's necessities were doubtless the all-sufficient cause why its meeting could no longer be dispensed with. The crown was already in debt to the sum of £372,000, and was daily becoming more so. The expenses of the royal household amounted to £24,000 a year, while the yearly revenue out of which they should have been paid was only £5000. Nor was it by any means advisable to remedy the matter by imposing fresh taxation; for the people were so impoverished by the payment of subsidies, the exactions of the King's purveyors, and the general maladministration of justice, that the experiment could hardly have been made with safety. An act of resumption was the only expedient by which it seemed possible to meet the difficulty; and all grants of crown lands made to any persons since the first day of the reign were accordingly recalled by statute.² In return for this the Commons preferred a petition to the King that he would forever remove from his presence and counsels a number of persons to whom they alleged it was owing both that his possessions had been diminished, and that the laws had not been carried into execution. Foremost on the list was the Duke of Somerset; and with him were named Alice, widow of the late Duke of Suffolk, William Booth, Bishop of Chester (that is to say, of Coventry and Lichfield³), Lord Dudley, Thomas Daniel, and twenty-five others. It was petitioned that they should never again be permitted to come within twelve miles of the royal presence, on pain of forfeiture of lands and goods. But the days had not yet come when a petition against Ministers by the Commons was tantamount to their dismissal. The King indeed felt it best on this occasion to yield somewhat; but he yielded on no principle whatever. He declared in reply that he himself saw no cause for their removal; but he was content to dismiss the most of them for a year, during which period accusations brought against any of them might be inquired into. Those who were Peers of the realm, however, he refused to send away; and he insisted in retaining the services of one or two others who had been accustomed continually to wait upon him.⁴

Parliament seems shortly after this to have been dissolved, and no parliament met again till two years later. Of course the in-

¹ *ib.*

² Rolls of Parl., v. 217.

³ The modern See of Chester was separated from this diocese in the time of Henry VIII.

⁴ Rolls of Parl., v. 216.

fluence of Somerset increased when both Lords and Commons were dismissed into the country ; and we perceive that by the end of the year Thomas Daniel, one of the old, unpopular adherents of the Duke of Suffolk, who, nevertheless, had not always been acceptable to the Court, was expecting to recover favour by means of Somerset.¹ He is represented as having cultivated the Duke's friendship for a quarter of a year ; so that we may conclude Somerset's ascendancy was at this time unmis- takeable. With what degree of discretion he made use of it there is little evidence to show. One advantage that Daniel hoped to gain through his influence was the friendship of Tuddenham and Heydon, by whose means, and by the good offices of Lord Scales, he expected to be allowed to re-enter the manor of Bradeston, of which he had already dispossessed one Osbert Munford last year, but had subsequently been dispossessed himself. The value of a disputed title in any part of England probably depended very much upon who was supreme at Court.

But high as Somerset stood in the King's favour, the course of events did not tend to make him more acceptable to the people. The loss of Normandy, in the preceding year, was itself a thing not likely to be readily forgotten ; but the misfortunes of the English arms did not end with the loss of Normandy. So great, indeed, was the despondency occasioned by that event that, in the opinion of French writers, Calais itself would not have been able to hold out if the French had immediately proceeded to at- tack it. But Charles was afraid he might have been deserted by the Duke of Burgundy, whose interests would hardly have been promoted by the French king strengthening himself in that quar- ter, and he declined to attempt it.² Relieved, however, of the necessity of maintaining a large force in Normandy, he found new occupation for his troops in completing the conquest of Guienne, of which a beginning had already been made by the capture of Cognac and of some places near Bayonne and the Pyrenees. In November 1450 the French laid siege to Bourg and Blaye on the Garonne, both which places capitulated in the spring of the following year. They were the keys of the more important city of Bordeaux, which, now perceiving that there was no hope of succour from England, was obliged to fol- low their example. This was in June 1451. Two months after- wards Bayonne, too, was obliged to capitulate ; and with it the whole of Gascony and Guienne Loss of Gascony and Guienne. was as completely lost to the English as Normandy had been in the preceding year. Calais was now all that re- mained to them of their conquests and possessions in France ;

¹ No. 172. Daniel had been out of favour at one time during Suffolk's ascendancy. See No. 56.

² Basin, i. 247-8.

nor were they without considerable apprehension that they might be expelled from Calais too.

These disasters, which were but the natural sequel to the loss of Normandy, only served to make more bitter the reflection how the government of that duchy had been taken out of the able hands of the Duke of York and given to the incompetent Somerset. The jealousy with which the latter regarded his rival was heightened by the consciousness of his own unpopularity. The Duke of York was living in seclusion at his castle of Ludlow, but Somerset seems to have regarded him with daily increasing apprehension. He was continually instilling into the King distrust of York's fidelity as a subject; until at last the latter thought it expedient to make a public declaration of his loyalty. He accordingly issued the following manifesto:—

York's manifesto.

Forasmuch as I, Richard Duke of York, am informed that the King, my sovereign lord, is my heavy lord, greatly displeased with me, and hath me in distrust by sinister information of mine enemies, adversaries, and evil-willers, where[as] God knoweth, from whom nothing is hid, I am, and have been, and ever will be, his true liege-man, and so have I before this, divers times, as well by mouth as by writing, notified and declared to my said sovereign lord: And for that this notice so comen unto me of the displeasure of my said Sovereign Lord is to me so grievous, I have prayed the reverend father in God, the bishop of Hereford, and my cousin the Earl of Shrewsbury, to come hither and hear my declaration in this matter; wherein I have said to them that I am true liege-man to the King my sovereign lord, ever have been, and shall be to my dying day. And to the very proof that it is so, I offer myself to swear that on the blessed Sacrament, and receive it, the which I hope shall be my salvation at the day of doom. And so for my special comfort and consolation I have prayed the said lords to report and declare unto the King's highness my said offer; and to the end and intent that I will be ready to do the same oath in presence of two or three lords, such as shall please the King's highness to send hither to accept it. In witness whereof I have signed this schedule with my sign manual, and set thereunto my signet of arms. Written in my castle of Ludlow, the 9th of January, the 30th year of the reign of my sovereign lord, King Henry the Sixth.¹

He appears to have waited nearly a month to learn the effect of this remonstrance. Meanwhile reports came that the French were advancing to lay siege to Calais. At such a juncture it was peculiarly intolerable that the administration of affairs should still be entrusted to hands so notoriously incompetent as those of Somerset; and York, as being the only man who could stir in such a matter with effect, now made up his mind to take active steps for Somerset's removal. Nothing, however, could be done for such an object without a considerable force of armed men to support him. York accordingly issued the following address to the burgesses of Shrewsbury:—

Right worshipful friends, I recommend me unto you; and I suppose it is well known unto you, as well by experience as by common language said and reported throughout all Christendom, what laud, what worship, honour and manhood, was ascribed of all nations unto the people of this realm whilst the

¹ Stow's Chronicle, p. 393.



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sence.¹ But the Duke, who had no desire to engage the King's forces, turned aside and hoped to reach London unmolested. He sent a herald before him to desire liberty for himself and his allies to enter the city ; but strict injunctions to the contrary had been left by the King, and his request was refused. Disappointed in this quarter, it was natural that he should look for greater sympathy in Kent, where, doubtless, smouldered still the remains of past disaffection. He accordingly crossed the Thames at Kingston Bridge, and proceeded with his host to Dartford. The King's army followed and pitched their camp upon Blackheath. And so, on the 1st of March 1452, there lay, within eight miles of each other, two formidable hosts, which any further movement must apparently bring into collision.

To judge from one contemporary account,² the Duke's position must have been a strong one. He had a body of ordnance in the field, with no less than 3000 gunners. He himself had 8000 men in the centre of his position ; while the Earl of Devonshire lay to the south with another detachment of 6000, and Lord Cobham by the river side commanded an equal force. Seven ships lay on the water filled with the baggage of the troops. But the strength of the King's army appears to have largely exceeded these numbers ;³ and even if the Duke had wished to provoke a conflict, it was evidently more prudent to remain simply on the defensive. He accordingly left the responsibility of further action to those of the King's party.

In this crisis the Lords who were with the King took counsel together, and determined, if possible, to labour for a compromise.⁴ An embassy was appointed to go to the Duke of York, and hear what he had to say. It consisted of the wise and good prelate Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, and Bourchier, Bishop of Ely (afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury), the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, Lord Beauchamp, Lord Sudeley, and some others. The answer made by York was, that no ill was intended against either the King or any of his Council ; that the Duke and his followers were lovers of the common weal ; but that it was their intention to remove from the King certain evil disposed persons, through whose means the common people had been grievously oppressed. Of these the Duke of Somerset was declared to be the chief ; and indeed, his unpopularity was such that even those on the King's side

¹ Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 116. According to Fabyan, the King and Somerset set out in the 16th of February. The summons to Lord Cobham, though dated Westminster, was issued on the 17th.

² Cottonian Roll, ii. 23. See Appendix to this Introduction.

³ Rolls of Parl. v. 346. The statement in the Act of Attainder passed against the Duke of York seven years afterwards, that he was "of no power to withstand" the King on this occasion, is liable to suspicion, but it is confirmed by the testimony of Whethamstede, 348.

⁴ "The Lords, both spiritual and temporal, took the matter in hand." MS. Chronicle, Lambeth, 306. So also Chronicle of London, 137.

would seem to have seconded the Duke of York's demand. After a consultation the King consented that Somerset should be committed to custody until he should make answer to such charges as York would bring against him.¹

Nothing more seemed necessary to avert civil war. On a simple pledge given by the King that Somerset should be placed in confinement, and afterwards put on his trial, the Duke of York at once broke up his camp and ordered his men home. He then repaired himself to the King's tent to express his loyalty. But no sooner had he arrived there than he found he was deceived. The King, in violation of his promise, kept the Duke of Somerset attending upon him as his chief adviser, and York was virtually a prisoner. He was sent on to London in advance of the King, in a kind of honourable custody, attended by two bishops, who conducted him to his own residence ; but what to do with him when he got there was a difficulty. His enemies feared to send him to the Tower. There were 10,000 men yet remaining in the Welsh Marches, who, on such a rumour, would have come up to London ; and it was not very long before they were reported to be all under arms, and actually on the march, with the Duke's young son at their head, Edward, Earl of March, boy as he was, not yet quite ten years old.²

York had distinctly accused the Duke of Somerset as a traitor. He was now in Somerset's power, but the latter did not dare to retort the charge upon him. Yet if Somerset was not a traitor, the course pursued by York was utterly indefensible. He had actually taken up arms against the Crown, to remove by force the minister in whom the King had placed his confidence. But unfortunately Somerset knew too well that if he made this a ground of accusation against his rival, recrimination would be sure to follow, and he himself would incur a weight of public odium which might possibly lead to the same result as in the case of Suffolk. The wisest and most politic course for himself was not to impeach the Duke of York, but, if possible, to shut his mouth, and let him go free. No accusation, therefore, was drawn up. An oath of allegiance, binding him over to keep the peace in time coming, was all that was required. It was on the 1st of March that York had repaired to the King's tent and found himself in his rival's power. On the 10th he was brought to St. Paul's, and there publicly made oath as follows :—

York is entrapped,

and compelled to swear allegiance.

I, Richard, Duke of York, confess and beknow that I am and ought to be humble subject and liegeman to you, my sovereign Lord, King Henry the Sixth, and owe therefore to bear you faith and truth as to my sovereign lord and shall do all the days unto my life's end ; and shall not at any time will or assent, that anything be attempted or done against your noble person, but

: ¹ Fabyan.

² Fabyan, and the MS. Chronicles, Vitell. A. xvi., and Lambeth, 306.

wheresoever I shall have knowledge of any such thing imagined or purposed I shall, with all the speed and diligence possible to me, make that your Highness shall have knowledge thereof, and even do all that shall be possible to me to the withstanding thereof, to the utterest of my life. I shall not in no wise any thing take upon me against your royal estate or the obeisance that is due thereto, nor suffer any other man to do, as far forth as it shall lie in my power to let it; and also I shall come at your commandment, whensoever I shall be called by the same, in humble and obeisant wise, but if [*i.e.* unless] I be letted by any sickness or impotency of my person or by such other causes as shall be thought reasonable to you, my sovereign lord. I shall never hereafter take upon me to gather any routs, or make any assembly of your people, without your commandment or licence, or in my lawful defence. In the interpretation of which my lawful defence, and declaration thereof, I shall report me at all times to your Highness, and, if the case require, unto my peers; nor anything attempt by way of faité against any of your subjects, of what estate, degree, or condition that they be. But whensoever I find myself wronged or aggrieved, I shall sue humbly for remedy to your Highness, and proceed after the course of your laws, and in none other wise, saving in mine own lawful defence in manner above said; and shall in all things abovesaid and other have me unto your Highness as an humble and true subject ought to have him to his Sovereign Lord.

All these things above said I promise truly to observe and keep, by the Holy Evangelists contained in this book that I lay my hand upon, and by the Holy Cross that I here touch, and by the blessed Sacrament of our Lord's body that I shall now with His mercy receive. And over this I agree me and will that if I any time hereafter, as with the grace of our Lord I never shall, anything attempt by way of feat or otherwise against your royal majesty and obeisance that I owe thereto, or anything I take upon me otherwise than is above expressed, I from that time forth be unabled, [held and taken as an untrue and openly forsworn man, and unabled]¹ to all manner of worship, estate and degree, be it such as I now occupy, or any other that might grow unto me in any wise.

And this I here have promised and sworn proceedeth of mine own desire and free voluntee and by no constraining or coercion. In witness of all the which things above written I, Richard duke of York above named, subscribe me with mine own hand and seal, with this mine own seal, &c.²

With this guarantee for his future loyalty, the Duke was permitted to return into his own country.

Somerset might well be pleased that the matter should be settled thus; for if the charges York brought, or at least was prepared to have brought against him were only one-half true (and some of them certainly were true altogether), his administration of the Duchy of Normandy was a mixture of indiscretion and dishonesty, at which the nation had good right to be indignant. We have already seen how in concert with the Duke of Suffolk he had authorized a perfidious breach of the truce with France in the capture of Fougères. We have also seen how ill prepared he was for the consequences; how he discovered too late the weakness of all the garrisons; how the French King recovered town after town, and the English were finally expelled

from Normandy in less than a year and a half after the unjustifiable outrage. But if any credit may be given to the further charges brought against him by the Duke of York,—charges which agree only too well with the character attributed to him by the most impar-

¹ These words are not in the copy in the Rolls of Parliament, but they occur in that given in Holinshed's Chronicle.

² Rolls of Parl. v. 346

tial authorities,¹ Somerset had himself to blame in great measure for the defenceless condition of the country committed to his protection. On his first going into Normandy he had jobbed the offices under his control. For the sake of private emolument he had removed a number of trusty and experienced captains, filling their places with creatures of his own, or men who had paid *douceurs* for their posts; and only on receipt of still greater bribes would he consent to restore any of those that had been put out. He had, however, actually reduced many garrisons, while he had taxed the inhabitants of the Duchy beyond all reason for the means of defence. His administration of justice, too, had been such as to excite the most vehement dissatisfaction, and had made the whole native population impatient of English government. He had, moreover, pocketed the compensation given by France to the dispossessed Englishmen of Anjou and Maine. Worse still, after all his maladministration and ill success, he had prevailed on the King to make him captain of Calais, which it seemed as if he was on the point of losing also in as careless and culpable a manner as he had already lost Normandy.

Here, however, is the full text of the accusation,² as prepared by York himself:—

This articles and pointes folowyng yeve, shewe and ministre I, Richard Duc of York youre true liegman and servaunt unto youre highnesse, summarily purposyng and declaryng thaym ayeinst Edmond Duc of Somerset for the grete welfare and the comen availle and interesse of youre mageste Roiall and of this youre noble roialme, aswell to bryng to knowlege and understanding the meanes and causes of the grete myscheves and inconveniencz which late befel unto this youre said noble roialme, as in losse of youre lyvelode by yonde thee see and otherwyse in ponishment of deservitours and excuse of innocencie, and also in puttyng aside and eschuyng of the grete and importable hurte and prejudice which ben like withouten that purviuaunce be had of remedie to succede in shorte tyme. To the which articles and every of theym I, the seid Duc of York, desire of youre egall and indifferent rightwesnesse that the seid Edmond answer by his feith and trowth the sacrament of his othe thereuppon made, duly and truly as lawe and conscience requireth; I also desiryng for the veraly examinacion and knowlech of trowth theruppon to be had, and for the grete and singuler weel of this youre said Roialme to be admytted to the prefe, and to yeve evidence in the said articles that folowyn in such as he woll denye, after the equite and consideracion of lawe in such case, and processe had, and also of good feith and conscience justice thereafter to be don and executid.

¹ The character given of the Duke of Somerset by the contemporary historian Basin, is on the whole favourable. and may be supposed to be impartial. He describes him as handsome in person, gentle and urbane in manner, and well inclined towards justice; but all these graces were marred by an insatiable avarice which would not let him rest content with the immense wealth he had inherited from Cardinal Beaufort; and by continually coveting the riches of others he brought ruin upon himself. Basin, i. 193.

² Now printed for the first time from the original in the Cottonian MS., Vesp. C. xiv. f. 40. The first paragraph of this document is quoted by Stowe in his Chronicle, p. 397, and the charges are referred by him to the thirty-third year of the King's reign, *i.e.*, the latter part of A.D. 1454, which is certainly erroneous. The date, however, which he intended was the latter part of the year 1453, when the Duke of Somerset was arrested and sent to the Tower; but this date also is quite impossible.

First, I article and declare that the seid Edmond Duc of Somersett hath be meane, consenter, occasioner, cause and mediatour, both by his inwarde knowlege and expresse consent, by counseill, and worchyng thurgh diverse subtile weyes and meanes, as by violent presumption and otherwyse is knowen and understonde, and furthermore also by his inordinate negligence, lacchesse and wilfull rechelessnes and insaciate covetyse, of the losse and amission of youre Duchie of Normandie, rejoissed and possessed at this tyme; for the defence of his negligent kepyng and otherwyse before reherced, by youre enemyes. Which may clerly by understonde by the meanes and causes that folowen; of the which and for such one he is openly called, reputed and had by the comen fame and voice. Of the which oon cause is that the seid Duc of Somersett, at his first comyng into Normandie, chaunged and putt out of their occupacion and youre service, withoute skylle, cause or reason, all the true and feithfull officers, for the most partie, of all Normandie, and put in such as hym liked for his owne singuler availe and covetyse, as it apperith well, inasmoch as ther coude noon of them that were so put out be restored agayn withoute grete giftes and rewardes, which was full unfittyng. And furthermore did put in prison many diverse and notable persones of youre seid Duchie, withoute cause, justice or any ordinarie processe made agayn them or due examiacion, and by that meane did grete extorcions and rered unlawfully grete sommes undre colour of amendes and composicions, wherby the cuntre for such wrong and faute of justice grucched sore agayn hym and his governaunce and caused the people to arise in their conseytes and to take grete displeasir; and that was a grete occasion and cause of the losse of youre said Duchie of Normandie.

Item, the seid Edmond Duc of Somerset was cause and consenter voluntarie of the brekyng of the trues and pais for a tyme had betwene youre highnes and youre uncle of Fraunce, which was well understood at the taking of Foglers in Britaigne by Sir Fraunceys Larragonneys thurgh his avise consentement and counseile; and also duryng the said trues made more strong and fortified diverse places disopered by youre commaundement, as Morteyn and Seint Jakes de Beveron, ageyn the appointement of the seid trues; uppon which youre uncle did sommon hym to make a-seeth [*satisfaction*] and for to disimpaire the seid fortifyng and wrong don agayn the trues, and in asmoch as non aseeth by hym was don, nor [he] lefte not of his seid fortifyng, caused youre seid uncle to have, as he pretende, cause to breke the said trues on his partie; which brekyng of trues was oon of the verray cause of losse of Normandie. And thus he brake the seide trues ayeinst his promysse and true feith made to youre highnes, which was to kepe and entretyn the said trues, and so did ayen the lawe in this behalve and youre statutes of the rolame.

Item, he put away and diminissed diverse garnisons and other strong places of youre seid Duchie of Normandie of soudiours and of men of werre which were accustomed to abide uppon the suerte and saufgarde of the same, howe be hit he had verrayly knowlege that youre ennmyes were full determi[ned] for to ley seges to put the same places in their subjeccion, not payng duely nor contentyng such soudiours as abode uppon the defences of the same places; he reryng at that tyme in youre said Duchie as grete tailles and aides as were in long tyme before duryng the werre; and that caused the soudiours in diverse strong places for poverté, not havyng hors nor harneys, and also the nombre diminissed to be of non poiaire to make resistence, and that was a grete cause of the losse of Normandie. The losse of which caused the perdicion of Gascoigne and Guyen.

Item, the Duc of Somersett wold yeve noo counseile, aide ne helpe unto the capitans of diverse stronge places and garnisons which at that tyme, constreyned by nede, desired of hym provision and relief for abillement of werre to resiste the malice of their enemyes daily makyng fressh feetes of werre uppon them; he gevyng them noone aide nor help, but lete them contynue in their malice, howe be it that diverse places were lost before; and what tyme that the said places were beseged and sent for help and socour unto hym he wold graunte no maner of comforte, but suffred hem appoint and compounde with here enemyes as well as they myght for their ease and suertee, makyng no maner of provision for the kepyng of the places which remayned; insomuch that he made non ordin-

auce nor provision for the toun, castell, and places of Rouen, neither of men, stuffe ne vitaille, the knowlage that he had of youre enemyes comyng thereunto notwithstanding, yevyng licence unto the Archiebisshopp, chanons and burgeys of the same toun for to goo or sende to compounde with youre enemyes for the deliveraunce of the same, notwithstanding that afore that tyme the enemyes which were entred in to the same toun were worshiply put oute and betyn of by the Erle of Shrowesbury and other notable persones, and withdrawen to Pontlarge and Loviers, and at that tyme, they beyng so withdrawen, licenced to appointe as it is aforeseid. Which was plainly ayeinst his promys, feith and liegeaunce that he of right oweth unto you, and ayeinst the tenure of the endentures made betwix youre highnes and hym of the charge of that londe, the which licence, and it had not ben don, the seid toun had abiden undre youre obeisaunce, the losse of whiche was a Verray ope¹ cause of the perdition of Normandie.

Item, the said Duc of Somersett, for to colour his defautes and wilfull purp[os]s in the premisses, entred in to youre palaice of Rouen not vitailed nor fo[r]missed¹ for defence, where he myght savely absentid hym, and yeldid up the said Palaice and Castell, and moreover other good tounes, castels and [fortresses],¹ as Caudebek, and other diverse, as Tancarville, Moustervillers, Arques, key of all, Caulx not beseged nor in perell of losse at that tyme, for the enlargisshyn[g] and deliveraunce of hym, his childre and goodes; which myght not, nor hath not, be done nor seen by lawe resoun or cronikel, or by cours or a any lestenant, all though that he had be prisoner: Witnesse the Duc of Orliance, the Duc of Burbon, the Duc of Alansum and other for whom was none delyvered, al though they had many strong places of their owen. And furthermore fore the suertee of delyveraunce of tounes, castell and forteresses which were wel furnyssed for to have resisted youre enemyes, and to have biden within youre obeisaunce, delyvered in ostage the Erle of Shrowesbury, that tyme Marescall of Frauce, and other notable persones which shuld have defended youre lande there ayens the malice of youre enemyes; and in likewise apointed to delyver Honflu, which was in noo gret perell, ne had be that it was retardyd by youre lettres and so by that fraudelent and inordinat meane all was lost and yoldon up as hereafter, by more evident declaracions it shalbe clerely [proved].²

Item, the said Duc of Somerset hath contrived and ymagined, helped or consented to the grete and importable losse of Cales to be undre the obeisaunce of the Duc of Burgoyne, as it apperith openly by diverse skilles, evidences, and resons; that is to sey, in asmuch as he desired and made laboures, or at the lest toke uppon hym, for to be capitene of the seid Toun of Cales, knowyng and understandyng well the grete murmur and sclaunder which daily rennyth agayn hym for the losse and sale, as it is surmyttid, of Normandie, to the grete discouragyng of the soudiours of the said Toun; where as the comen fame is that he will bylike sotill meanes contrive and ymagyn the losse and amission of youre said Toun of Cales, like as he hath afore causid the perdition of youre Duchie of Normandie; which apperith well, in asmoch as he hath desirid the terme of a monyth without more, that, in case that the said Toun were besegid and not rescuyd within the said monyth, that than he shuld stond discharged though it were delyvered to youre enemyes; within which tyme it were impossible or at the lest full unlikely that never myght be assembled for the rescu therof, where as it may and hath be here-before kept ayens the force of youre enemyes moche lenger tyme in grete jupardy; which is so grete an hevynesse and trouble to youre said soudiours that by their langage, demenyng and comunicacion it may be understond that they will not be so herty nor feithfull to the welfare and defence of the said Toun as they shuld be in case they had a captayn more agreable unto them. And also this premisses apperith well in asmoch as the comen voyce, langage, and fame is, and also grete prefe and evidence shalbe made theruppon, that the seid Duc of Somerset, in hope of mariage to be doon and had be twix the Duc son of Burgoyne and one of his daughters, had

¹ MS. mutilated.

² A line seems here to be cut off in the MS. at the bottom of the leaf.

made a promysse and behest to the said Duc of Burgoyne, or Duchesse by his meane, conceit and massangers, of the delyverey of the Toun of Cales, to be done by such sotill meanes as shuld not be understond neither of youre highenes nor of youre subgettz.

Item, the said Duc of Somerset is cause of grete hurte, robbery, mauslauer and other myscheves daily done and contynued in this youre roialme, in asmoche

as he resceyved and had at the delyverey of Anjoy and Mayn ^{xx} ^m iij. xij. (72,000) frankes or there aboutes, which were graunted and ordeyned to the Englisshmen havynge their *[there]* lyvelode for their recompense and asyth for the lyverey up of their seid lyvelode at the said delyveraunce, and wold not dispose the same money nor departe therfrom, bot kepith it still to his owne use and singuler availe, notwithstanding that he was recompensid for his lyvelode in that cuntrey in youre Duchie of Normandie of a more value than the gift therof was worth, which causith the said Englisshmen to be here in grete povertie; of which povertie no doute comyth grete myscheve daily within your said roiaume. And also in so muche as many diverse soudiours of Normandy were not paid their wages, where he rerid grete and notable sommes of youre Duchie of Normandie for their agrement, which non paiement and povertie causith also daily grete inconveniencz within this your lande.

Item, that these forsaid articles and poyntz be just and true it may well appere by many grete presumpcions beside evident preses that shalbe made thereupon with open and notarie fame and voice of the people, and also in asmoche as the said Duc of Somerset hath be double and untrue in many and diverse pointes, and in especiall that he hath desirid a recompense of youre highnes for the counte of Mayn for the delyverance therof, where it was specified in youre lettres patentes of your graunte therof to hym made that ye shuld be at your libertie to dispose it at your pleasere in case that ye for the meane of the pease wold do make a lyverey thereof unto youre uncle of Fraunce; and yit at the tyme of delyveraunce thereof he wold not agree therto unto tyme that he were recompensid, as it is aforesaid, in youre Duchie of Normandie to a more value than his said graunte drue to.

Item, thes forsaid articles, everyche of theym and every parte of theym, purposyth and ministre I, Richard, Duc of York, ayens the said Duc of Somersett joyntly and severally not atteigne to a more strate nor chargeable prefe than your lawe in such case and processe will require; desiryng of youre highnesse and rightuous justice that in asmoche as lawfully may ayens hym be foundon or prevedid, that jugement in that partie be had and executid unto youre highnes for yours and youre roialmes prosperite and welfare, indende not elles bot the salvacion and indemnite of youre most roiale persone, and also alle youre feithfull subgettz, in which y reporte me to God and all the word *[world]*.

I imagine this paper must have been really handed in by York to the lords of the King's council. It is preserved among the MSS. in the Cottonian Library, a large number of which were undoubtedly at one time part of the public records of the realm. But in any case we can hardly doubt that Somerset understood quite sufficiently the grounds on which he was so generally hated; nor is it by any means improbable that the armed remonstrance of the Duke of York produced some real effect, if only for a time. This at least we know that, only four days after the oath taken by York at St. Paul's, active and energetic measures began to be taken for the defence of Calais. Historians, as Sir Harris Nicolas truly remarks, do not seem hitherto to have been aware of the imminent danger in which even Calais at this time stood of being lost, like the other English conquests a full century before it was actually re-

Defence of
Calais.



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army at sea, and efforts were made to augment the squadron with as large a force as possible. On the 14th of March 1452 a commission was given to Lord Clifford, which was doubtless one of a number given to various noblemen, to negotiate for this purpose with shipowners, knights, and gentlemen, in the district where he commonly resided; and he was instructed to take the command of all such vessels as he could raise, and bring them into the Downs to join with Shrewsbury. The appeal to patriotism was not made in vain. Many shipowners came forward, offering not only to lend but to victual their own ships for the service. But full powers were also given to arrest ships, shipmasters, and mariners, to make up a sufficient number. To every man not furnished with victuals by the benevolence of others, twelve pence a week was offered on the King's behalf, with a customary share in any booty that he might help to capture at sea. Captains of ships were to have in addition a reward of ten marks, or £10, at the discretion of Lord Clifford. Altogether we may presume that the defensive measures taken at this time were sufficient, for we hear no more during the next few years of any attempt to lay siege to Calais.

As to internal dissensions at home it was quite in accordance with the weakness of the King's character to believe that he had now stilled the chief elements of danger. His piety suggested to him to complete the good work by a general political amnesty. The year 1450, as being the concluding year of a half century, had been celebrated as a jubilee at Rome, during which a general indulgence and pardon were granted to all who visited the Imperial City. There was also, according to precedent, a bull issued at the close of the year to extend these benefits still further. Taking his example from the great Spiritual Ruler, the King, on Good Friday, the 7th of April 1452, offered publicly a general pardon to all who had been guilty of acts of disloyalty to himself, and who would apply to his Chancery for letters patent.¹ The offer was, undoubtedly, both gracious and humane. It sprang from a genuine love of peace on the King's part, and probably went far to make the government of Somerset endurable for some months longer. Amid the confusion and troubles of the times, thousands must have felt that they needed the royal clemency to protect them against the severity of the laws. One hundred and forty-four persons, among whom was Thomas Young of Bristol—he who had proposed in Parliament that York should be proclaimed heir to the Crown,—obtained sealed pardons on that very Good Friday. Some two or three thousand others laid claim to the like indulgence, and had patents granted to them at a later date.²

¹ Whethamstede, 317.

² The names are all entered on the Pardon Roll of 30 & 31 Henry VI. Among the hosts of less interesting names we find that the Duke of York took out a pardon on the 3d of June; the Duke of Norfolk and the young

Only a very few persons were excepted on account of the enormity of their offences.

One part of his kingdom, however, Henry himself did not expect to pacify by such means only. The state of the county of Norfolk had been so represented to him that he felt it necessary to send thither the Duke of Norfolk. "Great riots, extortions, horrible wrongs and hurts," were the subject of complaint, and nothing but an impartial inquiry would give satisfaction. The Duke on coming into the country issued a proclamation, urging all who had any complaints to make, to lay them freely and fearlessly before him. But free and fearless evidence was not likely to be had without a strong guarantee for the protection of witnesses. Already the news of the Duke's coming had got wind, and some of the dependants of Lord Scales, who had been amongst the principal offenders, had given notice that any complaints against *them* would be redressed in another fashion after the Duke's departure. In the absence of the Duke Lord Scales had been always hitherto the natural ruler of the county, and it was under his protection that Sir Thomas Tuddenham, Sir Miles Stapleton, John Heydon, and others had dared to make themselves unpopular. Norfolk accordingly declared in the same proclamation that he intended henceforth to vindicate for himself so long as he lived the chief power and authority in the county which bore his name, subject only to that of the king himself. And to give still greater encouragement to the well-disposed, he announced that the King himself would shortly visit the county, before whom all who desired it should have their grievances redressed.¹

Intended
royal
visit to
Norfolk.

That the King actually visited Norfolk at this time I do not find from any other evidence. A letter written on St. George's Day says that he had been expected at Norwich or Claxton for ten days past. Encouraged by the Duke's proclamation several gentlemen of the county had drawn up a complaint against Charles Nowell, and were waiting to know in what manner they should present it. This Charles and a number of others appear to have been keeping the country east of Norwich at the time in continual alarm and confusion. They held their rendezvous at the house of one Robert Ledeham, from which they would issue out in bands of six, or twelve, or sometimes thirty and more,

Complaint
against
Charles
Nowell.

Duke of Suffolk on the 23d of the same month; Thomas Percy, Lord Egremont, on the 1st; Thomas Courtenay, Earl of Devon, on the 20th, and Sir William Oldhall, who is called of Hunsdon, on the 26th. Ralph, Lord Cromwell, had one on the 22d May, and Robert Wynnyngton of Dartmouth (the writer of Letter 68) on the 28th July. On the 12th July a joint pardon was given to Sir Henry Percy, Lord Ponynge, and Eleanor, his wife, kinswoman, and heir of Sir Robert Ponynge. At later dates we have also pardons to Henry, Viscount Bouchier, and Sir John Talbot, son and heir of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

¹ No. 173.

fully armed with bows and arrows, spears and bills, jacks and sallets.¹ No place was sacred from their outrages. On Mid-Lent Sunday they had attacked two servants of the Bishop of Norwich inside the church at Burlingham, and would have killed them behind the priest's back while they were kneeling at the mass. On the 6th of April they had endeavoured to break into the White Friars at Norwich on pretence of wishing to hear even-song ; but having publicly declared in the town that they intended to get hold of certain citizens, either alive or dead, the doors were shut against them. Happily before they accomplished their purpose the mayor and aldermen came to the spot. A multitude of people had meanwhile assembled in the streets, and the rioters, finding the odds considerably against them, quietly took their departure.²

John Paston had a complaint of his own to make against these wrong-doers. Charles Nowell himself, and five others, had attacked him at the door of Norwich Cathedral. He had with him at the time two servants, one of whom received a blow on the naked head with a sword ; and he himself was seized and had his arms held behind him, while one of the company struck at him. But for a timely rescue his death would seem to have been certain. On the very day on which this occurred his wife's uncle, Philip Berney, was waylaid by some of the same fellowship, in the highway under Thorpe Wood. Berney was riding, accompanied by a single servant, when their two horses first were wounded by a discharge of arrows. They were then speedily overtaken by their assailants, who broke a bow over Philip Berney's head, and took him prisoner, declaring him to be a traitor. To give a further colour to their proceedings, they led him prisoner to the Bishop of Norwich, demanding surety of him to keep the peace, and when they had obtained it, let him go. Philip Berney lived more than a year after the adventure, but he never recovered from the effects of this rough usage.³

Outrages like these, it must be remembered, were not the work of lawless brigands and recognised enemies of the whole community. They were merely the effect of party spirit. The men who did them were supported by noblemen and country gentlemen. One, by name Roger Church, probably the most daring, and at the same time the most subtle of the gang, had got himself made bailiff of the hundred of Blofield.⁴ Charles Nowell was a friend of Thomas Daniel, who, after being a year and a half out of favour, had recently recovered his influence in Norfolk through the medium of the Duke of Somerset.⁵ By this means he seems again to have obtained possession of the manor of Bradeston, the right to which he had disputed in 1450,

¹ Coats of mail and helmets.

² Nos. 175, 176, 188, 189, 201.

³ Nos. 174, 179, 201.

⁴ Nos. 177, 201.

⁵ No. 172

apparently more by arms than by law, with Osbert Mountford, marshal of Calais. Charles Nowell was appointed by Daniel bailiff of the manor, with the not quite insignificant salary of twopence a-day; and he and his fellows, Roger Church, Robert Ledeham, John Ratcliff, and Robert Dalling, made it their chief business to maintain Daniel in possession.

To put an end to such a state of matters as this, the Duke of Norfolk's coming must have been truly welcome. But if any man expected that the power of duke or king could suddenly terminate the reign of anarchy, and initiate an era of plain impartial justice, he must have been a sanguine mortal. As one of the first effects of the Duke's coming, some of the leading oppressors of the country were driven to a course of chicanery instead of violence. Roger Church got himself Roger Church. arrested by some of his own company, and was brought before the Duke as a promoter of sedition. He was accused of having taken part in an unlawful assembly at Postwick, with the view of stirring up an insurrection. He confessed the fact, and offered to turn king's evidence on his accomplices. He then named a number of thrifty husbandmen, farmers and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, alleging that about three hundred persons were implicated in the intended rising. The truth, as it presently turned out, and as Church himself afterwards confessed, was, that the movement had been got up by himself, at the instigation of Robert Ledham, who promised to procure his pardon through the influence of Daniel. By solicitations addressed to various unsteady characters he had induced some to believe that an insurrection would be well supported. A little company of fifteen men accordingly met him under a wood at Postwick, and he told them he had discovered an excellent name for their captain, who should be called John Amend-all. But beyond this meeting and naming of the captain nothing seems ever to have come of the project.¹

John Paston was certainly one of those mentioned by Church. The chief persons accused were the friends of Osbert Mountford, and Paston was one of them. But John Falgate, one of the deluded victims who had been present at the meeting at Postwick, being subjected to examination before the sheriff, exonerated Paston, and, while acknowledging his own share in the conspiracy, pronounced the tale told by Roger Church in his confession to be altogether an invention. We need not be surprised to hear that after this a petition from the county of Norfolk was sent up to the Lord Chancellor, praying that Church should not be allowed the benefit of the general pardon, offered upon Good Friday.² But Church persevered in his policy. He

¹ Nos. 177, 179, 180, 181, 201.

² The petition, I think, must have been effectual, for I do not find Church's name on the Pardon Roll 30 and 31 Henry VI.

appears to have been a reckless kind of adventurer. He probably claimed the benefit of clergy, for we find him three months after his arrest in the hands of officers of the Bishop of Norwich. His goods also were seized for a debt that he owed the Bishop. But in spite of the contradictions given by other witnesses, in July he adhered to what he had said in April, and instead of retracting his former accusations, said he meant to impeach some one else whom he could not at that time name,—a man who, he said, had more money in his purse than all of those whom he had accused before. The coolness with which he persisted in these statements gave an impression that he was even yet relying upon powerful friends to support him.¹

The conclusion of the affair must be a matter of speculation, for we hear nothing more of it. The political history of England, too, is, at this point, almost a blank. We know from the Privy Council Proceedings that there was some difficulty in the spring of 1452 in preserving friendly relations with Scotland in consequence of some Border outrages perpetrated by the Earl of Douglas. And this is absolutely all the light we have on the domestic affairs of England for about a twelvemonth after the Duke of York's oath of allegiance at St. Paul's. I have found, however, by an examination of the dates of privy seals, that in

A royal
progress.

July the King began a progress into the west of England, which is not altogether without significance. He reached Exeter on the 18th, and from thence proceeded by Wells, Gloucester, Monmouth, and Hereford, to Ludlow, where he arrived on the 12th of August, and from which he returned homewards by Kenilworth and Woodstock, arriving at Eltham in the beginning of September. In October he made another circuit northwards by St. Albans to Stamford, Peterborough, and Cambridge. There can hardly be a doubt the object of these journeys was mainly to conciliate those who had declared their opposition to the Duke of Somerset, especially when we consider that the visit to Ludlow must have been nothing less than a visit to the Duke of York. York was now more than pardoned. He was honoured by his sovereign.

Financially, however, we may well suppose that the Duke was not the better of the royal visit. Perhaps also the state of the country did not conduce to the prosperity of great landowners. At all events we find that at the end of the year York was glad to pledge some pieces of jewellery to Sir John Fastolf for a loan of £437, to be repaid next Midsummer.² The transaction is in every way curious, as illustrating the sort of dealings in money matters which were at that time by no means uncommon among knights and noblemen. It is certainly highly characteristic of such a knight as Sir John Fastolf, who, quite unlike the Falstaff of the dramatist, instead of being always needy was

¹ Nos. 177, 178, 180.

² No. 184.

always seeking to increase the wealth that he had amassed by long years of thrift and frugality.

We have had occasion to mention the historic Fastolf before; and it is time that we should now direct attention to the circumstances of his private life and his connection with the Paston family. John Paston, as the reader has already been informed, was ultimately his executor, and to this circumstance may safely be attributed the preservation of so many of his letters, most of which have certainly been handed down with the papers of the Paston family. Nevertheless, up to the time at which we have now arrived we do not find that he directly corresponded with any of them. We can see, however, that he had a high regard for John Paston's advice in business, and sometimes sent letters and documents of importance by him to his agent in Norfolk, Sir Thomas Howes.¹ He seems to have been related in blood to John Paston's wife,² and he acknowledges Paston himself as his cousin in his will. From the general tenor of most of his letters we should certainly no more suspect him of being the old soldier that he actually was than of being Shakspeare's fat, disorderly knight. Every sentence in them refers to lawsuits and title-deeds, extortions and injuries received from others, forged processes affecting property, writs of one kind or another to be issued against his adversaries, libels uttered against himself, and matters of the like description. Altogether the perusal is apt to give us an impression that Sir John would have made an acute and able, though perhaps not very highminded, solicitor. If ever his agent, Sir Thomas Howes, was, or seemed to be, a little remiss in regard to some particular interest, he was sure to hear of it, and yet woe to him if he did things on his own responsibility which turned out afterwards to be a failure.³ Sir John was not the man to pass over lightly injuries done even by inadvertence.

The familiarity shown by Fastolf with all the forms and processes of the law is probably due not so much to the peculiarity of his personal character as to the fact that a knowledge of legal technicalities was much more widely diffused in that day than it is in ours. Even in the days when Master Shallow first made himself ridiculous to a London audience by claiming to be justice of the peace and *coram, custalorum, and ratolorum*, there can hardly be a doubt that the knowledge of legal terms and processes was not a thing so entirely professional as it is now. But if we go back to an earlier time, the Paston Letters afford ample evidence that every man who had property to protect, if

¹ Nos. 123, 129, 132, 152, 154, 169.

² Note the passages in Margaret Paston's letter (No. 183):—"Yet I suppose Sir John, if he were spoken to, would be gladder to let his kinsmen have part than strangers." And again:—"Assay him in my name of such places as ye suppose is most clear."

³ No. 168

not every well educated woman also, was perfectly well versed in the ordinary forms of legal processes. Sir John Fastolf had a great deal of property to take care of, and consequently had much more occasion to make use of legal phraseology than other people. Had it been otherwise we should hardly have had any letters of his at all; for the only use of writing to him, and probably to most other people in those days, was to communicate on matters of business.

There are also parts of his correspondence from which we might almost infer that Sir John was a merchant as well as a lawyer. His ships were continually passing between London and Yarmouth, carrying on the outward voyage building materials for his works at Caister, and bringing home malt or other produce from the county of Norfolk. In two of his letters we have references to his little ship *The Blythe*,¹ which, however, was only one of several; for, in the year 1443, he obtained a license from the crown to keep no less than six vessels in his service. These are described as of four different kinds; two being what were called "playtes," a third a "cogship," a fourth a "fare-coft," and the two others "balingers," for the carriage of goods and building materials for the use of his household. These vessels were to be free from all liability to arrest for the service of the King.²

The object of these building operations was the erection of a stately castle at Caister, not far from Yarmouth, the place of the old warrior's birth. As early as the reign of Henry V., it seems, he had obtained license to fortify a dwelling there, "so strong as himself could devise;"³ but his occupation in the French wars had suspended a design which must have been a special object with him all through life. The manor of Caister had come to him by natural descent from his paternal ancestry; but even during his mother's widowhood, when Sir John was a young man of about six and twenty, we find that she gave up her life tenure of it to vest it entirely in her son.⁴ Since that day he had been abroad with Henry V. at Agincourt and at the siege of Rouen. He had afterwards served in France under the Regent Bedford,—had taken several strong castles and one illustrious prisoner,⁵—had held the government of conquered districts, and had fought, generally with success and glory, in almost every great battle of the period. Nor had he been free, even on his return to England, to go at once and spend the rest of his days on his paternal domains in Norfolk. His counsels were needed by his sovereign. His experience abroad must have qualified him to give important

¹ Nos. 141, 142.

² Rymer xi. 44.

³ Dawson Turner's Historical Sketch of Caister Castle, p. 31. He does not state his authority.

⁴ See "Early Documents" in this volume, p. 6.

⁵ The Duke of Alençon.



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came once more to demand the serious consideration of the Council. It is true that Guienne and Gascony were now no longer English possessions. Bayonne, the last stronghold, had been given up in the preceding August, and, the English forces being now expelled, all hope of recovering the lost provinces might well have been abandoned, but that the inhabitants were desirous to put themselves once more under the protection of the King of England. The fact is that the Gascons, who had been three centuries under English rule, did not at all relish the change of masters. Under the crown of England they had enjoyed a liberty and freedom from taxation which were unknown in the dominions of Charles VII.; and on the surrender of Bordeaux and Bayonne, the French King had expressly promised to exempt them from a number of impositions levied elsewhere. But for this promise, indeed, those cities would not so readily have come to terms.¹ Unfortunately, it was not very long before the ministers of Charles sought to evade its fulfilment. They represented to the people that for their own protection, and not for the benefit of the royal treasury, the imposition of a *taille* would enable the King to set a sufficient guard upon the country, and that the money would not in reality be taken from them, as it would all be spent within the province. The English, it was to be feared, would not remain patient under the loss, not only of the provinces themselves, but also of a very valuable commerce that they had hitherto maintained with the south of France; for Gascony supplied England with wine, and was a large consumer of English wool. Hence there was every reason to fear that some attempt would be made by the enemy to recover the lands from which he had been expelled, and it was the interest of the inhabitants themselves to provide an adequate force to ward off invasion.²

With arguments like these the French King's officers went about among the people endeavouring to compel them to forego a liberty which had been secured to them under the Great Seal of France. In vain were deputations sent from Bordeaux and Gascony beseeching the King to be faithful to his promise. The petitioners were sent back with an answer urging the people to submit to exactions which were required for the defence of the country. The citizens of Bordeaux were greatly discontented, and an embassy, headed by the Sieur de l'Esparre, was sent over to the King of England to offer him the allegiance of the lost provinces once more, on his sending a sufficient fleet and army to their rescue. The proposal being laid before a meeting of the English Council, was of course most readily agreed to; and it was arranged that a fleet, under the command of the Earl of Shrewsbury, should sail for the Garonne in October. On the

¹ Basin, i. 251.

² *Ib.* 257.

18th of that month the Earl accordingly embarked with a body of 4,000 or 5,000 soldiers. The French army having withdrawn, he easily obtained possession of Bordeaux, and sent its captain, Oliver de Coëtivy, a prisoner into England. Other towns then readily opened their gates to the invaders, of which one of the principal was Castillon in Perigord; and very soon, in spite of the opposition of their French governors, the greater part of the lost provinces had put themselves again under the protection of the English.¹

The suddenness with which these things were done seems for a time to have disconcerted the French King. Winter was now coming on, and probably nothing effective could be done for some time, so Charles lay maturing his plans in silence. As he surveyed the position at leisure, he probably found that any further efforts of the invaders could be checked with tolerable facility. France still retained possession of the two little towns of Bourg and Blaye, which we have already mentioned as being the keys of Bordeaux, and also of various other strong places in which he had been careful to leave considerable garrisons. It was therefore the beginning of June in the following year before he took any active steps to expel the enemy from their conquests. He then marched southwards from Lusignan near Poitiers, and laid siege to Chalais in Perigord, on the borders of Saintonge. In the space of five days it was taken by assault. Out of a garrison of 160 men no less than half were cut to pieces. The other half took refuge in a tower where they still held out for a time in the vain hope of succours, till at last they were compelled to surrender unconditionally. Of the prisoners taken such as were of English birth were ransomed; but as for those who were Gascons, as they had sworn fealty to Charles and departed from their allegiance, they were all beheaded. After this, one or two other ill-defended places fell into the hands of the French. On the 14th July siege was laid to Castillon on the Dordogne, a position which when won gave the French free navigation into the Gironde. The besieging army was furnished with the most perfect mechanism of war that the skill or science of that age could supply. It had a train of artillery, with no less than 700 gunners, under the conduct of two able engineers of Paris, the brothers Bureau. The place was thoroughly closed in when Shrewsbury, hearing of the danger in which it stood, came with haste out of Bordeaux with a body of 800 or 1,000 horse, followed shortly after by 4,000 or 5,000 foot.²

A.D. 1453.

At daybreak on the 17th, the Earl came suddenly upon the besiegers, and succeeded without difficulty in thoroughly defeating a body of archers, who had been posted at an abbey outside the town. This detachment being completely taken by surprise,

¹ Basin, i. 258—261. Leclercq, (in Petitot's Collection.) 37—43.

² Basin, i. 261—4. Leclercq, 39—41. Matt. de Coussy, 121.

was obliged to save itself by flight, and after a little skirmishing, in which some 80 or 100 men were slain on both sides, the greater number of the Frenchmen succeeded in gaining a park in which the main body of the besiegers had entrenched themselves. Further pursuit being now unnecessary, the English returned to the abbey, where they were able to refresh themselves with a quantity of victuals which the French had left behind them. "And because the said skirmish," writes the French chronicler De Coussy, "had been begun and was done so early that as yet Talbot had not heard mass, his chaplain prepared himself to sing it there; and for this purpose the altar and ornaments were got ready." But this devout intention the Earl presently abandoned; for a cloud of dust was seen in the distance, and it was reported to him that even the main body of the French were rapidly retreating. Immediately the Earl was again on horseback, and as he left the abbey he was heard to say, "I will hear no mass to-day until I have overthrown the company of Frenchmen in the park before me."¹

Unfortunately, it turned out that the report of the retreat of the French was utterly unfounded. The cloud of dust had been raised by a body of horses which they had sent out of the camp to graze. The French army remained in its position, with artillery drawn up, ready to meet the Earl on his advance. The English, nevertheless, came on with their usual shout, "A Talbot! A Talbot! St. George!" and while their foremost men just succeeded for an instant in planting their standard on the barrier of the French lines, they were mowed down behind by the formidable fire of the French artillery. Against this all valour was fruitless; about 500 or 600 English lay dead in front; and the French, opening the barrier of their park, rushed out and fought with their opponents hand to hand. For a while the conflict was still maintained, with great valour on both sides; but the superior numbers of the French, and the advantage they had already gained by their artillery, left very little doubt about the issue. After about 4,000 Englishmen had been slain in the hand to hand encounter, the remainder fled or were made prisoners. Some were able to withdraw into the town and join themselves to the besieged garrison; others fled through the woods and across the river, in which a number of the fugitives were drowned. In the end the body of the veteran Talbot was found dead upon the field, covered with wounds upon the limbs, and a great gash across the face.²

So fell the aged warrior, whose mere name had long been a terror to England's enemies. By the confession of a French historian, who hardly seems to feel it a disgrace to his countrymen, the archers, when they closed around him, distinctly refused

¹ Basin, i. 264—5. De Coussy, 122.

² De Coussy, 124.

to spare his life, so vindictively eager were they to dispatch him with a multitude of wounds.¹ Yet it must be owned that in this action he courted his own death, and risked the destruction of a gallant army. For though he was led to the combat by a false report, he was certainly under no necessity of engaging the enemy when he had discovered his mistake, and he was strongly dissuaded from doing so by Thomas Everingham.² But his own natural impetuosity, inflamed probably still more by the unreasonable taunts of the men of Bordeaux, who, it seems, were dissatisfied that no earlier attempt had been made to resist the advance of the French King into Guienne,³ induced him to stake everything on the issue of a most desperate and unequal conflict.

With him there also died upon the field his eldest son, Lord Lisle, his illegitimate son Henry Talbot, Sir Edward Hull, and thirty other knights of England. About double that number were taken prisoners, the most notable of whom was John Paston's old persecutor, the Lord Moleyns.⁴ Never had the English arms experienced such a disastrous overthrow.

The Gascons now gave up their cause as altogether hopeless. A fresh army had lately marched into their country, and was laying siege to several places at once towards the East of Bordeaux, so that it was manifest that city could soon be shut in by the royal forces. Castillon was no longer able to hold out. It surrendered on the second day after Talbot's death. About the same time Charles in person laid siege to Cadillac, one of the most important places in the neighbourhood, protected by a strong castle. The town was speedily carried by assault, and a few weeks later the castle was also taken. Other places in like manner came once more into the power of the French King. At Fronsac an English garrison capitulated and was allowed to leave the country, each soldier bearing in his hand a baton till he reached the seaside. Very soon Bordeaux was the only place that held out; nor was the defence even of this last stronghold very long protracted. Its surrender was delayed for a time only in consequence of the severity of the conditions on which Charles at first insisted; but a sickness which began to ravage his camp at length inclined him to clemency. On the 17th of October the city submitted to Charles, the inhabitants engaging to renew their oaths of allegiance, and the English having leave to return in their own ships to England. To secure himself against their future return, or any fresh rebellion of the citizens, Charles caused to be built and garrisoned, at the expense of the latter, two strong towers, which were still standing at the beginning of this present century. Thus was Gascony finally lost to the crown of England.

¹ Basin, i. 267—8.

² *Ib.* 265.

³ De Coussy, 122.

⁴ J. Chartier, 265; Berry, 469.

We must now return to the domestic affairs of the kingdom. Matters had been hung up, as it were, in a state of unstable equilibrium ever since Good Friday, 1452. The political amnesty, proceeding, as it did, from the King's own heart, and removing every stain of disloyalty from those who had laboured most to change his policy, helped, in all probability, to keep up a precarious state of tranquillity much longer than it could otherwise have been preserved. The danger of Calais, too, had passed away for the time, although it was always recurring at intervals so long as Henry VI. was King. So that, perhaps, during the latter part of the year 1452, the country was in as quiet a state as could reasonably have been expected. At least, the absence of information to the contrary may be our warrant for so believing. But the new year had no sooner opened than evidences of

A.D. 1453.

Robert
Poynings.

disaffection began to be perceived. On the 2d of January Robert Poynings—the same who had taken a leading part in Cade's rebellion, and had, it will be remembered, saved the life of one of Sir John Fastolf's servants from the violence of the insurgents—called together an assembly of people at Southwark, many of whom were outlaws. What his object was we have no distinct evidence to show. He had received the King's general pardon for the part he took in the movement under Cade; but he had been obliged to enter into a recognizance of £2,000, and find six sureties of £200 each, for his good behaviour; so that he, of all men, had best cause to beware of laying himself open to any new suspicion of disloyalty. Yet it appears he not only did so by this meeting at Southwark, but that immediately afterwards he confederated with one Thomas Bigg of Lambeth, who had been one of Cade's petty captains, and having met with him and about thirty others at Westerham in Kent, tried to stir up a new rising in the former seat of rebellion. From Kent he further proceeded into Sussex, and sent letters to two persons who had been indicted of treason, urging them to come and meet him at Southwark on the last day of February; "at which time and place," says the Parliament Roll, "the same Robert Poynings gave them money, thanking them heartily of their good will and disposition that they were of unto him in time past, praying them to continue their good will, and to be ready and come to him at such time as he should give them warning."¹ Altogether it would appear from the record of the charge itself that nothing very serious came of this display of disaffection on the part of Poynings; but it must at least be noted as a symptom of the times.

Soon after this a parliament was called. The Crown was in need of money; but Somerset did not dare to convoke the legis-

¹ Rolls of Parl. v. 396. See also the pardon granted to him five years later. Patent Roll, 36 Hen. VI. m. 12.

lature at Westminster. It met in the refectory of the abbey of Reading on the 6th of March. In the absence of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Kemp, who was Chancellor, the bishop of Lincoln¹ opened the proceedings by a speech on behalf of the King, declaring the causes of their being summoned; which were merely stated to be, in general terms, for the good government of the kingdom and for its outward defence. The necessity of sending reinforcements into Gascony was not mentioned, and apparently was not thought of; for up to this time the success of Shrewsbury had been uninterrupted, and the French King had not yet begun his southward march. The Commons elected one Thomas Thorpe as their Speaker, and presented him to the King on the 8th. Within three weeks they voted a tenth and fifteenth, a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, a subsidy on wools, hides, and woolfells, and a capitation tax on aliens,—all these, except the tenth and fifteenth, to be levied for the term of the King's natural life. They also ordained that every county, city, and town, should be charged to raise its quota towards the levying of a body of 20,000 archers within four months. For these important services they received the thanks of the King, communicated to them by the Chancellor, and were immediately prorogued over Easter, to sit at Westminster on the 25th of April.²

On their reassembling there, they proceeded to arrange the proportion of the number of archers which should be raised in each county, and the means by which they were to be levied. The commons, however, were relieved of the charge of providing 7000 men of the number formerly agreed to, as 3000 were to be charged upon the Lords and 3000 more on Wales and the county palatine of Cheshire, while an additional thousand was remitted by the king, probably as the just proportion to be levied out of his own household. For the remaining 13,000, the quota of each county was then determined. But soon afterwards it was found that the need of such a levy was not so urgent as had at first been supposed, and the actual raising of the men was respited for two years, provided that no emergency arose requiring earlier need of their services.³

The possibility of their being required in Gascony after the success of the Earl of Shrewsbury in the preceding year, seems no more to have occurred to the Government, than the thought of sending them to Constantinople, where possibly, had the fact been known, they might at this very time have done something to prevent that ancient city from falling into the hands of the Turks. For it was in this very year, and while these things occupied the attention of the English parliament, that the long

¹ Called William, bishop of Lincoln, on the Rolls of Parliament, but his name was John Chedworth.

² Rolls of Parl. v. 227—31.

³ Rolls of Parl. v. 231—3.

decaying Eastern Empire was finally extinguished by the fall of its metropolis.

After this, some new acts were passed touching the pay of the garrison at Calais, and for the making of jetties and other much needed repairs there. For these purposes large sums of money were required, and the mode in which they were to be provided, gives us a remarkable insight into the state of the exchequer. To the Duke of Somerset, as Captain of Calais, there was owing a sum of £21,648, 10s., for the wages of himself and his suite, since the date of his appointment; and on the Duke's own petition, an Act was passed enabling him to be paid, not immediately, but after his predecessor, Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, should have received all that was due to him in a like capacity.¹ The pay of the officers of Calais, it would thus appear, but that it seems to have been discharged by the captain for the time being out of his own resources, must at this time have been more than two years in arrear. If such was the state of matters, we gain some light on the causes which induced Somerset, after his loss of Normandy, to add to his unpopularity by accepting a post of so much responsibility as the Captainship of Calais. He was one of the few men in England whose wealth was such that he could afford to wait for his money; and he was too responsible for the rotten government which had led to such financial results, to give any other man a post in which he would certainly have found cause of dissatisfaction.

It was necessary, however, to provide ready money for the repairs and the wages of the garrison from this time, and it was accordingly enacted that a half of the fifteenth and tenth already voted should be immediately applied to the one object, and a certain proportion of the subsidy on wools to the other. At the same time a new vote of half a fifteenth and tenth additional was found necessary to meet the extraordinary expenditure, and was granted on the 2d of July.²

This grant being announced by the Speaker to the King who was then sitting in parliament, Henry thanked the Commons with his own mouth, and then commissioned the Chancellor, Cardinal Kemp, to prorogue the assembly; alleging as his reasons the consideration due to the zeal and attendance of the Commons, and the King's own intention of visiting different parts of his kingdom for the suppression of various malpractices. "The King, also," he added, "understood that there were divers petitions exhibited in the present parliament to which no answer had yet been returned, and which would require greater deliberation and leisure than could now conveniently be afforded, seeing that the autumn season was at hand, in which the Lords were at liberty to devote themselves to hunting and sport, and

¹ *Ib.* 233.

² *Ib.* 234—6.



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weakly they might have been performed before, was a crisis that had not occurred till now. A heavier responsibility lay with Somerset and the Council, who could not expect that acts done by their own authority would meet with the same respect and recognition as those for which they had been able to plead the direct sanction of their Sovereign. And now they had to deal with a factious world in which feuds between powerful families had already begun to kindle a dangerous conflagration. In the month of August, probably of the year before this, Lord Thomas Nevill, a son of the Earl of Salisbury, married a niece of Lord Cromwell at Tattersall in Lincolnshire. After the wedding the Earl returned into Yorkshire, when, having reached the neighbourhood of York, some disturbance arose between his retainers and those of Lord Egremont, son of the Earl of Northumberland.¹ As to the cause of the dispute we are left entirely ignorant; but it grew into a serious quarrel between the Nevills and the Percys. The chief maintainers of the feud were, on the one side, Sir John Nevill, a younger son of the Earl of Salisbury, and on the other Lord Egremont. Both parties were repeatedly summoned to lay their grievances before the Council; but the most peremptory letters and mandates had hitherto been ineffectual. Illegal gatherings of people on either side continued in spite of every prohibition; and the whole north of England seems to have been kept in continual disorder.²

The case was not likely to be improved when the source of all legal authority was paralyzed. And yet so bad was the state of matters before, that the King's illness, instead of being an aggravation of the evil, positively brought with it some perceptible relief. The Council were no longer able to avoid calling in the aid of one whose capacity to rule was as indisputable as his birth and rank. A Great Council was summoned for the express purpose of promoting "rest and union betwixt the lords of this land;" and according to the usage in such cases, every peer of the realm had notice to attend. Gladly, no doubt, would Somerset have omitted to send such notice to his rival; and it seems actually to have been the case that no summons was at first sent to the Duke of York. But afterwards the error was rectified, and York being duly summoned, came up to Westminster and took his seat at the Council table³ on the 21st of November. Before taking part in the proceedings, however, he addressed himself to the lords then assembled, declaring how he had come up in obedience to a writ of privy seal, and was ready to offer his best services to the King; but as a previous order had been issued, by what authority he could not say, to certain old councillors to forbear from attending the King's councils in

¹ W. Worc:

² Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 140—2, 147—9, 154—5.

³ Ib. vi. 163—5.

future, he required that any such prohibition might be removed. This was unanimously agreed to, and the government of England was at once restored to a free and healthy condition.¹

The Duke of Somerset was not present at this meeting of the Council. He doubtless saw too clearly the storm gathering against himself. To his former responsibility for the loss of Normandy was now added further responsibility for the loss of Guienne. The accusations against him were accordingly renewed; but they were taken up this time, not by York but by the Duke of Norfolk. A set of articles of impeachment was drawn up by the latter, to which Somerset made some reply, and was answered again by Norfolk. The accuser then pressed the matter further, urging that the loss of Normandy and of Guienne should be made a subject of criminal inquiry according to the laws of France; and that other misdemeanours charged upon him should be investigated according to the modes of procedure in England. Finally, lest his petition should be refused by the Council, Norfolk desired that it might be exemplified under the King's Great Seal, protesting that he felt it necessary, for his own credit, that what he had done in the matter should be known as widely as possible.²

Norfolk
accuses
Somerset.

In the end it was determined that the Duke of Somerset should be arrested and committed to the Tower. This resolution was carried into effect a little before Christmas, and the different lords retired during the festive season to their own country quarters. But all who had given their votes against Somerset knew well that they stood in considerable danger. The battle that he had lost would have to be fought over again with the Queen, who now put in a claim to be entrusted with the entire government of the kingdom. Every man of Somerset's party got his retainers in readiness, and while other lords were out of town, the harbinger of the Duke of Somerset secured for his company all the lodgings that were to be got in Thames Street, Mark Lane, St. Katherine's, and the neighbourhood of the Tower. The Duke of Norfolk was warned by a faithful servant to beware of parties in ambush on his way to London. Everything clearly showed that the faction which had been dispossessed of power had sanguine hopes of reinstating themselves at an early opportunity.³

And this, it is probable, they might have done with the greatest possible ease, were it not that the King's loss of his faculties was so complete and absolute that it was impossible, by any means whatever, to obtain a semblance of acting upon his authority. About New Year's day, when the new-born prince was conveyed to Windsor, the Duke of Buckingham took the child in his arms and presented

A. D. 1454.

¹ Patent Roll, 32 Hen. VI. m. 20. See Appendix to Introduction.

² No. 191. ³ No. 195.

Introduction.

him to the King, beseeching Henry to give him a father's blessing. Henry returned no answer. The Duke remained some time with the child in the King's presence, but could not extract from him the slightest sign of intelligence. The Queen then came in, and taking the infant in her arms, presented him to his father, with the same request that the Duke had made before her. But all their efforts were in vain; the King continued dumb, and showed not the slightest perception of what they were doing, except that for one moment only he looked upon the babe, and then cast down his eyes again.¹

There were no hopes, therefore, that the King himself would interfere in any way to protect his favourites in the Council.

Every man looks to himself. Every man felt it necessary to see to his own security. The Lord Chancellor himself, Cardinal Kemp, "commanded all his servants to be ready, with bow and arrows, sword and buckler, cross-bows, and all other habiliments of war, to await upon the safeguard of his person." The Duke of Buckingham caused to be made "2,000 bends with knots,—to what intent," said a cautious observer, "men may construe as their wits will give them." Further from the court, of course, the old disturbances were increased. "The Duke of Exeter, in his own person, hath been at Tuxforth beside Doncaster, in the north country, and there the Lord Egremont met him, and the two be sworn together, and the Duke is come home again." The Earl of Wiltshire and the Lord Bonvile made proclamations in Somersetshire, offering sixpence a-day to every man that would serve them; and these two noblemen, along with the Lords Beaumont, Poynings, Clifford, and Egremont, were preparing to come up to London each with as strong a body of followers as he could possibly muster.²

The Duke of York and his friends on their side did the same; and it was high time they should, otherwise the machinations of Somerset would certainly have been their ruin. The latter had spies in every great household, who reported to him everything that could be construed to the disadvantage of his opponents.

The Duke of York and Thorpe. Among York's private enemies, moreover, was Thomas Thorpe, Speaker of the House of Commons, who was also a Baron of the Exchequer.

In the former capacity his functions had been for some time suspended; for Parliament, which had been prorogued to the 12th November at Reading, only met on that day to be prorogued again to the 11th February, in consequence of the mortality which prevailed in the town. Meanwhile, in Michaelmas term, the Duke of York took an action of trespass against him in his own Court of Exchequer, and a jury had awarded

¹ No. 195.

² Ib.



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proceeding to business, demanded of the King and the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, that their ancient privileges should be respected, and their Speaker and the other member liberated. The case was taken into consideration by the Peers on the following day, when it was explained by the Duke of York's counsel that the Speaker had a few months before gone to the house of Robert Nevill, Bishop of Durham, and there taken away certain goods and chattels belonging to the Duke against his will; that for this he had been prosecuted in the Court of Exchequer, as it was a privilege of that court that its officers in such cases should not be sued before any other tribunal; that a jury had found him guilty of trespass, and awarded to the Duke damages of £1,000 and £10 costs. Speaker Thorpe had accordingly been committed to the Fleet for the fine due to the King. The proceedings against him had not been taken during the sitting of Parliament, and it was urged that if he should be released by privilege of parliament a great wrong would be done to the Duke. It was a delicate question of constitutional law, and the Lords desired to have the opinion of the judges. But the chief justices, after consultation with their brethren, answered, in the name of the whole body, that it was beyond their province to determine matters concerning the privilege of parliament; "for this high court of parliament," they said, "is so high and mighty in his nature that it may make law, and that that is law it may make no law; and the determination and knowledge of that privilege belongeth to the Lords of the Parliament, and not to the Justices." Nevertheless, as to the accustomed mode of procedure in the lower courts, the Judges remarked that in ordinary cases of arrest a prisoner was frequently liberated on a writ of *supersedeas* to enable him to attend the parliament; but no general writ of *supersedeas*, to surcease all processes, could be allowed; "for if there should be, it should seem that this high Court of Parliament, that ministereth all justice and equity, should let the process of the common law, and so it should put the party complainant without remedy, for so much as actions at the common law be not determined in this high Court of Parliament."¹

From this carefully considered reply it was clear to the Lords that they were at least nowise bound to interfere in behalf of the imprisoned Speaker, unless they considered the liberties of parliament likely to be prejudiced by the circumstances of his particular case. It was accordingly decided that he should remain in prison, and that the Commons should be directed to choose another Speaker. This they did on the following day, and presented Sir Thomas Charleton to the Lord Chancellor as their new representative; who being accepted by that functionary in the name of the King, both Houses at once proceeded to business.²

¹ Rolls of Parl. v. 239—240.

² *Ib.* 240.

A month later the Commons came before the Duke of York, as the King's lieutenant, with two very urgent petitions. The first related to the defence of Calais and the safeguard of the sea. Notwithstanding the very liberal grants which had already been voted by this parliament, Calais was still in danger, and the sea was still very insufficiently protected; insomuch that the Lord Chancellor had told the House of Commons £40,000 would be required to obviate very serious perils. The Commons were very naturally alarmed; a modern House of Commons would have been indignant also. They had in the preceding year voted no less than £9,300 for Calais, partly for repairs and partly for making jetties, besides all the sums voted for the pay of the garrison and the tonnage and poundage dues, which ought to have been applied to general purposes of defence. They therefore humbly petitioned to be excused from making any further grants; "for they cannot, may not, ne dare not make any mo grants, considered the great poverty and penury that be among the Commons of this land, for whom they be comen at this time; and that this their excuse might be enacted in this high Court of Parliament." The money already voted was evidently conceived to be somewhere, and was considered to be quite sufficient to do the work required; so the Commons were told in reply by my Lord Chancellor the Cardinal, "that they should have good and comfortable answer, without any great delay or tarrying."¹

Defence of
Calais.

The second petition was that "a sad and wise Council" might be established, "of the right discreet and wise lords and other of this land, to whom all people might have recourse for ministering justice, equity and righteousness; whereof they have no knowledge as yet." The Duke of York was only the king's lieutenant in Parliament. With the assent of the great council he could prorogue or dissolve it and give the royal assent to any of its acts. But the business of the nation imperatively required that some smaller body of statesmen should be entrusted with more general powers. Even before the King's illness the constitution of some such body had been promised to the Parliament at Reading as a thing contemplated by the King himself;² and it was now more necessary than ever. The only problem was how to confer upon it an authority that could not be disputed.

A council re-
quired.

But while the Lords are taking this point into consideration, we invite the reader's attention to a piece of private history.

A few years before the date at which we have now arrived, one Thomas Denyes, a trusted servant of the Earl of Oxford, seems to have caused his master some little inconvenience by falling in love with a lady who resided in the neighbourhood of Norwich. We regret that we cannot in-

Thomas
Denyes.

¹ Rolls of Parl. v. 240.

² Ib. 241.

form the reader who she was. All that we know is that her Christian name was Agnes, which was at that time popularly corrupted into Anneys and frequently confounded with Anne, and that she was an acquaintance of John Paston's. With John Paston, accordingly, the Earl thought it best to communicate, and in doing so earned for himself the heartfelt gratitude of Denyes by one of those small but truly gracious acts which reveal to us better than anything else the secret of the power of English aristocracy. The lady seems not to have given her admirer any great encouragement in his suit. She had property of her own worth 500 marks, and could have had a husband in Norfolk with land of 100 marks value, which was more than Denyes could offer her. But the Earl of Oxford requested John Paston to intercede with her in behalf of her wooer, promising her that if the marriage took effect the Earl would show himself liberal to them both. He further offered, if it would be any satisfaction to her, to go himself into Norfolk and visit her.²

This intercession was effectual, and the lady became the wife of Thomas Denyes. It was a triumph both of love and ambition to a poor dependent on a great Earl. But with increase of wealth, as others have found in all ages, Denyes experienced an increase of anxieties and of business also. A suit in Chancery was commenced against him and his wife by a gentleman of the name of Ingham, who considered himself to have a claim on the lady's property for a considerable sum of money. Ingham's son Walter was active in procuring the *subpœna*. But Denyes, strong, as he believed, in a great lord's favour, conceived a plan by which he might either interrupt the suit or revenge it on the person of Walter Ingham. On the 11th of January 1454—just about the time the Queen and Buckingham were making those vain attempts to introduce his child to the notice of the unhappy king—when, consequently, it was still uncertain whether York or Somerset would have the rule, and when lawless persons all over the country must have felt that there was more than usual immunity for bad deeds to be hoped for,—Thomas Denyes wrote a letter in the name of the Earl of Oxford, to Walter Ingham, requiring his presence at the Earl's mansion at Wivenhoe, in Essex, on the 13th. This letter reached Ingham at Dunston in Norfolk, and he at once set out in obedience to the summons. But as he

Walter Ingham waylaid. was nearing his destination on the 12th he was waylaid by a party in ambush hired by Denyes, who beat him so severely upon the head, legs, and back that he was maimed for life, and compelled to go on crutches for the rest of his days. Ingham complained of the outrage to the Lord Chancellor, Cardinal Kemp, who sent a serjeant-at-arms to arrest Denyes at Lincoln's Inn; but he at first refused to obey the arrest. Shortly afterwards, however, he

¹ Nos. 97, 200.



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though he considered himself little bound to Denyes, except in so far as he had promoted his marriage at the Earl of Oxford's solicitation, on this occasion stood his friend. He wrote a letter to the Earl urgently interceding for the unhappy wife; and though it seems probable, the letter that he first wrote was not actually sent, we may fairly presume that he either devised a second to the same effect, or used his influence otherwise to the same end. Certain it is that he made some effort for which Denys was beyond measure grateful.¹

“The Cardinal is dead and the King is relieved.” Such were the last words of a postscript which Denyes appended to his first melancholy letter, complaining of his own and his wife's imprisonment. A rumour apparently had been spread that the King's health was beginning to improve; for which, as we shall see, there was very little foundation. But it was perfectly

Death of Cardinal Kemp. true that Cardinal Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor of England, was dead. Little as we know, beyond a few broad facts of his career, whereby to judge his real character and aims, it is certain that he was an accomplished statesman. A follower originally of Cardinal Beaufort,—the man who of all others could serve two masters, Rome and England, with the least degree of repugnance, and of whom the best that can be said, is, that he never scrupled to betray the former in what appeared to be the interest of the latter,—Kemp was, perhaps, as honest a specimen of the political churchman as an essentially bad system could produce. The clergy, however, were really needed as statesmen; few laymen had the ability, learning or education to enable them to do the essential work of the nation; and Kemp was one who had gained for himself, by his own talents, the highest position to which a subject could aspire in England, not only in the realm but in the Church.

Thus, at a time when the functions of royalty itself were suspended, the Chancellor, the official keeper of the King's conscience, was suddenly taken away; and in him England also lost her primate, always one of the most important members of the Council. The formation of a governing Council was now more important than ever; but the most pressing questions of all were the appointment of a new Chancellor and of a new Archbishop. Who was to take upon himself to nominate either the one or the other? The Queen's modest claim to be invested with the functions of her husband had not been listened to by the Lords; but the powers as yet conferred upon the Duke of York, were only to represent the King in Parliament.

It was upon the 19th of March that the Commons had pressed their petition for the establishment of a Council. Cardinal

¹ Nos. 200, 204.

Kemp died on the 22d. On the 23d the Lords appointed twelve of their number as a deputation, headed by Deputation of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester, to ride to Lords to the Windsor and endeavour, if possible, to lay the state King. . of matters before the King. Their instructions were drawn up in six articles, but only two were to be communicated to the King if they found him unable to pay attention to what was said. These two were a mere assurance of anxiety to hear of his recovery, and that the Lords, under the presidency of the Duke as his lieutenant, were using their best discretion in the affairs of the nation. If any response were made to these two articles, the deputation was then to tell him of the death of Cardinal Kemp, and ask to know his pleasure who should be the new Archbishop and who should be appointed Chancellor. They were to say that for the security of the Great Seals, (there were at this time no less than three Great Seals used in the Chancery)¹ the Lords had caused them to be produced in Parliament, and after being seen by all the Lords, they were enclosed in a coffer sealed by a number of the Peers present, and then laid up in the Treasury. Finally, they were to ask the King's mind touching the establishment of a Council, telling him how much it was desired by the Commons, and suggesting the names of certain Lords and persons whom it was thought desirable to appoint as Councillors. All these matters, however, were to be communicated only to the King in the strictest privacy.²

The deputation returned two days after with a report of the total failure of their mission. They had waited on the King at Windsor just after he had dined, but could get The King's from him no answer nor sign that he understood imbecility. their message. The bishop of Winchester then told the King that the Lords had not dined, and that after they had they would wait on him again. After dinner accordingly they were again with him, and tried all they could to elicit an answer; but the King was speechless. They then proposed that he should go into another room, and he was led between two men into his bedchamber. A third and last effort was then made to rouse him by every expedient that could be imagined, and when all else failed, a question was put to him which involved no more than a simple yes or no. Was it his Highness's pleasure that they should wait on him any longer? A long pause was allowed in the hope that any mere physical difficulty might be overcome. A faint nod, even a shake of the head would have been regarded with some degree of satisfaction. But it was all in vain. "They could have no answer, word ne sign; and therefore with sorrowful hearts, came their way."³

It was now clear that the highest constitutional authority resided for the time in the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. The

¹ Nicolas Privy Council Proceedings, vol. vi., preface, pp. clxxviii.-ix.

² Rolls of Parl. 240-1.

³ *Ib.* 241.

reader, imbued with modern notions of the power and prestige of the House of Commons, may possibly think that their votes, too, should have been consulted in the formation of a government. Such a view, however, would be radically erroneous. The influence which the House of Commons has in later times acquired—an influence so great, that, unfortunately for the nation, we not long ago saw an act passed by the Peers¹ notoriously against their own consciences as a body, in deference to the will of the Lower Chamber,—is a thing not directly recognised by the constitution, but only due to the control of the national purse strings. Strictly speaking, the House of Commons is not a legislative body at all, but only an engine for voting supplies. The Peers of the realm, in parliament or out of parliament, are, according to the constitution, the Sovereign's privileged advisers. A king may, no doubt, at any time call to him what other councillors he pleases, and the prerogative of the Lords may lie dormant for a very long period of time; but the Peers of the realm have, individually or in a body, a right to tender their advice upon affairs of state, which belongs to no other members of the community.

On the 27th of March therefore—two days after the report of the deputation that had seen the King at Windsor—the Lords
 The Duke of York Protector. took the first step towards the establishment of order and government, by electing Richard, Duke of York as Protector and Defender of the realm. The title of Protector essentially implied an interim administrator during a period when the King, by legal or physical incapacity, was unable to exercise his regal functions in person. A Protector's tenure of power was therefore always limited by the clause *quamdiu Regi placeret*. It was terminable by the King himself the moment he found himself able to resume the actual duties of royalty. Even a protectorship like that of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, instituted in consequence of the King being an infant, was terminated before the royal child was eight years old by the act of his coronation. The crowned and anointed infant became a king indeed, and therefore no longer required the services of a Protector; so from that day, Duke Humphrey had ceased to wield any authority except that of an ordinary member of the Council. But indeed, even during his Protectorship, his powers were greatly circumscribed; and it had been expressly decided by the Council that he was not competent to perform an act of state without the consent of a majority of the other Lords. Richard, therefore, knowing that his powers would be limited, was most anxious that his responsibility should be accurately defined, that no one might accuse him thereafter of having exceeded the just limits of his authority. He delivered in a paper containing certain articles, of which the first was as follows:—

¹ The Irish Church Act, 1869.



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inhabitants, who killed or took prisoners no less than 500 of their assailants.¹ A Council was called to meet at Westminster on the 6th of May, to take measures for the defence of Calais,² the result of which and of further deliberations on the subject was seen in the appointment of the Duke of York as captain or governor of the town, castle, and marches. This office was granted to him by patent on the 18th of July,³ but he only agreed to undertake it, as he had done the Protectorship, subject to certain express conditions to which he obtained the assent of the Lords in Parliament. Among these was one stipulation touching his remuneration, in which he affirms that he had served the King formerly at his own cost in the important offices he had filled in France and in Ireland, so that owing to non-payment of his salary, he had been obliged to sell part of his inheritance and pawn plate and jewels which were still unredeemed.⁴ A very different sort of governor this from the avaricious Somerset !

Meanwhile other changes had been made in the administration. On the 2d of April,—the day before the Duke's appointment as

Protector—the Great Seal had been given to
 Disturbances in the North. Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, as Chancellor ; and to prevent any renewal of disturbances in the north by the Earl's former opponent Lord Egremont, his father, the Earl of Northumberland, was summoned before the Council. But before the day came which was given him to make his appearance, news arrived that Lord Egremont had already been making large assemblies and issuing proclamations of rebellion, in concert with the Duke of Exeter. To restore tranquillity, it was thought proper that the Duke of York should go down into Yorkshire, where he no sooner made his appearance than his presence seems to have put an end to all disturbances. The Duke of Exeter disappeared from the scene and was reported to have gone up secretly to London ; but the adherents of Lord Egremont continued to give some trouble in Westmoreland. Thither the Duke of York accordingly received orders from the Council to proceed ; but he probably found it unnecessary, for on the 8th of June it is stated that he intended remaining about York till after the 20th. Every appearance of disturbance seems to have been quelled with ease ; and a number of the Justices having been sent into Yorkshire for the punishment of past offences, the Protector was able to return to London in the beginning of July.⁵

It was at this time that the two eldest sons of the Duke of York, Edward, Earl of March, and Edmund, Earl of Rutland, who were of the ages of twelve and eleven respectively, addressed the following interesting letter to their father :⁶—

¹ No. 206.

² Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 174.

³ Carte's Gascon and French Rolls. ⁴ Rolls of Parl. v. 252.

⁵ Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 178, 193—7. Nos. 206, 208.

⁶ Printed from the original in MS. Cott. Vespasian, F. xiii. fol. 35.

“To the ryght hiegh and myghty Prince, oure most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and fader, the Duke of Yorke, Protector and Defensor of Englonde.

“Ryght hiegh and myghty Prince, oure most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and Fader, in as lowely wyse as any sonnes con or may we recomaunde us un to youre good lordeschip. And plaese hit youre hieghnesse to witte that we have receyved youre worschipful lettres yesturday by your servaunt William Cleton, beryng date at Yorke the xxix day of Maij, by the whiche William and by the relacion of John Milewatier we conceyve your worschipfull and victorius spede ageinst your enemyse, to ther grete shame, and to us the most comfortable tydinges that we desired to here. Where of we thonke Almyghty God of his yestes, beseching Hym hertely to geve yowe that grace and cotidian fortune here astur to knowe your enemyse and to have the victory of them. And yef hit plaese your hieghnesse to knowe of oure wilfare, at the makying of this lettre we were in good helith of bodis, thonked be God; beseching your good and graciouse Faderhode of youre daily blessing. And where ye comaunde us by your said lettres to attende specialy to oure lernyng in our yong age that schulde cause us to growe to honour and worschip in our olde age, Please hit youre hieghnesse to witte that we have attended owre lernyng sith we come heder, and schall here astur; by the whiche we trust to God youre graciouse lordeschip and good Fadurhode schall be plaesid. Also we beseche your good lordeschip that hit may plaese yowe to sende us Harry Lovedeyne, grome of your kechyn, whos service is to us ryght agreable; and we will sende yow John Boyes to wayte on youre good Lordeschip. Ryght hiegh and myghty Prince, our most worschipfull and gretely redoubted lorde and Fader, We beseche Almyghty God yeve yowe as good lyfe and long as youre owne Princely hert con best desire. Writen at your Castill of Lodelowe the iij day of June.

Your humble sonnes,

E. MARCHE.

E. RUTLOND.”

Soon after the Duke had returned to London his presence was required at a great council summoned for the 18th of July, to consider the expediency of liberating on bail his great rival and personal enemy, the Duke of Somerset, who had been now seven months in prison. On this point The Duke of Somerset. York had only one piece of advice to offer, which was, that as he had been committed to custody upon suspicion of treason, the opinion of the judges should be taken before he was released from confinement. That he had remained so long without a trial was not unnatural, considering the nature of the times. It was a bold step indeed to try him at all, while there was a chance of the weak-minded King's recovery; but this step was certainly resolved on. The 28th of October was the day appointed for his trial; and the Duke of Norfolk, who, as we have seen, had been the first to move the capital charge against him, was ordered by that day to be ready to produce his proofs. Meanwhile the lords concurred that it was clearly inexpedient to let him go, especially as the number of lords assembled was not so great as it should have been on the occasion; and the opinion of the Duke of York was not only agreed to, but at his request was put on record.¹

Six days later it was agreed at another meeting of the Council

¹ Nicolas Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 207.

that the Duke of York should return into the north with the Duke of Exeter in his custody, whom he was to confine in the castle of Pomfret as a state prisoner.¹

By these decisive steps the authority of the Duke of York was at length secured on something like a stable footing. During the remainder of his protectorate there could no longer be a doubt to whose hands power was committed; and England, at last, had the blessing of real government, able and vigorous, but at the same time moderate. The resolutions of the Council soon became known to the public. "As for tidings," wrote William Paston to his brother in Norfolk, "my lord of York hath taken my lord of Exeter into his award. The Duke of Somerset is still in prison, in worse case than he was." William Paston wrote in haste, but these were two matters of public importance to be mentioned before all private affairs whatever.² And yet the private affairs of which he wrote in the same letter will not be without interest even to the readers of this introduction. William

Sir J. Fastolf
goes to reside
in Norfolk.

Paston now reported to his brother that Sir John Fastolf was about to take his journey into Norfolk within a few days, and proposed to take up his residence at Caister. His going thither must have been regarded as an event not only in the neighbourhood of Yarmouth but even in the city of Norwich. At all events it was highly important to John Paston, whose advice the old knight valued in many matters. "He saith," wrote William Paston to his brother, "ye are the heartiest kinsman and friend that he knoweth. He would have you at Mauteby³ dwelling." This must have been written in the latter part of July. Sir John did not actually go into Norfolk quite so soon as he intended; but he appears to have been there by the beginning of September.⁴

There in his completed castle of Caister he had at length taken up his abode, to spend the evening of his days in the place of his birth, and on the inheritance of his ancestors. There during the next five years he spent his time, counting over the items of a number of unsettled claims he had against the crown,⁵ and meditating also, it would seem, on another account he had with Heaven. For the latter the foundation of a college⁶ or religious endowment, in which were to be maintained "seven priests and seven poor folk" at Caister, might possibly liquidate his debts. But in his transactions with his fellowmen he was certainly for the most part a creditor, and by no means one of the most generous. Instances will be found in his letters in abundance

¹ Nicolas Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 217, 218.

² No. 211.

³ The manor of Mauteby, which came to John Paston by his marriage, was only three miles distant from Caister.

⁴ No. 216.

⁵ Nos. 263, 264.

⁶ Nos. 290, 300, 301, 332, 333, 334.



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his patron.¹ Later in life he wrote a book of annals, which is an important historical authority for the period. It seems to have been about a year before his master's death that he set himself assiduously to learn French, under the tuition of a Lombard named Carroll Giles.² From this instructor he had purchased several books, and Henry Windsor suspected he had run himself into debt in consequence. He had fairly owned to Windsor "he would be as glad and as fain of a good book of French or of poetry, as my master Fastolf would be to purchase a fair manor." This French zeal appears to have excited the contempt of some of his acquaintances—among others of Friar Brackley, who nicknamed him *Colinus Gallicus*.³ But he had a special object in view in which a knowledge of this language was important; for he had begun translating, at Fastolf's request, from a French version, Cicero's treatise *de Senectute*. This work appears to have been left on his hands at Sir John Fastolf's death, and on the 10th of August 1473 he presented it to his patron's old friend, Bishop Waynflete, at Esher. "Sed nullum regardum recepi de episcopo" (but I received no reward from the bishop), is his melancholy comment on the occasion.⁴ The work was ultimately printed by Caxton in 1481. Worcester was an assiduous collector of information on topics of every description, and a number of his commonplace books remain at this day. But like many men of letters after him, he found that industry of this sort may look in vain for any reward beyond the satisfaction of gratified curiosity.⁵

Along with the announcement that Sir John Fastolf was about to go into Norfolk, William Paston informed his brother that the old knight's step-son, Stephen Scrope, would reside at Caister along with him. Of this Stephen Scrope our Letters make not unfrequent mention; but the leading facts of his history are obtained from other sources. He was the son of Sir Stephen Scrope, by his wife Lady Milicent, who married Fastolf after her husband's death. At the time of this second marriage of his mother, young Scrope was about ten or twelve years of age, and being heir to a considerable property, his stepfather had the management of his affairs during his minority. Bitterly did he complain in after years of the manner in which Sir John had discharged the trust. According to the unfeeling, mercenary fashion in which such matters were then managed, Fastolf sold his wardship to Chief-Justice Gascoigne for 500 marks; "through the which sale," wrote Scrope at a later date, "I took sickness that kept me a 13 or 14 years [en]suing; whereby I am disfigured in my person

¹ "Stellæ versificatæ pro anno 1440 ad instantiam J. Fastolfe militis." MS. Laud., B. 23 (according to the old pressmark.)

² Letter 318.

³ Letter 331.

⁴ Itin. 368.

⁵ Tanner's *Bibliotheca*. See also a notice of William Worcester in *Retrospective Review*, Second Series, ii. 451-4.

and shall be whilst I live." Gascoigne held this wardship for three years, and by right of it intended to marry Scrope to one of his own daughters; but as the young lad's friends thought the match unequal to his fortune, Fastolf bought the wardship back again.¹ Stephen Scrope, however, when he grew up, was not more grateful for the redemption than for the original sale of his person. "He bought me and sold me as a beast," (so he writes of Sir John Fastolf,) "against all right and law, to mine hurt more than 1,000 marks." In consequence of the stinginess of his stepfather he was obliged, on coming of age, to sell a manor which was part of his inheritance and take service with Humphrey Duke of Gloucester in France; by whom, according to his own account, he had some hope of obtaining restitution of the lordship of the Isle of Man, which had belonged to his uncle the Earl of Wiltshire in the days of Richard II. But Sir John Fastolf got him to give up his engagement with the Duke and serve with himself, which he did for several years, to the satisfaction of both parties. Afterwards, however, on some dispute arising, Scrope returned to England, when Sir John sent home word that he must pay for his meat and drink. To do this he was driven to contract a marriage which, by his own account, was not the most advantageous for himself; and his stepfather, instead of showing him any compassion, brought an action against him by which he was deprived of all the little property that his wife had brought him.²

Of this first wife of Stephen Scrope we know nothing,³ except that she died and left him a daughter some years before we find any mention of him in the Paston correspondence. His necessities now compelled him to resort to the same evil system of bargaining in flesh and blood of which he had complained in his own case. "For very need," he writes, "I was fain to sell a little daughter I have for much less than I should have done by possibility,"—a considerable point in his complaint being evidently the lowness of the price he got for his own child. It seems that he disposed of her wardship to a knight⁴ whose name does not appear; but the terms of the contract became matter of interest some time afterwards to John Paston and his mother, when Scrope who, besides being disfigured in person, was probably not far from fifty years of age, made an offer

¹ No. 72.

² Scrope's History of the Manor of Castle Combe, pp. 264—283. The MSS. formerly at Castle Combe, to which Mr. Scrope refers in this work, have since been presented by him and Mr. Lowndes, the present lord of the manor, to the British Museum. One of them we have reprinted in No. 72.

³ She is not unlikely to have been the lady mentioned in No. 72, "Fauconer's daughter of London, that Sir Reynold Cobham had wedded." This I find need not have been, as I have stated in a footnote, the widow of Sir Reginald Cobham of Sterborough, who died in 1446; for there was an earlier Sir Reginald Cobham whose widow Elizabeth was married to William Clifford as early as 1438. (Inquisitions *post mortem*, 16 Hen. VI. No. 31.) Thus there is the less difficulty in attributing Letter 72 to a much earlier date than that assigned to it by the endorsement.

⁴ Letter 71.

for the hand of Paston's sister Elizabeth, a girl of about twenty. The proposed match did not take effect; but it was for some time seriously entertained. Agnes Paston writes that she found the young lady herself "never so willing to none as she is to him, if it be so that his land stand clear."¹ The reader will perhaps think from this expression that the young lady had been pretty early taught the importance of considering worldly prospects; but there were other motives which not improbably helped to influence her judgment. "She was never in so great sorrow as she is now-a-days," wrote Elizabeth Clere to John Paston, as a reason for concluding the matter at once with Scrope if no more desirable suitor presented himself. Her mother would not allow her to see any visitor, and was suspicious even of her intercourse with the servants of her own house. "And she hath since Easter the most part been beaten once in the week or twice, and sometimes twice in one day, and her head broken in two or three places."² Such was the rough domestic discipline to which even girls in those days were occasionally subjected!

Some years certainly elapsed after this before either Stephen Scrope found a wife or Elizabeth Paston a husband. The former ultimately married Joan, the daughter of Richard Bingham, judge of the King's Bench; the latter was married to Robert Poynings, whom we have already had occasion to notice as an ally of Jack Cade in 1450, and a ringleader in other movements a few years later. This second marriage appears to have taken place about New Year's day 1459;³ before which time we find various other proposals for her hand besides that of Scrope.⁴ Among these it may be noted that Edmund Lord Grey of Hastings wrote to her brother to say that he knew a gentleman with property worth 300 marks (£200) a-year to whom she might be disposed of. No doubt, as in similar cases, this gentleman was a ward in Chancery, whose own opinion was the very last that was consulted as to the lady to whom he should be united. But it is time that we return to the current of public affairs.⁵

At Christmas, to the great joy of the nation, the King began
The King's recovery. to recover from his painful illness. He woke up, as it were, from a long sleep, So decidedly had he regained his faculties, that on St. John's day, (27th December) he commanded his almoner to ride to Canterbury with an offering, and his secretary to present another at the shrine of St. Edward. On the following Monday, the 30th, the Queen came to him and brought with her the infant prince, for whom nearly

¹ No. 70. ² No. 71. ³ See No. 322. ⁴ Nos. 196, 209, 210.

⁵ We ought not to leave unnoticed one fact in the relations of Scrope and Fastolf which is much more creditable to both of them than the disputes above mentioned. In the year 1450, Scrope translated from the French and dedicated to Sir John, "for his contemplation and solace," a work entitled "Ditz de Philosophius" (Sayings of Philosophers), of which the original MS. is now in the Harleian Collection, No. 2266. That Fastolf was a real lover of literature, and encouraged literary tastes in those about him, there can be no question.



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among whom were the Protector's friend, the Earl of Salisbury, Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Worcester, Treasurer of England, and the King's half-brother, the Earl of Pembroke. His accuser, the Duke of Norfolk, was absent, probably not without a reason. In presence of the assembled lords, Somerset then declared that he had been imprisoned without a cause and confined in the Tower of London one whole year and more than ten weeks over, and had only been liberated on bail on the 7th of February. So, as he declared there was no charge made against him for which he deserved to be confined, he besought the King that his sureties might be discharged; offering, if any one would accuse him of anything contrary to his allegiance, that he would be ready at all times to answer according to law and like a true knight. His protestations of loyalty were at once accepted by the King, who thereupon declared that he knew Somerset the Duke to be his true and faithful liegeman, and wished it to be understood that he so reputed him. After this, the mouths of all adversaries were of course sealed up. The Duke's bail were discharged. His character was cleared from every insinuation of disloyalty; and whatever questions might remain between him and the Duke of York were referred to the arbitration of eight other lords, whose judgment both parties were bound over in recognizances of 20,000 marks, that they would abide.¹

The significance of all this could not be doubtful. The King's recovery had put an end to the Duke of York's power as Protector, and he was determined to be guided once more by the counsels of the Queen and Somerset. On the 6th March, York was deprived of the government of Calais which he had undertaken by indenture for seven years.² On the 7th, the Great Seal was taken from the Earl of Salisbury and given to Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. These changes, or at least the former, promised little good to the country; and in the beginning of May we not only find that Calais stood again in imminent danger of siege,³ but that considerable fears were entertained of an invasion of England.⁴ But to the Duke of York they gave cause for personal apprehension. Notwithstanding the specious appointment of a tribunal to settle the controversy between him and Somerset, it was utterly impossible for him to expect anything like an equitable adjustment. A council was called at Westminster in the old exclusive spirit, neither York nor any of his friends being summoned to attend it. A great council was then arranged to meet at Leicester long before the day on which judgment was to be given by the arbitrators; and it was feared both by York and his friends, the Earls of Salisbury

¹ Rymer, xi. 362, 363.

² *Ib.*, 363.

³ Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 234—8.

⁴ On the Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VI., p. 2, m. 19 *d.*, is a commission dated 5th May, for keeping watch on the coast of Kent against invasion.

and Warwick, that if they ventured to appear there they would find themselves entrapped. The ostensible ground of the calling of that council was to provide for the surety of the King's person; from which it was fairly to be conjectured that a suspicion of treason was to be insinuated against persons who were too deservedly popular to be arrested in London with safety to the Government.¹

York had by this time retired into the north, and uniting with Salisbury and Warwick, it was determined by all three that the cause assigned for the calling of the Council justified them in seeking the King's presence with a strong body of followers. On the 20th May they arrived at Royston, and from thence addressed a letter to Archbishop Bouchier, as Chancellor, in which they not only repudiated all intention of disloyalty, but declared that, as the Council was summoned for the surety of the King's person, they had brought with them a company of armed followers expressly for his protection. If any real danger was to be apprehended they were come to do him service; but if their own personal enemies were abusing their influence with the King to inspire him with causeless distrust, they were determined to remove unjust suspicions, and relied on their armed companies for protection to themselves. Meanwhile they requested the archbishop's intercession to explain to Henry the true motives of their conduct.²

York and his friends take arms.

Next day they marched on to Ware, and there penned an address to the King himself, of which copies seem to have been diffused, either at the time or very shortly afterwards, in justification of their proceedings. One of these came to the hands of John Paston, and the reader may consequently peruse the memorial for himself in this volume.³ In it, as will be seen, York and his friends again made the most urgent protest of their good intent, and complained grievously of the unfair proceedings of their enemies in excluding them from the royal presence and poisoning the King's mind with doubts of their allegiance. They declared that they had no other intent in seeking the King's presence than to prove themselves his true liegemen by doing him all the service in their power; and they referred him further to a copy of their letter to the archbishop, which they thought it well to forward along with their memorial, as they had not been informed that he had shown its contents to the King.

In point of fact, neither the letter to the archbishop nor the memorial to the King himself were allowed to come to Henry's hands. The archbishop, indeed, had done his duty, and on receipt of the letter to himself had sent it on, with all

¹ Rolls of Parl., v. 280—1.

² *Ib.*

³ No. 238. The expression "*Vadatur J. P.*," printed in italics at the beginning of the letter, and which Fenn speaks of in a footnote as "the direction," I suspect to be an endorsement, perhaps referring to some other matter.

haste, to Kilburn, where his messenger overtook the King on his way northwards from London. But the man was not admitted into the royal presence; for the Duke of Somerset and his friends were determined the Yorkists should not be heard, that their advance might wear as much as possible the aspect of a rebellion. York and his allies accordingly marched on from Ware to St. Albans, where they arrived at an early hour on the morning of the 22d. Meanwhile the King, who had left London the day before, accompanied by the Dukes of Buckingham and Somerset, his half-brother, Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the Earls of Northumberland, Devonshire, Stafford, Dorset, and Wiltshire, and a number of other lords, knights, and gentlemen, amounting in all to upwards of 2000, arrived at the very same place just before them, having rested at Watford the previous night. Anticipating the approach of the Duke of York, the King and his friends occupied the suburb of St. Peter's, which lay on that side of the town by which the Duke must necessarily come. The latter accordingly, with the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick, drew up their forces in the Keyfield, outside the barriers of the town. From seven in the morning till near ten o'clock the two hosts remained facing each other without a blow being struck; during which time the Duke and the two Earls, still endeavouring to obtain a peaceful interview with the King, petitioned to have an answer to their memorial of the preceding day. They were told in reply that it had not been received by the King, on which they made new and more urgent representations. At first, it would seem, they demanded access to the royal presence to declare and justify their true intentions; but when this could not be obtained, they made a still more obnoxious request. They insisted that certain persons whom they would accuse of treason should be delivered into their hands, reminding the King, as respectfully as the fact could be alluded to, that past experience would not permit them to trust to a mere promise on his part that a traitor should be kept in confinement.¹

For the answer made to this demand, and for the details of the battle which ensued, we may as well refer the reader to the very curious paper (No. 239) from which we have already derived most of the above particulars. We are not here writing the history of the times, and it may be sufficient for us to say that York

Battle of St. Alban's. and his friends were completely victorious. The action lasted only half-an-hour. The Duke of Somerset was slain, and with him the Earl of Northumberland, Lords Clifford and Clinton, with about 400 persons of inferior rank, as the numbers were at first reported. This, however, seems to have been an over-estimate.² The King himself was wounded by an arrow in the neck, and, after the

¹ No. 239. Rolls of Parl. v. 281-2.

² John Crane, writing from Lambeth on Whitsunday, three days after the battle, says, "at most six score." No. 241. Another authority says "60 persons of gentlemen and other." English Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 72.



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the river amply furnished with weapons. Proclamations, however, were presently issued against bearing arms. The parliament, at last, laid the whole blame of the encounter upon the deceased Duke of Somerset, and the courtiers Thorpe and Joseph; and by an act which received the royal assent, it was declared that the Duke of York and his friends had acted the part of good and faithful subjects. "To the which bill," said Henry Windsor in a letter to his friends Bocking and Worcester, "many a man grudged full sore now it is past;" but he requested them to burn a communication full of such uncomfortable matter to comment upon as the quarrels and heartburnings of Lords.¹

The Parli-
mentary
elections.

But with whatever grudge it may have been that Parliament condoned the acts of the Yorkists, it seems not to have been without some degree of pressure that the Duke and his allies obtained a parliament so much after their own minds. Here, for instance, we have the Duchess of Norfolk writing to John Paston, just before the election, that it was thought necessary "that my lord have at this time in the parliament such persons as long unto him and be of his menial servants (!);" on which account she requests his vote and influence in favour of John Howard and Sir Roger Chamberlain.² The application could scarcely have been agreeable to the person to whom it was addressed; for it seems that John Paston himself had on this occasion some thought of coming forward as a candidate for Norfolk. Exception was taken to John Howard, one of the Duke's nominees, (who, about eight and twenty years later, was created Duke of Norfolk himself, and was the ancestor of the present ducal family), on the ground that he possessed no lands within the county;³ and at the nomination the names of Berney, Grey, and Paston, were received with greater favour.⁴ John Jenney thought it "an evil precedent for the shire that a strange man should be chosen, and no worship to my lord of York nor to my lord of Norfolk to write for him; for if the gentlemen of the shire will suffer such inconvenience, in good faith the shire shall not be called of such worship as it hath been." So unpopular, in fact, was Howard's candidature that the Duke of Norfolk was half persuaded to give him up, declaring, that since his return was objected to he would write to the under sheriff that the shire should have free election, provided they did not choose Sir Thomas Tuddenham or any of the old adherents of the Duke of Suffolk. And so, for a time it seemed as if free election would be allowed. The under sheriff even ventured to write to John Paston that he meant to return his name and that of Master Grey; "nevertheless," he added significantly, "I have a master." Howard appeared to be savage with disappointment.

¹ No. 253.

² No. 244.

³ Nos. 249, 250.

⁴ No. 247.

He was "as wode" (*i.e.* mad), wrote John Jenney, "as a wild bullock." But in the end it appeared he had no need to be exasperated, for when the poll came to be taken, he and the other nominee of the Duke of Norfolk were found to have gained the day.¹

Besides the act of indemnity for the Duke of York and his partisans, and a new oath of allegiance being sworn to by the Lords, little was done at this meeting of the Parliament. On the 31st July it was prorogued, to meet again upon the 12th November. But in the interval another complication had arisen. The King, who seems to have suffered in health from the severe shock that he must have received by the battle of St. Albans,² had felt the necessity of retirement to recover his composure, and had withdrawn before the meeting of Parliament to Hertford; at which time the Duke of York, in order to be near him, took up his quarters at the Friars at Ware.³ He was well, or at all events well enough to open Parliament in person on the 9th July; but shortly afterwards he retired to Hertford again, where according to the dates of his Privy Seals, I find that he remained during August and September. In the month of October following he was still there, and it was reported that he had fallen sick of his old infirmity; —which proved to be too true.⁴

The King
again ill.

Altogether matters looked gloomy enough. Change of ministry by force of arms, whatever might be said for it, was not a thing to win the confidence either of King or people. There were prophecies bruited about that another battle would take place before St. Andrew's day—the greatest that had been since the battle of Shrewsbury in the days of Henry IV. One Dr. Green ventured to predict it in detail. The scene of the conflict was to be between the Bishop of Salisbury's Inn and Westminster Bars, and three bishops and four temporal lords were to be among the slain. The Londoners were spared this excitement; but from the country there came news of a party outrage committed by the eldest son of the Earl of Devonshire, on a dependent of the Lord Bonville, and the west of England seems to have been disturbed for some time afterwards.⁵ From a local MS. chronicle cited by Holinshed, it appears that a regular pitched battle took place between the two noblemen on Clist Heath, about two miles from Exeter, in which Lord Bonville, having gained the victory, entered triumphantly into the city. A modern historian of Exeter, however, seems to have read the MS. differently, and tells us that Lord Bonville was driven into the city by defeat.⁶ However this may be, the Earl of Devon-

Disturbances
in the West.

¹ No. 250. ² See Rymer, xi. 366. ³ No. 243. ⁴ No. 257.

⁵ No. 257. See also a brief account of the same affair, in W. Worcester's Itinerary, p. 114.

⁶ Jenkins' History of Exeter, p. 78.

shire did not allow the matter to rest. Accompanied by a large body of retainers,—no less, it is stated, than 800 horse and 4,000 foot,—he attacked the Dean and Canons of Exeter, made several of the latter prisoners, and robbed the cathedral.¹

That one out of the number of those great lords who had been attached to the government of the Queen and the Duke of Somerset should thus have abused his local influence, was pretty much what might have been expected at such a juncture. But the effect was only to strengthen the hands of York when parliament met again in November. The situation was now once more what it had been in the beginning of the previous year. The day before parliament met, the Duke of York obtained a commission to act as the King's lieutenant on its assembling,² The warrant for the issuing of this commission was signed by no less than thirty-nine Lords of the Council. The Houses then met under the presidency of the Duke.³ The Commons sent a deputation to the Upper House, to petition the Lords that they would “be good means to the King's Highness” for the appointment of some person to undertake the defence of the realm and the repressing of disorders. But for some days this request remained unanswered. The appeal was renewed by the Commons a second time, and again a third time, with an intimation that no other business would be attended to till it was answered. On the second occasion the Lords named the Duke of York Protector, but he desired that they would excuse him, and elect some other. The Lords, however, declined to alter their choice, and

York again
Protector.

the Duke at last agreed to accept the office, on certain specific conditions which experience had taught him to make still more definite for his own

protection than those on which he had before insisted. Among other things it was now agreed that the Protectorship should not again be terminated by the mere fact of the King's recovery; but that when the King should be in a position to exercise his functions, the Protector should be discharged of his office in Parliament, by the advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal.⁴

On the 19th of November, accordingly, York was formally appointed Protector for the second time. Three days afterwards the King, at Westminster, whose infirmity on this occasion could scarcely have amounted to absolute loss of his faculties, committed the entire government of the kingdom to his council, merely desiring that they would inform him of anything they might think fit to determine touching the honour and surety of

¹ Rolls of Parl., v. 285. It may be observed that the bishopric was at this time vacant, and the dean, whose name was John Hals, had received a papal provision to be the new bishop, but was forced to relinquish it in favour of George Nevill, son of the Earl of Salisbury, a young man of only three and twenty years of age. Godwin de Præsulibus. Le Neve's Fasti. Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 265.

² Rolls of Parl., v. 285.

³ Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 262.

⁴ Rolls of Parl., v. 285-7.



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deliberations.¹ The finances of the kingdom were placed, if not in a sound, at least in a more hopeful condition than before; and Parliament and the Protector were both dismissed, without, apparently, the slightest provision being made for the future conduct of affairs. Government in fact seems almost to have fallen into abeyance. There is a most striking blank in the records of the Privy Council from the end of January 1456, to the end of November 1457. That some councils were held during this period we know from other evidences;² but with the exception of one single occasion, when it was necessary to issue a commission for the trial of insurgents in Kent,³ there is not a single record left to tell us what was done at them.

Yet the machine of state still moved, no one could tell exactly how. Acts were done in the King's name if not really and truly by the King, and by the sheer necessity of the case York appears to have had the ordering of all things. But his authority hung by a thread. His acts were without the slightest legal validity except in so far as they might be considered as having the sanction of the King; and in whatever way that sanction may or may not have been expressed, there was no security that it would not afterwards be withdrawn and disavowed.

And so indeed it happened at this time in a matter that concerned deeply the honour of the whole country. The outbreak of civil war had provoked the interference of an enemy of whom Englishmen were always peculiarly intolerant. The Duke of Somerset slain at St. Alban's was uncle to James II., the reigning King of Scotland, who is said to have resented his death, on the ground of consanguinity. In less than six weeks after the battle, "the King of Scots with the red face," as he is called in a contemporary chronicle, laid siege to Berwick both by water and land. But the Bishop of Durham, the Earl of Northumberland, and other Lords of the Marches, took prompt measures for the relief of the town, and soon assembled such a force as to compel James not only to quit the siege but to leave all his ordnance and victuals behind him.⁴ How matters stood between the two countries during the next ten months we have no precise information; but it is clear that England, although the injured party, could not have been anxious to turn the occasion into one of open rupture. Peace still continued to be preserved till, on the 10th of May 1456, James wrote to the King of England by Lyon herald, declaring that the truce of 1453 was

¹ *Ib.* 300. A more sweeping bill for this purpose, which was rejected by the Lords, states that the revenue was so encumbered "that the charge of every sheriff in substance exceedeth so far the receipt of the revenues thereof due and leviabie to you (*i.e.* the king), that no person of goodwill dare take upon him to be sheriff in any shire, for the most party, in this land." *Ib.* 328. Additional illustrations of this fact will be found in Nicolas' Privy Council Proceedings vi. 263-4, 272-3, and Preface lxxv-vi.

² Nos. 285, 295, 298.

³ Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 287.

⁴ Chronicle in Lambeth MS. 309: Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 248-9.

injurious to his kingdom, and that unless more favourable conditions were conceded to him, he would have recourse to arms.¹ A message more calculated to fire the spirit of the English nation it would have been impossible for James to write; nevertheless, owing either to Henry's love of peace, or to his lack of advisers after his own mind, it was not till the 26th of July, that any answer was returned to it. On that day the Duke of York obtained, or took, the liberty of replying in Henry's name. To the insolence of the King of Scots, he opposed all the haughtiness that might have been expected from the most warlike of Henry's ancestors. Insisting to the fullest extent on those claims of feudal superiority which England never had abandoned and Scotland never had acknowledged, he told James that his conduct was mere insolence and treason in a vassal against his lord; that it inspired not the slightest dread but only contempt on the part of England; and that measures would be speedily taken to punish his presumption.²

A month later the Duke of York addressed a letter to James in his own name, declaring that as he understood the Scotch King had entered England, he purposed to go and meet him. He at the same time reproached James with conduct unworthy of one who was "called a mighty Prince and a courageous knight" in making daily forays and suddenly retiring again.³ The end of this expedition we do not know; but we know that not long afterwards Henry changed his policy. The letter written by the Duke of York in the King's name was regularly enrolled on the Scotch Roll among the records of Chancery; but to it was prefixed a note on the King's behalf, disclaiming responsibility for its tenor, and attributing to the Duke the usurpation of authority, and the disturbance of all government since the time of Jack Cade's insurrection.⁴

The glimpses of light which we have on the political situation during this period are far from satisfactory. Repeated notice, however, is taken in these letters of a fact which seems significant of general distrust and mutual suspicion among the leading persons in the land. The King, Queen, and lords were all separated and kept carefully at a distance from each other. Thus, while the King was at Sheen, the Queen and her infant Prince were staying at Tutbury, the Duke of York at Sandal, and the Earl of Warwick at Warwick.⁵ Afterwards we find the Queen removed to Chester, while the Duke of Buckingham was at Writtle, near Chelmsford in Essex. The only lord with the King at Sheen was his half-brother the Earl of Pembroke. His other brother the Earl of Richmond, who died in the course of this year, was in Wales making war upon some chieftain of the country whose name seems rather ambiguous. "My Lord [of] York," it is said, "is at Sendall still, and waiteth on the Queen,

¹ Lambeth MS. 211, f. 146 b.

² *Ib.* 147, Rymer, xi. 383.

³ Lambeth MS. 211, f. 148. This letter is dated 24th August 1456.

⁴ Rymer, xi. 383.

⁵ Nos. 281, 282.

and she on him."¹ The state of matters was evidently such that it was apprehended serious outrages might break out; and reports were even spread abroad of a battle in which Lord Beaumont had been slain and the Earl of Warwick severely wounded.²

The King and Queen. The separation of the King and Queen is especially remarkable. During May and June they were more than a hundred miles apart; and in the latter month the Queen had increased the distance by removing from Tutbury in Staffordshire to Chester. It was then that she was said to be waiting on my Lord of York and he on her. The exact interpretation of the position must be partly matter of conjecture, but I take it to be as follows. The Duke of York, as we find stated only a few months later, was in very good favour with the King but not with the Queen;³ and we know from Fabyan that the latter was at this time doing all she could to put an end to his authority. It appears to me that by her influence the Duke must have been ordered to withdraw from the Court, and that to prevent his again seeking access to the King's presence, she pursued him into the North. At Tutbury⁴ she would block his way from Sandal up to London; and though for some reason or other she removed further off to Chester, she still kept an anxious watch upon the Duke, and he did the same on her. Very probably her removal did give him the opportunity she dreaded of moving southwards; for he must have been with the King at Windsor on the 26th of July when he wrote in Henry's name that answer to the King of Scots of which we have already spoken.

However this may be, Margaret soon after had recourse to other means to effect her object. In consequence of the Duke of York's popularity in London, it was expedient to remove the King some distance from the capital.⁵ He appears to have been staying at Windsor during July and the beginning of August. In the middle of the latter month he took his departure northwards. By the dates of his Privy Seals we find him to have been at Wycombe on the 18th, at Kenilworth on the 24th, and at Lichfield on the 29th. In September he moved about between Lichfield, Coventry and Leicester; but by the beginning of October the Court seems to have settled itself at Coventry, where a council was assembled on the 7th.⁶ To this Council the Duke of York and his friends were regularly summoned, as well as the Lords whom the Queen intended to honour; but even before it met, changes had begun to be made in the principal officers of State. On the 5th Viscount Bouchier, the brother of the Archbishop of Canterbury, was dismissed from his office of Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of Shrewsbury was appointed in his room. On the 11th the Archbishop himself was called upon to surrender the Great Seal, and

¹ No. 285.² No. 282.³ No. 298.⁴ Tutbury was one of the possessions given to her for her dower. *Rolls of Parl.* vi. 118.⁵ Fabyan.⁶ No. 295.



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place in Wales under Sir William Herbert. Its sojourn upon the Welsh borders had an excellent effect, the burgesses and gentlemen about Hereford all declaring themselves ready to take the King's part unless a peace were made. On the 1st of May it was reported in London that Herbert had offered, on being granted his life and goods, to return to his allegiance and appear before the King and Lords at Leicester; so we may conclude the insurrection did not last long after.¹

But though the personal influence of the King was doubtless great and beneficial within his own immediate vicinity, it could do little for the good order and protection of the country generally. Distrust, exclusiveness, and a bankrupt exchequer were not likely to obtain for the King willing and hearty service. Notwithstanding the commissions issued to keep watch upon the

The French
attack Sand-
wich.

coasts, the French managed to surprise and plunder Sandwich. On Sunday, the 28th August, a large force under the command of Pierre de Brézé, seneschal of Normandy, landed not far from the town, which they took and kept possession of during the entire day. A number of the inhabitants, on the first alarm, retreated on board some ships lying in the harbour, from whence they began presently to shoot at the enemy. But De Brézé having warned them that if they continued he would burn their ships, they found it prudent to leave off. Having killed the bailiffs and principal officers, the Frenchmen carried off a number of wealthy persons as prisoners, and returned to their ships in the evening, laden with valuable spoils from the town and neighbourhood.²

The disaster must have been keenly felt; but if Englishmen had known the whole truth, it would have been felt more keenly still. Our own old historians were not aware of the fact, but an early French chronicler who lived at the time assures us that the attack had been purposely invited by Margaret of Anjou out of hatred to the Duke of York, in order to make a diversion, while the Scots should ravage England!³ It was well for her that the truth was not suspected.

At length, it would seem, the Court found it no longer possible to remain at a distance from the metropolis. In October the King had removed to Chertsey,⁴ and soon after we find him presiding at a great Council, which had been summoned to meet in his palace at Westminster in consequence of the urgent state of affairs. Though attended not only by the Duke of York, but by a large number of the principal lords on both sides, the meeting does not appear to have led to any very satisfactory results. All that we know of its proceedings is that some of them, at least, were

¹ No 305. By the 4th of May the King had left Hereford and gone to Worcester, from which he proceeded to Winchcombe on the 10th and Kenilworth on the 13th. (Privy Seal dates.)

² English Chronicle (Davies), 74. MS. Lambeth, 448, f. 144 b.; also English Chronicle in MS. Lambeth, 306. Contin. of Monstrelet, 70, 71.

³ De Coussy, 209

⁴ Privy Seal dates.

of a stormy character,—one point on which all parties were agreed being the exclusion from the council chamber of Pecock, bishop of Chichester, an ardent and honest-minded prelate, who, having laboured hard to reconcile the Lollards to the authority of the Church by arguments of common sense instead of persecution, was at this time stigmatized as a heretic and sedition-monger, and very soon after was deprived of his bishopric. It augured little good for that union of parties which was now felt to be necessary for the public weal, that the first act on which men generally could be got to agree was the persecution of sense and reason. There were other matters before the Council on which they were unable to come to a conclusion, and they broke up on the 29th November, with a resolution to meet again on the 27th January; for which meeting summonses were at once sent out, notifying that on that day not one of the Lords would be excused attendance.¹

Bishop Pe-
cock.

It was, indeed, particularly important that this meeting should be a full one, and that every lord should be compelled to take his share of the responsibility for its decisions. The principal aim was expressly stated to be a general reconciliation and adjustment of private controversies,²—an object to which it was impossible to offer direct opposition. But whether it was really distasteful to a number of the Peers, or obstacles started up in individual cases, there were certainly several who had not arrived in town by the day appointed for the meeting.

The Earl of Salisbury's excuse, dated at Sheriff Hutton on the 24th of January,³ is probably of a different year. At all events, if on that day he intended not to obey the summons, he very soon changed his mind; for before the month was out he made his appearance in London at the head of 400 horse, with 80 knights and squires in his company. The Duke of York also came, "with his own household only, to the number of 140 horse." But the Duke of Somerset only arrived on the last day of the month with 200 horse; the Duke of Exeter delayed his coming till the first week of February; and the Earl of Warwick, who had to come from Calais, was detained by contrary winds. Thus, although the King had come up to Westminster by the time prefixed, a full Council could not be had for at least some days after; and even on the 14th of February there was one absentee, the Earl of Arundel, who had to be written to by letters of Privy Seal.⁴

A.D. 1458.

But by the 14th Warwick had arrived in London with a body of 600 men, "all apparelled in red jackets, with white ragged staves."⁵ The town was now full of the retinues of the different noblemen, and the mayor and sheriffs trembled for the peace of the city. A very special watch was instituted. "The mayor," says Fabyan, "for so long as the King and the Lords lay thus in the

A great
Council in
London.

¹ Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 290-1.

² *Ib.* 293.

³ No. 310.

⁴ No. 313. Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 293.

⁵ Chronicle in MS. Cott., Vitell. A. xvi.

city, had daily in harness 5000 citizens, and rode daily about the city and suburbs of the same, to see that the King's peace were kept; and nightly he provided for 3000 men in harness to give attendance upon three aldermen, and they to keep the night-watch till 7 of the clock upon the morrow, till the day-watch were assembled." If peace was to be the result of all this concourse, the settlement evidently could not bear to be protracted. The Duke of York and the Earls of Salisbury and Warwick had taken up their quarters within the city itself; but the young Lords whose fathers had been slain at St. Alban's—the Duke of Somerset, the Earl of Northumberland and his brother, Lord Egremont, and the Lord Clifford, were believed to be bent upon revenge, and the civic authorities refused them entrance within their bounds.¹ Thus the Lords within the town and those without belonged to the two opposite parties respectively; and in consequence of their mutual jealousies, conferences had to be arranged between them in the morning at the Black Friars, and in the afternoon at the White Friars, in Fleet Street.² The King, for his part, having opened the proceedings with some very earnest exhortations addressed to both parties, withdrew himself and retired to Berkhamstead.³ The Duke of Somerset and others went to and fro to consult with him during the deliberations. Meanwhile the necessity of some practical arrangement for government must have been felt more urgent every day. Sixty sail of Frenchmen were seen off the coast of Sussex, and though Lord Falconbridge was at Southampton in command of some vessels (probably on his own responsibility), there was a general feeling of insecurity among the merchants and among dwellers by the sea-coast. Botoner had heard privately from Calais that the French meditated a descent upon Norfolk at Cromer and Blakeney.⁴ And the news shortly afterwards received from the district shewed that his information was not far wrong.⁵

At last it was agreed on both sides that old animosities should be laid aside, and that some reparation should be made by the Yorkists to the sons and widows of the Lords who had fallen on the King's side at St. Alban's. The exact amount of this reparation was left to the award of Henry, who decided that it should consist of an endowment of £45 a-year to the Monastery of St. Alban's, to be employed in masses for the slain, and in certain money payments, or assignments out of moneys due to them by the Crown, to be made by York, Warwick and Salisbury, to Eleanor, Duchess Dowager of Somerset and to her son, Duke Henry, to Lord Clifford, and others, in lieu of all claims and actions which the latter parties might have against the former.⁶ With what cordiality this arrangement was accepted on either side we do not pre-

¹ English Chronicle (ed. Davies), p. 77. Hall.

² Letter 315.

³ Whethamstede, 417-8. Letter 314.

⁴ Letter 314.

⁵ Letter 315.

⁶ Whethamstede, 422 sq. Engl. Chron. (Davies), 77, 78.



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they could embark. With hard rowing they got beyond the power of their assailants and made their way into the city ; but the Queen and her friends insisted on imputing the outrage to the Earl himself, and demanded his arrest. The latter found it politic to retire to Warwick, and afterwards to his former post at Calais. On this the Queen and her council turned their machinations against his father the Earl of Salisbury, whom Lord Audley was commissioned to arrest and bring prisoner to London. Audley accordingly took with him a large body of men, and hearing that the Earl was on his way from Middleham in Yorkshire, journeying either towards Salisbury or London, he hastened to intercept him. The Earl, however, had received notice of what was intended, and having gathered about him a sufficient band of followers, defeated Lord Audley in a regular pitched battle at Bloreheath in Staffordshire, where he attempted to stop his way, on Sunday the 23d of September.¹

Civil war renewed.

The old elements of confusion were now again let loose. Commissions to raise men were issued in the King's name, and the Duke of York and all his friends were denounced as a confederacy of traitors. They, for their parts, gathered together the men of the Marches in self-defence. At Ludlow, the Duke was joined by the Earl of Salisbury, and also by the Earl of Warwick, who had come over again from Calais. On the other hand, the

The King takes the field.

King himself entered into the strife in a way he had not done hitherto. He not only took the field in person against the rebellious Lords, but exhibited a spirit in the endurance of fatigue and discomfort which seems to have commanded general admiration. Even at the time of Lord Audley's overthrow, it would appear that he was leading forward a reserve. For about a month he kept continually camping out, never resting at night, except on Sundays, in the same place he had occupied the night before, and sometimes, in spite of cold, rough weather, bivouacking for two nights successively on the bare field. After the battle of Bloreheath, he could only regard Salisbury as an overt enemy of his crown. At the same time he despatched heralds to the Duke of York and the Earl of Warwick, with proclamations of free and perfect pardon to themselves and all but a few of the leaders at Bloreheath, on condition of their submitting to him within six days.²

To Garter King of Arms, one of the messengers by whom these offers were conveyed, the confederate lords made answer, and also delivered a written reply to be conveyed to the King, declaring the perfect loyalty of their intentions, which they would have been glad to prove in the King's presence if it were only possible for them to go to him with safety. They had already endeavoured to testify their unshaken fidelity to Henry

¹ Fabyan. Engl. Chron. (Davies), 80. Parl. Rolls. vi. 348.

² Rolls of Parl. vi. 348.

by an indenture drawn up and signed by them in Worcester Cathedral. This instrument they had forwarded to the King by a deputation of churchmen, headed by the prior of that cathedral, and including among others Dr. William Lynwoode,¹ who administered to them the Sacrament on the occasion. Again, after Garter left, they wrote from Ludlow on the 10th of October, protesting that their actions had been misconstrued, and their tenants subjected to wrong and violence, while they themselves lay under unjust suspicion. Their enemies, they said, thirsted for the possession of their lands, and hoped to obtain them by their influence with the King. For their own part they had hitherto avoided a conflict, not from any fear of the power of their enemies, but only for dread of God and of his Highness, and they meant to persevere in this peaceful course, until driven by necessity to self-defence.²

These earnest, solemn, and repeated expressions of loyalty have scarcely, I think, received from historians the attention to which they are entitled. Of their sincerity, of course, men may form different opinions; but it is right to note that the confederate Lords had done all that was in their power by three several and distinct protests to induce the King to think more favourably of their intentions. It is, moreover, to be observed that they remained at this time in an attitude strictly defensive. But the King and his forces still approaching, they drew themselves up in battle array at Ludford, in the immediate vicinity of the town of Ludlow. Here, as they were posted on Friday the 12th October, it would almost seem that the Lords were not without apprehension of the defection of some of their followers. A report was spread through the camp that the King was suddenly deceased, witnesses were brought in who swore to the fact, and mass was said for the repose of his soul. But that very evening, Henry, at the head of his army, arrived within half a mile of their position. The state of the country, flooded by recent rains, had alone prevented him from coming upon them sooner. Before nightfall a few volleys of artillery were discharged against the royal army, and a regular engagement was expected next day. But, meanwhile, the royal proclamation of pardon seems to have had its effect. One Andrew Trollope, who had come over with the Earl of Warwick from Calais, withdrew at dead of night and carried over a considerable body of men to the service of the King, to whom he communicated the secrets of the camp. The blow was absolutely fatal. The Lords at once abandoned all thought of further resistance. Leaving their banners in the field they withdrew at midnight. York and his second son,

The York-
ists dis-
perse.

¹ Not, as Stow supposes, the author of a book on the Constitutions of the Church of England, but probably a nephew or other relation of his. The William Lynwoode who wrote upon the Church Constitutions was bishop of St. David's, and died in 1446.

² Engl. Chron. (Davies), 81, 82.

Edmund, Earl of Rutland, fled into Wales, from whence they sailed into Ireland. His eldest, Edward, Earl of March, accompanied by the two other Earls, Warwick and Salisbury, and by Sir John Wenlock, made his way into Devonshire. There by the friendly aid of one John Dynham, afterwards Lord Dynham, and Lord High Treasurer to Henry VII., they bought a ship at Exmouth and sailed to Guernsey. At last, on Friday the 2d of November, they landed at Calais, where they met with a most cordial reception from the inhabitants.¹

Then followed in November the Parliament of Coventry, and the attainder of the Duke of York and all his party. They are
attainted. The Queen and her friends at last had it all their own way, at least in England. It was otherwise doubtless in Ireland, where the Duke of York remained for nearly a twelvemonth after his flight from Ludlow. It was otherwise too at Calais, where Warwick was all powerful, and whither discontented Yorkists began to flock from England. It was otherwise, moreover, at sea, where the same Warwick still retained the command of the fleet, and could not be dispossessed, except on parchment. On parchment, however, he was presently superseded in both of his important offices. The Duke of Exeter was entrusted with the keeping of the sea, which even at the time of the great reconciliation of parties he had been displeased that Warwick was allowed to retain.² The young Duke of Somerset was appointed Captain of Calais, but was unable to take possession of his post. Accompanied by Lord Roos and Lord Audley, and fortified by the King's letters patent, he crossed the sea, but was refused admittance into the town. Apparently he had put off too long before going over,³ and he found the three Earls in possession of the place before him; so that he was obliged to land at a place called Scales' Cliff and go to Guisnes.⁴ But a worse humiliation still awaited him on landing; for of the very sailors that had brought him over, a number conveyed their ships into Calais harbour, offered their services to the Earl of Warwick, and placed in his hands as prisoners certain persons who had taken part against him. They were shortly after beheaded in Calais.⁵

It would seem, in short, that ever since his great naval victory in 1458, Warwick was so highly popular with all the sailors of England, that it was quite as hopeless for the Duke of Exeter to contest his supremacy at sea as for Somerset to think of win-

¹ Rolls of Parliament, vi. 348-9 Whethamstede, 459-62; Fabyan.

² W. Worc., 479.

³ He received his appointment on the 9th October, three days before the dispersion of the Yorkists at Ludlow (Rymer, xi. 436), and according to one authority (Engl Chron., ed. Davies, 84) he went over in the same month; but as all authorities agree that Warwick was there before him, it was more probably in the beginning of November.

⁴ Chronicle in MS. Cott., Vitell. A. xvi.

⁵ Fabyan.



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him knave's son, that he should be so rude to call him and those other Lords traitors; for they should be found the King's true liegemen when he should be found a traitor. And my Lord of Warwick rated him and said that his father was but a squire, and brought up with King Henry V., and since made himself by marriage, and also made a Lord; and that it was not his part to have such language of Lords, being of the King's blood. And my Lord of March rated him in likewise. And Sir Anthony was rated for his language of all the three Lords in likewise."¹ It must have been a curious reflection to the Earl of March when in after years, as King Edward IV., he married the daughter of this same Lord Rivers, that he had taken part in this vituperation of his future father-in-law!

By and bye it became sufficiently evident that unless he was considerably reinforced, the Duke of Somerset could do no good at Guisnes. Instead of attempting to maintain a footing beside Calais, the Queen's government would have enough to do to keep the rebels out of England. The capture of Rivers had excited the most serious alarm, and the landing of Warwick himself upon the eastern coast was looked upon as not improbable.² A new force of 500 men was accordingly sent to Sandwich under the command of one Osbert Mountford or Mundeford,³ an old officer of Calais. His instructions were to go from Sandwich to Guisnes, either in aid of the Duke of Somerset, as intimated in Worcester's Annals, or, according to another contemporary authority,⁴ to bring him over to England. But while he waited for a wind to sail, John Dynham again crossed the sea, attacked the force under the command of Mundeford, and after a little skirmishing, in which he himself was wounded, succeeded in carrying him off to Calais, as he had before done Lord Rivers. Mundeford's treatment, however, was not so lenient as that of the more noble captive. On the 25th of June he was beheaded at the Tower of Rysebank, which stood near the town, on the opposite side of the harbour.⁵

Meanwhile the Earl of Warwick did not remain at Calais. He scoured the seas with his fleet and sailed into Ireland. Sir Baldwin Fulford, a knight of Devonshire, promised the King, on pain of losing his head, to destroy Warwick's fleet; but having exhausted the sum of 1000 marks which was allowed him for his expenses, he returned home without having attained his object.⁶ On the 16th of March Warwick having met with the Duke of York in Ireland, the two noblemen entered the harbour of Water-

¹ Letter 346.

² See Appendix to Introduction.

³ The writer of Letter 326. He was a connection of the Paston family, having married Elizabeth, daughter of John Berney, Esq., another of whose daughters, Margaret, was the mother of Margaret Paston (Blomefield, ii. 182). He had been much engaged in the King's service in France, and had been treasurer of Normandy before it was lost—a fact which may account for his writing French in preference to English.—See Stevenson's Wars of the English in France, index.

⁴ Engl. Chron. (Davies), 85.

⁵ W. Worc. 479; Fabyan; Stowe, 406-7.

ford with a fleet of six and twenty ships well manned ; and on the following day, being St Patrick's Day, they landed and were ceremoniously received by the mayor and burgesses.¹ Warwick seems to have remained in Ireland more than two months, concerting with the Duke of York plans for future action. About Whitsunday, which in this year fell on the 1st of June, his fleet was observed by the Duke of Exeter off the coast of Cornwall, on its return to Calais. Exeter's squadron was superior in strength, and an engagement might have been expected ; but the Duke was not sure that he could trust his own sailors, and he allowed the Earl to pass unmolested.²

About this time there arrived at Calais a papal nuncio, by name Francesco Coppini, bishop of Teramo, returning from England to Rome. He had been sent by the new Pope, Pius II., the ablest that had for a long time filled the pontifical chair, to urge Henry to send an ambassador to a congress at Mantua, in which measures were to be concerted for the union and defence of Christendom against the Turks. This was in the beginning of the preceding year,³ and, as he himself states, he remained nearly a year and a half in England.⁴ But the incapacity of the King, and the dissensions that prevailed among the Lords, rendered his mission a total failure. Henry, indeed, who was never wanting in reverence for the Holy See, named a certain number of Bishops and Lords to go upon this mission, but they one and all refused. He accordingly sent two priests of little name, with an informal commission to excuse a greater embassy. England was thus discredited at the papal court, and the nuncio, finding his mission fruitless, at last crossed the sea to return home. At Calais, however, he was persuaded by Warwick to remain. The Earl himself was about to return to England, and if the legate would come back in his company he might use the influence of his sacred office to heal the wounds of a divided kingdom.⁵

The Legate
Coppini.

The nuncio had doubtless seen enough of the deplorable condition of England to be convinced that peace was impossible, so long as the Lords most fit to govern were banished and proclaimed rebels by the Queen and her favourites.⁶ He was, moreover, furnished with powers, by which—the main object of

¹ Lambeth MS. 632, f. 255.

² Chron. (Davies), 85 ; W. Worc.

³ His commission from the Pope is dated 7th January 1458[9].—Rymer, xi. 419.

⁴ Brown's Venetian Calendar, i. p. 91.

⁵ Gobellinus, 161.

⁶ The Yorkists apparently were not sparing of insinuations against the Queen. It had been rumoured, according to Fabyan, that the Prince of Wales was not really the King's son ; but the worst that was insinuated was that he was a changeling. But Warwick himself, according to Gobellinus, described the situation to the nuncio as follows :—“ Rex noster stupidus est, et mente captus ; regitur, non regit ; apud uxorem et qui regis thalamum foedant, imperium est.”

his mission being the union of Christendom—he was authorized to make some efforts to compose the dissensions of England.¹ But he certainly overstrained them, and allowed himself to become a partizan. Flattered by the attentions shown him by Warwick, he acceded to his suggestion, and when, on the 26th of June,² the day after Munford was beheaded at Calais, the confederate Lords crossed the Channel, the nuncio was in their company, bearing the standard of the Church. Archbishop Bourchier, too, met them at Sandwich, where they landed, with a great multitude of people; and with his cross borne before him, the Primate of England conducted the three Earls and their followers, who increased in number as they went along, until they reached the capital. After a very brief opposition on the part of some of the citizens, the city opened its gates to them. They entered London on the 2d of July.³

Before they crossed the sea, the three Earls had sent over a set of articles addressed to the Archbishop and the Commons of England in the name of themselves and the Duke of York, declaring how they had sued in vain to be admitted to the King's presence to set forth certain matters that concerned the common weal of all the land. Foremost among these was the oppression of the Church, a charge based, seemingly, on facts with which we are unacquainted, and which, if known, might shed a clearer light upon the conduct of the legate and Archbishop Bourchier. Secondly, they complained of the crying evil that the King had given away to favourites all the revenues of his Crown, so that his household was supported by acts of rapine and extortion on the part of his purveyors. Thirdly, the laws were administered with great partiality, and justice was not to be obtained. Grievous taxes, moreover, were levied upon the Commons, while the destroyers of the land were living upon the patrimony of the Crown. And now a worse charge than ever was imposed upon the inhabitants; for the King, borrowing an idea from the new system of military service in France, had commanded every township to furnish at its own cost a certain number of men for the royal army, "which imposition and talliage," wrote the Lords in this manifesto, "if it be continued to their heirs and successors, will be the heaviest charge and worst example that ever grew in England, and the foresaid subjects and the said heirs and successors in such bondage as their ancestors were never charged with."⁴

¹ See the Pope's letter to him in Theiner, 423-4.

² "The Lords crossed the sea on Thursday," writes Coppini from London on the 4th July.—Brown's Venetian Calendar, i. 90.

³ Engl. Chron. (Davies), 94.

⁴ It appears by Letter 325 that privy seals were issued in 1459 addressed on the back to certain persons, requiring them to be with the King at Leicester on the 10th of May, each with a body of men sufficiently armed, and with provision for their own expenses for two months. One of these privy



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heard of from Berkshire, for which county he had found interest to get himself returned in the new Parliament.

John Paston also was returned to this Parliament as one of the representatives of his own county of Norfolk. His sympathies were entirely with the new state of things, and his friend and correspondent, Friar Brackley, who felt with him that the wellbeing of the whole land depended entirely on the Earl of Warwick, sent him exhortations out of Scripture to encourage him in the performance of his political duties.¹ But what would be the effect of the coming over from Ireland of the Duke of York, who had by this time landed at Chester, and would now take the chief direction of affairs?² Perhaps the chief fear was that he would be too indulgent to political antagonists. Moreover, the Dowager Duchess of Suffolk had contrived to marry her son to one of York's daughters, and it was apprehended her influence would be considerable. "The Lady of Suffolk," wrote Friar Brackley to Paston, "hath sent up her son and his wife to my Lord of York to ask grace for a sheriff the next year, Stapleton, Boleyn, or Tyrell, *qui absit!* God send you Poynings, W. Paston, W. Rokewood, or Arblaster. Ye have much to do, Jesus speed you! Ye have many good prayers, what of the convent, city, and country."³

Such was the state of hope, fear, and expectation which the new turn of affairs awakened in some, and particularly in the friends of John Paston. The next great move in the political game perhaps exceeded the anticipations even of Friar Brackley.

Yet though the step was undoubtedly a bold one, never, perhaps, was a high course of action more strongly suggested by the results of past experience. After ten miserable years of fluctuating policy, the attainted Yorkists were now for the fourth time in possession of power; but who could tell that they would not be a fourth time set aside and proclaimed as traitors? For yet a fourth time since the fall of Suffolk, England might be subjected to the odious rule of favourites under a well-intentioned King, whose word was not to be relied on. To the common weal the prospect was serious enough; to the Duke of York and his friends it was absolute and hopeless ruin. But York had now determined what to do. On the 10th of October, the third day of the Parliament, he came to Westminster with a body of 500 armed men, and took up quarters for himself within the royal palace. On the 16th, he entered the House of Lords, and having sat down in the King's throne, he delivered to the Lord Chancellor a writing in which he distinctly claimed that he, and not Henry, was by inheritance rightful King of England.⁴

The reader is of course aware of the fact on which this claim was based, viz. that York, through the female line, was descended

¹ Letter 355.

² Letter 357.

³ Letter 355.

⁴ W. Worc., 483; Fabyan; Rolls of Parl., v. 375.

from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., while King Henry, his father, and his grandfather had all derived their rights from John of Gaunt, who was Lionel's younger brother. Henry IV. indeed was an undoubted usurper; but to set aside his family after they had been in possession of the throne for three generations must have seemed a very questionable proceeding. Very few of the Lords at first appeared to regard it with favour. The greater number stayed away from the House.¹ But the Duke's counsel insisting upon an answer, the House represented the matter to the King, desiring to know what he could allege in opposition to the claim of York. The King, however, left the Lords to inquire into it themselves, and as it was one of the gravest questions of law, the Lords consulted the justices. But the justices declined the responsibility of advising in a matter of so high a nature. They were the King's justices, and could not be of counsel where the King himself was a party. The King's serjeants and attorney were then applied to, but were equally unwilling to commit themselves; so that the Lords themselves brought forward and discussed of their own accord a number of objections to the Duke of York's claim. At length it was declared as the opinion of the whole body of the Peers that his title could not be defeated, but a compromise was suggested and mutually agreed to that the King should be allowed to retain his crown for life, the succession reverting to the Duke and his heirs immediately after Henry's death.²

So the matter was settled by a great and solemn act of state. Nor does it appear that the King was in any manner coerced,³ still less that the Peers were intimidated, or insensible of the responsibility they incurred in a grave constitutional crisis. But no Act of Parliament in the world, no settlement of this kind, even though agreed to by the King himself, could be expected to bind the spirit of his stubborn consort. Since the battle of Northampton, she had been separated from her husband. She fled at first into Cheshire, or, according to Stow, into Lancashire, where she was robbed of all her goods to the value of 10,000 marks, and afterwards to the Castle of Harlech in Wales. From thence she took ship and sailed into Scotland, where enemies of the Duke of York were specially welcome. For James II., profiting, as usual, by the dissensions of England, a month after the battle of Northampton laid siege to Roxburgh, where he was killed by the bursting of a cannon. Margaret, however, did not remain long in Scotland. On hearing of her husband's tame surrender of the rights of his son, she took care at once to show that she did not recognize the act as possessing the smallest validity.

¹ W. Worc., 484.

² Rolls of Parl., v. 375-9.

³ Though the King was taken prisoner at the battle of Northampton, and had ever since been in the power of the victors, no restraint appears to have been placed upon his liberty. In October, before the Parliament met, he was spending the time in hunting at Greenwich and Eltham.—No. 357.

Assembling the Northern Barons and their people at York, there repaired to her standard the Earl of Northumberland, Lords Clifford and Dacres, and with them the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, and the Earl of Devonshire. To meet this new danger, the Duke of York hastened northwards, and for a time secured himself in his own Castle of Sandal; but on the 30th day of

The battle of Wakefield. December was fought the disastrous battle of Wakefield, when the whole army of York was defeated, himself slain in the field, and his young son, the Earl of Rutland, ruthlessly murdered by Lord Clifford after the battle.

The story of poor young Rutland's butchery is graphically described by a historian of the succeeding age, who, though perhaps with some inaccuracies of detail as to fact, is a witness to the strong impression left by this beginning of barbarities. The account of it given by Hall, the chronicler, is as follows:—

“While this battle was in fighting, a priest called Sir Robert Aspell, chaplain and schoolmaster to the young Earl of Rutland, second son to the above-named Duke of York, scarce of the age of twelve years [he was really in his eighteenth year], a fair gentleman and a maiden-like person, perceiving that flight was more safeguard than tarrying, both for him and his master, secretly conveyed the Earl out of the field by the Lord Clifford's band towards the town. But ere he could enter into a house, he was by the said Lord Clifford espied, followed, and taken, and, by reason of his apparel, demanded what he was. The young gentleman, dismayed, had not a word to speak, but knelt on his knees, imploring mercy and desiring grace, both with holding up his hands and making dolorous countenance, for his speech was gone for fear. ‘Save him,’ said his chaplain, ‘for he is a prince's son, and peradventure may do you good hereafter.’ With that word, the Lord Clifford marked him and said—‘By God's blood, thy father slew mine; and so will I do thee and all thy kin;’ and with that word stuck the Earl to the heart with his dagger, and bade his chaplain bear the Earl's mother word what he had done and said.”

In the same bloodthirsty spirit Clifford also cut off the head from the dead body of the Duke of York, crowned it in mockery with a paper crown, and carried it to Queen Margaret upon a pole. “Madam,” he said to her, “your war is done; here is your King's ransom.” A most unhappy prophecy surely, yet worthy to be had in everlasting remembrance, if only as a conspicuous example how little the violent and sanguinary can see into the future. Instead of the war being ended, or the King being ransomed, there cannot be a doubt these deeds of wickedness imparted a new ferocity to the strife and hastened on the termination of Henry's imbecile, unhappy reign. Within little more than two months after the battle of Wakefield the son of the murdered Duke of York was proclaimed King in London, by the title of Edward IV., and at the end of the third month the bloody victory of Towton almost destroyed, for a long time, the hopes of the House of Lancaster. From that day Henry led a wretched existence, now as an exile, now as a prisoner, for eleven unhappy years, saving only a few months' interval, during which he was made King again by the Earl of Warwick, without



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APPENDIX

TO

PREFACE AND INTRODUCTION.

I.—FRANCIS BLOMEFIELD.—See p. x.

SINCE the foregoing Preface was printed, I have met with a small tract entitled “Cursory Notices of the Reverend Francis Blomefield,” by S. Wilton Rix, Esq., from which it appears that in 1735 Blomefield was allowed to examine the deceased Earl of Yarmouth’s papers at Oxnead, with a view to his county history of Norfolk. There he boarded for a fortnight, and was employed in looking over thirty or forty chests of documents, among which were a number of interesting letters. It is evident, therefore, that the Earl had only parted with a portion of his family papers to Le Neve, and Blomefield must have obtained those, of which he was afterwards the owner, by purchase from the Earl’s executors.

2.—PARMINTER’S INSURRECTION.—See p. lvi.

In the bundle of Privy Seals for the year 29 Henry VI. is a pardon to James God, dated on the 4th March, and delivered to the Chancellor for execution on the 5th. Attached to it is the following record of his indictment:--

“*Kent sc.*—Jur’ dicunt quod Jacobus God nuper de Feversham in com’ prædicto, plumber, et alii, ac quamplures alii proditores, rebelles et inimici illustrissimis Principis Henrici Regis Angliæ Sexti post Conquestum ignoti et nuper complices et de societate falsi proditoris Will’i Parmynter, smyth, qui se ipsum nominavit Secundum Capitaneum Kancizæ, eidemque adhærentes et de ejus covina et assensu in omnibus prodicionibus suis mortem dicti Regis et destructionem regni sui Angiæ confœderantes, machinantes, compassentes et proponentes, ultimo die Augusti anno regni dicti Regis vicesimo nono¹ apud

¹ So in the record, but evidently an error. It should have been *vicesimo octavo*.

Feversham et alibi in com. Kanciæ se adinvicem congregaverunt ad numerum quadringentorum hominum et amplius, dicentes et confidentes quod ipsi essent de eorum cōvina et assensu ad eorum libitum et voluntatem xl. milia hominum armatorum et modo guerrino arraiatorum ad præbendum et percussendum bellum contra dictum Regem seu quoscumque alios in proditionibus suis prædictis eis contravenientes et falso et proditorie insurrexerunt et mortem dicti Regis imaginaverunt et compassi fuerunt, ac guerram adtunc et ibidem et alibi per Vices infra dictum com. Kanc. falso et proditorie contra dictum Regem, supremum dominum suum, levaverunt, in destructionem ipsius Regis et Regni prædicti.

BENET."

There is a note of the trial of Parmynter in Hilary term, 29 Hen. VI., on the Controlment Roll of that year, rot. 9.

3.—PARDON TO JOHN PAYN. See p. lviii.

On the Patent Roll 30 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 23, occurs the following entry :—

De Pardonacione.—Rex omnibus ballivis et fidelibus suis ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod cum nonnulli rebelles nostri in comitatu nostro Kanciæ, paucis ante diebus contra pacem nostram insurrectionem gravem concitantes, quasdam factiones proditorias contra nostram personam detestabiliter machinati fuerint, nonnullaque proditiones, murdra, felonias et facinora, aliasque transgressiones perpetraverint; quia tamen, cum nuper per civitates oppida atque villas in eodem comitatu nostro ad eorum hujusmodi insolencias et rebelliones coercendos iter faceremus, plurimi ex eisdem, spiritu sanioris consilii ducti, plurimum humiliati, etiam usque femoralia nudi, suorum immanitates criminum coram nobis confitentes, veniam a nobis effusis lachrymis anxie postularunt; Nos, ad singulorum hujusmodi ligeorum nostrorum submissiones humillimas nostros misericordes oculos dirigentes, ac firmiter tenentes quod de cætero in nostra obedientia stabiles permanebunt, fidem ligeanciæ suæ erga nos inantea inviolabiliter servaturi, ad laudem, gloriam et honorem Omnipotentis et misericordis Dei ac gloriosissimæ Virginis matris Christi, de gratia nostra speciali pardonavimus, remisimus et relaxavimus Johanni Payn de Pecham in comitatu prædicto, yoman, alias dicto Johanni Payn, nuper de Estpekham in comitatu prædicto, smyth, qui inter cæteros se submisit nostræ gratiæ, quocumque nomine censeatur, sectam pacis nostræ quæ ad nos versus eum pertinet, seu poterit pertinere, pro quibuscumque proditionibus, felonis murdris et transgressionibus per ipsum a septimo die Julii anno regni nostri vicesimo octavo usque decimum diem Junii ultimo præteritum factis sive perpetratis; ac etiam utlagarias, si quæ in ipsum Johannem occasionibus prædictis seu earum aliqua fuerint promulgatæ; necnon omnimodas forisfacturas terrarum, tenementorum, reddituum, possessionum, bonorum et catalorum, quæ idem Johannes nobis occasionibus prædictis seu earum aliqua forisfecit aut forisfacere debuit, et firmam pacem nostram ei inde concedimus: Ita tamen quod stet recto in curia nostra si quis versus eum loqui voluerit de præmissis seu aliquo præmissorum. Proviso semper quod ista nostra pardonacio, remissio sive relaxacio se non extendat ad aliqua malefacta supra mare et aquas aliquo modo facta sive perpetrata. In cujus, &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium secundo die Novembris.

Two similar patents were granted on the same date to Richard Doke, yeoman, and William Souter, labourer, both of Peckham.

4.—THE DUKE OF YORK AT DARTFORD.—See p. lxxiv.

The most minute account of the encampment of the Duke of York at Dartford is contained in the following extract from the Cottonian Roll, ii. 23.

At Crayfford, myle from Dertfford.

Primo die mensis Marcii anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti xxx^o ther was my Lord of Yorkes ordynaunce, iij^{mill.} gownner, and hym selff in the middell ward with viij^{mill.}, my Lord of Devynsher by the southe side with vj^{mill.}, and my Lord Cobham with vj^{mill.} at the water side, and vij. shippus with ther stuff. And sith that tyme, and sith was poyntment made and taken at Dertfford by embassetours, my Lord the B. of Wynchester, my Lord B. of Ely, my Lord the Erle of Salusbury, my Lorde of Warrewik, my Lord Bewcham, and my Lord of Sydeley, &c., whiche poyntment was, &c. And soon after was Chatterley, yeman of the Crown, maymed, not withstondyng he was takyn at Derby with money making and ladde to London. Then after the Kynges yeman of his chambur, namyd Fazakerley, with letteris was sent to Luddelowe to my Lord of Yorke chargyng to do forth a certeyn of his mayny, Arthern, squier, Sharpe, sqier, &c.; the whiche Fazakerley hyld in avowtry Sharpes wiff, the which Sharpe slewe Fitzacurley, and a baker of Ludlow roos and the Commyns, &c., the whych baker is at Kyllingworth Castell, &c. After this my Lord of Shrousbury, &c., rode in to Kent, and set up v. peyre of galowes and dede execucion upon John Wylkyns, takeu and brought to the towne as for capteyn, and with other mony mo, of the whiche xxvij. were honged and be heded, the whiche hedes were sent to London; and London said ther shuld no mo hedes be set upon there; and that tyme Eton was robbyd, and the Kyng beyng at Wynsor on Lowe Souday, &c.

5.—THE DUKE OF YORK AND THE COUNCIL.—See pp. xcviij–ix.

The following document is enrolled on the Patent Roll 32 Henry VI., membrane 20 :—

Pro Ricardo Duce Ebor.—Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Inspeximus tenorem cujusdam actus in consilio nostro apud Westmonasterium tento facti, venerabili patri Johanni Cardinali et Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliæ primati, Cancellario nostro, per Thomam Kent clericum ejusdem consilii nostri ad exemplificationem tenoris prædicti sub Magno Sigillo nostro in forma debita fiendam nuper deliberatum et in filaciis Cancellariæ nostræ residentem, in hæc verba :—

The xxj. day of Novembre, the yere of the regne of oure Souverain Lorde King Henry the Vjth xxxijth at Westmynstre, in the Sterred Chambre, being there present the Lordes, the Cardinal Archebisshop of Canterbury and Chaunceller of England, th'Archebisshop of Yorke, the Bisshops of London, Winchestre, Ely, Norwich, Saint Davides, Chestre, Lincoln, and Carlisle, the Duc of Buckingham, th'Erles of Salisbury, Pembroke, Warrewik, Wiltshire, Shrovesbury, and Worcestre, Tresourer of England, the Viscount Bourchier, the Priour of Seint Johns, the Lordes Cromwell, Suddeley, Duddeley, Stourton, and Berners. The Duc of York reherced unto the seid Lordes that he, as the Kinges true liegman and subgit, was by commaundement directed unto him undre the Kinges Prive Seal, come hidre to the Kinges greet Counsail, and wolde with all diligence to his power entende to the same, and to all that that sholde or might be to the welfare of the King and of his subgettes; but for asmoche as it soo was that divers persones, suche as of longe tyme have been of his Counsail, have be commaunded afore this tyme, by what meanes he watte never, not to entende upon him. but to with-



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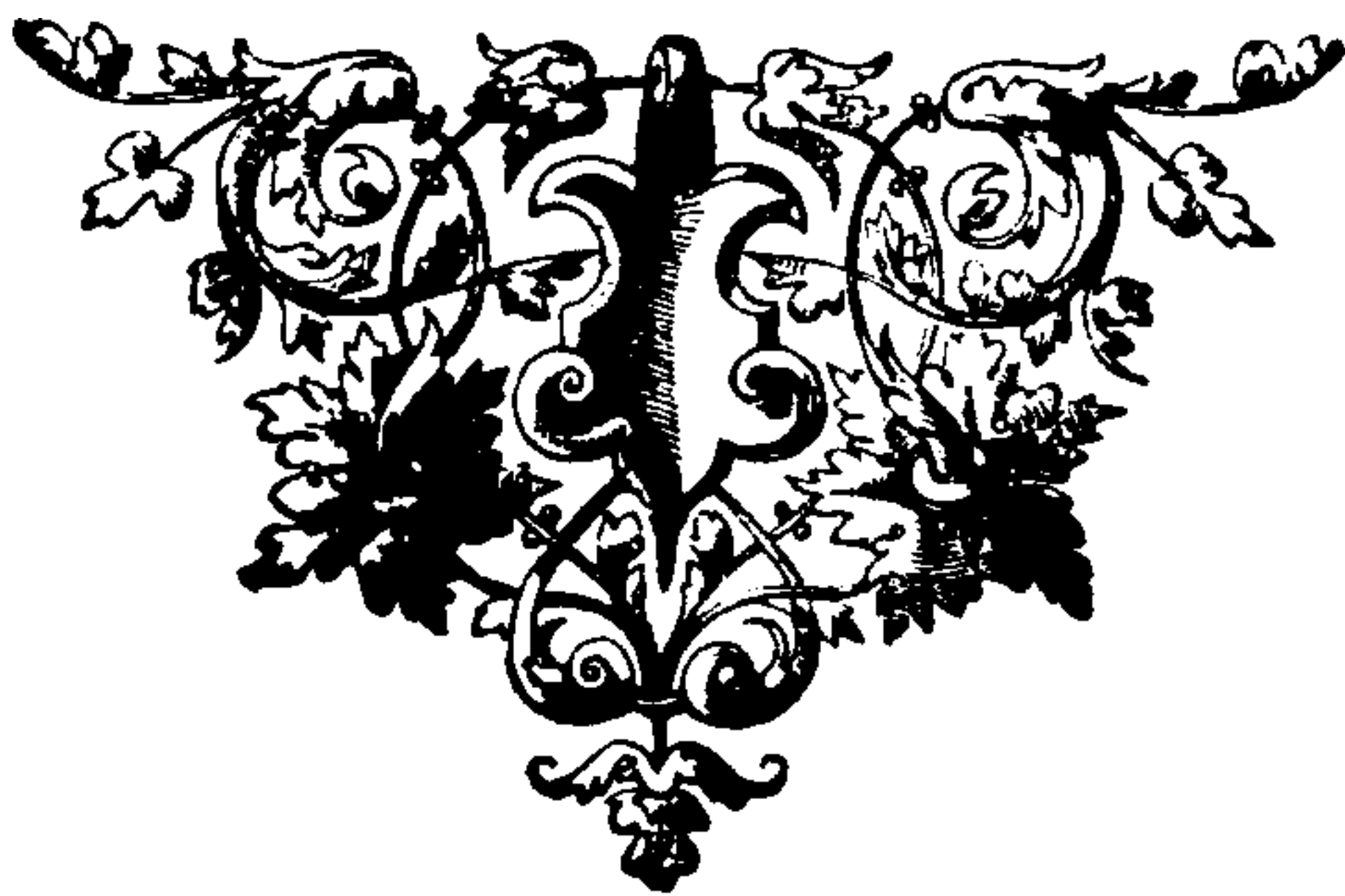
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exequimini in forma prædicta. Damus autem universis et singulis Vicecomitibus, majoribus, ballivis, constabulariis, ac aliis officiariis, ministris, fidelibus legiis et subditis nostris quibuscunque, tam infra libertates quam extra, tenore præsentium, firmiter in mandatis quod vobis et vestrum cuilibet in executione præmissorum intendentes sint, assistentes et auxiliantes in omnibus diligenter. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, x. die Februarii. Per Consilium.

Consimiles literæ Regis patentes diriguntur carissimo consanguineo suo Johanni Duci Norff' ac dilectis et fidelibus suis Thomæ Tudenham militi, Willielmo Chamberleyn militi, Miloni Stapulton militi, et Philippo Wentworth militi; necnon dilectis sibi Willelmo Calthorp, Johanni Heydon, Henrico Inglose, Johanni Wymondham, et Thomæ Claymond in comitatu Norff'. Teste ut supra.

Consimiles literæ Regis patentes diriguntur dilectis et fidelibus suis majori et aldermannis ac vicecomitibus villæ suæ de Kyngeston super Hull, et eorum cuilibet in villa prædicta. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium, xvj. die Februarii.



The Paston Letters



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at the expense of the Abbot, give him every security in Court to release the lands in Paston.

“Ralph de Paston was son, as I take it” (says Blomefield), “of this Richer, and appears to have had two sons, Richard and Nicholas.

“Richard, son of Ralph de Paston, by his deed, *sans date*, granted to Geoffrey, son of Roger de Tweyt, lands in this town (Oxnead), paying 9d. per ann. for his homage and service, 40s. for a fine (*in gersumam*), and paying to him and his heirs on the feasts of St. Andrew, Candlemas, Pentecost, and St. Michael, on each feast, 2s. *ob.* He sealed with one *lis.* Laurence de Reppes, William and John, his brother, William de Bradfield, &c., were witnesses.”—Blomefield, vi. 480-1.

“There was also another branch of this family, of which was Wystan, or Wolstan, de Paston, whom I take to be the lineal ancestor of Sir William Paston, the Judge, and the Earls of Yarmouth. This Wolstan lived in the reign of Henry II. and Richard I., and married, as is probable, a daughter of the Glanvilles, as appeared from an impalement of Paston and Glanville in the windows of Paston Hall in Paston. His son and heir styled himself Robert de Wyston and Robert de Paston; who, dying in or about 1242, was buried at Bromholm, and left Edmund de Paston. To this Edmund, son of Robert, son of Wolstan de Paston, Sir Richard de Paston gave the land in Paston which Robert, his father, held of him and Nicholas, his brother, by deed *sans date*.”—Blomefield, vi. 481.

Undated Deed of Nicholaus filius Radulfi Diaconi de Paston, granting to Robert, son of Wistan de Paston, two parcels of lands—one of them abutting on the lands of Eudo de Paston. Witnesses—Richard de Trunch; Will. Esprygy; Ralph de Reppes; Roger de Reppes; Richard, s. of Ralph de Baketon; John de Reppes; Roger, s. of Warin de Paston; Hugh, s. of Will. de Paston, &c.—Add. Charter 17,217, B.M. (Paston MSS.)

Undated Deed of Richard, son of Ralph de Pastone, granting to Edmund, son of Robert Wistan de Pastone, lands in Pastone, &c.—(*Seal attached, in fine condition.*) Add. Charter 17,218, B.M. (Paston MSS.)

Blomefield also mentions (vi. 481) that Nicholas, son of Ralph de Paston, gave lands to Robert, son of Wystan de Paston, by deed *sans date*. Witness, Roger de Repps.

Undated Deed Poll, by which Richard, the son of Ralph, Deacon of Paston, grants to Edmund, the son of Robert Wiston of Paston, certain lands at Paston.—Add. Charter 14,810, B.M. (D. Turner's Collection of Deeds relating to Norfolk.)

Richard, son of Ralph de Paston, according to Blomefield (xi. 24), gave 12*d.* a year rent in Paston to the Priory of Bromholm. This gift is also mentioned by Richard Taylor in his *Index Monasticus* of the Diocese of Norwich, p. 15, where the purpose of the endowment is said to be “to keep their books in repair.”

Deed, cited by Blomefield (vi. 481), by Richard, son of John, son of Richard de Paston, granting to Richer Alunday and his heirs his native Alan de Tilney, with all his family, &c. (*cum tota sequela*), and 7 acres of land in Paston and Knapton, with messuages, &c., for 4 marks of silver *in gersumam*, and a rent of 22*d.* a year.

Undated Deed Poll, whereby William, the son of Robert Barrett, grants to Edmund, the son of Robert Whiston of Paston, certain lands in the Common Field of Paston.—Add. Charter 14,813, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

Undated Indenture between Clement Parcerit of Gimmingham, and Cecil, his wife, and Edmund, the son of Robert de Paston, concerning lands in Paston Field.—Add. Charter 14,814, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

Undated Deed Poll, by which Richard de Lessingham grants to William, son of Robert de Paston, certain lands in the Common Field of Paston.—Add. Charter 14,812. (D. Turner's Coll.)

Ancient Deed of Nich. Chancehose of Baketun granting to Edmund, fil. Roberti Wistan de Pastun, and his heirs, for 30*s.*, a *tresroda* of land in Pastun.—Add. Charter 17,219, B.M. (Paston MSS.)

Undated Deed Poll, by which Richard, son of John de Paston, grants to Roger, his brother, certain lands in Paston Field.—Add. Charter 14,811, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

Undated Deed Poll, whereby Hugh, son of William de Pastun, grants to Walter, son of Edmund de Pastun, and his heirs, a *tresroda* of land in the fields of Pastun, “inter terram quæ fuit Osberti Salr. (?), ex parte Austri, et terram quæ fuit Ricardi Champeneys ex parte Aquilonis, et abuttat super forreram quæ fuit Roberti Carpenter' versus Orientem, et super liberam et terram ecclesiæ de Past' versus Occidentem.”—Add. Charter 2004, B.M.

A.D. 1313, 16 Oct. “William de Paston obtains a pardon as an adherent of the Earl of Lancaster for his participation in the death of Gavaston, and the disturbances occasioned thereby.” 16 Oct., 7 Edw. II.—Palgrave's Parliamentary Writs, vol. ii, div. iii, p. 1262.

A.D. 1324, 22 Jan. Deed Poll, dated on Sunday after the Feast of St. Agnes, 17 Edward II, whereby Henry de Mundham, parson of Oxnead, and another, grant to William Hautayne and Alice, his wife, a certain messuage and premises in Oxnead.—Add. Charter 14,804, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

A.D. 1324, 19 Feb. Quit-Claim by Edmund, son of Robert de Neketone, to Robert de Paston, Tabernarius, of lands in the fields without the West Gate of Bury St. Edmund's. Sunday after St. Valentine's Day, 17 Edw. II. Seal attached.—Harl. Charter 54 A. 31, B.M.

A.D. 1329, 24 Dec. Deed Poll of Margery, daughter of Robert de Neketon, granting to Robert de Paston lands in the

fields of St. Edmund's. St. Edmund's Bury, Sunday, Christmas Eve, 3 Edw. III.—Harl. Charter 54 A. 32, B.M.

A.D. 1330. Petition to Parliament 4 Edw. III. of John de Claveryng, complaining that John Payne of Dunwich, Constantine de Paston, Austin Fitzwilliam, and others of Dunwich, took by force and arms five ships and a boat belonging to him, at Walerswyke, and goods to the value of £300, after having beat, shipwrecked, and imprisoned (*baterent, naufrerent, et enprisonerent*) the said John's servants. The king's answer: "Eyt en Chauncellerie oyer et terminer pur le horibilite du trespas, devant covenables justices."—Rolls of Parl. ii. 33.

A.D. 1333, 29 April. Deed Poll, dated Thursday next before the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross, 7 Edward III, whereby Alice, widow of William Hautayne, grants to Henry de Colby and others a messuage, with the appurtenances in Oxnead.—Add. Charter 14,805, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

A.D. 1341, 28 Aug. Deed Poll of Robert de Paston granting to William de Bradeleghe and William Child, Chaplains, lands in the fields of St. Edmund's Bury, without the West Gate at Stanywerp, &c. St. Edmund's Bury, Tuesday after St. Bartholomew, 15 Edw. III.—Harl. Charter 54 F. 37, B.M.

A.D. 1341. Indenture of 15 Edw. III. between John de Knapeton, rector of Freugges, and Clement de Paston and Will. his son.—Add. Charter 17,221, B.M. (Paston MSS.)

A.D. 1361. Charter of Sir Rob. de Mauteby to the Prior of St. Olave's, Herlyngflet, 35 Edw. III.—Add. Charter 17,222, (Paston MSS.) B.M.

Notes of Proceedings in Outlawry of the time of Edward III. Judgment by Sir John Hody, mentioned in a more modern hand.—Paston MSS., B.M.

A.D. 1382, 5 Oct. Deed Poll, dated on Sunday next after the Feast of St. Michael, 6 Richard II., by which Robert de Paston grants to John Gant certain lands in Paston field.—Add. Charter 14,817, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)

A.D. 1404, 1 Oct. Deed by which Mary, Lady Mortimer, mother of Sir John Fastolf, grants to her said son her manors of Caister and Caister Hall, together with her manor of Repps and the advowson of the free Chapel of St. John, within the said manor of Caister, to hold to him and his heirs for ever. 1 Oct., 6 Henry IV.—Add. Charter 14,597, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)



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- The Town of Chyrbourgh and the Castell.
 The Town of Vernouille and ij. Castell.
 The Town of Morteyn and the Castell.
 The Town of Powntlarche and the Castell.
 The Town of Esey and the Castell.
 The Town of Dounfrount and the Castell.
 The Town of Pountedomer and the Castell.
 The Town of Turve and the Castell.
 The Town of Costaunce and the Castell.
 The Cytee of Roon and the Castell.
 The Town of Galion and the Castell.
 The Town of Galdebek [*Caudebec*].
 The Town of Mustirvilers.
 The Town of Depe.
 The Town of Ve and the Castell.
 The Town of Vernouille suz Seyne and the Castell.
 The Town of Mawnt and the Castell.
 The Castell of Towk.
 The Castell of Morvile.
 The Castell of Overs in Awge.
 The Abbey of Seint Savers suz Deve.
 The Abbey of Seint Peers suz Dive.
 The Abbey of Seint Stevenis of Cane.
 The Bole Abbey of Cane.
 The Castell of Cursy.
 The Castell of Gundy.
 The Castell of Nevylebeke.
 The Castell of Vermus.
 The Castell of Garcy.
 The Castell of Oo [*Eu*].
 The Castell of Vileine.
 The Castell of Egyll.
 The Castell of Regyll.
 The Castell of Curton.
 The Castell of Fagemon.
 The Castell of Chamberexs.
 The Castell of Ryveers.
 The Castell of Bewmanill.
 The Castell of Bewmalyn.

- The Castell of Harecourt.
- The Abbey of Behelwyn.
- The Castell of Parlevesque.
- The Castell of Semper.
- The Castell of Tracy.
- The Castell of Tylly.
- The Castell of Groby.
- The Castell of Carsell.
- The Castell of Hommbe.
- The Castell of Seynt Denise.
- The Castell of Bonvile.
- The Castell of Grennevile.
- The Castell of Perers.
- The Castell of Seint Gilerinz.
- The Castell of Bewmound.
- The Castell of Asse la Rebole.
- The Castell of Tanny.
- The Castell of Antony.
- The Castell of Balon.
- The Castell of Mountfort.
- The Castell of Tovey.
- The Castell of Lowdon.
- The Castell of Noaus.
- The Castell of Seynt Romains in Plaine.
- The Castell of Daungell.
- The Castell of Peschere.
- The Castell of Bolore.
- The Castell of Keshank.
- The Castell of Turre.
- The Castell of Seint Imains.
- The Castell of Seint Germaines.
- The Castell of Bomstapyll.
- The Castell of Croile.
- The Castell of Bakuile.
- The Castell of Bellacombyr.
- The Castell of Douyle.
- The Castell of Likone.
- The Castell of Ankyrvile.
- The Abbey of Seint Katerinz.

These er the gates names of Roon, and how the lordys lay in sege, and to fore what gate, and also the derth of vitailles withyn the forseyd Cytee of Roon.

Le Port Causches. To fore thys gate, lay my Lord of Clarence¹ vnto riversyde of Seyne with mykyl of hys howsold and a grete market; and then fro that gate upward lay my Lord of Urmound,² my maistre Corwayle³ with the Lord Talbotts meyne. *Le Port de Castell.* At thys gate my Lord Marchall,⁴ the Lord of Haryngton. *Le Port de Bewvoisyn.* At thys gate lay my Lord of Excester. *Le Port de Vowdelagate.* To fore thys gate lay the Lord Roos, the Lord Wylleby, the Lord Fyhew,⁵ Sir John Gray, and Sir William Porter. *Le Port Seint Yllare.* To fore thys gate lay the kyng and my Lord of Glowcestyr. *Le Port de Martynvile.* To fore thys lay my Lord of Warwyk and Sir Phelip Leche. *Le Port debut de Pount.* To fore thys gate lay my Lord of Huntyngdon, my Lord of Sawlisbyry, my maistre Nevile, and my mayster Umphirvile. *Le Port de Vicount.* Thys ys the chefe Watergate of the town, and at thys gate cometh in al maner marchawndys and vitailles.

Furthymore as towchyng to the derth of vytayles withyn thys forseyd Cytee, j. [one] Buschell of Whete was worth v. scutys, j. lofe j. frank, j. dog j. frank, j. kat ijs. sterlinges, j. rat vjd. sterlinges. And as towchyng all other vitailles, it was spendit or that we com in to the Cytee.

Urbis Rotomagi Wulstano captio claret,
Quam Rex Henricus Quintus sexto capit anno.

¹ Thomas, Duke of Clarence, the King's brother.

² James Butler, Earl of Ormond.

³ Sir John Cornwall, afterwards Lord Fanhope.

⁴ John Mowbray, Earl Marshal, afterwards Duke of Norfolk.

⁵ Fitz-Hugh.



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THE PASTON LETTERS.

Henry VI.

4.

A.D. 1424.—INFORMATION AGAINST WALTER ASLAK.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This paper refers to proceedings as late as the fourth year of Henry VI., and therefore cannot be earlier than 1426; but as it mainly relates to outrages committed in the second year of Henry VI., *i.e.* 1424, we have arranged it under that year.

BE it remembred that where, on the nyght next biforne the feste of the Circumcision of owre Lord Jesu, the [second]¹ yeer of the regne of Kyng Henry the Sexte, certeyns maffaisours, felons, and brekeres of the kynges peas vnknowyn, to the noumbre of iiij^{xx} [*four score*] and more by estimacion, of malice and imaginacion forme thowght felonowsly, the dwellyng place of John Grys of Wyghton, in Wyghton, in the shyre of Norffolk, brokyn, and with carpenteres axes the yates and the dores of the seyde place hewen, and the seyde John Grys, and hys sone, and a servaunt man of hese by here bodyes tokyn, and fro the seyde dwellyng place by the space of a myle to a payre galwes ledden, there hem for to have hangyd; and by cause hem fayled ropes convenient to here felonowse purpos, the seyde John Grys, hese sone, and hys man there felonowsly slown and mordered in the most horrible wyse that ever was herd spoken of in that cuntre. Wher up on Walter Aslak, purposyng and imaginyng to putte William Paston in drede and intollerable fere to be

¹ This word is omitted in the MS.

slayn and mordered in the seyde forme with force and ageyn the kinges peas, on the shyre day of Norffolk, halden at Norwiche, the xxviij. day of August, in the seyde secunde yeer, beyng there thanne a grete congregacion of poeple by cause of the seyde shyre, in hese owne persone, and by Richard Kyllynworth, that tyme hese servaunt, to the seyde William Paston swiche and so many manaces of deth and dismembryng maden and puttyn by certeyns Englische billes rymed in partye, and up on the yates of the Priorie of the Trinite chirche of Norwiche, and on the yates of the chyrche of the Freres Menures of Norwiche, and the yates of the same Cite called Nedeham yates and Westewyk yates, and in othre places wyth inne the seyde Cite by the seyde Walter and Richard sette, makynge mension and beryng this undyrstondyng that the seyde William, and hese clerkes, and servautes schuld be slayn and mordered in lyke forme as the seyde John Grys in the seyde forme was slayne and mordered: conteyning also these too wordes in Latyn, *et cetera*, by which wordes comunely it was undyrstandyn that the forgeers and makers of the seyde billes imagyned to the seyde William. hese clerkes and servautes, more malice and harm than in the seyde billes was expressed. Wherfore the seyde William, hese seyde clerkes and servauntz, by longe tyme aftyr were in gret and intollerable drede and fere by the sayde maffaisours and felons to be slayn and mordered. Wherfore the seyde William, hese clerkes and servautes, ne durst not at here fredom nothyr goon ne ryde.

Wher up on the seyde William, for hese owyn persone, affermyd a pleynt of trespas ageyn the seyde Walter and Richard, processe contynued ther up on til the seyde Walter and Richard were founden guilty of the seyde trespas by an inquisicion ther of takyn in dwe and lawefull forme, by whiche inquisicion the damages of the seyde William for the seyde trespas were taxed to cxx^{li} [£120]. Aftyr which pleynte affermyd, and to fore ony plec up on the seyde pleynt pleded, the seyde Walter and William, by Thomas Erpyngham, Knyght, a myghty and a gret

supportour of the seyde Walter in alle these matiers and circumstaunces ther of ageyn the seyde William, were induced to trete in the same matier in the forme that folwith: That is to seyne, that the seyde William schuld sue forth the seyde pleynt and the execucion ther of at hese owne will, and the seyde Walter schuld defende hym self in the seyde pleynt at hese owne will, except that he schuld no benefice take by noon proteccion, ne wrytte of *corpus cum causa*, ne of no lordes lettres up on the seyde sute. And what so ever fortunyd in the seyde pleynt, the proces, execucion, or the sute ther of, the seyde Walter and William schuld stonde and obeye to the ordinaunce of certeyns persones by the seyde William and Walter arbitratoures that tyme named, if thei myghten accordyn, and ellys of anoounpier also that same tyme named, of alle the seyde trespas, pleynt, and sute, and alle the circumstaunces ther of, so that the seyde arbitrement and ordinaunce of the seyde arbitratoures, or ellys of the seyde nounpier, were made withinne xl. dayes next folwyng aftyr the jugement geven in the seyde pleynt.

And aftyrward, the Thursday next biforn Pentecost, the thrydde yeer of the regne of the seyde kyng, at London, in the presence of the right excellent, high and myghty prynce, the Duc de Gloucestre,¹ and by hese commaundement, atte sute and instaunce of the seyde Thomas Erpyngham, it was accordyd bytween the seyde William and Walter that thei schuld stande and obeye to the ordinaunce and award of alle the seyde matiers of tweyne of these iiij. persones, William Phelip, Knyght, Henry Inglose, Knyght, Oliver Groos, and Thomas Derham, chosen on the partye of the seyde William Paston, and tweyne of those iiij. persones, Symond Felbrygge, Knyght, Bryan Stapilton, Knyght, Roberd Clyfton, Knyght, and John of Berneye of Redeham, chosen on the partie of the seyde Water, and elles the decree and jugement of a nounpier to be chosen by the same arbitroures. The whiche William Phelip, Bryan Stapilton, Roberd Clyfton, Oliver Groos,

¹ Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England.



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than next folwyng, the seyd Walter by hese sotill and ungoodly enformacion caused the seyd Duke to be hevy lord to the seyd William. Where the seyd William the tyme of the seyd enformacion was with Sir John Jermy, Knyght, and othre of the counseill of the seyd Duk of Norffolk in hys lordshipes in Norffolk and Suffolk, thanne to hym falle [*fallen*] by the deth of the right worthy and noble lady hys modyr, occupied abowte the dwe service of wryttes of *diem clausit extremum*¹ aftyr the deth of the seyd lady. And where as the seyd William Paston, by assignement and commaundement of the seyd Duk of Norffolk, at hese fyrst passage over the see in to Normandye, in the kynges tyme Henry the Fyfte, was the Styward of the seyd Duc of Norffolk, of all hese lordshipes in Norffolk and Suffolk fro hys seyd passage un to the seyd feste of Michelmesse; [And² over that as sergeaunt of lawe, thow he be unworthy, withholdyn with the seyd Duc of Norffolk alle the tyme that he was sergeaunt bifore the same feste of Michelmesse. And all be it that the fees and the wages of the seyd William for hys seyd service unpayed draweth a gret some to hys pouere degree, if the seyd Duk of Norffolk lyked, of hys noble and plentifous grace, to graunte to the seyd William, in right, ony part of the favour of hese good lordship, the seyd William wolde evere be hys pouere and trewe bedeman, and evere in hys herte thenke alle hys seyd service, and alle the service that ever he dede to the seyd [Duke] of Norfolk, plentefously weell rewardyd.³]

And where the seyd Walter, the tyme of the seyd trespas and of the seyd bylles makyng ne long to fore, ne never aftyr biforn the seyd comyng of the seyd Duc of Norffolk to Norwich, ne no tyme hangyng the seyd sute, ne the tyme of makyng of the said arbitrement and ordinaunce, never was servaunt to

¹ These were writs issued on the death of a tenant *in capite* of the Crown, and directed to the escheators in the different counties in which his lands lay, directing them to inquire by jury what lands he held, and of what value, and who was his nearest heir, and what was the heir's age.

² Over this word is written "va," the first syllable of *vacat*, showing that the passage is cancelled.

³ Here is written "cat."—See Note 2.

the seyd Duc of Norffolk at fees, ne at wages, ne wyth-haldyn in hese service, ne to hym sued to be supported by hese high Lordship in this seyd matier, to the knowleche of the seyd William, ne to no commune knowleche, in the shyres of Norffolk, Suffolk, ne Norwiche; the sute that the seyd Walter made for supportacion in this seyd matier was be the meene of the seyd Thomas Erpyngham to the seyd Duk of Gloucestre, by whose reule and commaundemente the seyd arbitrement and award was mad in the forme afor seyd. And not with stondyng the seyd trespas and grevaunce by the seyd Walter doon the seyd William, ne that the seyd William ne is not satisfied of the seyd cxxli., ne no peny therof, and hath absteyned hym of al maner of execution, sewyng of godes or catelles, that by force of the seyd processe, or ony othyr, he myght have had ageyn the seyd Walter or hese borwes [*sureties*], ne that the seyd William hath suffred the seyd Walter to gon at large by long tyme whan he myght have had hys body in warde in lawfull forme: The seyd Walter, be billes in the too last parlementz holden at Westminster and at Leycestre, and at divers tymes in divers other maneres hath noysed and skaundered the seyd William ungoodly and othyr wyse than othyr [either] gentilnesse or trowthe wolde; and, overmore, caused the seyd William orribly to be man-assed of hys deth, betyng and dismembryng of hys persone by certeyns servauntz of the Lordes Fitz Wauter and othre persones, and by ferefull and overe felle lettres and sondes. Wherefore the seyd William, nothyr hese frendes, ne hese servauntz in hys companye, at here fredam sithen the seyd parlement at Leycestre durst not, ne yet ne dar not rydyn ne goo abowte swyche occupacion as he arn used and disposed, to here grete and unportable drede and vexacion in here spirites, and gret harme and damage and losse of here pouere goodes.

[Overmore,¹ the seyd Walter hath sued, and yet rigorously suethe a wrytte of *decies tantum*² ageyns x. persones of

¹ Here is written "va."—See p. 16, Note 2.

² A writ against a juror who had been bribed, by which the prosecutor could recover from him ten times the amount of the bribe, dividing the proceeds with the King.

the seyd Inquisicion and ij. of the servauntz of the seyd William and iiij. othre persones; supposyng by hese seyd sute hem to have taken of the seyd William in hys seyd syte lxiij^{li} [£62] and more of moneye. The whiche sute of *decies tantum* the seyd Walter, betwyx God and hym, knowith verraly is untrewe. And also the seyd Walter hath sued, and yet persuyth Adam Aubre, on of the seyd Inquisicion in the court of the seyd Duc of Norffolk of hys manoir of Fornsete, by cause and occasion of the seyd matiers, in whiche sute in the seyd court it is proceded ageyn the seyd Adam in other maner thanne othyr lawe, conscience, or good fayth wolde.^{1]}

Overmore the seyd William, atte commaundement of the seyd Duc of Norffolk, hath submytted hym to stonde to the ordinaunce of divers persones of alle the seyd matiers: ones at Leycestre, the Wednesday next biforn Palm Soneday, the iiij. yeer of the regne of the seyd kyng; anohtyr tyme atte Reed clyf in Aprill the same iiij. yeer, aftyr the forme of certeyns billes endented ther of made. The whiche submission, with alle the circumstaunces ther of, the seyd William hath be at alle tymes redy to obeye. The cause why the seyd Walter, by the seyd Englishe bylles, and in othyr forme, putte and sette the seyd William, and hese seyd clerkes and servauntz, in drede and fere intollerable to be slayn and mordered, and to hem trespaced in the forme afor seyd, was onely for as moche as the seyd William was with the prior of Norwiche of counseille in hese trewe defence ageyn the entent of the seyd Walter in a sute that he made ageyn the seyd priour of a voweson of the chyrche of Sprouston in the counte of Norffolk, wher to the seyd Walter hath nohtyr title suffisaunt ne right in no maner wyse by ony matier by hym declared byforn thys tyme.

This scrowe is mad only for the informacion of the worthy and worshipfull lordes the arbitrores; savyng evere to the maker the benefice resonably to adde and amenuse, his ignoraunce in swiche occupacion and defaute of leyser also tendrely considered.

¹ Here is written "cat."—See p. 16, Notes 2 and 3.



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Julle or August last passed, told me that he yede with yow to the cardinales hous, Trikaricensis,¹ to espie if any swyche processe were sued ageyn me as the seyde lettres specifien, and that ye told the same prest at alle tymes ther was than no swyche processe sued, ne had; the whiche relacion I trust and beleve bettre than the seyde lettres. I have, by advys of counseill, in makyng a procuracie *ad agendum, defendendum, provocandum, et appellandum* to yow and the seyde Maister John Urry and the Wynsalaw (?) de Swysto; and also a general appelle, the engrossyng of wyche the messenger of this bill myght nought abide; the whiche procuracie and appelle I shal sende to yowr persone, tantummodo [cum pecuniis²], with moneye onward, on trust. My will is, ye have the chief governaunce of this matier, and that this article be counseille [*i.e.*, secret]; wher upon I prey yow hertily to be saddely avysed in these matiers, and, as nede is, so to governe hem by your wysdom, that the seyde prioures estat and honeste, and myn also, to yowr worshepe be saved; and that, in alle haste resonable, ye lyke to sende me redes lettres of alle the seyde matier, and the circumstances ther of, and who ye wil I be governed in this mater. I was nevere somouned, ne never badde tydynges of this matier but by seyde lettres and other fleyng tales that I heve herd sithen, ne nevere hadde to do more with the seyde John Wortes than is specified in the seyde instruction. Al myghty God have yow in His governaunce. Writen at London, the v. day of Novembre.

Yowre frend unknowen.³

¹ Thomas Brancaccio, Cardinal Bishop of Tricarico. He was made a Cardinal by his uncle, Pope John XXIII, and is said to have been a man of very bad morals.

² Interlined, and afterwards erased.

³ Above these words, and in the place where the signature might have been expected, occur these names, one above another—

“Thomas Abbas de Leyston, in Com’ Suff.

“Ricardus Fremelyngham, concanonichus ibidem.”

They do not, however, appear to be connected with the letter. The following words are also scrawled between this letter and the next:—“N. persona ecclesie de Testerton in Com’ Norff. Gees Cuttyng. Joh’ persona ecclesie de Yermuth (?), Alicia Gosloth (?).”

A Instruccion and Informacion of the verray trewe matier betwen the Priour and the Covent of Bromholm and the seyd John and me, as I am enformed, and as I knowe touchant my persone and the¹ —.

Ista litera
missa non
fuit.



RIGHT worthy and worshepefull Sir, I recomaunde to yow, preyeng yow to wite that I have resceyved yowr goodly lettres makyng mencion that Sir John Paston,² ut asserit, hath optyned me condempnyd to hym in CCC[vij.]³ marcz and C.s. ; and that the same John, atte reverence of your right worthy persone, bathe cessed of his sute of certains processes ageyns me up on the seyd condempnacion, takyng continuance⁴ of the same matier unto Cristemasse next comyng ; by which lettres ye conseille me to make ende with the seyd John, ne deterius inde contingat. I [s]end yow, closed with this bille, [the]⁵ copie of un frendly lettre that the seyd John hathe sent to me late, touchant the same matier. The seyd priour hath sent also to yow, and to Mayster William Swan, whiche longe hathe be his procurator, a procuracie for my person, and v. marcz of moneye onward. Wher up, in the seyd prioures name, and in myn own also, I prey yow hertily to sette al these matieres in continuaunce un to yowr comyng in to Ingeland ; and because ye am here beneficed, owr cuntreman, and of worshepe and cunnyng worthyly endowed, the seyd priour and his brether, and I also, willen gladdely in these matieres be treted by yow ; and if this mesure be accepted, and we may have knowyng here ther of, it shall cause the attemptacion of diverses matieres a geyn summe frendes of the seyd John to cese. * And if this continuance be refused, I prey yow, with al my power, that of your wysdom and good discrecion ye wille, in the seyd prioures name, and myn, defenden the seyd sutes, and alle other that the seyd

¹ Sic.

² The title "Sir" was at this time commonly prefixed to a priest's name.

³ The "vij." is struck out.

⁴ Contiaūce, MS. here and after.

⁵ Struck out.

Johne sueth ageyn the seyd priour and me, in your best maner, and to be of owr counseill in these matieres; and as ye lyke resonably to write to us, so we wil be governed in yowre rewarde, and al other circumstaunces of the same matieres.¹ I conceyve by your seyd lettres that the grece of the matier conteigned in the same ye have of the informacion and assercion of the seyd John, and as he hath enformed yow, I wot weel ye trewely writen; but I hope and trust verrayly the matier of his informacion is untrewe [for he hathe no cause to swe to me, ne I was nevre somoured ne cited²]. The priour of Bromholm sued ageyn the seyd John and other in Ingeland a wryt of *præmunire facias*, and I was therin of the same prioures counseill as the lawe of Ingelond and myn office willen, and more I have nought hadde to do with the seyd Johne, and I can nought beleve that in this cas the same Johne myght by your lawe any swich sute have ageyn me as your letre specifieth. Also William, the prest specified in yowr [letter],³ told me that he, after that ye told hym of this matier, lyke as yewrce(?), he comuned with Maister William Swan, and he told the seyd prest ther no processe in the courte ageyn me in no maner ——. ⁴

The above two documents are from a corrected draft, written on one side of a broad sheet of paper. On the other side is a long Latin pleading, also much corrected, relative to the Abbey of Bermondsey; prefixed to which are the following words, in the same hand as the preceding letters:—

“Sir, do writen ij. copies of this note in papier, wyde writen, and gete a copie of the writte in the Eschekyr ageyn.”

The pleading referred to is in a different hand, and begins as follows:—

“Et prædictus abbas dicit quod ipse de præmissis domino Regi computum reddere non debet; quia dicit quod diu ante erectionem, fundationem sive erectionem prioratus de Bermundeseye qui nunc erectus est in prædictam Abbatiam, Willielmus Rufus filius Willelmi Conquestoris nuper Rex Angliæ fuit seisitus de manerio de Bermundeseye,” &c.

¹ Here occur the following words, crossed out:—“Ferthermore, touchant my persone, I mervaille that the seyd — Ferthermore.”

² Struck out.

³ Omitted in MS.

⁴ The draft here ends abruptly.



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scavoir que encelle meyme cause li dis Wilhelmes est redevaules et enquews envers moy, par sentence definitive que j'ay obtenu pour moy, en mille deuls cens et trente ducas, et que li dis Wilhelmes ne puet yestre jamays absols sy non qu'il soit d'acort avecquels moy. Escript a en la ville de Bruges le xxij^e jour de Jenvier.

JOHANNES PASTON,¹ en temps passé Priour de Broholm, et pour le present evesquels de Corkagen, le tout vostre.

7.

A.D. 1426, 1 March.

WILLIAM PASTON TO WILLIAM WORSTED AND OTHERS.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

About the year 1425 the question of the validity of the Duke of Gloucester's marriage with Jacqueline of Hainault was before the Court of Rome. This letter must have been written in the spring of the year following, when Parliament was sitting at Leicester. The original is slightly mutilated at the edge in one place.

A mez treshonourés Meistres Will'm Worstede, Fohn Longham, et Meistre Piers Shelton, soit donné.

RIGHT worthy and worshepefull sires and maistres, I recomand me to yow, and thank yow with al my herte, of the gret tendrenesse ye lyke to have of the salvacion of my symple honeste, preying yow evermore of your good continuance. I have, after the advys of your lettre, doon dewely examyned the instrument by the wysest I coude fynde here, and in especial by on Maister Robert Sutton,² a courtezane of the Court of Rome, the which is the chief and most chier man with my Lord of Gloucestre, and his matier in the said court

¹ William Paston, as appears in Letter 7 following, disputed this writer's right to call himself Paston, and asserted that his real name was Wortes. It is curious that neither in the list of the Bishops of Cork, nor in that of the Priors of Bromholm, is the name either of Paston or Wortes to be met with.

² Prebendary of Lincoln, 1435-9. Died 1439.

for my lady, his wyff¹; and here aunswere is that al this processe, though it were in dede proceded as the instrument specifieth, is not suffisant in the lawe of Holy Cherche, and that hem semyth, by the sight of the instrument and by the defautes [that] ye espied in the same and other, and in maner by the knowelech of the notarie, that the processe, in gret part ther of, is fal[se and un]trewe. I have taken advys of Maister Robert Bruus, chauncellor with my Lord of Cantirbury,² and Maister Nicholl Billesdon,³ cha[uncellor] of my Lord of Wynchestre,⁴ and Maister John Blodwelle,⁵ a weel lerned man holden, and a suffisant courtezan of the seyde court, and all these acorden to the seyde Maister Robert Sutton. Nought with stondyng that I herde nevere of this matier no maner lykly ne credible evidence unto that I sey your lettre and the instrument, yet I made an appell and a procuracie, and also a provocacion, at London, longe biforn Cristemasse, by the a[dvys] of Maister David Aprys, Maister Symond Kempston, and Maister James Cole, and sent al this, with an instruccion of al the matier, w[ith] my procuratours to Rome by your frere, my Maister Suppriour, and geff hym gold that he was content: and, overmore, nowe here by advys I make this day a newe apelle and a newe procuracion, and upon this alle the seyde worthy men here seyn and informe me pleyndly I have no maner cause in lawe ne in conscience to drede aught in this matier. Myn adversarie⁶ is become Bysshop of Cork in Irland, and ther arn ij. other persones provided to the same bysshopriche yet lyvyng, before my seyde adversarie; and by this acceptacion of this bysshopriche, he hath pryved hym self of the title that he claymed in Bromholm, and so adnulled the ground

¹ Jacqueline of Hainault, whom Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, married, pretending that her former marriage with John, Duke of Brabant, was void by consanguinity. The question which of the two marriages was valid, was at this time before the Pope.

² Archbishop Chicheley.

³ Dean of Salisbury, 1435-41. Died 1441.

⁴ Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal.

⁵ LL.D. Prebendary of Hereford about 1433, and of Lichfield, 1432-43.

⁶ John Paston or Wortes, the writer of the preceding letter.

of his processe ageyn me, and also the tyme of his grevaunce pretendid, and the tyme of his sute he was *apostata*, and I trowe is yet, and so unable to sue any swich processe. I purpose me to come homward be London, to lerne more in this matier, if I may. I prey the Holy Trinite, lord of your cherche and of alle the werld, delyvere me of my iij. adversaries, of this cursed bysshop for Bromholm, Aslak for Sprouston,¹ and Julian Herberd for Thornham. I have nought trespassed ageyn noon of these iij., God knowing, and yet I am foule and noysyngly vexed with hem, to my gret unease, and al for my lordes and frendes matieres, and nought for myn owyn. I wot not whether it were best in any sermon or other audience, in your cherche or elles where, to declare aught of this matier in stoppyng of the noyse that renneth in this case. I submitte me and alle this matier to your good discrecion; and evere gremercy God, and ye, who ever have yow and me in His gracious governance. I suppose to see yow on Palm Sunday. Writen at Leycestre, the Friday the thredde wyke of Lente.

Alle the seyd lerned men telle me trewely ther is nother perill ne doubtte in the takyng down of the instrument and the bille to no creature. Which instrument and bille I send yow ageyn by the berare of this, which I prey you to kepe as pryve as ye may.

Yowr man, W. PASTON.

I have preyed my Maister Hammond to write yow tydyngges, and smale(?) lesynges among.

¹ A lordship in Sprouston was acquired by John Aslake of Bromholm in 14 Richard II., and seems to have continued some time in that family. Blomefield notes that a Walter Aslake, Esq. of Sprouston, had a protection in the 10th of Henry VI., being in France in the retinue of John, Duke of Bedford (Blomefield's Norfolk, x. 462). Probably this was the same Walter Aslak mentioned in No. 4 preceding.—See p. 18.



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10.

A. D. 1426-7.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B. M.]

Depositions on the — day of —, 5 Hen. VI., by Richard Wyoth, executor of Margery, daughter and heir of Edmund Bakon, touching the manor of Gressam which Bakon purchased, *temp.* Edw. III. After the death of two brothers, Margery became sole possessor, and gave it to Wyoth and other executors to perform her will, with proviso that Philip Vache and Eliz., his wife, should have it during their lives, but that the reversion of it should be sold, giving William, son of Robert Moleyns, the first option of purchase. It was accordingly offered to him, but he refused to buy. On the death of said Eliz., however, he bought the manor for 420 marks, and held it two years, when Wyoth re-entered because part of the purchase-money was unpaid. W. Moleyns's wife, however, induced him to accept security from Thos. Fawkoner, merchant of London, whose daughter the said William agreed that his son should marry, when he came of age; and it was arranged that meanwhile Fawkoner and Wyoth should be jointly enfeoffed of the manor, which was to be given in jointure, if the marriage took effect. The marriage did not take effect, and Fawkoner re-entered upon the manor according to the enfeoffment, but paid Wyoth nothing, till Thos. Chawcers,¹ Esq., a kinsman of the said Margery, made him understand that Wyoth might enter on his own portion, and had even a prior right to himself. At length Fawkoner sold his right to Chaucers and Wyoth, and released the manor on security for the payment. Wyoth then said he should have little advantage by the bargain, except in having easy days of payment; “*et quod dictus Thomas Chaucers, pro bona voluntate quod (sic) erga dictum Willelmum Paston gessit, episcopum Londoni de emptione ejusdem manerii per longum tempus dilatavit, intentione ut idem Willelmus illud emeret si voluerit.*”

11.

A. D. 1427-43.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B. M.]

RAUF, Parson of Cressyngham, to WILLIAM PASTON, Justice.

Is he to deliver to John Halleman Paston's evidences belonging to the manor of Wodhalle in Pagrave, and under what form? Hopes to see him at Norwich, on Tuesday or Wednesday after Michaelmas day. Cressingham, 20 Sept.

¹ See Note 1 on preceding page. See also Blomefield, viii. 127.

On the back are written, in William Paston's hand, some notes of a case touching "Frater Kensale."

[Ralph Wolman *alias* Harple was incumbent of Cressingham from 1427 to 1460; but this letter could not have been written later than 1443, as William Paston died in August of the following year.]

12.

Before A.D. 1429.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

Mutilated Letter in French, from JOHN VAUX, Parson of Edythorp to ———.

Only the right-hand half of the letter remains. Names mentioned—Richard de Causton, William Coule. Date lost.

[John Vaux was Rector of Edingthorp in Norfolk, in 1388. His successor was John Prentys, who was presented to the living in 1429 by the feoffees of the duchy of Lancaster.—Blomefield, xi. 29.]

13.

A.D. 1429, 7 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,226, B.M.]

"A Grant of the Monastery of Bury to make William Paston, justice, brother of the Chapter-House." Day of St. Ambrose, 1429.

[The description is taken from an endorsement. The document itself is printed in Yates's, Bury St. Edmund's, p. 156.]

14.

A.D. 1430. (?)

WILLIAM PASTON TO THE VICAR OF THE ABBOT OF CLUGNY.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is printed from a rough draft written on paper, corrected in William Paston's own hand, and scribbled over, after his fashion, with numerous other drafts and jottings on both sides. Some of these occur upside down between the lines of this letter. At the head of the memoranda on the back are the words, "In parlamento, anno H. vj. vij^o." from which we may infer the date to be at least as early.



My ryghte worthy and worshopeful lord, I recomaunde me to yow. And for as meche [as I] conseyve verrayly that ye am Vicar general in Inggelond of the worthy Prelate, the Abbot

of Clunie, and have hys power in many grete articles, and mong other in profession of monkes in Inggelond of the seyde ordere. And in my cuntre, but a myle fro the place where I was born, is the poure hous of Bromholm of the same ordre, in wheche am divers vertuous yongge men, monkes clad and unprofessyd, that have abedyn there. . . . Abbyte ix. or x. yeer; and be lenger delaye of here profession, many inconvenientez arne lyke to falle. And also the priour of . . . hath resigned in to your worthy handes by certains notables and resonables causes, as it apperyth by an instrument, and a symple lettre under the comune seal of the seyde hous of Bromholm, which the berare of this hath redy to shewe yow, wher up on I prey yow wyt al my herte, and as I evere may do yow service, that it lyke to your grace to graunte of your charite, by yowr worthy lettres to the priour of Thetford in Norfolk, of the seyde ordre of Clunye, autorite and power as your ministre and depute to professe in dwe forme the seyde monkes of Bromholm unprofessed. And that it lyke yow overmore to accepte and admitte the seyde resygnacion by your seyde autoritie and power, wyth the favour of your good lordshepe in comfort and consolacion of your pouere prestes, the monkes of the seyde hous of Bromholm, and there up to graunte your worthy lettres, wittenessyng the same acceptacion and admyssion of the seyde resygnacion, and al your seyde lettres to delyvere to my clerke, to wham I prey yow to gyve feith and credence touchant this matier, and to delivere it hym in alle the hast resonable. And I am your man, and evere will be by the grace of God, which evere have yow in his kepyng. Writen at Norwich the ¹ of Aprill.

Yowres, WILL. PASTON.



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therto, or cause eny charge, defaulte, or blame to be leyd upon the Erle of Warrewyk at eny tyme withouten his desert, he, considering that perill and besinesse of his charge aboute the Kinges persone groweth so that that auctoritee and power yeven to him before suffiseth him nought without more therto, desireth therefore thees thinges that folowen.

Furst, that considering that the charge of the reule, demesnyng, and governance, and also of nourture of the Kinges persone resteth upon the said Erle whiles it shal like the king, and the perille, daunger, and blame if eny lak or defaulte were in eny of thees, the whiche lak or defaulte mighte be caused by ungodely or unvertuous men, if eny suche were aboute his persone; he desireth therefore, for the goode of the King, and for his owne seuretee, to have power and auctoritee to name, ordeigne, and assigne, and for cause that shal be thought to him resonable to remoeve thoo that [shal] be aboute the Kinges persone, of what estate or condicion that thei be, not entending to comprehende in this desir the Stuard, Chamberlein, Tresoror, Contre-roller, ne Sergeantz of offices, save suche as serve aboute the Kinges persone and for his mouth.

Responsio. As toward the namyng, ordeignance, and assignacion beforesaid, it is agreed, so that he take in noon of the iiij. knightes ne squyers for the body without th'advis of my Lord of Bedford,¹ him being in England, and him being out, of my Lord of Gloucestre² and of the remenant of the Kinges Counsail.

Item, the said Erle desireth that where he shal have eny persone in his discrecion suspect of mys-governance, and not behoveful nor expedient to be aboute the King, except th'estates of the bous, that he may putte hem from excercise and occupacion of the Kinges

¹ John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France, the King's uncle, brother of the late King Henry V.

² Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, Protector of England, another uncle of the King, being the youngest brother of Henry V. He was called "the Good Duke Humphrey."

service till that he shal mowe have speche with my Lordes of Bedford or of Gloucestre, and with the other Lordes of the Kinges Counsaile, to that ende that, the defaulte of eny suche persone knowen unto him, shal mowe ordeigne therupon as them shel thenke expedient and behovefull.

Responsio. It is agreed as it is desired.

Item, the said Erle desireth that, for sikenesse and other causes necessaries and resonables, he may, by warnyng to my Lordes of Bedford or Gloucestre and the Kinges Counsail, be and stande freely discharged of the saide occupacion and besinesse about the Kinges persone, under the favour and goode grace of the King, my Lordes of Bedford and Gloucestre, and other Lordes of the Kinges Counsail.

Responsio. It is agreed as it is desired.

Item, that considering howe, blessed be God, the King is growen in yeers, in stature of his persone, and also in conceite and knoueleche of his hiegh and royalle auctoritee and estat, the whiche naturelly causen him, and from day to day as he groweth shul causen him, more and more to grucche with chastising, and to lothe it, so that it may resonably be doubted leste he wol conceive ayeins the said Erle, or eny other that wol take upon him to chastise him for his defaultes, displesir, or indignacion therfore, the whiche, without due assistance, is not easy to be born: It like, therefore, to my Lord of Gloucestre, and to alle the Lordes of the Kinges Counsail, to promitte to the said Erle, and assure him, that thei shul fermely and trewely assisten him in the excercise of the charge and occupacion that he hathe aboute the Kinges persone, namely in chastising of him for his defaultes, and supporte the said Erle therinne; and if the King at eny tyme wol conceyve for that cause indignacion ayeins the said Erle, my said Lord of Gloucestre, and Lordes, shul do alle her [*i.e.* their] trewe diligence and power to remoeve the King therfro.

Responsio. It is agreed as it is desired.

Item, the said Erle desireth that for asmuche as it shal be necessarie to remoeve the Kinges persone at diverse tymes into sundry places, as the cases mowe require, that he may have power and auctoritee to remoeve the King, by his discrecion, into what place him thenketh necessarie for the helthe of his body and seuretee of his persone.

Responsio. It is agreed as it is desired.

Item, sith the said Erle hath take upon him the governance of the Kinges persone, he desireth that alle th'estates, officers, and servantz of the Kinges bous, of what estate and condicion thei be, have special commandement and charge yeven by my Lordes of Bedford and Gloucestre, and by the Lordes of the Kinges Counsail, that in alle manere thinges seyn and advised by the said Erles discrecion, that is, for the Kinges estate, worship, helthe, and profit, by his commandement and ordeignance, thei be attendant and obeissant in accomplisshing therof.

Responsio. It is agreed as it is desired.

Item, for asmuche as the said Erle hath knoueleche that in speche that hath be had unto the King at part and in prive, not hering the said Erle nor eny of the knightes set aboute his persone, nor assigned by the said Erle, he hath be stured by summe from his lernyng, and spoken to of diverse materes not behovefull, the seid Erle doubting the harme that mighte falle to the King, and the inconvenientz that mighte ensue of suche speche at part if it were suffred, desireth that in al speche to be had with the King, he or oon of the iiij. knightes, or sum persone to be assigned by the said Erle, be present and prive to it.

Responsio. This article is agreed, excepting suche persones as for nieghnesse of blood, and for their estate, owe of reson to be suffred to speke with the King.

Item, to th'entent that it may be knowen to the King that it procedeth of th'assent, advis, and agree-



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following memorandum is also endorsed—"xxix^o die Novembris anno undecimo apud Westm. lecti fuerunt præsentis articuli coram dominis infra et subscriptibus et ad eosdem Responsiones dabantur secundum quod infra patet, præsentibus dominis infra-scriptis." There are also other endorsements, but of a later date.

19.

A.D. 1434. (?)—DALLING'S PETITION.

[From Fenn, iii. 14.]

Prefixed to this document in Fenn is the following title:—"A Petition to the Commons of England against Sir William Paston, Knight, a Judge of the Common Pleas, by William Dalling." This heading, however, has very much the look of having been taken from a more modern endorsement. No contemporaneous document, so far as I am aware, gives Judge Paston the designation of knight, or speaks of him as Sir William. In this petition itself he is called simply William Paston, one of the Justices; and although his name occurs frequently on the Patent Rolls, in commissions of the peace, of gaol delivery, and the like, down to the year of his death, the word "miles" is never appended to it.

On the back of the original document, according to Fenn, is written, in a hand of the time, "Falsa billa Will'i Dalling tra' [?] tradita] Parlamento tempore p^r Henr. Grey trciodecimo Regis Henr vj^{ti}." There seems, however to be some error here also, as no Parliament appears to have met in the 13th year of Henry VI.; but we cannot feel certain what the true date should have been.



DLESIT to the righte sage and wyse Communes of this present Parlement, that wher every Justice of the Kyng is sworne that he shulde not take no fees ne reward for to be of councell with noo man, but oonly wyth our Soverayne Lorde the Kyng, and therto thei be swore:—

Plese it to Commines of the present Parlement, that William Paston, on of the Justice of oure Soverayne Lorde Kyng, takyth diverse fees and rewardes of diverses persones withinne the shir of Norffolk and Suffolk, and is with holde with every mater in the sayde contrees, that is for to sey:—Of the Toune of Yermuth, ls. yerly; of the Abot of Seyn Benetys, xxvjs. viij^d.; of the Prior of Seyn Feithes, xxs.; "and of my Lady Rothenhale,¹ xxs.;" and of the Prior of Norwich,

¹ This sentence in the original has a line drawn over it. She was a widow of Sir John Rothenhale, Knight, and dying at Caister, by Yarmouth, in 1440, was buried in Norwich Cathedral.—F. See Nos. 8 and 9, *ante*.

xs. ; and of the Prior of Penteney, xxs. ; and of the Toun of Lenn, xls. ; and of the Prior of Walsyngham, xxs. ; and of Katherine Shelton,¹ x. mrc. ayeins the Kyng for to be of hir councell for to destroye the right of the King and of his warde, that is for to sey, Raf,² soon and eyer of John Shelton.

20.

A.D. 1435, 26 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[Phillipps MS., 9,735, No. 264.]

Lease made at Castre, on Monday before Michaelmas 14 Henry VI., by Geoffrey Walle, surveyor of the manors of Sir John Fastolf, to John Rakesond, son of Geoffrey Rakesond of Ormesby, of a messuage of Fastolf's in Ormesby, called Reppes Place, &c.

21.

A.D. 1435, 30 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,237, B.M.]

A *vidimus* or official attestation of two indentures relative to the custody of the castle of Le Mans between Sir John Fastolf, governor of Anjou and Maine, and captain of Le Mans under the Duke of Bedford, and Matthew Goth [Gough] and Thomas Gower as his lieutenants. The first indenture is for the quarter from 1st October to 31st December 1434, the second for the three quarters following, to 30th September 1435. A retinue is to be maintained of twenty-four lances and the "archiers de la personne dudit Mathieu," viz., sixty mounted and fourteen on foot, and 222 archers besides. Mounted archers to have 12*d.* a day, &c.

The document is authenticated by the *garde du scel des obligations de la Viconté de Rouen*, on the 8th March 1448 (*i.e.* 1449).

¹ Catharine, widow of William Shelton, Esq., and daughter of Simon Barret, was grandmother to Ralph, and died in 1456.—F.

² Sir Ralph Shelton, Knight, son and heir of John Shelton, Esq., was born in 1430. He married Margaret, daughter of Robert Clere, Esq. of Ormesby, and was High Sheriff of Norfolk.—F.

22.

A.D. 1432-5.—NOTE.

[Add. Charters 17,229-31, B.M.]

Building accounts of William Granere, master of the works at Caistre in 11, 12, and 13 Henry VI.

23.

A.D. 1436, 19 May.—NOTE.

Fenn mentions an indenture, dated 19th May 1436, 14 Henry VI., and signed by the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Suffolk, from which he has given a fac-simile of Suffolk's signature. See vol. i. p. 36.—The original of this indenture I have not met with.

24.

A.D. 1438, 18 Aug.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,232, B.M.]

Sir H. Inglose notifies his agreement with John Topy of Wyndham, jun., in an action for trespass done to him at Stalham. Dilhams, Monday after the Assumption of Our Lady, 16 Henry VI.

25.

About A.D. 1440.

AGNES PASTON TO WILLIAM PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 2.]

This letter must have been written some little time before the marriage of John Paston and Margaret Mauteby, which seems to have been about 1440.

To my worshepefull housbond, W. Paston, be this letter takyn.

DERE housbond, I recomaunde me to yow, &c. Blessyd be God I sende yow gode tydynggs of the comyng, and the brynggyn hoom, of the gentylwomman¹ that ye wetyn of fro

¹ Margaret, daughter and heir of John Mauteby, shortly afterwards married to John Paston, Esq.



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[This paper is addressed to John Berney of Reedham, and appears, by an endorsement, to have been transmitted along with a letter of William Paston. The date is fixed by the contents within pretty narrow limits, for it is after the death of John Boys, Esq., which was in August 1439 (Inquis. *post mortem*, 18 Hen. VI., No. 2), and before that of Sir Simon Felbrigg in 1442 (Inquis. *p. m.*, 21 Hen. VI., No. 33). It is easy to see, in fact, that the document had something to do with the marriage settlement of John Paston and Margaret Mauteby, which was about 1440.]

27.

A.D. 1440, 1 Nov.—ROBERT REPPS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 4.]

This letter was written in 1440, the year of the release of the Duke of Orleans.

A mon tresreverent et treshonorable Maister John Paston soit doné.

SALVETE, &c. Tytyngs, the Duk of Orlyawnce¹ hath made his oath upon the Sacrement, and usyd it, never for to bere armes ayenst Englund, in the presence of the Kyng and all the Lordes, except my Lord of Gloucestre.² And proving my seyde Lord of Gloucestre agreyd never to hys delyveraunce, qwan the masse began he toke his barge, &c.

God yef grace the seide Lord of Orlyaunce be trewe, for this same weke shall he to ward Fraunce.

Also Freynchmen and Pykardes, a gret nowmbre, kome to Arfleet,³ for to arescuyd [*have rescued*] it; and our Lordes wyth here smal pusaunce manly bytte [*beat*] them, and pytte hem to flyte, and, blyssyd be our Lord, have take the seide cite of Arflet; the qwych is a great juell to all Englund, and in especiall to our cuntre.

Moreover there is j. [*i.e.* one] kome in to Englund, a Knyght out of Spayne, wyth a kercheff of plesaunce i wrapped aboute hys arme; the qwych Knyght wyl

¹ Charles, Duke of Orleans, who was taken prisoner at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, and had never since been released.

² Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, uncle of the King, and before this time Protector.

³ Harfleur.

renne a cours wyth a sharpe spere for his sovereyn lady sake ; qwom other [*either*] Sir Richard Wodvyle¹ or Sir Christofore Talbot² shall delyver, to the wyrchip of Englund and of hem selff, be Goddes grace.

Ferthermore, ye be remembryd that an esquier of Suffolk, callyd John Lyston, recoveryd *in assisa novæ disseisinæ*³ vij^c [700] marc in damages ayenst Sir Robert Wyngfeld, &c. In avoydyng of the payement of the seid vij. c. marc, the seide Sir Robert Wyngfeld sotylly hath outlaywed the seide John Lyston in Notyngham shir, be the vertue of qwch outlagare, all maner of chattell to the seide John Lyston apperteynyng, an acruwyd on to the Kyng, &c. And anon as the seide utlagare was certyfyed, my Lord Tresorer⁴ graunted the seid vij. c. marc to my Lord of Norffolk, for the arrearag of hys sowde [*pay*] qwyl he was in Scotland ; and acordyng to this assignement forseide, taylles [*tallies*] delyvered. And my Lord of Norffolk hath relesyd the same vij. c. marc to Sir Robert Wyngfeld. And here is greet hevying an shovyng be my Lord of Suffolk and all his counsell for to aspye hough this mater kam aboute, &c.

Sir, I beseche recomende me on to my mastres your modyr, to my mastres your wyff, and to my mastres your suster, *et omnibus alijs quorum interest*, &c.

Sir, I pray you, wyth all myn hert, hold me excusyd that I wryte thus homly and briefly on to you, for truly convenable space suffycyd me nowt.

No more atte this tyme, butte the Trynyte have you in proteccion, &c. ; and qwan your leysyr is, resorte ageyn on to your college, the Inner Temple, for ther ben many qwych sor desyr your presence, Welles and othyr, &c.

Wretyn in le fest de tous Seynts, entre Messe et Mateyns, *calamo festinante*, &c.

Yours, ROB. REPPES.

¹ Afterwards Earl Rivers, father of Elizabeth, Queen of Edward IV.

² Third son of John, the famous Earl of Shrewsbury.

³ *i.e.*, in an assize of novel disseisin—an ancient law process.

⁴ Ralph, Lord Cromwell.

28.

About A. D. 1440. (?)—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B. M.]

———— to FRIAR BRACKLEY. (?)

Touching a suit of Reynold Rowse against William Burgeys. This suit was instituted originally for 5*s.* 4*d.* of rent; but when Rouse found he could not prevail by right, he maliciously sued the other for trespass in having fished his water, and driven him away by force. He afterwards got him arrested for treachery upon an obligation (*i.e.*, a bond). Burgeys complained to Justice Paston, who counselled him not to plead; "For zyf thu do, he seyde, thu xalte have the werse, be thi case never so trewe, for he is feid with my Lord of [N]orthfolke, and mech he is of he (*sic*) counsel; and also, thu canste no man of lawe in Northfolke ne in Sowthfolke to be with the azens hym; and, for [s]othe no more myth I qwan I had a ple azens hym; and therfor myn counsel is, that thu make an end qwat so ever the pay, for he xal elles on do the and brynge the to nowte."

[This letter is mutilated, and in part defaced. It is addressed on the back—"Be this take to Mayster Brele (?) of the Greye Freres." Although the name seems to be written Brele, it was probably intended for Friar Brackley of Norwich, of whom we have several letters of a later period. The date must be between the year 1429, when William Paston was made a judge, and 1444, when he died; and as the name of Reginald Rows occurs in Blomefield (*Hist. of Norfolk*, ix. 441) "about 1440," this letter will probably not be far out of its true place if inserted in that year.]

29.

After A. D. 1440. (?)

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 18.]

The date of this letter is uncertain. From the fact of John Paston's residence at Peter House in Cambridge, it would appear, as Fenn remarks, to have been written early in his married life, and we know that he was married as early as 1440.

To my worshepful husband, John Paston, abidyng at Petyrhous in Cambrigg.



YTH reverent and worsepful hushon, I recomawnde me to zow with alle myn sympyl herte, and prey zow to wete that there come up xi. hundyr Flemyns at Waxham, quere-



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32.

A.D. 1442.—NOTE.

A proviso occurs for William Paston and Robert and Esmond Clere in an Act of Parliament 20 Henry VI., securing to them certain copyhold lands with two mansions thereon in Paston and Edithorp, Norfolk, held by the feoffees of the duchy of Lancaster, in exchange for other lands, called Charterhold, with two mansions thereon, in the same places.—Rolls of Parliament, v. 59.

33.

A.D. 1442, 20 April.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,234, B.M.]

Grant by John, Duke of Norfolk, to William Berdewell, Esq., of an annuity of 10 marks out of Stonham, Suffolk. Framlingham, 20th April 20 Henry VI.

34.

About A.D. 1442.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

ELEANOR CHAMBRE TO WILLIAM PASTON.

Thanks him for what he did for her at Sparham at their last interview. He then expected to have more leisure to attend to her affairs at London after this Hallowmass, when he would ordain that she should have lawful estate for life in the partition made “betwixt you and me, to for such that was there for my husband and for me at that time.” Begs him to do it now, and deliver it to her brother, John Chambre, or her servant, John Coke, the bearer. Sends the deed of annuity under her husband’s signet and hers, which she must pay to Paston’s children.

Welouby, Sunday after St. Martin.

[Alianore, widow of Robert Mauteby, Esq., remarried Thomas Chambers, Esq., lord of Sparham in her right, in 20 Henry VI. Her son, John Mauteby, was the father of Margaret, wife of John Paston.—See Blomefield, xi. 228.]

35.

A.D. 1443, 8 Sept.

DEPOSITION AGAINST JOHN HAWTEYN.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

PRIMO suggestit Sanctissimo Papæ mentiendo quod coactus et constrictus [fuisset] metu parentum ordinem¹ intrare; secundo quod in insufficienti et prohibita ætate et in eodem ordine invite esset professus; Et tertio, quod ita fuerat invallatus et inclusus in ordinis arctitudine ut sibi tempus opportunum exeundi acquirere nequiret. Contra quæ sic depono, non per ficta et fantastice ymaginata, sed per visa et audita a fide dignis denunciata. Et primo, contra primum articulum, viz., quod metu parentum etc. quia, ut asserunt fide media quam plures fide digni quorum nomina perlongum esset enarrare, quod alter parentum, suple pater, neci submersionis suffocatus fuerat in Themisia diu antequam ordinem ingressus est prænotatus Johannes; ergo, dissonum videtur quod metu parentum ingressus est, sed tantum alterius parentis. Secundo, contra secundum articulum, scilicet quod ex insufficienti etc., quia per vere visa et audita a fide dignis personis contra illud testimonium perhibere volentibus verum est asserere quod xiiij^{circ} annorum fuerat ætatis antequam indutus esset; quod sic evidet, quia natus erat in Swapham Markett, in loco qui Delgate dicitur, ubi parentes ejus commorabantur, quando primo intraverant villam antedictam pro annu-ali stipendio dato Thomæ Delgate, cujus erat ipsa mansio, et istud ad testimonium Adæ Ram, Roberti Sergaunte, Agnetis Ymay commatris² sæpedicti Johannis Hawteyn et Katerinæ Gannok, uxoris compatris² Johannis Hawteyn prædicti, viz. Johannis Gannok qui obiit anno Domini mccccxxxiiij^o. Istis transactis, parentes dicti Johannis, viz. Haymundus Hawteyn, pater ejus, et Claricia Hawteyn mater ejus, conjunctim emerunt

¹ The Order of Carmelites.—See Note 1 on next page.

² *Compaier* and *commater* (in French *compère* and *commère*) correspond in meaning to the old English word *gossip*, i.e. god-sib, or related in baptism, —generally applied to godfathers and godmothers.

mansionem in eadem villa, viz. Swapham Markett, a Martino Waron anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum xxij^o, quod datum, suple Regis Ricardi, præcessit nativitas Johannis Hawteyn in Delgate per testimonia præallegata. De facili ergo, probatur quod sit ætatis annorum xliij^{or} ad minus, enumerando a xxij^o anno regni Regis Ricardi Secundi post conquestum usque ad annum xxj^m Henrici Sexti.

Omnia in hac cedula quo ad Hawteyn dicta fuerunt Jacobo Gresham viij^o die Septembris anno Regis Henrici vj^{ti} xxij^o, prout scribuntur. Frater Johannes Alburgh dicit quod hoc medio intravit Johannes Hawteyn in ordinem. Circa xij. annum ætatis suæ missus fuit London' essend' cum quodam Thoma Brown modo apprenticii; quod actum fuit, quodque sibi non bene complacuit, et cucurrit ad Fratres et dixit quod fuit nepos Alburgh, et ea de causa Reverendus Magister Walden¹ interrogavit eum si vellet esse frater, et dixit quod vellet et humiliter rogavit ex caritate. Et veraciter scit quod fuit ætatis xiiij. annorum et amplius tempore professionis suæ et moram traxit ibidem per iij. vel iiij. annos. Et postea fuit apud Maldon per duos annos, et ab illo loco exiit. Deinde captus et Norwico incarceratus per dimidium annum. Et postea in domo de Blakney per iiij^{or} annos mansit, et ibidem fuit terminarius et hospes; et cucurrit ab inde cum vestibibus officii de domo hospicii furtive et cepit librum (?) Alburgh avunculi sui et canciavit illum apud Aylesham pro iiij. marcis et dimidia, quas dictus Alburgh solvit pro libro rehabendo.

Et addidit idem Johannes Hawteyn vel Alburgh frater et avunculus dicti Johannis Hawteyn quod Johannes Hawteyn apostata fuit natus apud Swafham Market circa iiij. annum post transitum patris sui a Scheryngton usque Swafham. Et dicit quod Robertus frater ejus fuit pluris ætatis quam Johannes fuit per iiij^{or} annos, et dictus Robertus fuit natus apud Scherynton.

¹ The celebrated Thomas Netter of Walden, provincial of the Carmelite order in England; a great opponent of Wycliffe.



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To my ryght worchepful husbond, John Paston, dwelling in the Inner Temple at London, in hast.

RYTH worchipful hosbon, I recomande me to yow, desyryng hertely to her of yowr wilfar, thankyng God of yowr a mendyng of the grete dysese that ye have hade; and I thancke yow for the letter that ye sent me, for be my trowthe my moder and I wer nowth in bertys es fro the tyme that we woste of yowr sekenesse, tyl we woste verely of your a mendyng. My moder be hestyd a nodyr ymmage of wax of the weytte of yow to oyer Lady of Walsyngham, and sche sent iiij. nobelys to the iiij. Orderys of Frerys at Norweche to pray for yow, and I have be hestyd to gon on pylgreymmays to Walsingham, and to Sent Levenardys¹ for yow; be my trowth I had never so hevy a sesyn as I had from the tyme that I woste of yowr sekenesse tyl I woste of yowr a mendyng, and zyth myn hert is in no grete esse, ne nowth xal be, tyl I wott that ze ben very hal. Your fader² and myn was dysday sevenyth [*this day se'nnight*] at Beke-lys for a matyr of the Pryor of Bromholme, and he lay at Gerlyston that nyth, and was ther tyl it was ix. of the cloke, and the toder day. And I sentte thedyr for a goune, and my moder seyde that I xulde have dan [*then*], tyl I had be ther a non, and so thei cowde non gete.

My fader Garneyss³ senttee me worde that he xulde ben her the nexch weke, and my emme [*uncle*] also, and pleyn hem her with herr hawkys, and thei xulde have me hom with hem; and so God help me, I xal excusse me of myn goyng dedyr yf I may, for I sopose that I xal redelyer have tydyngys from yow herr dan I xulde have ther. I xal sende my modyr a tokyn that sche toke me, for I sopose the time is cum that I xulde sendeth her, yf I kepe the be hest that I have made; I sopose I have tolde yow wat it was. I pray yow

¹ St. Leonard's Priory, Norwich.

² William Paston.

³ Perhaps her godfather. The family of Garneys were Lords of Gelderstone, the place called by Margaret Paston Gerlyston, a few lines above.

hertely that [ye] wol wochesaf to sende me a letter as hastely as ze may, yf wryhyn be non dysesse to yow, and that ye wollen wochesaf to sende me worde quowe your sor dott. Yf I mythe have had my wylle, I xulde a seyne yow er dystyme; I wolde ye wern at hom, yf it wer your ese, and your sor myth ben as wyl lokyth to her as it tys ther ze ben, now lever dan a goune zow [*though*] it wer of scarlette. I pray yow yf your sor be hol, and so that ze may indur to ryde, wan my fader com to London, that ze wol askyn leve, and com hom wan the hors xul be sentte hom a zeyn, for I hope ze xulde be kepte as tenderly herr as ze ben at London. I may non leyser have to do wrytyn half a quarter so meche as I xulde sey [*say*] to yow yf I myth speke with yow. I xall sende yow a nothyr letter as hastely as I may. I thanke yow that ze wolde wochesaffe to remember my gyrdyl, and that ze wolde wryte to me at the tyme, for I sopose that wrytyng was non esse to yow. All myth God have yow in his kepyn, and sende yow helth. Wretyn at Oxenede, in ryth grete hast, on Sent Mikylls Evyn.

Yorys,

M. PASTON.

My modyr grette yow wel, and sendyth yow Goddys blyssyng and hers; and sche prayeth yow, and I pray yow also, that ye be wel dyetyd of mete and drynke, for that is the grettest helpe that ye may have now to your helthe ward. Your sone¹ faryth wel, blyssyd be God.

37.

A.D. 1444, 29 Jan.

JAMES GRESHAM TO WILLIAM PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 26.]

“From a memorandum,” says Fenn, “on the back of this letter, dated in April 1444, it is probable that it was written on the 30th of January 1443.” Did Fenn mean the 30th of January 1443-4? In the side-note immediately below

¹ Almost certainly his eldest son, John, afterwards Sir John Paston.

the letter, he dates it in his usual exact manner, "Wednesday, 30th of January 1443, 22 H. VI." But unfortunately there is an error here. January in the 22d year of Henry VI., means January 1444 according to the modern computation, or 1443 in the style formerly in use, by which the year was reckoned from the 25th of March. But the 30th of January was a Wednesday in 1443, only according to the modern computation of the year,—that is to say, it was a Wednesday in the year 1442-3, not in 1443-4. I imagine, however, that the "30th of January" should have been "29th of January," and that Fenn really meant 1443-4, corresponding with the 22d year of Henry VI. It is unfortunate that he did not quote the words of the memorandum he refers to on the back of the letter, which would not only have cleared up this point, but enabled us to estimate for ourselves the degree of certainty attaching to the date.

To my right worthy and worshepful Lord, William Paston, Justice, in hast.

PLEASE it your good Lordship to wete that the Chief Justice of the Kynggs Benche¹ recomaundeth hym to yow, and is right sory of the matier that is cause of your noun comyng bedir, but he wole do al that he can or may for yow. He hath hadde a cyetica [*sciatica*] that hath letted hym a gret while to ride, and dar not yet come on non horses bak, and ther for he hath spoke to the Lordes of the Conseill, and enformed hem of your sekenesse and his also, that he may not ride at these next assizes to Estgrynsted; and though thoe assizes discontynue *puer noun venue dez Justicez*, he hopeth to be excused and ye also. And as for the remenant of the assizes, he shall purvey to be ther by water. And Almyghty Jesu make yow beyle and strong.

Wretyn right simply the Wednesday next to fore ye Fest of the Purificacion of Our Lady at London.

By your most symple servaunt,
JAMYS GRESHAM.

38.

Not later than A.D. 1444.

JOHN GYNEY TO WILLIAM PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 28.]

There is nothing to be said of the date of this letter, except that it is not later than 1444, when William Paston died.

To the worthy and worshipfull Sir and good Lord

¹ The celebrated Sir John Fortescue.



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The Holy Trinite have yow in his blissed kepyng. Wretyn at North Walsham, the Thursday next after the Purificacion of oure Lady.

My seid Lady, your wyf, preyeth yow to be remembred of here grene gynger of almondes for Lente, and of the leche of Orwelde, for here seknes encreseth dayly upon here, whereof she is sore a ferd.

By youre servunt, JOHN GYNEY.

39.

A.D. 1444, 15 March.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 14,571, B.M. (D. Turner's Coll.)]

Indenture between the Prior and Convent of the Monastery of St. Andrew, Bromholme, impropiators of the Church of St. Margaret, Paston, and John Partrik, vicar of the said church, of the first part, William Paston of Paston, of the second part, and Edmund Palmer of Wytton, of the third part, relative to lands in Baketon and Wytton, and containing amongst other things a grant by the Prior and Convent to the said John Partrik, at the instance of the said William Paston, in consideration of which masses, called *certeynes*, are to be performed every Friday for the souls of William Paston and Agnes his wife, and the obit of Clement Paston, William's father, is to kept yearly on St. Botolph's day (17th June). Dated 15th March 22 Henry VI. Confirmed by Walter, Bishop of Norwich, and John, the Prior of the Cathedral of Norwich, and the chapter of that church, 11th and 21st March 1446[-7].

40.

Before A.D. 1444.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This and the following letter are quite uncertain in point of date, except that they were of course written before the death of William Paston, to whom they are addressed.

JOHN MARYOT TO WILLIAM PASTON, JUSTICE.

Is ready to fulfil the indentures of Becham made by W. P. with his late mother, if W. P. will send "the indenture of our part," that Maryot may know the terms and his own title. Will make no bargain else.—Crowmer, Monday after Our Lady's Nativity.

41.

Before A.D. 1444.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

WILLIAM WOTTON DE PAGRAVE TO JUSTICE PASTON.

Sends his wife to him to explain some business about lands in Lytyl Pagrave, of which a woman of Sporle has already spoken to him ; also touching some land at Castleacre.—*On parchment.*

42.

A.D. 1444.— ——— TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is without a signature or address, and who the writer was does not appear. It was evidently written soon after the taking of the inquisition on the death of William Paston, the Judge, the date of which is given in the extract as 2d November 23 Henry VI., *i.e.* 1444.

RIGHTE reverent and my most worshipful maister, I recomaund me to yow. Please it yow to wite that I sende yow a copie of a verdite take before my maister Roberd Clere by vertu of a writ *diem clausit extremum*,¹ whiche writ I sende yow also with this, of whiche verdite the wordis arn as it folwith :—

Inquisicio capta apud Wynterton, secundo die Novembris anno regni Regis Henrici vj^{ti} post conquestum vicesimo tertio, coram Roberto Clere escaetore domini Regis in com. Norfolk et Suffolk, virtute brevis domini Regis sibi directi et presenti Inquisitioni consuti, per sacramentum Johannis Berkyng, Nicholai Pikeryng, Johannis Chapell, Johannis Jekkys, Willelmi Stiwardson, Roberti Hosele, Johannis Topy, Johannis Wacy, Johannis Rychers, Thomæ Broun, Walteri Heylok, Willelmi Stotevyle, Thomæ Mason, Roberti Marche, Johannis Kechon, lega-

¹ See p. 16, Note 1.

lium et proborum hominum in hac parte pro domino Rege juratorum: Qui dicunt super sacramentum suum quod Willelmus Paston nominatus in dicto brevi nulla terras et tenementa tenuit de domino Rege in capite die quo obiit in comitatu predicto. Et quod obiit quarto decimo die mensis Augusti, anno regni domini Regis predicti xxij. Et quod Johannes Paston filius ipsius Willelmi est hæres ejus propinquior, et ætatis xxij annorum.

Ther is founde more of other thyngges be the same verdite touchyng other matieris, whiche he will not certifie yet. And for as moche as my maister Clere wetyth well that the seid verdite touchyng my maister your fader, hoes soule God assoyle, must have other maner of makyng thanne he kan make, he recomaundith hym to my maistres your moder, and yow also; and prey yow that ye will do it make as effectuel and availeabill for the wel of my maister your fader and yow as ye kan, and sele it with your seall, or what seall ellys ye will, in his name, and sealle it also with as many of other seales as ther be jerores, and delyvere it to William Bondes, his depute, to delyvere into the Chauncelre. And if William Bondes be fro London or this may be redy, thanne purveye ye for the speed of this matier in youre best wise; and what so ever ye do, or sey, or write, or seale, or avouche in this matier in my maister Cleris name, he shall avowe it, and [*i.e.* if] it shulde coste hym gret parte of his good.

Sir, ther is noon enquerre take in Suffolk, for as moche as my maister your fader helde no londe ther but be my maistres your moder; but if ye will that he shall inquire ther as sone as he may wete it, it shall be doo; and if this forseide verdite may serve for bothe, he is right glad therof. He tolde me that he seide to the jurores, whiche have sealed her verdite: "Seris, I wot well this verdite after my makyng is not effectuel in lawe, and therefore may happe it shall be makid newe at London, and ellys peradventure I shulde be



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43.

Before A.D. 1444 (?).

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 10.]

Fenn thinks this letter must have been written before 1444, when Yelverton was made a judge. This is, doubtless, most probable. There is, however, an Edmund Swathing, Esq., mentioned by Blomefield (Hist. of Norfolk, viii. 42) as alive in 1446, and if it be his executors who are referred to, the date would appear to be later.

To our right trusti and welbelovid John Paston, Squier.

The Duc of Norff.

TRUSTI and right welbelovid, we grete you weel, lating you witte that for the trust that as weel we, as the heires of Edmund Swathing, have unto you, we have appointed you to be one of the makeres up indifferently of the evydences betwix us and the seide heires. Wherfor we pray you hertily, that ye wil yeve attendaunce at such day and place as ye and our right trusti and welbelovid frende William Yelverton, with oure welbelovid servaunt Jenney, shal mow attende to the making up of the seide evidencez; and we shal send summe of our servauntz to awayte upon you for your reward and costis, that ye shal be pleasid with by the grace of God, who have you ever in his keping.

Wreten undir our sigret in oure Castel of Framlyngham, the xvij. day of ———.

{ JOHN¹ }
{ MOWBRAY. } NORFF.

¹ The name "John Mowbray" is represented by a curious monogram, in which every letter both of the Christian and the surname can be traced.

44.

After A.D. 1444 (?).

CATHERINE, DUCHESS OF NORFOLK, TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 16.]

The writer of this letter was the widow of John Mowbray, second Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1432. After the Duke's death, she married again no less than three times; and Fenn thinks this letter, which is dated from Epworth in Lincolnshire, a seat of the Duke of Norfolk's, was probably written during her first widowhood. It must be remarked, however, that in 1432 John Paston was only twelve years old at the utmost, so that this letter could hardly have been written till at least ten years after. It is, besides, hardly probable that John Paston would have been addressed as the owner of a "place" in London, before his father's death in 1444. The exact year, however, is quite uncertain.

*To our right trusty and hertily welbeloved John Paston,
Squier.*

{ *Kateryn, Duchesse* }
{ *of Norff.* }

RIGHT trusty and entierly welbeloved, we grete you wel hertily as we kan. And for as moche as we purpose with grace of Jesu to be at London within bryff tyme, we pray you that your place ther may be redy for us, for we wole sende our stuff thedir to for [*tofore, i.e. before*] our comyng; and siche agrement as we toke with you for the same, we shall duely performe yt with the myght of Jesu, who haff you in his blissed keping.

Wretyn at Eppeworth, ij^{de} day of Octobre.

45.

Between A.D. 1444 and 1451.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

ROBERT, LORD WYLUGHBY [of Eresby], TO JOHN PASTON.

Desires him to favour Reginald Balden who "hath ado with you for certain lyflode which was his father's, wherein your father was enfeoffed." Boston, 16th December.

[The date of this letter is probably after the death of William Paston in 1444, and cannot be later than 1451, as the writer died on St. James's day (25th July) 1452.]

46.

A.D. 1445, 4 Feb.

AGNES PASTON TO EDMUND PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 32.]

This letter must have been written in February 1445, as it appears from the contents that William Paston was dead, but had been alive in the preceding Lent.

To Edmond Paston of Clyffordis Inn, in London, be this Lettre take.

AO myn welbelovid sone, I grete yow wel, and avyse yow to thynkk onis of the daie of youre fadris counseyle to lerne the lawe, for he seyde manie tymis that ho so ever schuld dwelle at Paston, schulde have nede to conne defende hym selfe.

The Vikare¹ of Paston and yowre fadre,² in Lenttyn last was, wher [*were*] thorwe and acordidde, and doolis³ sette howe broode the weye schulde ben,⁴ and nowe he hath pullid uppe the doolis, and seithe he wolle makyn a dyche fro the corner of his walle, ryght over the weye to the newe diche of the grete cloose. And there is a man in Truntche, hyzht Palmer to, that hadde of yowre fadre certein londe in Truntche over vij. yere or viij. yere agoone for corn, and trewli hathe paide all the yers; and now he hathe suffrid the corne to ben with sette for viijs. of rentte to Gymmyngham, wich yowre fadre paide nevere. Geffreie axid Palmere why the rentte was notte axid in myn husbonddis tyme; and Palmere seyde, for he was a grete man, and a wyse man of the law, and that was the cawse men wolde not axe hym the rentte.

I sende yow the namis of the men that kaste down

¹ John Partrick of Swathfield was Vicar of Paston, from 1442 to 1447.—F.

² William Paston, the Judge.

³ Landmarks. "Dolestones" are still spoken of in Norfolk in this sense.—See Latham's Edition of Johnson's Dictionary.

⁴ On the 6th July 1443, a licence was granted to William Paston to enclose a portion of the highway at Paston, and another at Oxnead, on his making two other highways in place thereof.—Patent Roll, 21 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 10.



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*To the most reverent Fader in God the Archebisshop of
Caunterbury, Chanceler of Englund.*

BESECHETH mekely zour gracious Lordship,
zour owne servant and oratour John Hauteyn,
chapeleyn, that wher he hath dyvers seutees
and accions in lawe to be sewed a zent A.,
that was the wife of W. Paston, of the maner of Ox-
nedes, in the countee of Northfolk; and for as meche
as zour seid besecher can gete no counsell of men of
court to be with hym in the seid matiers, by cause that
the seid W. P. was one of the Kynges Justices, and John
P., son and heir to the seid W. P., is al so a mon of
court; that hit plese zour good Lordship to assigne,
and most streytly to comaund John Heydon,¹ Thomas
Lyttylton,² and John Oelston to be of counsell with
zour seid besecher in the seid matiers, and oder that
he hath to do azenst the seid Anneys and oder; and
zour said besecher shal contente hem well for their
labour. And that this be doo in the reverence of God,
and wey of charite. JOHN HAUTEYN, Chapeleyn.

48.

After A.D. 1444.

SIR ROGER CHAMBERLAIN TO AGNES PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 38.]

Nothing can be said as to the date of this letter, except that it is evidently
after the death of William Paston.

To my right worchepfull Cosyn, Agnes Paston.

RIGHT worchepfull cosyn, I comand me to you.
And as for the mater that ye sent to me fore,
touchyng the maner callid Walshams, in Wal-
sham, the trouth is, youre husbond soldyt to

¹ A lawyer and recorder of Norwich.—F.

² Afterwards the famous Judge Lyttelton.—F.

my moder upon condition that she shuld never sel it but to youre sones, John or William ; and for the suerte of the seid condition, youre seid husbond, as I conseyye, ded the seid maner be charged with a gret annuyte upon the same condition, or the tyme that my seid moder toke estate, of the whch I suppose ye shall fynde sufficient evydens, if ye serge youre evydences therfor. And I be seche almyty God kepe you.

Wretyn at Geddyng, the xv. day of September.

Your Cosyn,

SIR ROGER CHAMBERLEYN.

49.

Between A.D. 1442 and 1455.—THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM TO THE VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

[From Fenn, i. 16.]

There appear to be no means of ascertaining the exact year when this letter was written ; but as the writer was created Duke of Buckingham on the 14th September 1441, and his son, the Earl of Stafford, was killed at the battle of St. Albans on the 22d May 1455, the date must lie between these two limits.

To the right worshipful, and with all myn herte right entirely beloved brother, the Viscounte Beaumont.

RIGHT worshipful, and with all myn herte right entierly beloved brother, I recomaunde me to you, thenking right hertili youre good brotherhode for your gode and gentill letters, the whiche it hath liked you to sende unto me nowe late ; and like it you to knowe I perseeve by the tenor of the seid lettre, your gode desire of certein dubete that I owe unto you. In gode faith, brother, it is so with me at this tyme, I have but easy stuffe of money withinne me, for so meche as the seison of the yer is not yet growen, so that I may not plese youre seid gode brotherhode, as God knoweth my will and entent were to do, and I had it.

Nevertheless, and it like you, I sende you, bi my

sonne Stafford,¹ an obligacion wherof, of late tyme, I have rescevid part of the dubete therinne comprisid; the residue of whiche I prai you to resceve bi the seid obligacion, and that I may have an acquitance therof, and to yeve credence unto my seid sonne in such thing as he shall say unto your gode brotherhode on my behalve.

Right worshipfull, and with all myn herte right entirely beloved brother, I beseche the blissed Trinite, preserve you in honor and prosperite.

Writen at my Castell of Makestok,² the xvij. day of Marche.

Yowre trew and fethfull broder,
H. BUKINGHAM.

50.

Between A.D. 1444 and 1460.

WILLIAM YELVERTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 20.]

The date of this letter is not earlier than 1444, when William Yelverton was appointed a Justice of the King's Bench; and, as Fenn remarks, it is probably not later than 1460, when he was made a Knight of the Bath, otherwise he would have signed himself Knight as well as Justice.

To my ryght wurchepful cosyn, John Paston, Esquier.

RIGHT worchepful cosyn, I recomaunde me to yow, thankyng yow as hertyly as I kan for my selff, &c, and specially for that ye do so moche for Oure Ladyes hous at Walsyngham, which I trust veryly ye do the rather for the grete love that ye deme I have therto; for trewly if I be drawe to any worchep or wellfare, and discharge of myn enmyes daunger, I ascryve it unto Our Lady.

Preyng yow therefore that ye woln ben as frendly to Our Ladyes hous as I wote well ye have alwey ben,

¹ Humphrey, Earl of Stafford, the Duke's eldest son, who was slain at St. Alban's in 1455.

² In Warwickshire.



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city of Ann, daughter and heir of Henry de Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, was granted in 25 Henry VI. to John, Viscount Beaumont, and Sir Ralph Butler, Lord Sudley.—See Dugdale's Baronage, ii. 54.

A nos treshonorés et nobles Signours Visconte Beaumont, Connestable d'Engleterre et Seigneur de Sudele, grant mestre de hostel de nostre Souverayn Seigneur le Roy d'Engleterre et France.

ARESHONORABLEZ et noblez seigneurs, nous nous recommandous tant que faire le povons a voz honorablez seignouriez. Et vous plese savoir que le samedi xv^{me} jour du moys de Aprille nous avons receu unez lettres patentes de nostre Souverain Seigneur le Roy d'Engleterre et de France, contenant comme il vous a donné la garde dez islez de Jersey et Guernesey durant le non aage de l'er de mon Seigneur de Warwyk, et unez aultrez lettres a nous directes de par vous, présentées de par voz servitours John Morin et Robert Haxby. Et pour cause que eulx n'avoyent point de procuracions, ou feisions difficultey, et non obstant a voz ditz servitours a estey delivrée et baillie la pocession de la dicte isle de Jersey, et ont juré et promis par leurs serementz de garder le loys et coustumez et anciens usages de la dicte isle, et nous envoyer lettres soubz lez seaulx de voz armez, comme voz promettez tenir en fermete ce que eulx ont promis, et de ce nous ont bailly plege Sire John Bernard, cappitaine desdictez islez, quer aultrement nous ne lez eussions point receus, comme il apparest par le certificat a eulx par nous donné, quer tous lez seigneurs, gardes, cappitaines, juges, et aultrez officers de audevant de cez hourez ont estey juréz a nous lois, coustumez et anciens usages, lez queilz ont estey gardéz et seront en tempz advenir avecquez l'aide de Dieu, qui vous ayt en sa sainte garde.

Esript en Jersey le xvij^{me} jour du moys de Aprill.

De par lez vostrez lez Balliff [et]
Jurés de l'Isle de Gersy.

53.

A.D. 1447 ?—EDMUND PASTON TO JOHN PASTON

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

From the conversation here reported touching the anticipated ascendancy of Daniel and the Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Suffolk, this letter may be referred to the year 1447. In April of the year following, the influence of Suffolk was paramount, and Daniel was said to be out of favour, as will be seen by Letter 56 following.

Tradatur Johanni Paston, of the Inner In in the Temple, att London.

RYTH worschipfull brothir, I recomaund me to yow, &c. I preye write to myn modre of your owne hed as for to consell her howh that sche kepe her prevye, and tell no body ryth nowth of her counsell; for sche woll tell persones many of her counsell this day, and to morwe sche woll sey be Goddis faste that the same men ben false. I have seen parte of the evydence, and the maner¹ hath be purchasid be parcell, and certeyn feffement mad of the avowson, and certeyn pecis of lond enterlessant the maner; and I wote well ye have on collaterall rellesse wyth a warente of on of the wyffys of Hauteyn² of all the holl maner.

Steward, the chiffe constable, told me he was enpanellyd up on the assise be twex yow and Frauncesse; he axyd me counsell what he myght do ther inne, for he told me it was take in Sir Thomas Tudham name. He wold fayne be chalengyd. I concellyd him swere the trewthe of the issue that he shall be swore to, and thanne he nedyd never to drede hym of noon atteynte. I yave him this counsell, and noon othir. He enqueyrd me of the rewle of myn master Danyell³ and myn Lord of Suffolke,⁴ and askyd wheche I thowte schuld rewle in this schere; and I seyde bothe, as I trowh,

¹ The manor of Oxnead.—See Blomefield, vi. 478.

² Probably Robert, father of John Hauteyn, the friar.

³ Thomas Daniel.

⁴ William de la Pole, at this time Marquis, afterwards Duke, of Suffolk.

and he that survyvyth to hold be the vertue of the survyvyr, and he to thanke his frendes, and to aquite his enmyys. So I fele by him he wold forsake his master, and gette him a newh yf he wyste he schuld rewle; and so wene I meche of all the contre is so disposyd. The holy Trenyte kepe yow.

Wrete at Norwiche, on the Wednysday after Seynt Peter¹ in hast. Your Brother, E. PASTON.

54.

A.D. 1447, 3 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,235, B.M. (Paston MSS.)]

Deed by which William Pope, perpetual Vicar of Paston, confirms to Agnes, widow of William Paston, and John Bakton, their estate in a piece of land, particularly described; and also binds himself to celebrate mass every Friday for the souls of said William and Agnes, &c. &c., exhort his parishioners to put up prayers for them every Sunday, called "certeyns," and celebrate William Paston's obit on the 13th August.

Dated at Paston, 3d September 26 Henry VI.

55.

A.D. 1447, 29 Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,236, B.M. (Paston MSS.)]

Indenture, dated St. Andrew's Eve, 26 Henry VI., between Agnes Paston and Waryn Baxter, the former agreeing that Baxter shall have, at the will of the lord of the manor of Knapton, the lands, &c. that were Richard Redys [Rede's], with reservations.

56.

A.D. 1448, April.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 54.]

The date of this letter is fixed by an endorsement in these words, "Literæ termino Paschæ anno xxvj.," showing that it was written in Easter term, in

¹ St. Peter's day is the 29th June.



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for to have itt, I seyde I wist wel that ze wuld pay it with ryth gode wyl, and told her that ze had sergyd to a fownd wrytyng therof, and ze kwd non fynd in non wyse. And sche sayd sche wist wele there was wrytyng therof inow, and sche hath wrytyng therof hw Syr Robert of Mawthby, and Sir Jon, and my grawnsyre, and dyverse other of myn awncesterys payd it, and seyde nevyre nay therto. And in no wyse I kwd not ^{geyn} no grawnth of her to sesyn tyl ze kom hom; and sche bad me that I xuld don an erand to my moder, and qhan I kam hom, I dede myn erand to her. And sche axyd me if I had spokyn to my lady of this forseyd mater, and I told her hw I had do, and qhat answer I had; and sche seyde sche xuld gon to my Lady Morles on the nexst day, and sche xuld speken to her therof, and a say to getyn grawnt of her to sesyn of the forseyd mater tyl that ze kom hom. And truly my moder dede her dever ryth feythfully therin, as my cosyn Clare¹ xal tellyn zw qhan that he speketh with zow; and sche gete grawnt of my seyde lady that there xuld nowth ben don azens zw therin, and ze wuld acordyn with her, and don as ze owyn to do be twyx this tym and Trinyte Sunday.

Laueraw[n]ce Rede of Mawthby recommawndeth hym to zu, and prayt zw that ze wyl vwchesave to leten hym byn [*buy*] of zw the ferm barly that ze xuld have of hym, and if ze wyl laten hym have it to a resonabyll pris, he wyl have it with ryth a gode wyl; and he prayt zw if ze wyl that he have it, that ze wyl owche save [*vouchsafe*] to send hym word at qhat pris he xuld have the kowmb as hastily as ze may, and ellys he must be purvayd in other plase.

As twchyng other tydyngs, I sopose Jon of Dam xal send zw word in a letter. As it is told me veryly, Heydon xal not kom at London this term.

It is seyde in this contre that Danyell² is owth of the Kyngs gode grase, and he xal dwn and all hys mene,

¹ Probably William, eldest son of Robert Clere of Ormesby, who died in 1446.—See Blomefield, vi. 336.

² Thomas Daniel.

and all that ben hys wele wyllers; there xal no man ben so hardy to don nether seyn azens my Lord of Sowthfolk,¹ nere non that longeth to hym; and all that have don and seyde azens hym, they xul sore repent hem. Kateryn Walsam xal be weddyd on the Munday nexst after Trinyte Sondag, as it is told me, to the galaunte with the grete chene; and there is purvayd for her meche gode aray of gwnys, gyrdelys, and atyrys, and meche other gode aray, and he bathe purchesyde a gret purchey of v. mark be zer to zevyn her to her joynture.

I am aferd that Jon of Sparham is so schyttyl wyttyd, that he wyl sett hys gode to morgage to Heydon, or to sum other of ywre gode frendys, but if [*i.e.* unless] I can hold hym inne the better, ere ze kom hom. He hath ben arestyde sythyn that ye went, and hath had moche sorw at the sewte of mayster Joh Stoks of London for x. mark that Sparham owt to hym; and in gode feyth he hath had so moche sorow and hevynesse that he wylt nowth qhat he myght don. I fell hym so disposyd that he wold asold and asett to morgage all that he hath, he had nowth rowth to qhom, so that he myght an had mony to an holpyn hym self wyth; and I entreyde hym so, thatt I sopose he wylt nother sellyn ner sett to morgage, nother catel ner other gode of hese, tyl he speke with zw. He soposeth that al that is don to hym is att the request of the Parson of Sparham and Knatylsale. I sopose it is almas to comfort hym, for in gode feyth he is ryth bevy, and hys wyf al so. He is nowth nw under arest, he hath payde hys feys, and goth at large; he was arestyde att Sparham, of on of Knatysales men.

Hodge Feke told me thatt Sym Schepherd is styl with Wyllly,² and if ze wyl I xal purvey that he xal be browth hom er ze kom hom. It is told me that he that kept zour schep was owth lawyd on Munday at the swth of Sir Thomas Todynham, and if it be so, ze arn nowth lyk to kepe hym longe. And as twchyng that that ze badeyn me spekyn for to Bakton, he seyth he is wel avysyd that sche seyde sche wuld never have to

¹ See p. 65, note 3.

² William Paston, son of the Judge?

don with all, ner he kan not pek that sche seyde sche hath non ryth to have it, and he wyl say lyche as he hath herd her seyde ; and if sche speke to hym therof, he wyl rather hold with zw than with her. I pray ye that ze wyl vwche save to send me word hw ze spede in zour matter twchyng Gressam, and hw Danyel is in grace. Harry Goneld hath browth to me xls. of Gressam syn ze zede, and he seyth I xal have more or Qhythson tyd, if he may pyk it up.

I sopose Jamys Gressam hath told zw of other thyngs that I have sped syn ze zedyn hens. If I her any strawnge tydyngs in this contre, I xall send zw word. I pray zw that I may ben recommawndyd to my Lord Danyel.

The Holy Trynyte have zw in hys kepyng, and send zw helth and gode spede in al zour maters twchyng zour ryth.

Wretyn at Norwyche, on the Wedenys day nexst after thatt ze partyd hens.

Yors,

MARGARETE PASTON.

57.

Date uncertain.

LORD SCALES TO THOMAS GNATESHALE.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The person to whom this is addressed is probably the same "Knatysale" mentioned in the preceding letter, and as it contains no evidence of any definite date, we think best to insert it here.

To Thomas Gnateshale.

Thomas Gnateshale, I wul ze wite it was oute of my remembrance that Paston hade pout in my determinacion the discort betwene you and hym. I was the more favourable to your entent, but in so mych as I had forgete that beforesaid, I praye you that ye suffre the cornes in mene hand til that I have determined the matier betwene you too be the advis of lerned men which han knowelich in such causses, the which thing I wul do in as short tyme as may, wherof ze shal have knowelich.

Writen at Myddelton, the xiiij. day of August.

THE LORD SCALES.



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bryng us to ; wherfor I requer zow, yf that yt plese zow to have hym, that ze wylle be the better master to hym for my sake, for I am he that is as sory to departe from hym as any man on lyve from hys servant, and be my trowthe, as farforthe as I knowe, he is as true as any on lyve.

I troste my fortune schale be better than ever to leve thus her ; but yf I wer hens wards, I ensuer zow I wold not schange for none that I knowe. He is profytabyll on dyvers thynggs as ze knowe welle.

Ther has ben a gret breke be twyx Calle and me, as I schal enforme zow at my coming, wyche schalle be on Wedynsday next be the grace of God, who preserve zow.

Wretyn at Mawteby, on Wyteson eve.

EDMOND PASTON.

59.

A.D. 1448, 19 May.—ABSTRACT.

[From Phillipps MS. 9735, No. 256.]

MARGARET PASTON TO HER HUSBAND (*not addressed*).

On Friday last, the Parson of Oxened “being at messe in one Parossh Chirche, evyn at levacion of the sakeryng, Jamys Gloys had been in the town, and come homeward by Wymondam’s gate,” when he was attacked by Wymondham who had two of his men with him, and driven into “my mother’s place” for refuge. With the noise of this, my mother and I came out of the church from the sakeryng, and Wymondham “called my mother and me strong whores, and said, ye Pastons and all her kin were yngham said he lied, knave and churl as he was.” After noon my mother and I reported this to the Prior of Norwich, who sent for Wymondham; and Pgrave came with us. While Wymondham was with the Prior, and we at home, Gloys was assaulted again in the street, “as he stood in the Lady Hastyns’ chamber,” by Thomas Hawys, one of Wymondham’s men. This last assault the Parson of Oxened saw. Sends Gloys to her husband for fear of further trouble. The Lady Morle “would have the benefice of her obligacion,” as her counsel tells her it is forfeit, and she

would not have the relief till she have your homage. The Lord Moleyns' man is collecting the rent at Gresham "a great pace," as James Gresham will report to you.

Trinity Sunday, at even.

Further statement about the assault added in a different hand (qu. Agnes Paston's?).

[From the fact of Lord Molyns being in possession of Gresham, and collecting rents there, it is clear that the date of this letter is 1448. This date also agrees with what is said in Letter 56 about a relief claimed by Lady Morley.]

60.

A.D. 1448, 28 May.

JOHN NORTHWOOD TO JOHN, VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

[From Fenn, i. 12.]

The date of this letter will appear by a foot-note.

To my worschypful and reverent Lord, John, Vicont Beaumont.

RYGTH worschypfull, and my reverent and most spesiall Lord, y recomaund me un to yowr good grace in the most humble and lowly wyse that y canne or may, desyryng to her of your prosperite and well fare [as to my]¹ most syn-geler joy and spesiall comfort.

And gyf hyt plees your Hygnes, as towchyng the soden aventuer that fell latly at Coventre, plees hyt your Lordshyp to her that, on Corpus Christi Even² last passed, be twene viij. and ix. of the klok at a[fternon],¹ Syr Umfrey Stafford³ had browth my mayster Syr James of Urmond⁴ towa[r]d hys yn [*inn*] from my Lady of Shrewesb[ery],⁵ and]¹ reterned from hym toward

¹ The bracketed words are noted by Fenn as "imperfect in the original, the paper being chafed."

² 22d May.

³ Killed in an engagement with Jack Cade in June 1450.

⁴ Probably Sir James Butler, son and heir apparent of James, fourth Earl of Ormond, who in 1449 was created Earl of Wiltshire.

⁵ Wife of John Talbot, the famous Earl of Shrewsbury.

hys yn, he met with Syr Robert Harcourt¹ comyng from hys moder towards hys yn, and pass[ed Syr]² Umfrey; and Richard, hys son, came somewhat be hynd, and when they met to gyder, they fell in bandes togyder, and [Sir Robert]² smot hym a grette st[r]oke on the hed with hys sord, and Richard with hys dagger hastely went toward hym. And as he stombled, on of Harcourts men smot hym in the bak with a knyfe; men wotte not ho hyt was reddely. Hys fader hard noys, and rode toward hem, and hys men ronne befor hym thyder ward; and in the goyng downe of hys hors, on, he wotte not ho, be hynd hym smot hym on the hede with a nege tole, men know not with us with what wepone, that he fell downe; and hys son fell downe be fore hym as good as dede. And all thys was don, as men sey, in a Pater Noster wyle. And forth with Syr Umfrey Stafford men foloed after, and slew ij. men of Harcowrttus, on Swynerton, and Bradshawe, and mo ben hurt; sum ben gonne, and sum be in pryson in the jayll at Coventre.

And before the coroner of Coventre, up on the sygth of the bodyes, ther ben endited, as prynsypall for the deth of Richard Stafford, Syr Robert Harcourt and the ij. men that ben dede. And for the ij. men of Harcourts that ben dede, ther ben endited ij. men of Syr Umfrey as prynsypall. And as gytte ther hath ben no thyng fownden before the Justice of the Pees of Coventre of thys riot, be caws the shreffe of Warwyk shyre is dede,³ and they may not sytt in to the tyme ther be a new shreve.

And all thys myschef fell be cawse of a nold debate that was be twene heme for takyng of a dystres, as hyt is told.

¹ He signalized himself in the wars of Henry VI. and Edward IV., was a Knight of the Garter, and in November 1470, to Edward IV., was slain by the Staffords, perhaps in revenge for this murder of Richard Stafford.—F.

² See Note 1, p. 73.

³ Thomas Porter was sheriff of the counties of Warwick and Leicester in 26 Henry VI., and died in his year of office on Monday after Corpus Christi day (27th May 1448), the day before this letter was written.—Inquisition *post mortem*, 27 Henry VI., No. 13.



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your Lordschyp, yn las than hyt schold hurt me to gretly, wyche y wote wel your Lordschyp wol nevyr desyr.

And God for hys mercy have you, rythe worschypful Fadyr yn God, and my rythe gode Lord, yn hys blessyd kepyng.

Wrytyn with my nounge chaunsery hand, yn hast, the xiiij. daye of June, at Teffaunt.

Vere hartely your, MOLYNS.

62.

A.D. 1449 (?) 31 Jan.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 408.]

Fenn thinks this was written about 1460, but I do not see on what evidence. From the reference to Gresham, I should rather suppose it belongs to 1449. By the subscription, it would appear that the writer was very near the time of lying in; but we cannot tell the exact date of the birth of any of her children. Lord Molyns dispossessed John Paston of the lordship of Gresham on the 17th of February 1448. After repeated remonstrances on the subject to no purpose, Paston went and took up his quarters there again on the 6th October 1449, and succeeded in keeping possession till the 28th January 1450, when the place was attacked, in his absence, by Lord Molyns' men, who undermined the walls, and drove out Paston's wife. The "errands about Gresham" probably refer to the time of Lord Molyns' first occupation.

To my ryght worchippfull hosbond, John Paston, be this delyveryd in hast.

RIGHT worchipfull hosbond, I recommand me to yow, praying yow to wete that I have receyved your letter this day that ye sent me be Yelvertonys man. As for your signette, I fond itt uppon your bord the same day that ye went hens, and I send it yow be Richard Heberd, bringer herof. As for your eronds that ye wrete to me fore, Richard Charles is owte abough your eronds abowte Gresham, and for his awyn maters also, and I suppose he komyth not bom tyll it be Tesday or Wedneseday next komyng; and alsone as he komyth hom, he shall go abowte your eronds that ye wrete to me fore.

I sent yow a letter wreten on Tesday last past, whiche, as I suppose, Roger Ormesby delyveryd yow. I toke it to Alson Pertryche. She rod with Clyppysbys wyff to London.

I pray yow if ye have an other sone that you woll lete it be named Herry, in remembrans of your brother Herry;¹ also I pray yow that ye woll send me dats and synamun as hastyly as ye may. I have speke with John Damme of that ye bad me sey to hem to sey to Thomas Note, and he sey he was wel payd that ye seyde and though therin as ye dede. Ner'les I bad hym that he shuld sey to the seyde Thomas therin as it wer of hymself with owte your avys or any others; and he seyde he shuld so, and that it shuld be purveyd for this next weke at the ferthest. The blyssed Trinyte have yow in his kepyng.

Wretyn att Norwyche, in hast, the Fryday next befor Candelmesse day.

Be your gronyng wyff,

M. P

63.

A.D. 1449 (?) 5 March.

ROBERT, PRIOR OF BROMHOLM, TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 80.]

There is no distinct clue to the date of this letter; but Fenn throws out a conjecture which, in default of any better guide, may be accepted as not improbable, that "the Bishop of the other side of the sea" was Walter Lyhert, Bishop of Norwich, who in the beginning of 1449 must have been in Savoy, having been sent thither by the King to persuade the anti-pope Felix V. to renounce his claim to Nicholas V. for the peace of the Church. This Felix actually did in the beginning of this year, and Wharton considers Bishop Lyhert to have been the cause of his doing so (*Angl. Sac.* i. 418). Fenn, however, dates this letter 1450, on the supposition that the Bishop would have been still abroad in the beginning of that year, which is a mistake, as his name appears in the Rolls of Parliament as a trier of petitions as early as February.

¹ - No notice is taken elsewhere of John Paston having a brother named Harry.

To my Sovereyn, John Paston.

Recomend me hertily, thankyng yow for the tydings, and the good awysse that ze sent me be the Parson of Thorpe;¹ latyng zow wittin that the Byschope of the todir syde of the see sent laate to me a man, the qwych wuld abydin uppon my leyser, for to an had me ovyr wyt hym to the seyd Byschope, and so forth to the Courte.² So the seyd man and I arryn a poynted that he schal comyn ageyn a purpose fro the Byschope, to be my gyde ovyr the see, and so I purpose me fully forthe a noon aftir this Estryn. I mak me evyre day fulli redy as privyly as I can, be sekyng zow, as I trost on zow, and as I am zour trow bedde man, as labor for me her that I mythe haf a wyrtte of passagche directid un[to] swyche men as zow thyng that schyd best yife me my schargche.

The best takyng of schepynge is at Yernemuthe er Kyrley, or som othir place in Norfolk syde. I schal haf favour he now [*enough*] wyt ther seergiours [*searchers*]; bod all my goode spede and all my wel lythe in you heer, for ther on I trost fully.

Som cownsel me to haf a letter of exschawnge, thow it wer bode of xls. er lees, bod I comitte all my best in this matir to zour wysdam, and qwat at evyr ze pay in this matir, I schal truly at owr metyng repay ageyn to zow. Bod for Godds love purvey for my sped her, for ell [*else*] I lees all my purvyans, and ther too I schyd jaape³ the Byschope man, and caus hym to com in to Yngland, and lees all his labor. For Goddis love, send me down this wyrtte, er ell bryng it wyt zow, that I mythe haf fro zow a letter of tydings and comforthe; for I had nevyr verray need of zour labor til now, bod my hert hangithe in gret langor.

All my brethir wenyth that I schyd no forthir goo than to the Byschope, and undir that colour schal I weel go forthe to the Courte. I haf gret stody til I

¹ Robert Rogers was parson of Thorpe from 1445 to 1476.

² Court of Rome.

³ Deceive.



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pro bono animæ suæ, prout melius videret Deo placere ac animæ suæ prodesse. Et dictum Johannem Paston ordinavit et constituit executores suos. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigilla nostra apposuimus.

Endorsed—Copia ultimæ voluntatis Edmundi Paston.

Endorsed in a later hand—Testamentum Edmundi Paston secundi filii Willelmi Paston Justiciarii.

65.

A.D. 1449, 24 March.

LORD MOLYNS TO THE TENANTS OF GRESHAM.

[From Fenn, i. 192.]

Lord Molyng took possession of Gresham, as already stated—see preliminary note to Letter 62,—on the 17th of February 1448; but the reference to Parliament as sitting at the date of this letter proves it to belong either to 1449 or 1450. The latter date, however, is not very probable.

To my trusty and wel belovyd, the Vycary and Tenaunts of my Lordschepe of Gressham.

TRUSTY and welbeloved frendys, I grete yowe well, and putte yowe all owte of doute for all that ye have doon for me; and the money that ye pay to my welbeloved servant, John Partrich, I will be your warant as for your discharge, and save yowe harmeles ayenst all thoo that wold greve yowe, to my power. And, as hertly as I can, I thanke yow of the gud wyl ye have had, and have, toward me. And as to the tytyll of rigth that I have to the Lordship of Gressam schal with in short tyme be knoweyn, and be the lawe so determynyd, that ye schall all be glad that bathe ought me youre gud wyl therin.

And All Myghty God kepe yow; and, be His grace, I schall be with yowe son aftyr the Parlement es endyd.

Wrytten atte London, on Oure Lady evyn last past.
R. H., LORD MOLYNS.

66.

A.D. 1449, 2 April.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter is evidently both after Paston's expulsion from Gresham by Lord Molyne in February 1448, and after the death of Edmund Paston in 1449. It cannot, however, be so late as 1450, else Hauteyn would not have expected to obtain possession of Oxnead through the Duke of Suffolk's influence.

To my rytz wurschippful Mayster, Jon Paston, be this delyverid in hast, dwelling in the Inner Tempill.

RYTZ wurschippful hosbond, I recommawnd me to zu, praying zu to wete that my kosyn Cler¹ dynyd with me this day; and sche told me that Heydon was with her yister evyn late, and he told her that he had a letter from the Lord Moleynys, and schewyd her the same letter, praying hym that he wold seyn to his frends and wele willerres in this contre that he thanketh hem of her godewill, and for that thei have done for hym; and also praying Heydon that he wold sey to Rychard Ernold of Crowmer that he was sory and evyl payd that his men maden the afray up on hym, for he seyde it was not be his will that his men xuld make afray on noman in this contre with owth rytz grett cause. And as for that was don to zu if it mytz ben prevyd that he had don otherwise to zu than rytz wold as for the mevabyl godis, ze xuld ben content, so that ze xuld have cawse to kon hym thank; and he prayd Heydon in the letter that it xuld ben reportid in this kontre that he wold don so, if he had don otherwyse than he owth to don.

The frere² that cleymyth Oxned was in this town zastyrday and this day, and was ledgid att Beris, and this afternon he rod, but qhedder I wote not. He seyde pleyntly in this town that he xal have Oxnede, and that he hath my lord of Suffolkes³ good lordschip, and he wol ben his good lord in that mater. There

¹ Elizabeth, widow of Robert Clere of Ormesby.

² John Hawteyn.—See Nos. 35 and 47.

³ William De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

was a persone warnyd my moder with in this to days that sche xuld ben ware, for thei seyde pleyntly sche was lyk to ben servyd as ze were servyd at Gressam with in rytz schort tyme. Also the Lord Moleyns wrott in his forseyd letter that he wold mytyly, with his body and with his godis, stand be all tho that had ben his frends and his wel willers in the mater towching Gressam, and preyde Heydon that he wold sey to them that thei xuld not ben aferd in non wyse, for that was don it xuld ben abedyn by.

My moder prayith zu that ze wil send my brother Willyam to Kawmbrege anomynale¹ and abok of sofystre of my brother Emundes,² the qheche my seyde brother be hestid my moder the last tyme he spak with her, that he xuld asent [*should have sent*] to my brother Willyam. The blisseful Trinyte have zu in his keping.

Wretyn at Norwyche in hast, on the Wodenysday next be for Palm Sunday. Zowres,

M. P.

67.

A.D. 1449?—[MARGARET PASTON] TO [JOHN PASTON]

[From Fenn, iii. 314.]

“The direction of this curious letter,” says Fenn, “is obliterated, but it is plainly from Margaret Paston to her husband; and the paper is likewise so completely filled with writing, that she has not even either subscribed or dated it, but by the mentioning of Sir John Fastolf it must have been written before 1459.” It appears to us most probably to belong to the year 1449, when Paston was making preparations to re-enter Gresham, which he actually did in October of that year.

RYT wurchipful hwsbond, I recomawnd me to zu, and prey zw to gete som crosse bowis, and wyndacs³ to bynd them with, and quarrels;⁴ for zour hwsis her ben so low that ther may non man scbet owt with no long bowe, thow we badde never so moche nede.

¹ A *nominale*.

² Edmund Paston, who must have died very shortly after declaring his will on the 21st of March 1449.

³ Windacs are what we now call grappling irons, with which the bow-string is drawn home.—F.

⁴ Properly *quarreaux*. They were square pyramids of iron shot out of cross-bows.—Grose's *Milit. Antiq.* i. 149.



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68.

A.D. 1449, 25 May.

ROBERT WENYNGTON TO THOMAS DANIEL.

[From Fenn, i. 208.]

On the 3d April 1449 royal letters were issued in favour of Robert Wynnyngtone of Devonshire, who was bound by indenture to do the King service on the sea "for the cleansing of the same, and rebuking of the robbers and pirates thereof, which daily do all the noisance they can."—Stevenson's Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France, i. 489.

To my Reverend Mayster, Thomas Danyell, Squier for the Kyngs Body, be thys letter delyverd in haste.

MOST reverend mayster, I recomaund me on to yowr graceus maystreschup, ever deseryng to her of yowr wurschupfull ustate, the whyche All myghte God mayntayne hyt, and encrese hyt on to hys plesans: Plesyng yow to know of my wellfare, and of all yowr men, at the makyng of thys letter, we wer in gode hele of body i blessyd be God.

Mo over, mayster, I send yow word, by Rauly Pykeryng, of all maters, the whyche I be seche yow yeve hym credens, as he wyll enforme yow of all; so, sur, I beseche yow, in the reverens of God, that ye wyll enforme owr Soverayn Lord the Kyng of all maters that I send yow in thys letter, lyke as I have send a letter to my Lord Chaunseler and to all my Lordys by the sayd Pykeryng; the whyche letter I beseche yow that ye take and delyver to my Lord and all my Lordys by yowr awne handys, and lete the sayd Pykeryng declare all thyngs as he hath sayn and knoweth.

Furst, I send yow word that when we went to see, we toke ij. schyppys of Brast comyng owte of Flaundrys; and then after, ther ys made a grete armyng in Brytayne to mete with me and my felyschyp, that ys to say, the grete schyp of Brast, the grete schyp of the Morleys, the grete schyp of Vannng, with other viij. schyppis, bargys, and balyngers, to the number of iij. m^{li}. [3000] men; and so we lay in the see to me[te] with them.

And then we mette with a flotte of a c. [*a hundred*]

grete schyppys of Pruse, Lubycke, Campe, Rastocke, Holond, Selond, and Flandres, betwyte Garnyse [*Guernsey*] and Portland; and then I cam aboard the Admirall, and bade them stryke in the Kyngys name of Englonde, and they bade me skyte in the Kyngs name of Englonde; and then I and my feleschyp sayd, but [*unless*] he wyll streke don the sayle, that I wyld over sayle ham by the grace of God, and God wyll send me wynd and wether; and dey bade me do my wurst, by cause I had so fewe schyppys and so smale, that they scornyd with me. And as God wuld, on Fryday last was, we had a gode wynd, and then we armyd to the number of ij. m^l [2000] men in my felyschyp, and made us redy for to over sayle them; and then they lonchyd a bote, and sette up a stondert of truesse, and com and spake with me. And ther they were yolded all the hundret schyppys to go with me in what port that me lust and my felawys; but they faothe with me the day before, and schotte atte us a j. m^l [1000] gonnyes, and quarell¹ owte of number, and have slayn meny of my felyschyp, and meymyd all soo. Wherfor me thyngkyt that they haye forfett bothe schypps and godys at our Soverayn Lord the Kyngys wyll. Besechyng yow that ye do yowr parte in thys mater, for thys I have wrytyn to my Lord Chaunseler² and all my Lordys of the Kyngys Counsell; and so I have brofte them, all the c. [*hundred*] shyppys, within Wyght, in spyte of them all.

And ye myght gete leve of owr Soverayn Lord the Kyng to com hydder, hyt schall turne yow to grete wurschup and profett, to helpe make owr a poyntement in the Kyngs name, for ye sawe never suche a syght of schyppys take in to Englonde thys c. wynter; for we ly armyd nyght and day to kepe them, in to the tyme that we have tydengs of our Soverayn and hys counsell. For truly they have do harme to me, and to my feleschyp, and to yowr schyppys more [than] ij. m^l li.³ worth harme;

¹ See p. 82, Note 4.

² John Stafford, Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ Fenn says the reading of the original is indistinct, and he could not determine whether £2000 or £3000 was meant.

and therfor I am avesyd, and all my feleschyp, to droune them and slee them, withoute that we hafe tydyngs from owr Soverayn the Kyng and hys counsell. And therfor, in the reverens of God, come ye yowr self, and ye schall have a grete avayle and wurschup of yowr comyng to see a suche syght, for I der well sey that I have her at this tyme all the cheff schyppys of Duchelond, Holond, Selond, and Flaundrys, and now hyt wer tyme for to trete for a fynell pese as for that partyes.

I writ no more to yow at this tyme, but All myghty Jesus have yow in hys kepyng. I writ in hast, within Wyght, on Soneday at nyght after the Ascencion of owr Lord.

By yowr owne Servant,

ROBT. WENYNGTON.

69.

About A.D. 1449.—WILLIAM PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

As it appears from Margaret Paston's letter of the 2d April 1449 that William Paston was a student at Cambridge in that year, the date of this must be about the same period.

To myn most reverent and [w]urchepful broder, Jon Paston.

TO myn most reverent and wurchepful brodur, I recummend me hartely to zow, desiryng speciali to hare of zowre wellefare and prosperite, qweche Almyty God contenu to zowre gosteli hele and bodili welfare. And if it plase zowre goode broderod to here of myn wellefare, at the makyng of this bylle I was in good hele. And if it leke zowre good broderod to remembre the letter that I sent to zow of the noyse that was telde of zow, that ze schuld a be on of the capetayns of the ryserse in Norfolk, and how that j. scholere of Cambryg, qweche is parson of Welle, schuld an utteryd ferthere to zowr grete schalndyr [*slander*]; besechyng zow to undyrstond that



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as Sir Harry Inglos died that year. Moreover, it cannot be either 1451 or 1450, as "the Saturday next after Midsummer," when this letter is dated, preceded "the Wednesday next after Midsummer day" in both these years. Thus 1449 is the latest possible date.

To John Paston be this letter delyveryd.



SOON, I grete zow wel with Goddis blyssyng and myn, and I latte zow wette that my cosyn Cler¹ wrytted to me that sche spake with Schrowpe² after that he had byen with me at Norwyche, and tolde her what cher that I had made hym, and he seyde to her he lyked wel by the cher I made hym.

He had swyche wordys to my cosyn Cler that lesse than ze made hym good cher, and zaf hym wordys of conforth at London, he wolde no mor speke of the matyr.

My cosyn Cler thynkyth that it were a foly to forsake hym lesse than ze knew of on owdyr as good or better; and I have assayde zowr suster,³ and I fonde her never so wylly to noon as sche is to hym, zyf it be so that his londe stande cleer.

I sent zow a letter by Brawnton for sylke, and for this matyr befor my cosyn Cler wrote to me, the qwyche was wrytten on the Wednysday nexzt aftyr Mydsomer day.

Sir Harry Ynglows is ryzth besy a bowt Schrowpe for one of his dozthers.

I prey zow, for zette nozth to brynge me my mony fro Horwelbery, as ze com fro London, edyr all or a grete parte. The dew dette was at Crystemesse last paste, no thyng a lowyd, vij*l*. xiiij*s*. viij*d*., and at this Mydsomer it is v*l*. more; and thow I a low hym all his askyng, it is but xxv*s*. vj*d*. less, but I am nozth so avysyth zytt. As for the Frer,⁴ he hath byen at Sent Benetts, and at Norwyche, and made grete bowste of the sewte that he hath azens me, and bowzthe many

¹ Elizabeth, widow of Robert Clere of Ormesby, Esq.

² Stephen Scrope, a son of Sir John Fastolf's wife by a former husband.

³ Elizabeth Paston.

⁴ John Hawteyn.—See Nos. 35 and 47.

boxes, to what intent I wett never. It is wel doen to be war at London, in drede gyf he bryng ony syse at Sent Margarets tyme.

I kan no more, but Almyzty God be owr good lorde, who have zow ever in kepyng. Wryten at Oxnade in grete hast, on the Satyr next aftyr Mydsomer.

By yowr Modyr, A. P.

71.

Not after A.D. 1449.

ELIZABETH CLERE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 204.]

This letter appears from the contents to be of the same year as the preceding.

To my Cosyn, John Paston, be thys letter delyvered.

ARUSTY and weel be loved cosyn, I comaunde me to zow, desyryng to here of zowre weelfare and good spede in zowre matere, the qwech I prey God send zow to his plesaunce and to zoure hertys ease.

Cosyn, I lete zow wete that Scrope¹ hath be in this cuntre to se my cosyn zoure sustyr, and he hath spoken with my cosyn zoure moder, and sche desyreth of hym that he schuld schewe zow the endentures mad betwen the knyght that hath his dowter and hym, whethir that Skrop, if he were married and fortunied to have children, if tho children schuld enheryte his lond, or his dowter, the wheche is married.

Cosyn, for this cause take gode hede to his endentures, for he is glad to schewe zow hem, or whom ze wol a sygne with zow; and he seith to me he is the last in the tayle of his lyflode, the qweche is CCCL. marke and better, as Watkyn Shipdam seith, for he hath take a compt of his liflode dyvers tymes; and Scrop seith to me if he be married, and have a sone an eyre, his dowter that is married schal have of his liflode

¹ Stephen Scrope.—See p. 88, Note 2.

L. marke and no more ; and therefore, cosyn, me semeth he were good for my cosyn zowre sustyr, with[out] that ye myght gete her a bettyr. And if ze can gete a better, I wold avyse zow to labour it in as schort tyme as ze may goodly, for sche was never in so gret sorow as sche is now a dayes, for sche may not speke with no man, ho so ever come, ne not may se ne speke with my man, ne with servauntes of hir moderys but that sche bereth hire an hand¹ otherwyse than she menyth. And sche hath sen Esterne the most part be betyn onys in the weke or twyes, and som tyme twyes on o day, and hir hed broken in to or thre places. Wherfor, cosyn, sche hath sent to me by Frere Newton in gret counsell, and preyeth me that I wold send to zow a letter of hir hevynes, and prey yow to be hir good brothy, as hir trost is in zow ; and sche seith, if ze may se be his evydences that his childern and hire may enheryten, and sche to have resonable joynture, sche hath herd so mech of his birth and his condicions, that and ze will sche will have hym, whethyr that hir moder wil or wil not, not withstandyng it is tolde hir his persone is symple, for sche scyth men shull have the more deyute of hire if sche rewle hire to hym as sche awte to do.

Cosyn, it is told me ther is a goodly man in yowre Inne, of the qweche the fadyr deyed litte, and if ze thynk that he were better for hir than Scroop, it wold be laboured, and yif Scroop a goodly answeere that he be not put of tyl ze be sure of a bettyr ; for he seid whan he was with me, but if [*i.e.* unless] he have som counfortable answer of zow, he wil no more laboure in this mater, be cause he myght not se my cosyn zoure sustyr, and he seyth he myght a see hire and sche had be bettyr than she is ; and that causeth hym to demyr that hir moder was not weel willyng, and so have I sent my cosyn zowre moder word. Wherfore, cosyn, thynk on this mateer, for sorow oftyn tyme causeth women to be set hem otherwyse than thei schuld do, and if sche where in that case, I wot weel ze wold be sorry. Cosyn,

¹ To bear one on hand, means to assert or insinuate something to a person.



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the Chefe Justice of Englonde, for v^c [500] marke, with the whiche mariage was deliverd in hande to the sayde Gascoyng the maner of Wyghton on the Wolde, in Yorke schyre, with the apertenance of the saide maner; and whan the sayde Gascoyng hade hym, he wolde have solde hym agayn, or married the saide Stephen Scrope ther [*where*] he schulde have byn despareiged :¹ wherefore, at the request of the sayde Scrope and hys frendes, the saide Fastolf boght the ma[r]iage of the saide Scrope of the saide Sir William Gascoyng for v^c marke, wherby the saide Fastolf hath mariage of the saide Stephen Scrope, or elles to have the saide somme of v^c marke that he payde for hym, like as hit ys above sayde.

Item, for as moche as the sayde Stephen Scrope ys comyn to the saide Fastolf, sayinge that he hath fownde wey to be married at his lyst, and also for his worschippe and profyt, so that the saide Fastolf woll consent therto, that ys to say, to Fauconeris doughter of London, that Sir Reynalde Cobham² had weddid.

Item, for as hit ys the saide Fastolf ys wille to forther and helpe the saide Scrope in any wize ther he may be fortherede, the sayde Fastolf consenteth that the sayde Scrope marie hym to the Fauconeris doughter, with that that the sayde Fauconer gyf to the sayde Fastolf the saide somme of v^c marke, the whiche he payde for the saide Scrope.

Item, yf that the sayde Stephen Scrope pay or do pay the somme afore sayde of v^c marke sterling, than the sayde Sir John Fastolf and Dame Mylicent,³ his wyf, schall make astate of the said maner of Wyghton on the Wolde in Yorke schyre, with the apertenaunce

¹ See Note 2, previous page.

² Sir Reginald Cobham of Sterborough, in Surrey, who died in 1446. He was the father of the notorious Eleanor Cobham, the mistress, and afterwards wife, of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.—Brayley's Hist. of Surrey, iv. 159.

³ Milicent, wife of Sir John Fastolf, is known to have been alive in the 24th year of Henry VI. (1446). William Worcester says, the allowance for her chamber was paid until that date; but as he says nothing more, it has been supposed she did not live longer. Mr. Poulett Scrope also believes her to have died in 1446, on the authority of a contemporary MS., which says she and Fastolf lived together thirty-eight years.—Hist. Castlecombe, 263.

of the sayde maner, to the saide Stephen Scrope and to the woman, the whiche schalbe his wyf, and to here eyres of here bodyes begete be twix hem two.

Item, yef the sayde Stephen dye with oute eyre of his body begeten, than the sayde maner of Wyghton, after the descece of the saide hys wyf, schall retourne agayne to the sayde Fastolf and Dame Mylicent, his wyf, and to the eyres of the sayde Mylicent.

Item, yf so be that the sayde Fauconer wilnot pay the sayde somme of v^c marke, bot peraventure wolde gyf a lesse somme, then the sayde Fastolf wyl deliver to the mariage of the saide Scrope certayn londe, havynge rewarde to the somme that the sayde Fauconer wil gyf, havynge rewarde to the afferrant of xl. pounde worthe land and v^c. mark of golde.

Item, if that the sayde Fauconer wilnot gyf no somme of golde for the sayde mariage, the sayde Fastolf wyl take the mariage of the childe that ys eyre to the forsaide Sir Reynolde Cobham, and that the sayde Scrope forto conferme the astat hys moder has made to the saide Fastolf, yf so be that the consel of the saide Fastolf se by thaire avys that hit be for to do, and that the said mariage may be [as] moche worth to the said Fastolf as v^c. mark.

Item, ze sende me be Raufm[an an] answare o[f] the letters that y sende yow, that I may have ve[ray] knolage how that hit standys with me ther in al maner of thynges, and that I [h]ave an answare of every article that y wrote to yow.

Item, for as moche as that I am bonden for my Lord Scales¹ to my Lord Cardnale² in v^c. mark, the qu[ech] somme he kan not fynd no way to pay hit, on lese then that he sel a parcel of his land; quer fore he sendis ower a man of his called Pessemerche, with whom I wil that ze spek, and se be zore avis whch of the places of my said Lord Scales that standis most

¹ Thomas de Scales, 8th Lord.

² John Kemp, Archbishop of York, afterwards of Canterbury; or, if this document be some years earlier, Cardinal Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester.

cler to be solde; and if the place that is beside W[a]l-syngham stand cler, I have hit lever then the tother; and therefore I pray [z]ow that ze make apointment with the said Pesemerche in the best wise that ze may, athir of the ton place or the tother, and or ze let take hit after xx. zere, havyn[g] rewarde to the verray val[u] therof, and as ze don send me worde be the next messenger.

Item, my Lord of Hungerford¹ has writen to me for to have the warde of Robert Monpyns[on]is sone, wher of I am agreed that he schal [have] hit like as I has wretyn to hym in a letter, of the whch I send zow a cope closed here in : wher fore I pray zow to enquere of the verray valu of the land that Monpynson haldis of me, and sendis me word in hast; for my said Lord Hungerford sais in his letter that hit is worth bot xls. a zere aboufe the rentis, as ze may se the letter that he sent me, the q[uec]h I send zow be my son Scrope. And I pray zow to demene zow to my said Lord as eesely as ze may in this mater and al other that I have to do with hym, as ze may se be the cope aforesaid. And or (*sic*) have zow in his kepyng. Wretyn at Roan (?)² the last day of October.

J. FASTOLFE.

Endorsed—Appunctuamentum factum pro Stephano Scroope anno xxviii^o Regis H. vj. ad maritandum.

73.

A. D. 1449 (?) 2 Nov.—RICHARD, EARL OF WARWICK,
TO SIR THOMAS TODENHAM.

[From Fenn, i. 84.]

Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, afterwards famous as the "King-maker," succeeded to the title in 1449, and this letter is not unlikely to have been

¹ Walter, 1st Lord Hungerford, died in August 1449, and was succeeded in the title by his son Robert.

² The name is a little indistinct from the decay of the paper, but the first and last letters are clear, and it is scarcely possible to doubt that Rouen was the place here intended. Yet if this be so, the letter must be much earlier than the date assigned to it in the endorsement.



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74.

A.D. 1449, 11 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

Copy of a Grant from the Crown to John Bray for services against the King's enemies. Caen, 11th December 14[4]9, 28 Henry VI.

[This document is very mutilated and decayed. It is written in French, the spelling of which is very peculiar, and is probably a bad copy by some one who did not know the language.]

75.

Before A.D. 1450.

WILLIAM TAILBOYS TO VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

[From Fenn, iii. 282.]

This letter is dated by Fenn between 1455 and 1460, but cannot be later than the former of these years, as Lord Cromwell died in the beginning of 1456. It seems, further, beyond a doubt that the Lord Willoughby, mentioned along with him, was Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who was connected by marriage both with Lord Cromwell and with Lord Welles; and if so the date cannot be later than 1451, as this Lord Willoughby died in July 1452. Indeed, I have very little doubt it is before 1450, as both Tailboys and Beaumont were of the Duke of Suffolk's party, and it is not likely that the former would have ventured to complain of his powerful neighbours, Lords Willoughby, Cromwell, and Welles after the Duke's fall, especially as we know that in the beginning of 1450 he was in prison for an attempt to murder Lord Cromwell.

*To my right honorabull and right wurshipful Lord,
my Lord Viscont Beaumont.*

RIGHT honorabull and my right wurshipfull Lord, I recomaund me unto your gode Lordship with all my service, evermore desiring to here of your prosperitie and welfare, the which I pray God encres and contynue to his plesur, and after your oone herts desire; thankyng you of the gode Lordship that ye have shewed me at all tymes, beseching you alway of gode contynuance.

Plesid your gode Lordship to be remembered how afore this tyme Hugh Wythom hath said he wold be in rest and peese with me, and not to maligne agayn me

otherwise than lawe and right wold; that notwithstanding, upon Munday last past, he and iij. men with him come unto a servaunt hous of myn in Boston, cald William Shirref, and there, as he sete at his werke, stroke him upon the hede and in the body with a dagger, and wondet him sore, and pulled him out of his hous, and set him in prison without any cause resonabull, or without writ, or any other processe shewid unto him; and that me semes longs not for him to do, bot as he says he is endited, and as your gode Lordship knawes wele, I and all my servaunts are in like wise; bot and any man shuld have done hit, it longs either to the shirref or to your baliff as I conceyve, and other cause he had non to him as fer as I kan knawe, bot awnly for the malissiousness that he hath unto me, ne I kan think non other bot it is so. And now yistre nyght my Lord Welles¹ come to Boston with iiij^{xx} [*four score*] horses, and in the mornyng foloyng toke hym out of prison, saying afore all peepl, “Fals thefe, you shall be hanged, and as mony of thy maistre men as may be gotten”—as your servaunt John Abbot kan report unto your gode Lordship,—and hath taken him away with him to Tatessall, what to do with him I kan not say, bot as I suppose to have him to Lincoln Castell: wherfore I besech your gode Lordship in this matier to be my gode Lord, and it please your gode Lordship to write a letter to the kepere of the Castell of Lincoln, that it liked him to deliver him out of prison undre a sufficient seurety had for him, for and thai may kepe him still be this meyne, thai may take all the servaunts that I have, and so I may do agayn in like wise.

And also, as I am enformed, without he be had out of prison in hast, it will be right gravewis to him to heile of his hurt, he is so sore streken; and if there be any service that your gode Lordship will comaund me to do in any cuntre, plesid you to send me word, and it shal be done to my power with the grace of God, which have you, my right honorabull and wurshipfull Lord,

¹ Leo, Lord Welles.

alway in his blessid kepyng. Writen at Kyme,¹ upon Wednesday next after our Ladi day the Assumpcion.²

Also plesid your gode Lordship to wit, after this letter was made, there come a man fro Tatessall into my fenne, which owght me gode will, and be cause he wold not be holden suspect, he speke with wemen which were mylkand kyne, and bad theme goo to a preest of myn to Dokdike, and bid him fast goo gif me warnyng how that my Lord Wilughby,³ my Lord Cromwell,⁴ and my Lord Welles⁵ proposid theme to set a sessions, and hang the said William Shirref, and thai myght bryng ther entent abowte; and so, as I and your servaunt John Abbot stode to geder, the prest come and gaf me warnyng herof, which I trust for my worship your gode Lordship wold not shuld happen, for it wer to me the grettest shame that myght falle; bot and it plese your gode Lordship to write to all your servaunts in this cuntre, that thai will be redy upon a day warnyng to come when I send theme word, I trust to God thai shal not hang him agayn the lawe, bot I, with help of your gode Lordship, shall be abull to let hit.

By your Servaunt,

WILLIAM TAILBOYS.⁶

¹ In Lincolnshire, between Tattershall and Sleaford.

² 15th August.

³ Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby, who married Maud Stephen, a niece of Lord Cromwell.

⁴ Ralph, Lord Cromwell.

⁵ Leo, Lord Welles, whose son Richard married Joan, a daughter of Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

⁶ William, afterwards Sir William, Tailboys of South Kyme, in Lincolnshire, who was attainted under Edward IV. as an adherent of the House of Lancaster. His family was afterwards ennobled as Barons Talboys. He is most unfavourably mentioned in the impeachment of the Duke of Suffolk, of whom he appears to have been a great adherent, and is accused of having made an attempt to murder Lord Cromwell in the Star Chamber at Westminster, on the 28th November 1449 — See Rolls of Parliament, v. 181-200.



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of Orliance, Bertrande, Lord Pressigny, Maister William Cusinet,¹ enemys to you Soverayne Lord, and other your enemyes, subgettes and ambassiators to Charles,² calling hem selfe king of Fraunce, your grettys adversarie and enemye, to meve, counsell, ster, and provoke the same Charles to come in to this your realme, to leve, reise, and make open werr ayenst you, Soverayne Lord, and alle this your reaume with a grete puissaunce and arme to distroy your most roiall persone, and your trewe subgettes of the same realme, to the entente to make John, sone of the same Duke, [King] of this your seid realme, and to depose you of your heigh regalie therof; the same Duke of Suffolk havynge thenne of your graunte the ward and mariage of Margarete, doughter and heire to John, the late Duke of Somerset, purposing here to marey to heis said soune, presuming and pretending her to be nexte enheritable to the Corone of this your realme, for lak of issue of you Soverayn Lord, in accomplishment of heis seid traytours purpose and entent, wheroppon the same Duke of Suffolk, sith the tyme of heis areste, hath do the seid Margarete to be married to heis seid sonne.

Item, the seid Duke of Suffolk being most trostid with you, and prevyest of your counsell of fullong tyme, prepensing that your seid grete enemye and adversarie Charles schuld conquerr and gete be power and myght your seid realme of Fraunce, duchies, and countee, the xx^{ti} day of January the xvij. yer³ of your regne, at Westminster, in the shir of Middlesex, and divers othir tymes and places within your seid realme of Engeland, falsly, trayterously, by sotel menes and ymaginacyons, for grete corrupcion of good, taking of money, and other excessyf promises to him made by Charles, Duke of Orliance,⁴ your enemye, councelled and stered of hym selfe only, your heighnesse to enlarge and deliver out of prison the same Duke of Orliance, enemye to you Soveren Lord, and to the most victorious noble prince of blyssid memory, the king youre fadir, whom

¹ Cousinot.

² A.D. 1439.

³ Charles VII.

⁴ Charles, Duke of Orleans — See p. 40.

God assoile! takyn be hem prisonere, to th'entent that the seid Charles, calling hym self king of Fraunce, schuld recover, gete, and have be false conqueste, and other desayvabile menes ayenst you, your heirz and successors, your seid realme of Fraunce, duches and counte, be the wyle, subtill counsell, might, and ayde of the seid Duke of Orliaunce.

Notwithstanding that be the late wylle and ordinaunce of your seid fadir, for divers thingis moveyng his grete wysdome, contrary ther of was avysed and declared, by wiche counsell and stering only of the seid Duke of Suffolk the seid Duke of Orliaunce was soverd [*suffered*] at his liberte to departe of this youre realme to the partee of Fraunce.

Afore wich departer the first day of May the seid xvij. yerr¹ of your regne, at London, in the parich of Sent Martyne, in the ward of Farindon infra, the same Duke of Suffolk, trayterously adherent to the seid Charles, calling hym selfe kyng of Fraunce, then and ther falsly and trayterously counseiled, coumforted, stered, and provoked the seid Duke of Orlyauce to excite and moeve the same Charles, calling hym selfe kyng of Fraunce, your grete enemeye and adversarie, to make and reyse open werr ayenst you in your seid realme of Fraunce and duchie of Normandy, to conquer, and to opteyn falsly be force, myght, and other menes ayenst you, your heiriz and successours, your seid realme of Fraunce and duche of Normandy, Uppon wich adherence, counsell, and counfort of the seid Duke of Suffolk, the seid Charles calling hym selfe kyng, hath made open werr a yenst you in your seid realme of Fraunce, and hath it attrochid unto hym, and the most party of your duchie of Normandy, and takyn prisonyrs the ful nobile Lordys and coragyouse Knytys, the Erle of Schrouesbery² and the Lord Faconberge,³ with many othir nobles and people of

¹ A. D. 1439.

² John Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, the great hero of the French wars, slain at Castillon in 1453.

³ William Nevill, Lord Fauconberg.

your trewe leiges, to ther likly fynall ondoing, your gretest disheritaunce, and oure grete lamentable losse that ever comen a fore this to you, or ony of your ful noble progenitors, or to your trewe subgettes.

Item, wher the seid Duke of Suffolk late was on of your ambassitours with othir to youre seid adversarie Charles, calling hem self kyng of Fraunce, he, above heis instruccion and power to hym be you committyng, promised to Reyner,¹ King of Cesile, and Charles Daungers,² heis brothir, your grete enemyes, the deliveraunce of Maunce and Mayne, without the assent andvyse or knowyng of other your seid ambassitours with him thenne accompanyd; and theroppon after heis comyng in to this realme from the same ambassiate, in performing of heis seid promyse, he falsly and trayterously, for grette rewardes and lucre of good to hym yeven by your enemes, caused the said Reyner and Charles Daungers to have deliveraunce of Maunce and Mayne aforeseid, to your over grete disheritaunce and loss irreparable, enforsing and enrychyng of your seid enemyes, and grettest mene of the losse of your seid duche of Normandye; and so was the seid Duke of Suffolk falsly and trayterously adherent, aidant, and confortant to your grete enemyes and adversaries.

Item, the seid Duke of Suffolk being reteyned with you in your wages of werr in your seid realme of Fraunche and duchie of Normandye, and therby stros-tid be you and alle your councellers to knowe the privite of your councell ther, and the purviaunce of your armes, the defence and keping of your townes, forteresses, and places, sieges, purveaunce, and ordinaunce of werr in the same parties for you to be mad, knowyng all [such] privite, and being adherent to your seid grete enemye, calling hem self kyng of Fraunce, hath eften and many divers tymes falsly and trayterously discoverd and openned to hym, and to heis capytaynes and conductors of heis werr, your enemyes,

¹ René, Duke of Anjou, father of Queen Margaret.

² Charles of Anjou, Count of Maine.



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your Councell, have send many solemne ambassatours to the same Charles for the god of pees .to be badde be twyn you and this your realme, and your subgettes in your realme of Fraunche, duchie of Normandye, and othir places under your obeysauns, and the same Charles and heis subgettes, the seid Duke of Suffolk being next and grettest of your Councell, havynge knowlache of the power and auctorite comytted to alle your ambassiatours send in this be half, hath deseivably and trayterously by heis lettres and messages discovered and opened to your seid grete enemeye Charlys, calling hym self kyng of Fraunce, alle ynstruccions and informacions yeven to your seid ambassatours afore their comyng in to Fraunce, werby the effectuale concord and trewes that schuld have folowed of suche ambassiat by tywnne both the seid realmes and subgettes, have take non effectuale conclusyon, but by his fals, fraudulent, traiterous werkes, dedes, and deceyvable ymagynacions, your grete enheritaunce, seygnouries, lordshippis, townes, castell, forteresses, and possessions in your seid realme of Fraunche and duchie of Normandye, by cause of heis false messages, sendyngs, and wrytyngys have be takyn by reft, and gotten fro you be your seid enemyes.

In proof of the wich treson the seid Duke of Suffolk, sitting in your Councell in the Stere Chambre, in your pales of Westminster, seid and declarid openly be for the Lordis of your Councell ther being, that he had his place in the councell hows of the French kyng as he had ther, and was ther as wel strostid as he was here, and couth remeve from the seid French kynge the prevyest man of heis Councell yf he wold.

Item, whan in this your roialme ful oftyn tymes provicyon hath be mad for divers armes to be sent in to your seid realme of Fraunche, duches of Normandy and Gyand, the seid Duke of Suffolk, by the instaunce and meenes mad to hym be your seid enemyes and adversa- reys for grette outeragyous yestes and rewardes of them takyn, trayterously hath restrayned, and utterly lettyd

the passage of such armies in favour and supporte of your seid enemyes.

Item, the seid Duke of Suffolk, as your ambassatours by twene you and Charles, callyng hym self kyng of Fraunche, in fortifyeng of hem and enchresing of his myght, hath not comprised in trewes, taken in your party the Kyng of Arregon,¹ your old allye and frend, nother the Duke of Bretcn,² but sufferd and causid the seid Duke of Bretayne to be compremysid of the party of the seid Charles as his subget, frende, and allye, wherby ye have ben estraunged from the god loffe and assistance of the seid King of Arregon, and therby and be othir on trewe and falce conjectours of the seid Duke of Suffolk, the seid Duke of Breteyn is become your enemeye; and Gyles³ of Breten, his brothir, the wiche is, and of long tyme hath ben, your trewe and welvyllled man and servaunt, put in gret dures of pricon, and likely to be potte to the dethe or distroid for his trewe feith and welle that he hath to you.

And of alle tresons and offensys in alle theis seid arteculys specyfyed and conteyned, we your seid Comens accuse and empeche the seid William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and pray that this be enacte in this your High Courte of Parlement, and theroppon to procede in this your High Courte of Parlement, as the mater and caas aforseid requireth for the surete and welfar of your most roiale person, and savacyon of this your realme, &c.

77.

A.D. 1450.—JOHN PASTON'S PETITION.

[Add. Charter 17,240, B.M.]

The date of this petition must be during the sitting of Parliament, in the beginning of the year 1450. The first expulsion of John Paston from Gresham is here clearly dated in February 1448. The "October last" in which he re-entered might, so far as appears in this petition, have been in the same year, but the letters referring to this dispute in 1449 compel us to put it a twelvemonth later.

¹ Alfonso V., King of Arragon.

² Francis I., Duke of Brittany.

³ Giles of Brittany, the duke's brother, who was murdered in April 1450, after having been kept four years in prison by the duke.

To the Kyng, oure Soverayn Lord, and to the right wyse and discrete Lordis, assemblyd in this present Parlement.

BESECHITH mekly your homble liege man, John Paston, that where he, and oder enfeffed to his use, have be pecybily poscessyd of the maner of Gresham, within the counte of Norffolk, xx. yere and more, til the xvij. day of Februarij, the yere of your nobill regne xxvi.,¹ that Robert Hungerford, Knyght, the Lord Molyng, entred in to the seyd maner; and how be it that the seyd John Paston, after the seid entre, sued to the seid Lord Molyng and his counsell, in the most louly maner that he cowde, dayly fro tyme of the seid entre on to the fest of Mihelmes than next folwyng, duryng which tyme divers communicasyons were had betwix the counsell of the seid Lord and the counsell of your besecher. And for asmych as in the seid communicasyons no titill of right at any tyme was shewed for the seid Lord but that was fully and clerly answeryd, so that the seid Lords counsell remitted your seid besecher to sewe to the seid Lord for his finall and rightfull answer. And after sute mad to the seid Lord be your seid besecher, as well at Salysbery as in other places to his gret coust, and non answer had but delays, which causyd your seid besecher the vj. day of Octobre last past to inhabite hym in a mansion with in the seid town, kepyng stille there his possession, on tille the xxviij. day of Januarij last past, the seid Lord sent to the seid mansion a riotous peple, to the nombre of a thowsand persones, with blanket bendes² of a sute as riseres ageyn your pees, arrayd in maner of werre, with curesse, brigaunders, jakks, salettes, gleyfes, bowes, arows, pavyse,³ gonnes, pannys with fier and teynes brennyng therein, long cromes⁴ to drawe doun howsis, ladders, pikoyes, with which thei myned down the walles, and long trees with which thei broke up yates and dores, and so came in to the seid man-

¹ A.D. 1448.

² Bands of white woollen cloth?

³ Pavises were large shields.

⁴ Crome is a Norfolk word, signifyng a staff with a crook at the end of it.



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remedi them be the lawe, because he that kepyth the seid courtis is of covyn with the seid misdoers, and was on of the seid ryses, which be coloure of the seid pleyntes grevously amercy the seid frendes, tenants, and servauntes of your seid besecher, to the[ir] outrageous and importabille hurte.

Please it your hynesse, consideryng that if this gret insurreccyon, ryottis, and wrongis, and dayly continuans ther of so heynosly don a geyn your crowne, dignite and peas, shuld not be your hye myght be duly punysshed, it shall gefe grett boldnesse to them, and alle other mysdoers to make congregacyons and conventicles riottously, on abille to be seysed, to the subversyon and finall distruccyon of your liege peple and lawes : And also, how that your seid besecher is not abille to sue the commone lawe in redressyng of this heynos wrong, for the gret myght and alyaunce of the seid Lord : And also, that your seid besecher canne have non accyon be your lawe ageyn the seid riotous peple for the godis and catellis be hem so riottously and wrongfully take and bore away, because the seid peple be onknowe, aswelle here names as here persones, on to hym ;—To purvey, be the avyse of the Lordis spirituall and temporall assembled in this present Parliament, that your seid besechere may be restoryd to the seid godis and catellis thus riottously take away ; and that the seid Lord Molyns have suche comaundment that your seid besecher be not thus with force, in maner of werre, hold oute of his seide maner, contrary to alle your statutes mad ageyn suych forcibille entrees and holdyngs ; and that the seid Lord Molyns and his servauntes be sette in suche a rewle, that your seid besechere, his frendis, tenants, and servauntes, may be sure and saffe from hurt of here persones, and pesibly occupy here londs and tenements under your lawes with oute oppressyoun or onrightfull vexasioun of any of hem ; and that the seid riseres and causeres therof may be punysshed, that other may eschewe to make any suche rysyng in this your lond of peas in tyme comyng. And he shalle pray to God for yowe.

78.

A.D. 1450, 21 Feb.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

From an allusion in the latter part of this letter, it is evident that it was written in 1450, after Margaret had been driven out of Gresham, as mentioned in John Paston's petition, No. 77 preceding.

*To my rytz wurchipful mayster, Jon Paston, be this
delyvered in hast.*

RYT wurchipful hosband, I recommawnd me to zu, desyryng hertyly to beryn of zour wele fare, preying zu to wetcn that I commawndyd Herry Goneld to gon to Gunnore to have copys of the pleyntes in the hundrede, and Gunnore was not at home; but the seyde Herry spake with his clerk, and he told hym pleynly he wost wele his mayster wuld not late hym have no copys, thow he wor at home, tyl the nexst hundred; qher for I send zou that byl that was wownd abowt the relefys. Custans, Mak, and Kentyng wold adysavowyd hereswtes rytz fayn the last hundred, as I herd sayn of rytz thryfty men; but the Lord Moleynys men thrett hem that bothe they xuld ben betyn and lesen here hows and lond and alle here goods, but if [*unless*] they wold avow it; and after that Osborn was gon, Hasard¹ intretyd Kentyng and Mak to avow the swtys after that they hadde disavowyd itt, and zave hem mony to zef to the clerkes to entren azen the pleyntes. But if² ze seke a remedy in hast for to remeve itt, I soppose they wyl distreyn for the mersymentes er the nexst hundred.

As for Mak, he gate respyt that he xuld not sew tyl the nexst nundred. As for Herry Goneld, he was dystreynyd zysterday for rent and ferm, and he must pay it to morue, xxijs., or elles lesyn his dystresse. They gadder mony fast of all the tenawntes. All the tenawntes ben chargyd to pay al her rent and ferm be

¹ William Hasard.—See Letter No. 67.

² But if, *i.e.*, unless

Fastyngong Sunday.¹ It ys told me that the Lord Moleynys xuld kepe his Fastyngong att Jon Wynters plase.

The seid Lordes men haddyn a letter on Thursday last past; qhat tydyngs they hadde I wote nott; but on the nexst moruenyng be tymys Thomas Bampton, a man of the Lord Moleynys, rod with a letter to his lord, and they that ben at Gressam waytyn after an answer of the letter in hast. Barow, and Hagon, and all the Lord Moleynys men that wer at Gressam qhan ze departyd hens bene there styll, save Bampton, and in his stede is kom another; and I here sey thei xul abyd here styll tyl her lord kom² to Barow as ze komawndyd me to weten quhatt the cawse was that thei thrett men² Goneld and other of zour servawnts and wele willers to zow, the qheche wer namyd to hym that were thrett.² [s]wore pleyntly that they were never thrett; but I know veryly the contrary, for of his owyn felaschep lay[d] in awayt sondery dayis and nytis abowt Gunnelds, Purrys, and Bekks plasis, and som of them zedyn in to Bekks and Purrys [ho]usys, bothen in the hallys and the bernys, and askyd qher thei were, and thei were answeryd that they were owth; and thei seydyn azen that they xuld meten with hem another tyme. And be dyvers other thyngs I know, if thei mytz aben kawt, other [*either*] they xuld aben slayn or sor hurt.

I sent Kateryn on this forseyd masage, for I kowd geten no man to do it, and sent with her Jamys Halman and Herry Holt; and sche desyryd of Barow to have an answer of her masage, and if these forseyd men mytz levyn in pese for hem, and seyde ther xuld elles ben purveyd other remedy for hem. And he made her grett chere, and hem that wer ther with her, and seyde that he desyryd for to spekyn with me, if it xuld ben non displesans to me; and Kateryn seyde to hym that sche supposyd that I desyryd not to speken

¹ Fastyngong was a popular name for Shrovetide. Fastingong Sunday I believe to have been the Sunday *after* Shrove Tuesday, which would be the 22d of February in 1450.

² Mutilated.



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he seyde he xuld never blame my Lord of Suffolk for the entre in his lyvelode, for he seyde my seyde lord was sett ther up on be the informacion of a fals schrew; and I seyde to hym in lyke wyse is the matier be twyx the Lord Moleynys and zu. I told hym I wost wele he sett never ther upon be no tytyl of rytz that he badde to the maner of Gressam, but only be the informacion of a fals schrew.¹ I rehersyd no name, but me thowt be hem that thei wost ho I ment. Meche other langage we badde, qhyche xuld taken long leysyr in wrytyng. I rehersyd to hem that it xuld abe seyde thatt I xuld not longe dwell so ner hem as I dewe and they for swer it, as thei do other thyngs more that it was never seyde, and meche thyngs that I know veryly was seyde.

I here seyn that ze and Jon of Damme ben sore thrett alway, and seyn thow ze ben at London, ze xul ben met with ther as wele as thow ze were her; and ther for I pray zu hertyly be ware how ze walk ther, and have a gode felaschep with zu qhan ze xul walk owt. The Lord Moleynys hathe a cumpany of brothell with hym that rekk not qhat they don, and seche ar most for to drede. Thei that ben at Gressam seyn that they have not don so moche hurte to zu as thei were comnawndyd to don. Rabert Lauerawns is wele amendyd, and I hope xall recure. He scyth pleyntyly he wyl compleyn of his hurt, and I soppose Bek wyl compleyn also, as he hath cause. Bek and Purry dare not abyde att hom tyl thei here other tydyngs. I wold not Jon of Damme xuld com hom tyl the cuntre be storyd otherwyse than it is. I pray Godde grawnt that it mot sone ben otherwyse than it is. I pray zu hertyly that ze wil send me word how ze don, and how ze spede in zour materis, for be my trowth I kan not ben wel att ese in my hert, ner not xal ben tyl I here tydynges how ze don. The most part of zour stuff that was at Gressam is sold, and zovyn away. Barow and his felaw spak to me in the most plesawnt wyse, and me semyth be hem thei wold fayn plese me. Thei seyde

¹ John Heydon, Esq. of Baconsthorpe, appears to have been the person referred to.—See No. 107, following.

thei wold do me servyse and plesans, if it lay in her powres to don owth for me, save only in that that longeth to her lordes rytz. I seyde to hem, as for seche servys as they had do to zw and to me, I desyr no mor that thei xuld do nother to zw ner to me. Thei seyde I myt an had of them att Gressham qhat I hadde desyryd of hem, and had as moche as I desyryd. I seyde, nay; if I mytz an had my desyr, I xuld nother a departid owth of the place, ner from the stuff that was ther in. Thei seyde, as for the stuff it was but esy. I seyde ze wold not a zoven the stuff that was in the place qhan thei com in, not for C*li*. Thei seyde the stuff that thei sey [*saw*] ther was skars worth xx*li*. As for zour moder and myn, sche faryth wel, blissid be God, and she had no tydynges but gode zett, blissid be God. The blissyd Trynyte have zou in his kepyng, and send zou hele, and gode spede in al your maters. Wretyn at Sustede,¹ on the Satyrday next after Seynt Valentyynys day.

Here dare no man seyn a gode wurd for zu in this cuntre, Godde amend it.

Yowres,

M. P.

79.

A.D. 1450, 7 March.—ABSTRACT.

[MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 225.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, Clerk, WILLIAM COLE, AND WATKYN SHIPDAM.

The beginning of this letter, which is more than half lost by mutilation, speaks of "a bill in the Parliament of the extortions done [to me]" from the 17th year [of Henry VI.] hitherto. The rest seems to be partly memoranda of things to be entered in this "bill," viz. of sheep distrained at Drayton, of a matter of trespass between Lady Bardolf and Fastolf, of "Chevers mater in Blyclyng," of an unpaid annuity at Hiklyng, of decays at Tiche-well, &c. They are to learn from Nich. Bokkyng, to whom the

¹ Sustead was John Damme's place (see Blomefield, viii. 168). It is in the immediate neighbourhood of Gresham.

£100 for Busshop was paid. Thinks two men should occupy Castre and Wynterton which Broun holds alone. It is too much for one to occupy well; "and in the same wise at Heylesden and Drayton." Let me know what Lampet has done in my matter, and if you find him friendly. Both my ships have arrived in safety, thank God.

London, 7 March 28 Henry VI.

Signed.

80.

A:D. 1450, 11 March.

AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 304.]

Fenn assigns this letter to the year 1458, but not very confidently. The similarity of its contents, in part, to those of the letter immediately following, appears to me to render the year 1450 the more probable date.

*To John Paston, dwellyn in the Inder In of the Tempyll,
att London, be thys letter delyverd in hast.*



SON, I grete yow, and send yow Godds blyssyng and myn; and as for my doughtyr your wyfe, che faryt well, blyssyd be God, as a woman in hyr plyte may do, and all your sonys and doughtrys.

And for as meche as ye will send me no tydyngs, I send yow seche as ben in thys contre. Rychard Lynsted cam thys day fro Paston, and letyt me wete that on Saturday last past Dravale, halfe brother to Waryn Harman, was takyn with enemyis, walkyn be the se syde, and have hym forthe with hem; and they tokyn ij. pylgremys, a man and a woman, and they robberyd the woman, and lete hyr gon, and ledde the man to the see, and whan they knew he was a pylgreme, they geffe hym monei, and sett hym ageyn on the lond. And they have thys weke takyn iiij. vesselys of [*i.e.* off] Wyntyerton; and Happysborough and Ecles men ben sore aferd for takyn of me [*qu.* of mo, *i.e.* more (?)], for ther ben x. grete vesselys of the enemyis; God yeue grace that the see may be better kepte than it is now, or ellys it chall ben a perlyous dwellyng be the se cost.



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grettely rawnsommyd hem ; and the seyd enmys been so bold that they kom up to the lond, and pleyn hem on Caster Sonds, and in other plases, as homely as they were Englysch men. Folks ben rytz sore afred that they wel don moche harm this somer, but if [*i.e.* unless] ther be made rytz grett purvyans azens hem.

Other tydyngs know I non at this tym. The blyseful Trinyte have zow in his kepyng.

Wryten at Norwyche, on Seynt Gregorys day.

Yowrs,

M. P.

82.

A.D. 1450, 16 April.—ABSTRACT.

[From a modern copy by Blomefield on the fly-leaf of a Letter addressed to him. Headed, "Gave this original letter of Sir John's to Sir Andrew Fountain."—MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 229.]

SIR JO. FASTOLF TO SIR THOS. HOWYS, Parson of Castlcombe,
WILL. COKE, AND WATKIN SHYPDAM.

Bids "Sir Parson" send in all haste "the utmost knowledge of all grievances" done to him by John Heydon this thirteen years. You have sent me the costs of the pleas, but not declared particularly how often I have been wrongfully distrained by the enforcing of the said Heydon. "I took never plea in the matter because the world was alway set after his rule, and as I would have engrossed up [*upon*] my bill."

London, 16 April 28 Henry VI.

Search the accounts of Drayton Heylesdon, &c., these thirteen years.

83.

A.D. 1450, 22 April.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.'

[Douce MSS. 393, f. 100.]

It appears by a paper, which will be found further on (No. 92), that Daniel entered the manor of Braydeston or Brayston during the Parliament which was held at Leicester in the spring of 1450. This letter must have been written at that time.

*To my right trusty and right enterly welbeloved frend,
John Paston, Squier.*

RIGHT t[r]usty and enterly welbeloved frend,
I grete you welle, and wylle ze wite that a man
of Osberd Monford hath declared me how
the said Osberd is infourmed that Danyelle
shuld be pourposed to enter in the place of Braystone.
And as fer as I can undirstande, Danyelle is come in
to this cuntre, for none other cause but for to have
suche as the Kyng hath gifen hym in Rysyng, which
lieth not in me ner in none of the Kynges subgetes
to go ageyns hise graunte and plesaunce. And in cas
the said Danyelle wold enter upon the said Osberd
otherwise than lawe wold, seyng the said Osberd is
my tenaunt and homager, it is my part to holde with
hym rather than with Danyelle in hise right, which I
wylle do to my pouer. And as zet I can not apper-
ceyve that Danyelle wylle labore in any maters in this
cuntre; and if he wylle be of good governance, I am
wel paied. And in cas that he wold do wrong to the
lesse gentilman in the chirre, it shal not lye in hise
pouer be the grace of God. He letethe me wite that
he wylle be wel governed in tyme commyng.

Right trusty and enterly wel beloved frend, I pray
God have you in hise governance. Writen at Midel-
ton, the xxij. day of Aprille.

SCALES.

84.

Year uncertain.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 364.]

This and the six letters following, all but one of which are, like the last, written by Lord Scales to John Paston, are placed here merely for convenience, the years in which they were written being quite uncertain, though probably not very far apart. The one letter among them of which Lord Scales is not the writer, is inserted in abstract on account of its bearing on that which immediately precedes it.

To my right trusty and welbeloved frende, John Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and welbeloved frend, I grete you hertly wel, and wul ye wite that Wotton is ever creyng and callyng upon me to write un to you for hise londe; wherfore at the reverence of Good, consideryng the symplenesse of hem all, I pray you that ye put hem at a certen, and lete hem all that they aught to have of right, for thaire creyng cause men to thinke ye do hem grete wrong, which I wote wel ye wold be sory to do.

Oure Lord have you in hise governance. Writen at Midelton, the xvj. day of October.

Youre frende,

SCALES.

85.

Year uncertain.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS. 393, f. 99.]

To my right trusty and enterly welbeloved frend, John Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and enterly welbeloved frend, I grete you welle; and for as mych as there is vareaunce betwene William Wotton and hise moder and the fermour there, wherfore I pray you that ze wyll [fynde]¹ a weye accordyng to right for to put hem in rest and pees. For in as mych as they be yo[ur] tenants, ze aught to have the reule of them before any other, praying you to do youre part to put hem oute of trouble.

I pray God have you in hise governance. Writen at Midelton, the xiiij. day of Aprille.

Youre frend,

THE LORD SCALES.

86.

Year uncertain.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS., f. 101.]

To [my] right trusty and welbeloved frend, John Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and welbeloved frend, I grete you welle; and as touchyng the mater that Elyngham and ze comuned to giders of the last tyme he was with you, I pray you that ze wylle assigne

¹ Mutilated.



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is double both to him and to me, and so is William Geney and mo of my counsel." He is willing to make a release. His barn which his men entered to distrain, he says, is frank, and he may give the rent when he pleases. Wishes Paston's advice what answer to make.—Easter Monday.

89.

Year uncertain.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS. 393, f. 103.]

To my right trusty and wel be loved frend, Jhon Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and wel beloved frend, I grete you wel, thankyng you hertely for the gentilnes and good wylle I have founde in you at alle tymes. And for as myche as I and other stonde feffed in the landes of Thomas Canon, which is in vareaunce betwene you and hym, if ye wylle do so myche as for your part chese ij. lerned menn and the said Canon shal chese other ij., they to juge this mater as they shal seme of right and resoun. And if so be that the said Canon wylle not do so, I wylle not lete you to suye hym after the forme of the Kynges lawe. And if ze thinke it to many lerned men, take ze one, and he another; and if they may not accorde, ze and I to be umpere, for we stande bothe in like cas. And we shal make a good ende be the grace of oure Lord, which have you in hise governance.

Writen at Midelton, the ix. day of Octobre.

Zowr frend,

SCALES.

90.

Year uncertain.—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

To my right trusty and welbeloved frend, John Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and welbeloved frende, I grete you hertly well, praying you that ye wyll sende me a coppie of the awarde that was made be you and my cousyn Sir Miles¹ betwex my cousyn Bryan Stapylton and Elizabeth Clere, and that ze wyll sende me the said awarde be the bringer herof. I pray God have you in governance.

Writen at Midelton, the ix. day of Novembre.

SCALES.

¹ Sir Miles Sta leton.

91.

A.D. 1450, 30 April.

THE DUKE OF SUFFOLK TO HIS SON.

[From Fenn, i. 32.]

The date of this letter is sufficiently clear from the last words of it.

The copie of a notable Lettre, written by the Duke of Suffolk to his Sonne,¹ giving hym therein very good counseil.²

MY dere and only welbeloved sone, I beseche oure Lord in Heven, the Maker of alle the world, to blesse you, and to sende you ever grace to love hym, and to drede hym; to the which, as ferre as a fader may charge his child, I both charge you, and prei you to sette alle spirites and wittes to do, and to knowe his holy lawes and comaundments, by the which ye shall with his grete mercy passe alle the grete tempestes and troubles of this wrecched world. And that also, wetyngly, ye do no thyng for love nor drede of any erthely creature that shuld displese hym. And there as any freelte maketh you to falle, be secheth hys mercy soone to calle you to hym agen with repentaunce, satisfaccion, and contricion of youre herte never more in will to offend hym.

Secondly, next hym, above alle erthely thyng, to be trewe liege man in hert, in wille, in thought, in dede, unto the Kyng oure alder most high and dredde sovereygne Lord, to whom bothe ye and I been so moche bounde to; charyng you, as fader can and may, rather to die than to be the contrarye, or to knowe any thyng that were ayenste the welfare or prosperite of his most riall person, but that as ferre as your body and lyf may stretche, ye lyve and die to defende it, and to lete his highnesse have knowlache thereof in alle the hastyeye can.

¹ John de la Pole, who succeeded him as Duke of Suffolk.

² This heading looks as if copied by Fenn from an endorsement, which is probably not quite contemporaneous.

Thirdly, in the same wyse, I charge you, my dere sone, alwey, as ye be bounden by the commaundement of God to do, to love, to worshepe youre lady and moder, and also that ye obey alwey hyr commaundements, and to beleve hyr councelles and advises in alle youre werks, the which dredeth not, but shall be best and trewest to you. And yef any other body wold stere you to the contrarie, to flee the counsell in any wyse, for ye shall fynde it nought and evyll.

Forthe[more],¹ as ferre as fader may and can, I charge you in any wyse to flee the company and councel of proude men, of coveitowse men, and of flaterying men, the more especially and myghtily to withstonde hem, and not to drawe, ne to medle with hem, with all youre myght and power. And to drawe to you and to your comp[any good]¹ and vertuowse men, and such as ben of good conversacion, and of trouthe, and be them shal ye never be deseyved, ner repente you off. [Moreover never follow]¹ youre owne witte in no wyse, but in alle youre werkes, of suche folks as I write of above, axeth youre advise a[nd counse]l;¹ and doying thus, with the mercy of God, ye shall do right well, and lyve in right moche worship, and grete herts rest and ease. And I wyll be to you as good lord and fader as my hert can thynke.

And last of alle, as hertily and as lovyngly as ever fader blessed his child in erthe, I yeve you the blessing of oure Lord and of me, which of his infynite mercy encrece you in alle vertu and good lyvyng. And that youre blood may by his grace from kynrede to kynrede multepleye in this erthe to hys servise, in such wyse as after the departyng fro this wreched world here, ye and thei may glorefye hym eternally amongs his aungelys in bebyn.

Wreten of myn hand,

The day of my departyng fro this land.²

Your trewe and lovyng fader, SUFFOLK.

¹ These words in brackets were chafed and illegible in the original MS.

² According to William Worcester, the Duke embarked on Thursday, the 30th April.



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“Item, testimonium juratorum de non procuracione. Et indicamentum Johannis Andrew in Suff. causa fugationis ejus.

“Item, antiquum debat’ supposit’ inter Andrews et Porter erat pro districtione capta de Johanne Andrews apud Weston pro debito domini Bardolf; pro qua causa idem Johannes Andrews implacitare vellet dictum Johannem Porter ad terminum (?) nisi pro dicto domino Bardolf; sic dictus Andrews continuavit maliciam suam erga prædictum Johannem Porter, et e contra quod et malicia Heydon erat causa conspiracionis per ipsum. . . .”

[As this document is a key to the dates of several of the letters during the years 1450 to 1452, we have thought it best to insert it in the beginning of the period to which it refers, instead of the date at which it may be supposed to have been written.]

93.

A.D. 1450, 5 May.

WILLIAM LOMNER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 38.]

The date of this letter is perfectly determined by the events to which it relates.

To my ryght worchipfull John Paston, at Norwich.

RYGHTE worchipfull sir, I recomaunde me to yow, and am right sory of that I shalle sey, and have soo wessehe this litel bille with sorwfulle terys, that on ethes ye shalle reede it.

As on Monday¹ nexte after May day there come tydyngs to London, that on Thursday² before the Duke of Suffolk come unto the costes of Kent full nere Dower with his ij. shepes and a litel spynner; the qweche spynner he sente with certeyn letters to certeyn of his trustid men unto Caleys warde, to knowe howe he shuld be resceyvyd; and with hym mette a shippe callyd Nicolas of the Towre, with other shippis waytyng on hym, and by hem that were in the spyner, the maister of the Nicolas badde knowlich of the dukes comyng. And whanne he espyed the dukes shepis, he sent forthe his bote to wete what they were, and the duke hym selfe spakke to hem, and seyde, he was be the Kyngs comaundement sent to Caleys ward, &c.

¹ 4th May,

² 30th April.

And they seyde he most speke with here master. And soo he, with ij. or iij. of his men, wente forth with hem yn here bote to the Nicolas ; and whanne he come, the master badde hym, “ Welcom, Traitor,” as men sey ; and forther the maister desyryd to wete yf the shepmen woldde holde with the duke, and they sent word they wold not yn noo wyse ; and soo he was yn the Nicolas tyl Saturday¹ next folwyng.

Soom sey he wrotte moche thenke [*thing*] to be delyverd to the Kynge, but thet is not verily knowe. He hadde hes confessor with hym, &c.

And some sey he was arreynd yn the sheppe on here maner upon the appechementes and fonde gyilty, &c.

Also he asked the name of the sheppe, and whanne he knew it, he remembred Stacy that seid, if he myght eschape the daunger of the Towr, he should be saffe ; and thanne his herte faylyd hym, for he thowghte he was desseyvyd, and yn the syght of all his men he was drawyn ought of the grete shippe yn to the bote ; and there was an exe, and a stoke, and oon of the lewdeste of the shippe badde hym ley down his bedde, and he should be fair ferd wyth, and dye on a swerd ; and toke a rusty swerd, and smotte of his bedde withyn halfe a doseyn strokes, and toke away his gown of russet, and his dobelette of velvet mayled, and leyde his body on the sonds of Dover ; and some sey his hedde was sette oon a pole by it, and hes men sette on the londe be grette circumstaunce and preye. And the shreve of Kent doth weche the body, and sent his under shreve to the juges to wete what to doo, and also to the Kenge whatte shalbe doo.

Forther I wotte nott, but this fer (?) is that yf the proces be erroneus, lete his concell reverse it, &c.

Also for alle your other maters they slepe, and the freer² also, &c.

Sir Thomas Kerial³ is take prisoner, and alle the legge harneyse, and abowte iij. m^l. [3000] Englishe men slayn.

¹ 2d May.

² An allusion to Friar Hauteyn's suit for Oxnead.

³ Sent to France to carry succours to the Duke of Somerset, but defeated and taken prisoner at the battle of Fourmigni, 15th April 1450

Mathew Gooth¹ with xv^c [1500] fledde, and savyd hym selffe and hem; and Peris Brusy was cheffe capteyn, and badde x m^l Frenshe men and more, &c.

I prey yow lete my mastras your moder knowe these tydyngis, and God have yow all yn his kepyn.

I prey yow this bille may recomaunde me to my mastrases your moder and wyfe, &c.

James Gresham hath wretyn to John of Dam, and recomaundith hym, &c.

Wretyn yn gret hast at London, the v. day of May,
&c. By yowr wyfe.²

W. L.

94.

A.D. 1450, 6 May.—JOHN CRANE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 44.]

The date of this letter, as of the preceding, is clearly proved by internal evidence.

To my right worshupfull cosygne, John Paston of Norwyche, Squyer.

RIGHT worshupfull sir, I recomaunde me unto yow in the most goodly wyse that y can; and forasmuche as ye desired of me to sende yow worde of dyvers matirs here, whiche been opened in the Parliament openly, I sende yow of them suche as I can.

First moost especiall, that for verray trowthe upon Saterdag³ that last was, the Duke of Suffolk was taken in the see, and there he was byheded, and his body with the appurtenaunce sette at lande at Dover, and alle the folks that he haad with hym were sette to lande, and haad noon harme.

¹ Matthew Gough, a celebrated captain in the French war.

² This singular subscription Fenn believes to have been owing to a momentary forgetfulness on the part of the writer, William Lomner, who had been in the habit of acting as Margaret Paston's secretary in writing to her husband.

³ 2d May.



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sped long ere this, if "my Lord Norwich[']s] Chancellor" or Master Pope, had labored as they promised. For God's sake send me a good answer. "If an inordinate book be made, remembering the deliverance" of cloths, &c. into F.'s wardrobe, let the indentures be engrossed. Wonders Howys cannot furnish him with a full account of the damages sustained by F. and his tenants these ten or twelve years past. He has only sent a declaration of costs in defending some of them. Get a letter of Nich. Bokkyng of the £100 to whom it was paid.

London, 7 May 28 Henry VI.

Signed.

96.

A.D. 1450, 13 May.

THOMAS DENYES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 162.]

This letter, which Fenn vaguely assigned to the latter part of the reign of Henry VI., may be pretty safely attributed to the year 1450. The mention of Lord Rivers and the Duke of Suffolk could not have been earlier than 1449, as the one was only created lord, and the other duke in 1448, and at a later date than the 13th of May. The reference to the Duke of Suffolk again is not likely to have been long after his decease. Further, there is a strong presumption, from Monday being spoken of as a past date, and Friday as a future, that the letter was written on a Wednesday. Had it been on a Tuesday or Thursday, Monday would have been spoken of as "yesterday," or Friday as "to-morrow." Now, the 13th of May was a Wednesday in 1450. The changes in officers of state mentioned in this letter are, therefore, those consequent on the fall of the Duke of Suffolk. There is, besides, as will be seen by a foot-note, an allusion to the Parliament at Leicester.

To my maister Paston.



Recomaund me unto your good maistership; and as for tidings, Arblaster come home to my Lord¹ on Munday, at sopertyme; and my Maister Danyell² is Styward of the Duche of Lancastre by yonde Trent, and Arblastr seith he hath made me his undirstyward.

And as for the Chamberleyanship of Inglond, the Lord Beamond³ hath it, and the Lord Rivers⁴ Constable of Inglond.

¹ John de Vere, 12th Earl of Oxford.

² Thomas Daniel.—See p. 65.

³ John, Viscount Beaumont.

⁴ Richard Woodville, created Baron Rivers 29th May 1448; afterwards earl.

As for the Duche on this side Trent, Sir Thomas Tudenham had a joynte patent with the Duke of Suffolk,¹ which, if it be resumed, Sir Thomas Stanley hath a bille redy endossed therof.

My lord wole not to Leicestre.² My Maister Danyell desireth yow thedir. I shall ride thiderward on Friday by tymes.

Wretyn in hast at Wynche,³ the xiiij. day of May.

I pray yow to thynk upon my mater to my mastresse your wyf, for my mastresse Anne, for in good feith I haf fully conquered my lady sith ye went, so that I haf hir promisse to be my good lady, and that she shall help me by the feith of hir body.

Your servant,

DENYES.

97.

Year uncertain.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 360.]

This letter cannot well be of the same year as the last, but is probably not many years earlier, and certainly not many years later. The reasons against its being of the same year are—first, that it seems to be implied in the letter preceding that the Earl of Oxford was at Winch, near Lynn, in Norfolk, on the 13th May 1450, which makes it improbable that he would be at Wivenhoe in Essex four days after; and, secondly, that he is not likely to have offered to go into Norfolk (especially after having just come out of Norfolk) on a matter touching the private affairs of one of his own adherents, when he declined to go to the Parliament at Leicester.

*To our right trusty and intierly welbeloved John Paston,
Esquier.*

RIGHT trusty and right intierly welbeloved, we grete you hertly wele. And it is so, as ye know wele your self, we haf and long tyme haf had the service of Thomas Denyes, by continuance wherof we wend to haf had his attendaunce

¹ William de la Pole.—See p. 65, Note 4.

² Parliament was sitting at Leicester in May 1450.

³ A seat of the Earl of Oxford, near King's Lynn, in Norfolk.

at our lust; and nevertheless we haf so strictly examy-
nid his demenyng that we fele and pleynty conceyve
that the love and effeccion which he hath to a gentil-
woman not ferre from yow, and which ye be privy to,
as we suppose, causith hym alwey to desire toward
your cuntre, rather than toward suych ocupacion as is
behovefull to us. We write therfore to yow, prayng yow
hertly as ye love us, that it like you to do that labour
at our instaunce be suych men [*mean*] as your wisdom
can seme, to meve that gentilwoman in our behalf for
the wele of this mater, undirtakyng for us that we wole
shew our bounte to thaym bothe, if it plese hir that
this mater take effect, so that be reason she shall haf
cause to take it in gree. And if the eomyng thider of
our persone self shuld be to plesir of hir, we wole not
leve our labour in that: wherfore we pray you that ye
wole do your part heryn, as ye wole we do for yow in
tyme comyng, and that ye se us in hast. The Holy
Trinite kepe yow. Wretyn at Wevenho, the xvij. day
of May.

The Erle of Oxenford.

OXENFORD.

98.

A.D. 1450, 27 May.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS.

[From Fenn, i. 52.]

*To my trusty and welbelovyd frende, Sir Thomas
Howys, Parson of Castellcombe.*

TRUSTY and welbelovyd frende, I grete you
well.¹ And I pray you sende
me word who darre be so hardy to keck agen
you in my ryght. And sey hem on my half

¹ Here, says Fenn, follow some orders respecting his affairs at Caister



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grace encrece and mayntene to his moste plesaunce, and to your hartis dssyre.

Pleasyth it your gode and gracios maistershipp tendyrly to consedir the grete losses and hurts that your por petitioner haeth, and haeth jhad evyr seth the comons of Kent come to the Blakheth,¹ and that is at xv. yer passed, whereas my maister Syr John Fastolf, Knyght, that is youre testator,² commandyt your besecher to take a man, and ij. of the beste orsse that wer in his stabyll, with hym to ryde to the comens of Kent, to gete the articles that they come for. And so I dyd; and al so sone as I come to the Blakheth, the capteyn³ made the comens to take me. And for the savacion of my maisters horse, I made my fellowe to ryde a wey with the ij. horses; and I was brought forth with befor the capteyn of Kent. And the capteyn demaundit me what was my cause of comyng thedyr, and why that I made my fellowe to stele a wey with the horse. And I seyde that I come thedyr to chere with my wyves brethren, and other that were my alys and gossippes of myn that were present there. And than was there oone there, and seid to the capteyn that I was one of Syr John Fastolfes men, and the ij. horse were Syr John Fastolfes; and then the capteyn lete cry treson upon me thorough all the felde, and brought me at iiij. partes of the feld with a harrawd of the Duke of Exetter⁴ before me in the dukes cote of armes, makyng iiij. *Oyes* at iiij. partes of the feld; proclaymyng opynly by the seid harrawd that I was sent thedyr for to espy theyre pusaunce, and theyre abylyments of werr, fro the grettyst traytor that was in Yngelond or in Fraunce, as the seyde capteyn made

¹ Jack Cade and his followers encamped on Blackheath on the 11th June 1450, and again from the 29th of June to the 1st July. Payn refers to the latter occasion.

² Sir John Fastolf (who is dead at the date of this letter) left Paston his executor, as will be seen hereafter.

³ Jack Cade.

⁴ Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. During the civil war which followed, he adhered to the House of Lancaster, though he married Edward IV.'s sister. His herald had probably been seized by Cade's followers, and pressed into their service.

proclaymacion at that tyme, fro oone Syr John Fastolf, Knyght, the whech mynnysshed all the garrisons of Normaundy, and Manns, and Mayn, the whech was the cause of the lesyng of all the Kyngs tytyll and ryght of an herytaunce that he had by yonde see. And morovyr he seid that the seid Sir John Fastolf had furnysshyd his plase¹ with the olde sawdyors of Normaundy and abylyments of werr, to destroy the comens of Kent whan that they come to Southewerk; and therfor he seyde playnly that I shulde lese my hede.

And so furthewith I was taken, and led to the capteyns tent, and j. ax and j. blok was brought forth to have smetyn of myn hede; and than my maister Poyngs, your brodyr,² with other of my frendes, come and lettyd the capteyn, and seyde pleynly that there shulde dye a C. or ij. [*a hundred or two*], that in case be that I dyed; and so by that meane my lyf was savyd at that tyme. And than I was sworn to the capteyn, and to the comens, that I shulde go to Southewerk, and aray me in the best wyse that I coude, and come ageyn to hem to helpe hem; and so I gote th'articles, and brought hem to my maister, and that cost me more emongs the comens that day than xxvijs.

Wherupon I come to my maister Fastolf, and brought hym th'articles, and enformed hym of all the mater, and counseyled hym to put a wey all his abylyments of werr and the olde sawdiors; and so he dyd, and went hymself to the Tour, and all his meyny with hym but Betts and j. [*i.e.* one] Mathew Brayn; and had not I ben, the comens wolde have brennyd his plase and all his tennuryes, wher thorough it coste me of my nounge propr godes at that tyme more than vj. merks in mate and drynke; and nought withstondyng the capteyn that same tyme lete take me atte Whyte Harte in Suthewerk, and there comandyt Lovelase to dispoyle me oute of myn aray, and so he dyd. And

¹ Sir John Fastolf had a residence in Southwark.

² Robert Poynings, who, some years before this letter was written, had married Elizabeth, the sister of John Paston, was sword-bearer and carver to Cade, and was accused of creating disturbances on more than one occasion afterwards.

there he toke a fyn gowne of muster dewyllers¹ furryd with fyn bevers, and j. peyr of Bregandyrns² kevert with blew fellewet [*velvet*] and gylt naile, with leg-harneyse, the vallew of the gown and the bregardyns viij*li*.

Item, the capteyn sent certeyn of his meyny to my chamber in your rents, and there breke up my chest, and toke away j. obligacion of myn that was due unto me of xxxvj*li*. by a prest of Poules, and j. nother obligacion of j. knyght of x*li*., and my purse with v. ryngs of golde, and xvijs. vjd. of golde and sylver; and j. herneyse [*harness*] complete of the touche of Milleyn;³ and j. gowne of fyn perse⁴ blewe furryd with martens; and ij. gounes, one furryd with bogey,⁵ and j. nother lyned with fryse;⁶ and ther wolde have smetyn of myn hede, whan that they had dyspoyled me atte White Hart. And there my Maister Ponyngs and my frends savyd me, and so I was put up tyll at nyght that the batayle was at London Brygge;⁷ and than atte nyght the capteyn put me oute into the batayle atte Brygge, and there I was woundyt, and hurt nere hand to deth; and there I was vj. oures in the batayle, and myght nevyr come oute therof; and iiij. tymes before that tyme I was caryd abought thorough Kent and Sousex, and ther they wolde have smetyn of my hede.

And in Kent there as my wyfe dwellyd, they toke away alloure godes mevabyll that we had, and there wolde have hongyd my wyfe and v. of my chyldren, and lefte her no more gode but her kyrtyll and her smook. And a none aftyr that hurlyng, the Bysshop Roffe⁸ apechyd me to the Quene, and so I was arestyd

¹ "A kind of mixed grey woollen cloth, which continued in use to Elizabeth's reign."—Halliwell.

² A brigandine was a coat of leather or quilted linen, with small iron plates sewed on.—See Grose's *Antient Armour*. The back and breast of this coat were sometimes made separately, and called a pair.—Meyrick.

³ Milan was famous for its manufacture of arms and armour.

⁴ "Skye or bluish grey. There was a kind of cloth so called."—Halliwell.

⁵ Budge fur.

⁶ "Frieze. A coarse narrow cloth, formerly much in use."—Halliwell.

⁷ The battle on London Bridge was on the 5th July.

⁸ Fenn gives this name "Rosse" with two long s's, but translates it Rochester, from which I presume it was written "Roffe" for *Roffensis*. The Bishop of Rochester's name was John Lowe.



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thanne your counseyll fereth he wolde take an issue that he is not professed, and that shuld¹ be tried by the certificat of the Dean of Poulys, *sede vacante*; and therefore we abide in lawe, and wole not amende our plee. The day of th'assises in Norffolk is *die Veneris proximo post Festum Nativitatis Beatae Mariae apud Norwicum*, and Costards *nisi prius* is take owt ageynst that day, and Prentis *nisi prius* ageynst Halman also.

As touchyng the sute ageyns Osebern and Foke, he hath geve day xv. Johannis with x. *tales*, as I have wretyn to yow to fore this tyme; and I suppose that he wole have a *nisi prius* of the same atte seid assises. As touchyng the fyn in the Kyngs Benche for Osebern and Foke, the fyne were cessed this terme, but I hadde no leyser to talke with Croxton ther of yet, &c. Your bedfelawe seigh bothe my other writyng and this, and he rccomaundeth hym to yow, and shuld have wretyn to yow, if he had not be prevy to my writyng. Ye ar meche hold to hym, for he is diligent for yow, &c.

As touchyng Drewe Barantyn, I myght not yet speke with hym, &c. *Circumspecte agatis*, and be war of lordis promysses, for it is tolde me in counseil ther is a writte of forcyble entre² in framyng ageynst yow.

Almyghty God be your gyde. Wretyn in hast with inne an hour after the resceyte of your lettre, at Westminster, the Wedneseday next after Seint Thomas day.³

Yours JAMES GRE.

101.

About A.D. 1450.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

JAMES GRESHAM TO [JOHN PASTON?]

Inquiry made as to the injury of Sporle wood for lack of hedging. The three years' growth of the wood availeth no man. The farmers now cannot sell it the better, so it must be either to your hurt or Halman's. Hopes the wastes at Cressingham will be amended. Your tenants are treated unfairly about the Sheriff's

¹ The word "it" is interlined in the original after "shuld," but is clearly superfluous.

² For Gresham?

³ The translation of St. Thomas was on the 3d July.

turn by those of the Prior of Norwich and John Coe. Can get no money, for Fulchier hopes he is not so far in arrear as you think. Halman can get no money; his corns are so cheap he will not sell, but he hopes to make purveyance at Michaelmas.

Calybut says he never asked the Vicar of Sporle to be bound for him. They will meet with me at Gressenhale on St. Bartholomew's day and seal the other part, so that they have notice from you at Swaffham Market, Saturday next before.

Accounts of Sneylewell, Cressingham, and Sparham on the back.

[We have placed this letter after the preceding as being probably not many years apart from it in date, if not the very same year. The name of Halman occurs in both, and also in a letter of the Vicar of Sporle, which will be found a little further on.]

102.

A.D. 1450, 8 Aug.—ABSTRACT.

[MS. Phillipps, 9735, f. 224.]

SIR J. FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, Parson of Castlecombe, at Caister.

Has sent home letters by John Bedford. Sends by the bearer Thomas Medew eight writs of "green wax"¹ for certain processes he has in Norfolk, with a *distringas* for Sir John Shypton, which he must get served with the advice of Thomas Grene and other of Fastolf's trusty friends. The inquest must be certified of the truth and Shypton's falsehood proved. Will give his testimonial, when needful, "that I never sealed none such quittance." Let Greene correct the roll of articles I send by Bedford. I hear you have omitted several of the extortions done to me (*in margin*, "eyer and determiner"). London, 8 August 28 Henry VI.

Let Master Docket have a copy of the evidence of Rydlyngfeeld.

"Item, purvey me at the leest v. doseyn long bowes, with shot longyng thertoo. And purveyeth also quarell² hedys to be made ther, for the price ys derer heer then ther; and let no langage be had of ordenances makyng."

Signed.

103.

A.D. 1450, 19 Aug.

JAMES GRESHAM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 86.]

The date of this letter is ascertained by the news contained in the last paragraph of the fall of Cherbourg, besides other internal evidence.

¹ Writs under the seal of the Court of Exchequer, which was of green wax, directing the sheriff of a county to levy certain fines.

² See page 82, Note 4.

To my right especiall maister, John Paston,¹ in hast.

RYGHTE worthy worshipfull sir, and myn especiall maister, I recomaund me to yow, and pray yow wete that I was [yesterdaye atte]²² my lord Chauncellers³ hous, and there I spake with White; and he tolde me that he badde the letter that ye sewed for from² directed to the Lord Moleyns of that substance that ye badde sued to hym for an especiall assise⁴ and an *oier* and *determiner*,⁵ [and]²² that he shuld comaunde his men beyng at Gresham to departe thens, and that the profitez thereof shuld be receyved by an endifferent [person]² . . .² saufly to be kepte til the right were determyned be twen yow and my Lord M., &c., whiche letter White sente forthe [by]² a man of my Lord Chaunceller to the Lord Moleyns. And he sent his answer in wrytyng of this substance, that it shuld not like my Lord Chaunceller to graunte assise, &c., for als moche as the Lord M. badde sore be laboured in his cuntre to peas and stille the poeple⁶ there to restreyngne them from rysyng, and so he was dayly laboured there abowt in the Kynggs servyce, and that considered, he trustid veryly that there shuld non assise be graunted to your entent. And he seid forther in his answer, if he myght attende to be in Norffolk, and leve the necessary servyce that he dede to the Kyng now in Wyltshire, he wolde be but weel pleased that ye badde your assise; for he knewe his title and

¹ "After John Paston had received this letter," says Fenn, "it seems as if he had sent it to my Lord Oxford, for on the back of it, in John Paston's handwriting, is the following direction: 'To the rith worspfull and my rith speciall lord, my Lord of Oxenford.'"

² These passages, in which the text is broken by brackets or dots, are indicated by Fenn as illegible in the original.

³ John Kemp, Cardinal Archbishop of York, afterwards of Canterbury.

⁴ A writ directed to the sheriff for recovery of possession of things immovable, whereof yourself or ancestors have been disseised.—F.

⁵ Is a commission especially granted to certain persons for the hearing and determining of causes, and was formerly only in use upon some sudden outrage or insurrection in any place.—F.

⁶ These disturbances amongst the people were the remains of Cade's rebellion, which had been lately suppressed.—F.



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em'¹ that there were ix. or x. m^l. [*nine or ten thousand*] men up in Wiltshire, and I hadde it of the report of Whittocks mede; but I trowe it is not so, for here is now littel speche therof; ner the lesse, if I here more, I shall sende yow worde her after by sum loders that come to Seynt Bertilmews [fayre].²

Wretyn in hast at London, the Wedneseday next after our Lady day, &c.

Your own symple servaunt,

JAMES GR.

104.

A.D. 1450 (?) 21 Aug.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS. 393, f. 88,]

From the similarity of the contents of this and the two following letters, it is evident that they belong to the same year; and the mention of Thomas Denyes, from whom the Earl of Oxford was afterwards estranged, proves that it must have been before 1454. In the summer of 1450, there was disaffection in Norfolk, which led to the issuing of a special commission of *oyer and terminer* in September. These three letters may, therefore, have belonged to that year.

*To my right trusty and intierly welbeloved John Paston,
Squyer.*

RIGHT trusty and intierly welbeloved, I grete yow wele, and wole and pray you that ye dispose your self to be with my Lord of Norfolk in al hast goodly, to that intent that where it was desired by dyvers gentilmen of this shire³ that I shuld my self a be with his Lordship at Framyngham, to excuse me to his Lordship; for truly I haf suych writyn to my said Lord for myn excuse, which writyng I send to yow by Thomas Denyes, to whome

¹ "Quære this abbreviated word," says Fenn. It is probably *eme*, meaning uncle.

² See Note 2, p. 138.

³ "This shire" should be Suffolk, as the Earl dates from Bury St. Edmund's, but I should think Norfolk was intended. which the Earl had probably just left on his way up to London. Compare next number.

I pray you to gif credens. And the Trinite kepe yow. Wretyn at Bury Seynt Edmond, the xxj. day of August.

I pray you to speke with Sir Miles Stapilton and Brewes, and to delyver to thaym my lettres, wherof I send you copies, and make Brewes to send over a man to me with th'entent of my Lord of Norffolk, and with th'effect of your deligens, with a more credible message than Brewes ded to my wif; for I had never a wers journey for a jape in my lif, ne a lewder, as ye shal wele conceyve.

OXENFORD.

105.

A. D. 1450 (?) 21 Aug.—THE EARL OF OXFORD (?) TO SIR MILES STAPLETON AND THOMAS BREWES.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The two letters following are from contemporaneous copies written on the same paper. Being dated the same day as the preceding letter of the Earl of Oxford, and addressed to the two persons named in the postscript, we should have every reason to suppose they are the copies there mentioned, were it not for the circumstance that the Earl of Oxford's seat at Wynche, near Lynn, in Norfolk, must have been a good day's journey from Bury St. Edmund's. The internal evidence, however, is in other respects so strong that we have no doubt at all upon the subject. The difficulty as to the date may be accounted for by supposing that these two letters were really written at Wynche the day before, but that the date 21st August was filled in by the Earl at Bury St. Edmund's at the time he despatched his letter of the same date to John Paston.

To my ryght trusti and wyth all myn hert intyerly welbelovyd Sir Mylys Stapelton, Knyght.

RYGHTE trusty and wyth all myn hert entierly welbelovyd, I grete yow wele, and wol that ye wete that a gentelman of your ally baghe [*hath*] ben wyth me, at whos instans and steryng and by hese good avyes I wold ful fayne amet [*have met*] wyth yow at Framyngham; but I may no lenger abyde here for the straye comaundment that I have to be wyth the Kyng. Wherefore I pray yow to comown wyth Brewes and Paston, and to put in artycles be ther

avyses and be your wysdom the indisposicion of the people of this counte, and what were most necessary to be desierid of the Kyng and of my Lordis of the Councell for the restreynte of ther mourmour and the peas, and to sende it me be the brynger herof, to whom I pray yow gef credens. And the Holy Ternyte kepe yow. Wretyn at Wynche, the xxj. day of August.

To my ryght trusty and entierly welbelovyd Thomas Brewes, Squyer.

RYGHTE trusty and intyerly welbelovid, I grete yow wele. And for as mouche as ye were with my wyf at Wynche in the name and behalve of the substaunce of the gentelys of this shyer, and cause my wyf to wryte to me for to turne agayn into Norffolk, be wheche wrytyng, and be your report it semyd to me that a gret asemble had be purposid wythin the counte heer. I therefore sayd unto yow, wolyng and mevyng yow aftyr your trowth, and as ye know, that ye do put in artycles the indisposicion of the people, and what your avyce is to be do for the restreynyng of the same; and this articles I pray yow set to your seal, and cause other gentlemen with wham ye have comonyng set ther seales, for this is necessary, and that I may schew it to the Kyng and to my Lordis of hese Councell, and that I fayle not here of for your honeste and myn excuse. And the Ternyte kepe yow. Wreten at Wynche, the xxj. day of August.

106.

A. D. 1450, [Aug.]

[THE EARL OF OXFORD TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.]

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This would seem by internal evidence to be the letter of excuse written by Oxford to the Duke of Norfolk, which the Earl mentions in his letter to John Paston of the 21st August. The original from which it is taken is a copy without signature or address, and mutilated in the margin.



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Un to the right reverent fadir in God and my right gracious Lord, the Cardinal Archebisshop of York, Prymat and Chaunceller of Ingland.

BESECHETH mekely John Paston that where Robert Hungerford, Knyght, Lord Molens, and Alianore, his wyff, late with force and strength, and grete multitude of riottous peple, to the noumbre of a thousand persones and mo, gadered by th'excitacion and procuryng of John Heydon¹ a yenst the Kynggs pees, in riotous maner entred up on your seid besecher and othir enfeoffed to his use in the manoir of Gresham with th'appurtenauncez in the shire of Norffolk; whiche riotous peple brake, dispoiled, and drew doun the place of your seid besecher in the seid toun, and drafe out his wiff and servautes there beyng, and ryfled, took, and bare away alle the goodes and catalx that your seid besecher and his servautes badde there to the value of ccli. [£200] and more; and the seid manoir, after the seid riottous entre, kept with strong hande in manere of werre, as weel ayenst your seid besecher and his fefees, as ayenst oon of the Kyngges justicez of the pees in the seid shire, that come thedir to execute the statutes ordeigned and provyded ayenst suche forcible entrees and kepyng of possessions with force, as it appiereth by recorde of the seid justice certifyed in to the Chauncerie; and yet the seid Lord Molens the same manoir kepith with force and strengthe ayenst the fourme of the seid statutes: Please it your reverent Fadirhood and gracious Lordship, these premisses considered, to graunte on to your seid besecher for his fefees by hym to be named a special assise² ayenst the seid Lord Molens, Alianore, and John Heidon, and othir to be named by your seid besecher, and also an oyer

¹ John Heydon, Esq. of Baconsthorpe, a lawyer, who was recorder of Norwich from 1431 to 1433, and sheriff in 1431-2.

² See p. 138, Note 4.

and determyner¹ ayenst the seid Lord Molens, John Heidon, and othir of the seid riotous peple in like fourme to be named, to enquere, here and determyne all trespaces, extorcions, riottes, forcible entrees, mayntenaunces,² champerties,³ embraceries,⁴ offenses, and mesprisions⁵ by hem or ony of hem doen, als weel atte sute of our sovereign Lord the Kyng, as of your seid besecher and his seid feffees, and every of hem, or of ony othir of the Kyngges lieges : atte reverence of God, and in weye of charite.

108.

A. D. 1450, 4 Sept.

JOHN PASTON TO JAMES GRESHAM.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

It is evident that this letter was written partly in answer to Gresham's of the 19th August 1450. The year is therefore the same. The letter is printed from a copy in Gresham's handwriting.

The Copie of the Letter of J. P.

JAMES GRESHAM, I prey yow laboure forth to have answer of my bille for myn especial assise, and the oyer and termynner,¹ accordyng to my seid bille that I delyvered to my Lord Chaunceler,⁶ letyng hym wete that his Lordship conceyved the graunt of suyche a special matier myght cause a rumour in the cuntre. Owt of dowte the cuntre is not so disposed, for it is desired ageyn suche persones as the c[untre] wolde were ponysshid ; and if they be not ponysshid to refourme that they have do amyse, by liklynesse the cuntre wole rise up on th[em]. Men talke that a general oier and termynner is graunted to the Duke of Norfolk, my Lord of Ely, the

¹ See p. 138, Note 5.

² Unlawful support given to a disputant by one not concerned in the cause.

³ Bargains made with litigants for a share in what may be gained by the suit.

⁴ Attempts to corrupt juries.

⁵ Treason or felony committed by oversight or wilful neglect of a duty.

⁶ Cardinal Kemp.—See last No.

Erll of Oxenford, the Lord Scales, Sir John Fastolf, Sir Thomas Fulthorp, and William Yelverton, and men be right glad therof. Yet that notwithstanding, labour ye forth for me. F[or] in a general oyer and termynere a *supersedeas* may dassh al, and so shall not in a special. And also if the justicez come at my request, they shall sytte als long as I wole, and so shall thei not by the generall. And as for commyssioners in myn, &c., Sir John Fastolf must be pleyntyf als weel as I my self, and so he may not be commyssioner; and as for alle the remenant, I can thynke them indifferent inow in the matier, except my Lord Scales, whos wyff is aunte to the Lady Moleyns.

And as for that the Lord Moleyns hath wretyn that he dar put the matier in awarde of my Lord Chaunceler, and in what juge he wole take to hym, &c. (which offre as I suppose shall be tolde to yow for to make yow to cesse your labour), thanne lete that be answerid, and my Lord Chaunceller enfourmed thus: The matier was in trete by th'assent of the Lord Moleyns a twene his counseil and myn, whiche assembled at London xvj. dyvers dayes, and for the more part there was a sergeant and vj. or vij. thrifty apprentisez; at whiche tyme the Lord Moleyns title was shewed, and clerly answerid, in so meche that his own counseil seide they cowde no forther in the matier, desiryng me to ride to Salesbury to the Lord Moleyns, promyttyng of their part that thei wolde moeve the Lord Moleyns, so that thei trusted I shuld have myn entent or I come thens; of whiche title and answer I send yow a copie that hath be put in to the Parlement, the Lord Moleyns being there present, whereto he cowde not sey nay. Also by fore this tyme I have agreed to put it in ij. juges, so thei wolde determyne by our evydences the right, moevyng nother partie to yeve other by ony mene, but only the right determyned, he to be fully recompensed that hath right. Whereto he wold not agree, but alle tymes wolde that thoe juges shulde entrete the parties as they myght be drawe to by offre and profre



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109.

A.D. 1450, 7 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 245.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, THOMAS GRENE,
AND WATKYN SHYPDAM.

Has no word from them of the correction and engrossing of the damages done to him by divers men in Norfolk, of part of which he sent a roll to them at Castre a month ago. Sends John Bokkyng for an answer. Was often damaged by the Duke of Suffolk's officers in Lodylond, both by undue amerçiements and distraining cattle at Cotton, and by the officers of Cossey, of which there should be remembrances at Castre. Wrote also that they should see the Bishop of Norwich about the letter left with him concerning the award of Dedham. Is particularly anxious to know what they have done about Rydlyngfeld, &c.

London, 7 Sept. 29 Hen. VI.

Signed.

110.

A.D. 1450, 15 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 253.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, at Castre, or at
Pokethorp in Norwich, or at Haylydon Manor.

Has received his letter by Thomas Fastolf touching his diligence about the recovery of the letter with the Bishop of Norwich, and of the evidences of Rydlyngfeld, with a copy of a certain indenture which F. has already sealed. Has no answer of the correction of the articles F. sent home to him two months ago. As my Lord of Norfolk is at Norwich to sit upon the oyer and terminer, you must labor to shew forth my grievances. Nothing can be done till after Michaelmas about the *venire facias* for the jury of Sybton. Has written this week by the Parson of Estharlyng to Berney, who, he hears, has been shewing favor to his adversaries. Refers him further to John Bokkyng, who is now in Norfolk.

London, 15 Sept. 29 Hen. VI.

111.

A.D. 1450, 18 Sept.—HENRY VI. TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 362.]

The bearing of this letter upon the contents of Nos. 107 and 108 proves it to be of the same year.

To oure trusty and welbeloved John Paston, Squier.

By the King.

TRUSTY and welbeloved, for asmuche as oure right trusty and welbeloved the Lord Moleyns is by our special desire and comaundement waitting upon us, and now for divers considerations moeving us, we purpose to sende hym in to certaine places for to execute oure commaundement, for the whiche he ne may be attendant to be in oure countees of Northfolk and Suffolk at the time of oure Commissioners sitting upon oure commission of oier determiner within the same oure counties: We therefore desire and praye that considering his attendance upon us, and that he must applie hym to execute oure commaundement, ye wol respite as for any thing attempting ayenst hym as for any matiers that ye have to do or seye ayenst hym, or any other of his servants, welwillers, or tenaunts, by cause of hym, unto tyme he shal mowe be present to ansuere there unto; wherein ye shall ministere unto us cause of pleasure, and over that, deserve of us right good thanke. Yeven under oure signet at oure Palois of Westmynster, the xvij. day of September.

112.

A.D. 1450 (?) 29 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

THE VICAR OF SPORLE TO JOHN PASTON.

Reports the disposition of "my master," the Provost. Francis Costard brought his evidence to my master's presence, where it was examined. He wondered what title you would claim to the

land. I said, men said it was once free till it was soiled by a bondman. He gave more weight to the evidence of John Aleyn and Nicholas Waterman. Aleyn says he was steward of the manor, in Garleke's days, forty years, and never knew it claimed for bond ground; and the said Nicholas says it was he who moved your father to buy the manor. Many others have set their seals to corroborate this. Asked him to be good unto Henry Halman, who was amerced in his court for chastising a servant of his, a bondman of yours. My master asked mockingly if a man might not beat his own wife.

Sporle, Michaelmas morning.

[This letter would seem to belong to the same year as No. 100, in which "Costard's *nisi prius*" and an action against Halman are referred to. No. 101 also mentions Halman and the writer of this letter.]

113.

A.D. 1450, 6 Oct.

WILLIAM WAYTE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 154.]

This letter must have been written just after the Duke of York came over from Ireland in 1450, when he demanded that justice should be fairly administered against persons accused. A Parliament was summoned, which met on the 6th November, and Sir William Oldhall was chosen as Speaker.

To my mayster, John Paston, in ryght gret hast.

SYR, and it plese, I was in my Lord of Yorks¹ howse, and I herde meche thyng more thanne my mayster² wrytyth un to yow of; I herde meche thyng in Fletestrede. But, Sir, my Lord was with the Kynge, and he vesaged so the mater that alle the Kynges howshold was and is aferd ryght sore; and my seyde Lord hayth putte a bille to the Kynge, and desyryd meche thyng, qwych is meche after the Comouns desyre, and all is up on justice, and to putte all thos that ben indyted under arest with owte suerte or maynpryce, and to be tryed be lawe as lawe wyll; in so meche that on Monday Sir William Oldhall was with the Kynge atte West-

¹ Richard, Duke of York, afterwards Protector, the father of King Edward IV.

² The writer was clerk to Judge Yelverton.



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my feyth thei arne ellys lyke to come to grace. And therfor, Sir, remember yow of all these maters.

Sir, also I spake with William Norwych, and asked hym after the Lord Moleyns how he stod to my Lord ward; and he told me he was sor owte of grace, and that my Lord of York lovyth hym nought. William Norwych tolde me that he durste undertake for to brynge yow un to my Lord, and make hym your ryght good Lord; and, Sir, my mayster counceyllyd yow that ze shuld not spare, but gete yow hese good Lordshep.

Sir, be war of Heydon, for he wold destroyed yow be my feyth. The Lord Scales and Sir William Oldhall arne made frendys.

Sir, labour ze for [to] be knyth of the shire, and speke to my Mayster Stapulton¹ also that he be yt; Sir, all Swafham, and they be warned, wyll zeve yow here voyses. Sir, speke with Thomas Denys, and take nose good avys therin. Sir, speke to Denys that he avoyde hys garyson atte Rydon, for there is non other remedy but deth for Danyell, and for all thos that arne indyted. Sir, labour ze to the Meyer that John Dam² or Will Jenney be burgeys for the cetye of Norwych, telle them that he may be yt as well as Yonge is of Brystow, or the Recordor is of London, and as the Recordour of Coventre is for the cite of Coventre, and it so in many places in England. Also, Sir, thynk on Yernemouth that ze ordeyne that John Jenney, or Limnour, or sum good man be burgeys for Yernemouth. Ordeyne ze that Jenneys mown ben in the Parlement, for they kun seye well.

Sir, it wore wysdam that my Lord of Oxenford wayte on my Lord of Yorke. In good feyth, good Sir, thynke on all these maters; meche more I badde to wryte on to yow, yf I kowde a remembryd me, but I hadde no leyser be my fyth. Hold me escused of my lewde rude wrytyng. Late John Dam be ware for the Lorde

¹ Sir Miles Stapleton.

² John Dam actually was returned to Parliament for the city of Norwich in November 1450.

Moleyns; and, Sir, late the cetye be ware, for he wyll do hem a velony, but yf he may have hese men; and, Sir, yf he come to Norwych, look there be redy to wayte up on the Mayer a good fellowshep, for it is seyde her that they arne but bestys.

Sir, my mayster bad me wryte un to yow that ze shuld store the Mayer and alle the Alderman to crye on my Lord that they mown have justyce of these men that be indyted, and that my Lorde wyll speke un to the Kynge therof. And, Sir, in divers partes in the town there [*where*] my Lord comyth, there wolde be ordeyned many porcions of Comeners to crye on my Lord for justice of these men that arne indyted, and telle her nammes, in speciall Todenham, Heydon, Wyndham, Prentys. Sir, I cende yow a copy of the bylle¹ that my Lord of Yorke putte un to the Kynge; and, Sir, the copyes go abowte the cetye i now, for the love of God, wy[c]he have yow in hese kepyng.

Wretyn on Seynt Feyth daye, in hast.

Be yowr Servaunt,

W. WAYTE.

114.

A.D. 1450.

RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, TO KING HENRY VI.

[From Fenn, i. 64.]

The MS. from which this was printed by Fenn, was doubtless the copy of my Lord of York's "bill" which William Wayte sent to John Paston, as mentioned in the end of the last letter.

Richard, Duke of York, his Peticion to Kyng Henry for the punyshement of Treytors, &c.

PLEASE it your Hyghnes tendirly to consider the grett grutchyng and romer that is universaly in this your reame of that justice is nouth dewly ministred to such as trespas and offende a yens your lawes, and in special of them that ben

¹ See next No.

endited of treson, and other beyng openly noysed of the same; wherfore for gret inconveniens that have fallen, and grett is lyke to fallen her after in your seid reame, which God defende, but if [*unless*] be your Hyghnesse provysion convenable be mad for dew reformation and punyshment in this behalf; Wherfore I, your humble suget and lyge man, Richard, Duke of York, willyng as effectually as I kan, and desiryng suerte and prosperite of your most roiall person, and welfare of this your noble reame, councel and advertyse your excellent, for the conversacion [*conservation*] of good tranquillite and pesable rewle among all trew sogetts, for to ordeyn and provyde that dewe justice be had a yenst all such that ben so endited or openly so noysed: wher inne I offre, and wol put me in devour for to execute your comaundements in thes premises of such offenders, and redresse of the seid mysrewlers to my myth and power. And for the hasty execucion herof, lyke it your Hyghnes to dresse your letteres of prevy seale and writts to your officers and ministres to do take, and areste all soch persons so noysed or endited, of what astatte, degre, or condicion so ever thei be, and them to comytte to your Tour of London, or to other your prisons, there to abyde with outen bayle or maynprice on to the tyme that they be utterly tryed and declared, after the cours of your lawe.

115.

A.D. 1450, 15 Oct.—SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS AND WILLIAM BARKER.

[From Fenn, iii. 92.]

To my ryght trusty freende, Sir Thomas Howys, Parson of Castellcombe, beyng at Castre, and William Barker, in haste, at Castre Yn, by Jermuth.



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And atte London a man of hys hedde large langage, and seyde that my Lord shuld come to Norffolk, and do meche thyng agayns hem that hadde do indite hym and hys men, and also for the presonyng of hys men atte Norwych. This is sopposyd verely to be Heydons werke that wyll sette hym verely to do the utterest ayens yow and John Dam in the werst wyse that he can. Ze have both lordshep and frendshep in your countre, and also good inow to reciste hym yf he wyll do yow wronge, and peraventur that shuld brynge thys matier nyer and ende thanne it is now. Whedder it be to done or not, I remitte that to youre counceyll.

Also, my Lord¹ shall be atte Walsyngham on Sunday nest comynge, a from thens he shall go to Norwych. For any thyng in the werd [*world*] meve my Lord of Oxenford and my cosyn Sir Miles Stapulton that they awayte up on my seyde Lord in the most wurcheffull wyse that they kun, and do hym as good attendaunce and plesaunce as they mown. And ye do the same also; and that the cyte of Norwych mete with hym in the best wyse also; and also that they and ze also cherse and wirchep well Sir William Oldhalle. And ther be good informacion made ayens T. T. and H.,² for they wyll spend m^l m^l *li.* [*£2000*] for to come in ther, and that were petye. Spende sum what of your good now, and gette yow lordshep and frendshep ther, *quia ibi pendet tota lex et propheta.* And send som man to aspye of the governaunce, and of the comynge of the Lord Moleyns, and take hed to your self. And byd John Dam be war of hym self. Sum men suppose that my Lord of York cherse not meche the seyde Lord Moleyns. And send sum men hedyr often to London that mown he them here and brynge yow tydynges. And I pray God spede yow in alle youre werkes.

Your Cosyn,

NAMELES ATTE THIS TYME.

Endorsed: Literæ Fastolff, Yelverton, circa le oyrdeterminer.—Memorandum de billa actus justic' apud Walsingham.

¹ Probably the Duke of York.

² Thomas Tuddenham and Heydon.

117.

A.D. 1450, [Oct].

JAMES GRESHAM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 94.]

This letter, though it has no date except of the day of the week, must have been written about October 1450, after the Duke of York had come over from Ireland, and before the elections for the Parliament which met in November, and the appointment of sheriffs in the different counties for the ensuing year. The references to the affair of Lord Moleyns and to the indictment of Heydon cannot belong to a later year.

*To my worshipfull Maister Paston, at Norwich, in haste,
be this delyvered.*



PLEASE it yow to wete that I come to London the Wedneseday at even late next after my departyng from yow, and it was told me that my Maister Calthorp badde writyng fro my Lord of York to awayte on hym at his comyng in to Norffolk to be oon of his men, and that no gentelman of Norffolk had writyng to awayte on hym but he; and sum folke wene that it is to th'entent that he shuld bo outhir shiref or knyght of the shire, to the fortheryng of othir folks, &c.

The Kyng is remevid from Westminster, summe men sey to Fysshwick,¹ and summe sey to Bristowe. And it is seid that he hath do wretyn to alle his men that be in the chekroll² to awayte on hym atte Parliament in their best aray; why, no man can telle. Heydon³ was with my Maister Yelverton,⁴ and desired hym to see the recordes of his endytementz, and axed of hym if he were indited of felonye; and my Maister Yelverton told hym it was. And thereto H. seide “Sir, ye wole recorde that I was never thef;” and he

¹ In Lancashire, now in the suburbs of Preston.

² The check-roll is a roll or book, containing the names of such persons as are attendants, and in pay to the King, or other great men, as their household servants, &c.—F.

³ See page 144, Note 1.

⁴ William Yelverton, a Justice of the King's Bench.

seid he trowed right weel that he cowde telle why he took Plumpsted's goods, and othir words whiche were long to write. And my Maister Y. seid to hym he cowde not knowe the laborer of th'endytement, and H. seid ageyn he knewe weel the laborer thereof; and my Maister Y. conceyte is H. ment yow. Wherfor he advyseth yow that in onywyse ye make Plumpsted to take apell accordyng; for if he so do, thanne is H. barred of his conspirace, and also of his damages, though that he be nonnsewed therin, or though it be afterward discontinued, &c., and ellis are ye in jopardy of a conspirace, for H. hopeth to have the world better to his entent thanne it is now. For it is told me that rather thanne he shuld fayle of a shiref this yeer comyng for his entent, he wole spende m^l/i. [£1000.]

This comunicacion be twene them was on Monday last passed, and on Tewisday last passed H. mette with Maister Markham,¹ and he tolde H. his part how that he levid ungoodly in puttyng away of his wyff, and kept an other, &c.; and therewith he turned pale colour, and seid he lyved not but as God was pleased with, ne dede no wrong to no person. And therupon Maister Markham reherced how he demened hym a geynst men of Court, and named yow and Genneye; and H. seid, as touchyng the peple that rifled yow, and the doying thereof, he was not privy therto, for he was that tyme here at London; and as touchyng the Lord Moleyns title, H. enforced gretly, and seid his title was better thanne yours.

Yisterday was my Maister Yelverton at dyner with my Maister Fastolf,² and there among other thei were avysed that my Maister F. shall write to my Lord of Norfolk that he certifie the Kyng and his Counseill how the cuntre of N. and S. [*Norfolk and Suffolk*] stonde right

¹ John Markham, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, who became Chief Justice in 1461.

² Sir John Fastolf.



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and th'entre therof als long as he may ; and he demyth veryly that H. Wodehous coude never have take up on his knowelage to have called up on the matier with owt counseil and enformacion of Heydon, and it were weel do that my Lord of Oxeford knewe it.

Item, Maister Yelverton told me that the Lord Moleyns was enfourmed that he and alle his men wern endited of felonye in Norffolk, whiche caused hym and his to be right wroth toward my maister and yow. And Maister Yelverton hath tolde a man of the Kyngges Benche called Styrop, whiche is a man of the Lord Moleyns, the trouth that nothir he ner noon of his is endited, and Stirop is now in to Wiltshire, and shall telle it to the Lord M. ; for that shall squage weel his hete of wrethe. And as touchyng Germyn,¹ if he be Shiref, William Genney wole undirtake for hym that he shall and wole be ruled weel inow, &c.

119.

A.D. 1450 (?) 16 Oct.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS. 393, f. 92.]

This letter and that which follows clearly refer to the same matter. The time of year and the part taken by the Duke of York in the election are circumstances which in themselves create a pretty strong presumption in favour of the year 1450. And this presumption almost becomes a certainty, when we observe that the date of this letter—16th October—was a Friday in that year ; for the meeting of York and Norfolk is stated in the next letter to have been on a Thursday and Friday, and this letter would doubtless have been written as soon as a decision had been come to between the two Lords.

To oure trusti and welbelovid John Paston, Squier.

The Duc of Norffolk.

RIGHT trusti and welbelovid, we grete you well. And forasmoche as oure unkill of York and we have fully appoynted and agreed of such ij. persones for to be knightes of shire of

¹ John Jermyn was actually appointed Sheriff in the end of the year 1450.

Norffolk as oure said unkill and we thinke convenient and necessarie for the welfare of the said shire, we therfor pray you, in oure said unkill name and oures bothe, as ye list to stonde in the favour of oure good Lordshipp, that ye make no laboure contrarie to oure desire. And God have you in his keping.

Wreten at Bury Seynt Edmondis, the xvj. day of Octobr.

120.

A.D. 1450 (?) 18 Oct.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 98.]

For evidence of date, see note to preceding letter.

To our welbeloved John Paston.

RIGHT welbeloved, I grete yow well. And as towchyng for tydyngs, I can none, savyng that my Lord of Norffolk met with my Lord of York at Bury on Thursday, and there were to gedre til Friday, ix. of the klokke, and than they departed. And there a gentilman of my Lord of York toke unto a yeman of myn, John Deye, a tokene and a sedell of my Lords entent, whom he wold have knyghtts of the shyre, and I sende you a sedell closed of their names in this same lettre, wherfore me thynkith wel do to performe my Lords entent.

Wretyn the xvij^o day of Octobr, at Wynche.

OXENFORD.

Com. Norff', { Sir William Chambirlayn.¹ }
Henry Grey. }

¹ The names actually returned by the Sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk for this Parliament were--for Norfolk, Sir Miles Stapleton and Henry Gray; for Suffolk, Sir Roger Chamberleyn and Sir Edmund Mulso.

121.

A.D. 1450 (?) 22 Oct.

THE DUKE OF NORFOLK TO JOHN PASTON.

[Douce MS. 393, f. 93.]

This letter must have been written either in 1449 or in 1450, in both of which years Parliament met on the 6th of November; and as we have other letters, both of the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Oxford, relating to the Parliament of 1450, we are inclined to think this also belongs to the later year. Framlingham, the seat of the Duke of Norfolk, is not more than thirty-two miles from Bury, from which he wrote on the 16th.

*To oure right trusty and welbeloved servaunt, John
Paston, Squier.*

The Duc of Norffolk.

RIGHT trusti and right welbelovid, we grete yo
hertily well, prayng you specially that ye will
make you redy to awayte upon us at Yippis-
wich toward the Parlement the viij. day of
Novembre in youre best aray, with as many clenly
people as ye may gete for oure worship at this tyme;
for we will be there like oure estate in oure best wise
without any delay. Yeven under oure signet in oure
Castell of Framlyngham, the xxij. day of Octobre.

122.

A.D. 1450, 11 Nov.

JOHN DAMME AND JAMES GRESHAM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 100.]

The date of this letter is determined by the fact mentioned in the first sentence. Sir William Oldhall was chosen Speaker of the Parliament which . ❀



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123.

A.D. 1450, 11 Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 226.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, Parson of
Castlecombe.

“Right trusty and welbeloved friends,” I thank you for the quittance of Richard Sellyng you have sent me by Worcestre, with a quittance of Fauconere for the purchase of Davyngton, and another of Roys for the purchase of Tychewell. Ask my cousin Herry Sturmer’s wife to search for an indenture and other writings between me and Sellyng or Lady Wiltshire. As you inform me that Sir Thomas Todenham has sent to John Clerc to be at London, you must ask him and his wife to go before the bailiffs of Yarmouth, and certify how it was Bysshop’s wife did not receive the £100 I was ruled to pay her. John Clerc must not come up till I send for him.—(*In margin*, “oyer and determiner.”) Special labour has been made that Justice Yelverton should not come down this Martinmas, but the King and Lords have determined that he shall keep his day; “and the labour that ye, with my cousin Paston, made late to my Lord Norfolk was right well avised, in case that the Justice should be countermanded.” Urge my friends to do their very best for me now in the matters “labored last at the oyer and terminer,” that they may take a worshipful end. Thank Nicholas Bokkyng for what he did about the certificate of the jury in the office¹ of Tychewell, and beg him to get it sealed in time, which will be a great evidence for the recovery of my manor. Sends home some horses “to be occupied in the cart.” Commendations to his cousin John Berney.

Signed.

Send for William Cole about the accounts, and thank the Parson of Haylesdon² for the three writings of Wiltshire’s will and Gorney he sent me by Worcester; but say I prayed him to search for more.

London, St. Martin’s day.

[This letter is dated on Martinmas day, at which date in the year 1450 it will be seen by the preceding number that Justice Yelverton was going down into Norfolk, and an *oyer and terminer* was going to be held at Norwich. The reference to the “office,” or inquisition, of Tychewell also proves the year to be 1450.—See No. 132, pp. 175-6.]

¹ An inquisition taken by the escheator of a county by virtue of his office was frequently called an “office.” Its object was to ascertain the King’s title to certain lands.

² Thomas Hert was presented to Haylesdon by Sir John Fastolf in 1448.

124.

A.D. 1450, Nov.

JUSTICE YELVERTON TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, iii. 50.]

This would appear to have been written in 1450, just after Yelverton's arrival in Norfolk, whither, it will be seen by the last two letters, he was going in November. The nomination of sheriffs had not yet taken place, and was anxiously expected by many, in the hope that it would lessen the influence of Sir Thomas Tuddenham and Heydon, who had hitherto been very powerful in Norfolk.

*A Lettre to Sir John Fastoff from Justice Yelverton.*¹

MY moste worshypfull and best betruſted maister, I recommaund me to yow, thankyng yow for manye grete gentlenesse and kyndnesse that ye haſe showed unto me, and for the grete ease that I had of your man and your horsys also.

As for tydyngs owte of thys contree, here ys a marveyllous disposed contree, and manye evylle wylled peple to Sir Thomas Tuddenham and Heydon, and but yff they been putt in comfort there by the meene of a good shyreve and undreshyreve, they may haſe remedye now by the ordre of lawe, and ellys grete inconvenices arn lyke for to folowe ther off. Therfor, Sir, for the weele of all our gode contree, mewyth the Kyng, my Lord Chaunceller,² and all othyr Lordes as ye thynk best for thys matier on thys behalf.

Also, Sir, yff they noysse me by thee meene of my Lord Scalys, or by anye othyr meene, or by onye bylle sewed by Brygg, or by onye othyr man by her [*i.e. their*] craft, that it please yow to sey for me yn savacion of my pore worshyp, whych I wote well they may not hurt but they doo me wrongs, to the Kyng, my Lord Chaunceller, my Lord of Wynchester,³ my Lord Cromewell, and in othyr places, as ye semyth, that no credence be goven to myne hurt yn myne absence.

¹ This is an endorsement on the original MS., which, not being addressed, was probably only a copy.

² Cardinal Kemp.

³ The celebrated William de Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.

Also, Sir, that William Geney and Brayn, the clerks of the Sessions, ben hastyed hedreward as well as they may; and, Sir, my cousyn Paston and my brothyr Cleere can tell yow moch more thyng that I shuld wryte off to yow, and I had leyser; but I shall wythynne short tyme sende yow more tydyngs owte of thys contree, by the grace of God, whych hafe yow yn hys holye kepyng.

By your old Servaunt,

WILLIAM YELVERTON, Justice.

125.

A.D. 1450, Nov.

JUSTICE YELVERTON TO JOHN BOCKING.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The correspondence of this letter with the last is such as to leave no doubt that they were written at the same period. The MS. is a contemporaneous copy.

To my welbeloved cosyn, John Bockyng.

WORSHIPFULL and right welbeloved cosyn, I comaunde me to you, prayng you to recomaunde me to my Maister Fastolf, and thank hym in my name hertily for his man and his hors. And also for to meve hym for that we may have a good shereve and a good undershereve that neythir for good favore no fere wol returne for the Kyng, ne betwix partie and partie, none othir men but such as ar good and trewe, and in no wyse will be forsworne; for the pepil here is loth to compleyne til thei here tidynges of a good shereve. And that William Jenney and Brayne, the clerk of the Cessions, and Thomas Denys, ben hastid hydirward as fast as thei may, and than men supposen he nedith not to dowghtyn his materes. And also that my cosyn Paston be so hastily holpen in his materes that he may sone come hedir



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Maner with appurtenances in Cyselond, and I have agreed with him for 200 marks. Don't forget the bailly of Hykelyng, who said I should forge [*i.e.* had forged] evidence, &c.

London, 23 Nov. 29 Hen. VI.

Signed.

[An extract from the latter part of this letter is printed by Blomefield, *Hist. Norf.* iv. 388-9 (Note 9).]

127.

A.D. 1450, 28 Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[From Add. Charter 17,238, B.M.]

Power of attorney by John, Cardinal Archbishop of York, and others, to John Est and others, including William Worcestre and Geoffrey Sperlyng, to deliver seisin to Walter Leyhert, Bishop of Norwich, and others, of and in the manor of Mundham, &c.—28 Nov. 29 Hen. VI.

20 Seals, of which three are lost.

Endorsed by Blomefield—"Sir John Fastolff's Feoffees Release," &c., with a reference to his *History of Norfolk*, vol. ii. 762 (fol. ed.)

128.

A.D. 1450, 2 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 235.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS, Parson of Castlecombe,
WILLIAM JENNEY, and JOHN BOKKYNG.

Thanks them for their diligence. Has respited the matter against Wyndham touching the Lady Bardolf till next term, as he offers to come to an agreement.¹ Is ready to agree with all persons who will find sufficient surety, except Sir Thomas Tudenham, Heydon, and *Pykering* (*underlined*). Master John Bote-wright has sent him a letter of great loss and damage done by Tudenham and Heydon to the "comyn" of Swaffham, "benym-myng (?) 600 acres lond of her comyn." Has written to "my brother Yelverton," and would write also to my Lord of Oxford, but that he is so vexed in spirit "in thys trouble seson," that at times he cannot abide the signing and sealing of a letter. Prays them to see well to the accountants and auditors' charges.

London, 2 Dec. 29 Hen. VI.

¹ Fastolf's signature is placed here, near the beginning of the letter, after the first paragraph.

“ And because I might [not] abide till the writing of the matters that I commanded Worcester to write, I signed the letter so near the beginning; but I will ye tender, nevertheless, my letter and articles for my most profit and avail.”

129.

A.D. 1450.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 277.]

Memoranda signed by Sir John Fastolf (*mutilated at the head*) viz. about the Prior of Hikelyng; that John Ulveston and John Andrew be indicted for forging the office of Boyton, as well as for Bradwell in Suffolk; Brayn to deliver copies; if they sit in Suffolk, to take heed of Sypton's matter. Nicholas Apleyard will doubtless appear to the bill of maintenance; so the Prior and Sacristan and Sir H. Inglose must be “laboured” to give information. Process against Dynne, Prentis, &c. Obligation of 200 marks that Brian Stapleton has in keeping. The Parson of Castlecombe to speak with John Emond of Taverham secretly about one who pretended title to Dedham, &c. “That ready word come alway atwix Norwich and this of the tidings that are there.” Matter of Margaret Brygge, &c. “That Paston conceive the crossed letter, and say therein to my Lady Felbrigg.” To speak to Paston and Jenney about various matters. To speak to Reppys “that he feel my Lord Scales and the Prior of Hikelyng jointly if they will yet treat, as my Lord Scales and my master were agreed at London,” &c.

[From the reference to Sypton's matter, it would appear that this paper is a little before the two following in point of date.]

130.

A.D. 1450, 4 Dec.—SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS AND JOHN BOCKING.

[From Fenn, iii. 102.]

To my ryght trusty frende and servaunt, Sir Thomas, Parson of Castellcombe, and John Bokkyng, at Prynce Inne yn Norwych, or at Beklys.

RYGH T trusty and welbelevyd servaunt, I grete you well. And forasmoch as I undrestand that on Monday next the oyer and terminer

shall be holden at Beklys, and ye avysen to sende yow a certificat for cause of the forged quytaunce by Sir John Sypton, whych wrytyng I scende you by the berer here of, prayng you that ye solicit to my councell that the said Sir John Sypton be endited thereuppon, and that ye foryete not Ulveston, Andreus, and the othyr that forged a fals office¹ to cast my maner of Bradwell yn to the Kyngs hand.

Item, I sende you a copie of Sibieton ple and quytaunce forged to grounde your bille by it.

No more for haste, but God kepe you. Wryt at London, iiij. day of December, anno xxix^o regni Regis H. VI.

Item, Sir John Bukk, Parson of Stratford, physshed my stankys at Dedham, and holp brake my damme, destroyed my new mille, and was ayenst me allwey at Dedham, to the damage of 20*l.*, which may be endyted allso.

Item, he and John Cole hath by force this yeer, and othyr yeers, take out off my waters at Dedham, to the nombre of xxiiij. swannys and signetts, and I pray you thys be not foryeted.

J. FASTOLF.

131.

A.D. 1450, 5 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 247.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS, Parson of Castlecombe, and JOHN BOKKING, in haste, at Princes Inn, in Norwich.

As the oyer and terminer in Suffolk is to be on Monday next, desires them to get Sir John Sypton indicted for forging the false acquittance, and Bury his advocate also. Has inquired of his tenants at Dedham who were the chief counsel of breaking his mill-dam, and they say Sir John Squyer was chief, but John Waryn was of counsel and court-holder there; also Sir John Buk, Parson of Stratton, who fished his stanks, &c. John Cole of Stoke has also taken in years past more than twenty of his swans. Let them be presented. The late Parson of Cotton got F.'s late bailly, Henry Holm (now dead), pledged out by false representations of the sufficiency of his bail, &c.

London, 5 Dec. 29 Hen. VI.

Signed.

¹ See p. 164, Note 1.



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maters may be called uppon of the new, and dew processe had as ferre as justice and gode concience wolle.

Item, it ys so, as I undrestand, that the Lord Scalys woll be at Lynne thys Cristmasse, and at the oyer and terminer halden there, and Sir Thomas Tuddenham and Heydon wolle appere, of which I am well content; and it ys lyke that grete labour and speciall pursute shall be made to the Lord Scalys that he wolle meyn-teyn the said Tuddenham and Heydon in all he can or may, and thus I have herd sey. Wherfor such persones as have founde hem soore greved by extorcion as I have ben, and have processe or wolle hafe processe before the Commissioners, they most effectually labour to my Lord Oxford, and to my brothyr Zilver-ton, Justice, that they wolle as ferre as justice, reson, and concience do that justice may [be] egallie mynistred, and not to wythdrawe theyr couragez well sett from the pore peple; for and they hald not the hand well and stedfast yn thys mater from hens forth whyle it shall dure, as they have herebefore, the pore peple and all the grete part of both shyres of Norffolk and Suffolke be destroyed. For it shewyth well by what manyfold undewe menys of extorcion they have lyved yn myserie and grete pouverte by manye yeers contynewed that the moste part of the comyners have litill or nought to meyn-teyn their menage and housold, ne to pay the Kyngs taskys, nothyr theyr rents and servises to the Lordz they be tenants un too, as it shewyth daylie to all the world, whych ys overe a grete pitie to thynk. And when the said pore peple have be by such injuries overladd and so undoon, nedz most the gentlemen that have they pore lyvelode amongs hem be gretely minished and hyndered of their encrese and levyng.

Item, where as I undrestand by a lettre sent to me from my welbelovyd frende Maister John Botewryght, that grete extorcion have be don by the officers of the duchee in takyng away cxi. acres pasture at Swaffam, whych ys of the Kyngs demeynz and of hys enheritance as of the duchee of Lancaster, for whych pastures,

yff it com not ynne ayen, it woll be grete disheritaunce to the Kyng, and fynell destruccion of the tenauntes there, for whych the said Maistre John desyryth and prayeth of remedie yn the name of all the tounne of Swaffam. As to thys such as wold here the encrese and wellfare of hym, of hys parysshons, and off all thoose mysdon untoo, most by the avice of som lerned man to put theyr oppressions and grevaunces in wrytyng, well grounded, and as the trouth of the mater ys, and that the said wrytyng or bille may be enseled wyth the seles of such gentlemen that have lyvebode there, and wyth the men that be cowthest knowen,¹ and that wrytyng so enseled to be directed to the Kyng, and to the Lordz of hys Councell. And then it ys and woll be of more credence to the Kyng and the Lordys then a simple lettre. And thys doon wyth the labours that they may make there in shewyng theyr grevaunces to the Commissioners; and the seid grevaunces shewed also here amongs the Kyng and the Lordz, it ys ver-rayly to thynk that they shall be purveyd of a remedie. And foryete not to sende or wryte to Maister Botewryght in goodly haste of thys article wyth your correccion to be had where the avertisementes of you and my frendz that have more particuler knowlege yn such maters.

Item, I have grete mervaylle that yong Jenney, whych ys of my Lord Cromewell councell, and Robert Ledam, also off hys councell, and hys man be not spoke with there, that they doo not attaine an accion ayenst Sir Thomas Tudden[ham], Heydon, and John Gent, whyche have and wold dayly labour to disseisse my Lord Cromewell of a knyghten service in Saxthorp, which ye have ryght suffisaunte evidenses by an endentures of Kyng Edward .iiij^d dayes enseled, as of Kyng Herry dayes the .iiij^{the}, that the seid maner ys hald by the .iiij^{the} part of a knyzt fee² of my Lord Cromewell as of the maner of Tateshale. And the seid Tuddenham and Heydon wold after theyr voullente have it hald yn meen of the

¹ Most publicly known.

² A knight's fee was an amount of land sufficient to maintain a knight, and held subject to a knight's service.

maner of Hetersete, whych sufficient evidenses that ye have specifyeth no thyng soo. And I have lost xx^{li}. yeerly yn approwement¹ of my chatell, for cause my Lord Cromewell, throw neglicence of hys officers in Norffolk, have not meyntheyned hys ryght. And there as John Bokkyng seith that John Jenney hath no commaundment of my Lord to pursue hys ryght, it shewyth off reson that seth he ys of hys counsell in especiall for that shyre, he ought doo hys ryzt to be savyd and kept of hys dewtee. And thertoo he knouyth well that my said Lord hath commaunded hym dyvers tymys to take kepe hys ryzt be savyd in thys mater. Wherfor I pray you requyre hym on my Lord ys behalff² to compleyn to Justice at thys *oyer* [*and terminer* for a] remedie, and that the [bi]lle be made yn my Lordys name. And then to. . . . have commaundment ryzt sone of my Lord eftsonys, and [*i.e.* if] he wolle sende unto hym by suche as goth dayly into that contre to Tateshale. And I had send hym hys speciall [com]maundment, had he sent me suche word betyme whyle he was heere. I pray you remembre ye so John Jenney and Robert Ledham as I have no cause to [wri]te more, ne to compleyn to my Lord of theyr necligence.

Item, Sir Parson, where it ys soo that my cosyn Boys ys passed to God, whoos soule God assoyle, ye shall fynde amonges my bokes of accomptes at Castre, or amonges othyr wrytynges, he owed me money for a ferm he heeld of me, as Watkyn Shypdam ys remembred; and also I lent hym xl^s. whych I shuld have an obligacioun at Castre off, praying you to inquire off thys dewteez, and see recuvere may be made off it.

Item, I seende a lettre at thys tyme to my cosyn Wychyngham, to hys modre also, for a mater that touchyth my cosyn Robert Fitzrauff ys amercement, and the partie also. Whych lettre I woll ye breke to undrestand my wrytyng and the substaunce off it the more. And y pray you hertly to speke wyth the partie

¹ See p. 131, Note 1.

² Here begins the portion in the Phillipps MS.



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(*On the back*)—Item, I have sende ij. lettres to my Lord Erle of Oxford, the ton by Robson ys man, a squyer of my Lordys. And the grete substaunce of the lettre ys that the issues forfeited may be sent upp be tyme to my Lord Tresorer; for there shall be none assignment made, ne may not, till it com yn wrytyng; it be don, had it be sent. Grete sute ys made to pardon it, but the Kynges Councell woll not suffre it. The ij. lettre Nicholas Bokkyng beryth for excuse of my cosyn Inglose, because grete labor hath be made to my Lord York ayenst my cosyn Inglose and Seggefurd, that they shuld endyte the Priour of Walsyngham tenaunt yn Salle. Wheruppon my Lord York, unadvertised of the trouth, sent a lettre to my Lord Oxford to support the Pryor ys tenaunt ayenst Seggefurd namely.

Item, I desyre that and John Berney or onye man can mete wyth Dallyng, that fals undre escheton, in onye place proviable, that he may by force brought to Castre without damage of hys bodye, and there to be kept yn hold, that he may confesse the trouth of the fals office he forged off my maner of Tychewell.

Item, forasmuche as ye shall have to doon at Lynne for my maters there as for Tychewell and othyr, therfor I wolle that yee doo purvey of gode frendys as be aboute Flegg that passen yn jureez, that they may wayt uppon yow there at Lynne, and other suche trusty men that ye can ghete to spede my processe. And that ye do hem goode chier and cost uppon hem after that the case shall requyre. I commyt thys mater to be ruled by your wysdom, that it be net forzeten.

133.

A.D. 1450, 27 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 237.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN BERNEY AND SIR THOMAS HOWYS.

Begs them to have heed to his matters to be sped on Tuesday after the Twelfth, especially "to labor the jury that was supposed

to 'a past in the office found for Tychewell,¹ that they may appear at Lynne, and there make a certificate before my Lord of Oxford, and the Justice William Yelverton, that they were never privy nor consenting to such an office-finding." On this an action may be founded against Dallyng, "the false harlot." Would like Berney rewarded for his labor, if it were secretly done, and Dynne also. "Ye wete what I mean. I pray you see well forth, for *Mitte sapientem, &c.*"

London, in haste, St. John's day in Christmas ;² "for he cam to Castre, and there seye myn evydence, and than made the office therby, and for Suffolk also, the fals offices found there in likewise, &c." You must sue him to the utmost.

[The date of this letter is determined by the reference made in it to the Sessions held at Lynn, in the January following, before the Earl of Oxford and Justice Yelverton.—See No. 138. At the foot of the original MS. is this inscription :—"Donum Rev. Fra. Blomefield, 10 Dec. 1735."]

134.

A.D. 1450, 29 Dec.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter seems clearly to belong to the December of the year 1450, when the new sheriff, whose appointment had been delayed much longer than usual, and was expected with so much anxiety, had at length made his appearance in Norfolk, and entered on office. A few words in the margin of the original letter are illegible, the writing having been injured by damp.

To my ryth worchepful husbond, Jonhn Paston, be thys delyveryd in hast.

RYTH worchepfull husbond, I recomande me to yow. Plesyt yow to wete that I receyvyd the lettyr that ye sent me by a man of Seynt Mychell parysche on Fryday next aftyr the Consepcion of owyr Ladi ;³ and anon as I had it, I sent my modyr⁴ the lettyr because of swyche materys as longyd to hyr in that same lettyr. And sythyn that tyme I kowd gete no massanger to London but if I wold have sent by the Scheryfys men ; and I knew

¹ See No. 123.

² This, which is written after the date, would appear to apply to Dallyng.

³ The Conception of our Lady was on the 8th December.

⁴ Margaret always speaks of Agnes Paston as her mother.

nowthyr her mastyr nor them, not whedyr they wer well wyllyng to yow or not; and therfor methowt it had be no sendyng of no lettyr by hem.

And as for swyche materys as John Geney and Jamys Gresham spak to me, I sped hem as well as I kowd; and they bothe told me that ye schold veryly a ben at home before Crystmas, and that causyd me that I wrot not to yow now non answer. For if I had know that ye schold not have ben at home er thys tyme, I scbold a sent some man to yow; for I thynk ryth longe tyll I have some god tydyngys fro yow. I fer me that it is not well with yow that ye be fro home at thys good tyme. And many of yowyr contre men thynk the same; but they be hertty inow to yow-ward, and full fayn wold her god tydyngys fro yow. The wer no byllys put to the Scherryf at hys beyng her, ner non opyn playnt mad that I of no persone, be cawse they had so lyttyll knowlage of hys comeyng in to thys contre. He demenyd hym full and indeferently, as it was told me, and Yelverton mad a fayir sermone at the Sesschyons, and seyde so that the Kyng was informyd that ther was a ryotows felawschep in thys contre, wer for the Kyng was gretly dysplesyd, and that the Kyng undyrstood well that it was not of ther owne mosyon, boot of cownselyng of one or ij. that ben evyll dysposyd folk. And also he seyde if ony man wold put up ony byllys of compleynts of ony extorcion or brybery don be ony men of thys contre to them, they wer redy to receyve them, and to make a-kord be twyx hem; and if they coud not mak the acord, that than the scbold tak the byllys to the Kyng, and he schold set hem thorow. And the Scheryfe seyde that he wold he them that wold compleyne and dorste not for fer put up ther byllys.

And Yelverton preyid the Scheryfe that if he had for get onythyng that the Kyng seyde to hem at ther departtyng, that he wolde rehersyt [*rehearse it*] ther. And than the Scheryf seyde that he had seyde all that



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kepyng. Wretyn in hast on Seynt Thomas day in
Crystmas.¹ By yowyr,

MARGARET PASTON.

Her was an evyll rewlyd felawschep yestyrday at the
schere, and ferd ryth fowle with the Undyr Scheryfe,
and onresnably as I herd sey.

135.

A.D. 1450, 29 Dec.

RICHARD CALLE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 150.]

The contents of this letter clearly refer to the matter alluded to in the postscript of the preceding letter of Margaret Paston, so that the date must be the same.

*To my right reverent and my moost wurschypful maystre,
my Maystre John Paston.*

RIGHT wurshipfull and my mooste reverent
mastre, I recomaunde me unto your goode
maystreship. Like you to witte that on Chil-
dremasse daye² there were moche people at
Norwich at the shire, be cauce it was noyced in the
shire that the Undresheriff had a writte to make a
newe aleccion; wherfore the people was greved be
cauce they had labored so often, seying to the Sheriff that
he had the writte, and pleyndly he shulde not a wey
unto the tyme the writte were redd. The Sheriff³
answerd, and seyde that he had no writte, nor west who
had it. Heruppon the people peacyd, and stilled unto
the tyme the shire was doone, and after that doone,
the people called uppon hym, “Kylle hym! Heede
[behead] hym!” And so John Dam, with helpe of other,
gate hym out of the schire-hows, and with moche

¹ The day of St. Thomas of Canterbury (Becket), 29th December.

² 28th December.

³ John Jermyn.

labour brought hym unto Sporyer Rowe;¹ and ther the people mett a yenst hym, and so they a voided hym unto an hows, and kept fast the dore unto the tyme the meyer was sent fore, and the Sherif, to strenght hym, and to convey hem a wey, or ell he had be slayne. Wherfor divers of the thrifty men came to me, desiryng that I shulde writte unto your maistreship to lete you have undrestandyng of the gidyng of the people, for they be full sory of this trowble; and that it plese you to sende hem your advice how they shal be gided and rwled, for they were purposed to a gathered an c. or cc. of the thriftyest men, and to have come up to the Kyng to lete the Kyng have undrestandyng of ther mokkyng. And also the people fere hem sore of you and Mastre Berney,² be cauce ye come not home.

Plese you that ye remembr the bill I sent you at Hallowmesse for the place and londs at Boyton weche Cheseman had in his ferme for v. mark. Ther wol no man have it above xlvj^s. viij^d., for Alblastre and I have do as moche therto as we can, but we can not go a bove that. And yet we can not lete it so for this yere, with owte they have it for v. or vj. yere. I wrote to your mastreship herof, but I had non ans wre; wherfor I beseche you that I may have an ans wre of this be Tlwelthe, for and we have an ans wre of this be that tyme, we shall enfeffe hem with all, &c.

My right wurshipfull and my moost reverent maistre, Almyghty Jesu preserve you, and send you the victorye of your elmyes, as I truste to Almyghty Jesu ye shall. Wreten at Norwich on Seyn Thomas daye after Criste-masse daye.

Your pore servant and bedman,

R. CALL.

¹ Spurrier Row, as I am informed by Mr. L'Estrange, was what is now called London Street.

² Probably Philip Berney, uncle to John Paston's wife.

136.

RICHARD CALLE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter is uncertain. Its contents are mere matter of business, and as relating to the same farm mentioned in the last, might be supposed to belong to the same year, especially as in the last Calle mentions having written to Paston on the subject "at Hallowmass." There is, however, a discrepancy in the value assigned for the farm, and, what is still more fatal to the date 1450, it would seem John Paston was at home, and not in London in the beginning of November.

To my moost reverent and wurshipfful mastre, my Master John Paston of the Enner Temple, this be delyvered.

Plesith your maystership to undrestande that as for the ferme that Cheseman had in Boyton, that is to sey, xl. acre lond erable, j. medwe, and other smale parcell, payng yerly for it iiij*li.*, weche I can not lete the xl. acre lond abowe xl. comb barly or xls., and ye to bere al charges of the reparaucion and fense aboute the place, weche shulde be gret cost. The lond is so out of tylthe that a nedes [*uneath, i. e.,* scarcely] any man wol geve any thyng for it. Ther can no man lete it to the walwe that it was lete before, and that I reporte me to my master, Sir Thomas Howys, not be gret gold. Wherfore I wol not do therin unto the tyme that I have answeere from your mastership, weche I beseche you it may be hast. And as for Spitlynges, I have lete som of the lond in smale parcell, because I cowde gete no fermor for it. And as for Sir T. H., in good feythe I fynde [him] weele disposed in all thynges, excepte for Sir W. Chamberleyn for Rees in Stratton. And so the blissid Trinite preserve and kepe you from all adversite. Wrete at Blofeld, the Thorsday next after Hallowmesday.

Your pore servaunt and bedman,

R. CALLE.

137.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This is a mere fragment, containing nothing but the postscript of a letter, the date of which must be either towards the end of the year 1450, or the beginning of 1451. A passage to the same effect will be found in a letter of Fastolf's, written on the 7th January 1451.

.

Item, that Sir John Ingelose and the Meyer be spoke to for here worship that the man weche that herd



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pleyned by many and grete horrible billes agayn certeyn persones shuld not be shewid at this next Sessions at Lenn, ne ferther in the said Comission, which, if it so were, as God defend, myght cause a latter error wurs than the first.

I pray yow, therefore, that ye wole write to me your disposicion how ye purpose to be demened, and how I shal take yow for th'execucion of the Kyngs Comission, and the pupplik wele of all the shire; and aftir that that ye write to me, so wole I take yow, latyng yow wete that I were lothe to labour ferther but if I wist that the Commons shuld be easid as Godds law wold; and if ony error grow, the defaute shal not be founde in me.

I pray yow more over to gif credence to the berer her of, and the Trinite kepe yow. Wretyn at Wynch, the second day of January.

THE ERLE OF OXFORD.

139.

A.D. 1451 (?) 2 Jan.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter, which is dated at the same place and on the same day as the preceding, was probably written in the same year also.

To my right trusty and intierly welbeloved Sir John Fastolff, Knyght.

RIGHT trusty and intierly welbeloved, I grete yow wele, and pray yow to be right sadly advysed of tne contynue of a bille of instruccion closid her ynne; and therupon, as I trust yow, to comon with suych my Lords of the Kyngs Councell as be present now at this tyme, in especiall my Lord Chaunceller, and that ye wole serd me in-

struccyon agayn of their avise, and how I shal demene me. And the Trinite preserve yow. Wretyn at Wynch, the second day of January.

THE ERLE OF OXFORD.

140.

A.D. 1451, 2 Jan.

JOHN BOCKING TO WILLIAM WAYTE.

[From Fenn, iii. 134.]

The evidence on which this letter has been assigned to the year 1451 will be seen in a foot-note.

To William Wayte.

RITH feithful and welbelovyd brother, Wiliam Wayte, I comaunde me to yow as the lord may to his tenant, praying you effectually to recomaunde me to my singuler gode mayster and yours, excusyng me that I write not to hym, for I dar not envolde me in the same. And as for tydyngs her, I certifye you that all is nowght, or will be nowght. The Kyng borweth hes expense for Cristemesse; the Kyng of Aragon,¹ the Duc of Myleyn,² the Duc of Ostrich,³ the Duc of Burgoyne⁴ wolde ben assistent to us to make a conquest, and nothyng is aunswered, ner agreed in maner, save abydyng the grete deliberacon that at the last zall spill all to goder, &c.

The Chief Yistice⁵ hath waited to ben assauted all this sevenyght nyghtly in hes hous, but nothing come

¹ Alfonso V.

² Francis Sforza, one of the most able and successful generals of the time. He was a soldier of fortune, of peasant origin, and succeeded to the Duchy of Milan by his marriage with Bianca Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria, the preceding Duke, whose interests he had at one time opposed as general of a league formed by the Pope and the Venetian and Florentine Republics against the Duchy.

³ Albert, surnamed the Prodigal, brother of the Emperor Frederic III.

⁴ Philip the Good.

⁵ Sir John Fortescue.

as yett, the more pite, &c. On *oyr and deierminer*¹ goth in to Kent, and Commissioners my Lord the Duc of York, Bouchier, my mayster,² that will not come there, *de prodicionibus*, &c., but Kent praeth hem to hang no men when thei come.

Other tydyngs as yett can I non tell you, save Ulveston is Styward of the Mydill Inne, and Isley of the Inner Inne, be cause thei wold have officz for excuse for dwellyng this tyme from her wyves, &c. Sir T. T.³ lost hes primer at the Tour Hill, and sent his man to seche [*fetch*(?)] it, and a good felaw wysshed hit in Norffolk, so he wold fetch hit there, &c. Men ween that Norffolk men wer hardier thanne thei be.

God graunte, and at the reverence of God help too that an outas⁴ and clamour be made upon the Lord Scalez,⁵ preying hym for well of the cuntre, neyther susteyn ner help hym ner Heydon in no wyse, and that ye crye upon my mayster and yours that he obeye not the syrcorar [*certiorari*] as yett, as ye may se be hes lettre from my mayster, rudely and in hast be me endited, of which I pray excuse, &c. And pray Blake⁶ to do Swafham men sey sum what to the matier.

I wote well T. and H.⁷ wil not come there at this tyme, as it is verily reported, &c. *Mitte sapientem*, &c. Brayn and I shalbe with you on Saturday nest at evyn, with the grace of Jesu, to whom I be take you. In hast, at London, the ij^{de} day of Januar.

By J. BOCKYNG.

¹ A commission of *oyer and terminer* for Kent and Sussex was issued in December 1450 to Richard, Duke of York, Lord Bouchier, Sir John Fastolf, and others.—Patent Roll, 29 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 16 *indorso*.

² Sir John Fastolf, whose servant Bocking was.

³ Sir Thomas Tuddenham.

⁴ An outcry.

⁵ See p. 172.

⁶ Elsewhere mentioned as bailiff of Swaffham.

⁷ Tuddenham and Heydon.



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“and forget not that Dallyng be had before my Lord and Yelverton, and make his confession before hem, &c. And let the great men that have most matters against [him] help somewhat to this good end.”

143.

A.D. 1451, 28 Jan.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 236.]

SIR J. FASTOLF TO SIR THOS. HOWYS AND JOHN BERNEY at
Castre, in hast; or at his place in Pokethorp, at Norwich.

Master Hue Acton has been with him for the new evidences ensealed for the manor of Mundham, which F. has sold to the use of the Church of St. Giles that he is master of, &c. Thanks them for what they have done for him in his causes before the Commissioners of *oyer and terminer* at Lynne, &c. Hears Appulzerd's son expects the inquest of Mancroft in Norwich to be reversed. Speak to my cousin Inglose about this. Fastolf's audit books. My cousin John Berney puts me in great comfort by seeing to the safeguard of my place in my absence. Would be sorry he should be injured by having respited his entry into Roke-lond Toffts at my request.

Make friends in Norwich against Easter when the *oyer and terminer* is to be held again, for I must proceed in the matter against Appulzerd.

London, 28 Jan. 29 Hen. VI.

Signed.

Begs them to send his grain and malt in a good vessel, well accompanied, with a good wind, as he has had great losses before. Speak to the Mayor of Norwich about Appulzerd's matter; “for there was no city in England that I loved and trusted most upon, till they did so unkindly to me and against truth in the Lady Bardolf's matter.”

[This letter is referred to by Blomefield (Hist. of Norf. iv, 388, Note 9), and two short extracts are given from the beginning, relating to the Hospital of St. Giles.]

144.

A.D. 1451.—MEMORANDA FOR PROSECUTIONS.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This paper must belong to the early part of the year 1451, when it was proposed to indict Tuddenham and Heydon at Norwich.

*Præsentationis factæ et fiendæ in audiendo et
determinando.*¹

FOR as meche as the *oyer and termynner* is thus restreynyd, not vythstandyng the wrytyngs and all the materis utterid be my Lord of Oxenford, but if ther folow sumwhat lyke to the perell lyke to be conceyved be maters that so wern utterid and be the seyde wrytyngs, ellis shall it gretly sowndyn ageyns the worchep and the weel of all the personys, lordis, and other that eyther have wreten or utterid owght, and lyke wyse of hem in whos name seche materis hath ben utterid, soo that hereafter, whan they have ryght gret nede to be herd, and to be wel spedde, they shul the rather fayle thereof bothen, and here enemyes the heyer up and the more bold, &c. And therefore herein men must hold fote as manhod woll wyth wysdom; and ellis *novissimus error pejor priori*.

Item, in the cyte of Norwyche must the falshodys and the fals getyngs of good ther don ben fowndyn, and thow summ maters ben not presentable, or peraventure in seche forme not corigyble ther, yet so that the mater in the self be orible and fowle, and so that summe other be sufficient, yet it semyth summe men best that all go forthe and be taken, and namely [*especially*] in this werd [*world*] that now is, &c.

Item, in lyke wyse must it be in the shier, ther me thynkyt it is reson that my Lordys sett bothe the day and the place of the Sessions, and all men kepe that wern the robberis at Gresham and to Plumstede, the shippyng of wolle ageyn the statute, that is felonye, and the lycence than, if ony be, ther shull come to lyght and disputed, and I suppose veryly be other statutes and be lawe fownde voyde, and the leveryes that Heydon hatht yoven to hem that arn not hese menyall men.

Item, the presonment of John Porter of Blykelyng

¹ This title is taken from a contemporaneous endorsement.

Item, the presonment of John Langman of Swafham.

Item, the presonment of Robert Patgrys of Burnham.

Item, the extorcions in her [*their*] cortes.

Item, the prisonyng of Dallynge, and of hese obligacion mad to Sir Thomas Todenham, and howe he was presonyd at Norwyche, at Thetforthe, at Lynne, and also of many other that ben don soo too.

Item, to remembre T. Denyes of the tale that Fyncheham told whan he cam hom for Sir T. Todeham, that he be ware therof, &c.

Item, for to indyte Pryntys of a voluntary eschete that where on Symond Hamond of Patesle wheche was indyted of felonye, and because of hese goods he lete hym owte of the castell *anno xvj^o Regis nunc.*

Item, for to indyte the same Prentys and William Goodwen of Swafham for the robberyng of Geffrey Sowle.

Item, the same Prentys and Goodwyn robbed Thomas Irynge of Myleham *anno xx^o Regis nunc.*

Item, the same Prentys toke of Wylliam Dallynge at Norwyche v. mark for smytyng of of hese feteris whan he was there in preson *anno xix^o Regis nunc.*

Item, to indyte the baly of Swaffham, T. Todenham, Heydon, Prentys, of felonye as excercarys [*accessaries*].

Item, to speke to Feraris for hese mater at Thyrynng. Item, to indyte a cowper at Geyton wheche slow a tenaunt of Danyell at Geyton. Hese name is Thomas Dowce that was slayn ; and ther kan no man indyte hym, for Sir T. Todenham maynteynyth hym, and therefore he were worthy to be indyted as excercary, *anno xxv^o Regis nunc.*

Item, to indyte Heydon, because he rydyth armyd ayens the statute and the commyssion of the peas.

Item, for takyng away of John of Berneys haborjoun at Walsyngham.

Item, to inquire what they dede to Alexaunder Reve of Cokely Clay.

Item, what they dedyn to Shragger, and to hese sone, for they stokked hym and hese sone at Swafham.



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On the back of this document occur the following further memoranda in two columns:—

Maters sterid to hurt of both parties.

*Ambidexter.*¹

Sir John Fastolf, } Est'.²
 Bisshoppis Wif. }
 The Priour of Norwich, }
 The Cite. }
 The Abbot of Wendlyng, } Est'.
 The Cite. }
 The Abbot of Leiston, } Est'.
 William Jeney. }
 Gregory Guybon, }
 —³ Perpoynt. }
 John Tatleshale, }
 Robert Mortymer. }
 The Lady Bardolf, }
 Sir John Fastolf. }
 The Lord Moleyns, }
 John Paston. }

Dux Norff. } Stockton,
 Dux Suff. } Est'.
 Ed. Wynter, }
 John Mariot. }
 Ferrers, } Est'.
 Hobbes Wif. }
 Prior Walsyngham, } Est'.
 Ric. Doget. }
 Mondford, } Est'.
 Danyell. }
 Sir John Curson, } Est'.
 Maister John Selet. }
 Sir John Curson, } Est'.
 Will. Thurton. }

145.

A.D. 1451.

OPPRESSIONS OF TUDDENHAM AND HEYDON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This paper no doubt belongs to the same period as the last.

THESE be names of men that arne myschevesly oppressed and wronged be Sir T. Tuddenham and Heydon and here adherentes:—

Yelverton.
 Fastolf.
 Paston.
 Berney.
 Straunge.
 Framyngham.
 Trenchemer.
 Joh. Jenney, Senior.
 Joh. Damme.
 Nicholaus Grome.

Gregorius Gybon.
 Joh. Maryot.
 Ferrers.

¹ This term is applied to a juror who receives money of both parties in a suit.

² This abbreviated word is probably *Estreat*, indicating that an extract or official copy of the indictment had been made.

³ Blank in MS.

Joh. Ode.

Joh. Knevet.

Robert Clyfton.

Thomas Hypgame.

Homines de Swafham.

Joh. atte Howe of Helloughton.

Simon Blake.

Joh. Botwryghe, Clerk.

Item, many men indyted in Norffolk and Suffolk
be Tudenham and Heydon, &c.

Ric. Wryght of Saham.

146.

A.D. 1451, 1 March.

JAMES GLOYS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter was written in the spring of 1451, when John Paston had
re-entered Gresham.

*To my right reverente and wurchepfull Mayster, John
Paston, Esquyer, be this delivered in hast.*



RIGHT reverent and wurchepfull Sir, I recomand me to you, besechyng you to wete that Wharles told me that Partrych seid that his lord¹ knewe wele that ye were entred pesibilly in the maner of Gresham ; where fore, he seid, thow the tenauntes and fermors pay you the rents and fermes the tyme that ye be in possession, his seid lord, thow he entre ageyn, wuld never aske it them. Item, the seid Partrych seid to Wharles that his lord wull come down hym self and entre in the seid maner within short tyme. Wharles wull not discharge your baly of xxvjs. and viij*d.*, which he toke the seid baly enseled in a purs. The seid Wharles told my mayster, John of Berney, at the court, that he repented hym that he payd you any peny till he had be distreyned ; and he seid than pleynly that he wull nomore pay till he were distreyned. I have be

¹ Lord Molyns.

there divers tymes for to distreyn hym, and I cowde never do it but if [*unless*] I wuld a distreyned hym in his moders hous, and there I durst not for her cursyng. The baly of the hundred told me that Wharles spake to hym in cas he had be distreyned that he wold have gete hym a replevy; and the baly bad hym kete a replevy of his mayster and he wold serve it.

Item, the maner londs at Gresham, with othre tenants londs that be fallyn in your hands ben letyn to ferme. I can gete no tenaunte to dwell in the maner hous. And if the rede shuld be caryed thens, the tenants shuld thynk that ye fered sum new entre, and it shuld sore discomfort hem, for thei whissed whan it was caried to the maner that it had be leyd ther thus pesibly ij. yer afore. Asfor the obligacyon that ye shuld have of the parson of Cressyngham, he seth he cam never at Cressyngham syth he spake with you, and that he be heste it you not till Fastyngong.¹ His hors ben stolyn, and therefore he may not ryde.

Item, Gonnore kept a court at Routon the Thursday² next after Seynt Mathy³ the Appostell, and it was told me that Bettes was ther with hym; wherefore I rode theder. And be cause that it was a fraunchised town and within the Duchye,⁴ and also that Gonnor had gret rewle in the seid town, I toke with me the baly of the hundred and set hym with me in my Lord of Norffolks warant, and than yede in to the court ther as Gonnor and Bettes wern. The seid baly told Gonnor of this warant, and Gonnor rebuked hym so that he durst not a rest the seid Bettes. Than I toke it up on me and arested hym myself as he sate be Gonnor. Gonnor desired than to se my warant, and I shewed it hym, and he seid he wold obey it as the lawe wold. And he proferyd me suerte, men of the seid town of Routon. Than I told hym, and [*i.e.*, if] he wold be bownd hym self with othre I would agre ther to, but I wuld have no shipmen that had nought, ner such men that rought

¹ Fastingong, or Shrove Tuesday, fell upon the 9th March in 1451.

² 25th February.

³ St. Matthias, whose day was the 24th February

⁴ The Duchy of Lancaster.



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he shuld not occupy his lyme kyll ner no lond that he had in Routon ; and he mad his avaunte whan I was gon, if that I had not brought the baly of the hundred with me I shuld never have go thens ; and yet, not withstandyng that I brought the baly with me, and thei had wust where myn hors had stond I shuld have be wele betyn. All this language had thei whan that I was gon.

Item, the seid Gonnor seid after that I was gon to the tenaunts of the seid town, that his *supersedias* was noght, and as for the rescuse, he shuld purvey a mene to excuse it. Where fore and it pleasyd you to send my mastres word how that I shuld be demened with the seid Bettes, and wheder that ye wuld I shuld a rest hym ageyn or nought, and to purvey such a mene for Gonnor that he myght ley his bost, it shuld be gret comfort to all yowr frendes and tenauntes ther abowtyn.

Item, I have be at my mayster Stapilton with your writtes, and he made it right straunge for to ensele hem. He seid that he knew of nown such inquiscion takyn at Swafham beforh hym ; he seid if it were presented ther, it was presented in his absens, whill that he was in his inne ; wherfore he seid he wold not ensele hem till he sey the bokes. Whan I had answeyrd hym ther to, than he seid he wold comown with my mayster Yelverton her of whan he come home, and till he had spok with hym he wold not ensele hem. I told hym my mayster Yelverton had enseled hem. Thann he seid he knew not my mayster Yelverton seale. He shewed it to Gonnor, and asked hym wheder it was his seall or noght. Gonnor seid it was his sealle. Than my mayster Stapilton brake ought of this mater and spake to me of the a restyng of Bettes and makyng of affray up on Gonnor. He seid Gonnor cam to hym to compleyn up on me. I told hym that Gonnor had enformed hym as it plesyd hym, for I had yove hym no cause to compleyn of me, and if it pleased hym to her myn excuse he shuld fynd me in no defaute.

Whan he had herd myn excuse, he cowde not blame me. Meche othre langage we had, for I was with hym ner an ower. Than he asked me wheder the inquisicion was taken be fore the justice of the peas or the justice of the *oyer determyner*. I told hym be for the justic of the peas, for I seid it was the cessions of the peas at Swafham. Than he bad me put up my warants, for he seid he wold not ensele hem till he had comowned with my maister Yelverton. I told hym it shuld not nede to comown with my mayster Yelverton, ner labor hym therefore, for I seid it myght not hurt thow he enseled hem not; for I seid the writts were executed, and that the shereff had mad ought warants of them, and his warants were executed, and so the seid writts shuld stand you in litill avayll, save only, I told hym, ye desiryd his sealle, because it was fownd before othre lords with hym, and that he stode in the *teste* of the said writts, and that was cause of my comyng theder. Than he wend I had comyn for to assayn hym, for forthwith he enseled hem, but me thynk be his langage he hath be labored of the toder part.

Item, and it pleased your gode maystershep to gete of my mayster Yelverton a *supersedias* for John Osborn and an othre for me. We suppose that Gonnor and Bettes wull do us arest, and we wuld the *supersedias* that we haue ought of the Chauncery were kept till more nede were. My mastres¹ recomand her to you, and prayth you to hold her excused that she write yow no letter, for myche of the mater that she shuld have wrete to you I had wrete in my letter or she knew ther of; and also she knew not of so redy a massanger as I had. And it plesyd your gode maystershep to send us a pardon for to assoylyn Gonnor this holy tyme of Lentyn, the rather be cause of this gret bulle,² we shuld leve in the more reste and peas, and kepe the more our pacyence than we do. The Holy Trynyte have

¹ Margaret Paston.

² Probably a bull of indulgence issued at the close of the year of jubilee, 1450, for the benefit of those who had not been able to visit Rome that year.

you in His kepyng. Wretyn on the Monday next after Seynt Mathie¹ the Appostell, in hast.

Your pore servaunte,

JAMES GLOYS.

147.

A.D. 1451, 2 March.

JAMES GLOYS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

From what it mentions about Gonnor, this letter will be seen to be of the same year as the last. The fears entertained of Heydon recovering his influence are also indicative of the spring of 1451. The letter is slightly mutilated in the margin at the bottom.

To my right reverent and wurchepfull mayster, John Paston, Esquyer, be this delivered in hast.

RIGHT reverent and wurchepfull Sir, I recomaund me to you, prayng you to wete that I have labored divers men that ben enpaneld atwix my mastres, your moder, and Wyndham.² Ther be many of them woll do her parte, and ther ben summe that wull not passe ther upon, for thei ben aferd that the werd [*world*] shuld turne. It is noysed in Norwhich that my Lord of Oxenford, my mayster Yelverton, and ye, and John Damme shuld be endited in Kent for mayntenaunce of the *oyer determyner* in Norfolk; and this, with othre feryth sore men of Norwhich. I trow my mastres writyth to you here of more clerly. Item, Wyndham hath be divers tymes at my mastres Cler, and mad hym erands to her, and told her that he was sued in my mastres, your moders name but he supposyd that she knew not there of. He thought that ye and James Gresham had do it un malyce, my mastres your moders unknowyng. But whan he knew that I labored the enqueste, than he sent my mastres Clere word how that he knew wele that it was my mastres

¹ St. Matthias. His day was the 24th February.

² John Wyndham, Esq. of Felbrigg.



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148.

A.D. 1451, 3 March.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 288.]

It will be seen that this letter contains a distinct reference to the last which was written the day before it. Indeed, the information contained in this letter is nearly all anticipated in that of Gloys.

To my rith wurshepful hosbond, Jon Paston.

RITH worchipfull hosbond, I recommawnd me to yow, praying you to wete that ther is a gret noyse in this town, that my Lord of Oxforth and Yelverton and ye ben endytid in Kent for mayntenynge of the oyer determyner; and Jon Dame is endytyd ther also of treson, be cawse that he dede Heydon endytyn¹ of treson for takyng down of the quarter of the man. And the pepyll that ben ayens Ser Thomas Todenham and Heydon ben sore aferd be cawse of this noyse, and of other langage that is had bothe in this town and in the contre, that these seyde Todenham and Heydon shuld ben as well at ese, and have as grett rewille as ever they hadde.

Jamys Gloys tellith me that he hath sent yow word of Heydonys hors and of other thyngs, mor of whiche I was purposid to asent yow word of. The Holy Trinite have yow in kepyng. Wretyn at Norwiche, the Weddenysday next after Seynt Mathy.²

Yowris,

M. P.

149.

A.D. 1451 (?) [22 March].

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 238.]

The date of this letter is quite uncertain. Fenn assigns it to the year 1454, when Lent began very late, as it is evident the herrings and eels referred to

i.e., caused Heydon to be indicted.

² St. Matthias.—See p. 198, Note 1

were intended as provision for that season. This conjecture may be correct; but it must be noted that John Paston was at home at Norwich, if not in the beginning of Lent, at least on the fourth Sunday of Lent in 1454. Moreover, if the date of this letter, "Monday next after St. Edward," means after the 18th March, which was the day of St. Edward the King and Martyr, the year 1451 would suit rather better than 1454; for, in the former year, the Monday after St. Edward's day would be the 22d of March, and Ash Wednesday the 10th, while in the latter the Monday after St. Edward would be the 25th, and Ash Wednesday the 6th, so that the provision of herrings would be very late.

To my right wurchipfull husbond, John Paston, be this delyverid in hast.

RIGHT wurchipfull hosbond, I recomawnd me to yow, beseching yow that ye be not displeasid with me, thow my symplenesse cawsed yow for to be displeasid with me. Be my trowth, it is not my will nother to do ne sey that shuld cawse yow for to be displeasid; and if I have do, I am sory therof, and will amend itt. Wherefor I beseche yow to forgeve me, and that ye bere none hevynesse in your hert ayens me, for your displeasans shuld be to bevy to me to indure with.

I send yow the roll that ye sent for, in selyd, be the brynger her of; it was fownd in your trussing cofor. As for hering, I have bowt an horslode for iiij^s. vjd^d. I can gett none ell [*eels*] yett; as for bever [*i.e. drinkables*], ther is promysid me somme, but I myt not gete it yett. I sent to Jone Petcher to have an answer for the wyndowis, for she myt not come to me. And she sent me word that she had spoke therof to Thomas Ingham, and he seyde that he shuld speke with yow hymself, and he shuld accord with yow wel jnow, and seyde to her it was not her part to desyr of hym to stop the lyts; and also he seyde itt was not his parte to do itt, be cawse the place is his but for yeris.

And as for all other eronds that ye have commandid for to be do, thei shal be do als sone as thei may be do. The blissid Trynyte have yow in his keping. Wretyn at Norwyche, on the Monday next after Seynt Edward.

Yowris,

M. P.

150.

A.D. 1451, 30 March.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter, like several of those preceding, speaks of a juncture in which it was expected that Tuddenham and Heydon would regain their influence. The adherents of Lord Molyns were also in hopes that he would shortly be in Norfolk and re-enter Gresham. The date must therefore be 1451.

*To my right wurchepfull husbond, John Paston, [be]yng
in the Inner Tempill, be this delivered in hast.*

RIGHT wurchepfull husbond, I recomaund me to you, prayng you to wete that myn unkyll Phylyp Berney¹ was at Lynne this last weke, and he was at inne at the baylyffes hows of Lynne, and Partrych² came in to the same place whill myn unkyll was ther. And the seid Partrych was wele aqueyntyd with the balyffe, and the balyffe told hym that he sent a letter to the Lord Molyns, and that the Lord Molyns had sent hym a nother letter, letyng hym wete that he purposyd hym to be at Lynne thes weke. Than Partrych seid that he had word that the seid lord purposyd hym to be ther at that tyme; but he seid summe men supposyd that he wuld not come here; and the balyffe seid that he was right glad that he shuld come in to this countre. On of myn unkyll men herd all this langage, and told it myn unkill. The baly ner Patrych knewe not at that tyme what myn unkyll was to us ward. Also I purposyd me to have sent to Stapylton, as ye sent me word be James Gresham, and it is told me that he is to London. Item, it is noysed abowte Gresham and all that contre that the Lord Molyns shuld be there in hast. Item, Gonnore had right gret langage, and he trostyd that the word [*world*] shall turne sumwhat after ther entent. Othre tydynges have we non, but that Tudenham and Heydon shuld

¹ Philip Berney, Esq. of Caston. He was a brother of Margaret Mauteby, who was Margaret Paston's mother.

² See p. 83, Note 1.



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othre wrongs, and of that that the said Sir Thomas is a comon extorcioner, the same Sir Thomas be fore the ryght noble, true, and pleyn lord, our good and gracious lord the Erle of Oxenford, and othre the Kyngs commissioners of *oire determyner* withynne the same shire, the said Sir Thomas Tudenham, and othre his servauntz and adherentz arn indited.

Please it your noble wisdamis to conceyve that it hath be the comon law of the land of long tyme that if a comon theef were, in ony cuntre, so often indited or detect of so many offencez he shuld not, by the law of the lande, be late to baile ne meynprise, but be kept in prison til he were put to answer of swich crymes as he were so detect of. And also please your greet wisdams to conceyve that all the Judges of the Kynges Benche, of long and late tyme sittyng in their place, laudablely han usid to comitte to prison, with oute baile or meynprise, for a tyme, al persones that han be detecte before theym of any ryot or greet cruel offence agayn the peas, which offence myght a be subvercyon of the law by ony liklynesse; and advertisyng the greet mischeves that this noble roialme hath oftyn standyn in for the greet extorcyons and oppressions that hath be don in the same,¹ and how greet a subvercyon of the lawe and of the polityk governaunce of the land suych extorcyon is; and of your prudent and sage wisdams lyke yow to make requisicion to the Kyng our soverain Lord, and to the Lords espiritualx and temporelx in this present Parlement assembled, that by the concideracion that the said Sir Thomas wold never apere, in his persone, ne by his attorney, at no sesions of *oir determyner* holden in the said counte; plesse the Kyng and Lords forsaid, to comitte the said Sir Thomas Tudenham to preson, ther to abide til in to the tyme that he to the said inditements hath answerid, and to the billes and compleyntz of the said inhabitauntz in fourme of law.

¹ [Original note here in margin.] Answer neyther to the billes ne inditeing forseid, ne to non of theym.

And more over, where that the said Sir Thomas Tudenham hath, among many othre greet wrongs, ful synnefully causid a writte of assise of novell dissessyn¹ to be brought ageyn John Aleyn and xxij othre of the said toune, in the name of the Abbot of Sawtre,² and causid that assise to passe by perjury, as in the first article in the rolle to this peticion annext it is more opinly conteyned, please your greet wisdams, for the reverens of God by that concideracion, that the jury of the said assise durst not, for drede of the horrible manaces of the said Sir Thomas, othrewise do but be for sworn in gevyng their verdite in the same assise, in which case the said inhabitauntz, for pyte and remorce or their concyencez, wer lothe to sew a writ of atteynte,³ to pray the Kyng and Lords forsaid to ordeyn, by auctorite of this present Parlement, that the said writ of assise, verdit, recoverer, and the jugement ther of, with every othre circumstaunce therof, be voide, revokd, and adnulled, for the love of God.

⁴ Item, compleyneth John Bladsmyth of Swafham of that that where John, late Pryour of Penteney,⁵ predecessor of the prior that now is, and the covent of the same place, the Munday next aftir the fest of Seynt Mathew the Evangelist, the xij. yeer of the kyng, our soverain lord that now is, at Swafham forsaid, lete to ferme to the forsaid John Bladsmyth certeyn londs, rents, tenements, and pasture,⁶—

152.

A. D. 1451, 13 April.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 231.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO SIR THOS. HOWYS, Parson of Castle-combe, at Castre.

Received a letter from them, 3d April, with the last account of Sir Jo. Kyrteyng and Intewod. Understands Rob. Norwych

¹ See p. 41.

² A Cistercian monastery in Huntingdonshire.

³ A writ to inquire whether a jury gave a false verdict.

⁴ This is written on the back.

⁵ John de Tyrington. He was succeeded in 1449 by Richard Pentney.

⁶ The sentece breaks off thus abruptly in the MS.

will not occupy as undersheriff, because Jenneys had given him language not to his pleasure, and so Aleyn is to occupy, who is not F.'s wellwiller; but Howys has provided a remedy with the sheriff. When the *venire facias* is made out, I will try and get it sent you, and I shall have Paston's advice. Knows well the obstinate will of false Dallyng, but Bokkyng must speak with him, and entreat him in his best manner.—Margaret Bryg's matter.

As to the oyer and terminer, it is certain Heydon and Tuddenham will be at Norwich with all the maintenance and fellowship they can. It is said Justice Prysot will be there. You must do your best to keep your friends steadfast; and I in the mean time will labour here, and send you word how the world is set. Men of the city of Norwich have good audience and favour among the Lords, and are waiting an answer of their matters. Has delivered up the shipmen, and left the ship here for causes which he will write; "for the rayse hath been full costuys, except they came in saufftee."

London, 13 April 29 Hen. VI.

153.

A.D. 1451, 16 April.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 84.]

The date of this letter depends upon the age of John Paston, who, in November 1444, was found to be twenty-three years old. As he is now "upon the age of thirty winters," this letter was probably written in 1451.

To my right wurchepfull howsbond, John Paston.

RIGHT wurchepfull howsbond, I recomand me to yow, prayng yow to wete that the Parson of Oxened¹ told me that Wyndham told hym that Sweynnysthorp² is hold of the Kyng be the therd part or the fourt part of a knyght fye, and ho so ever had the maner of Sweynsthorp, he shuld fynde an armyd man, in tyme of werre in the castell of Norwhic, xl. days to his owyn cost, and that ye shuld

¹ His name was Laurence Baldewar.

² In 1444, according to Blomefield (*Hist. of Norf.* iv. 40), a rent-charge out of the manor of Swainsthorp was settled by John and Agnes Paston, the eldest son and the widow of William Paston, the Justice, to find a priest to sing for the soul of the said William in the chapel of our Lady the Great in Norwich Cathedral.



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MAISTER Paston, we comaund us to you, lattyng you witt that the Sheriff is noght so hole as he was, for now he wille shewe but a part of his frendshippe. And also there is grete prese off pepill, and fewe frendes, as ferr as we can feel yitt. And therefore be ye sadly avised wheder ye seme best to come your self, or send or, &c., for we will assay in as much as in us is to prevaile to your entente. And yett, if it neded, we wolde have a man to giffe us informacion, or shewe evidence after the case requireth. Also the Shereffe enformed us that he hath writyng from the Kyng that he shall make such a panell to aquyte the Lord Moleynes. And also he tolde us, and as ferr as we can conceyve and feel, the Shereff wille panell gentylnen to aquyte the Lorde, and jowroures to a quyte his men; and we suppose that it is be the mocion and meanes of the othir party. And yif any meanes of tretie be proferd, we know not what meane shulde be to your pleasir. And therefore we wolde fayne have mor knowlege, yiff ye think it were to doo.

No more at this tyme, bot the holy Trinite have you in his kepyng. Wretin at Walsyngham, in hast, the secund day of May.

Be your trewe and feithfull frendes,

DEBENHAM, TYMPERLEY, AND WHITE.

And also, Sir, as we conceyve, the Lord Moleynes shall not be quyte before Thursday; in as muche as he was indyted before the Justice, we undirstand he shall not be quyte but before the Justice. Wherfore we advise you, iff ye think it be to doo, to send your frendes in the meane tyme, and come your self to your place at Sperham, and there abyde unto tyme that we have knowlege how the saide mater will drawe, and till that we may have worde from you, and ye from us, &c.

156.

A.D. 1451, May ?—W. LOMNOR TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter has no address, but there can be no doubt from the contents it was intended for John Paston. It was evidently written about the same time as the last, while the Sessions was sitting at Walsingham, and Paston's suit against Lord Moleyns was still pending.

RYGHTE worchipfulle Sir, yours goode cosynes and frendes avyse yow to come to Walsyng-ham, and that ye be there to morw betymes at vj. on the klok ; for the Lord Moleyns offreth a trete for the goodes, and amendes to be made, or he goth ought of this contre, and if it be not taken, his men shulle justifie ; wherupon your title might be hurte. The Lord Skales, the Justis, and other knyghtes and squyeres merveyle grettly ye come not, and thow they that have not so true and evident mater as ye have concelle yow to be absent ; yet I wolde ye dede as ye be desyrd be that felaship, for many wolde yow right welle. Whanne ye come, I shalle telle yow more.

The Lorde Moleyns shulde not have be aquyte of his comaundement, badde he not sworn on a boke, sweche evidens was ayens hym ; and ther is no jentelman wolde aquite his men for no goode, &c.

W. LOMNOR.

157.

A.D. 1451 (?) 7 May.

SIR JOHN HEVENINGHAM TO MARGARET PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 144.]

The date of this letter is doubtful, but it was evidently written at a time when John Paston had been for some considerable time absent from Norwich, which appears to have been the case in the beginning of May 1451. The writer of this letter died in July 1453.

*To my ryght worchipffull cosyn, Margarete Paston, be
this letter delivered.*

RYGHTE worchipffull and welbeloved cosyn, I commaunde me to you as herteli as I can, thankyng you off your goode chere the last tyme I was with you. And, worchippffull cosyn, please that you to calle un to your remembrauns I wrote un to you for my cosyn Anneys Loveday to have ben in your service, and I reseved from you a letter that your wyll was goode, but durst not to in to the tyme ye badde spoke with my cosyn your husbonde.

Worchippffull cosyn, I have labored for hir in othir placez, but I can not have my entent as yet. Wherffor yff that hit please you to have hyr with you to in to the tyme that a mastris may be purveyeid for hir, I pray you ther off, and I shall contente you ffor hir boarde, that ye shal be wel pleased; for, cosyn, and I badde a wyff, I wolde not care for hir. And ther as she is, she is not well at hir ease, for she is at Robert Lethum; and therfor I pray you herteli that ye wyll tendre this my writyng, and I beseche you that in cas be that ye wyll fulffylle hit that ye wel sende my cosyn Will Staunton for hir, and I shal kepe you trewe promys, as I have be for wretyn. And I beseche Almyghti Jesu preserve you. Wretyn at Hevenyngham, on the vij. day off May, &c.

Your oune cosyn,

JOHN HEVENYNGHAM, Knyght.

158.

A.D. 1451, 9 May.

SIR THOMAS HOWYS TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, iii. 116.]

*To my reverent and worchepffull mayster, Sir John
Fastolf, Knyght, be this lettre delyvered.*



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pressours of ther set come doun theder, as I understand, with iiij^c [400] hors and more; and consideryng how ther wellwillers wer ther assembled at ther instaunce, it had be right jowpertos and ferefull for any of the pleyntyfs to have be present, for ther was nat one of the pleyntyfs ner compleynuantez ther, but your right feithfull and trusty weel willer John Paston. And my Maister Yelverton seid full discretly, and countrolled the seid Prisot when he seid, sittying in the Guyhalle of Norwich, these wordys to the Meyre and Commonalte, "A, Sir Meyre and your brethren, as to the processe of youre compleynte, we wole put them in contynuance, but in all other we wole procede;" which wordys Yelverton thought right parciall. And by side this the seid Prisot wolde suffre no man that was lerned to speke for the pleyntyfs, but took it as a venom, and took them by the nose at every thred woord whiche myght weel by knowe for open parcialte.

And as for the Lord Scalys, ye knowe well what he is toward you, and namely for Hikelyng matter. Also to knowe som of your feynt frendes, at that tyme that my Lord Norffolk sat at Norwich up on the oyer determyner, Sir John Hevyngham myht nat fynde it in his hert to go iiij. furlong from his duellyng place to the shirehouse, but now he coud ryde from Norwich to Walsyngham to syt as one of the Commyssioners. As to the rule of other, that ye wolde have supposed your wellewillers, how they have byhavyd them at Walsyngham, I shall sende yow woord in all hast whan Bernay¹ come hom to Castr, for he is nat yet come from Walsyngham. But this I knowe well, that they founde none obstacle ner impedymment in ther consciens in all your matter; but how they have do with Norwich, Swafham, and Paston, I am nat yet clerly informed; I suppose they arn put in respite. I here sey Heydon seweth for an ende to be had with the cite of Norwich, and as to the namys of them that passed on ther acquitaile ayenst yow, Broyn can weell informe yow. I understand that

¹ Probably Philip Berney.

Sir Robert Conyers, Calthorp, Mundford wer capteyns, and Maister Ric. Doget also.

Item, as for the ij. *venire facias* ye sent to be retorned for your manorz of Bradwell and Beyton, I have do them to be retorned of suche namys as I have sent woord before, savyng sume be take, and except out. Moreover, as for the mater of Sir John Sibton, Geney and Raulyns gef ful counsell that it shuld abyde tyl the mater of Bradwell myght procede, so that bothe maters myght take up on a day, for they sey it wold drawe xx. marc to labour the Jure to London, and yet it wer hard to bryng about. And they gef yow counsell in all wise that ye labour to have Yelverton Juge at that tyme, and in all wise bothe in that materz and in ali other, that ye be war that Prisot have not to have do in any wise, for than all wole be nought. Of alle other materz I shall send you woord in all hast goodly, for at thys tyme I had no leyser by cause of the hasty comyng up of Hug Fen, whom I beseche yow to fele of the demenyng of the oyer determyner, for he can telle yow moche and [*i.e.* if] he wole; whether he wole or nay, I can nat sey, for I know wele he was at Walsyngham. And I beseche All myghty Jesu have yow in his mercyfull governaunce. Wrete at Castre, the Sondag, ix. day of May anno xxix^o Regis Henrici vj^{ti}.

On the back of the letter is written—

I prey yow be nowth displesed thow I have nowt subscribed my name withinne forth, for it is of neclygens, quoth Howys, Parson of Castlecomb.

159.

A.D. 1451, 27 May.—JOHN OSBERN TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 308.]

At the date of this letter Lord Molyns had probably been acquitted, but the action against his men was still pending. The year must therefore be 1451. The date "Thursday next after St. Austin" is understood by Fenn to

be after the Feast of St. Austin, or Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, which was celebrated on the 28th of August; but the dates of the preceding letters make it more probable that the writer means St. Augustine, the apostle of England, whose day was the 26th of May.

To my ryght reverent and worchepful Master, John Paston, be this delyverid.

PLESE it your masterchep to wete that I have spoke wyth the Shereff¹ at hese placez, mevyng to hym, as for that that was left wyth hese Under shereff, it is your wyl he shuld send a man of hese for it; for thow it were more ye wold gladly he shuld take it; he thanked yow, and sayde hese Under shereff was at London, and hymselff had non deserved, and if he had he wold a take it. And whan I departyd from hym, I desyerid hym a yen to send therffore, and than he seyde it shuld abyde tyl ye come hom, wherby I conceyve he wold have it, and be gladde to take it. Moreover, I remembred hym of hese promyses made before to yow at London, when he took hese oth and charche, and that ye were wyth hym when he toke hese oth, and oder dyvers tymes; and for tho promyses made be hym to yow at that tyme, and other tymes at the oyer determyner at Lynne, ye proposed yow be the trust that ye have in hym for to atempte and rere accions that shuld be to the avayle of hym and of hese office. He wold a know what the accions shuld be. I sayde I coude not telle hym, and than he seyde he wold do for yow that he may, excepte for the aquitell of the Lord Molyns men, in so meche as the Kyng hath wrete to hym for to shewe favour to the Lord Moleyns and hese men, and as he scyth the indytement longyth to the Kyng, and not to yow, and the Lord Molyns a gret lord. Also, as he seyth, now late the Lord Molyns hath sent hym a letter, and my Lord of Norffolk anoder, for to shew favour in these indytements, he darnot abide the joporte of that, that he shuld offende the Kinges commaund-

¹ John Jermyn.—See page 160, Note 1.



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then he wol take yowre mony wyth a good wyl; and other promys I coude not have of hym, but that he wol do for yow all that he may, excepte for the indite-ments. I conceyve veryly he hath made promys to do hese part that they shul be a quytte, but I suppose he hath made non other promys ayens yow for the lyvelode; but he lokyth aftyr a gret brybe, but it is not for to trust hym veryly wyth owte that he may not chese. I suppose he had no wrytyng fro my Lord of Norffolk as he seyde.

I was at Framyngham for to a spoke wyth Tymperley, Debnam, or Berry, and they were all ought. My Lord, as he came from London, he was at Yepysweche on Moneday, and when he wythowth the town toward Framyngham, he had all hese men ryde forth afore a gret pase, for he wolde felwe softely; and when hese men were owte of syght, he rode wyth v. men to a squieris place of hese therby, and on Tewsdays, rodde my Lady to hym; and so I dede nought at Framyngham. No more at thys tyme, but All myghty Jesu spede yow, and have yow in hese kepyng. Wrete at Norwiche, the Thursday next aftyr Sent Austyn, &c.

Be your servunt, JOHN OSBERN.

160.

A.D. 1451 or later.—AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

As this letter refers to the 28th year of Henry VI. as a past date, it cannot well be earlier than 1451. But probably it is not much, if at all, later.

*To [~~Herry~~]¹ Barker of Synt Clements Parys, in Norwych,
to delyver to my Master John Paston, in haste.*

ON Thurisday the wall was mad zarde hey, and a good wylle be fore evyn it reyned so sore that they were fayne to helle the wall, and leve werke. And the water is fallyn so sore that it standyt ondyr the wall a fote deppe to Ballys

¹ The Christian name *Herry* is crossed out, and *Meye* (?) appears to be written over.

warde [i.e. *towards the land of a neighbour named Ball*]. And on Friday after sakeryng, one come fro cherch warde, and schoffe doune all that was thereon, and trad on the wall and brake sum, and wente over; but I cannot zet wete hoo it was. And Warne Kynges wyfe, as she went over the style, she cursyd Ball, and seyde that he had zevyn aweye the waye, and so it prevyt be John Paston is words. And after, Kyngs folke and odyr come and cryid on Annes Ball, seying to her the same. Zystyrnevyn wan I xul goo to my bede, the Vycare¹ seyde that Warne Kyng and Warne Harman, betwixte messe and matynsse, toke Sir Roberd² in the vestry, and bad hym sey to me, verely the wall xulde doun a gayne. And wan the Vycar tolde me I wyste ther of no worde, nor zet do be Sir Roberde, for he syth he were loth to make any stryfe. And wan I com out of the cherch, Roberd Emundes schowyd me how I was amercyde for seute of corte the laste zer vjd., and seyde it was xijd. tulle Warne Kyng and he gat it away vjd.

I send zou word how John Jamys was demenyd at Cromere, to send to Jamys Gressham how he xall be demenyd. Gaffrey Benschard, Alexander Glover, heywards,³ tokyn a dystresse of John Jamys or the bond tenent of A. Paston, calde Reynalds, in Cromer, the xxvij^{ti} yer of thys Kyng, and W. Goodwyn, Baly of Cromer, with the seyde J. Jamys, with forsse toke away the dysstres, wech was ij. horsse and a plowe. And Good be with zou.

Be ANNES PASTON, your Modur.

161.

A.D. 1451, or later.

AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter has the appearance, to judge from its contents, of being perhaps a few weeks later than the preceding one. It is, however, in a different hand.

¹ William Pope was vicar of Paston from 1447 to 1455.

² Probably the Vicar's Curate.

³ Haywards were (originally) persons who guarded a farm and crops in the night, and blew a horn on an alarm of robbers.—Halliwell.

To John Paston be thys byll deliverd in hast.

USPACKE thys day with a man of Paston syde, and he told me that a man of Paston told hym that Paston men wold not goo presesyon ferther than the chyrche yerde on Sent Markys day,¹ for he seyde the presesyon wey was stoppyd in, and seyde with in chort tyme men hopyd that the wall chuld be broke doun ageyn. Item, he seyde that I was amercyid for stoppyng of the seyde [way]² at the last generall court, butt he cowd not tell who meche the mercymment was. And he that told it me askyd the man that told it hym if he had the mercymment in hys exstrete for to distreyn there fore ; and he seid nay, but seyde he that chuld do it chuld bettyr doe take it up on hym than he chuld. Item, the same man told me that he mett with a man of Blyclyng, hyght Barker, that cam late fro London, and he told hym that I had a sute att London ageyn Wareyn Herman of Paston, and seyde that Roberd Branton was hys attornye, and seyde he seygh hym ryght besy for hym att London. And for yete not yor sustyr;³ and God have yow in kepyng. Wretyn att Norwyche the xij. day of May,

Be yor modyr,

A. PASTON.

162.

A.D. 1451, or later.

AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 44.]

This letter of Agnes Paston's refers to the same subject of dispute as the two preceding, and was probably written after them ; but the exact year is not certain.

To John Paston, dwellyng in the Tempyll at London, be thys letter delyverd in hast.

¹ April 25.

² Omitted in MS.

³ Elizabeth Paston?



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I receyvyd yor letter by Robert Reppys thys day after thys letter wretyn thus far. I have red it, butt I conn yeve yow non aunswer mor than I have wretyn, save the wyfe of Harman bathe the name of owr Lady, whos blyssyn ye have and myn. Wretyn at Paston, on the day after Sent Edmond,¹

Be yowyr modyr,

AUGNES PASTON.

163.

A.D. 1451 [3 June].

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 424.]

Reference is made in this letter to the forcible entry of Daniel into Bra yston in 1450, and, from the terms of the allusion, that event must have been pretty recent. The date of this letter, however, cannot be earlier than 1451, as Lady Boys must have been a widow at the time, and she only became so in December 1450.—See Letter 132, p. 174.

To my rygth worshipfull hosbond, John Paston, be this delyverid in hast.

RYGTH wurchipfull hosbond, I recommawnd me to yow, desyring hertyly to her of your welfar, preying yow to wete that itt was told me this weke that ther is afayr plase to sell in Seynt Laueransis parysch, and stant ner the chirche, and by the water syde, the whiche place Toppis hath to sell. Pyte alyster [*a dyer*] bowgth itt of Toppis and now, for defawt of payment, Toppis hath enterid ayen therinne, and shall selle itt in hast, as it is told me. The seyd lyster dwellyth therinne at this tym, but he shall owte, for he is hald rygth apore man. I suppose if ye lyke to bye itt when ye com hom, ye shall mowe have itt of Toppis als godechepe or better than another shuld. Als for tydyngs, we have none gode in this contre; I pray God send us gode. Itt was told me that Rychard Sowthwell hath enterid in the maner of

¹ St. Edmund's day was the 16th November.

Hale,¹ the whiche is the Lady Boyses,² and kepyth itt with strength with seche another felashep as hath be att Brayston, and wastyth and dispoylyth all that theris; and the Lady Boys, as it is told me, is to London to compleyn to the Kyng and to the Lordys ther of. Itt semyth it was not for nowgth that he held with Charlys and his felashep. I prey yow that ye wol vowchesawf to speke to Jamys Gloys to bye the Ungwentum Album that I spake to hym for; and that ye woll remembr your fayr dowgteris gyrdyl. I hope ye shall be at hom so sone that I woll do wryte nomor tydyngs to yow. The blyssid Trinyte have yow in his keping, and send yow gode spede in all that ye woll spede well inne. Wretyn at Norwyche on the Asencion day.

Yours,

M. P.

164.

A.D. 1451, June?

JAMES GRESHAM TO [JOHN PASTON.]

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is anonymous, but it is in James Gresham's handwriting. In Letter 156 we have Lord Molyns offering to treat with Paston for the injury done to his property at Gresham. Apparently Paston has now mentioned what terms he would accept. From what is said of the *supersedeas*, it would seem that this letter was written not long before the next, which is dated on Trinity Sunday.

PLEASE it your maistership to wete that, as touchyng Blake of the Kyngges hous, I spak with hym, and he told me that if the Lord Moleyns wold take suyche appoyntement as ye agreed to, that he shuld lete me wete therof on Satirday after noon, as I tolde yow whanne ye dyd on your botes, &c. And sith that tyme I herd no word of hym. Item, there is laboured a *supersedeas* for alle

¹ Holm Hale.

² Sibilla, daughter and heir of Sir Robert Ylley, and widow of Sir Roger Boys, Knight. She was alive after 1450.—F.

them that th'exigend¹ is ageyn, that am convycted by record of my Lord of Oxenford, except ij. men which the Lord M. gyveth no fors of. Item, I send yow Treshams letter and a copie of the same. Item, I send yow the *cerciorari* for my maistresse your modir. Item, I send yow the *scire facias* for Osbern and Foke *versus* Heydon and Wyndam. Item, I send yow a *distringas* ageynst Tudenham, &c. Item, I beseche yow if it may be in cas my Lord of Oxenford have not Holt hundred, that ye wole take it to suyche on as yow seme best, for it is told me that Pertriche laboureth therfore. And that is by the setting on of Heydon, &c. As touchyng the *capias* ageynst Pertrich, and the *pros.* a geynst Costard, &c., it wole not be badde, &c.

165.

A.D. 1451, 20 June.

JOHN BERNEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

For the date of this letter see Note prefixed to the last. Trinity Sunday fell on the 20th of June in 1451.

To the Ryght worshipful John Paston, Esquier.

RYGH T worshipfull, &c. Please zou to comfort and help my pouer tenaunt, Symond Sparre, which ys a restyd by warant, at the sute of the Lord Scalys, for Sir T. Tudynham shepp. And, Sir, uppon Fryday last passyd, Blake, the Kynges secratory, tolde me that there was delyvered a *super-sedyas* for all men in that sute. But, Sir, as my verry trust is in zou for this, lat it be easyd, as I may doo for zou, &c. ; for, Sir, I may not attent, by cause I am occupyed with my suster, for hir husbond, Sir Rychard

¹ A writ of *exigent* lies where the defendand in a personal action cannot be found, or anything of his to distrain. The sheriff is therein directed to proclaim him on five county court days, requiring him to appear on pain of outlawry.



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rygth moche of yow, and seyde that she wold nowgth that no servaunte of herys shuld reporte no thyng that shuld be ayens yow otherwyse than she wold that your servawnts shud do or seyn ayens her; and if other your servawnts dede ayens her, or any of her ayens yow, she wold that itt shuld be reformyd be twyx yow and her, and that ye mygth ben all on; for she seyde in good feyth she desyryth your frendshap; and as for the report of Sawtr, she seyde she supposyd that he wold nowgth reporte so; and if she mygth know that he dede, she wold blame hym therfor. I told her that itt was told me syth that ye reden [? yeden, *i.e.* went], and that itt grevyd me mor that the seyde Sawtr shuld reporte as he dede than itt had be reportyd of another, in als moche as I had awgth hym goodwyll befor; and she prayid me that I shud not beleve seche reports tyll I knewe the trowth.

I was att Toppys at dyner on Seynt Petyrs day; ther my Lady Felbrygg and other jantyll women desyryd to have hadde yow ther. They seyde they shuld all abe [*have been*] the meryer if ye hadde ben ther. My cosyn Toppys hath moche car tyll she her goode tydyngs of her brotheris mater. Sche told me that they shuld kepte a day on Monday next komyng be twyx her brother and Ser Andrew Hugard and Wyndham. I pray yow send me word how they spede, and how ye spede in yowr owyn materys also. Also I pray yow hertyly that ye woll send me a potte with treacle in hast; for I have ben rygth evyll att ese, and your dowghter bothe, syth that ye yeden hens, and on of the tallest younge men of this parysch lyth syke and hath a grete myrr'. How he shall do God knowyth. I have sent myn unkyll Berney¹ the potte with treacle that ye dede bey for hym. Myn awnte recommawndeth her to yow, and prayith yow to do for her as the byll maketh mencion of that I send you with this letter, and as ye thenk best for to do therinne.

Ser Henry Inglose is passyd to God this nygth, hoys

¹ Philip Berney.

sowle God asoyll, and was caryid forthe this day at ix. of the clok to Seynt Feythis, and ther shall be beryid. If ye desyer to bey any of hys stuff, I pray you send me word therof in hast, and I shall speke to Robert Inglose and to Wychyngham therof; I suppose thei ben executors. The blyssyd Trinyte have you in his kepyng. Wretyn at Norwyche in hast on the Thursday next after Seynt Peter.¹

I pray yow trost nott to the sheryve² for no fayr langage.

Yours,

M. P.

168.

A.D. 1451 (?) 20 July.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 258.]

SIR J. FASTOLF TO SIR THOMAS HOWYS, Parson of Castlecombe.

Has received his letter by Herry Hansson. Does not think he authorised Howys to have Andrews and his other adversaries noted and corrected at *oyer and determyner*; but if there was any letter to that effect, F. will bear him out. Thinks even if there was any letter to that effect sent by negligence, Howys should have taken counsel, and he would not have been sued for conspiracy. If Andrews and the others had been sued in Suffolk instead of Norfolk, they could have had no grounds of action.

London, 20 July.

[John Andrews was one of Heydon's adherents who gave trouble to Fastolf and his friends on more than one occasion; but this letter seems to have reference to the proceedings taken against several of that faction in 1451.]

169.

A.D. 1451, Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 233.]

[From the reference to the date of the *oyer and termynner* mentioned in this letter, it is clear that it was written in the same year as the letter following, and probably a few days earlier.]

¹ St. Peter's day was the 29th June.

² John Jermyn was sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk this year.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN BERNEY, SIR THOS. HOWYS, AND
WALTER SHIPDAM.

Begs them to hasten Rob. Boothe to London. Hears that the *oyer and termynner* is to be at Norwich on Thursday¹ after Holyrood day, and that Will. Yelverton, justice, is to be there. Ascertain, therefore, how the substantial men of Norwich are inclined in my matter against Appulzerd, and take Paston's advice in proceeding. Is advised to send John Bokkyng or Will. Barker to them before the time. Bids them send an indenture of Cornelys Floryson about wheat and malt. Has arrested the ship. As to the matter against Applierd, if Todenham, Heydon, Wymondham, &c., or any of them, will labour for their acquittal against me in the Lady Bardolf's matter, you must oppose it. Trusts the present mayor and his predecessor know what he has done for the town, and Will. Jenney and his brother can testify to Applierd's demeanour. You must get a copy of the indictment, lest he deny the presentment. Sends a lease of Lady Sterburgh's part and Bardolf's, made by Wichingham and Blake, and a confirmation of Sir Reynold Cobham,² and the said Lady Sterburgh his wife, &c. Commend me to my Lord of Ely³ and my Lord of Oxford if they be there, and my coz. Yelverton, and ask my Lord of Norwich for tidings of Hikelyng. "Item, blessed be God of his visitation! I have been sore sick and am well amended, and trust to our Lord to see you hastily and other of my friends."

(Signature not F.'s own.)

170.

A.D. 1451, 14 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 251.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN A BERNEY, JOHN PASTON, AND
SIR THOMAS HOWYS.

As the *oyer and termynner* is to be at Norwich on Thursday next,⁴ sends John Bokkyng to wait upon his counsel there to see to his matter against Appulzerd. They are to spare no cost to bring it to a good end, especially the bill of maintenance against Appulzerd, who was the greatest cause that the inquest passed against F. so untruly.

(Signature not F.'s own.)

London, 14 Sept. 30 Hen. VI.

¹ September 16th, Holyrood day being the 14th.

² Sir Reginald Cobham of Sterborough in Surrey, father of the notorious Eleanor Cobham.

³ Thomas Bouchier, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁴ 16th September.



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for xxs. that she might have had xls. for every wey, I pray you answer that for your acquytaille.

Item, sende me the value of Cooke ys tenement in Drayton, wyth xx. acres lond therto, what it was worth yeerly when it stode hoole; for Sellyng seith it was worth but j. noble by yeer.

172.

A.D. 1451, 18 Dec.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 366.]

This letter must have been written in 1451. It appears from No. 92 that Daniel entered the manor of Brayston or Braydeston during the sitting of the Parliament at Leicester in the spring of 1450. He was dispossessed by Mundford and Heydon on the 7th September following, but he entered the place a second time in the 30th year of Henry VI., *i.e.* some time between the 1st September 1451 and the 31st August 1452. In this letter it is anticipated that he will be enabled to enter the place by his influence with Lord Scales and the Duke of Somerset. This cannot refer to his first entry, as Somerset was in France for a long time before.

To my mastir, John Paston, Esquier.

RIGHT worshippful sir, I recomaunde me unto you. And please it you to witte of oure newe tydinges here; as this day com writing both to my Lorde¹ and to my Lady from London, that there be certein lettres directed to my Lorde from my Lady his moder,² and diverse other Lordes for to have Danyell³ in his favour a geyne, and as it is supposed by the meanes of the Duc of Somersette,⁴ for he hath ben right conversaunte with hym all this quarter of this yere. And also thei that sente this writing sayn playnly that the Lorde Skales is gode lorde to hym, and that he hath promysed hym to make Sir Thomas

¹ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, married Ellenor, daughter of William Bouchier, Earl of Ewe, in Normandy.—F.

² Catharine, daughter of Ralph, Earl of Westmoreland, and widow of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.—F.

³ Thomas Daniel, Esq., was Constable of Rising Castle, and married Margaret, sister of John Howard, afterwards Duke of Norfolk.—F.

⁴ Edmund Beaufort.

Tudenham, Heydon, and hym accorded, and other men in the cuntre, and that he shall be suffred to entre in to Brayston, and kepe it to th'entente that the cuntre shall thinke, and my Lord also, that he bathe grete favour amonge the Lordes of the Counsell, and cause men to fere hym the more. Whethir it be thus or non I can not say; never the lesse me thinketh ye shall sone knowe if Mounford will agree that he shall entre in to Brayston, and if that be trewe, all the remenant shall seme the more likly.

I pray you brenne this letter when ye have redde it. My Lorde and my Lady sayn ye shall be right welcome and ye will se theym this Crisemasse. I reporte me to your wisdom, and God have you in his keping. Writon at Framlyngham, the xvij. day of Decembre.

RIC. SOUTHWELL.

173.

A.D. 1452, [April].

PROCLAMATION BY THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[From Fenn, iii. 248].

The intended royal visit to Norfolk mentioned in the end of this proclamation appears to tally best with the date of April 1452, when, it will also be seen from the letters following, the Duke of Norfolk was at Framlingham, hearing complaints from the gentlemen of Norfolk.

The Duc of Norffolk.

BE hit knowen to alle the Kyngs trewe liege peple, the cause of our comynge in to this contre ys, by the comandement of the Kyng our soverayn Lorde, for to enquer of suche gret riotts, extorcyons, oryble wrongis and hurts as his Highnesse ys credybyly enformyd ben dou in this contre, and to know in serteyne, by yow that knowe the trowthe, by what persone or personys the seyde gret riotts, extorcions, oryble wrongis and hurts be done. Wherfor we charge yow alle, on the Kyngs behalve

our soverayne Lorde, that ze spar neyther for love, drede, ne fer that ze have to any persone of what estat, degre, or condicion he be, but that ze sey the soth by whome suche offences de done, and that ze spar no man that ze knowe gilty; and be the feyth that we owe to our soverayn Lorde, they schal be chastysid after ther desert, and hit reformyd as lawe requyrith.

Also hit ys opunly puplysschid that serteyne servaunts of the Lord Scales schulde in his name manasse and put men in feer and drede to compleyne to us at this tyme of the seide hurts and greves, seyng that we wolde abyde but a schort tyme her, and aftir our partyng he wolde have the rewle and governaunce as he hath had affore tyme. We lete yow wete that next the Kynge our soverayn Lord, be his good grace and lycence, we woll have the princypall rewle and governaunce throwh all this schir, of whishe we ber our name whyls that we be lyvyng, as ferre as reson and lawe requyrith, hoso ever will grutche or sey the [contrary];¹ for we woll that the Lord Scales, Sir Thomas Tudenham, Sir Mylis Stapylton, and John Heydon have in knowleche, thowh our persone be not dayly her, they schal fynde our power her at all tymes to do the Kynge our soverayn Lord servyse, and to support and mayntene yow alle in your right that ben the Kyngs trewe lige men. For hit may non ben seyde nay, but that her hath ben the grettest riotts, orryble wrongs and offences done in thise partyes by the seide Lord Scales, Thomas Tudenham, Mylis Stapilton, John Heydon, and suche as ben confedred on to theym that evir was seen in our dayes; and most myschiffe throwh ther maliciouse purpose lyke to have fallyn amonge the Kyngs trewe liege peple now late at Norwiche, ne had we better providid therfor. And also that God fortunyd us to withstande ther seyde malicious and evill disposid purpose.

Wherfor makith billiz of your grevance, and come to us, and we schal bryng yow to the Kynges presence

¹ Indicated by Fenn as illegible in MS



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SIR JOHN HEVENYNGHAM. JOHN FERRERS. THO.
GURNAY. JOHN GROOS. W. ROKEWODE. JOHN
BAKON, Senior. JOHN BAKON, Junior.¹

J. PAGRAVE. ROBT. MORTIMER. NICHOLAUS APPILYARD

175.

A.D. 1452, 23 April.

JOHN PASTON TO [THE SHERIFF OF NORFOLK?].

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This is printed from a rough draft in John Paston's handwriting, on the back of which is a draft of the preceding letter. The date of both letters is the same. The reading of particular words in this draft is very uncertain, owing to the cramped handwriting used in corrections and interlineations, and the manner in which several of the words are abbreviated.

REVERENT and ryth wurshepful sir, and my
god maister, I recommaund me to yow. Plese
yow to wete that Charlis Nowell with odir
hath in this cuntre mad many riot and sautes;
and, among othir, he and v. of his felachip set upon
me and mo (?) of my servants at the Chathedrall chirch
of Norwich, he smyting at me, whilis on of his felawis
held myn armes at my bak, as the berer herof shall
mor playnly inform yow. Whech was to me strawnge
cas, thinking in my conseyth that I was my Lords
man and his homagier, or Charlis knew hys Lordschipe,
that my Lord was my god Lord, and that I had be
with my Lord at London within viij. [days?] ² bey for
Lent, at which tyme he grantyd my his god lordship,
so lagerly [*largely*] that it must cause me ever to be
his trew servant to myn pow[er]. I thowt also that I
had never geff cawse to non of my Lords hous to ow
me evill will, ne that ther was non of the hows but I
wold have do fore as I cow (*sic*) desir anioone (?) to do

¹ The names subscribed thus far are in the same handwriting as the document. Those below may perhaps be autograph signatures, although the names of Pgrave and Mortimer are in a hand much like that of John Paston.

² Word omitted

for me, and yet will except my adversare; and thus I and my frendes haff miusid of this and thowt he was hard to do thus. And this notwithstanding, assone as knolech was had of my Lords coming to Framlingham, I never attemptid to procede ageyns hym as justis and law wuld, but to trust to my seyde Lord that his Hyghnes wold se this punischichid (*sic*), and desirid my master (?) H. mi cosin (?) Tymperle, the dene and odir to (?)¹ and dayly hath be redy with such jentilmen as dwelle here abought that can record the trowth to have come (*sic*) compleyn to my Lord; but we have had contynually tydynges of my Lordes comyng heder that causid us for to abide ther up un, besechyng your gode maystershep that ye wull lete my Lord have knowlech of my compleynt. And that ye wull tender the gode spede of the entente of the letteris wretyn to you fro jentilmen of this shire. Prayng yow that ye wull yeve credens to the berer herof, and be his gode mayster in cas any man make any qwarell to hym. And what that I may do be your comaundment shall be redi with the grace of God, how have in his blissid kepyng. Wretyn at Norwhich, un Seynt Georges day.

176.

A.D. 1452, April.—JOHN PASTON TO ———.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter, like the preceding, is from a rough draft in Paston's handwriting. It is clearly of the same date as the two last, or perhaps a day or two later. There is nothing to show with certainty who was the person addressed; but we should think it was probably Sir John Fastolf.

RYTH worchepfull sir and cosyn, I recommaund me to yow, [and] pray yow that ye will in mi behalf inform my Lord of the domag of Charlis Nowell to meward, withow occacion

¹ The preceding words from "and desirid" are a peculiarly illegible interlineation, and do not appear to form a consecutive sense along with the passage following. Perhaps the words "and daily hath" should have been erased, which would make the connection intelligible.

gef on min part, as the berer herof knoweth (?).¹ I am and was my Lords man and homagier, or the seyde Charlis knew my Lord, and will do my Lord sech servis as I can, and that ye will tendre the god sped of the mater of the letter direct to you from sertejn jentilmen of thes shir, with wherch jentilmen or odir to bere recor of this thowt, I have bene dayly toward my Lord to compleyne to his Lorship, but the continuall tydings of my seyde Lords coming heder hath cawsid us to awayt ther opon. Beseching yow, cosine, as my trust is in yow, that ye will help to kepe the god rewill of thes shir, and my por honeste, and geff credens to the berer herof, and be his god master if any querel be mad to him. And what I may do for you, I am and ever shall be redi to do it be the grace of God, hoo —

177.

A.D. 1452 [30 April].

THE SHERIFF OF NORFOLK TO THE KING AND COUNCIL.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

John Clopton was Sheriff of Norfolk from Michaelmas 1451 to Michaelmas 1452.

To the Kyng and the Lordes of his Councell.

John Clopton, Shereffe of Norffolk, certifie that wher oon John Falyate and othre were take within the hundred of Blofeld in the seid shire, and led to the castell of Framlyngham in the counte of Suffolk, I, the forseid Shereffe, be the comaundement of my Lord of Norffolk, the last day of Aprill receyved at the seid castell a bille of divers knowlech and confessyons which were enformyd me shuld have be mad in the presens of my seid Lords Councell be Roger Chirch and othre, which the seid John Falyate, as it was enformed me, shuld have con-

¹ The reading is very uncertain, being partly interlined in a very cramped hand, partly corrected in the text.



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To my rygth wirchiffel hosbond, John Paston, be this delyverid in hast.

RYTH worshipfull hosbond, I recommawnd me to yow, desyryng hertyly to her of your wel-far, praying yow that ye woll send me word in hast how ye be agreid with Wychyngham and Inglose¹ for that mater that ye spake to me of at your departyng; for if I shuld purvey other wood or hey, it shuld be bowgth best chepe be twixt this and Seynt Margretys messe,² as itt is told me. As for Applyard, he com not yett to this town syn he com from London. I have sent to Sir Bryse to lete me have knowleche when he comyth to town, and he hath promysid that I shall have knowleche, and when he comyth I shall do your commawndement. My moder bad me send yow word that Waron Herman hath dayly fyshid hyre water all this yer, and therfor she prayith yow to do therfor while ye be att London as ye thynk best.

Chyrche³ of Byrlyngham was toke and browte to the castell yisterday be the Beshopys men, and all his godys ben seysid for that he owyth to the Boshop. And the seid Chirche scyth as for that he hath seyde of hem that he hath appelyd befor this tyme, he woll awow itt and abyde therby; and seyth that he woll appele one that hath mor nobelys than they have all that he hath spoke of yett, and that shall avayll the King more than they have all that he hath speke of yett; but what he is, he woll not name tyll he know mor. I trow but if that be the grett labour made ayens hym, he is lyke to have grett favour of hem that have be his supportors. Men thenk that have spoke with hym that he hopeth to have good helpe. I pray God that the trewth mote be knowyn.

I pray yow that ye woll vouchesaff to send me an other sugor loff, for my old is do; and also that ye well do make a gyrdill for your dowgter, for she hath

¹ See p. 225.

² 20th July.

³ Roger Church.—See p. 234.

nede therof. The blyssid Trinyte have yow in his kepyng. Wretyn at Norwyche in hast, on the Tewys-day next befor Seynt Thomas day.¹

Paper is deynty.²

Yours,

M. P.

179.

A.D. 1452.—INFORMATION OF OUTRAGES.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The misdemeanors of Roger Church, who is here complained of among other malefactors, must refer to the same period as Letter 177. The date is rendered even more certain by a comparison with the letter following.

CHARLYS NOWEL, Otywell Nowell, Robert Ledeham, John the sone of Hogge Ratkleff, Robert Dallyng, Herry Bangge, Roger Cherche, Nicholas Goldsmyth, Robert Taylor, Christofer Grenescheve, ———³ Dunmowe, Elis Dokworth, Christofer Bradle, Jon Cokkow, assemblyng and gadderyng to hem gret multitude of mysrewled people, kepe a frunture and a forslet at the hows of the seid Robert Ledeham, and issu ought at her pleser, sumtyme vj., sumtyme xij., sumtyme xxx^{ti} and mo, armed, jakked, and salattyd with bowis, arwys, speris, and bylles, and over ride the contre and oppresse the people, and do many orible and abhomynable dedis lyke to be distruccion of the shire of Norffolk, wythoute the Kyng owre Sovereyn Lord seth it redressid.

Un Mydlent Soneday⁴ certeyn of the seid felechep in the chirche of Byrlyngham made a fray upon tweyne of the servauntes of the reverent fadyr in Godde, Bischop of Norwiche,⁵ the seid servauntes at that tyme knelyng to see the usyng of the Masse; and there and than the seid felechep wold have kelled the seid two servauntes at the prestis bakke, ne had they be lettyd, as it semed.

¹ Translation of St. Thomas, Apostle, 7th July.

² Fenn says that the letter is written upon a piece of paper nearly square, out of which a quarter had been cut before the letter was written.

³ Blank in MS.

⁴ Midlent Sunday fell on the 19th March in 1452.

⁵ Walter Lyhart or Hart.

¹ [Item, un the Moneday² next before Esterne daye, sex of the seid persones made a saute upon John Paston and hese two servauntes at the dore of the cathedrall cherche of Norweche, wyth swerdes, bokeler, and dagareis drawe smet at the seid Paston, on of them holdyng the seid Paston be bothe armes at hese bakke, as it semyth purposyng there to have morderid the seid Paston and they had not a be lettyd ; and also smet on of the servaunts of the seid Paston upon the naked hed wyth a swerd, and poluted the seyntewary.]

Item, on the Monday² next before Esterne day, x. of the seid persones lay in awayte in the hey weye undyr Thorp Woode up on Phelep Berney, Esquier, and hese man, and shet at hem and smet her hors wyth arwes, and then over rede hym and brake a bowe on the said Phelippis hed and toke hym presoner, callyng hym traytor. And when they had kepte hym as long as thei lyst, thei led hym to the seyde Byshop of Norwiche and askid of hym swerte of the peas, and forwyth relessid her suerte and went her way.

Item, iij. of the seid felechep lay unawayte upon Emond Brome, jentelman, and with nakid swerds fawte wyth hym be the space of a quarter of a owre and toke hym presoner ; and when they had kepte hym as long as they lyst, lete hym goo.

Item, xl^a of the same felechep come rydyng to Norwiche jakked, and salettyd, with bowys and arwys, byllys, gleves, un Maundy Thursday,³ and that day aftyr none, when service was doo, they, in lyke wyse arrayid, wold have brake up the Whyte Freris dores, where,⁴ seying that they came to here evesong ; howbeit that they made her avaunt in towne they shuld have sum men owt of town (?), qwhyke or deede ; and there made a gret rumor, where the mayre and the aldermen, with gret multitude of peple, assembled, and therupon the seyde felischep departid.

¹ This paragraph is crossed in the MS.

² April 3, Easter day being the 9th April in 1452.

³ April 6.

⁴ After the word "where" the original text had "the seid Paston dwelith," but these words have been struck out, and other alterations made in the paragraph.



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the people that dyvers persones for feer of mordyr darnot abyde in her bowses, ne ride, ne walke abowte ther ocupacions, wyth owte they take gretter people abowte hem then acordith to her degre, wheche they wol not do in evel exaample gevyng.

Item, the seid felechep of a fer cast maleys and purpose now late toke Roger Cherche, on of ther owne felechep, be hese owne assent, wheche Roger Cherche be her assent had movid and and sterid a rising in the hundred of Blofeld, and hath confessed hym self to be at that arysyng, and hath enbylled, as it is seid, divers jentelmen and the most part of the trysty yomen and husbondis and men of good name and fame of the hundred abowte the seid Ledehams place, where the seid felechep is abydyng, and nameth hem wyth odyr suspecious people for risers, to the entent to hide and cover her awn gylt, and to holde them that be trw men and innosent in that mater in a dawnger and feer that they shuld not gader peopell, ner atempte to resiste ther riotows governauns of the seid reotows felechep.

¹ [Item, it is conceyved that if the seyd riotows felechep, and they that drawe to them were dewly examyned, it shuld be knowe that if there were any seche rysyng, it was conjectyd, don, imagened, and labored be the seid reotows felechep and be ther meanes; for aswele the seid Cherche, as dyvers of the most suspecious persones be the seid Cherche enbelled for rysers, as it is seid, be and have be of long tyme dayly in compeny wyth the seid reotows felechep.

Item, on of the seid felechep of late tyme, as it is seide, to encresse her maliciows purpose, hath proferid rewardis and goode to anodyr persone for to take upon hym to apele certeyn persones, and afferme the seying of the seid Roger Cherche.]

In wytnesse of these premisses, dyvers knytes and esquieres, and jentelmen whos names folwen, wheche knowe this mater be seying, heryng, or credible reporte, to this wrytyng have set her seall, besechyng

¹ These paragraphs are crossed through.

your Lordcheppis to be meanes to the Kyng owre
sovereyn Lord for remedy in this behalve. Wrete, &c.

On the lower margin of this paper, and on the back are scrawled a few additional memoranda, of which the following are the most important. One paragraph, which is in the handwriting of John Paston, is so carelessly written that the names contained in it are quite uncertain.

Memorandum, that Jon, sone of Roger Ratkliff, bet T. Baret, and Beston and Robyn Taylor tok and imprysonyd Thomas Byrdon of Ly[n]gwode. Item, Robert Dalling bet Nicholas Chirch at Stromsaw Chirch. Memorandum of manassing of the quest at Hengham. Item, Robert Dallyng bete Thomas Dallyng.

Roger att Chirche, Robert Dallyng and Herry Bang with other went with fors and armys, and fechid William Clippisby oute of his faders hous, and brought hym to the town of Walsham, and kept hym there ij. days and ij. nytys, and fro thens had hym to Romgey (?), and there inpresonyd hym and made hym [give] to Eusdale (?) an oblygacion of C. libr. made after her owyn desyr.

180.

A.D. 1452.—A PETITION TO THE LORD CHANCELLOR.

[Add. Charter 17,241, B.M.]

The date of this petition will be seen by a foot-note.

*To the right reverent fader in God, Cardynale Arche-
busshop of York¹ and Chaunceler of Ingland.*

PLEASE it yowre gode Lordeshep to know that
oon Roger Cherche, other wyse callyd Roger
Bylaugh, Roger Wryte, and Roger Baly, late²
was at a gaderyng and assemble of xv. per-
sones in a feleshep under a wode in the town of Pos-
sewyke, in the counte of Norffolk, which feleshep, as it
is seid be hem, was procured and gaderyd be the seid
Roger Cherche and be his councelores, the same
Roger seyng to summe of the same feleshep,³ he had
remembred a gode name for her capteyn, that shuld be
John Amend Alle; and the seyde Roger aftyr the seid
gaderyng aggreyd hym self to be take and examyned

¹ Cardinal Kemp.

² Here the words "before Crystmasse last past" originally stood in the text, but are crossed out.

³ Here occurs a caret referring to some illegible words in the margin.

be persones of his own covyne, and be color of his seid feleshep of xv. persones be hym gaderyd, enbilled divers gentilmen, and many thryfty and substanciall yomen, and thryfty husbondes, and men of gode name and fame, noysyng and diffamyng to the Kyng and his Councell that the seid gentilmen, yomen, and thryfty husbondes, with other, to the nombre of ccc. persones, shuld have mad a gaderyng and a risyng ageyn the Kynges peas under the seid wode, contrary to the tought; which is veryly conceyved to be don of malyce to put the seid gentilmen and yomen in feer and trobill that thei as wele as alle the contre shuld not be hardy to attempt, ne lette the purposyd malyce of the seid Cherche and his cuncellores in divers riottes, extorcious, forsibil entreys and unlawfull disherytauns of gentilmen and other of the Kynges liege peple in the seid shire that thei dayly use, which riottes, extorcions, aswele as the seid untrewe diffamacions, causyth gret grudgyng, trobill, and comocyon in the seid shire. Please it yowre gode grace, these premysses considered, not to suffre the seid Cherche to have no pardon of the comune grace graunted be the Kyng owre soverayn Lord un Gode Fryday last past,¹ un to the tyme that he hath fownde sufficient suerte of wel namyd persones of the seid shire of his gode beryng; and to direct a comyssion un to such notabill persones in the seid shire as please you, to take and examyn the seid Roger Cherche, as wele as othre that them semyth necessary to examyn in this behalf, so that thei that be giltles in this may be so declared, and that thei that be guilty may be ponysshed acordyng to her demerytes; and to beseche the Kyng owre soverayn Lord in the behalf of the gentilmen of the seid shire that his Hig- nesse wull not take hem, ne any of hem, in conceyt to be of such rewle and disposicion up un enformacion of such a mysse rewled and encredibill man as the seid Roger. And thei shall pray to God for you.

¹ On Good Friday the 7th April 1452, Henry VI. offered general pardons for offences against himself to all who would sue them out of Chancery.—See Whethamstede, 317, 319.



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hurt all other that wold not folwe the oppynyons of the seyde new cownseyll; whiche malysiows purposid oppynyon the jantylmen of the seyde shyer that wer sworyn att the seyde sescions kowd not fynde in her conciens to observe, but dede the contrarye as it apperyth be here verdyte if itt be shewyd, &c. Remembre the verdyt of Brayston, &c.

And where on Roger Chirche, wyth on Robert Ledham, Charlys Nowell, John son of Hodge Ratcliff, and on Robert Dallyng had the rewle and kepyng of the seid maner of Brayston to the use of Thomas Danyell after the dyssesing of the seyde Osbern Monford, the seyde Roger be the comon ascent of his seyde felashep, be the colowre of xv. personys' gadderid be the exitation of the seyde Roger Chyrche and his felashep, accusid many notable and thryfty men that were well willid to the seyde Munford for the seid maner of Brayston, to be ryseris, wher as the seyde thryfty men, as well as all that contre, hath at all tymys be pesyble and of no seche disposicion: It was purposid after the seid sescions, whan the intents of the seyde new cownseyll mygth not be executyd be indytements, than to have had the seyde Roger Chirche owte of the Kyngs gayle, seying that he shuld appele for the Kyng, and wold have do the sheryff delyverid hym owt of prison, howbeit he was comyttid thidder be the justyse of assyse and gayle delyvere be cawse he was indyted of felonye, and that ther apperid not suffycient inquest to delyver hym.

Item, day seth thei labour feynid materis to hurt jentilman and odir be soch acusements, &c.

Memorandum, as itt semyth be the confescion of dyvers of the seid xv. personys that thei were innocent and knew not whi thei assemelyd but only be the excitation of the seyde Chirche and his menys, and after the tyme of that they conseyyd itt was do to no good intent, thei never medillid forther in the mater. Item, to remembre how suttely the seyde Chirche was, be his owyn assent, led to my Lord of Norffolk be his owyn fela.

shap to the entent to accuse and defame seche as they lovyd not.

Memorandum, of the sescion at Norwich. Memorandum, of my Lord of Somerset and of the Blak frers.

Memorandum, that Charlys Nowell is baly of Brayston, and hath ther ijd. on the day, and of that mater growyth his malys.

Item, memorandum of them that for fer of disclosid of her falsenes acusid odyr that they shuld not be thowth gilty herself, and labour to have the mater handlid be her frends that the trowth shuld not be triid owt.

182.

A.D. 1452 (?), 5 Nov.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 168.]

This letter was written during the life of Philip Berney, most probably in 1452, while he lay sick of the wounds, of which he afterwards died. See No. 188 further on.

To my right worchepful husbond, John Paston, be this delyverid in hast.

RIGHT worchepful husbond, I comaund me to yow. I pray yow that ye wol do bye ij. doseyn trenchors, for I can none gete in this town. Also I pray yow that ye wol send me a booke wyth chardeqweyns¹ that I may have of in the monynggs, for the eyeres be nat holsom in this town; therfor I pray yow hertely lete John Suffeld bryng it hom wyth hym.

No more but the blyssid Ternyte have yow in Hese

¹ A preserve made of quinces.—See Index to Furnivall's "Manners and Meals in Olden Times." In the ordinances of the household of George, Duke of Clarence, "charequynses" occur under the head of spices, their price being five shillings "the boke," or £2:10s. for 10 lbs.—See the Society of Antiquaries' Collection of Ordinances for the Royal Household, p. 103. The word also occurs pp. 455, 471 of same volume.

kepyng, and send yow good sped in all yowre maters. Wrete on Sent Leonard even.

My uncle Phelyppe¹ commaund hym to yow, and he hath be so seke sith that I come to Redham, that I wend he shuld never a askapid it, nor not is leke to do but if he have redy help; and therfore he shal into Suffolk this next weke to myn aunt, for there is a good fesician, and he shal loke to hym.

My Lady Hastyns² told me that Heydon hath spoke to Geffrey Boleyn³ of London, and is a greid wyttht hym that he shuld bargeyn wyth Sir John Fastolff to bye the manor of Blyklyng as it were for hymself, and if Boleyn byet in trowght Heydon shal have it.

Yowr,

M. P.

I cam to Norwiche on Sowlemesday.

183.

A.D. 1452 (?), 16 Nov.

AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 162.]

This letter is certainly not earlier than 1451 or later than 1453; for it was written some time after Lady Boys became a widow, which was in December 1450 (*see* p. 174), and before Sir John Fastolf's removal from London into Norfolk, which, as will be seen hereafter, was in the autumn of 1454. Probably the true date is 1452, for in the summer following, owing to Gurney's utter inability to pay his rent, we find Agnes Paston urging her son seriously to look out for another tenant for Orwellbury.

This lettre be delyvered to John Paston, beyng at London, in the Innere In of the Temple.



GRETE you well, and sende you Goddes blissing and myn. And as touchyng the mater wheche ye desyryd my cosyn Clere shulde

¹ Philip Berney.

² Margery, widow of Sir Edward Hastings of Elsing, Norfolk, who styled himself Lord Hastings and Stutvill.—*See* Blomefield, viii. 112, and ix. 513,

³ An ancestor of Anne Boleyn and Queen Elizabeth. He was Mayor of London in 1457.



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so that the man myte leven and paye us, I wolde for yeve him of the olde arrerags x*/i.* ; and he myte be mad to paye xx. marc be yer, on that condicion I wolde for yeve him x*/i.*, and so thynketh me he shulde hav cause to praye for your fader and me, and was it leten in my fadres tyme. I fele by Roberd, his wif is right loth to gon thens, she seide that sche had lever I shulde have all her gode after her day, than thei schulde go out ther of.

Item, John Dam teld me that the Lady Boys¹ will selle a place called Halys,² but he seith sehe speketh it privyly, and seith it is not tayed, as John Dam kno, wech will she hath seide as largely of other thyngs that hath not be so.

Item, he tolde me, as he herd seyn, Ser John Fastolf hath sold Heylysdon to Boleyn³ of London ; and yf it be so, it semeth he will selle more. Wherfor I praye you, as ye will have my love and my blissyng, that ye will helpe and do your devoir that sumthyng were purchased for your ij. bretheren. I suppose Ser John Fastolf, and he wer spake to, wold be glader to lete his kensemene have parte than straunge men. Asay him in my name of suych placis as ye suppose is most cler.

It is seid in this contre that my Lord of Norfolk seith Ser John Fastolf hath yoven him Castr, and he will hav [it] pleyndly. I sende you a bill of Osbern hand, wherof was the ansuer of the Sheref and John of Dam.

Jon, brynge me my lettre bom with you, and my cosyn Cler is copy of her lettre, and the copy of the reseyth of Horwelbury ; and recomaunde me to Lomnor, and tell him his best be loved fareth well, but sche is not yet come to Norwich, for thei deye yet, but not so sor as thei dede. And God be wyth you. Wreten at Norwych, in right gret hast, the xvj. day of Novembr.

By your moder,

ANNEYS PASTON.

¹ See p. 221, Note 2.

² Holm Hale.—See p. 221.

³ Geoffrey Boleyn.—See p. 246, Note 3.

184.

A.D. 1452, 18 Dec.

THE DUKE OF YORK AND SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

. [Add. Charter 17,242, B.M.]

HIS endenture witnesseth that where Richard, Duc of York, by his lettre of saal [*sale*] bering date the xv. day of the monneth of Decembre, the xxxj^{ti} yere of the regne of oure souverain Lord Kyng Henry the Sext, hath bargaigned, aliened, solde, graunted, and confermed unto John Fastolf, Knyght, the jowelles undrewriten :—That is to wite, a nowche of gold with a greet poynted diamand sette up on a roose enameled white; a nowche of gold in facion of a ragged staf, with ij. ymages of man and woman garnysshed with a ruby, a diamande, and a greet peerle; and a floure of gold, garnysshed with ij. rubyes, a diamande, and iij. hanging peerles. To have, holde, and rejoyce the same jowelles to the saide John, his executors and assignees, frely, quietly, and pesibly for evere more, like as in the saide lettre of saal more openly is conteened. Nevertheles the saide John wolle and graunteth herby that yif the saide Duc paie or doo paie to the same John or to his attornee, his heires or to his executors, in the Fest of the Nativitee of Sainte John Baptist next commyng, iiij^c xxxvij*li*. [*£437*] sterlinges withouten delay, that than the saide letter of saal to bee hold for noht; but he to delivere ayein unto the saide Duc, or to his attornee paieng the saide iiij^c xxxvij*li*. sterlinges in the saide Fest, the saide jowelles. And yif defaulte bee made in the paiement of the saide iiij^c xxxvij*li*. in partie or in all ayenst the fourme aforesaide, than wolle and graunteth the saide Duc herby that the forsaide lettre of saal, by him as is abouve saide made, stande in ful strengh and vertu. this endenture notwithstanding. In witnessse wherof, to the parte of this saide endenture remaynyng towards

the saide John the saide Duc hath sette his seel. Yeven at Fodringey, the xvij^e day of the saide moneth of Decembre, the xxxj^{ti} yere of the regne of oure saide souverain Lord King Henry the Sext.

R. YORK.

Seal attached mutilated.

185.

A.D. 1453, 30 Jan.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 324.]

The beginning of this letter refers to building operations, which I presume to be the same as those to which the next letter relates, and therefore of the same date. They were probably at Caister Castle.

To my right worchippfull hosbond, John Paston, be thys delyveryd in hast.

RIGHT worchipfull hosbond, I recommand me to yow, desyring to here of your welfar; praying yow to wete that Sir Thomas Howes hath purveyed iiij. dormants¹ for the drawte chamer,² and the malthouse, and the browere, wherof he hath bought iij., and the forte, that shall be the lengest and grettest of all, he shall have from Heylesdon, whiche he scyth my Mayster Fastolf shall geve me, be cause my chamer shall be made ther with. As for the laying of the seyde dormants, they shall be leyde this next weke, be cause of the malthous, and as for the remenant, I trow it shall abyde tyll ye come hom, be cause I can nother be purveyed of pysts [*posts?*], ne of bords not yette.

I have take the mesure in the draute chamer, ther as ye wold your cofors and cowntewery³ shuld be sette

¹ Large beams.

² Draught chamber. A withdrawing-room.—Halliwell.

³ Cowntewery must mean his counter, desk, or board to sit and write, &c. at.—F.



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186.

A.D. 1453.—JOHN PASTON TO JOHN NORWODE.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

From the memoranda on the back of this letter, it would appear to belong to the 31st year of Henry VI.

To John Norwode.

LETE you wete that Hache hath do no werk of myn wherfore he aught to have receyvid any mony, savyng only for the makyng of the litill hous above the halle wyndownes, for the remenaunte was that fell down in his diffaute. And as for the makyng of that litill hous, he toke that in a comenaunte [*covenant*], with makyng of too chymnyes, of Sir Thomas Howys for xls., which comenaunte may not hold, be cause that I must have thre chymnyes and in a nother place.

Item, the seid litill hows drawyth not v. thowsand tyle, which after xvjd. the thowsand shuld drawe vjs. viijd. Notwithstandyng, if Sir Thomas thynk that he shuld be alowyd mo, he shall be. And ye must remembre how that he hath receyvid vjs. viijd. of you, and of Robert Tolle before Halwemesse, as apperith in his accompt, viijs. And he hath receyvid of Tolle sith Halwemesse vs. iiijd. And than be this rekenyng he shuld be xiijs. iiijd. a fore hand, which I wold ye shuld gader up in this newe werk aswele as ye myght, for I am be hold to do hym but litill favour.

Item, be war ther leve no firsis in the deke that ye reparre, and that the wode be mad of fagot and leyd up forthwoth as it is fellid for taking away. I wold ye wer her on Satirday at evyn thow ye yed ageyn on Moneday.

JON PASTON.

The following memoranda occur on the back of this letter:—

Rec' W. Hach.

Rec' de Joh'e Paston, anno xxx^o, vjs. viij^d.

Item, de Roberto Telte, xiijs. iiij^d.

De Thoma Howis, xxx^d.

Item, de Joh'e Norwod, anno xxxj. pro camino ls.

Summa, lxxjs. viij^d.

Will' Hach fecit quandam kaminam v. mark, et pro le closet xs.

Summa, lxxvjs. viij^d.

Sic debentur dicto Hach, per Joh'em Paston, vs. ; et dedit ei xvs. in recompensationem cujusdam billæ ibe (?) et omne jus ipsum et Mo (?) Unde tradidi ei xiijs. iiij^d. per plegios Thomæ Howis qui manusepit (*sic*) quod dictus Will' perimplot [*perimpleret?*] barganium suum et in fine operis haberet de me vjs. viij^d. residuum.

187.

A.D. 1453, 20 April.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 68.]

According to Blomefield (Hist. of Norf., iii. 158), Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., visited Norwich in the spring of 1452; but by the same authority, it would appear that she had returned to Westminster before the 17th of March in that year, which would not suit the date of this letter. Besides, John Paston was at Norwich in April 1452, and dates a letter at Norwich on St. George's day, complaining of the assault made upon him at the door of Norwich Cathedral on Monday before Easter. It is impossible, therefore, that Margaret Paston could have written to him from Norwich two days before St. George's day in that year. From an undated entry in the Norwich city records, which bears internal evidence of having been made in the year 1453, it would appear that the King's half brothers, Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, visited Norwich in that year.—(See fol. 19 of a volume, entitled "An Old Free Book," in the Norwich city archives.) As to the Queen's visit I find no direct evidence, but I think it possible she may have come with *one* of the King's brothers, and that the other may have come a little later.

*To my right wurshipfull Mayster, John Paston, be
this delyveryd in hast.*

RIGHT wurshipfull hosband, I recommand me to yow, preying yow to wete, &c.¹ . . .
As for tydyngs, the Quene² come in to this town on Tewysday last past after none, and abode here tyll itt was Thursday, iiij. after none; and she sent after my cos. Elysabeth Clere³ by Sharynborn, to come to her; and she durst not dysabey

¹ Here (says Fenn) follows some account of money received, &c.

² Margaret of Anjou.

³ Widow of Robert Clere, Esq. of Ormesby, who died in 1446. Fenn says his daughter, but no notice is found of a daughter of that name, while the widow occurs frequently in this correspondence.

her commandment, and come to her. And when she come in the Quenys presens, the Quene made ryght meche of her, and desyrid here to have an hosbond, the which ye shall know of here after. But as for that, he is never nerrer than he was befor.

The Quene was right well pleasid with her answer, and reportyht of her in the best wyse, and scyth, be her trowth, she sey no jantylwoman syn she come into Norffolk that she lykit better than she doth her.

Blake, the bayle¹ of Swaffham, was here with the Kyngs brother,² and he come to me, wenyng that ye had be at hom, and seyde that the Kyngs brother desyrid hym that he shuld pray yow in his name to come to hym, for he wold right fayn that ye had come to hym, if ye had ben at home; and he told me that he west wele that he shuld send for yow when he come to London, bothe for Cossey and other thyngs.

I pray yow that ye woll do your cost on me ayens Witsontyd, that I may have somme thyng for my nekke. When the Quene was here, I borowd my coseyn Elysabeth Cleris devys, for I durst not for shame go with my beds among so many fresch jantylwomen as here were at that tym. The blissid Trinyte have yow in his kepyng.

Wretyn at Norwych on the Fryday next befor Seynt George.

. Be yowrs,

M. PASTON.

188.

A.D. 1453, 6 July.

AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 182.]

Sir John Heveningham, whose death is mentioned in this letter, was found, by an inquisition taken on the 29th September 32 Henry VI., to have died on

¹ Bailiff.

² Either Edmund Tudor, who was created Earl of Richmond about November 1452, or Jasper, who was created Earl of Pembroke at the same time. They were half brothers to the King, being sons of his mother, Catherine, Queen of Henry V., by her subsequent marriage to Sir Owen Tudor.



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189.

A.D. 1453, 6 July.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 186.]

This letter chronicles the same two deaths as the preceding, and is therefore of the same date.

To my ritht worchipfull Mayster John Paston, be this delyveryd in hast.

RYTHT worchipfull hosbond, I recommonnd me to yow, praying yow to wete that I have spoke with Newman for his place, and I am thorow with hym therfor, but he wold not lete it in no wyse lesse than v. marc. I told hym that sekyrly ye shuld not know but that I hyrid it of hym for iij*li*. I seyde as for the noble,¹ I shuld payt of myn owyn purse, that ye shuld no knowlech have therof. And this day I have had inne ij. cartfull of hey, and your stabyl shall be made I hope this next weke. I kowd not gette no grawnt of hym to have the warehows; he seyth if he may in any wyse forber itt her after, ye shall have itt, but he wull not grawnt itt in no convawt [*covenant*]. He hath grawntyd me the hows be twix the vowte and the warehows, and that he seyde he grawntyd not yow.

And as for the chamer that ye assygnyd to myn unkyl,² God hath purveyd for hym as hys will is; he passyd to God on Monday last past, at xj. of the klok befor none, and Sir John Hevenyngham passyd to God on Tewysday last past; hois sowlys both God assoyle. His sekenesse toke hym on Tewysday, at ix. of the klok befor none, and be too after none he was dedd.

I have begonne your inventare that shuld have be

¹ A noble was a coin of the value of 6s. 8d. A mark was 13s. 4d. Five marks therefore were equal to £3 : 6 : 8; but Margaret said she would pay the odd noble, or 6s. 8d., out of her own purse, and not let Paston know but that he had the place for £3. A little artifice for accepting terms which she had doubtless told Newman her husband could never agree to.

² Philip Berney.—See p. 225, Note 1.

made or this tym, if I had ben well at ease. I hope to make an ende therof, and of other thyngs both this next weke, and ben in that other place, if God send me helth. I must do purvey for meche stuff or I come ther, for ther is nother bords ne other stuff that must neds be had or we come there. And Richard hath gadderid butt lytill mony syth he come from yow. I have sent John Norwod this day to Gresham, Besingham, and Matelask to gete als meche mony as he may. The blissid Trinyte have yow in his keping. Wretyn at Norwych, on the Utas day of Peter and Powl.¹

Yours,

M. P.

190.

A.D. 1453, Sept. (?)

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

There is neither signature nor address to this letter, but it is undoubtedly from Margaret Paston to her husband. The handwriting is the same as that of her other letters. The date seems to be after the death of Sir John Heveningham in 1453, and is not likely to have been a later year, as the Duchess of Suffolk's influence must have been diminished when the Duke of York came into power, though it may possibly have been powerful again in 1456.

RYTH worchepfull howsbonde, I recomende me on to yow. Plesyt yow to wete that I sent Tomas Bon to Edwarde Coteler to have one ansuer of the mater that ye spak to hym of, and he sent me worde that he hade spok to hys man therof, and he tolde hym that he hade no wrytynge nor evidens of no swyche thyng as ye spak to hym of, ner not wyst were he scholde have cnowlage of no swyche thyng, save that he tolde hym that he receyvyd onys j.c.s. [100s.] of the same rent; but and he may have cnowlage of ony man that havyth ony wrytyng or ony thyng that may out prevayle, he schal late yow have cnowlage therof.

As for Wylliam Yellverton, he come here never syn ye yede. As for my Lady Stapullton, att the

¹ The day of St. Peter and Paul is the 29th of June. The *utas* or octave of a feast is the eighth day of the feast—that is to say, the seventh day after, which in this case is the 6th of July

wrytyng of thys letter sche was not come home. Wyndhamys¹ erand to my Lady of Southefolk² was to desiyr hyr gode Ladychep and to beseche hyr that sche wold spek to my cosyn Evenyngham³ that he myt have hys gode wyll, for he levith in hope to have hys modyr, and he hath made menys to have her by John Gros and hys wyf, and by Bokynham and by odyr dyvers, and profuryth hyr to find suerte to aquitt hyr housbondys dettes, the qwyche is CCC. marc, and to payit doune on j. day. And by thys mene, as he scyth, he bathe bargeynid with j. marchande of London, and hath solde to hym the mariage of hys son, for the qwyche he scal have vij. C. [700] marc, and of that the iij. C. [300] marc schoulde be payd for the forseyd dettes; and also he proforyth to yeve hyr the maner of Felbryg to hyr joyntour, and odyr la[r]ge profors as ye schal here erafter. As for the good wyll of my cosyn Hevenyngham, he scyth Wyndh[am]⁴ he schall never have hytt, nott for to have hyr gode konyth he [abydyth]⁵ hys soull bevy therof, for he is aferde that and if the large profors may be perfor[m]yd, that sche wyll have hym. My seyde cosyn preyith yow, att the reverens of Gode, that ye wyll do yowyr [devoir]⁶ therin to brec it and ye can. He schall be here ayen on Mychaell mas evyn. He was full sory that ye wer outt att this tyme, for he hopyd that ye schoulde have do myche goode att this tyme. He bathe seyde as myche ther ageyns as he dar do to have hyr gode modyrchep. My Lady of Southfolce sent j. letter to hyr yesterday by Stanle, the qwyche is callyd j. well cherysyd man with my seyde Lady, and desyryng hyr in the letter that sche wolde owe hyr godde wyll and favor to Wyndham in that that he desyryd of hyr, and of more matterys that ye schall here er after, for I suppose sche wyll schew yow the

¹ John Wyndham, Esq. of Felbrigg.

² Alice, widow of William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.

³ John, son of Sir John Heveningham.—See No. 188, preliminary Note.

⁴ Mutilated.

⁵ Erased in MS. Apparently some further correction should have been made.

⁶ Omitted in MS. "Do your devoir," *i.e.* endeavour, seems to have been the phrase intended.



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to that entent y have denounced and delyverd to you in wrytyng certeyn articles ayenst the Duc of Somerset, whych ys one of theym that ys gyilty thereoff, whertoo tbe Duc of Somerset have aunsuerd ; and to that that he hath aunsuerd y have replyed yn such wyse that y trowe to be sure ynough that there shall no vayllable thyng be seyde to the contrarie of my seyde replicacion, and asmoch as he woold sey shall be but falsnesse and lesyngs, as be the probacions that shall be made there-uppon shall mow appiere ; how be it that to alle people of gode entendement, knowyng how justice owyth to be ministred, it ys full apparaunt that the denunciacions ayenst hym made ben sufficiently preved by the dedes that have folowed thereoff ; whereuppon y have requyred to have ouverture of justice by yow, whych ye have not yhyt doon to me, whereoff y am so hevy that y may no lenger beere it, speciallie seth the mater by me pursued ys so worshipfull for all the royaume, and for you, and so greable to God, and to alle the subgettys of thys royaume, that it may be no gretter. And it ys such that for anye favour of lignage, ne for anye othyr cause there shulde be no dissimulacion, for doubt lest that othyr yn tyme comyng take example thereoff, and lest that the full noble vertue of justice, that of God ys so greetly recommaunded, be extinct or quenched by the fals oppinions of som, that for the grete bribes that the seyde Duc of Somerset hath promysed and yoven them, have turned theyr bertys from the wey of trouth and of justice ; some seyeng that the cases by hym committed ben but cases of trespasse, and othyr takyng a colour to make an universell peas. Whereoff every man that ys trewe to the seyde Coroune auyth gretely to marveyll, that anye man wold sey that the losse of ij. so noble ducheas as Normandie and Guyen, that ben well worth a greet royaume, comyng by successions of fadres and modres to the seyde Coroune, ys but trespasse ; where as it hath be seen in manye royaumes and lordshyps that, for the losse of tounes or castells wythoute sege, the capitaynes that

hav lost theym han be dede and beheded, and her godes lost ; as in Fraunce one that lost Chyrborough ; and also a knyght that fledd for dred of bataille shulde be byheded, soo that alle these thyngs may be founden in the lawes wryten, and also yn the boke cleped *L'arbre de Bataille*. Wherfor, for to abbregge my langage, y requyre you that forasmech as the more partie of the dedes committed by the seyde Duc of Somerset ben committed yn the royaume of Fraunce, that by the lawes of Fraunce processe be made thereuppon ; and that all thyng that y have delyvered and shall delyvere be seen and understand by people havynge knouliche theroff, and that the dedes committed by hym in thys royaume bee yn lyke wyse seen and understand by people lerned yn the lawes of thys land ; and for preffe thereof to graunt commissions to inquire thereof, as by reason and of custom it owyth to be doon, callyng God and you all my Lordes to wytnesse of the devoirs by me doon in thys seyde matere ; and requyeyng you that thys my bille and alle othyr my devoirs may be enacted before you. And that y may have it exemplified undre the Kyngs grete seele for my discharge and acquytaille of my trouthe, makynge protestacion that in case ye make not to me ouverture of justice upon the seyde caas, y shall for my discharge do my peyn that my seyde devoirs and the seyde lak of justice shall be knowen through all the royaume.

Einsi signé,

J. M. NORFF.

192.

About A.D. 1454.

THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

At the bottom of the letter is a contemporary note which appears to show that it was filed along with others of various dates before Michaelmas 1454 : —“ Literæ de diversis annis ante Michaelem xxxij.” More precise evidence of its date does not seem to be attainable.

[To my] right trusty and welbeloved Jon Paston, Esquier.

RIGHT trusty and intierly welbelovyd, I grete you wele. Prayng you as I specially trust you that ye wole be good frend to James Arblaster in his mater touchyng the maner of Smalbergh, as I wote wele ye haf ever be to hym ryght especiall frend ; and thogh it so be that the sayd James had gret trobles, losses, and adversite herbeforn, neverthelesse he shall not be so bare of frendys ner goodes but that I wole se hym holpyn with the mercy of God. In performmyng wherof the berer of this shal enforme you of myn inten and disposicion more largely than I wole put in wrytyng. And the Trinite have you in hys kepyng. Wretyn at Wefnow,¹ the vij. day of August.

ELIZABETH VER, Countes of Oxenford.

193.

Year uncertain.

THE COUNTESS OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This and the letter immediately following are inserted here merely on account of their similarity to the last. Their dates are quite uncertain.

To John Paston, Sqwyer, dwellyng in Norwich.

RYGHt entierly welbeloved, I grete yow well, and pray yow that ye woll be good frende un to Arblaster in suche matiers as he shal enfo[rme] yow, and I thanke yow for the good frendship that ye have shewed to hym. And I sent a letter to Margaret Gurnay byfore Cristemesse of certeyn langage that I herd, wich plesed me nowght, and so I prayed my Lord to gif me leve to wrytte to hir ; and therefore and ye here any thyng, answeere, as my trust is in yow. Right entierly welbeloved, the Holy Gost have yow in his kepyng. Wretyn in hast the first day of February.

OXENFORD,

ELYZABETH DE VEER. }

¹ Wivenhoe, near Colchester, in Essex.



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in like forme as the Duke had done, desiryng that he shuld blisse it; but alle their labour was in veyne, for they departed thens without any answeere or countenance savyng only that ones he loked on the Prince and caste doune his eyene ayen, without any more.

Item, the Cardinale¹ bathe charged and commaunded alle his servauntz to be redy with bowe and arwes, swerd and bokeler, crossebowes, and alle other habillementes of werre, suche as thei kun medle with to awaite upon the saufgarde of his persone.

Item, th'erle of Wiltshire² and the Lord Bonvile have done to be cryed at Taunton in Somerset shire, that every man that is likly and wole go with theym and serve theym, shalle have *vjd.* every day as long as he abidethe with theym.

Item, the Duk of Excestre³ in his owne persone hathe ben at Tuxforthe beside Dancastre, in the north contree, and there the Lord Egremond⁴ mette hym, and thei ij. ben sworne togider, and the Duke is come home agcin.

Item, th'erle of Wiltshire, the Lord Beaumont, Ponynges, Clyfford, Egremond, and Bonvyle, maken all the puissance they kan and may to come hider with theym.

Item, Thorpe⁵ of th'eschequer articuleth fast ayenst the Duke of York, but what his articles ben it is yit unknowen.

Item, Tresham,⁶ Josep,⁷ Danyelle,⁸ and Trevilian⁹

¹ John Kemp, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury.

² James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

³ Henry Holland.

⁴ Thomas Percy, third son of Henry, Earl of Northumberland.

⁵ Thomas Thorpe, one of the Barons of the Exchequer, who was also Speaker of the House of Commons, but was at this time imprisoned in the Fleet in consequence of an action brought against him by the Duke of York.—(See *Rolls of Parl.*, v., 239.)

⁶ Thomas Tresham, who as "Sir Thomas Tresham, Knight," was attainted under Edward IV. for fighting on the Lancastrian side at Towton, but his attainder was afterwards reversed in Parliament 7 and 8 Edw. IV., on the ground that he was a household servant of Henry VI. and had been brought up in his service from a child.—*Rolls of Parliament*, v., 616-17.

⁷ William Joseph, who, with Thorpe, was frequently accused by the Yorkists of misleading the King.—*Rolls of Parliament*, v., 280, 282, 332, 342.

⁸ Thomas Daniel, Esq.—See p. 228, Note 3.

⁹ John Trevilian.

have made a bille to the Lordes, desiryng to have a garisone kept at Wyndesore for the saufgarde of the Kyng and of the Prince, and that they may have money for wages of theym and other that shulle kepe the garyson.

Item, the Duc of Buk' hathe do to be made M^l. M^l. [2000] bendes with knottes, to what entent men may construe as their wittes wole yeve theym.

Item, the Duke of Somersetes herbergeour hath taken up all the loggyng that may be gotten nere the Toure, in Thamystrete, Martlane, Seint Katerines, Tourehille, and there aboute.

Item, the Queene hathe made a bille of five articles, desiryng those articles to be graunted; wherof the first is that she desireth to have the hole reule of this land; the second is that she may make the Chaunceller, the Tresorere, the Prive Seelle, and alle other officers of this land, with shireves and alle other officers that the Kyng shuld make; the third is, that she may yeve alle the bisshopriches of this land, and alle other benefices longyng to the Kynges yift; the iiijth is that she may have suffisant lyvelode assigned hir for the Kyng and the Prince and hir self. But as for the vth article, I kan nat yit knowe what it is.

Item, the Duke of York wole be at Londone justly on Fryday next comyng¹ at night, as his owne men tellen for certain, and he wole come with his houshold meynee, clenly beseen and likly men. And th'erle of Marche² cometh with hym, but he will have a nother feliship of gode men that shall be at Londone before hym . . . that he is come; and suche jakkes, salettes, and other berneys as his meyne shulle have, shalle come to Londone with hem, or before hem in cartes. The Erle of Salesbury³ wille be at Lon[don] on Monday⁴ or Tywesday next comyng with seven score knyghtes and squyers, beside other meynee.

¹ 25th January.

² Afterwards Edward IV., the Duke of York's eldest son.

³ Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, father of Warwick the King-maker.

⁴ 21st January.

The Erles of Warwyk,¹ Richemond,² and Pembroke³ comen with the Duke of Yorke, as it is seide, everych of theym with a godely feliship. And natheles th'erle of Warwyk wole have M^l. men awaityng on hym beside the feliship that cometh with hym, as ferre as I can knowe. And as Geffrey Poole seithe, the Kynges bretherne ben like to be arrested at their comyng to Londone, yf thei come. Wherfore it is thought by my Lordes⁴ servauntz and welwillers here that my Lord, at his comyng hider, shalle come with a gode and clenly feliship, suche as is likly and accordyng to his estate to have aboute hym; and their harneys to come in cartes, as my Lord of Yorkes mennes harneys did the last terme, and shalle at this tyme also. And over that, that my Lord have a nother gode feliship to awaite on hym and to be here afore hym, or els sone after hym, in like wise as other Lordes of his blode wole have.

• And for the more redynesse of suche feliship to be hade redy, that my Lord send sadde and wise messagers to his servauntz and tenauntz in Sussex and elsewhere, that they be redy at London ayenst his comyng, to awaite on my Lord; but lete my Lord beware of writyng of lettres for theym, lest the lettres be delivered to the Cardynalle and Lordes, as one of my Lordes lettres was nowe late, for perill that myght falle, for that lettre hathe done moche harme and no gode.

And as for suche tydynges as ben contened in the lettre sent home by John Sumpterman, I can nat hiderto here the contrarie of any of theym, but that every man that is of th'opynion of the Duke of Somerset⁵ makethe hym redy to be as stronge as he kan make hym. Wherfore it is necessarie that my Lord loke wele to hym self and kepe hym amonge his meyne, and departe nat from theym, for it is to drede

¹ Richard Nevill, Earl of Warwick, afterwards known as "the King-maker."

² Edmund Tudor, the King's half-brother. He was the father of King Henry VII.

³ Jasper Tudor, brother of the Earl of Richmond, and half-brother to the King.

⁴ Probably the Duke of Norfolk.

⁵ See p. 228, Note 4.



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the Chaunceller on Monday last passed¹ at Lamhithe, and compleyned on the Lord Bonvile for takyng of the shippes and godes of the Flemmynges and other of the Duke of Burgoynes Lordships, and the Chaunceller yave theym none answeere to their plesyng; wherfore the substaunce of theym with one voys cryed alowde, "Justice, justice, justice!" wherof the Chaunceller was so dismayed that he coude ne myght no more sey to theym for fere.

196.

A.D. 1454 (?), 29 Jan.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 170.]

The request made at the end of this letter that John Paston would procure his wife an ornament for her neck, is noted by Fenn as one that she had made in April 1452, and of which this was probably a repetition nine months afterwards. There seems no better evidence of date to go by, so we follow the same mode of inference; but as we have placed the letter containing the first petition for the necklace in 1453 instead of 1452, we must attribute this letter to the year 1454.

To my right wurshipfull hosbond, John Paston, be this delyveryd in hast.

RIGHT worshipfull hosbond, I recommawnd me to yow, praying yow to wete that I spak yistirday with my suster,² and she told me that she was sory that she myght not speke with yow or ye yede; and she desyrith if itt pleased yow, that ye shuld yeve the jantylman, that ye know of, seche langage as he myght fele by yow that ye wull be wele willyng to the mater that ye know of; for she told me that he hath seyde befor this tym that he conseyvid that ye have sett but lytil therby, wherfor she prayth yow that ye wull be here gode brother, and that ye myght have a full answer at this tym whedder it

¹ 14th January.² Elizabeth Paston.

shall be ya or nay. For her moder hath seyde to her syth that ye redyn hens, that she hath no fantasy therinne, but that it shall com to a jape; and seyth to her that ther is gode crafte in dawbyng; and hath seche langage to her that she thynkyt right strange, and so that she is right wery therof, wherfor she desyrith the rather to have a full conclusyon therinne. She seyth her full trost is in yow, and as ye do therinne, she wolle agre her therto.

Mayster Braklee¹ be her yisterday to have spoke with yow; I spak with hym, but he wold not tell me what his erond was.

It is seyde her that the cescions shall be at Thetford on Saterdag next komyng, and ther shall be my Lord of Norffolk and other with grette pupill [*people*], as it is seyde.

Other tydyngs have we none yett. The blissefull Trynyte have yow in his kepyng. Wretyn at Norwyche, on the Tewysday next befor Candelmasse.

I pray yow that ye wolle vouchesawf to remembr to purvey a thing for my nekke, and to do make my gyrdill.

Yowris,

M. P.

My cosyn Crane recommawndeth her to yow, and prayth yow to remembr her mater, &c., for she may not slepe on nyghtys for hym.

197.

About A.D. 1454.—AGNES PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 188.]

This letter refers to a proposal for Paston's sister which was probably in or a little before 1454, as in a letter of the 15th July in that year Paston states that several such offers had been under consideration.

¹ John Bracklee or Brackley was a brother of the Convent of Grey Friars, or Friars Minors in Norwich. He took a Doctor of Divinity's degree, and was a famous preacher.—F.

Thys letter be delyverd to John Paston, dwellyn in the Inder In of the Tempyll att London, in hast.



Grete yow well, and lete yow wete that thys day I was with my doughtyr yor wyfe, and che was in good hele att the makyn of thys letter, thankyd be God! and sche lete yor sustyr and me wete of a letter wheche ye sent hyr, that ye have be laboryd to for Ser William Oldhall to have your sustyr, and desyryng in the seyde letter to have an answer in schort tyme, who [*how*] sche wyll be demenyd in thys mater.

Yor suster recomaundyd hyr to yow, and thankyt yow hertyly that ye wyll remembyr hyr, and lete hyr have knowleche ther of, and prayt yow that ye wyll do your dever to bryng it to a good conclusyon; for sche seythe to me that sche trystyt that ye wyll do so, that it xall be bothe for hyr worchup and profyt. And as for me, if ye can thynke that hys lond standyt cler, in as meche as I fele your sustyr well wylyd ther to, I hold me well content.

And as for the oblygacyon of the persen of Marlynferthe, wheche I sent yow by John Newman, I pray yow lete it be suyd; and as for the Parson and Lyn-dese, they be a cordyd. And God have yow in kepyn, and send yow hys blyssyn and myn. Wretyn at Norwyche on Pulver Wedenesday.¹

Be yor moder,

AUGNES PASTON.

198.

A.D. 1454.—INGHAM'S PETITION.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This is a petition to the King in Parliament which, supported by the influence of Cardinal Kemp, appears to have met with a favourable hearing from the House of Lords. The date will appear by the letter following.

¹ If in 1454, Ash-Wednesday was the 6th of March.



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lettre at Dunstone afore seide, and hym than and there grevosly bette and woundet, aswell upon his hede as uppon his leggs, and other ful grevous strokes and many gaf hym upon his bakke, so that youre seide besecher is mahaymed upon his ryght legg, and feyne to goo on crutches, and so must do al dayes of his lif to his utter undoyng; notwithstanding the seide mysdoers and riotous peple in this conceite [lef]te youre seide besecher for dede. Uppon the which ryot it was complayned to my Lord Chauncelere¹ by the frends of yowre besecher, desyryng of hym by ca[use of th]e grete ryote doone by the seide Thomas, and also for the sauf garde of youre seyde besechere, that oone of your serjantes of armes myght be comaundement [go]² and areste the seide Thomas to appere before you in your Chauncerie for the seide ryot, because the seide Thomas was at that tyme at London; bi force of [whech com]aundement oone of youre serjants of armes went to Lyncolne Inne to arreste the sayde Thomas. The which areste the seide Thomas utterly diso[beyed in] grete contempte of your highnesse; nevertheles he is now in the warde of the Wardeyne of the Flete by the comaundement of my Lorde Chaunceler. [Wher]fore plese it your highnes of youre most noble and habundante grace, by the assente of your Lordes Spirituel and Temporel, and of your Comons in this your present Par[lement assem]bled, and by auctorite of the same, to ordeyne and estabelessche that the seide Thomas Denys may abide in the seide prisone of the Flete, and not to be [admitted to bayl] nor meynprise in noo wyse in to soch tyme that the seide Thomas have answered to soch accion or accions as youre seide besecher schal take agaynst hym for the seide mahayme and betyng, and also unto soch tyme as the same accions ben folly discussed and determyned bi twene your seide besecher and the seide Thomas Denys, consideryng that if the

¹ John Kemp, Archbishop of Canterbury and Cardinal.

² Mutilated.

same Thomas scholde go at large, he wolde never answer your seide besecher but hym delay by protections and other weies, so that the same besecher schulde never be content nor agreed, for the exorbitant offence done to hym; and also un to the tyme the seide Thomas fynde sufficient suerte of his gode beryng fro this tyme forthe. And he shal pray to God for youre moste noble astate.

199.

A.D. 1454, 20 March.

THOMAS DENYES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 174.]

This letter is without a signature, and the writer was unknown to Fenn; but a comparison with the letter which follows (now printed for the first time) leaves no doubt that it was written by Thomas Denyes, whom we have already met with as a dependent of the Earl of Oxford (*see* Letters 96, 97, and 104). The date is fixed by the reference to the death of Cardinal Kemp in the postscript.

To my right wurshipfull maister, John Paston.

RIGHT wurshipfull and myn especiall good maister, I recomaund me to you with all service and prayer to my power. And like it you to wete that how be a full straunge acte is passid agayn me in the Higher House before the Lords, wherof I send you a copie. Neverthelesse I hope to God that it shal not passe in the Comon House; but me is be falle the most sorwfull infortune that ever por man had, standyng in suych case as I do, for my Lordis the Cardenale and of Oxenford haf imprisoned my wif in the countour, and how thei shal guyde hir forth, God knoweth. Which standith to nygh myn hert, if Godds will were; but wel I know that by thes vengeable malics don to hir and me thei wole [not?] be content, for Ingham lithe beside that to take away my wyves doughter out of Westminster to make an end of my wif if he can, and also to arest my servauntz, that I drede that she nor I shal haf no crea-

ture to attend us ne help us ; and suych malice haf I never herd of herbeforne. And it is told me that beside that thei wole dispoil, if any good thei can fynde of myn in Norwich or Norffolk, and imprisone my servauntz there. Wherfore I lowly beseche your maistership, for our Lords mercy, that ye vouchsauff to socour them in this necessite ; and if ony entree be made or shuld be made upon myn wifes place in Norwich, that ye vouchsauff to socour my servauntz, and do ther inne after your wisdam for Cristis love and seynt charite.

Beside this, a frend and kynnesman of myn, oon Robert Clement of Betele, hath writen to me that he is arestid, and like to be imprisoned bi a writte of dette, take agayn hym upon an obligacion of *Cli.* [£100] in which he and I and other wer bounde to my Lorde of Oxenford xiiij. yeer agone, wherof I haf many acquitances. Wherfore I pray your good maistership to send to the Shirreve that my said kynnesman may ben easid, and no retourne made ageyn hym, but that he may answer the next tyme bi attourney ; for truly that writte was take oute in the end of the terme aftir I was arestid, and aftir it was aperid to.

I pray your maistership, for Godds sake, to be not displesid, ne wery to do for me in these materes of your charite, for I had lever gif the said Robert suych good, litell if it be, as I haf, than he wer undone for me, or ony man ellis that ever ded for me. And I hope, if God vouchsaf that the mater may come to reson, to sauf hym harmles, and all other with Godds mercy, ever prayng you of your maistership and socour for Godds love, who ever kepe for his mercy.

Wretyn in Flete, the Wednesday the second weke of Lent.

Mor over, in augmentyng of my sorwe, I wend my wif shuld a dyed sith, for aftir she was arestid she laboured of hir child, that she is with all, waityng either to dye or be delyvered, and she hath not gon viij. weks quykke. What shal be falle Almighty God knoweth, and shall dispose mercifully.

Aftirward my wif was sum dele easid bi the labour



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pill power. My Lord, ye know I had litill cause to do for Thomas Denyes, savyng only for your gode Lordshep. Also, my Lord, I know wele that Water Ingham was bete, the mater hangyng in myn award, right fowle and shamefully; and also how the seid Thomas Denyes hath, this last terme, ageyn your nobill estat, right unwysely demened hym to his shame and grettest rebuke that ever he had in his lyve. Where fore it is right wele do his person be ponysshed as it pleaseth you. But this not withstondyng for Godds love, my Lord, remembre how the gentilwoman is accombred only for yowr sake, and help her; and if aught lyth in my power to do that that myght please yowr Lordshep, or cowde fynde any way for Water Ingham avayll and wurchep, I wull do it to my power; and the rather if your Lordshep support the gentilwoman, for I know the mater and that longe plee is litill avayll, and every thyng must have an ende. I have told my brother Mathew Drury more to enforme yowre Lordshep than I may have leyser to write for his hasty departyng. Right wurchepfull and my right especiall Lord, I besech All myghty God send you asmych joy and wurchep as ever had any of my Lords yowr aunceters, and kepe you and all yowres. Wretyn at Norwich the iiij. Sonday of Lent.

Yowre servaunte to his powr,

JOHN PASTON.

201.

A. D. 1454.—INFORMATION AGAINST ROBERT LEDHAM.

[From Add. Charter 16,545, B.M.]

This paper refers mainly to events of 1452 and 1453, but was probably drawn up in 1454, after the Duke of York had come into power.



THEES be the persons that enformyd the Justicez of the Kyngis Benche the last terme of suche ryottis as hath be done be Robert Ledham: The Lord Skales, Sir Thomas Todenham,

Sir John Chalers, Edmond Clere, Water George, John Alyngton, Gilbert Debenham, John Denston, William Whit, William Alyngton, Reynald Rows, John Berney, Richard Suthwell, John Paston, John Henyngham, Raff Shelton, Henry Grey.

These be the names of the knyghtes and esquyers that endittyd Robert Ledham :—Thomas Todenham, knyght, Androw Ogard, knyght, John Henygham, knyght, William Calthorp, esquyer, Bryan Stapelton, esquyer, Osbert Mondford, esquyer, John Groos, esquyer, William Rokwod, esquyer, Thomas Morle, esquyer, Thomas Scholdham, esquyer, John Wyndham, esquyer, John Berney, esquyer, William Narbow, esquyer, John Chippysby, esquyer, William White, esquyer, John Bryston, esquyer, John Paston, esquyer.

These be dyvers of the ryottis and offensis done in the hundred of Blofeld in the counte of Norffolk, and in other townys be Robert Lethum, otherwyse callyd Robert Ledham of Wytton, be Blofeld in the counte of Norffolk, and by his ryottys men and by other of his affinitez and knowleche, whos names folowyn, and that they contynually folow and resorte unto his hous, and ther be supported and maynteynet and confortid.

These be the principall menealle men of the sayd Robert Ledham ys hous be the whiche the sayd ryottys have be done, that use in substaunce non other occupacion but ryottys :—*In primis*, John Cokett, Thomas Bury, Thomas Cokowe, Cristofer Bradlee, Elys Dukworth, William Donmowe, Cristofer Grenesheve, Roger Chirche. Notwythstondyng the sayd Robert Ledham kypith dayly many mo in his house and chaungeth such as have be oppenly knowyn for riottis and takith other for hem as evill as they. And these be the most principale persons comyng and resortyng unto the house of the sayd Robert Ledham, and ther be supportid and mayntened in ryottes be whom the sayd ryottes have be don, that ys to sey : *In primis*, Robert Taillor, Henry Bang, Robert Dallyng, John Beston,

Charles Navell, John, the sone of Roger Ratclyff, Robert Berton; notwythstondyng ther be money moo whos names ben unknowyn. With the which persons, and many moo unknowyn, the sayd Robert Ledham kept atte his bous in maner of a forcelet and issith ouute atte here pleaysour and atte his lust, the sayd Ledham to assigne, somtyme vj. and sometyme xij., somtyme xxx^{ti} and moo, armyd, jakkid, and salettyd, with bowys and arrowys, speris, billys, and over ryde the countrey and oppressid the Kyngs peple, and didde mony oryble and abhomynable dedes, like to have be destruccion of the enhabitan- tantes in the sayd hundred, in the forme that folowyth, and warse.

In primis, on the Monday¹ next before Ester day and the shire daye, the xxx. yere of oure soverayne Lord the Kyng, x. persons of the sayd riottors, with a brother of the wyff of the sayd Robert Lethum, laye in awayte in the hyght way under Thorpe Wode upon Phillip Berney, esquier, and his man comyng from the shire, and shette atte hym and smote the hors of the sayd Phillipp with arowes, and than over rode hym, and toke hym and bette hym and spoillid hym. And for thayr excuse of this ryot, they ledde hym to the Bysshopp of Norwiche, axyng seuerte of the peas wher they badde never waraunt hym to areste. Which affray shorttyd the lyffdayes of the sayd Phillippe, whiche dyed withynne shorte tyme after the said affray.²

Item, iij. of the sayd riottys feloshippe the same day, yere, and place, laye on awayte uppon Edmond Broune, gentilman, and with naked swerdes and other wepyng faght wyth hym be the space of on qaurte (*sic*) of an houre, and toke and spoillyd hym, and kepte hym as long as them lyst, and after that lette hym goo.

Item, xl^{ti} of the sayd riottys felowshipp, be the comaundement of the same Robert Lethum, jakket

¹ 3d Aprij 1452.

² Philip Berney died, as we have seen, on the 2d July 1453, fifteen months



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of here hed with a swerd; of the whiche hurte she myght never be helyd into the day of hure deth.

Item, John, the sone of Hodge Rattleffe, and other of the sayd felowshipp, toke on Thomas Baret of Byrlygham out of his house, and bete hym and wondid hym that he kept his bedde a month, and toke from hym certayn goodes and catells.

Item, the sayd Robert Tailor, because the sayd Thomas Baret complayned of the same betyng, lay in awayte oppon hym, with other of his feloushippe, and bete hym agayn.

Item, John Beston and the sayd Robert Tailor, and other of the sayd riottes felowshipp, toke on Thomas Byrden of Lyngewod and bete hym and prisoned hym till unto such tyme that he was delyvered by the mene of my Lord of Norwych; and for that sorow, distres, and grete payne and betyng, the sayd Thomas Byrden toke suche kynesse that he dyed.

Item, the sayd Robert Dallyng and Herry Bange, and other of the sayd felowshippe, toke and bete on Nicholas Chirche atte Strumpeshawe, beyng in the church of the same towne, that he was [in] dout of his lyff.

Item, the sayd Robert Dallyng lay on awayt uppon on Thomas Dallyng, and hym grevously bete.

Item, on Middleynt Sunday,¹ the xxx^{ti} yere of oure soveraigne Lorde the Kynge that now ys, Robert Dallyng, Robert Chirche, Robert Tailor, Herry Bang, Adam atte More, with other unknowyn, be the comaundement and assent of the sayd Robert Ledham, made affray uppon Herry Smyth and Thomas Chambre atte Suthbirlyngham, the sayd Herry and Thomas and that tyme knelyng to see the usyng of the masse, and than and ther wold have kyllid the sayd Herry and Thomas atte the prestys bakke, ne had they be lettyd.

Item, the sayd Robert Lethum, with his sayd ryottis felowshipp, the same yere dide and made so many

ryottes in the hundred where he dwellyth that dyvers and many gentilmen, frankeleyns, and good men, durst not abyde in here mansyon place, ne ryde, nother walke aboute thaire occupacions without mo persons, arrayd in maner and forme of werre attendyng and waytyng uppon them than thayr lyvelode wold extende to fynde hem. And so, for savacion of thaire lyves, and in eschewyng of suche inordinat costys as never was seen in that countrey befor, many of them forsoke and lefte thaire owyn habitacion, wyff and childe, and drewe to fortresses and good townes as for that tyme.

In primis, Phillipp Berney, esquier, Edmond Broom to Castre; Thomas Holler, John Wylton to Norwych; Oliver Kubyte to Seynt Benetts; Robert Spany to Aylesham; Thomas Baret, with many others, to Meche Yermouth and to other placys of strenght.

Item, the sayd Robert Ledham, contynuyng in this wyse, callyd unto hym his sayd mys governed fellowship, consydryng the absence of many of the wellrewlyd people of the sayd hundred of affere cast malice, and congeded, purposed and labored to the sheriff of the shire that the sayd Roger Chirche, on of the sayd riottous felawshipp, was made bailly of the hundred; and after causid the same Roger to be begynner of arysyng and to take oppon hym to be a captayn and to excite the peple of the countrey therto. And ther oppon, be covyne of the sayd Robert Ledhaum, to appeche all these sayd wellrewlyd persones, and as well other divers substanciall men of good fame and good governaunce that were hated be the sayd Robert Ledhaum, and promittyng the sayd Roger harmeles and to sew his pardon be the mene of Danyell; to the which promyse the sayd Rogger agreed, and was arested and take be the sayd Ledham be covyne betwixt hem, and appeched suche persons as they lust, to the entente that the sayd substanciall men of the countre shuld be by that mene so trowblyd and indaungered that they shuld not be of power to lette and resist the mys rewle of the sayd Ledham and his mys-

governed felowshipp, the whiche mater ys confessid by the sayd Roger Chirch.

Item, William Breton and John Berton, and other of the sayd ryottes, come into the place of on Robert Spany of Poswyke and serched his housez, hous be hous, for to have bete hym yf they myght have founde hym.

Item, William Donmowe, servaunt of the sayd Robert Ledham, and by his comaundement, the same yere bete the parson of Hashyngham, and brake his hede in his owyn chauncell.

Item, the sayd Thomas Bery, Elys Dukworth, Thomas Cokowe, George of Chamer, the v. day of Novembre last past, with divers other onknowyn men, onto the nombre of xx. persons, and noman of reputacion among hem, comen, under color of huntyng, and brake uppe gatys and closys of Osburne Monford atte Brayston; and xij. persons of the same felowshipp, with bowys bent and arowys redy in thair handys, abode alone betwixt the maner of Brayston and the chirche, and there kept hem from vij. of the clokke on the mornyng unto iij. of the clokk after none, lyyng in awayte oppon the servauntez of the sayd Osburne Monford, lorde of the sayd maner, so that nonne durst comen ouut for doute of thair lyves.

Item, viij. of the sayd felowshipp, on the Wennesday next after, prevely in an hole layn in awayte oppon William Edworth and Robert Camplyon, servauntz to the sayd Osburn Montford, comyng from Okill¹ market, till that tyme that the said William Owell and Robert come uppon hem onwarre, and theruppon chasid hem so that yf they had not be well horssyd and well askapped, they had ben dede and slayne.

Item, vj. or vij. of the sayd Ledamys men dayly, boyth werkeday and haly day, use to goo aboute in the countrey with bowys and arowys, shotyng and playng in mennys closis among men catall, goyng from alhous to alhousez and manassyng suche as they hated, and soght occasion and quarels and debate.

Item, notwithstanding that all the lyvelod that the

¹ Acle.



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to Lord Grey on the 15th of July 1454 about proposals having been recently made for his sister, it is not unlikely to be that year.

Un to ryth reverent Sir, and my good mayster, John Paston.

RYTH wurthy and wurchypfull Sir, and my ryth good mayster, I recomaunde me on to you, thankyng you evermore of your gret jentylness and good maystyrhod shewyd on to me at all tymys, and specyally now to my herthys ease, qwyche on my part can nowt be rewardyd, but my sympyll service is ever redy at your comaundement. Ferthemor, as for the mater that ye wete of, I have laboryd so to my feydr that your entent as for the jointoure xal be fulfellyd; and, Sir, I besheche you sethyn that I do my part to fullefelle your wyll, that ye wolle shew me your good maystyrhod in here chambyr, as my full trust is, in so moche that it xall nowth hurthe you nor non of youris, and the profite ther of xal be on to the avayle of my maystress your suster, and to me, and to non odyr creature.

And also my maystress, your modyr, xall nouth be charchyd the with her bourd aftyr the day of the mariage, but I to discharge her of here persone, and to ease me that hat here chambyr may be non contradiccion.

And, Sir, I am redy, and alwey wolle to performe that I have seyde on to you, &c.

Ferthemor, lykyd you to wete I was a Thursday last passyd at Cavendyshe, to dylyver an astate to Wentworth in the londe that was my brothyr Cavendyche, as I tolde you wan I was last with you. And ther I spak with Crane; and he be sowthe me that I wolde sende over to my maystress your modyr for his excuse, for he myth nowth be with here at this tyme, but on the Saterdag in Esterne wyke he wolle nouth fayll to be with her. So he counsellyd me that I and my brothyr Denston xulde mete with hym there; and so, withoute your better avyse, I and my brothyr purpose us to be

with you ther at that tyme; for the sonner the levyr me, for, as to my conceythe, the dayys be waxyn wondyrly longe in a scorte tyme. Qwerfor I besheche you sende me your avyse how ye wolle have me rewlyd, &c.

No more I wrythe to you at this present tyme, but be schechyng you to recomaunde in the lowlyest wyse. And the Trinite preserve you body and sowle.

Wretyn with my chauncery hand, in ryth gret haste, on the Fryday be forn Palmesoneday.

Your,

JOHN CLOPTON.

203.

JOHN CLOPTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 196.]

The date of this draft settlement is no doubt about the same period as that of the preceding letter, whatever may have been the exact time that it was written.

Maryage Artycles betwix Anneys Paston, &c. on the one partie, and William Clopton, Squyer, on the other partie.

THIS indenture, made betwix Anneys that was the wyfe of William Paston, John Paston hir sone, and John Dam on the one partie, and William Clopton, Squyer, on the other partie, witnesseth that accord is take attwyn the seid parties that John Clopton, sone and heir of the seid William Clopton, by the grace of God, shall wedde Elizabeth, the doughter of the seid Anneys. For which mareage the seid Anneys, &c. shall paye to the seid John Clopton CCCCth marc in hand of lawfull mony of England; and over that, yf the seid mareage be holdyn with the seid Anneys, the seid Anneys shall

bere the costages therof the day of the weddyng, with swech chaumbeyr as shall be to the plesir of the seid Anneys; and the seid William Clopton shall do his feffees make a lawfull estate to the seid William of londs, tenementz, rentz, and servysez to the yerly value of xl*li*. over all chargez born, to have and to hold to hym terme of his lyfe, withoutyn empechement of wast, the remaindr therof to the seid John and Elizabeth, and to his heirs male of hir body lawfully begotyn, withoute impechement of wast, withynne xij. dayes after the seid weddyng.

And over that, withynne the seid xij. dayes the seid John shall do lawfull estate to be made to the seid William of londs, tenementz, rentz, and servysez to the yerly value of xl. marc over all charges born; to have and hold to the seid William terme of his lyfe, withoute empechement of wast; the remayndre therof to the seid Elizabeth, to have and hold to hir terme of hir lyfe withoute empechement of wast.

Also it is accorded that the seid William shall make estate of all the residue of his londs which he is sesid of, or any other man to his use, to swech personys as the seid John shall name, to the use of the seid John.

Also the seid John Clopton shall do lawfull estate to be made to the seid Elizabeth of londs, tenementz, rentz, and servysez to the yerly value of xxx*li*. over all chargez born, to have and hold to hir duryng the lyfe of the seid William.

And moreover the seid John permytteth and ensueth be the feith of his body that he shall leve, over the xl*li*. worth lond abovesaid to his heirs and issue male of the body of the seid Elizabeth begotyn, londes in fee symple or in taill to the yerly value of xl. marc, in cas the same issue male be governyd to the seid John as the sone oweth to be to the fadir. And, &c.



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hurt for me. Ferthermore, I wrote to you for such smal thynges as I had leid to plegge to you for such good as that I borwid of you. Wheryn I beseche your maistership that if my frends pay you accordyng to my wrytyng, that ye than vouchsaf to do the said plegges be sent hider to me by such conduyte as your wisdam like to avise, and that they myght be here by the *iiij*^{to} die of the *xv*^{cim}¹ of Ester, for than is my grettest jouparte touchyng myn imprisonment; for sith myn enmyes coude not avail to send me to the castel of Bristow (which was their purpose, whan thei undirstood the disposicion of the Comons Hous agayn their billes), ever sith they make a privy labor to haf me remevid, and I wote not whedir, ne wethir that tyme I shal be sent to the Kynges Bench, and abide ther, or remittyd hider agayn.

Neverthelesse, if I haf releve of such pouer godes as shuld be myn by reson, than I hope to do better, and sumwhat to aquyte, wherby I hope to put my frends in gretter corage to do for me. And if I haf no releve, than can I nomore, but all refere to God as I do daily. Wherefore, if ye be not paied, I pray you to counsell my said frendes to send me suche mony as thei may gete of myn agayn that day, ever your maistership and wisdam seyng to the conduyte therof. Moreover, I doute lest that Richard Davy of his untrouth enfourme myn enmys wher such pouer thyng as I haf is, to that intent that thei may riffel and dispoil all. Wherof, if such case hapne, I can no ferthre, but I besech your help in every thyng. It is yours all, ther is a dede of giffit therof to you among myn evidence, as ye vouchsauff to do or do to be don in every thyng I holde me content. And Al myghti God preserve you.

Wretyn in non hertis ease at Flete, the *iiij*. day of Maii.

WOFUL DENYES.

¹ The fourth day of the quinzaine of Easter.

205.

A.D. 1454, 17 May.

LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 200.]

This letter is dated by a contemporary note at the bottom of the original which is given thus in Fenn: "Li't āā mīch. xxxiiijō." But for "āā" according to the Errata in vol. iii., we should read "āā," *i.e.* "Litteræ ante Mich. [Festum S. Michaelis] xxxiiij." [*i.e.* anno Regis xxxiii.]

To my right and welbeloved frend, John Paston, Squier.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved frend, I grete you wel; and for as mych as I have understande that ze have do take a distresse of certayn bestes upon certayn land, which I stande infeffed in, in the town of Pgrave, for what cause I knowe not; wherfor I pray you that ze wyll make deliverance ageyn of the said bestes, and if any thing ze can axe be dute of right, setteth a day, and lete your evydences and right be shewed, and I shall assigne conceill of myn to be there to se it; and all that reson or lawe wyll, I wyll be right glad ze have, and otherwise I trowe ze wold not desire. And if ze wyll do this, I wyll be wel paied, and elles ze constreyn me to pourveye other wise, as lawe may gyde me. Oure Lord have you in governance. Writen at Walsyngham, the xvij. day of May.

Youre frend,

THE LORD SCALES.

206.

A.D. 1454, 8 June.—BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 76.]

To my Maister Paston.

WORSHYPFULL Syr, and my gode maister, after dewe recomendacion, wyth alle my trewe servyce precedyng, lyke you wete that

as to nouveltees, &c., the Prince shall be create at Wyndesour, uppon Pentecost Sunday,¹ the Chaunceller,² the Duc of Bokyngham, and manye othyre Lordys off astate, present wyth the Quene.

As to my Lord Yorke, he abydyth aboute Yorke tille Corpus Crist Feste³ be passyd, and wyth grete worship ys there resseyved.

And certeyn Justices, Prysot,⁴ Byngham,⁵ Portyngton,⁶ and &c., be thedre for execucion of justice uppon such as hafe offendended yn cause creminall.

It ys seyde the Duc of Exceter⁷ ys here coverdtlye. God send hym gode counsell hereafter.

And the Pryvee Sele⁸ ys examynyde how, and yn whate maner, and be whate autorite prevye selys were passed forthe in that behalf, whych ys full innocent and ryght clere yn that mater, as it ys welle knowen.

The Frenshmen hafe be afore the Isles of Gersey and Gernessey, and a grete navey of hem, and v^c [500] be taken and slayn of hem by men of the seyde trew Isles, &c.

Syr Edmond Mulso ys come from the Duc of Burgoyne;⁹ and he seyth, by hys servaunts rapport, that he wolle not discharge the godes of the mrchaunts of thys land, but so be that justice be don uppon the Lord Bonevyle, or els that he be sent to hym to do justice by hym self, as he hath deserved, or satisfaccion be made to the value.

Yowr mater¹⁰ is enseled as of the thyng ye wote of.

I can no more for haste and lak of leyser, but our Lord kepe you. Wryt hastly viij. of June.

¹ June 9 in 1454.

² Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury, was appointed Chancellor on the 2d April 1454.

³ June 20 in 1454.

⁴ John Prisot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

⁵ Richard Bingham, a Justice of the King's Bench.

⁶ John Portington, a Justice of the Common Pleas.

⁷ Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. On the 11th May this year, he was ordered to appear before the Council on the following Thursday (16 May).—See Nicolas's Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 180.

⁸ His name was Thomas Lyseux.—See Patent Roll, 32 Hen. VI., M. 14.

⁹ Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy.

¹⁰ Doubtless the grant of the wardship of Thomas Fastolf of Cowhawe.—See preliminary Note to next letter.



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and ther rood with hym Gyboun of Debnem, and Tympyrle, and all the felashyp that they cowd make. And Gyboun seyde that he wolde endyte as many as he cowde understonde that wer of the toder party; and longe Bernard was ther also; and he mad Ser Phylyp Wentforde to torne ageyn, and maad every men to beende her bowys, and lyth down of her hors for to wyte and ony man wolde come ageynstem, and he seyde how he shulde not let hys wey nor for Ser John Fastolf nor for Paston, nor for noon of hem all.

And as for the ward,¹ he was not ther, but ther was had anoder chyld lyk hym, and he rood next hym, and whan that he was ij. myle be zonde Colchester, he sent hym hoomageyn with a cer tey[n] meyny. And Ser Phylyp Wentforde, and Gyboun of Debnem, and Tymperle, and Bernard, they took a man of Stratford, a sowter,² and hys name ys Persoun; and they enquiryd hym of every manys name of the toder party, and he tolde hem as many as he cowde; and they bad hym enquer ferther for to knowe all, for they desyryd of hym for to enquer as fer as he cowde, and he shulde have well for hys labor.

No mor to yow at thys tyme, but the Holy Gost have yow in hys kepyng.

Wretyn at Hadley, the Saturday after Seynt John ys day. And I beseeche yow hertyly recomande me to my Master Alblaster. By yowr man,

R. DOLLAY.

208.

A.D. 1454, 5 July.

WILLIAM BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 140.]

The year in which this letter was written must be that of the mayoralty of Robert Sturmy at Bristol, as shown in Note 2. It certainly could not be 1457, Fenn's date, as Lord Cromwell died in January 1456.

¹ Thomas, son of John Fastolf, Esq. of Cowhawe.

² A shoemaker.

*To my gode maister, John Paston, Escuier, in Norwich,
and yn hys absence, to John Berney, at Caister, Squyer.*

WORSHYPFULL Sirs, I recomaund me to yow.
Lyke yow wete that as to the waraunts and
copes that ye remembred to be gheten owt,
it ys laboured for, &c.

And as to the assisse, it shall hald at Norwych, the
Monday next com fortendayes.

The Duc of York, the Lord Cromewell, and othyr
Lordys of the North that were wyth my seyde Lord
York, comen hedre by Monday next, as it ys credyibly
seyde. The Lordys that be appoynted to kepe the
see maken hem redye yn all haste; and the Tre-
sourer also, the Lord Wyltshyre¹ for the west coost.
And a stately vessell, only for the warre, ys made new
at Brystow by the Mayr, called Sturmyn.² And the
seyde toune with the west coosts wolle do her part,
and [i.e. *if*] they may be supported or favoured.³

¹ James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. He was appointed Lord Treasurer of England on the 15th March 1455 (Patent, 33 Henry VI., p. 2, m. 20), but on the 29th May following, the office was taken from him, and given to Henry, Viscount Bourchier (*Ib.* m. 12). But this letter, which is dated in July, cannot be in 1455; indeed we have positive evidence that it is in 1454. How, then, are we to explain the manner in which Wiltshire is referred to above? It is just possible—though not likely, as Wiltshire was a Lancastrian—that his appointment may have been enrolled in the wrong year, and that he was really made Lord Treasurer on the 15th March 1454. A difference in punctuation will perhaps solve the difficulty best:—"The Lords that be appointed to kepe the see maken hem ready yn all haste, and the Treasurer also: the Lord Wyltshyre for the west coast." John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, is mentioned as Lord Treasurer on the 11th February 1454.—*See* Rolls of Parliament, v. 238.

² The name was printed by Fenn "St'myn'," and in the modern version on the opposite page, "St. Myn." Robert Sturmy was Mayor of Bristol in the year 1453-4. It was probably this very ship that was captured by the Genoese in 1457, of which disaster there is the following notice in the MS. Calendars of Bristol:—"Mr. Robert Sturney [*alias* Sturmei], who was Mayor in 1453, had this year a ship spoiled in the Medditerranean Sea by the Genoese, which ship had gotten much wealth as having been long forth. She had spices fit to be planted here in England, as was reported, but the men of Genoa in envy spoiled her. Which wrong, when King Henry understood, he arrested the Genoa merchants in London, seized their goods, and imprisoned their persons, until they gave security to make good the loss; so that they were charged with £6000 indebted to Mr. Sturney."—*Seyer's* Memoirs of Bristol, ii. 189.

³ "The said town," it would appear, did "do her part" on the occasion; for besides this ship fitted out by the Mayor, Bristol subscribed £150 to a loan raised by the Duke of York from the seaports for the protection of trade. This sum may appear insignificant for a flourishing seaport; but London itself

Mastere Pownyngs¹ hath day tille the next terme by a remayner. Manye a gode man ys hert he hath.² God comfort hym in ryght!

And justice ys don dayly uppon thevys and malefactours, and people be glad that justice may procede.

The Lord Bouchier hath a gode renomee of hys wyse demenyng at Calis, but he ys not yhyt comen.

The Soudeours be more temperat then they were. Not ell[es] for lak of leyser, but our Lord kepe you.

Wryt at L. [London], the v. day of Jullet.

Gressam qwyts hym well yn your erandys doyng to me.

Your,

W. BOTONER.

209.

A.D. 1454, 11 July.

EDMUND LORD GREY OF HASTINGS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 214.]

This letter is dated by a memorandum at the bottom of the original, in the handwriting of John Paston—"Liberat. per Will. Aleyn, valetum dicti domini xiiij. die Julii anno xxxij°. H. vi."

To my trusty and wele beloved John Paston, Squerer, be this lettre delivered.

TRUSTY and welebelovid frend, I comaund me to zow, certifying zow that and zour sustyr be not zit married, y trust to God y know that where she may be married to a gentylman of iii. C. [300] marc of lyvelod, the which is a grete gentylman born, and of gode blode; and yf ze think that y shall

only subscribed £300, and Southampton, which was the next largest contributor, only £100, while Norwich and Yarmouth contributed the latter amount between them.—Seyer's Bristol, ii. 188; see also Rolls of Parliament, v. 245. We must remember, however, that these sums probably represent about fifteen times their value in modern currency. At all events, by comparison with other places, Botoner had no cause to be ashamed of his native town.

¹ Robert Pownings.—See p. 133, Note 2.

² "Many a good man's heart he hath."—We should have thought this explanation unnecessary, but that Fenn, in his modern version, gives the following most extraordinary rendering:—"Many a good man is hurt (*that*) he hath."



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no creatwr, ne forther prosede in no seche mater befor the fest of the Assumpcion of owr Lady next comyng, dwryng whyche tyme yowr Lordship may send me, if itt please yow, certeyn informacion of the seyde gentylmanys name, and of the place and contrey where hys lyfflod lyth, and whedder he hath any chylder, and, after, I shall demene me in the mater as yowr Lordship shall be pleasyd ; for in gode feyth, my Lord, it were to me grette joy that my seyde pore suster were, according to hier pore degre, marijd be yowr avyse, trustyng thanne that ye wold be here gode Lord.

Ryght wurchipfull and my ryght gode Lord, I beseche Almyghty God to have yow in His kepyng. Wrete att Norwych, the xv. day of Jull.

211.

A.D. 1454 [July].

WILLIAM PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 72.]

The date of this letter is fixed by the fact referred to in Note 1, and by Sir John Fastolf's going into Norfolk, which, though delayed a little later than is here projected, certainly did take place in 1454. See another letter of William Paston further on, dated 6th September.

To his wurchyppfull Brodyr, John Paston.

RYTH wurchyppfull broder, I recomande to yow ; and as for tedyng, my Lord of Yorke bathe take my Lord of Exsater¹ in to hys awarde. The Duke of Somerset² is styll in prison, in warse case than he was. Syr Jon Fastolf recomande hym to yow, &c. He wyll ryde in to Norfolke ward as on Trusday, and he wyll dwelle at Caster, and Skrop³ wyth hym. He saythe ye ar the hartiest

¹ Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter. On the 24th July the Duke of York was charged by the Privy Council to convey him to Pomfret Castle.—See Nicolas's Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 217.

² Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who was committed to the Tower in the end of the year 1453.—See No. 191, prefatory note.

³ Stephen Scroope, Sir John Fastolf's ward, son of Lady Fastolf, by her former husband.

kynysman and frynd that he knowyts. He wolde have yow at Mawdeby dwellyng.

I had gret cher of Byllyng be the way, and he told me in cownsayle wathe he sayd to Ledam.

Ledam wulde a do hys wyse to a mad a complent to Pryothe¹ in the scher-howse of yow, and Byllyng consallyd hym to leve, and tolde Ledam ye and he wer no felawys, and sayd to Ledam, "That is the gyse of yowr contre men, to spend alle the good they have on men and lewery gownys, and hors and harnes, and so beryt owth for j wylle [*bear it out for a while*], and at the laste they arn but beggars; and so wyll ye do. I wylde ye schull do wyll, be cause ye ar a felaw in Grays In, wer I was a felaw. As for Paston, he ys a swyr [squire] of wurchyp, and of gret lyvelode, and I wothe he wyll not spend alle hys good as [*at?*] onys, but he sparyt yerly C. mark, or j. C. li. [*£100*]; he may do his ennemy a scherewd turne and never far the warse in hys howsholde, ner the lesse men abowthe hym. Ye may not do so, but if yt be for j. [*one*] sesun. I consayll yow not to contenu long as ye do. I wulle consalle yow to seke reste wyth Paston."

And I thankkyd Byllyng on yowr behalfe.

God have yow in hys kepyng.

Be yowr por Brodyr,

WYLLYAM PASTON.

Meche odyr thyng I can telle an I had lesur. Re-comande me to my suster Margeth [and] my cosyn Elizabeth Clyr, I pray yow.

212.

A.D. 1454, 19 Aug.

RICHARD, DUKE OF YORK, TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 92.]

This and the following letter could hardly have been written in any year except 1454 or 1455, when the Duke of York was in power. In the former

¹ John Prisot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

year he is very likely to have been at his own castle of Sandal on the 19th August, seeing that on the 24th July he was commissioned to convey the Duke of Exeter to Pomfret Castle.

To our right trusty and welbeloved John Paston, Esquire.

The Duc of York.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved, we grete yow hertily wel. And of your benivolence, aide, and tendre love by yow, at th'instance and at the reverence of us, to our right trusty and welbeloved in God, the prior and convent of the hows of Our Lady of Walsingham, of our patronage, in suche matres as they had adoo for certain lyvelood by tham claymed to belonge unto the seid hows, favorably and tendrely shewed,—as hertily as we can we thank yow, and desire and pray yow of your good continuance; and as far as right, lawe, and good conscience wol, to have in favorable recommendacion suche personnes as been or shal bee committed to take possession and saison, in the name and to the use of our ful worshipful nepveu, th'eryl of Warrewic, in and of the manoirs and Lordeships of Boules and Walcots,¹ with th'appertenautes in Litel Snoring in the countee of Norffolk, as our grete trust is unto yow. And God have yow in His keping.

Yeven undre our signet at our castel of Sandhall the xix. day of August.

R. YORK.

¹ According to Blomefield (vii. 186), Catherine, widow of John Cokerell of Albergh Wykes in Suffolk, died seised of the manors of Walcotes and Boles in 6 Henry VI., which she left, with others, to Catherine, daughter of John Cokerell, junior, her son, who died before his father. This younger Catherine died a minor in 10 Henry VI., and the jury knew not who was her heir. In 29 Henry VI. George Heath of Mildenhall released to Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, all his rights in Walcotes and Boles; but in the 18th of Henry VII. Christopher Conyers and Alice his wife conveyed it to the Heydons. Of its having been purchased by the Earl of Warwick or having belonged to the Prior of Walsingham, as stated in the next letter, Blomefield tells us nothing except that Richard Earl of Warwick presented to the rectory of Snoring Parva in 1460 and 1466.



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and of No. 221 following, I am inclined to think all three belong to the year 1454, when Sir John Fastolf had just come to settle for the rest of his days in Norfolk. Sir John Fenn, I think rightly, considers this first letter to have been written between jest and earnest; and this tone may be very well explained by the supposition, that on Fastolf's settlement at Caister, Worcester expected to have had some position of importance assigned to him in his master's household. That such would be his fortune was probably the expectation of others as well as himself, and apparently John Paston had written to him in the belief that Worcester's influence with Sir John might occasionally be of value to him.

To my Maister Paston,

H. R.

FTYR dewe recomendacion wyth my simple service precedyng, please your maistershyp to wete, that as to such remembraunce that ye desyre me to contynew forth to the uttermost, I shall wyth gode wille, so as my maister wille licence me, as oft as I can, th'officer to hafe leysure to be wyth me, for ye know well I can not do it alone, &c.

And where as ye of your pleasure wryte me or calle me Maister Worcestr, I pray and requyre yow foryete that name of maistershyp, for I am not amended by my maister of a ferthyng yn certeynte, but of wages of housold in comune *entaunt come nows plaira*. By Worcestr or Botoner I hafe vs. yerly, all costs born, to help pay for bonetts that I lose. I told so my maister thys weke, and he seyde me yerstenday he wysshed me to hafe be a preest, so I had be disposed, to hafe gofe me a lyvyng by reson of a benefice, that anotheyr most gefe it, as the Byshop, but he wold; and so I endure *inter egenos ut servus ad aratrum*.

Forgefe me, I wryte to make yow laugh; and our Lord bryng my maister yn a better mode for othys as for me.

At Caistr, ij^d day of September.

I pray yow displese not your servaunt be so long, for my maister lettet hym.

Your,

W. WYRCESTR.

215.

A.D. 1454 (?), 2 Sept.

THOMAS HOWES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 320.]

With regard to the date of this letter, see the preliminary note to the last.

To my maister, John Paston, Squier, be this delyvered.

RYGHT worshypfull Sir, I recommaund me to yow. And my maister hertly thankyth yow for the venyson that ye sent hym from my Lord of Oxford, and prayeth yow that he may be recommaunded to hys noble Lordshyp. And God thank yow for your speciall remembraunce of my mater that ye hafe it so tendyrly to hert, for ye may know weel the gode spede of that ys my wellfare and the contrarye ys my utter undoyngs. I hafe sent to John Porter to wete verrayly how it standyth with hym, as ye shall wete the certeynte thys weke. As for the mater wryt to Bokkyng he hath rad ys lettre, and wille remember your desyre, and also of William Geney comyng, yn case he know of it rathyr then ye.

And my maistre herd the substaunce of your lettre red, and lyked it ritz well. And as for the mater of Worcester remembraunce, he shall geve hys attendaunce therto yn that he can. And where ye calle hym maister, he ys displesed wyth that name, for he may spend vs. yerly more by the name of Worcestre or Botoner, and by hys maister not a ferthyng yn certeynte. He prayth yow foryete it.

I pray God kepe yow. Wryt at Castr hastily ijd day of September. Your oune,

T. HOWES.

Item, yn case Jankyn¹ be hole, my Lord of Norffolk

¹ This appears to be the John or Jankyn Porter above named, who will be found mentioned hereafter.

hath graunted [him] by moyen of Robert Wyngfeld, to be yn my seyde Lord ys houshold, as my maister hath it by lettre from Wyngfeld.

216.

A.D. 1454, 6 Sept.

WILLIAM PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 220.]

There is abundant evidence that the year in which this letter was written was 1454. The references to Lord Grey's offer of a husband for Elizabeth Paston, and to Sir John Fastolf's going into Norfolk, of which William Paston had before written by anticipation, though a little prematurely, in No. 211, are in themselves sufficient to fix the chronology; but the mention of fealty having been done by a new Archbishop of Canterbury and a new Bishop of Ely removes any possible doubt on the subject.

To my rith wurchipfull brodir, Jon Paston, be this delyveryd.

RYTH wurchyfull brodyr, I recomande me to zow, desiryng to her of zowr willefar. Bylyng¹ the serjant bathe byn in his contre, and he come to Lunden this weke; he sent for me and ast me how I fared; I tolde hym her is pestelens, and sayd I fard the better he was in good hele, for it was noysyd that he was ded. A toke me to him and ast how my suster dede, and I answeyrd wyll, never better. He seyde he was with the Lord Gray,² and they talkyd of j. jantilman qweche is ward to my Lord—I remember he sayd it was Harry Gray that thei talkyd of; and my Lord sayd, “I was besy with yn this fewe days to a maryd hym to a jantyllwoman yn Norfolke that schall have iiij. C. marc to hyr mariage, and now a wyll not be me, for iiij. C. marc wulde do me hese; and now he wulde have his mariage mony hymself, and therefore (quoth he) he schall mary hym self for me.”

This wurds had my Lorde to Byllyng, as he tolde

¹ Thomas Billing was made a serjeant in 1453, and about 1469 was appointed Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

² Edmund Lord Grey of Ruthyn.—See Letter 209.



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day, the Natyvite, in gret hast. I pray recomand me to my suster, and cosyn Cler.

Be yowr broder,

WM. PASTON.

217.

A.D. 1454-9, 19 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 227.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Has searched among his evidence, and found a release of Nycolas Bockyng of his messuage and lands in Castre, "some-time Fraunceys and afterward John Barboures, and Cassandre his wife," which is enrolled *in Banco, Rotulo primo de cartis scriptis, de termino Sc. Trin. anno r. R. Henr. Sexti, 23°*. Send me the copy of it. *(Signature not in his own hand.)*

Castre, 19 Sept.

[The year in which this letter was written is uncertain, but it cannot be earlier than 1454, when Fastolf came to Caister, nor later than 1459, as he died in November of that year.]

218.

A.D. 1454 (?), 6 Oct.

RICHARD SOUTHWELL TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 376.]

This letter must have been written during one of the periods of the Duke of York's ascendancy, and on a comparison of possible years, I am inclined to assign it to 1454. The date 1460, to which Fenn ascribes it, would have been highly probable but for the fact that John Paston, who was returned to Parliament in that year, does not appear to have arrived in London even on the 12th October, so that probably he had not left Norwich on the 6th.

*To the right reverent and worshippfull John Paston,
in haste.*

RIGHT reverent and worshippfull Sir, and my right trusti and welbelovid cosin, I recomaund me unto you, praiyng you hertily to remembr me unto my Master Radclyff, so that by your gode meanes I shall mowe have his gode

mastershipp, the whiche I have effectually to [m]y power sewed fore iij. yer, and never deserved the contrarye to my knowlegge, by my trowth; and if it can or may be founden that I have, I will obeye me, and offre me to abyde the rewle of you and my cosin your brothir, &c.

Also my Lord of Caunterbury ¹ Master Waltier Bl[a]kette will help forthe, if nede be; and as to the remenant of the Lordes, if the case requir that ye may understand by your wysdum thei be displeased with me—as I trust to God thei be not,—I beseche you to remembr that I have aforetyme b[en] accused unto the Kings Highnesse and the Quenes for owyng my pore gode will and service unto my Lord of York and other, &c. Wherof I suppose that Thomas Bagham is remembered that I brought hym oones from my Lady a purs and v. marc therin, and to Sir Phelipp Wenteworth an other and a Cs. [100s.] therin for their gode will and advise therin to my Lady and all us that were appelled for that cause, notwithstanding the King wrote to my Lord by the meanes of the Duc of Somersette,² that we shuld be avoyded from hym, &c. And within this ij. yer we wer in like wise laboured ageyns to the Quene, so that she wrote to my Lord³ to avoyde us, saiying that the King and she coude nor myght in no wyse be assured of hym and my Lady as long as we wer aboute hym, with much other thing, as may be sufficiently proved by the Quenes writing under herr own signett and signe manuell, the whiche I shewd to my Lord of Caunterbury and other Lordes, &c.

I prey you have me excused that I encombr you with thees matiers at this tyme, for me thinketh ye shuld will and desire me to do any thing to your honour and pleaser at any tyme, wherto I shal be redy and

¹ Thomas Bouchier.

² Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset.

³ John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, in whose household R. Southwell had an appointment.—F.

welwilled to my power by the grace of God, who have you ever in his keping, and all youres.

Writon at Norwiche, on Seint Feithes day, in haste.
 Youres, RIC. SUTHWELL.

219.

A.D. 1454, Oct. or Nov.

THOMAS HOWES TO [JOHN PASTON?]

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is anonymous, but appears to be in the handwriting of Thomas Howes. It must belong to the year 1454, when the wardship of Thomas Fastolf of Cowhaw was granted to Howes and John Paston.



PLEASE your maistreship to wete, for as mych as the wryt directed to the excheter cam not tyl in the Vigil of Symond and Jude,¹ at viij. of the clocke at evyn, whiche coude in no wyse profit us that day; notwithstondynge we had a yoman of my Lords chamber, and were at Cowhaw, havynge Bertylmeu Elys with us, and ther was Long Bernard sytting to kepe a court. And we at the furst Noy come in the court, and Bertylmeu havynge this termys to Bernard, seying, “Sir, forasmych as the Kyng hathe grauntyd be hese lettres patent the wardship with the profites of the londes of T. Fastolf duryng hese nun age to you² and T. H., wherfor I am comyn as ther styward, be ther comaundement, upon ther pocession to kep court and lete, whiche is of old custum usyd upon thys day; wherfor I charge you, be the vertu herof, to seas and kepe nouthir court nor lete, for ye have non autoryte.” Quod Bernard, “I wyll kepe bothe court and lete, and ye shal non kepe here; for there is no man hath so gret autoryte.” Than quod Bertylmeu, “I shal sytte by you, and take a recony-saunce as ye do.” “Nay,” quod Bernard, “I wyl suffre you to sytte, but not to wryte.” “Well,” quod

¹ St. Simon and Jude's day is the 28th October. The Vigil is the 27th.

² So in MS. The writer seems to be confusing the direct and indirect mode of reporting a speech.



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A.D. 1454, 3 Nov.

WILLIAM BARKER TO SIR J. FASTOLF.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

For the date of this letter, see preliminary Note to No. 214. John Porter who was at this time in Fastolf's service, seems to have gone immediately after into that of the Duke of Norfolk.—See Nos. 224, 234.

To myn ryght worshipfull mayster, Sir John Fastolf.

PLEASE youre maystership, the cause of myn teryng is that I must ben at Norwyche on Monday at the shyre to stoppe the ought-lawrye of John Porter, wheche but if be holpen, he shalben dowble oughtlawed bothe atte the sewt of the Kyng for a reskuse, as for serteyn money he oweth to on Hewghe, a man of court. And also the next day I shuld ben, if it please yow, at Saxthorp with a certeyn person, as I shal telle youre maystership here after, of whom I shuld have certeyn evydences of the maner of Saxthorp, and rentall, and fymall as I am promysed. And, Sire, as for alle the maters that I went fore in to Essex and Suffolk, I have spedde theym, as I shal declare to youre maystership at myn comyng, and brought wryghtyng from theym. And as for myn Lord of Norffolk, towchyng your money, he seyth ye shal have hit with inne this xiiij. dayes. Hit was his fyrst mater to me after I badde delyvered his ryng. The money is redye, but he seyde that he must have stoor with inne hym, for he loked dayly whan the Kyng wold send for hym. But as sone as Barette, his tresorer, come home—whom he hath sent for money,—ye shall in contynent after have your *Cli.* [£100]. I made to his Lordship as I badde no thyng know in the mater for onely for the excuse of Sir Thomas, &c. And I beseche the blessed Trinyte preserve yow, myn ryght wurshipfull mayster, after his pleasaunce and youre herts desyre, &c.

Wreten in hast at Wroxham, the Sondag after Allehallwen day. Your bedeman and servaunt,

WILLIAM BARKER.

222.

A.D. 1454, 11 Nov.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 224.]

To the worshipfull and my ryght welbelovyd cosyn, John Paston.

WORSHYPFULL and ryght welbelovyd cosyn, I comaund me to yow. Lyke you to wete that I have resseyved a lettre at thys tyme from John Bokkyng, wyth a copie of the patent concernyng the wardeshyp that ye wote off, by whych y understand that ye have both wrought and holpen by your grete wysdom to bryng thys matier aboute, whych y desyred your frendshyp and gode avice for the suertee of the seyd waarde;¹ and for expedicion of whych y thank you ryzt hertlye, and pray you to contynew foorth your gode labours in the same yn such wyse as it may be made sure ynall wyse, thoy it cost me the more of my gode.

And where as it ys remembered me by the seyd lettres that y shuld labour to ghete the seyd ward yn to my gouvernance, truely y can not see how y coude do it to be doon, for y have none acqueyntaunce in that contree that y coude trust too, wythoute the Shyreve myght be my tender frende in thys cause, or othyr such as ye thynk best. Wherfor y pray you hertlye to take thys mater tenderly to hert, and that ye lyke s^eke a moyen of such frendys as ye can best avyse, and may verrayly trust uppon, to gyde thys mater yn such wyse as myne entent myght be sped for the possession of it; for now that y have go so ferre yn the matier, I wold not it faylled for no gode, but it preved well, and toke to a gode conclusion.

And where as y have understand late, by certeyn

¹ Thomas Fastolf of Cowhawe.—See p. 292, Note 1.

well willers to you warde, whych have meoved me, that yn case the seyde warde myght be had, that ye desyre an alliaunce shulde take atwyx a doughter of yours and the seyde waard, of whych mocion y was ryght glad to hyre off, and wylle be ryght well wylling and helpyng that your blode and myne myght increse yn alliaunces. And yff it please yow that by your wysdom and gode conduyt that ye wolde help beere owte thys mater substaunciallie ayenst my partie contrarie and eville willers, that I myght have myne entent, I ensure you ye and y shuld appoynt and accorde yn such wyse as ye shuld hale you ryght well plesed both for the encresyng of your lynage and also of myne. And y pray you be ware whom ye make of your counsaile and myne yn thys mater, and that it may be well bore owte er ye com thens, and yn a sure wey; and yff y had knowe rathyr [*i.e.* earlier] of your entent, it shuld hafe cost me more of my gode before thys, to hafe com to a gode conclusion, whych I promysse yhyt shall bee, and the mater take, by the fayth of my bodye.

Worshypfull and ryght welbelovyd cosyn, y pray God spede you yn thys matier, and sende you your gode desyrs.

Wreten at Castr, the xj. day of November anno xxxiiij^o R. H. VI.

Your cosyn,

JOHN FASTOLFE.

Item, cosyn, I pray yow when ye see tyme that my Lord of Caunterbury¹ and my Lord Cromewell² may be spoke wyth for the godes of my Lord Bedford, beyng yn dyvers men handz, be compelled to be brought ynne, as ye shall see more along of thys mater, wyth the wrytyngs that I have made mencion, and left wyth John Bökkyng and William Barker.

¹ Thomas Bouchier.

² Ralph, Lord Cromwell.



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wheche ye most with them take upon yow at this tyme in my maisterez absence; for as ye do in that mater, he woll hold hym content, for Wyllyam Barker hathe an instruccyon of my maisterez intent upon the same. And I send John Bokyng a copy of the panell, wheche I shewed yow at Castr, &c. Almyghty Jesu have yow eternally in hese mercyfull governaunce.

Wretyn at Castr, the Wednysday next aftyr Seynt Martyn, anno xxxiiij.

TH. HOWYS.

224.

A.D. 1454, 18 Nov.

SIR THOMAS HOWYS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

*To the wurshepful and reverent Sir, my good Maystyr
John Paston, in all goodly haste.*

REVERENT and wurshepful Sir, and my good maistyr, I recomaund me to yow in as louly wyse as on my part aperteineth. And please yow to wete that my maistyr is fully purposed to sewe ateynte, whereupon he wrytethe a lettere directyd to yow and otherez, for the wheche I beseke yow to be my good maystyr in pursewyng the seyde ateynte; and also my maistyr is agreed what reward ye geve the Shereff he holdeth hym content. Wherfor, that youre reward may be the larger, so he woll¹ ther upon returne the panell for the seyde ateynte; and thanne yef Jenney wold meove my Lord of Norffolke that he wold be my good Lord, amyttynge me for hese chapeleyn, and Jhankyn Porter for hese servaunt, wheche is hese chek roll, it shuld cause the matere to have the redyer expedecyon, as well be the Shereff as be the gret jury. And yef the processe may have so redy sped that it myght be had be fore my Maystyr

¹ *Woll*, corr. from *wold*.

Yelwerton in this vaccacyon tyme, it wer a gret counfort, &c. Beseking yow at the reverence of God, and as ever my power servyse may be at your comaundement, that ye effectually labour this matere in the most spedfull wyse, as youre descreecyon, with Jenneyez avyse, thinketh most expedyent; for I ferre gretly to be outlawed or the seyde processe shuld be brought to a conclucyon withoute redy processe in the seyde ateynte. And I here no sewer tydinges of a parlement; but rather thanne I shuld be outlawed, I wold yeld my self to preson, wheche shuld be myn undoyng, and thanne to be with oute remedy. My refformacyon and counforte in eschewyng that lythe holly in your helpe and Jenneyez at thys tyme, be cause my maystyr bathe comytted the governaunce of the seyde matere to yow, and what expense it draweth he agreyth to bere it, &c.

I beseke Almyghty Jesu have yow, my good maystyr, eternally in hese me[r]cyfull governaunce, and inspyre yow with hese speryt of remembraunce effectually to procede in this matere.

Wretyn breffly at Castre the Monday next be fore Seynt Edmond the Kyng,¹ anno xxxiiij. Regis H. vj^{ti}.

Item, Sir, as for mony to the sped of this matere, Bokkyng bathe redy in comaundement to make delevery to yow what that ye nede, so there shall be no defaute in that, &c.

T. Howys.

225.

A.D. 1454-59.—SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is mutilated and its date is uncertain, except that, being dated at Caister, it must have been written between 1454 and 1459.

To my right welbilovyd cosyn, John Paston.

¹ The day of St. Edmund the King was the 20th November.

.
 wise, and for asmoche as it is
 the Lady
 Hastings¹ doughter, as I undrestande
 is lyneally
 descendid of my Lady Felbrig² is sustre
 she was married to Sir
 Hug' Fastolf, graunsir to this same Thomas ; and the
 Lady Hastings is comen of Sir Robert Clyfton, which
 dwellid besyde Lynne. I prey yow, cosyn, enquere of
 my Lady Felbrigge how nygh they bethe of kynrede,
 and whethir they mow marie to ghedre or not, and how
 many degrees in lynage they bethe a sundre, for I
 reporte me to yowr wyse discrecion what the law wol
 sey ther ynne.

Item, it is so that Wyndam³ came yesterday to Jer-
 nemouth, and is at Stapletons ; and this day a man of
 Stapletons came to me to wete if they sholde come
 speke with me or not, and I have sent Sir Thomas to
 hem to know ther entent and what they meane ; and
 also he shal sey unto theym that I woll not medle ther
 with but as law and consciens will.

This is the tydinges that I have ; I pray yow send
 me some of yours. As towching the North cuntre,
 Sperling hathe tolde yow. And God kepe yow.
 Wretyn at Castre this same day. J. FASTOLF.

226.

A. D. 1455, 9 Jan.—EDMUND CLERE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 80.]

There is no doubt about the date of this letter. The King fell ill at Clarendon in the autumn of 1453, and remained in a state of utter imbecility during

¹ Margery, widow of Sir Edward Hastings of Elsing, and daughter of Sir Robert Clifton. After her first husband's death she married John Wymondham, who bought the manor of Felbrigg from Lord Scales and the executors of Sir Simon Felbrigg.—See Blomefield, viii. 112.

² Catherine, widow of Sir Simon Felbrigg. She was a daughter of Anketill Mallory, Esq. of Winwick, in Northamptonshire.

³ John Wymondham or Wyndham.—See Note 1.



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Masse devoutly; and Richard shall tell yow more tidings by mouth.

I pray yow recomaund me to my Lady Morley,¹ and to Maister Prior,² and to my Lady Felbrigge,³ and to my Lady Hevenyngham,⁴ and to my cosyn your moder, and to my cosyn your wife.

Wreten at Grenewich on Thursday after Twelftheday.
Be your cosyn,

EDMUND CLERE.

227.

A. D. 1455, 24 Jan.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 260.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO HENRY FYLONGLYE AND JOHN PASTON.

Must pay £40 to the Exchequer this term for the ward of Thomas Fastolf, in part payment of £80, and other great payments at the same time, amounting to £200 or more. Desires him, therefore, to speak with my Lord of Canterbury, whose day of payment is long past, that he may have "the rather ready payment" of his duty; "for he is one of the Lords earthly that I most trust upon." Hopes he will consider the great loss Fastolf already sustains by "the great good the King oweth me, and other divers Lords to my great discomfort."

Castre, 24 Jan.

[This letter could not have been written before the year 1455, as Sir John Fastolf only came to reside at Castre in the autumn of the year preceding. The wardship of Thomas Fastolf was procured by Sir John for John Paston in June 1454, so that it is highly probable he had to pay for it in the beginning of next year. In the year following, again, Fastolf was endeavouring to make good those claims against the Crown, which he here merely mentions as a ground of indulgence to himself.]

228.

A. D. 1455, 7 Feb.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 232.]

*To my right trusty and welbelovyd cosyn, John Paston,
in goodly haste.*

¹ See p. 67, Note 1.

² Probably the Prior of Bromholm.

³ See p. 314, Note 2.

⁴ Sir John Heveningham married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Reedesham. Unless he married a second time, this Elizabeth was now his widow.

RYGHTE trusty and welbelovyd cosyn, I comaund me to yow. And please yow to wete that I am avertysed that at a dyner in Norwiche, wher as ye and othyr jentylmen wer present, that that ther were certeyn personez, jentylmen, whiche utteryd skornefull language of me, as in thys wyse, with mor, seyeng, “War the, gosune [*cousin?*] war, and goo we to dyner; goo we wher? to Sir John Fastolf, and ther we shall well paye ther fore.” What ther menyng was, I knowe well to no good entent to me ward; wherfor, cosyn, I prey yow, as my truste is in yow, that ye geve me knowelege be writing what jentylmen they be that had this report with more, and what mo jentylmen wer present, as ye wold I shuld and wer my deute to do for yow in semblabyll wyse. And I shall kepe yowr informatyon in this mater secret, and with Godds grace so purvey for hem as they shall not all be well pleasyd. At suche a tyme a man may knowe hese frendes and hese fooes asonder, &c. Jesu preserve and kepe yow.

Wretyn at Caster, the vij. day of Feverer, anno xxxiiij. R. H. vj^{ti}.

JOHN FASTOLF, Knyght.

229.

A.D. 1455.—THOMAS HOWYS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The Rectory of Stokesby in Norfolk was vacant in the year 1455. The right of presentation ought to have belonged to Sir John Fastolf, as John Fastolf—doubtless of Cowhaw—had presented in 1444; but it was allowed to lapse to the Bishop, who presented Simon Thornham, LL.D. Afterwards it appears that James Gloys was rector, who must have been presented by John or Margaret Paston. This letter was probably written a few days before that which comes next.

To the right wurshepful Sir, my good Maystyr John Paston.

RIGHT worshepful Sir, and my good maistryr, I recomaund me louly unto you, thankyng youre good maystyrshap for your good remembraunce for the cherche of Stokysby, wherupon I have desyred my trusty frend, Wylliam Worcestre, to come be the Abot¹ homward, besekyng you to avertyse hym youre good avyse how he may be have hym best in this mater to the seyde Abot, etc. And, Sir, en cas ye myght be at a leyser to be with my mayster upon Thursday next comyng, forasmuche as Maistryr Yelvyrton and Jenney shal be her, ye shuld do my maistir ryght gret pleasure. And I beseke you the rather for my sake, for at that tyme the conveyaunce of al materez shal be comounyd of; and I know verely your avyse shall peyse depper in my maistryrs conceyt thanne bothyn thers shal do. Ye have dayly gret labour for me, God reward yow, and my pore preyer ye shall have, &c. I beseke Almyghti Jesu have you in hese mercyfull governaunce, and graunt you evyr that may be to your most herte plessaunce, &c.

Your chapeleyn and bedeman,

THOMAS HOWYS.

230.

A.D. 1455, 17 March.

THE ABBOT OF ST. BENET'S TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 236.]

This letter was written by John Martin, Lord Abbot of St. Benet's of Hulme. The heads of this monastery were mitred abbots, and sat in Parliament. The date may be assigned to the year 1455 for two reasons—first, that in that year St. Benet's day (the 21st of March) fell on a Friday; and second, that in the same year the living of Stokesby lapsed to the Bishop of Norwich.

*To my ryght well be louyd John Paston, Esquyer, be
this delivered.*



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To myn ryght weel beloved cosyn, John Paston, Squier.

WORSHIPFULL cosyn, I recomaunde me to yow. And lyke yow to wete that at this tyme I sende to yow myn welbeloved frende and servant, Sir Thomas Howys, to have youre good counsell and advyse how and in what wyse he may best be demened there at this tyme in his yeldyng to the Sheref upon his exigend, wheche is and shal be v. tymes called as on Monday next comyng, as I understande; and, the same by good and discrete advyse concluded and sette in a good weye by sewertes found to appere at London the day of the retorn of the wrytte or otherwyse, that thenne if ye thenke hit be to do'n [*to do*], ye lyke to take upon yow to comon with myne Lord of Norwyche,¹ recomaundyng me to hys good and tender Lordship, and declaryng to hym how and in what wyse the seyd Sir Thomas was demened in the *oyer and determyner*, and sethe how he hath wrongously and with ought cause be vexed by John Andrews and other, and greetly trowbled, wherupon this atteynt now is grownded, in such wyse as ye thenk best to be done; and that his Lordship by youre medyacion here after geve not any favore to any persone or persones on myne contrarye partye for any synystre informacion geven other wyse than the trowth in the mater shal require, as he shal weel understande by youre good reporte, for ye know the same mater weel. Wherfore, cosyn, I praye yow that ye wole tender the same for the weel and good speed therof, as myne syngler trust is in yow. And the blessed Trinyte preserve yow to his pleaser.

In hast, at Castre, the xxix. day of Marche.

Youre, JOHN FASTOLF, Chr.

¹ I suspect "Norwyche" is here a slip of the pen, and that "my Lord of Norfolk" was intended.

Item, cosyn, I sende youre a lettre to delyver to myne seyde Lord with a cople of the same, wheche I praye yow to se, and if ye thenk hit be to do'n, delyveret [*deliver it*] youre self, &c., to th'entent he myght know the disposicion of the pepul how they be sette, &c. ; for he weel advertysed in this mater shalbe a greet supporter of trougt in this be half, for the partye contrarye wole do'n that they can to labore the jure, and don to have theym rewled after theyr entent and contrary to trougt; wheche mater I remytte ondly to youre ryght wyse discrecion.

233.

A.D. 1455, March (?).

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The MS. of this is a corrected draft. Although the person addressed is not named, the style in which he is addressed, and particularly the last sentence, leave no doubt that it is the Duke of Norfolk. Indeed, this is not unlikely to be the letter mentioned in the postscript to the last, of which a copy or draft was sent along with the original to John Paston that he might deliver the latter, only if he approved of its contents. If so, it is probable that Paston withheld it, as we find by the letter immediately following that Fastolf addressed another memorial to the Duke on the subject of his dispute with Wentworth four days later.

RIGHT hy and myghty Prynce, my right gode and gracyous Lord, I recomaund me to your gode Lordship, etc. And please itt your Hyghnesse to wete that Sir Philip Wenteworth purchasid the Kyngs patentis of the ward of the heyer and londes of a por kynnesman of myne called John Fastolf of Cowhawe, late passed to God, to the grett hurte and distruccion as well of the inheritance of the seyde heyer as interrupcion and breking of the last will of the seyde John, and also to my grett troble and damage; and for asmoche as it fortowned be grase the seyde patentis to be mystake, so that they were not lafull ne sufficyent, be avyce of conceyll, certeyn

persones,¹ to myn use, purchesid be the Kyngs letters patentes suffycyent and lafull of the ward of the seyde londes. And the rigth of thes bothe patentes hath be putte in juges and lerned men, affor hom the seyde Sir Philipp ne his conceyll coud never prove hes tytill lawfull be his seyde patents, and this notwithstanding intendith be fors, as I understand, to take the profytes of the seyde londes ageyns all lawe and concyence. Beseching your Lordchip to tender me in myn age and sekenesse that may not ryde ne help myself, and of your habundant grace to supporte me in my right, that I be not be fors ageyns lawe and concyence kepte from the possesscion of the seyde londes in this contre, wher ye be Prynce and Sovereyn next ovr Sovereyn Lord.

The following memoranda occur on the back:—

Br[adwe]ll juxta Jernemut.	
Kirley juxta Leystoft, viij <i>li</i> .	
Foxhole	} xvij <i>li</i> .
Cowhaw in Nakton on this side Yepiswich, ij. myl,	
Langston in Brustall, ij. myle beyond Yepiswich,	} ij <i>li</i> .
Bentele, ij. mile beyond Brustall, xiiij <i>li</i> . (M)	

234.

A.D. 1455, 2 April.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.

[From Fenn, iii. 338.]

Although there is no direction upon this letter, it was evidently addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, as it speaks of "your Castle of Framlingham." The absence of any written address Fenn accounts for by supposing the letter to have been enclosed in a cover; but as it appears that the original contained at least one passage which was crossed out (*see* page 341 in Fenn), we may with greater probability consider it to have been a corrected draft, like the last, sent to John Paston for his approval. The dispute with Sir Philip Wentworth and the matters of John Porter and Sir Thomas Howes, here referred to, both point to the year 1455 as the date of this letter.—*See* Nos. 221, 224.

¹ They were John Paston and Thomas Howes, and their patent was dated 6th June 32 Hen. VI. (1454).—*See* Rolls of Parliament, v. 371.



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yow, and evere more sende yow the accomplishment of youre right noble desires to his plesir and youres.

Writen at my pore place of Castre, the ij^{de} day of Aprill.

Your humble man and servaunt,

J. FASTOLF.

235.

A.D. 1455, 3 May.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 244.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Thanks him for his letters, and the answer he made to Bokkyng. Does not know how to answer him concerning the ward,¹ the suit against William Jenney and Sir Thomas, &c. If Paston could be at London this term, even for three days, it would speed better than Fastolf's writing, and Fastolf will pay his costs. If he cannot, Paston must use his own discretion, and Fastolf will abide by what he does. It would be a great rebuke if the matter of the ward went against us, "for nowadays ye know well that law goeth as it is favored, and after that the attorneys be wise and discreet in their conduct."

Castre, 3 May.

[This letter, being dated at Caister in the month of May, cannot be earlier than 1455, and the references to the matter of the ward and the suit against Sir Thomas Howes seem to fix it to that year.]

236.

A.D. 1455 (?), 8 May.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

RICHARD CALLE TO JOHN PASTON.

Thorne did not come to him, nor could he learn anything about him from Sir Thomas Howes, except that Howes had informed him of what Paston commanded Calle to tell his wife. Will not distraint till he hear from Paston. Howys trusts to make sufficient reckoning of all things touching Fastolf, so that neither he nor Paston be hurt. He will do nothing in future without Paston's advice. Desires him to remember John Elger, Bocking,

¹ Thomas Fastolf.—See p. 292, Note 1.

and others "for the rescues which was made for Jankyn Porter." Remember James Gresham to withdraw the suit for W. Magges. No News.

8 May.

[The allusion to John or Jankyn Porter in this letter makes it probable that it was written in the year 1455.—See No. 234.]

237.

A.D. 1455, 16 May.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 252.]

"THOMAS CANON, THE HELDER, OF MEKYLL PAGRAVE," TO JOHN PASTON.

Desires to hear of his "durat prosperite and welfare." Hopes he will protect him as he has done, if any man will put him to any wrong. Has land in Lytyl Pgrave and in Lytyldonham, called Strangys, which he wishes to sell to Paston before any other, on condition that he will "keep it counsel" from John Pgrave till he and the writer have accorded.

At Sporle, Friday after Ascension Day, 33 Hen. VI.

238.

A.D. 1455, 21 May.—MEMORIAL TO HENRY VI.

[From Fenn, iii. 178.]

This is a copy of the memorial drawn up by the Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury just before the first battle of St. Alban's, which the Duke of Somerset and his friends would not allow to be presented to the King. Although this copy is without date, the original was dated at Ware the 21st May.—See Rolls of Parliament, v., 281, where the whole document is cited.

Vadatur F. P.

MOSTE Cristen Kyng, ryght hygh and myghty Prince, and our mooste redoubted souverayn Lorde, we recomaunde ws as humblye as we suffice unto your hygh excellence, where unto please it to wete that for so moche as we hyre and understand to our grettyst sorowe erthlye that our ennyes of approuved experience, such as abyde and kepe theym sylf under the whyng of your Magestee Royall, have throwen unto the same ryght stedyously and ryght fraudulentlye manye ambyguytees and doubttes

of the fayth, lygeaunce, and dewtee that, God knowyth, we beere unto your Hyghnesse, and have put theym yn as grete devoyr as they coude to enstraunge ws from your mooste noble presonce and from the favour of your goode grace; whych goode grace to ws ys and owe to be our singuler and mooste desyred yoie and consolacion: We at thys tyme be comyng wyth grace as your true and humble liege men, toward your seyde Hygh Excellence to declare and shew therto at large owr sayd fayth and ligeaunce, entendyng wyth the the mercye of Jesu yn the seyde comyng, to put ws yn as diligent and bertye devoyr and dewtee as onye your lyege men on lyve to that at may avaunce or preferre the honnour and wellfare off the sayde Mageste Royalle and the seurte of the sayde most notable person; the whych [we] beseche our blessed Creature to prosper [in] as grete honnor, yoie, and felicitie as ever had onye prince erthlye, and to your sayde Hyghnesse so to take, accept, and repute ws, and not to plese to geve trust or confidence unto the sinistrez, maliciouse, and fraudulent laboures and rapportes of our sayde ennemyes unto our comyng to your sayde moste noble presence; where unto we beseche humblye that we may be admitted as your liege men, to th'entent to show ws the same; wher-off yerstenday we wrote our lettres of our entent to the ryght reverent fadre yn God, the Archebyssshop of Caunterburye,¹ your Chauncellr of England, to be shewed to your sayde Hyghnesse, whereoff, forsomoch as we be not acerteined whethyr our sayde entent be by hys fadrehode shewed unto your seyde goode grace or not, we sende thereoff unto thys closed a copy of our said lettres of our disposicion toward your sayde Hygh Excellence and the honnour and weele of the land, whereynne we wolle persevere wyth the grace of our Lorde.

¹ Fenn states that on the margin of the MS., in a hand nearly coeval with the letter itself, is written, "Memorandum quod dict' literæ (?) Dominorum direct' Archiepiscopo Cant. est apud" What followed is lost, the paper being torn. The letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, however, will be found quoted at full length in the Rolls of Parliament, v. 280-1.



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smeton on eyther partye. The seyde Duke sende to the Kyng our sovereyne Lord, be the avyse of his counsell, prayng and be sekyng hym to take him as his true man and humble suget; and to consider and to tender at the reverence of Almyghty God, and in way of charite the true entent of his comyng—to be good and gracyous sovereyne Lorde to his legemen, wech with al ther power and mygth wille be redy at alle tymes to leve and dye with hym in his righth. And to what thyng yt shoulde lyke his Mageste Ryall to commaunde hem, yf yt be his worsship, kepyng right of the Croune and welffare of the londe; “More over, gracyous Lord, plese yt zour Majeste Ryall of zour grete goodnesse and ryghtwesnesse to enclyne zour wille to here and fele the ryghtwyse partye of us zoure sugettes and legemen; fyrst, prayng and besechyng to oure Lord Jesus of his hye and myghty power to geve un to zou vertu and prudence, and that thorough the medyacyon of the glorious martyr Seynt Albion to geve zou very knowleche to knowe the entent of oure assembleng at this tyme; for God that is [in] Heven knoweth than our entent is rightful and true. And there fore we pray unto Al myghty Lord Jesus these wordes—*Domine sis clipeus defensionis nostræ*. Wherefore, gracyus Lord, plese it your hyghe Majeste to delyvere such as we wole accuse, and they to have lyke, as they have deserved and done, and ze to be honorabled and worsshepyt as most ryghtffull Kyng and oure governour. For and we shall now at this tyme be promysed, as afore this tyme ys not unknowen, of promes broken wech ful fayth fully hath ben promysed, and there upon grete othes made, we wyll not now cesse for noon such promysse, surete, ne other, tyl we have hem whych hav deserved deth, or elles we to dye there fore.”

And to that answered the Kyng our sovereyne Lord, and seyde: “I, Kyng Herry, charge and comaund that no maner persone, of what degre, or state; or condicyon that evere he be, abyde not, but voyde the felde,

and not be so hardy to make ony resystens ageyne me in myn owne realme ; for I shall knowe what traytor dar be so bolde to reyse a pepull in myn owne lond, where thorough I am in grete desese and hevynesse. And by the feyth that I owe to Seynt Edward and to the Corone of Inglond, I shal destrye them every moder sone, and they be hanged, and drawen, and quartered, that may be taken afterward, of them to have ensample to alle such traytours to be war to make ony ruch rysyng of peple withinne my lond, and so traytorly to abyde her Kyng and governour. And, for a conclusyon, rather then they shall have ony Lorde here with me at this tyme, I shall this day, for her sake, and in this quarrell my sylff lyve or dye."

Wych ansuere come to the Duke of Yorke, the wheche Duke, by the avyce of the Lordes of hys Counceill, seyde unto hem these wordes : " The Kyng our sovereyne Lord will not be reformed at our besechyng ne prayer, ne wylle not understonde the entent that we be comen heder and assembled fore and gadered at this tyme ; but only ys full purpose, and there noon other wey but that he wole with all his power pursue us, and yf ben taken, to geve us a shameful deth, losyng our lyvelode and goodes, and our heyres shamed for evere. And ther fore, sythe yt wole be noon othere wyse but that we shall ootterly dye, better yt ys for us to dye in the feld than cowardly to be put to a grete rebuke and asshamefful deth ; more over, consederyng yn what peryle Inglonde stondes inne at thys owre, therefore every man help to help power for the ryght there offe, to redresse the myscheff that now regneth, and to quyte us lyke men in this querell ; preyng to that Lord that ys Kyng of Glorye, that regneth in the kyngdom celestyall, to kepe us and save us this day in our right, and thorough the helpe of His holy grace we may be made strong to with stonde the grete abomynable and cruell malyse of them that purpose fully to destrye us with shameful deth. We ther fore, Lord, prey to The to be oure confort and Defender,

seyng the word afore seyde, *Domine sis clipeus defensionis nostræ.*"

And whanne this was seyde, the seyde Duke of Yorke, and the seyde Erle of Salesbury, and the Erle of Warrewyk, betwene xj. and xij. of the clocke at noon, the broke into the toun in thre diverse places and severelle places of the fore seyde strete. The Kyng beyng then in the place of Edmond Westley, hunderdere of the seyde toun of Seynt Albones, comaundeth to sle alle maner men of lordes, knyghtes, end squyeres, and zemen that myght be taken of the for seyde Dukes of York. Thys don, the fore seyde Lord Clyfford kept strongly the barrers that the seyde Duke of York myght not in ony wise, with all the power that he badde, entre ne breke into the toun. The Erle of Warrewyk, knowyng ther offe, toke and gadered his men to gedere and ferosly brake in by the gardeyne sydes betuene the signe of the Keye and the sygne of the Chekkere in Holwell strete; and anoon as they wer wyth inne the toon, sodeynly the blew up trumpettes, and sette a cry with asshout and a grete voyce, "A Warrewe! A Warrewyk! A Warrewyk!" and into that tyme the Duke of York mygth nevere have entre into the toun; and they with strong hond kept yt, and myghttyly faught to gedere, and anoon, forth with after the brekyng in, they sette on them manfully. And as of Lordes of name were slayn the Lord Clyfford, the Duke of Somersete, the Erle of Northumberlond, Sir Bartram Entuwysse, Knyght; and of men of courte, Wyllyam Zouch, John Batryaux, Raaff of Bapthorp and hys sone, Wyllyam Corbyn, squyers; William Cotton, receyver of the Ducherye of Lancastre; Gilbert Starbrok, squyer; Malmer Pagentoun, William Botelore, yomen; Rogere Mercroft, the Kynges messenger; Halyn, the Kynges porter; Raufe Wyllerby; and xxv. mo, whych her names be not zet knowen. And of hem that ben slayn ben beryed in Sent Albos xlviij. And at this same tyme were hurt Lordes of name--the Kyng, our sovereyne Lord, in the neck



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THE solecytouriz and causerys of the feld takyng at Seynt Albonyes, ther namys shewyn her aftyr :—

The Lord Clyfford.
Rauff Percy.
Thorpe.
Tresham and Josep.

The inony [*enemy's*] batayle was in the Market-place, and the Kynges standard was pight, the Kyng beynge present with these Lordes, whos namys folwe :—

The Duke of Bokyngham.	} With many Knyghtes and Squyeriz, to the noumbre in alle that faught that day iij ^m . [3000], and it was done on Thursday last past at wyx xj. and xij. at mydday.
The Duke Somyrcete.	
The Erle Devynshire.	
The Erle of Northeombirlond.	
The Erle Stafford.	
The Erle Dorcete.	
The Lord Clyfford.	
The Lord Ros.	

The namys of the Lordes that were on the othir party shewyn here aftyr :—

The Duke of York.	} With many otheriz, to the noumbre of v ^m . [5000] men.
The Erle of Salysbury.	
The Erle of Warwyk.	
The Lord Clynton.	
Sir Robert Ocle.	

And Sir Rober Ocle tok vj^c. [600] men of the Marchis, and tok the Market-place or ony man was war; than the larum belle was ronge, and every man yed to harneys, for at that tyme every man was out of ther aray, and they joynid batayle anon; and it was done with inne di. [*i.e. one half,*] houre, and there were slayn the men, whos namys folwyn :—

The Duke Somycete.
 The Erle Northombirlond.
 The Lord Clyfford.
 The Lord Clynton.
 Sir Bartyn at Wessyll.
 Babthorpe and hese sone.
 Cotton, Receyvour of the
 Duchye.
 Gryphet, Ussher of Hall.
 Herry Loweyes.
 Wyllyam Regmayde.
 John Raulyns. Asple.
 Harpour, Yoman of the
 Croune.

With many othir men, to
 the noumbre of iiijc [400],
 and as many or mo hurt.
 The Kynge was hurt with
 an harwe in the necke.
 The Duke of Bukkyng-
 ham hurt, and fled in to
 the Abbey. The Erle De-
 vynshire hurt. The Erle
 Stafford and Dorcetyr
 gretly hurt. Fylongley
 faught manly, and was
 shet thorwe the armys in
 iij. or iiij. placys.

The Duke of Norfolke come a day aftyr the jurney
 was done with vj^{mll.} [6000] men.

And the Erle of Oxinford also.

The Erle of Shrewysbury,
 Lord Crumwelle,
 And Sir Thomas Stanley,

} with x^{mll.} [10,000]
 men were comynge.

The Kynge with all the Lordes come to London to
 Westmenstyr on Fryday, at vj. of clocke at aftyr none,
 and London went a generalle processyon the same
 day.

241.

A. D. 1455, 25 May.—JOHN CRANE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 100.]

This letter relates to the first battle of St. Alban's and the principal changes
 which took place immediately after it.

*Unto my worshipfull and welbeloved cosyn, John Paston,
 be this lettre delivred in hast.*

RIGHT worshipfull and entierly welbeloved Sir,
 I recommaunde me unto you, desiring hertly
 to here of your welfare. Furthermore lettyng
 you wete, as for such tydinges as we have here,
 such [*these*] thre Lordes be dede, the Duke of Somerset,
 the Erle of Northombrelonde, and the Lord Clyfford;
 and as for any other men of name, I knowe noon save
 only Quotton of Cammbrigeshire. As for any other
 Lordes, many of theym be hurt; and as for Fenyngley,
 he lyveth and fareth well, as fer as I can enquere, &c.

And as for any grete multytude of people that ther
 was, as we can tell, ther was at most slayn [x]¹ vj.
 score. And as for the Lordes that were with the Kyng,
 they and her men wer pilled and spoyled out of all
 their harneys and horses; and as for what rule we shall
 have yit I wote nett, save only ther be made newe
 certayn officers.

My Lord of Yorke, Constabil of Englande; my Lord
 of Warweke is made captayn of Calyes; my Lord Burg-
 chier is made Treasurer of Englande; and as yit other
 tydinges have I none.

And as for our soverayn Lorde, thanked be God, he
 hathe no grete harme.

No more to you at this tyme, but I pray you send
 this lettyr to my Maistresse Paston, when ye have
 sene hit; preyng you to remembre my systir Margrete
 ageyne the tyme that she shal be made nonne.

Written at Lamehith, on Witsonday, &c.

By your cosyn,

JOHN CRANE.

242.

A.D. 1455, 28 May.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 255.]

¹ In the original letter, the x is struck out, and vj placed after it in the same line.—F.



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he and his brethern ben bounde by reconysaunce in notable summes to abyde the same.

The Erle of Wylts sent to the Lordes from a place of his, called Peterfeld, a lettre desyring to know if he shuld come, and abyde abought the Kynges persone as he dede be fore ; and if he shuld not, than that they wold lycence hym to goon in to Erland, and leve there upon his landes, &c., and before this don, the Lordes were advysed to have made hym to don as the Duk Buk hath don, and no more ; but what that wolle falle now therof, no man can telle as yet.

The Baron of Dudley is in the Towre ; what shal come of hym, God wote. The Erle of Dorsete is in warde with the Erle of Warrwyk.

Hit was seyde, for sothe, that Harpere and ij. other of the Kynges chamber were confedered to have steked the Deuk York in the Kynges chamber ; but hit was not so, for they have clered theym therof

But London upon the same tale areysen, and every man to harneys on Corpus Christi even, and moche adoo there was.

Syr William Oldhall a bydeth no lenger in Seyntwery than the Chef Juge come, for that tyme he shal goo at large, and sewe all his maters himself, &c.

The Baron Dudley hath appeched many men ; but what they ben, as yet we can not wete. Sir Phyllyp Wentworth was in the feld, and bare the Kynges standard, and kest hit down and fled. Myn Lord Norffolk seyth he shal be hanged therefore, and so is he worthy. He is in Suffolk now. He der not come abought the Kyng.

Edmond Stendale was with Wenlok there in the feld, and ffowly hurt.

Fylongley is at home at his owen place with his wyf, and shal doe ryght weel ; but we have a greet losse of his absence this terme, for hit wole be longe er he come this terme, I am a ferde.

Alle the Lordes that dyed at the journey arn beryed at Seynt Albones.

Other thinges ben non here, but ye shal sene by Thomas Scales lettre the rewle of the Frenshemen, &c.

God spede us weel in our matres this terme, I praye to God, who have yow in his kepyng, &c.

W. B.

244.

A.D. 1455, 8 June.

THE DUCHESS OF NORFOLK TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 96.]

From the time of year at which it was written, this letter must refer to the parliamentary election of 1455.

To oure right trusti and welbelovid John Paston, Esquier.

The Duchesse of Norffolk.

RIGHT trusti and welbelovid, we grete you hertiliweel. And for as muche as it is thought right necessarie for divers causes that my Lord have at this tyme in the Parlement suche persones as longe unto him, and be of his menyall servaunts, wherin we conceyve your good will and diligence shal be right expedient, we hertili desire and pray you that at the contemplacion of thise oure lettres, as our special trust is in you, ye wil geve and applie your voice unto our right welbelovid cosin and servaunts, John Howard and Syr Roger Chambirlayn, to be Knyghts of the shire, exorting all suche othir as be your wisdom shal now be behovefull, to the good employte and conclusion of the same.

And in your faithful attendaunce and trewe devoyre in this partie, ye shal do unto my Lord and us a singlere pleasir, and cause us herafter to thank you therfore, as ye shal holde you right weel content and agreid, with the grace of God, who have you ever in his keping.

Wreten in Framlyngham Castel, the viij. day of June.

245.

A.D. 1455, 11 June.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 269.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Thanks him for his letter sent from London. Bokkyng writes that a writ of *ravishment de garde* is taken, and Wentworth's counsel "call sore upon the action of 200 marks in the Common Pleas, and John Andreus is ready there, and writs of *capias* ayenst John Porter as well as ayenst Sir Thomas." Begs him to hasten to London, as there is great labour against our intent. Wentworth has got Debenham, Radclyff, and others in my Lord's house against us. Would rather he were at London two days too early than too late; for he trusts no man's wit so much as Paston's.

Castre, 11 June.

[The references in this letter to the affair of the wardship, and to the actions against John Porter and Sir Thomas Howes, all show that it belongs to the year 1455.]

246.

A.D. 1455 (?).—SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This is only the mutilated postscript of a letter without any address, though it was doubtless directed to John Paston. The anxiety expressed that Paston should be in London in good time corresponds so closely with the contents of the preceding letter that we may refer this to the same period, especially as both the preceding letter and this are in the handwriting of William Worcester. The matter, which was to be engrossed before the Courts removed, had reference probably to the wardship of Thomas Fastolf of Cowhaw.—See No. 248 following.

.
 J. FASTOLF.

More overe, cosyn, I pray yow concyder . . . that yff the ples for the mater ye [wit off] may be engroced be tyme or the Courtys remefe, hyt may stand yn more suertee; and ellys hyt wille stand yn a jubardye as to alle that hathe be spended and doon heere before. And therfor, savyng your better avice, I had lever ye were at London a weke the rather and tymelyer then a weke to late. I pray yow doth somwhate aftyr my counsell as I wolle do by youres.



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249.

A. D. 1455, 24 June.—JOHN JENNEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 240].

The parliamentary election to which this letter refers is evidently the same as in Nos. 244 and 247. The election of Howard and Chamberlain actually took place on the 23d June, the day before this letter was written, as I find by the original returns in the Record Office.

To my wurshipfull maister, John Paston, Esquier.

MI Maister Paston, I recomaunde me to you. And wher ye shulde be enformed that I shulde sey to Howard¹ that ye labored to be Knyght of the shire, I seid never soo to hym. I tolde my Lord of Norffolk atte London that I labored diverse men for Sir Roger Chaumberleyn, and they seid to me they wolde have hym, but not Howard, in asmeche as he badde no lyvelode in the shire, nor conversement [*i.e.*, acquaintance?]; and I asked them hom they wolde have, and they seid they wolde have you, and thus I tolde hym. And he seid on avysely, as he kan doo full well, I myght not sey ye labored ther, for I herde never sey ye labored therfor, be the feithe I vowe to God.

As for this writ of the Parlement of Norwich, I thanke you that ye will labour ther in; as for my frendys ther, I truste right well all the aldermen, except Broun² and sech as be in his dawnger.³ I prey you spekith to Walter Jeffrey⁴ and Herry Wilton,⁵ and maketh them to labour to your entent. I prey you that yf ye thenke that it wull not be, that it like you that to sey that ye meve it of your self, and not be my desire. Sum

¹ John Howard, the Duke of Norfolk's cousin. He was afterwards created Duke of Norfolk himself by Richard III., in whose cause he fell fighting at the battle of Bosworth.

² Richard Brown was Mayor of Norwich in 1454, and member for that city in 1460.—F.

³ This means *in his debt*, and therefore under his influence.—F.

⁴ Walter Jeffrey was Under-Sheriff of Norwich in 1451, 1452, and 1459.—F.

⁵ Henry Wilton was returned with John Jenney in 1477.—F.

men holde it right straunge to be in this Parlement, and me thenketh they be wyse men that soo doo.

Wreten atte Intewode,¹ on Sceint John day, in hast.

Your servaunt,

JOHN JENNEY.

250.

A.D. 1455, 25 June.—JOHN JENNEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 380.]

This letter clearly refers to the same matters as the preceding, and was written the day after.

To my wurshipfull maister, John Paston, Squier.

MI wurshipfull maister, I recomaunde me to you ; and I thanke you that it plesith you to take seche labour for me as ye doo. My servaunt tolde me ye desired to knowe what my Lord of Norffolk seid to me whan I spake of you ; and he seid in asmeche as Howard² myght not be, he wolde write a lettre to the Under-Shreve that the shire shulde have fre eleccion, soo that Sir Thomas Todenham wer not, nor none that was toward the Duc of Suffolk ; he seid he knewe ye wer never to hym ward. Ye may³ sende to the Under-Shreve, and see my Lord lettre. Howard was as wode as a wilde bullok ; God sende hym seche wurshipp as he deservith. It is a evill precedent for the shire that a straunge man shulde be chosyn, and no wurshipp to my Lord off Yorke, nor to my Lord of Norffolk to write for hym ; for yf the jentilmen of the shire will suffre sech inconvenyens,

¹ This estate came to Jenney by his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wetherby, a rich alderman of Norwich, who, after having twice served as Mayor, quarrelled with the city about the election of his successor in that office in 1433, and instigated various prosecutions against them. He died in 1445.

² See p. 340, Note 1.

³ The modern version in Fenn reads, "The Mayor sent to the Under-Sheriff, and saw my Lord's letter."

in good feithe, the shire shall not be called of seche wurshipp as it bathe be.

Wreten atte Intewode, this Wednesday next after Sceint John, in hast.

Your servaunt,

JOHN JENNEY.

251.

About A.D. 1455 (?), 29 June.

ALICE CRANE TO MARGARET PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 146.]

John Crane of Woodnorton, whom we suppose to have been the writer of Letters 94 and 241, had a wife of the name of Alice, who was apparently a widow in 1457, when she presented to the living of Woodnorton (see Blomefield, iv. 313). But the writer of this was more probably a daughter, serving in the household of a lady of rank according to the custom of the times. If so, the date is before John Crane's death, which must have happened between 1455 and 1457.

To my cosyn, Margeret Paston, be this letter deiyured.

RYGHT worshipfull cosyn, I recomaund me unto you, desyryng to here of youre welfare; and if it like you to her of my welfar, at the makyng of this letter I was in good hele, loved be God. The cause of my wrytyng to you at this tyme is this, praying you to send me word of youre welfare, and how ye do of youre seknesse, and if the medycyn do you ony good that I send you wrytyng of last; thankyng you of the grete frenship that ye have do to my moder with all my hert.

Also I pray you that ye wyll be good meyn to my cosyn youre husbond, that he wyll se that my fader be well ruleyd in his lyvelode for his worship and his profett.

Also prayng you to hold me exschusyd that I have wryten no offer to you, for, in good feth, I had no leysir; for my Lady hath be seke at London, ner hand this quarter of this yere, and that hath be grete hevinesse to me; but now, blesyd be God, she is amendyd and is in the contre agayne.



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Goddes grace he shall be releved by the meene of the Parlement; by Sonday yee shall hafe weetyng.

As for my maister,¹ he departyth not to London tille the next weke after thys, and [*i.e.*, if] he ryde.

As for tydyngs be none couthe [*i.e.*, publicly known], but Ponyngs² ys qwyt and delyvered of all tresons; and Sir William Oldhale ys process yn the Kyngs Bynche reversed; and the Priest that acoused Lordz Cromewell,³ Grey,⁴ and my maister wolle confesse who caused hym to do it, so that he may have hys lyve, &c.

Assone as ye goodly may to see my maister, it shall be to hym a singuler pleasir. Sir, a baylly of my maister ys yn Drayton. John Eimond brought a lettre to yow, and he sent me wetyng he was shent [*abashed*] uppon som mater, as he supposyth, conteyned yn the lettre. Y pray you yn ryght be hys gode maister, and that y may wete the cause; for y doubt he shall and most obbey, yff he hath offended.

At Castr, the noneday,⁵ vij. day Jullet.

Your,

W. WORCESTRE.

On the top of this letter, in a different hand, is written—

Prove ontrouthe in the Undir-Sherif, or that he dede othir wise thanne your counsell avysid hym, and Paston shall demene hym accordyng.

253.

A.D. 1455, 19 July.

HENRY WINDSOR TO BOKKYNG AND WORCESTER.

[From Fenn, i. 108.]

As this letter refers to the disputes which arose after the battle of St. Alban's as to who should bear the blame of that occurrence, the date is certain.

¹ Sir John Fastolf.

² Robert Poynings.—See p. 133, Note 2.

³ Ralph, Lord Cromwell. He was accused of treason by a priest named Robert Colynson.—See Nicolas' "Privy Council Proceedings," vi. 198.

⁴ Probably Edmund, Lord Grey of Ruthin; but there were at this time also a Lord Grey of Codnor and a Lord Grey of Wilton.

⁵ The day of the Nones.—F.

Unto my moost faitfull brethern, John Bokkyng and William Worcestre, and to eyther of theym.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, and my most hertely and best be loved brother, I recommaund me unto you in more loly wise than I can other thenk or write; and with al my service and trewe herte thank you of your gentill lettres, full brotherly written unto me at mony tymes of old, and especial of late tyme passed. And trwly, brother, I thank Almyghty God of your welfare, of the which the berer of this my pour lettre certified me of, &c.

And, Sir, as touchyng al maner of newe tithinges, I knoo well ye are averous; truly the day of makyng of this letter, ther were nonn newe, but suche I herd of, ye shalbe served with all.

As for the first, the Kyng our souverain Lord, and all his trwe Lordes stand in hele of there bodies, but not all at hertes ees as we. Amonges other mervell, ij. dayes afore the wrytyng of this letter, there was langage betwene my Lordes of Warrewikke and Cromwell afore the Kyng, in somuch as the Lord Cromwell wold have excused hym self of all the steryng or moevyng of the male journey of Seynt Albones; of the whiche excuse makyng, my Lord Warrewikke had knolege, and in hast wasse with the Kyng, and sware by his othe that the Lord Cromwell said not trouth, but that he was begynner of all that journey at Seynt Albones; and so betwene my said ij. Lords of Warrewikke and Cromwell ther is at this day grete grugyng, in somoch as the Erle of Shrouesbury hath loged hym at the hospitall of Seynt James, beside the Mewes, be the Lord Cromwells desire, for his sauf gard.

And also all my Lord of Warrewikke men, my Lord of York men, and also my Lord of Salesbury men goo with harnes, and in harnes with strang wepons, and have stuffed their Lordes barges full of wepon dayly unto Westminster. And the day of makyng of this

letter, ther was a proclamacion made in the Chauncerie, on the Kyngs behalf, that noman shuld nether bere wepon, ner were harnes defensible, &c.

Also, the day afore the makyng of this letter, ther passed a bill¹ both by the Kyng, Lords, and Comens, puttyng Thorp, Josep, and my Lord of Somerset in all the defaute; be the which bill all maner of actions that shuld growe to any person or persones for any offenses at that journey doon, in any maner of wise shuld be extynt and voide, affermyng all thing doon there well doon, and nothing doon there never after this tyme to be spoken of; to the which bill mony a man groged full sore nowe it is passed.

And if I myght be recommaunded unto my speciall maister and youres, with all loliness and trewe service I beseech you hertely as I can.

And also to my brethern Th. Upton,² Lodowick of Pole, William Lynd Calyn [*Lincoln?*], and John Merchall.¹

No more, but our Lorde have you both in his perpetuell kepyng.

Writen at London, on Seynt Margarete Even,³ in hast; and after this is rede and understonden, I pray you bren or breke it, for I am loth to write any thing of any Lord. But I moost neds; ther is no thing elles to write. Amen.

Your awn,

H. WYNDESORE.

254.

A.D. 1455, 25 July.—JAMES GLOYS TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iv. 32.]

This letter is attributed by Fenn to the year 1461, but that date is certainly inaccurate, as it was answered by John Paston at Norwich the very day it was written, whereas in July 1461 Paston was in London. Moreover, it certainly could not have been *after* 1461, as Sir Thomas Tuddenham was

¹ See Rolls of Parliament, v. 280.

² *Upon* in Fenn, but *Upton* in the modern version on the opposite side of the page.

³ St. Margaret's day is the 20th July, the eve the 19th.



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redy at yowr comaundment with the grace of God,
how [*who*] ever have you in his blyssed kepyng.

Wretyn at Wighton in hast, on Sent James day,
Be your servaunte, JAMES GLOYs.¹

255.

A.D. 1455, 25 July.—JOHN PASTON TO JAMES GLOYs.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter, which is printed from a draft in John Paston's hand, was written in answer to the preceding, to which the reader is referred for the evidence of its date.

To Sir James Gloys

AHER be dyvers thynges in your letter sent to me; one that a slaw[n]derus noyse shuld renne ageyns Yelverton, Alygton and me, to brynge us owte of the conceytes of the puple be Heydon and his dyscyplis, of a bill that shuld have do put uppe in to the Parlement ageyns my Lord of Norwich and odir. I lete yow wete this is the furst day that I herd of any seche, but I wold wete the namys of hem that utter this langage and the mater of the bill. As for my Lord of Norwych, I suppose ye know I have not usid to meddel with Lordes maters meche forther than me nedith; and as for Sir Thomas Todynham, he gaff me no cawse of late tyme to labor ageyns hym, and also of seche mater I know non deffaut in hym. And as for Heydon, when I putte a bill ageyns hym I suppose he shall no cause have, ne his discyplis nother, to avante of so short a remedy ther of, as ye wrygth they sey now. As for that ye desyr that I shuld send yow word what I shuld sey in this mater, I pray yow in this and all other lyke, ask the seyeres if thei will abyd be ther langage, and as for me, sey I prupose me to take no

¹ He was a priest and a dependant of the Pastons.

mater uppon me butt that I woll abyde by; and in lek wys for Yelverton and Aligton. And that ye send me the namys of them that ye wryte that herd this langage seyde shrewedly, and what they seyde; and that ye remembre what men of substance wer ther that herde itt; for if this can be dreve to Heydon or his dissyplis, as ye wryte, it wer a gode preve that they fere to be appelyd of seche materes. And I thank yow for your godwill. Wrete att Norwych, on Seynt James day.

256.

A.D. 1455, 26 July.

JOHN CHEDWORTH, BISHOP OF LINCOLN, TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 246.]

The date of this letter is ascertained by a contemporaneous memorandum at the bottom of the original in these words, "Litt. direct. Joh'i Paston inter Michaellem xxxij. et xxxiiij. Henr. Sexti."

To the worshipfull and welbeloved John Paston, Esquier.

RIGHT worshipful and welbeloved Sir, I com-
aunde me unto you, and with all my hert
thank you for the grete labours that ye
oftymes have diligently doon for my wel-
beloved servant John Ode, to th'entent that he
shuld mowe atteyne to entre and enjoy peasible
his enheritaunce, as I am enformed dew unto him;
and pray you of youre goode contynuaunce, cer-
tyfieng you that I have written unto Yelverton, the
justice, that he wol, at some sesonable tyme, common
with Sir Thomas Tudenham, knyght, and to offre him
asmoche reason as it shal be thought unto him and to
you, that lawe wol in that behalf require, prayng you
that ye wol common with the saide Yelverton, and to
conceyve betwix you such lawful meones of gyding of
this matier that my said servaunt may have peasebly

with owten grete trouble his said enheritaunce, as I shal in case semblable do my labour unto your pleasaunce. And pray you that of the disposition of the said Sir Thomas Tudenham in this behalf, I may be certified. And Jesu preserve you.

Written at London, the xxvj. day of July.

J., BYSSHOPP OF LINCOLN.

257.

A.D. 1455, 28 Oct.

JAMES GRESHAM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 114.]

This letter was written in 1455, at the time of the King's second attack of illness, which happened while he was under the control of the Duke of York and the Earls of Warwick and Salisbury, as mentioned at the end of the letter. In the latter part of the letter some words are lost by the decay of the original MS.

To my right worshipfull maister, John Paston, at Norwich, be this delyvred.

PLEASE it your maistership to wete¹
 Here be many marvaylos tales of thynggs that shall falle this next moneth, as it is seyde; for it is talked that oon Doktor Grene, a preest, hath kalked [*calculated?*] and reporteth, that by fore Seynt Andreu day next comyng shall be the grettest bataill that was sith the bataill of Shrewisbury,² and it shall falle bytwene the Bisshoppes Inne of Salesbury and Westminster Barres, and there shall deye vij. Lords, whereof iij. shuld be bisshoppes. Althis and meche more is talked and reported. I trust to God it shall not falle so.

Also there is gret varyance bytwene the Erll of Devenshire and the Lord Bonvyle, as hath be many day, and meche debat is like to growe therby; for on Thursday at nyght last passed, the Erll of Denshyres sone and heir come with lx. men of armes to Rad-

¹ Here, says Fenn, follows an account of some law business, &c.

² Fought in 1403 between King Henry IV. and the rebel Percies



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same cuntre. This matier is take gretly
 passed at ij. after mydnyght rod owt of London, as it
 is seid, more thanne the best wyse. Summe
 seyne it was to ride toward my Lord of York, and
 summe k, so meche rumor is here; what it
 menyth I wot not, God turne it at Hert-
 ford,¹ and summe men ar a ferd that he is seek ageyn.
 I pray God my Lords of York, Warwyk,
 Salesbury and other arn in purpos to conveye hym . .
 &c. The seid N. Crome, berer her of,
 shall telle you suche tydynggs in
 hast, at London, on Seint Simon day and Jude.

Yowr poer

J. GR.

258.

A. D. 1455, 30 Oct.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 228.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF "TO MY RIGHT TRUSTY BROTHER,
 NICHOLAS MOLYNEUX."

As I come not to London this winter, I beg you to see to my Lord's matters, and labor to my Lord of Canterbury and Master John Stokys for the recovering of my Lord's² [good]s. No man can say more in the matter than you where his goods are, "and where they be disposed," especially those that Sir Rob. Whytynham³ had. Also the Lord Cromwell had "a certain number of plate." Your costs shall be paid out of the first money received. Hears from John de Leawe, one of Lord Willoughby's executors, that they will labor to my Lord Beaumont to advance the process for recovery of his part of the reward for the taking of the Duke of Alençon. Fendykes, a learned man of the Temple, will help with his advice. Commend me to my sister your wife.
 Castre, 30 Oct.

In Worcester's hand, and endorsed by him.—"A John Paston et John Bokkyng."

[During the winter of 1455-6, we find several allusions to this claim put forward by Fastolf to the goods of the late Duke of Bedford. Unless we are to infer from the manner in which Lord Cromwell is mentioned that he was dead when this letter was written, it is probably of the year 1455.]

¹ The king was at Hertford, as appears by the Privy Seals, in August and September 1455, and not improbably in October also.

² The Duke of Bedford.

³ Sir Robert Whitynham died on the 4th November 1452.—*Inq. post mortem*, 31 Hen. VI., No. 47.

259.

A.D. 1455, 13 Nov.—WILLIAM WORCESTER TO JOHN PASTON AND JOHN BOCKING.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

On the 11th November 1454, Sir John Fastolf wrote to Paston about the goods of the Duke of Bedford, but the subject recurred to his thoughts for more than a year afterwards, and particularly in January 1456 when all the other executors of the Duke were dead. This letter is certainly before the death of Lord Cromwell, and therefore not later than 1455; but it seems to indicate much greater solicitude on the subject than Fastolf shewed in the preceding year.

*To the ryght worshypfull Sir, Fohn Paston, and to my
brothyr, Fohn Bokkyng.*

PLEASE it yow to have yn knowlege that y veele well my maister takyth gretely to hert the materes whych he hath wryt to you uppon the execucion of my Lord of Bedford ys godes, and in especiall for the recoveryng of hem, as well of Sir Andreu O.¹ executors as of Sir Robert Whytyngham, &c. to th'entent that it myght be opynly knowe yn hys lyve tyme that they be not yn his gouvernaunce no part of it, and that hys factors after hym shuld not be troubled ne charged for it. And seth the seyd mater ys of so grete wyght and charge, and that he takyth it so gretely to hert, puttyng hys grettist trust yn yow, to remembre thys seyd mater by avyse of hys counsell lerned, both spirituell as temporell, that ye wolle not delay it, but wyth all your entencion remembred there, as ye by your wysdoms shall thynk it moste expedient, that som fruyt may grow of it.

There ys ynowgh whereoff, and it myght be recovered, John Bokkyng, ye know ryght moch yn thys mater, and mooste of my maister ys entent hereynne. And therfor, for myne acquytaille, y wryte to you to shew

¹ Sir Andrew Ogard, who died on the 13th October 1454.—*Inq. post mortem*, 33 Hen. VI., No. 25.

the chieff wrytynges of the copy of endentures of Sir Robert Whytyngham, and of othyr wrytynges concernyng that to Maister Paston, that he may be more rypelyer grounded yn the seyd mater when he shall comyn wyth my Lordz of Caunterburye, Cromewell, and with onye of my maister councell. And our Lord kepe you.

My maister carpyth so oft on it dayly, and that meovyth me to wryte to yow both. Att Castre, xiij. day of November.

Your,

W. WOR-H.R.-CESTRE.

260.

A.D. 1455, 25 Nov.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 252.]

St. Andrew's day fell on Sunday in 1455 and 1460. This letter must be written in one of these two years, and the probabilities are greatly in favour of the former, as John Paston and William Worcester were not on good terms after the death of Sir John Fastolf.

To my right wurshipfull husbonde, Fohn Paston, be this delivered, in hast.

RIGHT wurshipfull husbonde, I recomaunde me unto you. Plesith you to witte that myn aunt Mondeforthe¹ hath desiryd me to write to you, besechyng you that ye wol wochesafe to chevesshe for her at London xx^{ti} marke for to be payed to Mastre Ponyngs, outhere on Saterdag or Sonday, weche schalbe Seint Andrwes Daye, in discharchyng of them that be bounden to Mastre Ponyngs of the s[e]ide xx^{ti} marke for the wardeship of her doughter, the weche xx^{ti} marke she hath delyvered to me in golde for you to have at your comyng home, for she

¹ Osbert Moundford, Esq. of Hockwold, married Elizabeth, daughter of John Berney, Esq., and by her had Mary, their daughter and sole heir, who married Sir William Tindale, Knight of the Bath.



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261.

A.D. [1455], 11 Dec.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 262.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Thanks him for his pains in the advancement of his “chargeable matters.” Was never so much bound to any kinsman as to Paston, who tenders so much his worship and profit. Sends Worcestre with important letters to my Lord Privy Seal and the Abbot of Bermundsey, and would like Paston to common with them. Thanks him for informing him of the answer made to the bill of Wentworth, “which I know had stand in great jeopardy had not ye be.” Sends his evidences concerning Bradwell, that the Judges and Parliament may have better consideration of his right, and of the patents granted to Paston and Howys in that behalf. Desires credence for William Worcestre.

Castre, 11 Dec.

[The date of this letter must be between the year 1454, when Sir John Fastolf settled at Caister, and 1458, as he was not alive in December 1459. The reference to Parliament fixes it more precisely, as 1455 was the only year during this period in which Parliament sat in December.]

262.

About A.D. 1455.

RICHARD BINGHAM TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Castlecombe MSS., Add. 28,212, f. 26, B.M.]

This letter has been printed by Mr Poulett Scrope in his privately printed “History of Castle Combe.” From evidences contained in other of the family muniments, Mr Scrope supposes it to have been written about the year 1455, which is probably not far from the true date. Compare Letter 299 following.

Copie of my fader Bynghames lettre to my fadre .F.



RIGHT honorable and reverend maistre, after due and hertely recomendacion, I thank yow als hertily as I can that it likith your gode

maisterschip, of your godnesse, to let to ferme to my son Scrope the pouer enheritance that he schal enherit after your deceste, if God will that he life therto. And I haue for my saide son comonde with my maistres of your counsell, that is to sey, Paston and other, and I fynde them not straunge, bot right streyte to dele with in the mater; and therefore my saide sone, and I for hym, must sue to the well of mercy, that is to say, to your honorable person, where is special refuge for my saide son in this cas. My saide son is and hath be, and will be to hys lifes ende, your true lad and seruant, and glad and well willed to do that myght be to your pleaser, wirschip, and profit, and als loth to offend yow as any person in erth, gentill and well disposid to every person. Wherfore I besech your gode grace that ye will vouchesafe remember the premisseez, my saide sons age, his wirschipfull birth, and grete misere for verrey povert, for he hath had no liflode to life opon sithen my lady his moder deed, safe x. marc of liflode that ye vouched safe to gife hym this last yer, and therefore to be his good maister and fader. And thof he be not worthy to be your son, make hym your almesman, that he may now in his age life of your almesse, and be your bedeman, and pray for the prosperite of your noble person. And if I durst, for your displesance, I wolde besech yow that ye wolde vouchesafe lat my saide son haue the saide lifelode to ferme for terme of your life, payng to yow therefore yerely CC. marc at ij. festes of the yere, that is to say, Cristemasse and Middlesomer, and ye schall be paied hit truly at London, in Hillary terme for the feste of Cristemasse, and Trinite terme for the feste of Midsomer; and I will be bounden for hym and [*i.e.*, if] your maisterschip will vouchesafe to take me, and he and I schall ever pray for yow. And thof the saide lifelode be better to yow in avail yerely then I offer yow therefore, this summe of CC. marc schal be truly paid to yow yerely; and God, that rewardeth every gode dede, schal pey for hym the remenant to

yow, for every peny an C., in relesyng of yow in Purgatory, or ellys encresyng of your merite in Heven. And how your maisterschip will that my saide son schall do in this mater, I besech yow that he may be certified be your writing.

263.

A.D. 1455.

FASTOLF'S CLAIMS AGAINST THE CROWN.—I.

[From Fenn, iii. 260.]

The date of this paper is determined by the last paragraph shewing that it was composed fifteen years after Sir John finally left France in 1440.

Billa de debitis Regis in partibus Franciæ Johanni Fastolf militi debitis.



THESE ben the injuries, losses, and damages that the seyde Fastolf hath had, as well withynne this royaume of England as in othir parties in maner and fourme as it ensewith.

First, it is to consider how that the seyde Fastolf hath ben vexed and troubled seth he came last into this lande by the myght and power of the Duc of Suffolk, and by the labour of his counseill and servants in divers wyse, as in grete oppressions, grevous and outrageous amerciements and manye grete horrible extorcions, as it may appere more pleyndly by a rolle of articles thereuppon made, the damages of which extenden to the somme of

V. ml. marc.

Item, the seyde Fastolf hath



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ing the yest of the Baronyes and Lordshipp of Sillie Guillem¹ and Lasuze, in the countee of Mayn, to hym and to his assignes for ever, the which weren gotten by the seyd Fastolf, and no charge to the King, for the value and denombrement [*number*] of iiij. m^l. saluz² of yerly rent, he was commaunded by the Kinges lettres to deliver upp the sayd baronyes and lordshippes to the Kyngs commissioners, promyssyng hym, by the Kyngs commaundement to have be recompensed therefor, as the seyd Fastolf hath to shewe, and he not recompensed nor rewarded no thing for the levyng of his seyd baronyes and lordship, to the damages of the seyd Fastolf of the somme of - - - - -

m^l. m^l. v.^c [2,500] marc.

Item, wher as the seyd Fastolf had a prisoner of his owen taking, called Guill'm Remond,³ which was raunsonned, and agreed to pay hym for his raunson with the marks the somme of xxxij. m^l. saluz, the prisoner, withoute knowelege or licence of the seyd Fastolf, was take away

¹ Sir John took the castle of Sillie le Guillem in 1425, and from which he was dignified with the title of baron.—F.

² The salute was a gold coin of Henry VI. current in France for £1, 5s. English.—F.

³ In 1423 he took the castle of Pacy, the governor whereof was Guillaume Reymond.—F.

from hym by the Duc of Bedford, then beyng the Kyngs Regent of Fraunce; and with the seyde prisonner he caused the towne of Compyn, than leyng in the Frensh partye ys gouvernaunce, for to be yeldyn to the Kyng, and to his seyde Regent in his name; and the seyde Fastolf, after long pursewts made to the Kyng and his conseil, was recompensed but to the value of m^l. vj^c.saluz in lands in Normandy, when they fortunèd to falle into the Kyngs hands, which lands he hath also lost. And also the seyde Fastolf hath lost the residue of the seyde raunson, besyde the seyde lands, to the somme of - - - - -

m^l. m^l. m^l. m^l. marc.

Item, the seyde Fastolf ys yhyt owyng for his porcion and part for the recompens and reward that shuld grow and be dewe to hym for the takyng of John, callyng hym Duc of Alauncon, at the batayle of Vernell,¹ which that payd for hys raunson xl. m^l. marks, which rewarde, besyde the Lord Wyllughbye ys part, shuld extend to the somme of

m^l. m^l. m^l. m^l. marc.

Item, ys dewe to the seyde Fastolf, by the execucion of the last wylle and testament of John, Duc of Bedford, whos soule God assoyle, for prestys

¹ This battle was fought in 1424.—F.

and othir charges for saufgarde
and keping of certeyn forter-
esses, castellys, and townes,
and for othir costs, prests, and
charges by hym born in his
service, as it may appiere in
certeyn articles writen in a
rolle partic'lerly of the same,
the somme of - - - - -

iiij^{ml}. Dc. iiij^{xx}. xix.

[4,599] marc, vs. 6d.

Summa totalis xxj^{ml}. iiijxix. ^{xx}. [21,099] marc, vs. 6d.

Item, seth the last comyng over of the seyde Fastolf into this royaume, as by the space of xv. yere and more, he hath born grete costs, charges, and expenss, at alle tymes intending uppon the Kyngs highnesse and the Lordes of his counseille, as he hath had in commaundement, and was his part to doo; for the which and for all the service that he hath doo to the right noble Prince Kyng Herry the iiij^{the}, ayle [*grandfather*] to our Souvragn Lord that now ys, and to the most victorious Prince and Kyng, his fader, whos soulys God assoyle, and also to our seyde Souvereyn Lord, he hath had nouthur fee, wagys, reward, ne recompense in this his royaume of England, but hath born it of hys own propre godys, at all tymys to the Kyngs honour and prouffit as to his power, which ys to hym right grevouse and chargeable, trusting to have be considered and rewarded as othir men of suche deservyng have be in the tymes of the right noble progenitours of our seyde Souvreyn Lords, late Kyngs of this seyde reaume.

There is a corrected draft of the above paper, in William Worcester's handwriting, among the Paston MSS. in the British Museum, on the back of which are the following additional memoranda:—

Thees been the prestys and sommes of money that the [*sic*] Sir John Fastolf, knyght, hath lent to oure seid Soverayn Lorde that now is, at his commaundement in his grete necesitees, at divers tymes with in this his reaume of England:—

Item, the seid Fastolf lent to oure seid Soverayn Lorde, in the moneth of



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Kyng Herry the iiijth, Kyng Herry vth, as in the tyme of our Souvereyn Lord Kyng that now is, in hys werrys by yend the see, as by the articles that folowen more pleynty apperyth :—

First, it ys to be remembred that to the sayd Fastolf ys owyng for divers costys and chargis by hym born for the tyme that he occupied th' office of the Constabulrye of Burdeux for the saufgarde of the Kyngys Duchie of Guyen, as it apperith pleynty by accompt made of the sayd office of Constabulrye, remaynyng in the Kyngs Cheker at Westminster of record, wherof he yet nouthur had payement nor assignement of, the somme of - - - - -

*ijc. xxvij*li*. xvs. iij*d*. ob.*

Item, in like wyse there ys owyng to the seyde Fastolf for wagys for hys service don to the Kyng, and to the Duc of Clarence, beyng the Kyng ys Lieutenant in the seyde Duchie of Guyen, as it may appere under suffisaunt writing, the somme of - - - - -

*ijc ij*li*. xs.*

Item, in lyke wyse ys owyng to the seyde Fastolf for costys and chargys that he bare when he was Lieutenant of the towne of Harflew¹ in Normandie, as yt shewith by a debentur made to the seyde Fastolf, with hym remaynyng, - - - - -

*Cxxxiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.*

¹ Sir John Fastolf was Lieutenant of Harfleur in 1415.—F.

Item, in lyke wyse ys owyng to the seyde Fastolf for the keeping and vytaylyng of the Bastyle of Saint Anthoyne in Paris, as it apperith by writing suffisaunt and by the creditours of Sir John Tyrell, Knyght, late Tresourier of the Kyngs house, remaynyng in the Eschequer of Westminster of record, the somme of - - - - - xliij[℥].

Item, there ys owyng to the seyde Fastolf for the saufgarde of the toun of Pount Melank¹ in the parties of Fraunce, as it apperith by accompt therof made in the Kyngs Eschequer of England of record, the somme of - - - - - iiij^{xx} ixlⁱⁱ. xs. iiij^d. ob. q.

Summa xliij. marc ixs. q.

And in semblable wyse, over all this ys owyng to the seyde Fastolf for prests and wagys of hym and his retenues beyng in the Kings service in his royaume of Fraunce and duchie of Normandie, as wel abowte the saufgarde and gouvernauce of his tounys, castell, and forteresses of Alaunson, Fresney Le Vicounte, Vernell, Honneflete, as for othir grete causys and charges born and payd in the Kyng our Souvereyn Lord ys dayes that nowys, for the avauncement of his conquest, the good and utilite of hym, of his seyde royaume

¹ Pont Meulent was taken in 1422.— F.

and duchie forseid, as it apperyth oppenly by accomptys made in the Chambre of Accompts of Paris and Roon, wherof the vidimus remaynen with the seyd Fastolf, and also by certeyn debentur conteynyng the seyd sommes, redy to shewe, wherof the seyd Fastolf hiderto hath had nouthur payement nor assignacion, the

somme of - - - - - v. m^l. iiij^{xx} ij. marc,
xiijs. iij*d*. *ob*. sterling.

Summa totalis vj. m^l. cxxv. marc, ixs. *ob*. *q*.

There are two drafts of the preceding statement among the Paston MSS. in the British Museum, besides an imperfect draft hereafter mentioned. These appear to have been drawn up as early as the year 1452. One of these is in William Worcester's handwriting; the other is a fair copy from it, with further corrections, in his hand. The document printed above embodies all the corrections in the second paper, and corresponds with it almost exactly in every point, except that the latter places the second item relating to the Duke of Clarence at the very end of the account, and contains the following additional entries:—

And beside all this, there is yet owyng to the sayd Fastolf uppon the voyage that Thomas Danyell made into Bre-tayn, as it is openly knowen, the somme of - - - - - *Cl*.

Item, overe this the seyd Fastolf lent to the voyage that Sir Thomas Kyryell made into Normandye, in the xxviij. yere of the regne of the Kyng our Souverain Lorde, the somme of CC. marc; also lent to the Kyng afore that tyme in his necessite the somme of *Cl*.

The somme of both, - - - ijc. xxxiiij*li*. vjs. viij*d*.

And also the seyd Fastolf hath borne grete charge and cost of alone made for the spede and helpe of the voyage whiche the Erle of Shrowysbury¹ now last made into the Kynges duchie of

¹ John Talbot, first Earl, sent to France in 1452 to recover Guienne for the English; killed the following year in endeavouring to relieve Castillon.



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265.

NOTE.

“Many of the letters in this collection,” says Fenn (iii. 251, Note 1), “mention the disputes between the Duke of Suffolk and Sir John Fastolf concerning different manors and estates.” This remark is made with reference to the complaints against Suffolk in No. 263 preceding. Only two of these letters have been seen by the present editor.

266.

ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps 9735, No. 239.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Sends by his servant an instruction to be engrossed, corrected by Paston's advice, and a remembrance concerning Walsingham, which I hope by your help “shall be corryged.” Certain friends of yours and mine have been here, and desire me to write to you “for your friendship and good will, passing all other men's.”

[The date of this letter is quite uncertain, but it was probably written some time during those later years of his life when Sir John Fastolf resided at Caister. The signature, like some others during that period, is not in Fastolf's own hand.]

267.

A.D. 1456, 6 Jan.—BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 256.]

By the reference to the Duke of Bedford's will as having been in dispute for twenty years, it would appear that this letter was written in the beginning of the year 1456. Bedford died at Rouen on the 14th September 1435.

To my maister, John Paston.



PLEASE your maistershyp to wete that I had sent yow word of the god chiere that the persons ye wote off had here uppon New

Yeer Day, and how well they toke it, but W. Barker coude playnly enforme yow. And John Sadler of Ocle told me how they avaunted of it when he of Lynne came by hym at nyzt lyeng, that he had neider better chier, &c.

My maister demaundyth me sondry tymes when ye shall be here. I coude not sey till thys day be passed. William Geney shall be here to morn, so wold Jesus ye were her then. I asked licence to ryde yn to my contree, and my maistr dyd not graunt it; he seyde hys wille was for to make, &c. Y aunsuerd, it fyt not me to know it. God gefe hym grace of holsom counsell, and of a gode disposicion; *non est opus unius diei, nec unius septimanæ.*

My Lord Bedford wylle was made yn so bryeff and generall termys, that yn to thys day by the space of xx. yeer can neider hafe ende, but all wey new to constrew and oppynable; so a generallte shall ne may be so gode as a particuler declaracion.

I wryte blontly. I had foryete to hafe told yow Maister Fylongley meoved me to enforme my maister to hafe a generale pease, so it myzt be worshypfull. Y hafe seyde no word, for I can not medle yn hygh maters that passyth my wyt; and therfor yff ye and W. Geney mete to gheders, ye know and can devyne best what ys to be doon. Our Lord be with yow.

Wryt hastly, vj. day Januar.

W. BOTONER, H.R.

268.

A.D. 1456 (?).—BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

From the desire expressed by the writer in this letter to visit his own country, we may refer it to the same period as the last.

To my Maister Paston.

Please yow to wete that my maister¹ yn allwyse wille that I ryde to Dedham to speke with Broke as well as wyth the stuard,

¹ Sir John Fastolf.

and to gefe aunsuer to Broke yn whate wyse he wille depart for the reuersyn ; he was ryd or I came home. And my maister wille comyn with yow for the moyens of a chauntuarie to be founded of the place ye wote off; y seyde hym such chargeable maters wold be doo betyme to know the certeyntee. And a greter lak ys yn hym, he taryeth so long to put all thynges of charge yn a sure wey ; hyt ys for lake of sad counsell to moove hym. And I most be at Castre by Thursday next; and I pray yow let me not be lete of my voyage yn to my contree, and I shall kepe Yorkeshyre with Spyrlyng, or such as shall ryde. The parson¹ with yow shall do well sort my maister evidences, and that ys one the grettist thyng nedefull for the seurtee of hys lyfelode; and so it wold be remembred hym, for now all thyng ys sett at appoynt, how it standyth with hys debtyes and officers, except that mater of grettist charge, and also to provyde for the approwement of hys lyfelode.

W. BOTONER.

And, syr, yff ye thynke to done (*think it to be done*), to meofe Cler of the acre lond, but gefe hym no credence yn the contrarye, for I shall preffe it trewe yn my seyng for onye man lyvyng. He that wille dysseyve hys servaunt yn maryage for so litell a thyng, he wold disseyve another frende yn a gretter thyng. He sekyth occasyons and querell to colour hys brekyng off.

269.

About A.D. 1456.—BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

There is no address to this letter, but it seems to have been intended for John Paston. The exact time when it was written is uncertain, but we have placed it after the last on account of the reference to Dedham. The true date cannot be many years before or after 1456.

Please yow to wete that as for ease of my maisters² tenaunts in Dedham, yff a lettre were devysed by Maister Geney yn my maister name or youres to Thomas Hygham, one of the justices of pease in Suffolk that toke the veredyt, he myzt do grete ease, as yn disavowyng of it or yn wythdrawyng it owte of the bokes. Robert Dene, clerk of the pese, seyth that lete my maister counsell avise that whych he may do undammaged hymself, and he wille with all hys hert. John Bokkyng ys well remembred that my maister caused the seyde Thomas Hygham, by Maister Geney mocion, to be one of the justice of pease, and one Jermyn of Suffolk also. Whych both Hygham and Jermyn hath suffred my maister hafe, savyng your reverence, tweyn shrewde tornys seth that they mizt hafe letted, as now the seyde Thomas Hygham myzt hafe letted the presentment or a moderated othyrwyse, &c.

¹ Sir Thomas Howes.

² Sir John Fastolf



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preceding No., but with some slight differences in the wording, and dated 25th January instead of 20th.

On the back is written:—“Cousin Paston, I pray you take Nicholas Molyneux, Thomas West, or Robert Waryn, whether ye may hafe at leyser, with you, to go speke with the gentlewoman.”

272.

A.D. 1456, 26 Jan.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON AND OTHERS.

[The original of this letter is the property of W. A. Tyssen Amburst, Esq. of Didlington Park, Brandon.]

As this letter was written during Sir John Fastolf's residence at Caister, and Parliament appears to have been sitting at the time, the date must be 1456.

To my right trusty frendes, John Paston, Nicholas Molyneux, and Thomas West, Escuiers.

WORCHIPFULL Sirs, and my right trusty frendis, I commaunde me to you. And lyke you to wite that I desire to knowe in certayn, or evere I laboured to London, by whate menys in the lawe spirituell or temporell I might labour, or ellys my frendes and attorneys in my name and in myne absence myght laboure best, for the recuvere of the goodes of my Lord of Bedford, whos soule God assoyle, and that his purchaced londes might be sold to fulfille his wille and pay his debtes. And if it were thought that the most spedyest and seurest wey were to have it doon by act of Parlement, than I desire and pray you, as my singuler trust is in you, that ye wille do make a substanciall bille in my name upon the said mater and for the said cause, to be grounded and devised by avis of substanciall lerned man, as Thomas Yonge and othir suche, and of civile lawe, and the said bille to be put up to the Kyng, whiche is chief supervisor of mysaid Lordis testament, and to the Lordes

Spirituelle and Temporelle, as to the Comyns, of this present Parlement, so as the iij. astates may graunte and passe hem cleerly. And the said bille may be grounded with so grete resons by your wysdomes and good enformacion, and so rightfull and of conscience that it shall not be denyed, ne letted to passe amonges the Lordes Spirituell and Temporell, neythir amonges the Comyns, whan it comyth before hem. And if this said bille, after it is devised and made, and sent me a copie of hit, hit shold be to me a singuler confort; for or evere I came to London, I wold that alle thing shuld be made redy to my hande. And it were exspe-dient and according that my Lord Chaunceller¹ were meoved that it might please his good Lordship to write a lettre to me, in case I must come up for the said cause, and that by as muche he is in the mater as souverain juge and ordinarie principalle under the Pope in a cause testamentarie, and also by cause the wille of my said Lord is aproved in his court before his predeces-sour. And Alle myghty God kepe you.

Writ at Castre, the xxvj. day of Januar.

Your,

J. FASTOLF.

And I wolde this bille were devised by my Lord of Caunterbury is avis and agreement, to th'entent that he may tender the mater the more whan it shalle come in revolucion before hym. And I pray you hertely to take this mater tendirlye to hert, for it shall be to me my most singuler comfort, and for my discharge a grete record as of myne acquitayle to my said Lordis soule. Also ye must make frendes of suche as be nere aboute my said Lord of Caunterbury, and may do, as Maister John Stokys and his styward, for to remembre his good Lordship as ofte as nede is. And that Davy Breknok ne Sir Robert Whitingham wyffe be not foryeete.

¹ Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

273.

A.D. 1456, 27 Jan.

WILLIAM WORCESTER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter must have been written the day after the last, as this also speaks of a bill being presented to Parliament for recovery of the Duke of Bedford's goods. The passage in which the writer proposes visiting the west country confirms the date of Letter 267.

To the worshypfull Sir, John Paston, Escuier.

WORSHYPPFULL, aftyr dew recomendacion, please your gode maistershyp to wete that where as my maister wrytith to yow so homelye of so manye materes to yow of hys, to be remembred unto hys councell lerned by mene of yow and of hys frendz and servauntz there, y pray yow and requyre yow not to wyte [*impute*] it me that y am the causer of it that my seyde maister noyeth yow with so manye materes, for, be God, hym sylf remembryth the moste part of hem; albe it the particler rehersell of the materes be fressher yn my remembraunce then yn hys. And, Sir, yn trouth he boldyth hym to wryte to yow for the grete lofe and singler affeccion he hath yn yow before all othyr yn hys causes spedyng, and that ye wille moste tendyrlye of ony othyr remembre hys servauntes as well as othyr to whom belongyth to spede the materes. He desyryth my Lord Chauncellor shuld wryte to hym speciallye yff he most nedes com upp, and a bille to be made yn to Parlement for recuvere of my Lord Bedford godes.

Sir, there ys one Haryngton of Doncastre, a besye soule, that damagyth my maistre to gretely in Bentley. And Herry Sotehille ys of my maister councell, but no thyng that ys profytable ys don to hym to remedye it, ye shall see by one Sir John Vincentes letter sent to yow now, and W. Barker can enforme yow. Yn the ende of thys terme y suppose to be at London, and yn to west contre. My maistre wrytith to yow for a



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such places as a man myght have moste spedye payment; and I pray yow hertlye to comyn wyth the seyde Fenne, that y myght be ensured of the seyde taylle to be eschaunged; and for whate rewarde competent to be yeven uppon the same, I wolle agree it.

Item, I desyre to know who ben the residew, the remenant of the co-executors of the Lord Wyllughbye,¹ now the Lord Cromewell² ys decesed; for thys cause. Hyt was so, that there was dew to the Lord Wyllughbye and to me x. m^l [10,000] marc for a reward, to be payd of my Lord Bedford ys godes, for the takyng of the Duc of Allauncon.³ And the seyde Lord Wyllughbye had but one thowsand marc payd, and I m^l [1000] mrc, soo viij. m^l [8000] levyth [*remains*] yhyt to pay; of whych somme iiij. m^l [4000] most grow to the executors of the seyde Lord Wyllughby to dispose. And therfor y desyre that the executors, and such as most have intrest in the Lord Wyllughby goodes, may be comyned wyth; that they may [make] pursute for payment of the seyde iiij. m^l [4000] marc, for hys part to be had, and y shall make for my part.

And [*i.e.*, if] Maister Nevyle,⁴ the whych hath wedded my Lady Wyllughbye, have power or intrest to resseyve the Lord Wyllughby ys debts, then he to be labured untoo. And my Lord of Salysburye wolle be a grete helper yn thys cause.

The Kyng, whych ys Supervisor of my Lord Bedford testament, hath wreten and comaunded by sondry lettres, that the seyde Lord Wyllughbye shuld be content for hys part. And so moch the mater ys the furtherer.

And ther ys one Yon', a servaunt of the Lord Wyllughbye, whych pursewed thys mater; yff he were yn London, he coude geve gode enformacion uppon thys mater.

¹ Robert, Lord Willoughby of Eresby.

² Ralph, Lord Cromwell.

³ John, Duke of Alençon, taken prisoner at the battle of Verneuil in 1424.

⁴ Sir Thomas Nevill, a younger son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, married Maud, the widow of Robert, Lord Willoughby.—Dugdale, ii. 86.

Y pray yow wryte to me how my maters doth, and of such noveltees as ye have there. And our Lord have yow yn hys kepyng.

Wreten at Castr hastlye, v. day of Feveryer, anno xxxiiij^{to} Regis Henrici VI.

Your cosyn,

J. FASTOLF.

275.

A.D. 1456, 9 Feb.

JOHN BOCKING TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 265.]

To the right reverent and worshipful Sir, and my right good maister, my maister Sir John Fastolf, at Castre.

RIGHT reverent and my right worshipful maister, I recomaunde me to yow in my right humble wise. Please hit your right good maistership to wyte that on Sondag laste I sent yow many and divers lettres and wrytynges, by Lampet, of all matiers that I badde knowlege at that tyme redy to answeere. And now suche tidinges as ar here, but fewe that ar straunge, excepte that this day my Lordes York and Warwik comen to the Parlement in a good aray, to the noumbre of iij^c [300] men, all jakkid¹ and in brigantiens,² and noo lord elles, wherof many men mervailed. It was seid on Saterdag my Lord shuld have ben discharged this same day. And this day was seide, but if he hadde come stronge, he shuld have bene distrussid; and no man knoweth or can sey that ony prefe may be badde by whom, for men thinken verily there is no man able to take ony suche enterpryse.

The Kyng, as it was tolde me by a grete man, wolde have hym chief and princepall counseller, and soo to be called hise chef counseller and lieutenant as longe as hit shuld lyke the Kyng; and hise patent to be

¹ *i.e.*, in coats of mail.—See p. 291, Note 2.

² See p. 134, Note 2.

made in that forme, and not soo large as it is by Parlement. But soome men thinke it wil ner can otherwise bee; and men speke and devyne moche matere of the comyng this day in suche array to Westminster. And the Lordes speken this day in the Parlement of a greet gleymyng sterre that but late hathe be seen diverse tymes, merveilous in apperyng. The resumpsion, men truste, shall forthe, and my Lordes of Yorkes first power of protectorship stande, and elles not, &c. The Quene is a grete and stronge labourid woman, for she spareth noo peyne to sue hire thinges to an intent and conclusion to hir power.

I have seid to the bringer here of more to declare yow alle a longe. And as for hise comyng, ye like to understande that your nevew, my Maister Filongley, hathe laboured and doon that he cowde or myght to hise preferraunce; but as for to make hym freman and at hise ease, to hise profite and worship, it can not bee with owte William Lyne be here, that boughte hise prentishode of his maister, to hise grete hurte and castyng of bakke by ij. or iij. yere of tyme loste; and ne were it that the maister and wardeyns of the Tailours tendre hym, be cause of yow and of Fynynglee, hise firste maister, that solde hym to William Lyne, as weel as the seide Lyne and Richard, shuld alle lese ther fredoms, as ye shall more pleynly understande by the reporte of the seid Richard, &c.

This day was my Lord Devenshire at Westminstre, and shuld have apperid, but he was countermaundid. As to youre matier of Wentworthe, the trefy contynueth, and is putte by the arbitours in Fortescu and Yelverton, and we have day of newe til Friday come sevenyght. God graunte it take a good ende. The lawe is with us clerly, as weel in th'attheynte as therinne as yette, blessid be our Lord, hoo have you in hise most noble governaunce.

Written in your place this Moneday of Fastyngange,¹
m^l cccclv. Your humble servaunt, J. B.

¹ Fastingong was Shrovetide.—See p. 110, Note 1.



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in was crafti labour and cloos to the seid spede, and laked no dylygence, for the matter was defused and dubble intendementz after dyverse mennys appynyons.

Her is Williem Brandon, late Eschetour,¹ and wold have a *non molestando*² for Fulthorp; and be cause ye spake to me that no mo shuld be sued owte, and I can gete no lybarate³ in that case, therefore, as it is tolde me, he wyll have oon up on Wenteworth is patente, and that wer to my maister bothe velleny and hurte. I pray you send me beryn your avyse. It is no grete maistre to gader up that mony, if it wer wele labord. I have somewhat affrayed them, and made hem spend mony, as I wot well ye shall her therof. Ye and I been discharged of our maynprys.

Now, Sir, for Goddis sake, as I have meved you a fore, help to sette my maister in a worchepful dyreccion of his maters to his honour, his profyte, and his hertis ease, that which so doon he shall have the better leysour to dysspose hym self godly, and be sette his londs and his goodys to the plesour of God, and the wele of his sowle, that all men may sey he deyeth a wyse man and a worchepfull. Yf ye wyste what worchep shuld growe to you in favour and conseyte of all men thus to do, I wot well ye wolde be right spedy therin, for I beleve fully ye ar ryght well wylled therto; and if owte I cowde helpe therto at myn nexte comyng, yf I knew your entent, I wold do that I cowde. Yf it like you to wryte your avyse in a bylle that I myght have it by Good Fryday at Seint Benettys, Williem Norwyche wol send it theder. The Holy Trinyte conserve you in honour and prosperite.

From London, the furst day of Marche.

Your,

HUGH A FENNE.

¹ An Escheator was a county officer who certified into the Exchequer the King's escheats, *i.e.*, lands which fell to the King, either for a time or altogether, as by the death of tenants *in capite*, minority of heirs, &c. William Brandon was Escheator of Norfolk and Suffolk from 13th November 33 Hen. VI. to 4th November 34 Hen. VI., *i.e.*, from 1454 to 1455.

² A writ which lies for him who is molested contrary to the King's protection granted him.—F.

³ A writ of *liberate* is a warrant either for the payment of annual pensions, &c. granted under the Great Seal, or for delivery of possession of certain lands or goods in the custody of a sheriff.

278.

A.D. 1456 (?), [24 March.]

JAMES GRESHAM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

As this letter relates to money matters of Fenn and Sir John Fastolf, it may most probably be referred to the same year as Nos. 274 and 277.

To my right worshipfull Maister, John Paston.

AFTER due recomendacion had, please it your maistership to wytte that William Yelverton was mevid by me to comene with my maister his fadir, as I wrot to yow from Norwich. And now he tellith me that he hath comened with his fadir; and he undirstondith that his fadir seyth that he hath not knowelaged Fennes¹ obligacion. And he scyth that Maister Fastolf undirstood that Fen hadde title to the maner of Haryngby, and therfor wold he that Fen shuld have it after Maister F. lyve; and, by liklynes, ther shall be labour made by Fenn to have releases of Maister Yelverton, &c., but he hath not yet relesed. He can no more undirstond of hym as yet. If he can undirstond ony more pleyedly this day, I shall have knowelage at Norwich on Friday or Saterdag next comyng. Please it you to have pacience, though I write so brefly.

In hast, at Walsyngham, the Wedneseday next to fore Esterne.

Youre pouere servaunt,

JAMES GR.

279.

A.D. 1456, 27 March.

ARCHBISHOP BOURCHIER TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, i. 124.]

The date of this letter will appear tolerably certain on a comparison with No. 272. In that letter Fastolf talks of coming up to London, if necessary,

¹ Hugh Fenn.—See No. 277.

about the matter of my Lord of Bedford's goods, but expresses a wish that if he is to come, my Lord Chancellor—viz., the Archbishop of Canterbury—should be got to write him a letter about it.

*To the right worshipfull, and my right entierly welbeloved
Sir Fohn Fastolf, Knight.*

RIGHT worshipful, and my right entierly welbeloved, I grete you right hertly wele, thanking you specialy, and in full herty wise, for the verray geantle goodnesse that ye have shewid unto me at all tymes, praying you of good contynuance.

And as touching suche matiers as ye sente unto me fore, I truste to God verraly, insomuche as the rule is amendid heer, and the wedder waxeth seasonable and pleasante, to see you in thise parties within short tyme, at whiche tyme I shal commune and demeene unto you in suche wise, that ye shal be right wele pleasid.

And as for the matier concernyng my Lord of Bedford, thinketh nat contrarye, but that ye shal finde me hertly welwillid to doo that I can or may for th'accomplishment of youre desire, as wel in that matier as in other, like as your servaunte John Bokking, berer hereof, can clierlier reporte unto you on my behalve; to whom like hit you to yeve feith and credence in this partie. And the blissid Trinitee have you everlastingly in His keping.

Written in my Manoir of Lamehith, the xxvj. daie of March.

Your feithfull and trew,

TH. CANT.

280.

A. D. 1456, 30 March.

DAME ALICE OGARD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 290.]

This letter would appear to have been written in the year 1456, as Thomas Fairclowe, D.D., was presented to the church of Attleborough on the 2d August in that year by Dame Alice Ogard as patron.



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281.

A.D. 1456, 8 May.

JOHN BOCKYNG TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter is quite certain, not only from the circumstance of the 5th May being a Wednesday in 1456, as mentioned in the beginning, but also from Ascension Day falling between that and the 8th, the day on which this letter was written.

To my worshipful maister, John Paston, Squier.

SIRE, please it your maistership to wyte that on Wednesday, the v. day of Maij, I received a lettre from you by the prestis man of Walsyngham, and the Ascencion Day,¹ in the mornyng, I received a lettre from yow bi the bandes of John Frays, my maisteris man, in whiche bothe moche thinge is conteyned whiche alle at this tyme I may not answeere un to my comyng the nexte weke. And as to our atteynte,² the Chief Justice bathe, sithe this day sevenyght, kept the Gildehalle in London with alle the Lordes and Juges, sauf one in eche place. My Maister Markham yesterday rode owte of London be tymes. Notwithstandyng we called ther upon, and badde at the barre Chokke,³ Letelton,⁴ Jenney,⁵ Illyngworth,⁶ John Jenney, and Dyne, and remembrid the longe hangyng and the trouthe of the matier, with the grete hurte of the partie in the tyme; and we have rule the next terme betymes, and non otherwise, for to morwe the juges sitten ayen in the toun. Mayster Yelverton can not be myry for Wyrmegey, and as for the distresse, it is a *non omittas*, and therefore Poley may and wil retorne what isseus he will. If thei be smale, we shall suffre at this time; if thei be grete, we must

¹ Ascension Day was the 6th May in 1456.

² See Nos. 223, 224, &c.

³ Richard Choke, Serjeant-at-law, afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas.

⁴ Thomas Lyttelton, the great lawyer, at this time King's Serjeant, afterwards Judge of the Common Pleas, famous for his treatise on "Tenures."

⁵ William Jenney.

⁶ Richard Illingworth, afterwards Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

appere for Wyngfelde ; and moche labour we have to conceyve a goode warant of attorney. We shal plede the next terme, for as at this tyme we wold on Monday enparle and we may.

Ye must suerly entrete the shireve, for we have moche to doo with hym, as yesterday hadde we a grete day also in th'eschequer. Myn maister¹ is moche bounde to Haltofte, and there we ar assigned day over to the next terme, and dwelle in law. Our counsail was longe or thei come, but at the laste thei acquitte them weel. The bille was thought not by all that stode at the barre that wer of nother partie. We ar joyned in the sute of the obligacion in the Comon Place ayenst Jenney and Howes. As for attachement, ye may none have withowte ye or on of yow make your othe in propre persone before the barons. I wolde have doon it ; I cowde not be amytted. And as for other processe, it is advised that by the cors of th'eschequer I shall take a *venire facias* ayenst Wentworthe, Andrews, longe Barnard, and Deyvill *ad respondendum quare in possessionem, &c. ingressi sunt*. And we must telle where other Coughawe or Kirkeley, I suppose ; and therupon a distresse and an attachement ; nevertheles by your othe, &c., hereafter. And it is thought good that the same men shal be in the writte of ravysment. Jenney hath advised us to ley it in Blithinge hundred, and I have taken of hym names ; for as for London it is to nyghe enbracerye, as ye thought well, and soo is Middlesex. Maister Yelverton conceyvith it weel to your entent. There are aboughte and in Suffolk but fewe men as of gentlemen and men of substance, but if [*unless*] it be in Blithing hundre, were Hopton is grete ; but Jenney dredeth it not we may have good men at large ; and as for the hundre, he wil doo inow thereinne.

As for the tailes of *iiij^{xx}li.* [*four score pounds*], as yette we shal doo weel inowghe and thei were contentid ; or thei that shal have the silvere, the noyse

¹ Sir John Fastolf.

were the lesse, for it shall, in pledyng, alwey be rehersed by our contrarie party that for x. marc we have alle that evere ther is, &c. I can not here how Wentworthe takith this matier by no meane; what he meneth I wote not. He is no thing plesid with the matier of the bille in th'eschequer. Thomas Denys come yesterday, and none erste. I wolde Arblaster and he spoke with yow this vacacion. I write noo more til my comyng.

As for tidinges, noon othere thanne I sent yow laste; but forthe on the same, all is as it was with the Quene,¹ the Prince and myn Lord York ar stille at Tutbury and Sandale, and my Lord of Warrewick at Warrewick. My Lord Bukingham rode on Ascencion Even to Writell, noo thing wel plesid, and sumwhat on easid of herte to his purpose; for the King bathe ley in London Friday, Saterdag, Sondag, Monday, Teusday, and Wednesday remevid to Westminster agen. In alle whiche tyme, men of London that wer chargid and sworne wolde not nor hadde noo thing presentid sauf trespas; this day thei shal sitte ayen. The peas is weel kepte, but the straungiers² ar soore a dradde, and dar not come on brode. Here is alle that I knowe as yet. Our Lord Jesu be with yow.

Writen at Suthwerk the viij. day of Maij.

I have paied to Dory Cs., and with moche peyne made hym to ghethe day of the other Cs. til the nexterme.

Your owen

J. B.

Endorsed in a seventeenth century hand.—L'ra Joh'is Bokking, Attorn. in Communi Banco.

282.

A.D. 1456, 15 May.

JOHN BÖCKING TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 130.]

Whitsun eve, the day on which this letter is dated, fell on the 15th May in

¹ A full stop after "Quene" would improve the grammar of this sentence, but the original is entirely without punctuation. The writer evidently meant that the Queen and Prince were at Tutbury, and the Duke of York at Sandale.

² The foreign merchants. A riot took place about this time in London, in which the houses of foreigners were attacked.—See Fabyan's "Chronicle;" also Brown's "Venetian Calendar," i. 81, 84.



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have suspected. Henry VI. never went to Scotland in manner of war, and the Earl of Wiltshire never was made Chancellor. But the time when those rumours seem most likely to have arisen was in the year 1456, when the Duke of York had been deprived of the Protectorate. The Earl of Wiltshire, being of the opposite party to York, was not unlikely to have been talked of as Chancellor, although the Chancellorship was given on the 7th of March to the Archbishop of Canterbury. As to the rumoured expedition against Scotland, we know that in the preceding year James II., in defiance of the truce, laid siege to Berwick, which offered a gallant resistance (Nicolas's Privy Council Proceedings, vi. 248). This, however, does not appear immediately to have led to open war between the two countries. Diplomatic relations were still carried on till, on the 10th of May 1456, James II. despatched Lyon Herald to the King of England to declare plainly that the Truce of 1453 was injurious to Scotland, and that he did not mean to abide by it (Lambeth MS. 211, f. 146 b). No reply was made to this message till the 26th of July, when an answer was despatched by the Duke of York in the King's name (*see* Rymer xi. 383); but there can be little doubt the desire to punish the insolence of the Scots must have been very general long before.

AFTER humble and due recommendacion, please it your gode maistership to understand that atte making of this my pour letter ther were no noveltees with us, but suche as yee understode full well afor your departyng, except the Kyng woll in to Scotland in all maner wyse of werre, and that my Lord of Weltshire shal be made Chaunceller. I suppose the better is but a sclaunder, and therefore be ye avised howe ye delyver theym as tidynges.

Also I wotte full well where I lefte you in suche matiers as it pleased you to make me of your counsell, as touchyng oon matier specially; and howe that ye said unto me whenne I desired your goode maistership to shewe favour in suche as ye best myght yf any thing shuld be shewed *ad lumen*, my Maister F. except; and howe that ye answered and said as it pleased you that I was conquered, in trouth, that shuld preve but a full grete unstabulnes in me with more, &c. But, Sir, I pray you howe some ever my maister rekeneth with any of his servaunts, bring not the matier in revolution in the open Courte, for and it were ones opened afore the Judges howe that any lettre patentes shuld be purchased of an ante date,¹ and the defaute faunde in me, ye wold be a m^l. [*thousand*] tymes

¹ A law was passed in the eighteenth year of Henry VI. to put a stop to the abuse of persons having interest about the Court procuring antedated

avised, and my Maister F. both, or that ye wold amend me soo much as I shuld be appered therbe. And therfor I beseche you be well avised howe that matier be oponed for myn ease.

I was not desired to write unto you of no on persone, so God be my help, yourself except; but I wold ye wold take avise and counsell of the Preest that hadde you soo long under hand on Shorthursday,¹ whenne I and my feleship, God thank you, hadde of you right grete chere to our grete comfort and your grete coste, howe that the same Preest understandeth this letter of the Gospell underwriten: "Jesus dixit Simoni Petro, Si peccav[er]it in te frater tuus, vade et corripe eum inter te et ipsum solum; si te audierit lucratus es fratrem tuum. Si autem te non audierit, adhibe tecum adhuc unum vel duos, ut in ore duorum vel trium testium stet omne verbum. Quod si non audierit, dic ecclesiæ; si autem ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus," etc. And in another place, "Tunc accedens Petrus ad Jesum dixit, Domine, quotiens petevit [*peccabit*] in me frater meus, [et] dimittam ei? usque septies? Dicit illi Jesus, Non dico tibi, usque septies, set usque septuagesies septies."²

My maister can doo no thing, the which shall come in open audience at thise deies, but it shalbe called your dede. Hit is not unknowon that cruell and vengible he hath byn ever, and for the most parte with aute pite and mercy; I can no more but *vade et corripe eum*, for truly he cannot bryng about his matiers in this word [*world*], for the word is not for hym. I suppose it wolnot chaunge yetts by likelenes, but I beseche you, Sir, help not to amend hym onely, by [*but?*] every other man yf ye kno any mo mysse disposed.

letters patent, by means of which they were enabled to claim the emoluments of lands or offices granted to them from a date anterior to the actual passing of the grant.—See Hardy's Introduction to the Patent Rolls of King John. p. xxx.

¹ Shere or Shore Thursday, Maundy Thursday, the day before Good Friday.

² St. Matthew's Gospel, chap. xviii, ver. 15, 16, 17, and ver. 21, 22.

I canno more, but as I can or mey, I shal be his servaunt and youres unto such tyme as ye woll comande me to sursese and leve of, yf it please hym.

Sir, I pray you take this copy¹ of your statute, it is not examined be me, for I found hit thise v. yeres pessed.

Writan in my slepyng tyme at after none, on Wytsonday. Also, Sir, yf I have rehersed wyttyngly the text of the Gospell syngularly unto your maistership, I beseche you to be had excused.

Your own,

H. W.

284.

A.D. 1456, 1 June.—JOHN RUSSE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

To my Maister Paston, in haaste.

Please your good maistirship to wete that my Lord of Norffolk yaf in comaundement to Cristofre and to the balif of Colneise to laboure with us acording to your mocion. And as to Skilly, fermour of Cowhaugh, we enteryd there, and seyde we wold have payment for the half yeer past, and sewrete for the half yeer comynge, or ellys we wold distreyne and put hym out of pocession, and put in a newe fermoure; and so oure demenyng was suche that we toke no distresse, and yit we have hym bounde in an obligacion of xvij*li*. payabil at Michelmesse without condecion, and vjs. viij*d*. we receyvid of hym for opocession, for the ferme as yit remayneth on gatherid in the fermeurez handes. But I seyde hym I wold be ther ageyn for the recedu of the half yeer ferme past withinne this xiiij. dayes; and he seyde he wold do hise delygence to gather it up. But he spak with Wentworth sethyn, whiche yef hym an uttyr rebuke, as he swor to me, and seyde he wold have hys payment of Skyilly, and sewe hise oblygacion this next terme whiche he is bounden in to Wentworth for the yeerly payment of the same ferme; and the seyde Wentworth seyde he wyll takyn an accyon of trespas this next terme ageyn us that were there; and Devyle seyde ye were hender the londes at the begynning of your sute thanne ye be now, and that shalbe knowe be Lammesse next comyng, for he hathe thynges to shewe ye saw

¹ This relates to papers sent with this letter, and accounts for there being no direction, as the whole was enclosed in a parcel.—F.



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285.

A.D. 1456, 7 June.

JOHN BOCKING TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 134.]

On comparing this with the previous letters of Bocking, Nos. 281 and 282 it will be seen that they must all three be of the same year.

*To my right good maister, John Paston, Squier, at
Norwiche, in haste.*

SIR, please it your maistership to wyte, I have my attachements graunted in open Courte with helpe of Litelton¹ and Hewe at Fen, and was bide to make redy the names, &c. before the Barons, of which Haltoft² was one. . . .

. . . .³
As for tidings, the Kyng is at Shene, the Quene at Chestre; the Duc of Buk was, as I come hiderward, at Writell, the Erle of Warrewyke at Werrewyke, and the Lords Chaunceller,⁴ Tresorier,⁵ and th'Erle of Sar' [*Salisbury*] in London, and noo more Lords at the begynyng this day of the grete Counsail. Many men say that there shuld be, but thei wote not what. The sege shall, as men say, come to Caleys and to Guynes, for moche puple come overe the water of Somme, and grete navies on the see.

Th'Erle of Penbroke⁶ is with the Kyng, and noo more Lordis. Th'Erle of Richemond⁷ and Griffith Suoh (?) are at werre gretely in Wales. The Comons of Kent, as thei werre wo[n]tte, er not all weel disposid, for there is in doying amongs hem what evere it bee.

¹ Thomas Lyttelton—See p. 384, Note 4.

² Gilbert Haltoft.

³ Here, in the original, followed various passages relating to law business, which Fenn has not printed.

⁴ Archbishop Bouchier.

⁵ Henry, Viscount Bouchier, was appointed Lord Treasurer on the 29th May 1455 (Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VI., p. 2, m. 12), and so continued till the 5th October 1456, when the office was taken from him and given to the Earl of Shrewsbury (Patent, 35 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 16).

⁶ Jasper Tudor.—See p. 266, Note 3.

⁷ Edmund Tudor.—See p. 266, Note 2.

Of Scotts is here but litell talkyng. My Lord York is at Sendall stille, and waytith on the Quene and she up on hym.

I dide my maistress your moderis erands, as ye have herde of, for Maister William hath writen his entente, and he and Clement faren weel.

Writen at Horshighdone, vij^{mo} die Junij.

Rokewode and Crane faren weel, and thei and I recomaunde hem to my maistress your wif.

And as I understande, the Clerke of the Rolles is owte of charite with Maister Yelverton, and my Lord Chaunceller a litell mevid, &c.

Your owen,

J. B.

286.

A.D. 1456, 18 June.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 242.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON, ESQ.

As to the matters on which Paston sent to him by Will. Barker to desire his advice, Paston knows that Fastolf has put his whole confidence in him, and begs he will do with the advice of Fastolf's learned counsel whatever they jointly think for his weal; "for ye know well I am so visited by the hand of God that I may not deal with such troublous matters, without it should be to great hurt of my bodily welfare, which I trust ye would not desire." If you find my Lady of York disposed to visit this poor place, commend me to her, and tell her how it is with me that I cannot receive her as I ought.

Castre, 18 June.

[As it will appear a little further on that the Duchess of York visited Caister in 1456, this letter is probably of that year.]

287.

A.D. 1456, 24 June.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 263.]

SIR J. FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

To-day my cousin Sir Miles Stapleton, Sir James Braylyes, Andrew Grygges, "hyr resseyvor," and Grymston have been with

Fastolf at Castre, and brought him 253 marks, which they would have paid if he had had the obligation here. Sends therefore a letter by his servant Colyn how Sir S. and he are agreed for its deliverance, &c. Sir S. made many strange insinuations that the money was paid before, partly by assignment to Clyffton, &c. On the 18th and 19th inst. “long Bernard, with a priest of Kent, to the number of 16 horse, hafe, at Nacton, Bentley, and other places of F., and entered by colour of a deed of feoffment made to the Lady Roos and others, and hafe right proud language to the farmers, that they will obtain their intent.” Russe has written more plainly by Nich. Colman.

“Item, I charge right greatly the matter of my Lord of Bedford for my discharge, and for the recovery of my Lord’s goods.” Begs Paston to common with the Lord Chancellor and others about it; and desires him to give “mine attorney, Raulyns, and my serjeants” a warning “to take more tenderness” about the process of Hykeling that has been so many years and days driven off.

St. John Baptist’s Day.

[From the reference to “the matter of my Lord of Bedford,” this letter was most probably written in the year 1456.]

288.

A.D. 1456, 24 June.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 238.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

“First it is to remember that, upon St. John’s day, there was Sir Symond Brayles, chaplain of my Lady of Suffolk, and in presence of Sir Miles Stapleton and Edward Grymston, said that the 200 marks was paid before in the Duke of Suffolk’s days.” Can prove by writings that this was not so, and that he “offered to put it upon my Lord Chancellor and upon one or two of Lords of the King’s council as my said Lord Chancellor will call unto him,” that it may be known whether my Lady is wronged or Fastolf. The £100 of the above sum was not paid by assignment to Clyffton. Sir Simon complains that the suit was stolen against Sir Thos. Tuddenham, and judgment given without my Lady’s counsel knowing of it; which can be disproved.

Castre, St. John Baptist’s Day.

“Item, I remembered Sir Simon for the restitution of my revenues of Dedham 3 year day, and my damage of a mill put down,” &c. I paid 500 marks for the ward of Sir Rob. Harlyng’s daughter for my Lord to Sir John Clyffton, of which the Duke had no right to receive one penny, for there was no land held of the King.

[This letter corresponds so closely with the last that it must have been written the same day.]



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in destruccyon and gret myschef of the cuntre in here dayes. At the reverens of Jesu, forzet not this mater, ne the mater of Dedham, etc. I wolde ze askyd my good lord and mayster, Yelverton, yf I sent hym ony letter in the same mater, &c. Dicente Davitico Psalmo :¹ *Ne obliviscaris voces inimicorum tuorum, nam superbia eorum ascendit semper* in psalmo ; qui et si nunquam ascendant in cœlos, utinam nunquam descendant ab [*ad*] abissos, &c., etsi anima eorum in malis tabescebat, &c. Scriptum festinacione (?) feria 3^a post festum Natalis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ.² Recommendetis me magistro meo W. Paston, confratri vestro, et Thomæ Playter cognato meo, cui dicite quod faciat Willelmum Geneye sibi benivolum quia Sampson filius et heres J. Sampson olim mariti Katerinæ Fastolff apud Owlton mortuus, et ibi sunt duæ viduæ, major et minor, senior et junior. Eligatur quæ sibi melius placet.

Magister Thomas Howys vobis amantissimus se cordialissime recommendat vobis, etc. Item, Willelmus Wigorniensis recommendat se vobis ex toto corde. Scribo vobis, utinam ad placitum.

Vester ad vota,

F. J. B., *Minorum minimus.*

I hafe a rolle redy of the inditements, that they were indityd for trespase and extorsyon and oppresyon done to my Mayster Fastolff, in the keping of W. Worceter, &c.

Visa frangatur et in ignem post jaciatur. Si dignemini loqui cum effectu magistro Ricardo Fysscher, secretario domini mei comitis Warwicensis, pro cujus nomine et amore promptissimus sum adhuc plura pati, ut mittatur pro me litera magistro provinciali et diffinitoribus.

¹ See Psalm lxxiii. (or lxxiv.) 23.

² St. John the Baptist's Day is the 24th June. *Feria tertia* means Tuesday.

290.

A.D. 1456 (?), 17 July.

HENRY FYLUNGLEY TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, i. 166.]

This letter must have been written about the time Sir John Fastolf first began to make inquiry on what terms he could obtain a license for establishing a college at Caister,—a project which he had much at heart during the latter years of his life. A letter from Sir John himself upon this subject will be found a little further on, dated the 18th November 1456, and we think it probable that this is of the same year.

*To my ryght worshipfull unkle, and my ryght good
master, Syr John Fastalf, Knyght.*

RYGH T worshipfull unkull, and my ryght good master, I recomaund me to yow wyth all my servys. And, Sir, my brother Paston and I have comened togeder as touchinge to your colage that ye wold have made; and, Sir, hit ys to gret a good that ys axed of yow for youre lycens; for they ax for every C. marc that ye wold amortyse D. marcz, and woll gefe hit noo better chepe.

And, Sir, y told my brother Paston that my Lady of Bargeveney¹ hath, in dyvers Abbeyes in Lecestershyre, vij. or viij. prestes singinge for her perpetuell, by my brother Darcyes and my unkle Brokesbyes meanes, for they were her executors; and they acorded for money, and gafe a cc. or ccc. marc, as they myzt acord for a prest. And for the suerte that he shuld synge in the same abbey for ever, they had maners of good valew bounden to such persones as plesed the sayd barthern [*brethren*], Brokkesby and my brother Darcy, that the sayd servyse shulde be kept. And for lytell moore then the Kynge axed hem for a lycence, they went thorgh with the sayd abbots. And y hold this wey as sure as that other. Ye may comen with youre councell therof.

¹ Edward Nevill, Lord Abergavenny, was twice married. His first wife, to whom he owed his title, was Elizabeth, daughter of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Worcester. His second was Catherine, daughter of Sir Robert Howard. The Lady here mentioned is probably the former, for though Dugdale says he obtained a dispensation for his second marriage in 1448, that date is inconsistent with the age of his son and other facts mentioned

And yf there be any servyse that I can do for yow, hit shall be redy at all tymes, with the grace of God, who have yow in his kepyng.

Wryten at London, the xvij. day of Juyll.

Your nevew and servaunt,

HENRY FYLUNGLEY.

291.

A.D. 1456, 31 July.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS. B.M.]

This letter is doubtless of the same year as No. 287, in the end of which Fastolf wishes his attorney, Rawlyns, urged to greater activity in the matter of Hickling.

To my worshipful cousyn, John Paston.

RIGHT trusty and worshipful cousyn, I recomaunde me to yow. And like it yow to wyte, myn attorney, Raulyns, hathe enformed me that the Jugis have ruled processe to goo owte ayenst the priour of Hikelyng of distresse *per omnia bona et catalla*, of whiche the writte and other ar not yet come fro London. I trust whan thei come, be your good counsail and meane, the Shireve wil doo his devoir; how be it, as I understande, thei have sente the Lord Scales all there evidences, and he wil come and dwelle there hym silf. And I am also enformed, for certeyn, that the Bushop of Norwiche, for all the truste I badde to hym, that by his meane I shulde have knowen there fundacion, he hathe warned his officeres not to have adoo therinne, by cause of the Lord Scales, &c. Cousyn, I pray yow, in as moche as the matere, by agreement, was putte in you and Fyncham, and how that ye, for the same cause, specially kepte your day at London, and toke not in there defaulte and not myn, that ye wil soo in caas ye see Fyncham remembre, and to othere there as ye seme it shulde profite to be knowen, and that yet



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293.

About A.D. 1456 (?).—LORD SCALES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is placed immediately after another letter of Lord Scales, dated like this from his seat at Middleton in Norfolk, as probably belonging to the same period, though the exact year is uncertain.

To my right trusty and welbeloved frend, John Paston, Squier.

Right trusty and welbeloved frend, I grete you hertly well. And for as mych as I u[ndyrstond] a bill was made at Yermuth ageyns my cousyn Bryan Stapylton and hise wy. . . . have set up the said bill in the Kynges Bench, which bill is in your kepyng, pray[ing] you that ye wyll sende me the same bill be the bringer herof, to the entent I ^{h₁}[a^y] se it. And as I am informed be my said cousyn, ye shewed hym grete gentillesse and benyvolence, wherof I thanke you right hertely. I pray God have you in governance.

Writen at Midelton, the xx. day of Septembre.

Zowr frend,

SCALES.

294.

A.D. 1456, 7 Sept.

ARCHBISHOP BOURCHIER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 276.]

This letter may be presumed to have been written during the time that Archbishop Bourchier was Lord Chancellor, viz., between 7th March 1455 and 11th October 1456, when the Great Seal was given to Bishop Waynfleet. William Norwich, also, was Sheriff of Norwich in 1455, and is doubtless addressed in that capacity, but his year of office would not have begun so early as September. The letter therefore belongs to the following year.

To our right truste and right welbeloved John Paston, Esquier, and William Norwiche,¹ and to either of theym.

RIGHT truste and right welbeloved, we grete you hertly wel. And where as Sir Nichol Bowet, Knight, sueth an appeelle in the

¹ Sheriff of Norwich, 1455; Mayor, 1461. Died 1463-4.—Blomefield.

countee of Norffolk ayenst oon Robert Offord of Berking for the deeth of oon Sir Henry Bowet, cleric, we being enformed that the matier is pitevous, praie you hertly that ye wul in our behalve moeve and entreete the Shirreve of the saide countee to surceese of the execucion of any processe upon the exigent¹ to hym directed in that behalve unto the next terme, so that resonable meanes maye be founden to save the saide Robert harmeless; lating hym wite that we have written to the saide Sir Nichol for a convenient reetie to be taken in that behalve, as shalbe thought according to right. And God have you ever in his keping.

Written in our Manoir of Mortelake, the vij. daie of September.

T., ARCHBYSSHOPP OF CANTERBURY.

295.

A.D. 1456, 8 Oct.—JOHN BOCKING TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The body of this letter relates entirely to proceedings in the dispute between Sir John Fastolf and Sir Philip Wentworth about the wardship of Thomas Fastolf. The postscript alone relates to public matters. The date will appear by the footnotes.

To my right worshipful Maister, John Paston.

RIGHT worshipful Sir, and my good maister, I recomaunde me to yow, and have receyvid a lettre from yow by Sir Thomas is man, berer here of. And as for the accions,² bothe of ravishment and th'attachement, the declaracions ar made *tunc solvend'* and not *solut'*, and as moche amendid as we can or may be favour have amendid. We badde be beguyled and they hadde not be sen in Norffolk, for here til this day come noo counsaill; and

¹ See p. 222, Note 1.

² Against Sir Philip Wentworth.

to have *per manus Johannis Wyngfelde* it wole not be, for we can not bringe it inne, and also it is to late.

And as for *iiij^{xx}li.* [*fourscore pounds*],¹ Fenn and I mette with Worsop this day, and he spake soore to Fenn and me, and we put hym overe, saying we wolde doo as moche as we myghte. I thinke verily that Fenn wole deserve ther inne a thanke, but I can not understande hym what he wolde be doon to, or how rewardid, for whanne I speke of it he is desplesid, and seithe he desirith noo rewarde; but he farith as a man wole sey he wold noo silvere, and lokith awaywardes and takith a noble. And he hath written to yow of the matere of Sir Philip Wentworthe touching this writte of *liberate*,² whiche is but a color and noo warant sufficient, ner we owe not to doo no thinge that shuld obeye it, ner the Shireve nother dothe but of favor that he dothe to hem, and hym liste otherwise to doo, as Fenn writeth yow more pleinely. And as for a *supersedies* [*sic*], there lithe noon, as he seith, up on a *liberate*.

And as for entryng in Bradwell, thei doo opyn wronge, for after myn patent opteyned, there was a writte to sease it into the Kynges hande, and soo it was and is. And as to your patent, it is counsailled me to have a writte to th'eschetor *de custodia liberanda*, whiche may not be denyed. And if we myght have *una cum exitibus a tempore mortis*, it were a soveraigne writte. It shalbe assaied, and doo thertoo what can lete; the fermours be promised to be saved harmeles and chargid not to paie ony thing to them.

And as for the *iiij^{xx}li.* [*fourscore pounds*] to be sette on Oliveres taile, I can not see it wole be, for there is noo suche worlde to bringe it abowte. It is faire, and we can ghet it on Fulthorp is dette by grete labor for agrement, for I drede it wole be moste agayn us that it is of recorde soo longe unpaied. And Hue at Fenn sueth now to Nailor to ghet owte moo *liberates*, suche as the last were to the last eschetor. And this God graunte thei take good spede.

¹ This sum was to be paid by John Bocking and William Worcester for a patent of the wardship of Thomas Fastolf.—See Letter 297 following.

² See p. 380, Note 3.



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shall be yn the same as he was yn gelosye; for when my maister comaundyth such as of force, by reson of her occupacion, most be nere hym, to do a message to hys fellow, or question of hym, hyt shall be ymagyned amonges our felyshyp that he doth make maters to my maister. And so it ys ymagyned of me when I wryte lettres to London, to Bokkyng or Barker, that yn such maters as please hem not, then it ys my doyng; yff it take well to theyr entent, then it ys her [*their*] doyng. And yn gode feyth, so it was ymagyned of me and othys that wrote, by my maister comaundment, to Castre, to the parson of Blofeld, Geffrey Spyrlyng, and othys, that of such maters as was lykyng to hem and coude be sped by help of my maister frendes as by theyr solicytyng, then it was seyde that it was theyr avice, labour, and doyng. And yff the maters went not to my maister entent, ne that they coude not bryng aboute the mater, then it was imagyned and jangled that it was my wrytyng and doyng. I bare nevere my maister purs, ne condyt nevere chargeable mater alone of hys yn lawe, for my discrecion ne conyng know not whate such maters menyth. I knew nevere of *oyer* ne *terminer*, ne rad nevere patent before, ne my maister knew nevere the condyt of such thynges; and when he wrote of hys grevonse to hys frendys, he commaunded no man to be endyted, for he wyst not whate belonged to such thynges, ne the parson neyther, but remitted it to his councell lerned. There was no man gretter at hert with hym, as Andreus wyth Heydon, because of castyng Bradwell and Tychewell yn the Kynges handes, and toke away the waarde. And I came nevere at the *oyer and terminer*.

By God, my maister lost c. marc by a scute of Margyt Bryg upon a defence of atteynt, because a quest passed ayenst hyr of xij. penyworth lond by yeer; and I dar sey and prefe it, my maister never spake of hyr, ne knew hyr not, ne wrote to sew hyr at the *oyer and terminer*, as I am remembred. Yhyt yt was well deffended, at my maister grete cost and labour, and

myne pore labour also. Yhyt ought not I, ne none such yn my stede, beer the wyte [*blame*] wyth Sir Thomas, ne none othyr; he that takyth the tolle most take the charge, hyt ys hys negligence that wille take the labour more then he may away. I wold the parson ys wellfare asmoch as man lyvyng, to my wreched power; and yff, or when, ye hyre onye froward ymagynacions, I pray yow gefe no credence tille ye hyre it aunsuerd. I am eased of my spyrytes now that I hafe expressed my leude [*ignorant*] menyng, because of my felow Barker, as of such othyr berkers ayenst the mone, to make wysemen laugh at her foyle. Our Lord kepe yow.

Wryt at Castre the xij. day of October.

Your

W. BOTONER.

I hafe and do purchasse malgre to remembre of evidenses lakkyng by negligence, &c. And therfor I most be muet and suffre gretter losses but [*unless*] it be othyrwyse concydered. I sende yow the copie of your patentes,¹ in parchement, and I hafe remembred as well as I can both the stuard and Bertilmeu Elys for execucion ayenst the pleggs of your seyntuarye, carpenter (?) Snow, that evere ys disposed to breke promysse. Foryefe me of my leude lettre wrytyng, and I pray yow laugh at it.

297.

A.D. 1456 or 1457.

SIR THOMAS HOWES TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS. B.M.]

This letter is dated by the writer in the 35th year of Henry VI., but he does not say in what month it was written. The 35th of Henry VI. was reckoned from the 1st September 1456 to the 31st August 1457. Taken in connection with the postscript of Botoner's letter immediately preceding (the date of which letter this partly confirms), it is not unlikely that this was

¹ Probably the patent of 6th June 1454, granting the wardship of Thomas Fastolf to John Paston and Thomas Howes.—See No. 207, also the letter following.

written about October. Perhaps "Wednesday after messe" should have been "Wednesday after Michaelmesse." If so, the exact date would be October 6th.

To my right goode maister, John Paston.

REVERENT Sir, &c. Please yow to wete that it [is] so that my maister, of his owen frowardness, and of non other mannys mevyng, hat sent a warent to Cristefor that he shuld delyver me no mony tyll the *iiij^{xx}li.* [*fourscore pounds*] where payed for Bokkyng and Wurcestre patent;¹ and yf the seyde Cristefore delyvered me any mony, that he shuld take a sewerte of me therfor, nowthwithstanding my maister preyed me that I shuld reherce alle thyng in my name, where of I held me content. And now I fele this traytour wrytyng under nethe, and I nowth prevy ther to, at my comyng owt causet me to thynk the more hevynes, &c. Nevertheles, I prey yow that a mene may be taken of trefy by the mene of Clopton or Ellys. Sende me word, and I shal seke menys of trefy, for, be God, I shal trust no more no fayre wordes; and there to I shall lete alle the Lords of this lond knowe what wrytyngs I have, and his disposicion. Save yowre reverens, Cristyfor sal (?) have swyche a maister, &c. I prey yow, as ever I may do yow service or be yowre bedeman that ye wele sende me yowre advise. I had lever paye xx. marke, or x*li.* in hande and x*li.* yerely furthe, with myn enemyndz good love, than to yelde me to preson ayens here entent, and sewe forth the tyncte. And no trost what my maister wele do, for I can right evele beleve that he wele bere owt the cost of the tyncte whan he maket straunge to ley down the condempnacion, &c.

Wretyn brevely at Horseydown the Wenesday after messe, anno xxxv^{to}.
T. Howys.

¹ The wardship of Thomas Fastolf was at first granted to John Paston and Thomas Howes, by patent of the 6th June 1454, and for this they agreed to pay 100 marks into the Exchequer. But, for some reason or other, a new arrangement was made, and the wardship was granted by another patent, dated 12th December 1454, to John Bokkyng and William Worcestre, who offered the King 20 marks over what Paston had offered, *i.e.*, £80 in all.—*See Patent Roll, 33 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 10.*



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Lord of Shrewisbury¹ is Tresorer, and Broun² of your Inn is Undertresorer. If ye wold sende to hym to graunte you the namyng of th'eschetorship of Norffolk, &c., it were weel do, for it is told me he wold do moche for you.

Maister Lawrence Bothe³ is Prive Seall. And it is seid that my Lord of York⁴ hath be with the Kyng, and is departed ageyn in right good conceyt with the Kyng, but not in gret conceyt with the Whene [*Queen*]; and sum men sey, ne badde my Lord of Buks⁵ not have letted it, my Lord of York had be distressed in his departyng.

On Moneday last passed was a gret affray at Coventre bytwene the Duke of Somersets men and the wechemen [*watchmen*] of the toun, and ij. or iij. men of the toun were kyllid there, to gret disturbance of alle the Lords there; for the larom belle was ronge, and the toun arose, and wold have jouperdit to have distressed the Duke of Somerset, &c., ne had the Duke of Buks not have take a direccion therein.

Also it is seid the Duke of Buks taketh right straungely that bothe his brethren⁶ am so sodeynly discharged from ther offices of Chauncellerie and Tre-soryship; and that among other causeth hym that his opynyon is contrary to the Whenes [*Queen's*] entent, and many other also, as it is talked. Item, sum men seyn, the counseal is dissolved, and that the Kyng is forth to Chester,⁷ &c. Also summe sey that many of the Lords shall resorte hiddir to London ageynst Alhalwen tyde.

And as touchyng th'eleccion of Shirefs, men wene that my Lord of Canterbury shall have a gret rule, and specyall in our countre.

¹ John Talbot, second Earl. He was appointed Treasurer on 5th October 1456.—Patent Roll, 35 Henry VI., p. 1, m. 16.

² John Brown.—See William Wyrcestre's "Annals," under the year 1468.

³ Afterwards Bishop of Durham, and finally Archbishop of York.

⁴ Richard, Duke of York.

⁵ Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

⁶ The two Bouchiers, viz., Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Viscount Bouchier, the former of whom had been Loid Chancellor and the latter Lord Treasurer (see Notes 3 of last page and 1 of this) were the Duke of Buckingham's half brothers by the mother's side.

⁷ The Court had been staying at Coventry.

I can no more, but Almyghty God send us as his most pleaser is.

Wretyn al in hast, the Saterdag next after Seint Edwards day.

Your Servaunt, JAMES GRESHAM.

299.

A.D. 1456, 10 Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 241.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

Begs him in the end of the term to come home by Dedham, along with William Worcester and Barker, to see to the accounts of barley and such husbandry as is used there. As to Wighton in Yorkshire, Bokkyng reminds me you spoke to me that my son Scrope and his father-in-law¹ should have all the lyvelode of my wife's in farm, to which I agreed, or else that Lord Vescy would have Wighton, as he once had, at a rent of £34—much more than I make it worth yearly. Do as you think best for me. I had rather my son Scrope had it with sufficient surety.

Castre, 10 Nov.

Begs him to common with William Worcester that by means of my Lord of Canterbury, or otherwise, Master William Clyf and others of the executors of John Wellis may be spoken to for the recovery of great good that William Worcester knows Wellis owed to Fastolf.

[The date of this letter appears to be 1456. Of the years when Fastolf resided at Caister, it is not 1454, because in that year Barker could not have been in London on the 10th November (*see* No. 221). It is not 1455, because Worcester appears to have been at that time at Caister (*see* Nos. 259 and 260). The same appears to have been the case in 1457, though we can only judge by a letter of the 29th October; and although Worcester certainly was in London in November 1458, Sir John Fastolf was then in London with him.]

300.

A.D. 1456, 15 Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 259.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON AT THE TEMPLE.

Received certain letters by Henry Hanson on Thursday last, including one from William Barker written in Lukett's hand, and

¹ Richard Bingham, Judge of the King's Bench.

two bills of supplication, one of which, in the name of the tenants of Cotton, he has sent to Paston, as he has already written. John Russe and Geoff. Spyrling have ridden to Cotton in consequence, and will inform Paston how they speed. Thinks the bill "right good and well spoken according to the truth of their riotous demeaning." Received at the same time a bill written in his own name, of which he approves. Hears that young Henry Wentworth, young Calthorpe, and young Brews were at the distress-taking, among others. Has perfect confidence in Paston as to the treaty, and hopes to obtain again the manor of Bradwell by some means, as clear as he had it before his unhappy release. Hears that the Chief Justice "rectid the matter" in Parliament before the Lords, and shewed how Fastolf was wronged in that it was untruly found by the office that he had disseised Sir Hue Fastolf of the manor, whereas he has documents proving a true sale. My Lady of York has been here, "and sore moved me for the purchase of Castre." Begs him to devise means for the licence of mortising of certain buildings for the foundation of a college, "as ye and I have commoned of before." William Worcester can show him a copy of one passed by the King, and signed ready to the late Chancellor Stafford. Desires him to make himself acquainted with two chaplains about my Lord of Canterbury and my Lord Chancellor. William Barker writes of a general treaty, to which he can make no answer further than he has already done to Yelverton and Paston.

Castre, Monday after St Martin.

[In this letter, as in the last, we have Worcester and Barker both in London, which, we have seen, points to the year 1456. It is clear also that this letter was written just before that which follows.]

301.

A.D. 1456, 18 Nov.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 164.]

This letter, as printed by Fenn, bears no date in itself, but in the editorial note at the foot it is dated: "Caister, 18th of November." Probably this date is expressed in the original, but has been accidentally omitted in the printing. If so, the year in which it was written must be either 1456 or 1457, and most probably the former. In 1455 the Archbishop of Canterbury and my Lord Chancellor were one and the same person, which they evidently are not here; and in 1458 it appears by the Castlecombe MSS. that Sir John Fastolf was in London on the 26th November, so that he is not likely to have been expecting a visit from the Duke of Norfolk at Caister eight days before. On the other hand, if this was written in the year 1456, it must be remembered that Archbishop Bourchier had been just recently discharged of the office of Lord Chancellor, which was given to Bishop Waynfleet on the 11th October, and it is highly probable that the Archbishop had been already spoken to on the subject in his capacity of Chancellor.



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302.

A.D. 1456, Nov.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,244, B.M.]

PROCEEDINGS IN A SUIT IN MICHAELMAS TERM, 35 HEN. VI.

I. Writ to the Sheriff of Suffolk to attach John Andrewe of Boylom, and bring him before the Barons of the Exchequer on the morrow of All Souls to answer, along with Sir Philip Wentworth and Thos. Deyvill of Netlestede, to the suit of John Paston and Thomas Howys.

II. Pleadings. The King committed the wardship of Thomas, son and heir of John Fastolf of Cowhawe, to Paston and Howes by patent, 6 June 32 Hen. VI.; but on the 8 June 32 Hen. VI., Andrewe and Deyvill, with force and arms, entered Sholond Hall, Suffolk, and Foxhole, and Bentley Houses, &c., and took rents to the sum of £360, and underwood to the value of £40. Imparlance granted till 26 Nov., when the parties were not agreed. *Venire facias* was then awarded *a die Sancti Hilarii in xv. dies*.

303.

A.D. 1457 (?), 2 April.

JOHN BOCKING TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter is very uncertain. In 1456 the writer dates from Southwark on the 8th of May, and in 1458 from London on the 14th of March, so that there is rather a presumption against his being at Caister on the 2d of April in either of these years. But these points, it must be owned, are little to be relied on, as Bokking certainly passed to and fro a good deal between London and Norfolk. The date must, however, be between 1455 and 1459. The letter has no address, but was doubtless intended for John Paston.



SIRE, lyke it your maistership to wete that I sende you at this tyme the rolle of the copies of all patentes, and the appoyntement with Wentworth laste, and also a abstracte drawn as it come simply to my remembrance. And I shalbe with you sumtyme the next weke. All men ar owte at this tyme, as the Parson,¹ Worcester, and Barker; and therefore til thei come, I may not owte. H. Wyn-desor departid on Monday, and will doo that he can.

† Thomas Howes.

He telleth me Lumleys patent is in his awarde, but it is of noo force. And also he bathe Constable is ij. [second?] patente, and that is moste ayenst us, &c. He wil purveie therfore as ye knowe myn maister¹ comaundit hym to yow.

Here hath ben .Wilton with the dede of fefement yesterday, and all men badde ensealed sauf myn maister that now hathe ensealed, and H. Inglose is right soory. I can no newe tidinges, but that myn maister hath put his matier of Issabells in Scroudeby, and the rente of the priour of Norwiche dieu to Heilesdon in your hande and Thomas Grene. Ye shal the next weke have the evidences. And Jesu kepe you and youres.

I sende myn Maistres Crane a lettre fro hir brother, but I have the credence, whiche I can not say but if she appose me for certein materes of hir brotheres.

Writen at Castre, the ij. day of Aprill.

Your owen servaunt,

J. B.

304.

A. D. 1457, 20 April.—BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 294.]

It appears from the contents of this letter that it was written two and a half years after Sir John Fastolf came to live in Norfolk, which he did in the autumn of 1454. The date therefore is certain.

To my Maister Paston.

PLEASE you to wete that, after dew recom- mendacion, hyt yt so that my maister sendyth me to London for the mater of Rochestr, as for dyvers of hys oune particuler maters which concern not the lawe, &c.; and I am lyke to tarye till ye com, in case ye com wythynne iij. wekys.

Sir, at reverence of God, seth my maister ys fully yn wille to renew hys fefment, that it may be do be tyme

¹ Sir John Fastolf.

by the surest grounde that may be had, for, be it nevyr so suerly don, hyt shall be thought lytille ynowgh to kepe hys lond owte of trouble; and to spare for no counsell ne cost to make sure, for a peny yn seson spent wille safe a pounce. I comyned with my broyder Spyrlyng, which seyth he wille do hys attendaunce, and to kepe it ryzt close of the namys. Taryeng drawyth parell.

And ye meved a gode mater to the Parson and to me at your last beyng at Castr, that my maister shud be lerned whate hys housold standyth uppon yerlye, seth he kept it holye to ghedr at one place; and that don, then to see by the revenues of hys yeerly lyfelode whate may be leyd and assigned owte for that cause to meynteyn hys seyde housold, and over that, whate may be assigned to beere owte hys plees, and also do pay for hys foreyn chargs¹ and dedes of almes to a convenyent somme.

And seth the grettist ordynarye charge most be hys housold kepyng, hyt were moste exspedyent that ye wold note well to remembre specially my maister to do hys audyt[or]es cast up and make rollys of hys accompts concernyng the seyde housold seth he came yn to Norfolk thys ij. yer and half, whych was nevyr so long to doo thys xl. wynter as ye now. And it ys pytee that hys audyt ys none ethyr wyse yn that entended; ye must nedys, yff ye wille my maister know how hyt stand with hym yerly of hys chargs, that thys be do fyrst, as it was allwey acustomed. My maister wille acord it to be don, but it ys forgete throwgh negligence of men yoven to sensualite, as Thomas Upton, me, and othyr. My maister can not know wheder he go backward or forward till thys be doon.

I can not elles, but ye wille not foryete thys that the audyt[or]es go verrailly aboute it to an ende. And Haylysdon accompts be behynde for ij. yeer to [too]grete pite ys, and it wer yours or yn any wyseman gouveraunce.

At Norwich hastly, the Wenstay in Ester weke.

BOTO-H.R.-NER.

¹ Charges not connected with his household accounts.—F.



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hys chieff maner of Haylysdon for iij. yeer to make upp and to examyn; and I ensure yow full simplye approwed hys wollys and hys fermys.

And the iij^d ys that so wold Jesus my maister audytors wold faythfully and playnlye enforme my maistr of the trouth of the yeerly grete damage he beryth in debursyng hys money aboute shyppes and botes, kepyng an house up at Jermuch [*Yarmouth*] to hys grete harme, and resseyvyth but chaffr and waare for hys cornys and wollys, &c. and then most abyde along day to make money; of such chaffr takyng he shall nevere¹ be monyed, ne be aunsuerd clerly of hys revenues yeerly but [*unless*] those thyngs abofeseyd be amended be tyme. Yn Lowys days xij. yeer to gheder my maister was wont to ley upp money yeerly at London and Castr, and now the contrarye—*de malo in pejus*.

I dar not be know of thys bille, but ye may question and vele of the disposicion of thys maters of otheres, and then undrstand yff I wryt justlye or no; and ye, as of your mocion for my maister worshyp and profyt, exortyng hym, the stuard, Shypdam, and Spyrllyng to take a labour and a peyn that thys be reformed.

I pray yow, and require yow kepe thys mater to your sylf.

Yowr,

BOTONER.

As for nouveltes none comth,² but yt ys seyde the sege shall com to Calix. The Erle of Warwyk³ ys yhyt at Caunterbury with the Archbyship,⁴ and the Erle younger brothere⁵ maryed to Sir Eadmund Yngylthorp doughter uppon Seynt Marks Day. The Erle of Worcestre⁶ broght aboute the maryage. The Queen and the Kyng at Herford,⁷ the Lordes Bokyngham,⁸

¹ The left-hand copy in Fenn reads "neide," but the modern version "never," which is clearly the true reading.

² So in Fenn, but qu. "couth."—See p. 344.

³ Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick.

⁴ Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury.

⁵ John Neville, afterwards Marquis Montague, married Isabel, daughter and heir of Sir Edmund Ingoldesthorpe of Burgh Green, in Cambridgeshire, by his wife Jane, sister, and at length co-heir of John Lord Tiptoft, first Earl of Worcester. He was slain in the battle of Barnet in 1471.

⁶ John Tiptoft.

⁷ Hereford.

⁸ Humphrey Stafford.

Shrewsbury,¹ and otheres ther. And now it ys seyde Herbert² shall com ynne, and apper at Leycester before the Kyng and the Lordes, hys lyfe graunted and godes, so he make amendys to theym he hath offended. Manye be endyted, som causelese, which makyth Herbert partye streng, and the burgeys and gentlemen aboute Herford wille goo wyth the Kyng wyffe and chylde, but a pease be made or the Kyng part thens, for ell[es] Herbert and hys affinite wille acquyt them, as it ys seyde.

The Erle of Warwyk hath had the folks of Caunterbury and Sandwych before hym, and thanked hem of her gode herts and vytaillyng of Calix, and prayeth hem of contynuaunce.

I sende a bille of the namys endyted to my maister and yow, to see and laugh at theyr Wellsh names descended of old pedegris. Our Lord be with yow.

Wryt hastly at London, the fyrst day of May.

BOTONER.

306.

About A. D. 1457.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON, ESQUIRE.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This is a letter of pure business, and the date is uncertain; but as John Paston had been giving advice about money matters and the affairs of Fastolf's household in 1457, we may insert it here.

To myne worshipfull cosyn, John Paston, Squier.

Ryght worshipfull cosyn, I recomaunde me to yow, and thanke yow of youre greet peyn and labores that ye daylye take for me in alle myn causes, for wheche I am greetly holden to yow, God yelde hit yow. And, cosyn, hit is so, as I am enformed, that a termore of myn maner in Saxthorp, called John Bennes, shuld come be fore yow for to appoynte for suche dewte as he oweth

¹ John Talbot, second Earl.

² Sir William Herbert, afterwards Earl of Pembroke, a steady Yorkist.

to me upon his ferme. I sende to yow the bokes of his accompt to th'entent that Spyrling may awayte upon yow at his comyng, and declare hym his dewte, wheche, as myn receyvore seyth, hit wole drawe to the summe of xlv*li*. [£45], and more money at Michelmasse now next comyng. And the ferme is but xx*li*. [£20] yerly, by wheche ye may understande that he hath hadde greet favore in his payementes to his weel and myn greet hurt, as I reporte me to youre greet wysdome. Neverthelesse, sethe hit is so that he hath hadde this advayle upon me, I wold seen now that suche dewte as shal ben dewly founde upon hym by accompt to be made at this day, that I may ther of have payement in hande as reson wole, or of as moche as the day is ronne of; and for the resydewe to have greable sewerte, that is to sey, of xx*li*. growen at Mihelmasse next comyng, to have payement therof at the Festes of Seynt Andrew and the Annunciacion of our Lady next comyng by even porcions, as in his endenture made of the seyd lees more pleynerly is conteyned. And this don, I am content that he goo at large, and elles that Spyrling take a rekenyng of hym, so as I may be aunswered accordyng to the statute, &c. And, cosyn, that overe this ye lyke to yeve credence to the brynger her of of that he shal declare yow in this be half be mouth. And oure Lord kepe yow.

Wreten in hast, at myne manoir of Castre, the Saterdag next after our Lady Day the Assumpcion.

And, cosyn, I praye yow that he have none favore other wyse than lawe wole, seyng he is so contraryows for any fayer promyse of his behalf &c.

Youre cosyn,

JOHN FASTOLF, Ch'r.

307.

A.D. 1457, 2 Oct.—ABSTRACT.

[Add. Charter 17,245, B.M.]

Copy of a charter granted by John Paston, [patron?] of the church of Gresham, and Robert Miller, allowing the prior and convent of St. Sepulchre of The[tford] to distrain for a pension on the vicarage.

2 Oct. 36 Hen. VI.

[This document is mutilated. In the margin is the following note in a modern hand: "E. Coll. Fr. Blomefield, Hist. Norf. vol. i., fo. 436."]



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apere be fore the right worschepeful Sir, my right wel be loved brother, your fadir,¹ and other the Kynges Judges of the Kynges Benche,—I pray zow hertily that ye wille have in remembraunce for to recomaund me to hym whan ye speke with hym, and for to thank hym for his rightful favour shewed in Sir Thomas matier, and in alle other maters that toucheth me, wheche ben attained in that hey courte; and so it lyke yow, pray hym of his good continuance, and I shall doo serve it unto hym to my symple power for his good wyl to me shewed, and to myne; and I trust to God that he shal hold hym plesid. And that it like yow to geve credence to the seid Sir Thomas of that he shal sey to zow for my worschepe and profyte, and that this lettre may recomaund me to my doghtir your wyf, be sechyng the blissed Trinite to sende yow the acomplyshment of your good desyre.

Wretyn at Castre, the xxx. day of Octobr.

J. F.

310.

A. D. 1458 ~~Jan.~~ 24 Jan.—RICHARD, EARL OF SALISBURY,
TO VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

[From Fenn, i. 146.]

Fenn considers this letter to have been called forth by the summons sent by the King to the Lords of both parties to come to London, in the beginning of 1458, with a view to a reconciliation. On this view, the excuse of illness given by Salisbury is, of course, a mere pretence, and, moreover, was not adhered to, for within a week after it was penned, Salisbury actually was in London with a company of 400 horse and 80 knights and squires (*see* Botoner's letter of the 1st February). This sudden change of tactics on the part of the Earl seems to me hardly probable, and I see no reason why the letter should not refer to a genuine illness upon a different occasion. Nevertheless, as there is no positive evidence on the subject, I leave the date suggested by Fenn, with a query, on which the reader may use his own judgment.

¹ On comparing this letter with the last, the person here referred to would seem to be Justice Yelverton. Mr. Poulett Scrope, however, in his privately printed *History of Castlecombe* (p. 277) says it was Sir Richard Bingham, whose daughter Joan Stephen Scrope had by this time married. It is quite possible that Fastolf sent a similar message to Bingham by Scrope, and to Yelverton by Paston and Howes.

To the right worchipful and with al myn hert right entierly welebiloved Brother, the Viscount Beaumont.

RIGHT worshipful, and, with al myn hert, right entierly wele bilovede brothre, I recomaunde me unto yow. And for somoche as by the Kings moste noblez lettrez brought me late by Hagreston, oon of the gromes of his chambre, I am desirede to come unto his Highnesse to London; wherunto for suche grevous diseas and infirmitees as it hath liked oure Lord to visit me with, wherof Robert Danby can at large declare unto yow, I can ne mowe dispose me, without feynyng, by the trouth I owe unto the King, but that therby I doubt not, I shulde not rekever, daies of my lyfe, suche hurt as, by the reason of the said diseas, wolde grow unto me, the which hath right fervently and sore holden me in many diversez bihalvez, so that, sith my last comyng frome London I had not, by the space of vj. daies togidiez, my helth.

Wherfore, brothre, I pray yow, with al myn hool hert, that it like yow to cal tofore yow the said Robert Danby, and to take of him the vray trouth in the premissez, and therupon to bee my good and tendre moyen, as by your wysdome can best bee thought convenable, unto the Kinges goode grace, for th'excuse of my nown comyng; prayng yow hertly to certifye me, by comers bitwen, suche tidings as ye shal have in thos partiez, with othre your good pleasir to be perfourmed at my power, as knoweth oure Lord, to whom I biseche to ever have yow in his blissed proteccion and keping.

Wryten at Shirrifhoton, the xxiiij. day of Januare.

Your trew brodir, wich prayth you hertely to excuse me to the Kings Heghnesse.

R. SALISBURY

311.

A.D. 1458, 28 Jan.—AGNES PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 142.]

*Erands to London of Augnes Paston, the xxviiij. day of
Jenure, the yer of Kyng Henry the Sext, xxxvij.*



Prey Grenefeld to send me feythfully word, by wrytyn, who Clement Paston hath do his dever in lernyng. And if he hathe nought do well, nor wyll nought amend, prey hym that he wyll trewly belassch hym, tyl he wyll amend; and so ded the last maystr, and the best that ever he had, att Caumbrege. And sey Grenefeld that if he wyll take up on hym to brynge hym in to good rewyll and lernyng, that I may verily know he doth hys dever, I wyll geve hym x. marcs for hys labor, for I had lever he wer fayr heryed than lost for defaute.

Item, to se who many gownys Clement hathe; and the that be bar, late hem be reysyd. He bathe achort [*a short*] grene gowne, and achort musterdevelers¹ gowne, wer never reysyd; and achort blew gowne that was reysyd, and mad of a syde gowne, whan I was last at London; and asyde russet gowne, furryd with bevyr; was mad this tyme ij. yer; and asyde murry gowne was mad this tyme twelmonth.

Item, to do make me vj. sponys, of viij. ounce of troy. wyght, well facyond and dubbyl gylt.

And sey Elyzabet Paston that she must use hyr selfe to werke redyly, as other jentylwomen done, and sumwhat to helpe hyr selfe ther with.

Item, to pay the Lady Pole . . . xxvjs. viij*d*. for hyr bord.

And if Grenefeld have do wel hys dever to Clement, or wyll do hys dever, geffe hym the nobyll.

AGNES PASTON.

¹ See p. 134, Note 1.



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313.

A.D. 1458, 1 Feb.

WILLIAM BOTONER TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, i. 150.]

Fenn states that he has omitted, as of no consequence, the first part of this letter relating to the holding of some courts and some other law matters wherein Yelverton, Fylongley, and others were concerned.

To my ryght worshypful master, Sir John Fastolf.

RYGHTE worshypfull Sir, and my ryght gode maister, I recomaund me to yow yn my full humble wyse. Please yow to wete, as to nouveltees here both¹ Christofr Barker wryteth to you more along.

The Kyng came the last weke to Westminster, and the Duk of Yorke came to London with hys oun housole onlye to the nombre of cxi. hors, as it ys seyde; the Erle of Salysburye with iiij^c [400] hors yn hys companye, iiij^{xx} [*fourscore*] knyghts and sqwyers.

The Duke of Somerset came to London last day of Janyver with ij^c [200] hors, and loggyth wythoute Temple Barre, and the Duc of Excestr shalle be here thys weke with a grete felyshyp and strong, as it ys seyde.

The Erle of Warwyke ys not yhyt com, because the wynde ys not for hym.

And the Duke of Excester takyth a grete displesir that my Lord Warewyke occupyeth hys office, and takyth the charge of the kepyng of the see uppon hym.

Item, as for tydyng of beyend see, I hyre none certeyn, but that the Frensh Kyng² shulde hafe maryed hys doughter to the Kyng of Hungerye,³ whych had

¹ The modern version in Fenn reads "here being."

² Charles VII.

³ Ladislaus V., who died on the 23d November 1457, when on the point of marriage with Magdalen, daughter of Charles VII. of France. He is believed to have been poisoned.

the descomfytur uppon the Turks, and the seyde Kyng ys decesed wythynne thys vj. wekes, or the spouselle was made; but he ordeyned or he dyed that the French Kyngs doughter shuld be named Quene of Hungerye duryng hyr lyffe.

Rygt worshypfull Sir, I beseche the blessed Trinite hafe yow yn hys gouernaunce.

Wrete at London, the fyrst day of Feverzer, anno 36 R. H. VI.

Moreover, please you to wete that William Canyngs the merchaunt wryteth an aunsuer of your lettre. I trust it shall be the better for your wrytyng.

My brother promytted me a certeyn somme when I maryed, and I shall hafe it of my suster yff I may.

Your humble servaunte,

W. BOTONER, *dit* WORCESTYR.

314.

A.D. 1458 (?) [Feb.]—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 274.]

WILLIAM BOTONER TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

You shall know the governance here on Paston's coming to you better than I can write. The King is gone to Berkhamstead, "and it is said my Lords Somerset, Exeter, Clifford, and Egremont, that rode upon Thursday last to the King, they come again to London; and the Lord of Northumberland is come to the King at this time after the Lords' departing out of London with 3000 or 4000 people, as it is said, but all toke (?) to a good peace, and reconysances made to keep the peace in great sums till Michaelmas, that in the mean time to make a throw peace final by means of all the Lords." John Vyncent of Bentley was at the Priory of Lewes in Sussex this week, and says that sixty sail of Frenchmen were sailing before the coasts, keeping the sea. The Lord Fauconberg is at Hampton with his navy. Edmund Clere of the King's house has heard from a soldier of Calais that Crowmer and Blakeney is much spoken of among Frenchmen. "The King's safe conduct is not holden but broken, as it is voiced here, and that will do no good to merchants till it be

amended." Figs and raisins are dear at 18s. the croc (?), "wherte" at 10s. the qr., malt 5s. Remains here awaiting for the com[ing of your] officers of Castlecombe to bring up your money. Expects to send £40 by Master Paston. . . . (Mutilated at the bottom; date lost.)

[The King was at Berkhamstead in the end of June and beginning of July 1450; also on the 3d March 1453 (from Reading, whither he returned immediately); also in February and March 1458 (from 20th February to 13th March). This letter must have been written in February 1458.]

315.

A.D. 1458, 15 March.

JOHN BOCKING TO SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Fenn, i. 154.]

This letter relates to the temporary reconciliation effected between the Lords of the opposite parties in the spring of 1458.

To my Maister Fastolf, at Castre, in haste.

NYKE it your maistership to wyte that, as for tidings, the Counsell is, the fornone, at the Blake Frires, for the ease of resorting of the Lordys that are withinne the toun; and at afternone at the White Frirers in Fletstrete, for the Lordis withowte the toun; and all thing shall come to a good conclusion with God is grace, for the Kyng shall come bidre this weke, and the Quene also, as some men sayn, and my Lord Buk,¹ and Stafford² with hire, and moche puple.

My Lord of Caunterbury takith grete peyne up on hym daily, and will write un to yow the certeynte of suche tidings as falle; and shuld have doon or this tyme, saf for that he wolde knowe an end of the matter.

Other tidings here are none, sauf my Lord of Excestre³ is displesid that the Erle of Warwyk shall kepe

¹ Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.

² Henry Stafford, Earl of Stafford, grandson of Buckingham, who succeeded him in the Dukedom in 1460.

³ Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter.



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317.

A. D. 1458, 1 June.

JOHN JERNYNGAN TO MARGARET PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 156].

The engagement at sea described in this letter is dated by Fabyan on Trinity Sunday or Monday 1458.

*Unto my ryght wurchipfull Cosyn, Margei Paston, this
lettre be delyvered in haste.*

RYGHTE wurchipfull and my moste beste beloved maystres and cosyn, I recommaund me unto you as lowly as I may, evermor desyring to here of your gode welfar; the whiche I beseche Almyzthy Jesus to preserve you and kepe you to his plesur, and to your gracious herts desyre.

And yf it plese you to here of my welfar, I was in gode hele at the makyng of this lettre, blessed be God.

Prayng you that it plese you for to send me word yf my fadyr wer at Norwiche with you at this Trenite Masse or no, and how the matyr dothe be twene my Maystres Blawnche Wychynham and me, and yf ze sopose that it shall be brought a bowte or no; and how ze fele my fadyr, yf he be wele wylyng thereto or no; prayng you lowly that I may be recomaund lowly unto my maystres, Arblastres wyfe, and unto my Maystres Blawnche, her dowzther, specially.

Ryght wurchipfull cosyn, yf it plese you for to her of suche tydings as we have her, the basset [*embassy*] of Burgoyne schall come to Calleys the Saturday¹ estyr Corpus Christi day, as men say v. hondred horse of hem. Moreover, on Trenite Sondag,² in the mornyng, came tydings unto my Lord of Warwyke that ther were xxviij^{te} sayle of Spaynyards on the se, and wherof

¹ June 3d² May 28th.

ther was xvj. grete schippis of forecastell; and then my Lord went and manned fyve schippis of forecastell, and iij. carvells, and iiij. spynnes [*pinnaces*], and on the Monday,¹ on the mornyng eftyr Trenite Sunday, we met to gedyr afore Caleis, at iiij. at the klokke in the mornyng, and fawz thet gedyr till x. at the klokke; and ther we toke vj. of her [*their*] schippis, and they slowe of oure men aboute iiij^{xx} [*four score*], and hurt a ij. hondred of us ryght sore; and ther wer slayne on theyr parte abowte xij^{xx} [*twelve score*], and hurt a v. hondred of them.

And haped me, at the fyrste abordyng of us, we toke a schippe of iij^c [300] ton, and I was lefte therin and xxiiij. men with me; and thei fawzthe so sor² that our men wer fayne to leve hem,³ and then come they and aborded the schippe that I was in, and ther I was taken, and was prisoner with them vj. houris, and was delyvered agayne for theyr men that wer taken before. And as men sayne, ther was not so gret a batayle upon the se this xl. wyntyr. And for sothe, we wer wele and trewly bette; and my Lord hathe sent for mor scheppis, and lyke to fyzthe to gedyr agayne in haste.

Nomor I write unto you at this tyme, but that it plese you for to recomaund me unto my ryght reverent and wurchipfull cosyn your husband, and myn ownkll Gournay, and to myn awnte his wyfe, and to alle gode maysters and frends where it schall plese yow; and eftyr the writyng I have from you, I schall be at you in alle haste.

Wretyn on Corpus Christi day in gret haste, be your owne umble servant and cosyn,

JOHN JERNYNGAN.

¹ May 29th.

² "for" in Fenn; seemingly a printer's error, as the word is "sore" in the modern version.

³ Here, according to Fenn, the words "and go the" occur in the original, struck out.

318.

A.D. 1458? [27 Aug.]

HENRY WYNDESORE TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 170.]

At the date of this letter, Sir John Fastolf must have been in Norfolk, and William Worcester in London. From the time that the former went into Norfolk in 1454, till the end of the year 1457, Worcester seems generally to have resided with him; but in the beginning of 1458 he was in London, and it appears by the Castlecombe MSS. (Add. MS. 28,208, B.M. pp. 39, 42) that he was holding courts at Castlecombe in Wiltshire in June and July of that year, and that, in November of the same year, he and Fastolf were both together in London. It is probable therefore that he was in London in August, before Fastolf had come up. Indeed, he appears not to have returned to Norfolk till January following; so that in August he might quite well have devoted himself to the study of French in the expectation of a lengthened stay.

To my full speciall gode Maister, John Paston.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, and my full speciall goode maister, after humble recommendacion, please it you to understand that such service as I can doo to your plesir, as to myn understanding, I have shewed my diligence nowe this shorte seàson sithen your departyng, and in especiall aboute suche a copie of a foundacion as your maistership commaunded me to gete you a copie of, of the which I sende unto you at this tyme, by my broder William Worcestre, iij. copies writen by Luket, because I had no leisir, but somoch besems in setting forth my Maistr of the Rolles.¹ At this tyme, and in all this Kyngs deies, ye can have noon oder accordyng any thing to your entent.

And as for the names of the Poles,² William hath more wrytyng than ye and I coude fynde, foundon by labor made by hym and me. And also, Sir, he hath caused me to examyn olde and mony records, writen by some Frenshman, concernyng the manour of Ded-

¹ Thomas de Kirkeby.

² Apparently William Worcester was examining the pedigree of the De la Poles, ancestors of the late Duke of Suffolk, who had disputed with Fastolf the right to the manor of Dedham.



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319.

A.D. 1458, 1 Sept.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

Writ of *pone* procured by Thomas Howes, clerk, of Castre, against John Wyndham, Thomas Danyell of Rysyng Castle, Edmund Bukenham of Snyterton, Robert Lethum of Wytton by Blofeld, Simon Gunnor of Estbekham, and sixteen others, for maintaining a plea begun at Westminster without the King's writ by John Andrew of Beylom, Suffolk, against Howes, whom he had maliciously procured to be indicted.

1 Sept. 37 Hen. VI.

On the back are the words: "Manutenencia facta fuit iijto die Julii anno xxxvto.¹ Dampna Cli.

320.

BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From MS. Phillipps 9735, No. 249.]

This letter clearly relates to the subject of the preceding No.

To my Maister Paston.

SIR, as I went to my horsward by Lincoln Coke ys place, hyt fortunyd that Wymondham and H. Fenne talked to gedre, and called me by my name, and both asked how my maister² fard, &c. Then Fen desyred me abyde to see astate taked yn Lyncoln place by hym boght of Markham. In the meene tyme the seyde Wymondham sent hys man to speke with hym, and yede yn talkyng of Sir Thomas³ how he wille help labour to an ende, and had spoke with Heydon yersten efe for the seyde cause. I seyde the cruell amerciementes by their labour, and the [*they?*] not beneficed, shewed to grete a malice to undo a preest innocent yn such a cause, &c. After my takyng

¹ A.D. 1457.² Sir John Fastolf.³ Howes.

leefe, he called me ageyn, and seyde that he desyred Sir Thomas to be gode meene to my maister to have affeccion to the chylde, &c. I aunsuerd, yff my maister had before the maryage be laboured [*i.e.* if my master had been applied to before the marriage], hyt had [been] moche esyer to bryng aboute then now. And because hys fadre was so maryed ayenst my maister wille, he nevere wold have affeccion to hym all hys lyfe dayes. He seyde that Thomas¹ was with hys modre ther she duellyth, and yff it please my maister to sende for hym by Sir Thomas meene, &c.

I ensure yow by my soule I brake no mater to hym but of Sir Thomas undoyng, and hys adversaries nevere the better, whych to my power wold help make it knowen to Lordes and all othyr of the cruell amercie-mentes, the cruell juge to be knowen as he ys, for I am of hys contrey, and know hys rysyng and maryages as well as hym sylfe. At ix. at clok to hors bake. I pray yow breke my bille (?).

Your,

H. R.

321.

ABSTRACT.

[From Add. Charter 17,246, B.M.]

ROLL OF THE PERSONAL AND OTHER EXPENSES OF JOHN PASTON IN THE 36TH AND 37TH YEARS OF HENRY VI.

For dress and cloth, various.

“Liberat' hospitio,” £57, 17s. 7d. “Item, uxori et pueris domi,” £8, 19s. 1d. “Item, pueris Cantabrig' cum v. marke (?) per Wekeys,” 101s. “Item, eisdem et sosiis (*sic*) suis in regard',” 4s. 2d. “Item, eisdem apud London,” &c.

“Item, Henr' Bolte, capellano pro stipendio usque Pascha, xxxvto.” 13s. 4d. “Et 17 die Julii pro ij. quart',” 26s. 8d.

“Expencæ forinsecæ.”—“Pro fine Domino Regi facto quod Johannes Paston non sit miles.” Expenses with Munford at Thetford, 2s. 1d. “Item, in exemplificatione Ecclesiæ de Gresham, Magistro Bulman,” 3s. 8d. “Item, expenc' equorum Fastolf

¹ Apparently Thomas Fastolf.

Norwici ij. vic. et Alexand' apud Forncet," 3s. 1d. "Item, præsentatio angnellorum data Radclyff," 18d. To Alexander coming from Cambridge. "Item, in coltellis apud Dancaster datis servientibus Fastolf et meis," 3s. 4d. Glazing Chapel at Mauteby, 10s. "Pro arrestatione Carroli Nowell apud Bury septimana Matthiæ," 3s. 8d. Expenses of Ball's horse at Berkwey for six weeks, 10s. "Item, expenc' meæ versus Snaylwell et redeundo de Bury," 5s. 4d. "Item, expenc' Norwici ad cess' hospic' existent' apud Heylysdon," 18d. "Item, expenc' meæ apud Sweynsthorp," 8d.

In Easter and Trinity terms.—Paid to William Wyrcester "equitanti super negotia maritagii sororis," 10s. For wine and spice with Fortescu and Wentworth, 23d.

Hilary term.—Lent to James Arblaster at London, 40s. "Item, exequiæ Edmundi Paston," 2s. 4d. To divers poor people of Norwich for relief of their charge "circa reparationem murorum civitatis," 7s.

322.

A.D. 1459, 3 Jan.

ELIZABETH POYNINGS TO AGNES PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 328.]

The writer of this letter is Agnes Paston's daughter Elizabeth, for whose marriage, as we have seen, there had been a good deal of negotiating in past years (see Nos. 70, 71, 196, 209, 210), and who has now become the wife of Robert Poynings. As the 3d of January, the day on which this letter is dated, was a Wednesday, the year must be 1459. The 3d of January did not fall on a Wednesday again till 1470, by which time Elizabeth Paston and Robert Poynings must have been married several years, as will be seen by No. 99 preceding.

To my right worshipfull moder, Agnes Paston.

RIGHT worshipfull and my most entierly belovde moder, in the most louly maner I recomaund me unto youre gode moderhode, besekeyng you dayly and nyghtly of your moderly blissing, evermore desiryng to her of your welfare and prosperite, the which I pray God to contynw and encresce to your herts desyre. And yf it lyked your gode moderhode to here of me and how I do, at the makyng of this lettre I was in gode hele of body



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323.

A.D. 1459, 5 March.

JOHN PASTON, THE ELDER SON, TO HIS FATHER.

[From Fenn, iii. 336.]

By Letter 325 following, it will be seen that the writer of this letter had given displeasure to his father in the early part of the year 1459. There can be no doubt that this letter refers to the same occasion.

*To my ryght worscheppful fadre, John Paston, Esquyer,
be thys letter delyveryd in hasty wyse.*

RYGH T worscheppful Syr, in the most lowly wyse, I comaund me to yowr good faderhod, besechyng yow of yowre blyssyng. Mut it plese yowr faderhod to remembre and concydre the peyn and hevynesse that it hath ben to me syn yowr departyng owt of thys contre, here abydyng tyl the tyme it please yow to schewe me grace, and tyl the tyme that by reporte my demenyng be to yowr plesyng; besechyng yow to concydre that I may not, ner have noo mene to seke to yow as I awght to do, and savyng under thys forme, whych I besech yow be not take to no dysplesur, ner am not of power to do any thyng in thys contre for worschepp or profyht of yow, ner ease of yowr tenantys whych myght and scholde be to yowr pleasyng. Wherfor I besech yow of yowr faderly pyte to tendre the more thys symple wryghtyng, as I schal owt of dowght her after doo that schal please yow to the uttermost of my power and labor; and if ther be any servyce that I may do if it please yow to comaund me, or if y maye understonde it, I wyl be as glad to do it as any thyng erthely, if it wer any thyng that myght be to yowr pleasyng. And no mor, but Allmyghty God have yow in kepyng.

Wretyn the v. day of Marche.

By your older sone,

JOHN PASTON.

324.

A.D. 1459, 13 April.—ABSTRACT.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No. 254.]

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON AND SIR THOMAS
HOWES, PARSON OF BLOFELD.

As you desire me to write letters to certain lords, &c. on "such matters as ye beth now to London for," and as you know best what it would be most expedient for me to write, I send my servant Colyn Newman to you with my signet sealed in a little leather bag, under a signet of a ram, that you and William Jenney, or two of you, may make out letters in my name as you think fit, keeping copies of those you write. When Sir Thomas comes home again, let him bring back my signet sealed under your signets and the copies you have sent. "And also peradventure I might as well write to them that ben away as to those that been present. And among others ye may say to my nephew, Henry Filongley, I trust right greatly in my Lord Treasurer's good Lordship that he will be my good Lord's supporter to me in my right."

Castre, 13th April 37 Hen. VI.

(Signature not Fastolf's own.)

325.

A.D. 1459, 29 April.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 174.]

The only years during the married life of John and Margaret Paston (except when their eldest son was a mere child), in which the Sunday preceding Ascension Day fell some time before the 10th of May, were 1456 and 1459. In the former year the King could not either have been or have intended to be at Leicester on the 10th of May. In 1459 the Privy Seals show that he was at Northampton on the 14th, 18th, and 19th of May, and it is quite possible he may have been at Leicester on the 10th. In 1464 Edward IV. was at Leicester in May, and the Sunday before Ascension Day was the 6th of May; but it is not probable this letter was written in that year, for two reasons. In the first place, Margaret Paston could hardly have hoped for an answer from her husband—who may be presumed to have been in London—in time to have sent his son to be at Leicester on the 10th; secondly, Letter 323, which is evidently of the same year as this, would probably have been signed, "John Paston, K." (*i.e.*, Knight).

*Tho my ryth worschopffull hossebond, John Paston, in
hast.*

RYTHE worchepfwl hosbond, I recommonnd me onto yow. Plesyth you to wete that on Thorisday last was ther wer browt unto this towne many Prevy Selis, and on of hem was indosyd to yow, and to Hastynggs, and to fyve or sexe odyr gentylnen; and anodyr was sent onto yowr sone, and indosyd to hym selfe alone, and asynyd wythinne wyth the Kynggys howyn hand, and so wer bwt. fewe that wer sent, as it was told me; and also ther wer mor specyall termys in hys then wern in odyrs. I sey a copy of thoo that wer sent onto odyr gentylnen. The intent of the wrytyng was, that they sshuwld be wyth the Kyngg at Leycester the x. day of May, wyth as many personys defensebylly arayid as they myte acordyng to her degre, and that they schuld bryng wyth hem for her expensys for ij. monythis. As for the lettyr that was indosyd to yow and to odyr, it was delyveryd to Welyam Yelvyrton, for ther aperyd no mor of the remwlawnt. Hastynggs is forthe into Yorke schyr.

I prey yow that ye vowchesaf to send word in hast how ye wyl that yowr sone be demenyd herin. Men thynk her, that ben yowr wel wyllerys, that ye may no lesse do than to send hym forthe. As for hys demenyng, swn ye departyd, in god feythe, it hath ben ryth good, and lowly, and delygent inn ovyr sythe of yowre servawntys, and odyr thinggys, the whiche I hope ye wold abe plesyd wyth, and ye had be at hom. I hope he wyl be well demenyd to plese yow herafterward. He desyryd Alblaster to bemene¹ to yow for hym, and was ryte hevy of hys demenyng to yow, as I sent yow word also be Alblaster, how I dede to hym after that ye wer go; and I beseche yow hartly that ye woche-

¹ To be mean, *i.e.*, to be a mediator. Fenn has not apprehended the phrase, which he has modernised "to bemoan."



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a laquelle vostre desir vouldroit l'onneur des deux pars, et de laquelle matere le porteur de cestes vous informera, et des nouvelles de pardeca s'il vient a voz bons plaisirs. Et vouldroye bien que vous et mon dit frere Jehan a Bernay voulsissez communiquer avecques la personne aqui la matere touche, et que je puisse savoir son entente, affin dy otemperer, car je luy vouldroye faire plaisir et service; car je y suis tenu, et la chose sera en partie reglee par vous et par mondit frere, mais je veil estre le tiers, et une autre personne sera le quart. Treschere et treshonnoure Sire, je vous recom- mande tout mon fait de pardela, et sy faiz je la petite Marie, pour laquelle je vous mercie, et especiallement ma damoiselle vostre fame et noble espouse, et me des- plaist de la grant paine et charge que avez pour elle; mas Dieu me doint grace que je le puisse aquicter. Priant nostre Seigneur qui soit garde de vous, et vous doint bonne vie et longue, et joyeux acomplissement de touz voz desirs.

Escript a Calais, le xxv^{me} jour de May.

Le tout votre serviteur,

OSBERNE MUNDEFORD.

327.

A.D. 1459, 24 June.

WILLIAM BARKER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

It appears by the Bishops' Registers at Norwich that John Clerk was instituted to the living of Rendlesham on the 20th June 1459 on the King's presentation. This letter must have been written four days later in ignorance of the fact. Clerk's predecessor was John Sybton, administration of whose goods was granted on the 19th May 1459.

*To myn ryght worshypfull [m]ayster, John Paston, at
London, atte the Temple.*



PLEASE youre maystership that as to morwen a newe *inquirendum* shal be taken at Wycham Markette for the parsonage of Rendeles-

ham for one Mayster John Clerke, a chapeleyn of the Lady Roos; and Sir Thomas¹ shuld a ben there, but he is hurte of an hors, and also hit was so late warnyng that we myght not ben there; and, as Mayster Steven scyth, hit should not a avayled, thow one hadde bene there, and elles I wold a labored theder myn self. But he seyth and [*i.e.*, if] ye wold speke to myn Lord Norwych, and enforme hym of the trought of the mater, he shal never presente ner inducte non tyl the ryght of the patentes be discussed, and also we may after wardes hald a *melius inquirendum*. Mayster Steven hath wreten to Sir John Bulman all the tytles and presentacions, and therefore, if hit please yow to comon with hym, ye shall understande all the mater by hym how myn Lord is diposed. And [*if*] Mayster Robert Eppeswell is now at London, hit were shame that they shuld have ther entent. Sir Phillip Wentworth groundeth not his presentacion by the patent, but by the endenture a twyxt tne wedewe and hym, &c. Myn mayster is as freshe as ever he was this ij. yere, thanked be God. And youre mater that ye have meved of to Sir Thomas for the porchase, &c., myn mayster is weel agreed therto, but fyrst hit was taken strangely, &c. Almyghty Jesu preserve yow, myn worshipfull mayster, to youre desyre after his pleser and youre trewe entent.

Hastly at Norwyche, on Seynt John Day, at vij. of the klokke at even. Your owen man,

W. BARKER,
Per mandat T. H.

328.

A.D. 1459, 3 July.—ABSTRACT.

SIR JOHN FASTOLF TO JOHN PASTON.

[From MS. Phillipps, 9735, No 250.]

“Hit is to remember my cousin, John Paston, that where as he desired to have the names of the new feoffment[†] of the manor

¹ Sir Thomas Howes.

of Dedham that William Geney might see to ground such matter upon as might be for the surety of the said manor, I sent a copy of the said feoffment by John Daunson the last week." Gives other points of information asked for. Has caused the patent to be written and sealed for Rauff Alygh's fee. Paston is to oversee the evidences of Fastolf's tenement by St. Olave's Church, which one Laurence Donne has summoned. Philip Grocer on London Briage is a great maintainer of Donne. As to the matters moved by Stephen Scrope and Richard Byngham has lately written by Danson "to my said cousin" and to William Yelverton of his intent, and given them full power to appoint with them.

(Signature not his own.)

Castre, 3 July 37 Hen. VI.

Would like Paston and Hue at Fenne to see a speedier mean for the recovery of the 300 marks adjudged to Fastolf to be received of the Lady Fulthorp for the ward of Thomas Fastolf.

329.

Between A.D. 1454 and 1459.

JOHN, LORD LOVEL, TO VISCOUNT BEAUMONT.

[From Fenn, i. 128.]

The writer of this succeeded to the barony of Lovel in 1454, and married Jane, the daughter of John, first Viscount Beaumont, the person addressed. As Beaumont was slain at the battle of Northampton on the 10th July 1469, this letter cannot be later than 1459, but may be some years earlier.

*To my right worshipfull, and my moost best beloved Lord Fadre,
my Lord Beaumont.*

Right worshipfull and my moost best beloved Lord Fadre, I recomaunde me unto youre good Lordship. Please it yow to wit, I have consayvid your writyng right well; and for asmoche as ye desure the stiwardship of Baggeworth for youre wilbeloved Thomas Everyngham, which y trowe verely be right a good and a feithfull gentilman. How be it, my Lord, youre desure shall be had in all that is in me; and at the instaunce of your Lordship, y by th'avise of my counceill, shall gyf it hym in writyng undre suche fourme as shall please yow, wheryn y wold be glad to doo that at might please youre good Lordship, prayng yow right hertly ye wold be myn especiall good lord and fadre in all suche [matters] as ye can thynk shuld growe to my worship or profite in any wise, as my synguler trust is moost in yow. And y alwey redy to doo yowe servyse with Goddes grace, who have yow, my right worshipfull and my moost best beloved Lord Fadre, ever in His blessid kepyng.

Written at Rotherfild Gray, the xxiiij. day of Juyle, &c.



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331.

A.D. 1459.—FRIAR BRACKLEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 342.]

No signature appears to be attached to this letter as Fenn has printed it, but the style is unmistakeably that of Brackley, to whom he attributes it. The original was endorsed in an ancient hand, according to Fenn, "Littera fratris Doctoris Brackley per quam patet Jo. Fastolf valde desiderasse presentiam consanguinei sui Jo. Paston." The date seems to be shortly before Sir John Fastolf's death, which happened on the 5th November 1459.

To my Mayster, Jon Pastone, Esqwyer, be this letter presentid.

Jesu mercy.

RYTE reverent mayster, &c., as sone as ze may goodly, comyth to Castre, and Zelverton¹ with zow, and ze think it to be done; and sendyth home zowr men and hors, tyl ze haf do here, &c. And by grace of God and zour polityk wisdham, ze schal conclude more effectually in gret matyers of substans, to my maysterys² and zour worschip and profyte. It is hey tyme; he drawyt fast home ward, and is ryte lowe browt, and sore weykid [*weakened*] and feblyd, &c. And ze must bryng with zow a forme of a supplicacyon made at London in what maner wyse Mr R. Popy, a cunnyng and a crafty man, schal presentyn and purposyn to the Kyng for the inmorteysing of Castre to Seynt Benet, &c., which he promittyd up [*promised upon*] a certeyn mony, &c., and undirtoke it, &c., and fond that tyme no honys in the matere, &c. And now he seyth he wil labour and ryde and do hise part, &c. And he wold haf me to help hym, &c., quod non fiet, &c., or elles a man of credens of my masterys, &c., quod dubito fieri, &c. God bryng zow sone hidyr, &c., for I am weri tyl ze come.

Sir Thomas the parson, zowr owne most trewe, &c., be myn trewthe, and I zour bedeman and zowrs at zour comaundement, in zour letter haf no more towchid of the mater, &c., to my mayster, &c. Every day this

¹ William Yelverton.

² Sir John Fastolf.

v. dayes he seyth, "God send me sone my good cosyn Paston, for I holde hym a feythful man, and ever on man." Cui ego, "that is soth," &c. Et ille, "schew me not the mete, schew me the man." Hæc verba replicat sæpius cum magno stomacho, &c. Colinus Gallicus¹ dicit in Jernemuta et aliis locis se esse executorem, &c. Dixit etiam heri coram pluribus, si semel fuerit London' nunquam vult videre Norfolchiam, &c. Dicit etiam, ubi executores credunt se habituros claves, &c., post mortem alii habebunt claves, ita bene sicut illi, &c. Falsissimus est, et ego bene dixi in partem suam inter ipsum et me, &c. Propter Deum, faciatis Spirlyng venire juxta promissum in f'cū [*factum?*], &c. Gallicus ipse maxime odit rectorem et vellet supplantare eum, &c. Item, valde desiderat suum, quietus est quia absit, &c.

Henricus Todyham continue aspirat post mortem magistri cum mille habeat oculos nocendi, &c., si quorum duos deperderit, nullus cæteros timeret, &c.

332.

A.D. 1459, 3 Nov.

WILL OF SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This document is printed from the original draft, in which a great part of the text has been crossed out, and other paragraphs substituted in the margin. The passages thus cancelled are enclosed within brackets with asterisks. Those substituted for them or inserted in a later hand are printed in a parallel column on the right. The passages bracketed without asterisks, and also the dotted spaces, are lost by mutilation.

In the name and the wurship of the holy, blyssydfull Trynite [in the year] of our Lord Jesu Crist, M^lCCCCLIX., and in the xxxviiij. yeer of [our souerayn Kyng] of Englonde and of Fraunce, Herry the Sexte, the iiij. day of the moneth [of] Novembre,² I, John Fastolf of Castre, be Gret Jernemuth, of the counte of [Norfolk], Knyght, beynge in good remembraunce, albeit I am sykly and thorwh age infeb[led], bryngyng to mende and often

¹ By this name William Worcester is intended.

² The date was originally "the xiiij. day of the moneth of June."

revolvynge in my soule how this world is tra . . . and how, amongs all e[r]thely thynges that is present or for to come, there is noe thyng in this onstable world so serteyn to creature of man kende as is departynge out of this world be dethe, the soule from the wrechyd body; and noo thyng erthely so onserteyn as the oure and tyme of deth—Therefore I, willynge and desyringe that of suche goodes of substaunce worldly, mevabill and onmevable, that God of hise bounteous grace hathe sent me in my lif to dispose and occupye, that they be disposed as it may be thought best for the helthe of my soule and to the plessaunce of God, and also for the relyf, soccour, and helpe of the soulez that I am most oblygid and bounde to purveye and doo . . . for, as the soule of John Fastolf, my fadyr, Dame Mary, doutyr of Nicholas . . . my modir, and the soule of Dame Milcent, my wiff, the dautyr of [Sir Robert] Tibtot, knyght, and for the soulez of othyr of myn . . . kynsefolke and speciall frendes here undir wretyn,—I ordeyn and . . . this my last will in fourme and maner folwyng :—

[*First Draft.*]

*[*Fyrst*, I will and ordeyne that, if it plesse oure sovereynge lord Kyng Herry the Sexte, or hese heyre Kynges, for the longe contynwyd servise be me in the daye of strengthe and helthe of my body, to hym and to the noble Kyng Herry the Forthe and Herry the Fifte, hise progenitoris, and to hise noble uncles John Duke of Bedford, Thomas Duke of Clarence, whill they were in the werrys of oure seyde sovereyng Lord and hise noble progenitoris forseid, in Fraunce and Normandy as in cuntreez and othyr placis, consederynge my many gret labourys, peynis, and perilis in the seyde servise of oure sovereyn Lord and hise noble progenitoris forseid, and hise pleyntyuous grace withoutyn ony othyr . . . of myn executores namyd in my testament, or ellys for a resonable sūme of [money] whiche oure seyde sovereyn Lord owith me, or in othir wise, or be ony othyr

[*Second Draft.*]

Firste, Forasmuche as for the welfare of my soule and of the soules forseyd, and for ese, support, and helpe of the pore inhabitantes in the cuntre of Flegge, and for to avoyde that noo lord nor gret astat shuld inhabit in tyme comyng withinne the gret mancion be me late edified and motid in Castre forseid, I have of long tyme been in purpose to stablishe and founde a collage withinne the seyde gret mancion, and soo to purveye that suche as I lovyd and thought behofffull for the seyde cuntre, and that noon othyr, shulde inhabite in the seyde mancion with the collagyens of the seyde collage: Therfor, and for the senguler love and trust that I have to my seyde cosyn John Paston, [abov]e all othyr, beyng in veray beleve that he will execute my will here in, I will and ordeyne, as he and I have covinauntyd and been accordyd that he shall, with inne resonable tyme astyr mydeseas, founde



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lishid in the seyde collage, with the seyde priour and vj. religeous men, ever to endure, for to prey for my soule and for the soules of my fadir and my modir, and of all my kynsefolk and good doeres, and for the soules of the blissyde memorye Kynges forseyd, Herry the Forthe and Herry the Fifte, and the seyde noble Dukys, and for the good estat and prosperite of oure sovereyn Lord duryng hese lyf tyme, and aftyre for hese soules, and for all Cristeyn

soules, therefor to synge and sey dayli devyne servise and preyeris in perpetuite; and to be of the orderis, proffession, obedyence, and governaunce of the ordyr of Seynt Benettes, and of the same ordyr and profession as been the monkes of Seynt Benettes in Holme, in the counte of Norffolk, and shalbe stablyshid be the good avyse of myn executorys: And thoo feffeez forseyd, or here assygned, inmorteyse and graunte, or do been inmorteised and grauntid, fesse sufficiently swyrly and lawfully to the seyde pryour and religeous, [and to their] successoris, the forseyd mancion and dwellynge place, with the appurte[nances], . . . sufficient, swyr, and cleer lyfode of the for seyde lordshepis maneres . . . rentes, servisez, with here appurtenancez in Castre forseyd, and in all othir placis . . . lithe next the seyde mancion or dwellynge place, for the sustenaunce [of the] seyde priour and vj. religeous men and here successoris, here servauntis, and the [seyde] vij. pore men: And for the chargys and reparacionis forseyd, to the yeerly valew of thre hundryd markes starlyng over all chargys; to have and to holde to the forseyd religeous men and to here successoris for ever; providid alwey that the seyde priour and religeous men and here successoris be bounden and compellabill suffeciently in lawe be the discrecion of my seyde executoris, to susteyne the forseyd vij. pore men contynwally, suffeciently, and convenyently in all thyngis withinne the seyde collage for ever, and for to preye for the soulys afore seyde.] *

* [Item, I will and graunte that if outhyr the forseyd licence and graunte of oure seyde sovereyn Lord, or of hise heyre Kynges, or the licence or graunt of ony othyr . . . entresse in this behalve be not lawefully, swyrly, and suffeciently . . . that thanne my seyde executorys shall geve or do be gove to . . . of the monastery of Seynt Benettes of Holme for seyde, lyfode or mony competent . . . seyde abot and covent or here successoris, and my seyde executores shal accorde there in be here wise discrecionis, for the indewement and sustectacion of vj. monkes in the seyde monastery and vij. pore men in the

the seyde Paston, hise heyris or his assigneez, shall requyre hem, or ony of hem. And the seyde John Paston . . . seyde collage shal bere and paye to my behoff, towardes the paymentys of my dettes and othir thynges, be my present will assygnid to be do, m^lm^lm^lm^lm^l. [4000] mark, in suche fourme and at suche tyme as in this my present will . . . here aftyre folwyng:—

same monastery, to prey for the soulys forseyd in perpetuite, to be foundyd, susteynid, and kept, providid that the vj. monkes forseyd be aumentyd abovyn the noumbre of monkes of here ferst fundacion, and over the noumbre that they now use to kepe in the seyde monastery, and that lawefull and agreable swyrte perpetually be made be the avyse of myn seyde executores, aswell for the augmentacion, susteyning, and kepyng of the seyde vj. monkys, as for the convenyent and suffecient sustentacion, fyndyng, and kepyng of the seyde vij. pore men in perpetuite, to pryve as is afore seyde.

[*First Draft.*]

* [It]em, I will and ordeyne that all and singuler lordshepis, maneres, londes, and tenementes, [ren]tes, and servisez, with here appurtenaunce, in whiche ony persone or personys are feffid in or have astat and possession to myn use, in whiche sum ever counteez or townez the seyde lordshepis, maneres, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servisez bein withinne the ream of Englonde; and that all the forseyd and senguler lordshepis, maneres, tenementes, rentes, and servisez, with here appurtenaunce, in whiche ony person or personys been intitlyd to myn use be the lawe, shall be sold be my seyde executoris, except maneres, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servisez, with here appurtenaunce, as shall be morteysyd to the seyde collage, if the fundacion thereof take effecte: And that the mony of the sale or salys comyng be disposed be my seyde executores in executyng of thys my last wyll and testament, and in othyr dedes of almesse as my seyde executores be here discretion shal seme best to please God for the helthe of my soule and for the soulys forseyd: And that hadde the fundacion of the seyde collage to take to noon effecte, nor the seyde collage

[*Second Draft.*]

Item, I wyll, ordeyne, and graunte that all othyr lordshepis, maneres, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servisez, with here appurtenaunce, in whiche ony persone or personis been feffid in, or have astat or possession, or be in titlid to myn use be the lawe, except the seyde maneres, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servisez, with here appurtenaunce, in the shirez of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Norwiche, in the article next presedent specified, shall be sold be the seyde John Paston and Thomas Howys, ij. of myn executoris. And I will, graunte, and ordeyne that the seyde John and Thomas, and noon othyr while they leve, shall have the sengler rewle, sale, and disposecion of all my londes forseyd, except before except, and execucion of this my last wyll and of every article therein; and I will that the seyde John and Thomas shall have all the profitez and avaylez and emolwements of the seyde maneris, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servisez, with all othyr comoditeez thereof comyng, til be them they be sold, and the mony of the profites and salis thereof comyng, be them to be disposed for the welfare of my soule and of the soulez forseyd duryng the lyf of the seyde John

foundyd, that thanne the lordshepis, londes, and tenementes, rentes, and servise, with here appurtenancez, whiche shul bee assygnid to the seyde morteysyng, also shull be sold [be my]n executores, and the mony thereof comyng to be disposed be [myn] executores in executyng and parformyng of my will and testament, and in othyr dedes of mercy, pite, and almesse as shal seme best to my seyde executores for the soulez afore seyde and the soulys undyr wretyn.] *

* [Item, I will and ordeyne that my seyde executoris shull take and have all the issews, avaylez, profitez, and emolwementes of all and senguler lordshepis, manerez, londes, tenementes, rentes, and servisez forseyd, with here appurtenaunce, excepte before except, to be geve to the seyde collage, on to tyme they be sold feithfully and trewly be my seyde executores; and on to tyme that they that shull be purchasorys be feithfull and trewe bargayne thereof made be twene hem and my seyde executorys, shull take and have the issewes, profitez, avayles, and emolwementes, withoute fraude or male ingyne. And also I wyll and ordeyne that my forseyd executores shull take and have all the issewys, profitez, avayles, and emolwementes of all and senguler aforne except l londes, tenementes, rentes, servisez, with here appurtenancez, on to tyme and vj. religeous men or here successoris, if the forseyd admynistracion shull have and take lawefull and feithfull estat beforce of the seyde inmorteys[yng], or ellys that they be feithfully and trewly accordid with my seyde executorys for the takyng and havyng of the issewes, profitez, and avayles, and emolwementes withoute fraud or male ingyne. And if the seyde inmorteysyng take noon effecte, I will and ordeyne that my seyde executores shull have and take all and senguler issewys, profitez, avayles, and emolwementes of the forseyd except lordshepis, londes, manerez, and tenementes, rentes, and servicez, with here appurtenaunces, tyl they be feithfully and trewly sold be my seyde executores, unto tyme that they that shalbe purchasorys thereof, be feithfull and trewe bargayne be twene them and my seyde executores thereof made, shull take thoo issewys, profitez, and avaylez, and emolwements thereof, withoute fraude or male ingyne. And I will and ordeyne that my seyde executores shull dispose all and senguler issewys, profitez, avaylez, and emolwementes aforne seyde for my soule, and for the soulys aforne reherseyd, as they shall seme beste to the plesure of God.] *

Item, forasmuche as it is seyde that dyverse personis of dyverse descentes pretende at this day to be next heneritere [inheritor] to me aftyr my deseas, where knowe that no creature hathe title or right to inheryte ony

and Thomas; and in cas this my will be not executyd in theyre [liv]es, that thanne the execucion be thereof doon be othyr myn executores that aftyr hem too shal have the mynistracion of my goodes.



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and hise successorys, observe and kepe yeerly and perpetually to endure an annversary in the seyde parishe cherche for to preye for the soule of my fadyr, John Fastolf, Squyer, that lythe buried there in the seyde chyrche, with *placebo* and *derige* and messe, be note the vigyl and day of hese obit, with the noumbre of prystes and clerkes accordyng in such a cause; and for to susteyne the kepyng of the seyde annversary, I will that be the avise of myn executorys [before namyd]¹ that londes or teneme[n]tes ordeynid to the yeerly valewe of xxs., and that to be inmorteis swyr to the seyde prioury or parishe chyrche, oonly to susteyne and bere and chargys of the perpetuall kepyng and susteyning of the seyde annversary.

Item, I will and ordeyne that if I have ony reliquis of Seyntes, also suche ornamentes for the chirche, that I have left as vestmentes, garlementes of sylke or velwet, of robes, and my gownys, that parcell of hem be yovin to the seyde monastery cherche of Seynt Benettes, where I shal be buried, to remayne for ornament of the chapell there be me late edified; and also part of hem to be distrubited amonges the parishe chyrchis that be in suche townes that I have ony lordshipis, manerez, londes, tenementes, and rentes, provided that a resonable and a competent part of the seyde reliquis and ornamentes be kept and govyn to the seyde collage to be made at Castre, and this to be doon be the avise of myn executores be fore namyd.²

Item, I will and ordeyne that suche of my consanguinite and kynred whyche be pore and have but lital substaunce to leve by, that they be relevyd of my goodes havyng consederation to thoo that be nerrest of my kyn and of Also of here good disposecion too God ward and to me in here othir of my kyn, that a consyderacion be hadde and yovyn to the relyf and prefer[ment] of my cosyn Robert Fitzraf, for hese good, trewe and long servise to me doon and contynwyd, and alsoo be reson of my consanguynite and kynred.

Item, I will and ordeyne that if ony persone make ony compleynt to myn executores that I have purchasyd ony taylid londes be this my will ordeynid to be sold,³ and that thoo personys that so compleyne doo suffeciently and evydently prove and shewe withoutyn ony collucion, fraude, or male ingyne suche londes taylid; thanne I will that the right heyris purchase as be suche taylid londes, if ony be in my possession or in my feffez handes, and that for a is thanne ony othir persone after the avyse and discrecion of the seid John Paston and Thomas Howis, clerk, and where there be no lawefull answeere nor debarre of the taylor.⁴

¹ Interlined by second hand.

² *be fore namyd*.—These words are an interlineation by another hand.

³ *be this my will ordeynid to be sold*, interlined by another hand.

⁴ *after the avyse—taylor*.—These words are an interlineation by the second hand.

Item, I will and ordeyne that the holy place of monastery and abbathye of oure Ladyiz chirche of Langley, in the diocise of Norwiche, for my soule to be more specially recommendyd, and also for to kepe and susteyne, one day in the yeer, myn annversary solempnely be note the *derige* and messe of requyem for ever to endure for the helthe of my soule and for the soule of Dame Milcent, my wif, the doutyr of Sir Robert Tibetot, Knyght, whiche was of the consanguynite and kyn to the foundorys of the seyd monastery, and she owyng a senguler affeccion and love of devotion to the preyeris of that place, that the Abot and Covent have a reward and a remuneracion of my mevable goodes aftyr the discrecion of myn executores before namyd.

Item, I will and ordeyne that be the avise of myn executorys before namyd, that prevecion and ordenaunce be made that the obit and annversary may be yeerly inperpetuite kept with *placebo* and *derige* and messe of requiem benote for the soule of Dame Mary, my modir, in the chirche of Attilburgh, * [and a fundacion of a messe there, or in othyr convenient place to be morteynsid, for ever to seye and preye for here soule and for here auncetryez aftyr the discrecion of myn executorys.] *

[*Second Draft.*]

* and that oon of the monkis or pristes in the collage be me ordeynid in the mancion of Castre forseid shall synge specially in perpetuite for the soule of my modir and all here auncestryez, and good dooerys.

Item, I will and ordeyne that it be provided be myn executores before namyd a reward as a yefte be made to the chapell of Seynt Jorge in the Castill of Wyndishore, and to the collagyens of the same collage for to have my soule recomendid amonges with an annversary to be kept yeerly and perpetually amonges hem with *placebo* and [*derige* and] messe of requyem be note.¹

Item, I will, ordeyne, and comaunde that myn [executores and]² feffeez * porsewe lawfully my right and title that I have in xxv. marke of yeerly rente, with all the areragis that of right

[*Second Draft.*]

* be the avise of myn executores before namyd

and concience is dewe to my feffeez feffyd there in to myn use to dispose for my soule helthe chargyd and payable out of a maner in Hiklyng, callid Nethyrhalle, with the priour and covent of Hiklyng for the tyme beyng, be bounden and astrict be wryting undyr here covent sealys to paye yeerly. And on lyke wise I wyll that pursewt be made be Parlement or othyrwise lawefull for redressyng of the wrong doon to me in the maner of Bradwell, in the hundrid of Lodynglond in Suffolk, whiche I purchasid trewly, and hadde a lawefull astat in the same maner, as myn evydence woll shewe of record, xl. yeer past; and for to redresse the wrong full entre

¹ with an annversary—note, erased.

² Erased.

doon : my feffez in the maner of Dedham Nethir-
halle by Willyam, late Duke of Suff[olk], as well as for the wrong-
full entre eftsonys and late made upon serteyn personys feffyd
to myn use in the seyd maner, now of latter tyme; And that myn
executores doo dewly here deligence aboute the recovery and
getyng ageyn of the seyd manerez, lond[es], and tenementes and
rentes above seyd of my goodes to be born.

Item, I will and ordeyne that the wardeyn and the procuratoris
for the tyme beyng of the parishe chirche of Seynt Oloff in Suther-
werk, be London Brege, beyeng to the use of the seyd chirche
of Seynt Oloff, be preferryd, in beyeng and purchasyng of myn
executorys before namyd, a tenement with a warff thereto longyng,
set be the seyd chirche, callyd the Bukheed, before ony man, and
for a lesse valewe than it is worthe within the sum of xx*l*.

Item, I will that a convenyent stoon of marbill and a flat
fygure, aftyr the facion of an armyd man, be made and gravyn in
the seyd stoon in laton in memoryall of my fadyr, John Fastolf,
Squyer, to be leyd upon hese toumbe in the chapell of Seynt
Nicholas, in the parishe chirche of Jernemuth, and with my
skochonys of armys of hym and hese auncestryez, with a scripture
aboute the stoon makynge mencion the day and yeer of hise
obite.

Item, I will that in semblable wise a marble stoon of a con-
venyent me made to be leyd upon the toumbe
of Dame Mary, my modyr, in the foundid in the
parishe chyrche of Atilburgh, and that a figure
of a jentilwoman with here mantil, with a scripture made of laton
in on iiij. skochonys of armys of here iij. husbondes,
as the skochon of Thomas Mortimer, Knight, [John] Fastolf,
Squyer, the seconde husbonde, and of John Farwell, Squyer, the
thridde husbonde, auncetryez in the seyd toumbe, and the day
and yeer of here obite to be wretyn aboute.

* [Item, I will that a prove-
cion be made for swerte of the
maner of Cowlynge in Suffolk,
accordyng to the last wyll of
Dame Marget Braunche, my
sustir, in whiche maner I stond
enfefed in to here use, and ser-
teyn londes in the seyd Cow-
lynge that Dame Mary, my
modir, purchasyd to here and to
hire heirez, that Herry Braunche,
my neweu, here son seyd

[*Second Draft.*]

Item, that myn executores
before namyd helpe that the
maner of Cowlynge be disposed
and guydid aftyr the will of
Dame Marget Braunche, my
sustir, if myn executoris thynke
it be to doo.

maner, provided that he be oblygid to preye for hise fadir, Sir
Philip Br[aunche, and his] modir, Dame Marget, serteyn preyeris
and messez, with a prist, to be contynw[aly] seyd [be] the dis-
crecyon of myn executorys.] *

Item, I will and ordeyne that the executores of John Wellys,



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peple to yeve noo feithe nor credence to ony pryvat wryting not opynly declarid nor provid in my lif tyme, nor to blanke chartrys sealyd in my whereof I remembre me well that oon John Wyntir, Esquyer, late my servaunt, hadde (?) in kepyng a blanke letter in parchemyn ensealyd ondyr my seal, and never delyvered it me ageyn, but seyde he hadde lost it at hyse confecion, as wryting ondyr hise owyn hande maketh mencyon or he deyde.

Item, I will and ordeyne that myn houshold be holdyn and kept with my menyal servauntz be the space of half yeer aftyr my deseas, soo as they wyll be trewe to me and obedyent to myn executorys, and here wages for that tyme payd, and that in the meane tyme they purvey hem for othyr servise as they lyke best to avise to leve in trouthe; and if ony servaunt be well governyd and holde ageyns my . . . or ageyn myn executorys to breke my good disposecion, I wy[ll that he shall be ?] remevyd, and that he abyde noo lenger among the fel trewly avoydid withoutyn ony reward of me or of myn ex[ecutores].

* [Item, I will and ordeyne that amonges othyr lordes, frenedes, and kynesmen that I desyre, [for] the discharge of my conscience, be put in remembraunce of preyeris for the [good] affection I hadde on to them that I desyre shuld be preyed fore, is the soule of that blyssyd prynce, Thomas Bedford,¹ late Duke of Excestre, the soulys of the Lord Tibtot, Rauff, Lord Crumwell, Sir John Radclife, my brothyr-in-lawe, and Dame Cisly, late hyse wiff, mysustyr, whiche lithe buried at Burdeux; Sir Philip Braunche, Knyght, my brothyr-in-law, that deyde and was

[*Second Draft.*]

slayn in Fraunce, and Dame Marget, late hyse wif, my sustyr, buried at Cowlynge; also John Farwell, Squyer, my fadyer-in-lawe; Sir Herry Inglose, Knyght, of my consangwynite; Sir Hewe Fastolf, Knyght, that deyde in Cane in Normandye; Sir Robert Harlynge, Knyght, my neveu, that was slayn at the sege of Seynt Denys in Fraunce; John Fitzraf, Squyer, my neveu; Cisly, late the wif of Herry Fylongley, my nese, also late desesyde; Dame [*Dan*] Willyam Fastolf, of my consanguynite, prophessyd in the monastery of Seynt Benettes, and aftyr Abot of Fescamp in Normandye, whiche deide at Parys; Mathew Gowgh, Squyer, Thomas Gower, Squyer, John Sak (?), marchaunt of Paryse, my

Item, I will and ordeyne that amonges othir that I have put in remembraunce be this my will to be preyed fore that suche as shalbe bounden to preye for me, and be rewardid of myn almesse, shalbe chargid be myn executorys be fore namyd to preye for the welfare of m[y] soverayn Lord the Kyng, and for the soulys of all my good lordes and kynsefolk, and of thoo I am b[ounden] to preye fore or doo preye fore, and for hem that I have hadde ony goodes of.

¹ Beaufort.

trusty frend and servaunt, and for the soule of John Kyrtlyng, parson of Arkesey, my right trusty chapeleyn and servaunt domysticall xxx. wynter and more, Thomas Hoddeson, a trusty servaunt of myne, John Lyndford, and William Gunnour.] *

Item, I will, ordeyne, and streyghtly charge myn executorys that noon of hem shall [give] quyetaunce nor rellesse in no wise be hym self, nor be noon othir, to noon of my detorys, nor to dettour of myn executoris, of what so ever of astat or condecion that he be of, withoute the * [know- ynge, plessaunce, and assentyng of all myn executorys, or the more part of hem.] *

[*Second Draft.*]

* full wyll and assentyng of the seyde John Paston and Thomas Howys, clerk.

Item, I will, ordeyne, and streightly charge that none of myn executorys, be him self, nor be noon othyr, in ony maner or condecion cautelous, colour shall sell, nor doo selle, alyen, nor doo alyen, withdrawe, or do be [withdra]we, my londes and tenementes, jowellys of gold or sylvir, dettes or cattelys, ves- selys or vestmentes of sylke, linnen, or wollyn, or ony othyr uten- sylez, to my persone or hous- hold perteyning, nor noon othyr goodes of myne, mevable or on mevablys, quyk or ded, generally or specially, withoute * [the know- yng, plessaunce, and assentyng of all myn executorys, or the more part of hem; and if it be soo that ony of myn executores attempte maleiciously the con- trary in effecte, he fallith in the centense of excommunicacion, doying the contrary to my last will.] *

[*Second Draft.*]

* the very will and assentyng of the seyde Paston and Howys, and that noon othyr attempte there in nor in noon othir cause in this my will to doo the contrarye to hem in effecte I require hem in Goddes be halve.

Item, I will, ordeyne, and streyghtly charge that all my feffeez feffyd of trust on to myn use of and in all my manerez, lordshepis, londes, tenementes, and rentes, and servisez, and profitez, be me or othyr to myn use purchasyd * [in all maner of counteez, citeez, or burghes or townes with in the ream of Eng[lond]] * they that have astat, pocession, or tythe to myn use, with all the goodlyhaste, and withoute delay aftyre they be requyred be myn exe- cutores * aftyre my deseas, that

[*Second Draft.*]

* except before except, be me grauntid to the seyde John Pas- ton or hese assygues.

* before namyd.

they shall feffyn and make lawefull astat in fee symple * [of and in all maner lordshipys, londes, tenementes, meswages, rentes, servisez, and profitez forseyd, or of every parcell of the same] * to that persone or personys to whom or to whiche * [my seid executores in accomplisment of my last will, the said maneres, lordshepys, londes, tenementes, mecis, rentes, and servisez, or ony parcell of the same, * shall sell, or doo sell aftyr the declaracion of this my last will * for the helthe of my soule, * [Dame Milcent, my wif, with all my progenitorys, cosynes, and benefactorys, and all my frendes.] *

* [Item, I will, ordeyne, and streightly charge, aftyr be the grace of God I be desesed out of thys world, also myn executores willynge in effecte to accepte the charge upon hem of execucion of my testement and of mynistracion of my last will, all the articlis there in conteynid they shall ransakyn besyly and discussyn soo discretly in here remembraunce, that both in will shal not omyttyn for to complishe the seyde articles in Seynt Poule the Appostyll seithe he that is ignoraunt God Almighty shall hym not knowyn to hise savacion ¹ this article to otherys that ignoraunce shuld not been on to myn execu[torys] in hurtyng of my soule, occacion of trespacyng, nor God offendyng.] *

* [Item, I wyll, I ordeyne, and hertely desyr, that if it soo be be the grace of the Holy Gost, or of my good Aungill, or ellys be the vertuous devocion of ony good man, or be lyberte of fredam of myn owyn will, it happe ony good werkes and profitable to the helthe of my soule necessarye or avayleable to come be favour or swetnesse in to my remembraunce, as oftyn as I wryte or doo wryte suche thyngs worthy to be remembryd in ony codicill or codicilles for to be conyoinid to my testament or to my last will, thanne I will and preye with gret instaunce of al myn executorys that alle thoo poyntes or articlys be me expressyd and conteynid in the seyde my codicill or codicillys that they may have strengthe and vertwe of observaunce in effecte, as if the hadde be wretyn in the code of my testement and my last will] *

* [Item, I will, I ordeyne, and I hertely desyre, sethe that every mortall creature is soget to the lymitez or merkys of mutabelyte

[*Second Draft.*]

* the seid John Paston and Thomas Howys.

* except before except.

* to dispose

* and for the soulis above seyde.

¹ See 1 Cor. xiv. 38. The translation of this verse in the Vulgate—"Si quis autem ignorat ignorabitur"—conveys a materially different sense from that of our English Version.



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for hem in cas lyche. In tokene
and witnesse whereof, to this
my last will I, Sir John Fastolf,
above¹]*

that sum is ordeynid to be dis-
tributid til he be tho
paymentes born and payd the
seyd sum of iiijml markes, and
that soo paid to be disposed be
the seyde [John Pa]ston and
Thomas Howys, or be hem that

shal after them have the mynistracion of my goods in executyng
[my] will in awmesse full dedes in fourme afore seyde soo that my
mevable goodes be mean of that shall the lenger
indure in dedis of almesse.

333.

A. D. 1459, 3 Nov.

WILL OF SIR JOHN FASTOLF.

[From Add. MS., 22,927, B.M.]

Anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono, mensis Novembris, videlicet, die Sabbati proximo post Festum Omnium Sanctorum, Johannes Fastolff, miles, de comitatu Northfolch, Norwicen Dioc', in manerio suo de Castre, dictæ Diocesis, quoad bona sua immobilia suam ultimam declaravit voluntatem prout sequitur:

John Fastolff, Knyght, the secunde and the thirde day of the moneth of Novembre, the yere of the reigne of King Henry the Sexte after the Conquest, xxxviij. yers, being of longe tyme, as he said, in purpos and wille to founde and stabliss withynne the gret mansion at Castre, by hym late edified, a college of vij. religious men, monkes or seculer prestes, and vij. pore folke, to pray for his soule and the soulys of his wife, his fader and modir, and other that he was beholde to, imperpetuite. And forasmuch as he had, as he rehercid, a very truste and love to his cosyn, John Paston, and desired the performyng of the purpos and wille forsad to be accomplisshed, and that the said Sir John shulde not be mevid ne sterid in his owne persone for the said accomplisshing of the said purpos and wille, ne with noon other worldly maters, but at his oune request and plesire, wolde, graunted, and ordeyned that the said John Paston shalle, withynne resonable tyme after the dissesse of the said Sir John, doo founde and stablisse in the said mansion a college of vij. monkes or prestes and vij. pore folke, for to pray for the soulys above said imper-

¹ The original draft ends with this word at the bottom of the page. Apparently the last few words of the draft were written on a flyleaf, which is now lost.

petuite ; so that one of the said monkes or prestes be maister, and have *xli.* yerely, and ich othir monke or preste *x.* marc yerely, and ich of the pore folke *xls.* yerely ; and that the said John Paston shalle make sure to the said collegions a sufficient rounge and a competent and an esy duelling place in the said mansion, the said collegions nor her successours bering no charge of reparacion therof. For which, and for othir charges and labours that the said John Paston hath doon and take uppon hym, to the eas and profite of the said John Fastolf, and for othir considerations by hym rehercid, the said Sir John Fastolff wolde, graunted, and ordeyned that the said John Paston shalle have alle the maners, landes, and tenementes in North[folk], Southfolk, and Norwich, in which the said John Paston or any other are or were enfeffed or have title to the use of the said Sir John Fastolf ; and at [*that*] alle the feffees infeffed in the said maners, londes, and tenementes shalle make and deliver astate of the said maners, landes, and tenementes to such persones, at such tymes, and in such forme as the said John Paston, his heirs, and his assignes shalle requere thaym or any of thayme. And that the said John Paston shall pay to othir of the said Sir Johns executours *iiijm.* [4000] marc of laufulle money of England in the forme that folweth, that is to say: Where the said Sir John hadde apointed and assigned that his executours shalle, the firste yere aftir his disses, dispoos for his soule and performyng his wille a *m^l* marks or a *m^l/₂*. [£1000] of money, and yerely aftir, *viiijc.* [800] marc, till the goodes be disposed, the said John Paston shalle pay iche othir yere the said summe of *viiijc.* marc till the summe of *iiijm.* [4000] be paid ; so that the said mevabill goodes shalle the lenger endure to be disposed, by th'avise of his executours, for the said soulys : And also the said Sir John said, forasmuch as it was the very wille and entent of the said Sir John that the said John Paston shulde be thus be avauntaged and in no wise hurte of his propir goodes, therefore the said Sir John wolde graunted that if the said John Paston, aftir the disses of the said Sir John, by occasion and unlaufulle trouble in this reame, or by mayntenaunce or myght of Lordes, or for defaute of justice, or by unresonable exaccions axid of hym for the licence of the said fundacion, withoute coveyne or fraude of hym selve, be lettid or taried of the making or stablessing of the making of the said fundacion, that thanne he fynde or doo finde yerely aftir the first yere of thus disses of the said Sir John, *vij.* prestes to pray for the said soulys in the said mansion, if he can purvey so many, or els for as many prestes as faile, yeve yerely aftir the said first yere, by th'avise of his executours, to bedred men and othir nedy true pepille, as much money in almose for the said sowlys as the salary or findyng of the prestes so faillyng is worthe or amounteth to, unto the tyme he may laufully and peasably founde the said college and doo his true devir for the said fundacion in the meane tyme. And the said Sir John Fastolf wolde, graunted, and desired faithfully alle

the residewe of his executours and fessces to shewe the said John Paston favore in the said paymentes and daies, and help hym for the Kinges interesse and the eschetours, and furthir hym in that they may in alle othir thinges as they wolde doo to hym selve, and not vex ne inquiete hym for the said fundacion in the meane tyme. Ande where the said Sir John Fastolf made his wille and testament the xiiij. day of June in somer last passed, he wolde, graunted, and ordeyned that this his wille touching thes premisses, as welle as the said wille made the said xiiij. day, except and voided out of his said wille, made the said xiiij. day, alle that concerneth or perteyneth to the fundacion of a college, priory, or chauntery, or of any religious persones, and all that concerneth the sale or disposing of the said maners, landes, and tenementes, wherof this is the very declaracion of his full wille, stand and be joyntly his very enteir and laste wille, and annexed and proved togedir. Also the said Sir John Fastolf, Knyght, the Tuysday next before the fest of Alle Saintes, and in the moneth of Septembre the said yere, and the iij. day of Novembre, and diverse other tymes, at Castre aforesaid, wolde, ordeynyd, and declared his wille touching the making of the said college, as welle as the graunte of the said maners, landes, and tenementes in Norffolk, Suffolk, and Norwich, in fourme, manere, and substance aforesaid. Also the said Sir John wolde and ordeyned that if the said John Paston, by force or myght of any othir desiring to have the said mansion, were letted to founde the seid college in the said mansion, that thanne the said John Paston shulde doo poule down the said mansion and every stone and stikke therof, and do founde iij. of the said vij. prestes or monkes at Sainte Benettes, and one at Yermuth, one at Attilbrugh, and one at Sainte Oloves Church in Southwerke. Also the said Sir John Fastolf, the iij. and iiij. daies of the moneth of Novembir abovesaid, desired his said wille or writyng, touching the fundacion of the said college and the graunte of the said maners, landes, and tenementes to the said John Paston, to be redde unto the said Sir John; and that same wille redde and declared unto hym articulerly, the said Sir John Fastolffe wolde, ordeyned, and graunted that the said John Paston shulde be discharged of the payment of the said iiij^{ml}. markes, and nought pay therof in case he did execute the remenaunte of the said wille.

Also the said Sir John Fastolf, Knyght, aboute the tyme of hervest the yere of the reigne of King Henry the Sexte, xxxvth yere at Castre faste by Mikel Yermuth, in the shire of Norffolk, in presence of divers persones that tyme called to by the said Sir John, did make astate and fessment and liverey of the seasin of the maier of Castre aforesaid, and othir maners, landes, and tenementes in Norffolk, to John Paston, Squier, and othir; and at that lyverey of season therof delivered, as welle by the handes of the said Sir John as by other, the said Sir John Fastolfe by his owne mouth declared his wille and entente of that fessment and liverey of season made to



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A.D. 1459, 3 Nov.—SIR JOHN FASTOLF'S WILL.

From a modern copy among the MSS. at Narford, in the possession of Andrew Fountaine, Esq. The original of this document has not been met with, and the copy from which it is printed is unfortunately very corrupt; but no other text is obtainable. The more obvious inaccuracies have been corrected, but some obscurities remain, on which the reader may exercise his own judgment. For a knowledge of this document I am indebted to Mr. Tyssen Amhurst, of Didlington Hall, Brandon, to whom it was lent by the owner.

Anno Domini [millesimo] ¹ quadringentesimo quinquagesimo nono, mensis Novembris, videlicet, die Sabbati proximo post Festum Omnium Sanctorum, Johannes Fastolfe, miles, de com' Norfolk, Norvican' dioc', in manerio suo de Castre, dict' dioc', suum condidit testamentum, et ipsius ultimam declaravit voluntatem, prout sequitur:—In primis, commendavit et commisit animam suam Deo Omnipotenti, Creatori suo, ac gloriosæ Virgini Mariæ, matri Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et omnibus Sanctis. Item, legavit corpus suum, postquam ab hac luce migraverit, sepeliendum in ecclesia conventuali monasterii Sancti Benedicti in Hulmo, Norvican' dioc', sub arcu novæ capellæ per ipsum ibidem de novo constructæ, ex parte australi chori sive cancelli, sub tumba marmorea, juxta corpus Milicenciæ olim consortis suæ ibidem sepultæ; ac voluit quod abbas et conventus monasterii prædicti, antequam corpus suum ibidem sepeliretur, securitatem facerent quod dabunt et concedent Johanni Paston et aliis per ipsum nominandis, licentiam dandi et concedendi septem monachis vel presbyteris et eorum successoribus in quodam collegio apud Castre prædict' per prædictum Johannem Paston stabiliendo et dotando, terras et tenementa quæ idem Johannes Paston et alii feoffati per ipsum Johannem Fastolf seu suos feoffatos de dictis abbate et conventu tenent, vel tantum inde quantum idem Johannes dictis monachis vel presbyteris dare voluerit. Item legavit, ordinavit, et præcepit omnia debita sua fideliter persolvi et quæcumque per ipsum forisfacta de quibus constare poterit, emendari, restitui, ² et satisfieri cum effectu. Item legavit ad reparationem et sustentationem portus villæ Magnæ Jernemuth', ac ad renovationem et sustentationem murorum dictæ villæ pro bono commodo reipublicæ, salva tuitione villæ prædictæ et patriæ adjacentis, centum marcas sterlingorum, sub conditione quod burgenses seu gubernatores dictæ villæ sine mora seu dilatione perficiant ³ reparationem portus et murorum prædictorum quamdiu dicta summa a se extendet, ut gentes ibidem commorantes habeant animam suam in suis orationibus specialiter recommendatam. Item, cuilibet ecclesiæ parochiali singularum villarum in quibus habuit, aut aliquis ad suum usum habet, domum seu

¹ Omitted in MS.² restum, MS.³ proficiant, MS.

manerium, terras, et tenementa pro speciali recommendatione animæ suæ, unum vestimentum de serico panno pro missis ibidem celebrandis, et quod fiat in eodem scutum armorum suorum brodinatum secundum discretionem executorum suorum et indigentiam dictarum ecclesiarum. Item, legavit et ordinavit servientibus¹ suis et familiaribus domesticis remunerationem condignam seu competentem de bonis suis mobilibus juxta statum suorum [*sic*] ad summam tres centum marcarum, ita quod quilibet generosus habeat duplicem ad valentiam, et sic descendendo successive juxta statum eorum seu exigentiam meritorum ministrorum suorum ac fidelium laborum, habita tamen consideratione ad certos servientes² circa personam suam attendentes diebus et noctibus in laboribus, angustiis et vigiliis, tam in sanitate quam in infirmitate, circa præservationem corporis sui ac sanitatem celerius obtinendum. Item, legavit cuilibet ordini Fratrum religiosorum et domorum Mendicantium, tam in villa Magnæ Jernemouth quam in civitate Norwici, pro recommendatione animæ suæ, summam competentem secundum discretionem executorum suorum limitandam, cum nihil in proprio habeant unde sustentari valeant nisi de caritate et elemosina devotorum Christianorum. Residuum vero omnium bonorum suorum mobilium legata sua excedentium, ac catallorum suorum vivorum et mortuorum, ac debita singula quæ sibi debeantur, dedit et legavit executoribus suis infrascriptis juxta modum, formam et potestatem eisdem per eum superius limitatam, specificatam et ascriptam, ut ipsi eisdem modo et forma, per inde omni pondere discretionis et sani consilii, ea distribuant pro salute animæ suæ inter maxime debiles et pauperes, claudos et cæcos, ac alios impotentes in eorum lectis decumbentes, se et suos sustentare commode non valentes; habita consideratione speciali ad pauperes de consanguinitate et affinitate sua intimos et propinquos, et præsertim in locis ubi quondam possessiones, prædia, redditus et sua dominia fuerunt situata, et præsertim in villis et locis ubi habent, seu aliquis ad usum suum habet, dominia, maneria, terras, tenementa, et etiam ad emendationem pauperum ecclesiarum villarum prædictarum, viarum turpium et pontium communium reparationem, et in aliis piis elemosinariis usibus et caritatis operibus, specialiter in comitatibus Norfolk' et Suffolk'; et quod circa funeralia et legata sua ac elemosinas supradictas primo anno post decessum suum mille marcæ seu mille libræ disponantur, et annuatim postea quingentæ libræ, triginta tres libræ, sex solidi et octo denarii, quousque bona sua mobilia et pecuniæ de venditione terrarum ac bonorum suorum vendendorum provenientia modo et forma prædictis plenarie disponantur, sicut coram Deo in die extremo Examini voluerint respondere; et ad hoc eos exhortabatur in Domino Jesu Christo taliter pro³ ipso singula fideliter peragere vellent cum pro eis in casu consimili faceret juxta conscientiam, rationem, et justitiam. Et prædicti testamenti ac

¹ finentibus, MS.² finentes, MS.³ per, MS.

ultimæ voluntatis suæ suos executores ad exequendum, disponendum et ministrandum modo et forma per eum inferius limitatis et subscriptis, constituit, ordinavit, fecit et elegit Willelmum Wintoniensem episcopum; Johannem, Dominum de Beauchamp; Nicholaum, abbatem de Langle; Johannem Stokes, legum doctorem; Fratrem Johannem Brakley, doctorem theologiæ; Willelmum Yelverton, unum justiciariorum Domini Regis; Johannem Paston, armigerum; Henricum Filongley, armigerum; Dominum Thomam Howes, presbyterum; et Willelmum Worcester; quos modum et formam executionis et administrationis bonorum suorum per executores suos fiend' sic limitavit, voluit, disposuit, et modificavit; videlicet, quod prædicti Johannes Paston et Thomas Howes solum et ante alios executores prædictos subeant et habeant administrationem et dispositionem omnium bonorum mobilium, catallorum ac denariorum ex venditione omnium terrarum et tenementorum suorum vendendorum et proficuorum eorundem terrarum et tenementorum provenientum, ut ipsi duo soli ea disponant pro salute animæ suæ, et quod alii executores supradicti abstineant se ab omni administratione dictorum bonorum suorum, nisi pro modo, forma, causa, loco, et tempore quibus per ipsos Johannem Paston et Thomam Howes ad eorum juramenta pro dicta administratione fuerint evocati pariter et rogati; et quod nullus dictorum aliorum executorum suorum sine consensu et voluntate ac advisamento dictorum Johannis Paston et Thomæ Howes capiat aliquid seu distribuatur de bonis suis mobilibus et catallis prædictis, nec venditionem eorundem neque terrarum nec tenementorum prædictorum faciat, nec aliqua sibi debita recipiat, neque aliquos creditores suos quovis modo acquietet, neque, prædictis Johanne Paston et Thoma Howes viventibus et administrare bona sua volentibus, aliquis alius executorum prædictorum administrationem bonorum suscipiat suorum, sed quod quantum dicti alii sui executores ad [sic] eorum singuli prædict' Johanni Paston et Thomæ Howes in quibuscunque egibilibus [sic] quæ hujusmodi testamentum et ultimam voluntatem concernentibus, favorabiliter assistant et succurrant cum per eosdem fuerint ad hoc requisiti. Voluit tamen quod si alter prædictorum Johannis et Thomæ recusaverit onus administrationis bonorum hujusmodi subire, vel ante administrationem functam obierit, quod tunc ille dictorum duorum executorum suorum administrare volens eligat unum de executoribus prædictis sibi associandis quem putaverit in hiis sibi magis idoneum, et ita voluit fieri de omnibus aliis executoribus præscriptis; videlicet, quod uno moriente vel deficiente de duobus, alter loco ipsius ad electionem administrationem incumbent' substituatur et assumatur. Si autem ambo executores prædicti onus recusaverint subire administrationis prædictæ, vel ambo executores administrationem incumbentes moriantur antequam substituantur executores alii, voluit quod tunc illi duo executores viventes prædictam administrationem subeant et habeant quos major pars executorum viventium sui testamenti duxerit eligendos,



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astir his decesse to be disposed in satisfieng of the duetees and dettes to God and Holy Chirche, and to alle othir, and in fulfillieng and execucion of his legate last wille and testament withoute eny defraudyng of the said Holy Chirche or of eny creditours or persones.

- First, in goold and silver, founden in th'abbey of Seynt Benet
- astir the decesse of th^e said Sir John Fastolf, m^lm^l iiij^{xx} xiiij^{li}. iijs. iiij^d.
- Item, founden atte Castre, lxjⁱⁱ vjs. viij^d.
- Item, receyved atte Bentlee by the handes of William Barker in money by hym receyved of John Heryngton, xx^{li}.
- Item, receyved atte London, CCCClxix^{li}.

Summa M^lM^lDCxliij^{li}. xs. in coyne.

- First, two peces of golde, weiyng xlvij. unces.
 - Item, two ewers of golde, weiyng xxvij. unces.
 - Item, j. flaget of silver, weiyng xxxvij. unces.
 - Item, ij. prikettys of silver, weiyng xxvij. unces et di.
- Summa of golde, lxxv. unces, and of silver, lv. unces.

- Item, iij. chargeours of silver, weiyng vij^{xx} iij. unces.
- Item, xij. platers of silver, weiyng ix^{xx} ix. unces.
- Item, xij. disshes of silver, weiyng vij^{xx} viij. unces.
- Item, xij. sausers of silver, weiyng iiij^{xx} xv. unces.

Summa v^c lxxv. unces.

- Item, xij. flat peces bolyond in the bothom, weiyng viij^{xx} ix. unces.
- Item, vj. bolles with oon coverecle [*h/d*] of silver, the egges gilt, my maister helmet enameled in the myddes, weiyng viij^{xx} iiij. unces.
- Item, a candilstik, a priket and ij. sokettys of silver, weiyng xvij. unces.
- Item, ij. potell pottes of silver wrethyn, the verges gilt with braunches enameled, with j. tree in the lyddys, weiyng vj^{xx} xij. unces.
- Item, ij. galon pottes of silver wrethyn, the verges gilt, enameled in the lyddes with iij. floures, weiyng xj^{xx} ix. unces.
- Item, j. roste iren with vij. staves and j. foldyng stele of silver, weiyng lxxiiij. unces.
- Item, ij. flagons of silver, with gilt verges, and the cheynes enameled in the myddes, with j. hoke, weiyng ix^{xx} unces.

Summa, ix^c lxiiij. unces.

- Item, a saltsaler like a bastell [*a bastille or small tower*], alle gilt with roses, weiyng lxxvij. unces.
- Item, a paire of basyns, alle gilt, with an antelope in the myddes, weiyng xj^{xx} unces.
- Item, ij. ewers, gilt, pounsed with floures and braunches, weiyng xxxix. unces.

Item, j. spice plate, well gilt like a double rose, my maister helmet in the myddes, with rede roses of my maisters armes, weiyng vxx x. unces.

Item, ij. galon pottes, all gilt, enameled in the crownes with violet floures, weiyng xxx xiiij. unces.

Item, vj. bolles, with oon coveracle gilt, with my maisters helmet enameled in the myddes, weiyng viijxx vj. unces.

Item, j. stondyng cuppe, all gilt, with a coveracle, with my maisters helmet enamyled in the myddes, weiyng xlj. unces.

Item, another cuppe of the same facione, all gilt, weiyng xliij. unces.

Item, iiij. cuppes, gilt like founteyns, with j. columbyne floure enameled in the myddes, weiyng iiijxx xvj. unces.

Summa, DCCCClxv. unces.

Item, j. grete flagon, with stuf theryn, weiyng xvijxx xj. unces.

Summa, CCCLj. unces.

Item, vj. platers, weiyng vijxx unces.

Item, xiiij. disshes, weiyng ixxx unces.

Item, xij. peces of dyvers sortes, weiyng vijxx xiiij. unces.

Item, ij. grete galon pottes, playn, with gilt verges, my maisters helmet in the kever, weiyng xijxx xij. unces.

Item, j. paire basyns, the verges gilt, Harlyngs¹ armes in the bottom, weiyng vxx xv. unces.

Item, ij. quart potts, with gilt verges, with the same armes in the lydde, weiyng lxx. unces.

Item, ij. ewers, the oon demi gilt, and the othir the bordures gilt, weiyng lj. unces.

Item, j. spice plate demi gilt, mymaisters terget enamyled in the myddes, weiyng lxxj. unces.

Summa, DCCCCxxxij. unces.

Item, j. stondyng cuppe gilt, with j. kever, with j. rose in the toppe, weiyng xl. unces.

Item, anothis cuppe of the same facion, gilt, weiyng xlj. unces.

Summa, iiijxx j. unces.

Item, iiij. grete chargeours, weiyng vijxx ij. unces.

Item, xij. platers, weiyng xjxx xij. unces.

Item, xij. disshes, weiyng ixxx viij. unces.

Item, xj. sausers, weiyng lxxvj. unces.

Summa, DCxxxviiij. unces.

Item, j. paire basyns, with gilt verges and j. rose, with my maisters helmet enameled and gilt in the myddes, weiyng viijxx vj. unces.

¹ Sir Robert Harling of East Harling, in Norfolk, was a companion in arms of Eastolf, and was killed at Paris in 1435.

- Item, ij. ewers, gilt and enameled in like wise, weiyng lxxv. unces.
- Item, xij. flatte peces, pounsed in the bottom, the verges gilt sortely, weiyng vij^{xx} xvj. unces.
- Item, j. spiceplate demi gilt, wrethyn, weiyng lxxij. unces.
- Item, vj. bolles, with oou kever, the verges gilt, my maisters helmet in the myddes, weiyng viij^{xx} iiij. unces.
- Item, ij. grete pottes, eche of a galon, wrethyn the verges of bothe gilt with popy leves, with j. tre levedroses in the lidde, enameled, weiyng xj^{xx} xvj. unces.
- Item, ij. potelers, with gilt verges, enameled in the liddes, weiyng iiij^{xx} ix. unces.
- Item, ij. flagons, with gilt verges, and the cheyne enameled in the myddes, weiyng viij^{xx} j. unces.
- Item, j. candelstik, with j. priket and ij. soketts, weiyng xvij. unces.

Summa, xjc xxxvj. unces.

- Item, j. saltsaler, with j. kever, well gilt, with many wyndowes, weiyng iiij^{xx} vj. unces.
- Item, vj. bolles, all gilt, with j. kever and j. rose in the toppe, eche enameled in the bottom with my maisters helmet, weiyng viij^{xx} vj. unces.
- Item, ij. galon pottes, gilt playn, anameled in the lyddes with my maisters target, weiyng vij^{xx} xiiij. unces.
- Item, j. stondyng cuppe, pounsed with floures, well gilt, weiyng xlij. unces.
- Item, j. gilt cuppe, stondyng covered, pounsed with j. rose in the toppe, weiyng xlvij. unces.
- Item, vj. gobelettes, wele gilt, with j. columbyne floure, weiyng vij^{xx} vj. unces.

Summa, DCxlj. unces.

Chapell.

- Item, vij. prikettes, with gilt verges, weiyng iiij^{xx} vj. unces.
- Item, ij. stondyng candilstikkes, with gilt verges, weiyng iiij^{xx} j. unces.
- Item, j. ship, with gilt verges, weiyng ix. unces.
- Item, j. box for syngyng brede,¹ weiyng iiij. unces.
- Item, j. haly water stop, with j. sprenkill and ij. cruettes, weiyng xij. unces.

Summa, C iiij^{xx} xij. unces.

- Item, j. brode pryket, alle gilt, weiyng xlv. unces.
- Item, j. paire basyns, all gilt, enameled in the bottom with roses, weiyng lx. unces.
- Item, j. pyx, demi gilt, weiyng xxx. unces.

¹ The round cakes or wafers intended for consecration in the Eucharist.



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Apud Sanctum Benedictum.

- Item, ij. basyns, with gilt verges, and my maisters helmet in the botom, with ij. ewers, with gilt verges, and my maisters helme on the lyddes, weiyng togider CCxxxj. unces.
- Item, iiij. prikettes, with gilt verges, weiyng xxxj. unces.
- Item, ij. lesser prikettes, weiyng v. unces.
- Item, j. basyn and j. ewer, with my maisters armes in the botom, weiyng lxiiij. unces.
- Item, ij. litill ewers, of ij. sortes, weiyng xxiiij. unces.
- Item, j. spiceplate, with gilt verges, weiyng xliiij. unces.
- Item, ij. galons, with gilt verges, with my maisters armes in the liddes, weiyng iiij^{xx} xvj. unces.
- Item, ij. potellers, of oon sorte, weiyng iiij^{xx} iiij. unces.
- Item, ij. othir potellers, of oon sorte, weiyng iiij^{xx} xiiij. unces.
- Item, j. potell potte, of anothir sorte, weiyng xxxv. unces.
- Item, ij. quartelettes, of dyvers sortes, weiyng xlviiij. unces.
- Item, j. litill botell, with j. cheyne and j. stopell, weiyng xxxviiij. unces.
- Item, j. brode priket, with gilt verges, weiyng xxiiij. unces.
- Item, ij. candilstikkes, ij. prykettes, and iiij. sokettes, weiyng xxxviij. unces.
- Item, vj. gobelettes, of dyvers sortes, weiyng xxviiij. unces.
- Item, xiiij. peces, of dyvers sortes, weiyng vj^{xx} xv. unces.
- Item, j. olde pece, with j. kever and j. knop, weiyng xxxij. unces.
- Item, ij. chargeours, of oon sorte, weiyng lxxviiij. unces.
- Item, vj. platers, of oon sorte, weiyng vij^{xx} vij. unces.
- Item, xviiij. disshes, of dyvers sortes, weiyng xxx xvj. unces.
- Item, vj. sawsers, of oon sorte, weiyng xxviiij. unces.

Summa, xvc xvij. unces.

- Item, j. saltsaler, alle gilt, with j. kever, weiyng xxxviij. unces.
- Item, j. pese, with j. kever, all gilt, with j. knop, weiyng xxxj. unces.
- Item, j. playne pece, gilt, with j. kever, weiyng xxvj. unces.
- Item, j. litill pece, gilt, with j. kever, weiyng xviiij. unces.

Summa, vxx xij. unces.

- Item, j. chargeour, weiyng xlv. unces.
- Item, viij. platers, weiyng ix^{xx} xj. unces.
- Item, viij. disshes, weiyng vj^{xx} v. unces.
- Item, viij. saucers, weiyng xlix unces.
- Item, j. potell potte, with gilt verges, enameled in the top with violet leves, weiyng xlix. unces.

Summa, CCCC iiij^{xx} iij. unces.

- Item, j. stondyng cup, with j. kever, all gilt, weiyng xxxviiij. unces.

Item, j. founteyn, all gilt, with j. columbyne floure in the bottom, weiyng xxiiij. unces.

Summa, lxj. unces.

Item, ij. saltsalers, weiyng xxxix. unces.

Item, j. candilstik, with ij. sokettes, weiyng xxj. unces.

Item, iiij. flat peces, pounsed in the bottom, weiyng xl. unces.

Item, ij. gobelettes, pounsed, weiyng ix. unces.

Item, xiiij. spones, wherof oon is gilt, weiyng xvij. unces.

Item, j. ewer, with j. knop, weiyng xiiij. unces.

Item, ij. potellers, with my maisters armes on the liddes, weiyng lxxij. unces.

Item, j. potell potte, with braunches on the lidde enamelid, weiyng xlix. unces.

Item, iiij. pottes, enameled with j. garlond, weiyng vxx vij. unces.

Item, j. quart pot, weiyng xxix. unces.

Item, j. grete chargeour, weiyng lxxix. unces.

Item, iiij. lesser chargeours, weiyng vxx xj. unces.

Item, v. platers, of oon sorte, weiyng vxx xv. unces.

Item, xij. disshes, of oon sorte, weiyng xxx ix. unces.

Item, ix. sausers, of oon sorte, weiyng lxiiij. unces.

Summa, M^l iiij^{xx} xij. unces.

Item, j. gobelet, gilt, with j. columbyne in the bottom, weiyng xxiiij. unces.

Item, j. stondyng cup, with j. kever, weiyng^o xxxv. unces.

Summa, lix. unces.

Castre.

Item, ij. prykettys, with gilt verges, weiyng xvij. unces.

Item, ij. cruettes, oon lakkyng a lydde, weiyng viij. unces.

Item, j. litill crosse, with j. fote, all gilt, weiyng vij. unces.

Item, j. sakeryng bell, weiyng xj. unces.

Item, j. chalice, weiyng xviiij. unces.

Item, j. saltsaler, weiyng v. unces.

Item, j. paxbrede,¹ weiyng² unces.

Item, j. grete saltsaler, with j. kever, weiyng xxvij. unces.

Item, j. playn basyn, with j. ewer, weiyng liij. unces.

Item, ij. flat peces, of oon sorte, weiyng xxij. unces.

Item, xvij. spones, of ij. sortes, weiyng xviiij. unces.

Item, iiij. platers, weiyng iiij^{xx} xiiij. unces.

Item, vj. disshes, weiyng iiij^{xx} xiiij. unces.

Item, iiij. sausers, weiyng xviiij. unces.

Item, j. candilstik, withoute sokettes, weiyng xviiij. unces.

Summa, CCCCx. unces.

¹ A small tablet with a representation of the Crucifixion on it, presented to be kissed during the mass.

² Blank in MS.

M^d of xlviij. unces gold and ij^ml. Dxxv. unces of silver plate taken from Bermondsey.

Sold by John Yong of London.

{ In primis, a peson ¹ of gold, it fayleth v. balles, weiyng xxiiij. unces gold.
 Item, j. paire basons, beyng ² bothe weiyng vxx ij. unces.
 Item, j. paire ewers, beyng ² bothe weiyng xiv. unces.
 Item, j. paire of newe flagons, cheyned, everyche weiyng lxxiiij. unces—vijxx xiiij. unces.
 Item, iiij. platers, parcell of ix. platers not sortely, weiyng in all xxx ix. unces; so iche weieth xxiiij. unces. Soo the weight of the same iiij. platers, iiijxx xij. unces.
 Item, xij. disshes, weiyng in all ixxx ix. unces.
 Item, xij. sausers, weiyng in all iiijxx xvij. unces.

Summa unciarum argenti, DCIxxiiij. unc', et de auro, xxiiij. unc'.

Item, j. cup of golde, with an ewer, weiyng xxiiij. unces.

Item, ij. spiceplates, weiyng bothe iiijxx xij. unces.

Item, ij. olde chargeours, of oon sorte, weiyng iiijxx viij. unces.

Item, j. grete plater, weiyng xxxviiij. unces.

Item, v. olde disshes, weiyng in alle lxxvj. unces.

Item, v. sausers, weiyng xxix. unces.

Item, ij. quart pottes, weiyng liiiij. unces.

Item, ix. platers, weiyng xvjxx iiij. unces.

Item, a flat pece, playne, of silver, weiyng xvj. unces.

Item, a quart pot, of silver, with gilt verges, weiyng xxvj. unces.

Item, an holowe basyn, of silver, weiyng xxviiij. unces.

Summa unciarum de auro, xxiiij. unc'; et de argento, DCCLxx. unc'.

Item, ij. stondyng cuppes, gilt, of oon sorte, iche weiyng xxiiij. unces—lxviiij. unces.

Item, vj. gobelettes, uncovered, weiyng xxiiij. unces et di.

Item, j. layer, weiyng xxiiij. unces.

Item, j. saltsaler, gilt, weiyng xxxiiij. unces.

Item, ij. lesse chargeours, weiyng lxx. unces.

Item, v. platers, not sortely, parcell of ix. platers, weiyng in all xxx ix. unces; so iche plater weyeth by estymacion xxiiij. unces. So the weight of v. platers, Cxv. unces.

Summa, CCCxxxiiij. unces di.

Item, j. saltsaler, gilt, with a cover, weiyng xxxj. unces.

Item, iiij. peces, gilt, with ij. coveres, weiyng lxxiiij. unces.

¹ An instrument in the form of a staff, with balls or crockets, used for weighing, before scales were employed for that purpose.

² The word "beyng" in these two places seems to have been altered to "weyng," which was unnecessary.



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- Item, j. broken gowne of sangweyne, graynyd with the slevys.
 Item, j. gowne of Frenche russet, lynyd with blak clothe.
 Item, j. chemer of blak, lynyd with blak bokerame.
 Item, j. gowne of blak, lynyd with blak lynyng.
 Item, iij. quarters of a russet gowne with ought slevys.
 Item, j. jagged huke¹ of blakke sengle, and di. of the same.

U.

Tunicæ Remanentes ibidem.

- Item, j. jakket of blewe felwett, lynyd in the body with smale lynen clothe, and the slevys withe blanket.
 Item, j. jakket of russet felwet, lynyd with blanket clothe.
 Item, j. jakket of red felwet, the ventis bounde with red lether.
 Item, j. jakket of blakke felwet upon felwet, lynyd with smale lynen cloth.
 Item, j. jaket, the bret and slevys of blak felvet, and the remanent of russet fustian.
 Item, ij. jakketts of russet felwet, the one lyned with blanket, t'other with lynen clothe.
 Item, ij. jakketts of chamletts.
 Item, j. jakket of sateyne fugre.²
 Item, j. dowblettis of red felwet uppon felwet.
 Item, j. jakket of blak felwet, the body lynyd with blanket and the slevys with blak clothe.
 Item, j. dowbelet of rede felwet, lynyd with lynen clothe.
 Item, ij. jakketts of derys lether, with j. coler of blak felwet.
 Item, j. dowbelet of white lynyn clothe.
 Item, j. pettecote of lynen clothe stoffyd with flokys.
 Item, j. petticote of lynen clothe, withought slyves.
 Item, ij. payre hosyn of blakke keyrse.
 Item, iij. payre bounden with lether.
 Item, j. payre of blake hosyn, vampayed with lether.
 Item, ij. payre of scarlet hosyn.

U

V

Capucia et Capellæ.

- Item, j. russet hode, with owgt a typpet, of satyn russet.
 Item, j. hode of blakke felwet, with a typpet, halfe damask and halfe felwet, y jaggyd.
 Item, j. hode of depe grene felwet, jakgyd uppon the rolle.
 Item, j. hode of russet felwet, with a typpet, halfe of the same and halfe of blewe felwet, lynyd with the same of damaske.
 Item, j. hood of depe grene felwet, the typpet blake and grene felwet.
 Item, j. hood of russet felwet withought a typpet.

¹ A kind of mantle — See Strutt's Dress and Habits, ii. 363.

² Figured or braunched satin.

Item, i. hode of damaske russet, with j. typpet, fastyd with a lase of silke.

Item, j. rydyng hode of rede felwet with iiij. jaggys.

Item, j. hode of skarlet, with a rolle of purpill felwet, bordered with the same felwet.

Item, j. hode of blake satayne, the rolle of blake felwet.

Item, j. of purpill felwet, with owten rolle and typpet.

Item, j. hode of russet felwet, the typpet lynyd with russet silke.

Item, j. typpet, halfe russet and halfe blake felwet, with j. jagge.

Item, j. rydynghoode of blakalyere, lynyd with the same.

Item, j. rydyng hoode of blakke felwet, i-lynyd with blakke clothe.

Item, j. hatte of bever, lynyd withe damaske gilt, girdell, bokkell, and penaunt, with iiij. barrys of the same.

Item, j. gret rolyyd cappe of sangweyn, greyned.

Item, ij. skarlet hoodys.

Item, iiij. hodys of sangweyn, graynyd.

Item, ij. hodys of perce blewe. Item, ij. hodys blakalyre.

Item, j. knitte cappe. Item, j. unsette poke.

Item, ij. poyntys of a hood of skarlot.

Item, j. blake rydyng hoode, sengle. Item, ij. strawen hattis.

Item, j. blewe hoode of the Garter.

Item, j. gowne of my ladys, sengle.

Aliæ res necessariae ibidem.

Inprimis, j. canope of grene silke, borderyd with rede.

Item, iiij. trapuris, with iiij. clothis of the same sute.

Item, ij. old cheses plis [*chasubles*] of rede.

Item, ij. pokkettis stuffyd and embraudyd with white rosys after his devyce, of rede with crossis leten with silver.

Item, j. pece of scarlot, embraudit in the myddell, containing in length iiij. yerds and di.

Item, j. pece of blewe, contaynyng in length iiij. quarters, and in brede v. quarters.

Item, j. pece of skarlot for trappars for horsys, with rede crossis and rosys.

Item, ij. stripis of the same trappuris sutly.

Item, j. pece of Seynt George leveray, for j. hode.

Item, j. ball of coper gilt, embrauded rechely with j. skogen [*scutcheon*] hongyng therbi.

Item, ij. pencellis of his armys.

Item, ij. yerds and j. quarter of white damaske.

Item, j. pece of white felwet ij. yerdis longe.

Item, j. pece of rede satayne, brauden [*embroidered*] with *Me faunt fere*.

Item, ij. strypes of the same.

Item, ij. cote armours of silke, astir his own armys.

- Item, j. cote armour of whyte silke of Seynt George.
 Item, ij. pecys of clothe of golde of tyssent
 Item, j. pece of blak kersey with rosys, and embraudit with
Me faunt fere.
 Item, ij. stripis of the same sute.
 Item, ij. peces of blewe canvas of xlij. yerds.
 Item, j. pece of linnen cloth, steyned.
 Item, j. pece of grene wurstet xxx. yards longe.
 Item, iiij. clokys of murry ¹ derke.
 Item, j. bollok haftyd dager, harnessyd wyth sylver, ² and j.
 chape ³ thertoo.
 Item, j. lytyll schort armyng dager, withe j. gilt schape.
 Item, iiij. payre tablys of cipris, being in casys of lether.
 Item, j. payre tablys of G., enrayed withowght, and here men
 in baggys longyng thertoo.

E.

- Imprimis, v. pellowes of grene silke.
 Item, j. pellow of silk the growund white wyth lyllys of blewe.
 Item, ij. pellowes of rede felwet and the growund of ham
 blakke.
 Item, v. pellowys of rede felwet.
 Item, ij. pellowys of rede felwet beten upon satayne.
 Item, j. littill pellow of grene sike, full wythin of lavendre.
 Item, j. pellow of purpyll silke and golde.
 Item, ij. pellowes of blew silke, with a schelde.
 Item, v. large carpettys.
 Imprimis, j. longe pillowe of fustian.
 Item, iiij. brode pillowes of fustyan.
 Item, ij. pillowys of narwer sorte and more schorter, of fustyan.
 Item, j. longe pellow of lynen clothe.
 Item, j. pellow of a lasse sorte.
 Item, j. brode pyllow of lynen clothe.
 Item, ij. pillowes of lynen clothe of a lasser assyse.
 Item, viij. pelowes of lynen clothe off a lasser assyse.
 Item, v. of the lest assyse.
 In primis, j. cover of grene silke to a bedde, lynyd with blewe
 silke.
 Item, j. close bedde of palle grene and whyte, with levys of
 golde.
 Item, j. covyr of the same.
 Item, j. covyr of rede silke lynyd with bokerame.
 Item, j. cover of white clothe, fyne and well-wrought, purpeynte
 [*pourpointé or stitched*] wyse.
 Item, j. cover of raynis, wrowght with golde of damaske.
 Item, j. donge [*mattress or feather bed*] of purle sylke.

¹ Dark or brownish red.

² Silver twisted round the haft.

³ The schape or chape was the ferule of the scabbard. — Dr. Meyrick.



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- Item, j. banker of rede, with iij. white rosys and the annys of Fastolf.
- Item, j. nothyr clothe of rede, with v. roses sutly.
- Item, j. hallyng of blewe worstet, contayning in lenthe xiiij. yerds, and in bredthe iij. yerds.
- Item, j. hallyng with men drawen in derke grene worsted.
- Item, ij. pecys of whyte worsted, bothe of one lengthe.
- Item, j. hallyng of depe grene, contayning in lenthe xj. yerds, and in bredthe ij. yerds and one halfe.
- Item, j. hallyng of the same sute, lengthe, and brede.
- Item, j. tester of grene and whyte, wyth braunchis sutely.

F.

Clothis of Arras.

- Item, ij. clothis of arras for the chamboure over the nether halle, of huntynge and of haukyng.
- Item, iij. clothis of grene and whyte, withe braunchis sutely to the other wreten before.
- Item, a coverynge of a bedde of aras, withe hontynge of the bore, a man in blewe, with a jagged hoode, white and rede.

G.

Canvas in the Warderop and fyne Lynen Clothe of dyvers sortes.

First ix. berys for fetherbeddys.

Item, iij. transomers.

Item, j. pece of lynen clothe, countynge lenthe and brede iij^{xx} ellys, and the tone ende kit and nought enselyd and the other ende hole.

Item, j. pece of lynen clothe, yerde brode, contaynyng xiiij. yerds and more, and not sealed.

Item, j. pece of grete lynen clothe, yerde brode, of xxij. yerds.

Item, j. pece of yerde brode, xxiv. yerds iij. quarters, pro Willelmo Schipdam.

Item, j. pece of a yerde and an halfe quarter brode, of xxv. yerds and iij. quarters, pro Willelmo Schypdam.

Item, j. pece of yerde brode, of xij. yerds and j. quarter.

Item, j. pece of fyne lynen clothe, yerd brode, of lvj. yerdys of lenthe.

Item, j. pece of grete clothe, yerde brode, of lvij. yerds.

Item, j. pece of grete clothe of xxiiij. yerds.

Item, j. pece of clothe leke of xxviiij. yerds.

Item, j. pece of clothe of xxxvij. yerds et dim.

Item, j. pece of grete clothe of xxij. yerdys per Willm. Schypdam.

Item, j. pece of clothe lyke of xxxij. yerds and j. quarter.

Item, j. pece of lyke clothe of xxxvj. yerds, per Willm. Schypdam.

Item, j. pece of clothe of xxxiiij. yerds and j. quarter, per Wil-
lm. Schypdam.

Item, j. pece of xxvij. yerds j. quarter. Item, j. pece of x.
yerds dim.

Item, j. pece of viij. yerds. Item, j. pece of xxviij. yerds iij.
quarters.

Item, j. pece of xix. yerds dim. Item, j. pece of xxij. yerds j.
quarter.

Item, j. pece of xiiij. yerds j. quarter. Item, j. pece of xxiiij.
yerds.

Item, j. pece of xxvij. yerds j. quarter. Item, j. pece of xxx.
yerds dim.

Item, j. pece of xxxij. yerds dim. Item, j. pece of xlj. yerds
and j. quarter.

Item, j. pece of xxxj. yerds dim. Item, j. pece of xviiij. yerds
iij. quarters.

Item, j. pece of xiiij. yerds. Item, j. pece of xiiij. yerds.

Item, j. pece of xlv. yerds. Item, j. pece of viii. yerds dim.

Item, j. pece of xiiij. yerds dim. Item, j. pece of xxij. yerds j.
quarter.

Item, j. pece of xxxix. yerds.

Item, j. pece of xxxiiij. yerds j. quarter of beter clothe.

Item, ij. rollys of lynen clothe, both not moten. Item, lx.
yerds of clothe.

Item, j. pece of Seland clothe, with dyvers sealys at the endys.

Summa totalis, xl. peces.

Summa totalis istius folij ultra ij. rolles conc' lx. virg' et in pece
sigillat' cum Domini secreto sigillo uti in fine paginæ, ml.
xxxvij. virg. ij. quart. dim. per C. que re.

Manent, cum tribus pecijs restitutis.

H.

Adhuc in Garderoba in domo Superiori.

Item, iij. grete brasse pottys of Frenche makyng.

Item, j. grete chafron of brasse. Item, ij. chafernes of a lase
sorte.

Item, iij. chafernes of the French gyse for sewys. Item, j.
panne.

Item, j. litell potte of brasse. Item, ij. chamber basons of
pewter.

Item, iij. chargeourys. Item, vj. platowres. Item, vj. sawsers
of pewter.

Item, iij. candylstykkys of my mayster is armys and n. /
ladyes, copper and gilt.

Item, j. fountayne of latayne to sette in pottys of wine.

Item, ij. hangyng candylstykkes. Item, ij. maundys [*baskets*].

Item, j. basket of wykers. Item, xxj. bowys.
Item, viij. schefe arrowys of swanne.

Camera ultra Buttellarium pro extraneis.

Item, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. pillowe.
Item, ij. blankettys. Item, j. payre of schetys.
Item, j. purpeynt of white. Item, j. seloure. Item, j. testoure.
Item, ij. curtaynys of the same sute. Item, j. cobbord clothe
of the same.

Magna Camera ultra Aulaam Esteualem.

In primis, j. fetherbedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. seler.
Item, j. tester, withe one gentlewoman in grene, taking a mal-
lard in hir hondes.
Item, j. coveryng, with j. geyaunt smytyng a wild bore with a
spere.
Item, iij. courtaynes of grene silke.
Item, j. clothe of arras, of the Schipherds.

*The White Chambour next the Gret Chaumbur, sumtyme Nicholas
Bokkeyng is Chaumbre.*

In primis, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. pyllowe
of doun.
Item, ij. blankettys bon.
Item, j. payre of schetys, every schete iij. schete iij. webbes.
Item, j. coveryng of whyte lynyen clothe. Item, j. purpoynt.
Item, j. tester. Item, j. seler. Item, iij. curtaynys of whyte.
Item, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. blankettys.
Item, iij. payre of schetys. Item, ij. coverlettes of grene warke.
Item, j. cobbord clothe.

*The Chaumboure, sumtyme for Stephen Scrope, hangyng clothys
portrayed with the Schipherds.*

Item, j. federbedde. Item, j. bolster.
Item, ij. fustian blanketts, every of hem vj. webbys.
Item, j. pyllowe of downe. Item, j. pyllowe of lavendre.
Item, j. cover of apres [*ypres?*], lynyd with lynyen clothe.
Item, j. tester and j. seler of the same. Item, iij. curtaynes of
rede saye.
Item, j. clothe hangyng of Schovelers.
Item, j. rede curtayne o saye for the chayre.
Item, iij. cosschonys of rede say. Item, j. cobbord clothe.
Item, j. rynnynge bedde with a materas.
Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. blankettis. Item, j. payre of
schetys.
Item, j. coverlet of yellow clothe.



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Item, j. purpoynt white, with a scuchon after an horse wyse, visure and braunchis of grene.

Item, j. selour. Item, j. testour. Item, iij. curtaynys of lynen clothe.

Cole and Watkyn is Chamboure that was for the two auditourys.

Item, ij. materasse. Item, ij. blankettys. Item, ij. schetys.

Item, j. bolster. Item, j. coverlet of white warke withe burdys.

Item, j. testour of red saye. Item, j. seler of canvas.

The Porter is Chambour.

In primis, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. payre of schetys.

Item, j. blankett. Item, j. coveryng cloth.

Item, j. curtayne of rede saye.

The Chambour agenest the Porter is Chamboure.

In primis, j. feddir bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. payre of schetys.

Item, j. payre of blankettys. Item, ij. coverlettys of grene and yolowe.

Item, j. seler of blewe panes and white. Item, ij. pecys of saye.

The Chamber over the Draught Brigge.

In primis, j. fedder bed, covered withe gray canvas. Item, j. bolster.

Item, ij. blankettys, j. payre of schettys.

Item, j. rede pane furryd withe connyngs.

Item, j. testour, and j. selour of rede saye with *Me faunt fere*.

Schipdam is Chambre.

In primis, j. fedderbedde. Item, ij. blangettis. Item, ij. schetys.

Item, j. bolster.

Item, j. coverlet of white rosys, at every corner iij., and one in the myddell.

Item, j. seler of rede say.

Item, j. testour of rede say, lynyd wythe canvas. Item, j. chayre.

Item, j. pece of rede say for accomptyng borde.

Item, iij. cosschonys rede say. Item, j. aundiren. Item, j. firepanne.

Item, j. payre of tongus. Item, iij. formys. Item, j. junyd stole.

The Inner Chaumbour over the Gatis.

In primis, j. federbedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. blankettes.

Item, j. gardevyant [*meat safe*]. Item, ij. cosschonys of blewe say.

Item, j. junyd stole.

The Myddell Chambour.

In primis, j. feder bedde. Item, j. materas. Item, j. quylt.
 Item, ij. coverletts of rede say. Item, j. testour withe a selour.
 Item, ij. courtaynys of rede say. Item, j. testoure of the same.
 Item, j. payre of tongys.

Camera Bokkyng in le Basecourte.

In primis, j. fedderbedde. Item, j. bolster.
 Item, ij. payre of schetys. Item, ij. blankettys.
 Item, j. coverlete of popelers, lynyd with whyte lunnyng clothe.
 Item, j. selour. Item, j. testour of rede saye.

The Coke is Chambour.

Item, j. feder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. schetys.
 Item, j. redde coverlyte of rosys and blood houndys hedys.

Ferause [or Fitzrauf] is Chambre.

Item, j. fedderbedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. payre of schetys.
 Item, ij. blankettys. Item, j. coverlyte. Item, j. testour.
 Item, j. selour of blewe clowded.

Thomas Fastolff Chamboure.

Item, j. fedderbed. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. payre of schetys.
 Item, ij. blankettis. Item, j. rede coverlet.
 Item, j. coveryng of worstet. Item, j. testour.
 Item, j. selour of rede say, withe the armys of Fastolf.

The Bedde in the grete Stabull.

Item, j. materas. Item, j. payre of schetys.
 Item, j. coverlyt of blewe and rede.

The Bedde in the Sumer Stabull.

Item, j. materas. Item, j. payre of schetys.
 Item, j. coverlyte of blewe and rede.

The Gardinares Chambre.

In primis, j. bolster. Item, j. materas. Item, j. payre of schetys.
 Item, ij. blankettys. Item, j. coverlet of blewe.
 Item, j. nother of better blewe. Item, j. materas. Item, j.
 bolster.
 Item, j. carpet. Item, j. coveryng of grene say.
 Item, j. coveryng of popelerys. Item, j. selour of blewe.

My Maister is Chambre and the withe draughte withe the Stable.

In primis, j. fedderbedde. Item, j. donge of fyne blewe.
 Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. blankettys of fustians.
 Item, j. payre of schetis. Item, j. purpeynt.

Item, j. hangyd bedde of arras. Item, j. testour. Item, j. selour.

Item, j. coveryng.

Item, iij. curtaynes of grene worsted.

Item, j. bankeur of tapestre warke.

Item, iiij. peces hangyng of grene worsted.

Item, j. banker hangyng tapestry worke. Item, j. cobbord clothe.

Item, ij. staundyng aundyris. Item, j. feddefflok.

Item, j. chafern of laten. Item, j. payre of tongys.

Item, j. payre of bellewes. Item, j. litell paylet. Item, ij. blankettys.

Item, j. payre of schetys. Item, j. coverlet.

Item, vj. white cosschynes. Item, ij. lytell bellys.

Item, j. foldyng table. Item, j. longe chayre. Item, j. grene chayre.

Item, j. hangyng candylstyck of laton.

In Camera and Warda nuper pertinentibus Dominae Mylcentia Fastolf.

In primis, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, j. materas.

Item, j. quelte. Item, smale pyllowes of downe.

Item, j. hongyd bedde of fyne whyte. Item, ij. smale payletts.

Item, j. rede coverlet. Item, j. leddre pyllewe. Item, j. basyn.

Item, j. ewer. Item, ij. pottys.

Item, ij. lyttyll ewers of blew glasses, powdered withe golde.

The Chambure there Margaret Hodessone laye.

Item, j. fedderbedde. Item, j. bolster. Item, ij. fustians.

Item, j. chayre withe j. pece of palle white and grene.

The utmost Chambur nexte Winter Halle.

Item, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. bolster.

Item, j. coveryng of grene worsted. Item, ij. staundyng aundeirys.

Item, j. hangyng candylstyck of laton.

Item, j. cobbord clothe. Item, j. rede chayre.

The White Draught Chamber for Lewys and William Worcester.

In primis, j. fedder bedde. Item, j. donge. Item, j. bolster.

Item, j. hangyd bedde. Item, j. testour.

Item, j. selour of rede worsted, i-hangyd with clothe of pale, blake, white, and grene. Item, j. arstellawe.

G

In primis, ij. pecys of satayne after the fassion of a dowblet to were under gownes.

Item, viij. quarters of silk, the slevys of the same rolled to gedder for jakketts.

Item, j. jakke of blakke lynen clothe stuffyd with mayle.



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Item, di. dosn. of tapestrye warke. Item, j. banker of aras.
Item; ij. andyris stoung.

Celar.

In the seler, certayn vessell whiche John Ouresby is chargid
withe by an endenture, wherof the copy is annexed to this lese.
Item, ij. pypes of rede wyne.

The Bottre.

Item, ij. kervyng knyvys.
Item, iiij. kneives in a schethe, the haftys of every, withe naylys
gilt.
Item, j. payre galon bottels of one sorte.
Item, j. payre of potell botellys of one sorte.
Item, j. nother potell bottell. Item, j. payre quartletts of one
sorte.
Item, iiij. galon pottis of lether. Item, iiij. pottelers of lether.
Item, j. trencher knyfe. Item, j. grete tankard.
Item, ij. grete and hoge bottelis. Item, xiiij. candylstykkys
of laton.
Item, certayn pecys of napre, accordyng to a bylle endentyd
annexed to this lese.
Item, j. quartelet for wine.

In primis, iiij. chargeris argenti de parvo sorte. Item, v. platers
argenti.

Item, xij. disches argenti unius sortis.
Item, viij. disches argenti minoris sortis.
Item, xj. sawseris argenti unius sortis.
Item, iiij. crateras argenti, quarum j. data Margaretæ Hoddsone.
Item, iiij. covertorijs argenti enamelid and borage floures in les
botimes.
Item, vj. chacyd pecys gilte bi the bordurys, with the towche
of Paryce.
Item, ij. pottis argenti potlers, percell gilte and enameled
with violetts and dayseys.
Item, ij. pottis of sylver, of the facion of goods enamelyd on
the toppys withe hys armys.
Item, j. quarteler argenti, percel gilt withe j. chase a bought of
rosys and levys.
Item, j. rounde salt seler, gylt and covered with a wrethe toppe
with this wordys wreten, *Me faunt fere*, a bought.
Item, j. salt seler, pacell of the same fassion sengle.
Item, ij. salt selers of sylver, playne and smale with a dowble
rose graven withe armys.
Item, j. basyn of sylver, percell gylte, with a dowble rose, his
armis enamelid in the bottom be with his helme and his crest.

Liberat' London' cum Domino.

Item, j. nother bacyn, white, of the same facion, enamilid with
his armys in the bottom.

- Item, ij. ewars ther withe.
 Item, j. lytyll sylver bacyn playne, with j. flat ewer.
 Item, j. goboleit chased, the bordours gilt.
 Item, xvj. sponys of sylver, withe knappys gilt lyke perle.
 Item, j. candylstyk of sylver, percell gilt, dowble nosyd.
 Item, j. rounde basyn argenti cum, j. ewer argenti playn.
 Item, ij. grete bacyns of sylver, the bourdour is gilt and wretyn
 about, *Me faunt fere*.
 Item, ij. ewers accordyng ther to. Item, j. lytyll stert panne
 of sylver.
 Item, ij. disschys of sylver founden in my lady is chambre.
 Item, ij. smale pecys.
 Item, j. saltseler boliouned inwarde, covered and gilt.
 Item, j. stondyng coppe gylte, with j. knappe in maner like
 perle.
 Item, ij. playn borde clothys for my maister is table, counte
 ix. yerds in lengthe.
 Item, ij. playne clothis for my maisters table, ece counte vj.
 yerds.
 Item, vj. napkyns playn.
 Item, iiij. tewelles playn warke, eche cont' in lenthe ij. yerds,
 dim'.
 Item, iiij. playne clothis for the hall, eche of vj. yerds.
 Item, ij. wasschyng tewellys of warke, eche of x. yerds.
 Item, j. pocter (?). Item, j. overpayn of Raynes.

Capella.

- Inprimis, ij. antyfeners. Item, j. legande of hoole servyce.
 Item, ij. myssayles, the one noted and closyd wyth sylver, and
 the other not noted.
 Item, j. sauter claspyd with sylver, and my mayster is armys
 and my ladyes ther uppon.
 Item, j. mortellege covered withe white ledes.
 Item, j. vestement covered withe crownes gilt in the myddes,
 with all the apparayle.
 Item, j. vestement hole of redde damaske warke.
 Item, j. vestement of blak clothe of golde, with the hole orna-
 ments.
 Item, j. auter clothe, withe a frontell of white damaske, the
 Trynete in the myddys.
 Item, j. vestement of tunekell. Item, j. cope of white damaske,
 withe the ornaments.
 Item, j. awbe. Item, j. stole.
 Item, j. favon, enchekek white and blewe. Item, j. auter clothe.
 Item, ij. curtaynes of white sylke, withe a frontell of the same,
 withe fauchouns of golde.
 Item, j. vestement of divers colurys, withe a crosse of golde to
 the bakke, iiij. birdys quartelye.

- Item, j. crosse of sylver and gylt, with oure Lady and Seynt John.
 Item, j. chales sylver and gylt. Item, j. pax brede.
 Item, j. crucyfyxe, thereon withe oure Lady and Seynt John enamelyd, and full of flour delys.
 Item, ij. candylstykkys of sylver, the borduris gylt.
 Item, ij. cruettys of sylver, percell gylt.
 Item, iij. pyllowes stondyng on the autre off rede felwet withe flowrys enbrowderid.
 Item, ij. carpettis. Item, iiij. cosschenys of grene worstede.
 Item, j. chayre in the closet of Fraunce, fregid.
 Item, j. cosschon of redde worsted. Item, j. sakeryng bell of sylver.

Pistrina.

- Item, j. bulter. Item, j. ranell. Item, ij. payre wafer irens.
 Item, ij. basketts Item, j. seve. Item, j. payre trayes cum j. coler.
 Item, j. materas. Item, j. blanket. Item, j. payre of chetis.
 Item, j. coverlyte.

Brewhousee.

- Item, xij. Iedys. Item, j. mesynfate [*mashing-tub*]. Item, j. yelfate [*ale vat*].
 Item, viij. kelters, &c.

Coquena.

- Item, j. gret bras pote. Item, vj. cours pottys of brasse.
 Item, iiij. lytyll brasse pottis. Item, iiij. grete brasse pottis.
 Item, ij. pike pannys of brasse.
 Item, ij. ladels and ij. skymers of brasse.
 Item, j. caudron, j. dytyn panne of brasse, j. droppying panne.
 Item, j. gredyren, iiij. rakkys, ij. cobardys, ij. trevitts.
 Item, j. fryeyng paune, j. sclyse.
 Item, ij. grete square spittys, ij. square spittys cocnos.
 Item, ij. lytyll brochys rounde, j. sars of brasse.
 Item, j. brasyn mortar cum j. pestell, j. grate, j. sarche of tre.
 Item, j. flessche hoke, ij. potte hokys, j. payr tongys.
 Item, j. dressyng knyfe, j. fyre schowle, ij. treys, j. streynour.
 Item, j. venegre botell.

Larderia.

- Item, iij. grete standere pannes, j. bochers axe.
 Item, ij. saltyng tubbes. Item, viij. lynges. Item, iiij. mul-wel'fyche.
 Item, j. barell. dim. alec. alb. di.
 Item, j. barrell. anguill., unde car. cc. anguill.
 Item, j. ferkyn anguill. hoole. Item, j. barrell.
 Item, j. busschell salt albi. Item, j. quart. alb sal.



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prandium, et quod abbas, officarii et extraequitatores expenderent residuum in mundanis et riotis; et ideo ordinavit dotacionem prædictam in annuetatibus.

Et quod non fuit intencio dicti Johannis Fastolf in convencione prædicta mortificare CCC. marcas terræ, quia prima convencio Johannis Paston est solveere v. m^l [5000] marcas in tribus annis et fundare colegium quod in intencione dicti Johannis Fastolf constaret m^l [1000] libr., et semper dedit Johanni Paston mancionem suam in manerio et tota terra [*sic*] in Northefolk et Southefolk assessa ad v. C. [500] marcas annuatim, tunc Johannes Paston emeret revercionem CC. marcarum terræ quæ valet iiij.¹ m^l [4000] marcas ad suam propriam adventuram pro vj. m^l v. C. [6500] marcis.

Item, pro tranquillita[te] et pace tempore vitæ, ita ut non perturbetur per servos hospicii, ballivos, firmarios seu attornatos placitorum.

Item quod abbas de Sente Bede ² potuit resistere fundationi, intentione ut tunc (?) remaneat sibi et suis.

Endorsed:—"Causa festinæ barganiæ inter Fastolf et Paston."

338.

A.D. 1459, 12 Nov.

WILLIAM PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 352.]

This letter gives an account of the steps taken by William Paston in behalf of his brother, who was Sir John Fastolf's principal executor, to secure the goods of the deceased knight immediately after his death.

To my Maistr Jon Paston in Norffolk.

RYTHE will belovyd broder, I recomand me to zow, sertefyeng zow that on Fryday last was in the mornyng, Wurceter and I wer come to London be viij. of the klok, and we spak

¹ The figures "iiij." are blurred.

² Apparently St. Benet's is intended.

with my Lord Chanceler,¹ and I fund hym well disposyd in all thyng, and ze schall fynd hym ryth profytabyll to zow, &c. And he desyred me to wrythe zow a letter in hys name, and put trust in zow in gaderyng of the good togeder, and pray zow to do so and have all his good owthe of every place of his, and his awne place, qwer so ever they wer, and ley it secretly wer as ze thowth best at zowr assynement, and tyll that he speke with zow hym selff, and he seyde ye schuld have all lawfull favor. I purpose to ryde to him this day ffor wryttis of *diem clausit extremum*,² and I sopose ze schall have a letter sent from hym selff to zow.

As for the good of Powlis, it is safe j now [*enough*]; and this day we have grant to have the good owthe of Barmundsey with owthe avyse of any man, sawyng Worseter, Plomer, and I my selff, and no body schall know of it but we thre.

My Lord³ Treasurer⁴ spekyth fayr, but zet many avyse me to put no trust in hym. Ther is laboryd many menys to intytill the Kyng in his good. Sothewell⁵ is Eschietor, and he is rythe good and well disposyd. My Lord of Exsater⁶ cleymyth tytill in myn master plase, with the aportynancys in Sothewerk, and veryly had purposyd to have entrid; and his consayll wer with us, and spak with Wurseter and me. And now afterward they have sent us word that they wold meve my Lord to sue be menys of the lawe, &c. I have spoke with my Lord of Canterbury and Master Jon Stokys, and I fynd hem rythe will disposyd bothe, &c.

Item, to morow ar the next day ze schall have a noder letter, for be that tyme we schall know mor than we do now.

¹ William of Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.

² See p. 16, Note 1.

³ The left-hand copy in Fenn reads "brod," which seems to be a misprint.

⁴ James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. Beheaded in 1461.—F.

⁵ Richard Southwell.

⁶ Henry Holland, Duke of Exeter.

My Lord Chanceler wold that my master schuld be beryed wurchyply, and C. mark almes done for hym ; but this day I schall holly know his enthent. Master Jon Stokys bathe the same consaythe and almes gevyng. Harry Fenyngley is not in this towne, ner the Lord Bechamp.

Item, we have gethe men of the speretuall law with haldyn with us, qwat casse some ever hap. We have Master Robert Kenthe, but in any wyse have all the good ther to gedyr, and tary for no lettyng, thow ze schuld do it be day a lythe [*daylight*] opynly, for it is myn Lord Chanceler ffull in thenthe that ze schuld do so.

As for Wyllyam Worceter, he trustythe veryly ze wold do for hym and for his avaylle, in reson ; and I dowthe nott and he may veryly and feythefully understand zow so disposyd to hym ward, ze schall fynd hym feythefull to zow in leke wysse. I understand by hym he will never have oder master butt his old master ; and to myn consaythe it were pete butt iff he schull stand in suche casse be myn master that he schuld never nede servyce, conseryng [*considering*] how myn master trustyd hym, and the long zers that he hathe be with hym in, and many schrew jornay for his sake, &c.

I wrythe zow no mor, be cawse ze schall [*have*] a noder letter wretyn to morow. Wretyn at Lundon the xij. day of Novembr, in hast, be

WILLYAM PASTON.

339.

BISHOP WAYNFLETE'S ADVICE.

[From Fenn, iii. 358.]

BE it remembred that forasmoch as Sir John Fastolf late deceded, of grete affeccion, hath put me yn trust to be one of hys executors, and seth hyt ys desyryd me to know my disposicion hereynne, myne advyse is this, that fyrst an



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341.

A.D. 1459.—FRIAR BRACKLEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 346.]

This letter belongs to the latter part of the year 1459. After the dispersion of the Duke of York's army near Ludlow in October of that year, commissions were granted to various persons to arrest and punish his adherents. Even as early as the 14th of October, Lord Rivers and others were commissioned to seize their lands and goods in different counties (*see Patent Roll, 38 Hen. VI., p. 1, m. 12, in dorso*). But this letter, we are inclined to think, was written about six or seven weeks later, for it will be seen by the next that Bocking, who is here stated to have been with my Lord Chancellor "this term," must have been in attendance on him before the 7th December, and therefore, we may presume, during Michaelmas term, which ended on the 28th November. It is, however, difficult to judge, from the very slender allusion to Sir John Fastolf, whether this letter was written before or after the old knight's death. Brackley here speaks of having been quite recently in Somersetshire, which is not unlikely to have been in the middle of October, when the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury withdrew into the West. Brackley, as will be seen, was a great partizan of these Lords, and may very well have accompanied them; but not long before Fastolf's death he appears to have been at Norwich.

Carissimo suo magistro, Johanni Paston, armigero.

Jesus, Maria, &c.

RYTE reverent mayster and most trusty frend in erthe, as lowly as I kan or may, I recomaunde me, &c. Syr, in feyth I was sore aferd that ze had a gret lettyng that ze come not on Wednysday to met, &c. Be myn feythe, and ze had be here, ze schuld haf had ryte good chere, &c., and hafe faryd ryte wele after zour pleser, &c., with more, &c.

Sir John Tatirshall is at one with Heydon, &c., and Lord Skalys hathe made a lofeday¹ with the prior and Heydon in alle materys except the matere of Snoryng, &c. And the seyde pryor spake maysterly to the jurrorys, &c., and told hem and [*i.e.*, if] they had dred God and hurt of here sowlys, they wold haf some instruccyon of the one party as wele as of the other. But they were so bold they were not aferd, for they fownde no honys to sey in her verdyte, as T. T.² and J. H.³ wold, &c.

¹ Love days were days appointed for the settlement of disputes by arbitration.

² Sir Thomas Tuddenham.

³ John Heydon.

A lewde [*i.e.* illiterate] doctor of Ludgate prechid on Soneday fowrtenyte at Powlys, chargyng the peple that no man schuld preyen for these Lords traytours,¹ &c. ; and he had lytyl thank, as he was worthy, &c. And for byse lewd demenyng his brethir arm had in the lesse favour at London, &c. Doctor Pynchebek and Doctor Westhawe, grete prechowrys and parsonys at London, bene now late made monkys of Charterows at Schene, one at the on place and an other at the other place, &c.

The Chaunceler² is not good to these Lords, &c., for he feryth the Erle of Marche wyl cleyme by inheritans the Erldam of Ha³ &c., of which mater I herd gret speche in Somercedde schyre, &c. Wyndham, Heydon, Todynham, Blake, W. Chambirleyn, Wentworth, have late commyssyonys to take for tretourys and send to the next gayl all personys fawtours and weelwyllerys to the seyd Lords, &c. Mayster Radclyft and ze haf none of commyssyonys directid to zow, &c., for ze bene holdyn favorabil, &c. Wyndham and Heydon bene namyd here causerys of the commyssyonys, &c.

On Moneday last at Crowmere was the ore and the bokys of regystre of the amrelte takyn a wey from my Lord Scalys men be a gret multitude of my Lord Rossys, &c. The Lord Skalys is to my Lord Prince,⁴ &c., to wayte on hym, &c. He scyth, per Deum Sanctum, as we sey here, he schal be amrel or he schal ly there by, &c. Be my feyth, here is a coysy werd [*unsettled world*]. Walsham of Chauncery, that never made lesyng, told me that Bokkyng was with my Lord Chaunceler this terme, but I askyd not how many tymys, &c.

As I haf wrytyn to zow oftyn byfor this, *Facite vobis amicos de mammona iniquitatis* q'de.⁵ T. T., J. H., et J. W. [*J. Wyndham*] cum ceteris Magistri Fastolf

¹ Meaning the Earls of March, Warwick, and Salisbury.

² William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.

³ The original letter is here defective.—F.

⁴ Edward, Prince of Wales.

⁵ What is meant by "q'de" Fenn does not explain.

fallacibus famulis magnam gerunt ad vos invidiam, quod excelleritis eos in bonis, &c., Judas non dormit, &c. *Noli zelare facientes iniquitatem, quoniam tanquam fenum velociter arescent et quemadmodum olera herbarum cito per Dei gratiam decident.* Ideo sic in Psalmo: *Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem et pascaris in divitiis ejus et delectare in Domino, et dabit tibi petitiones cordis tui.*¹ Et aliter: *Facta cogitatum tuum in Domino et ipse te enutriet.*² Utinam, inquit Apostolus, *abscindantur qui vos conturbant,*³ &c. Et alibi: *Cave te a malis et importunis hominibus.*⁴ Precor gratiosum Deum qui vos et me creavit et suo pretioso sanguine nos redemit, vos vestros et vestra gratiose conservet in prosperis et gratiosius dirigat in agendis.

Scriptum Walsham, feria quarta⁵ in nocte cum magna festinatione, &c. Utinam iste mundus malignus transiret et concupiscentia ejus.

Vester ad vota promptissimus,

Frater J. BRACKLEY,
Minorum minimus.

342.

A.D. 1459, 7 Dec.—JOHN BOCKING TO YELVERTON,
PASTON, AND FILONGLEY.

[From Fenn, i. 178.]

This letter was written at Coventry during the parliament which sat there in 1459, when the Duke of York and his adherents were attainted.

*To my right worshipful maistris, William Yelverton,
Justice, John Paston, and Herre Filongley, and to
eche of them.*

RIGHT worshepful Sers, I recomaunde me to yow. And like it yow to wete, that my Lord Chaunceller⁶ is right good and tendre

¹ Psalm xxxvi. (or xxxvii.) 1-4.

² Psalm liv. (or lv.) 22.

³ Gal. v. 12.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 2.

⁵ "Feria quarta" means Wednesday.

⁶ William Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.



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shall more pleynly declare yow, to whom ye like to gif credence. The Bushop of Excester¹ and the Lord Grey Ruthyn² have declarid them ful worshipfully to the Kings grete plesir. Playter and I writen you a lettre by Norffolk, yoman for the Kyngs mouth.

Your

JOHN BOKKING.

The following list of those of the Duke of York's party who were attainted by Parliament was found by Fenn pinned to the above letter :—

The Duc of York.	Edward Bourghcier, sq.
Therle of Marche.	A brother of his.
Therle of Rutland.	Thomas Vaughan.
Therle of Warrwyk.	Thomas Colte.
Therle of Salusbury.	Thomas Clay.
The Lord Powys.	John Denham.
The Lord Clynton.	Thomas Moryng.
The Countesse of Sarr.	John Oter.
Sir Thomas Nevyle.	Maistr Ric Fisher.
Sir John Nevyle.	Hastyns and other that
Sir Thomas Haryngton.	as yet we can not know
Sir Thomas o Parre.	the names, &c.
Sir John Conyers.	
Sir John Wenlok.	As for the Lord Powys, he come
Sir William Oldhall.	inne, and hadde grace as for
	his lyf, but as for hise gods
	the forfeiture passid.

343.

A.D. 1459, Nov. or Dec.

SIR PHILIP WENTWORTH'S PETITION.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This petition was presented to the Parliament which sat at Coventry in 1459, and received the Royal assent. It has already been printed in the Rolls of Parliament, v. 371.

¹ George Nevill, son of Richard, Earl of Salisbury, brother of Richard, Earl of Warwick. He was afterwards Archbishop of York.

² Edmund, Lord Gray of Ruthin, afterwards created Earl of Kent.

NEKELY besechith Phelip Wentworth, Knyght, that where the warde and mariage of Thomas, sone and beire of John Fastolf, late of Cowhaugh in the [county] of Suffolk, squyer, and of the lond of the same John, belonged to the Kyng of righth, and among other by reason of the nonnage of the sayd heir, the maner of Bradwell in the said counte was sesed in to his bandes by vertu of an enquest take a fore his Eschetour of the seid counte. The whiche offices¹ John Fastolf, Knyght, and other tented to traverse, and by that meane had the sayd maner to ferme, accordyng to the statute in that case made, and it was founden and jugement yoven for the Kyng in the said traverse by the labour of the said Phelipp, which, the xvij. day of Novembre, the yer of the regne of the Kyng the xxvj.,² bough of Marmaduke Lampney, than Tresorer of Englond, the said ward and mariage for an C. marc, as it appereth in the Kynges receyte, be syde all other costes and charges that the said Phelipp hath don uppon the same, as weel in fyndyng of the Kyngges title of the said ward, as in the meyntenauns of all other sewtes dependyng uppon the same, to the costes of the said Sir Phelypp more than D. marc. And the said John Fastolf, Knyght, was adjudged in the Kynges eschequer to pay an C. ix. li. xiijs. viij. d. ob. for the issuez and profites which he had take of the londes of the same warde. And where the Kyngges lettres patentés be entred in the remembrauns on the Tresorer parte in the said eschequer in this fourme :

Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem. Sciatis quod per manucaptionem Thomæ West de London armigeri, et Willelmi Barker de Norwico gentilman, commisi-
mus Johanni Paston armigero et Thomæ Howes clerico custodiam omnium terrarum et tenementorum cum pertinentiis quæ fuerunt Johannis Fastolf de Cowhaugh in com Suffolk armigeri die quo obiit et quæ per

¹ An inquisition taken before an escheator, by virtue of his office, was frequently called an office.

² A.D. 1447.

mortem ejusdem Johannis Fastolf ac ratione minoris ætatis Thomæ, filii et hæredis dicti Johannis Fastolf, ad manus nostras devenerunt et in manibus nostris adhuc existunt; habendam a tempore mortis præfati Johannis Fastolf usque ad plenam ætatem dicti hæredis, una cum maritagio ejusdem hæredis, absque disparagatione; et si de hærede illo humanitus contingat antequam ad plenam ætatem suam pervenerit, hærede illo infra ætatem existente non maritato, tunc dicti Johannes Paston et Thomas Howes habeant custodiam et maritagium hujusmodi hæredis, simul cum custodia omnium terrarum et tenementorum prædictorum; et sic de hærede in hæredem quousque aliquis hæres hæredum prædictorum ad plenam ætatem suam pervenerit: Reddendo nobis prout concordari poterit cum Thesaurario nostro Angliæ citra festum Paschæ proximo futuro, ac sustentando domos clausuras et ædificia, necnon supportando alia onera dictis terris et tenementis cum pertinentiis spectantia sive aliquo modo incumbentia quam diu custodiam habuerint supradictam, ac inveniendo dicto hæredi competentem sustentationem suam: Eo quod expressa mentio de vero valore annuo præmissorum in præsentibus minime facta existit, aut aliquo statuto, actu sive ordinatione in contrarium edito sive proviso non obstante. Proviso semper quod si aliquis alius plus dare voluerit de incremento per annum pro custodia et maritagio prædictis, quod tunc prædicti Johannes Paston et Thomas Howys tantum pro eisdem solvere teneantur si custodiam et maritagium habere voluerint supradictam. In cujus &c. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vj^{to} die Junij anno H. vj^{ti} xxxij^{do}.

And after that an accorde is entred in the sayd Eschequer in thys forme:—*In Hillarii record', anno xxxvij^{to} Regis H. vj^{ti} ex parte Remembr' Thesaurarii:* Et modo, xx. die Februarii hoc termino, prædicti Johannes Paston et Thomas Howys venerunt hic in propriis personis suis et optulerunt se ad concordandum cum Thesaurario Angliæ pro custodia omnium



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344.

A.D. 1460, 6 Jan.—ABSTRACT.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

G. SPERLYNG TO JOHN PASTON.

Paston was misinformed as to what Sperlyng said of his late master's¹ will. What he said was that about Hallowmas was twelvemonth he was about eight weeks with his said master, who one day examined him about the conveyance of his lands, and said there was no man of worship in Norfolk had so many auditors as he, yet he could never get the certainty how his livelode was disposed; but he had found a means to be quiet, "whereof," he said, "I am as glad as a man had geve me 1000 mark," by granting his cousin Paston all his livelode in Norfolk and Suffolk, on condition he should amortise sufficient lands to maintain a master and six secular priests at Castre. Paston was to take the risk of any counter claim and trouble hereafter, &c.

Norwich, Epiphany Day.

[The date of this letter must be 1460, as it is after Fastolf's death, and speaks of a conversation the writer had with him about the management of his lands a twelvemonth before Hallowmas preceding the date of the letter. At Hallowmas 1459 Sir John was dying, and quite unable to support any conversation for want of breath, so that the reference must be to Hallowmas 1458.]

345.

A.D. 1460, Jan.

WILLIAM BOTONER TO JOHN BERNEY.

[From Fenn, i. 182.]

The date of this letter is ascertained partly by the reference in the suppressed passage to Sir John Fastolf's interment, and partly by the allusion to the capture of Rivers and his son by John Denham. Compare the letter following.

*To the ryght worshypfull Sir, John Berneye, Scuiier, at
Castre beyng.*

RYGHTE wohypfull Sir, I recommaund me to yow.² As for tydyngs here, I sende som of hend wreten to you and othys how the Lord Ryvers,³ Sir Antonye,

¹ Sir John Fastolf.

² "Here," says Fenn, "follow complaints against Frere Brakle, &c., concerning Sir John Fastolf's interment, affairs, &c."

³ Richard Widville, Lord Rivers, afterwards created an Earl by King Edward IV., who married his daughter Elizabeth,

hys son, and othyr hafe wonne Calix¹ be a feble assault made at Sandwich by Denham,² Squyer, with the nombre of viij^c men, on Twyesday betwene iiij. and v. at cloks yn the mornyng. But my Lady Duchesse³ ys stille ayen receved yn Kent. The Duke of York ys at Debylyn [*Dublin*], strengthened with hys Erles and homagers, as ye shall see by a bille. God sende the Kyng victorie of hys ennemyes, and rest and pease among hys Lordes.

I am rygt gretly hevved for my pore wyfe, for the sorow she takyth, and most leefe hyr and hyr contree. Y shall nothing take from hyr more then a litell spendyng money, tille better may bee. And the Blessed Trinite kepe and sende you helth.

Wret at London hastily, the Monday after I departed from you, 1459, x.

Your,

W. BOTONER, called WYRCESTER.

346.

A.D. 1460, 28 Jan.

WILLIAM PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 186.]

This letter, like the last, refers to the capture of Lord Rivers and his son at Sandwich, an incident dated by William Worcester in his annals shortly after the Christmas of 1459, which probably means just after the New Year.

To his right worshipfull brother, John Paston, be this lettre delyvered.

AFTER dewe recomendacion had, please you to wete that we cam to London uppon the Tewysday by none, next astr our departour fro Norwich, and sent our men to inquiryre

¹ This must be a sneer. The truth, as recorded by Botoner himself in his annals, was that John Denham and others secretly sailed from Calais, and surprised Sandwich, where they took Lord Rivers and his son Anthony prisoners, and carried them back to Calais.

² John Denham or Dynham, afterwards Lord Dynham.

³ Cecily, Duchess of York.

after my Lord Chaunceler,¹ and Maister John Stokys, and Malmesbury.

And as for my Lord Chaunceler, he was departed fro London, and was redyn to the Kyng ij. dayes er we were come to London; and as we understand he hasted hym to the Kyng by cause of my Lord Ryvers² takyng at Sandwyche, &c.³

As for tydyngs, my Lord Ryvers was brought to Caleys, and by for the Lords with viij^{xx}. [*eight score*] torches, and there my Lord of Salesbury reheted [*rated*] hym, callyng hym knaves son, that he schuld be so rude to calle hym and these other Lords traytors, for they schall be found the Kyngs treue liege men, whan he schuld be found a traytour, &c. And my Lord of Warrewyk rehetyd hym, and seyde that his fader was but a squyer, and broute up with Kyng Herry the V^{te}, and sethen hymself made by maryage, and also made Lord, and that it was not his parte to have swyche langage of Lords, beyng of the Kyngs blood. And my Lord of Marche reheted hym in lyke wyse. And Sir Antony⁴ was reheted for his langage of all iij. Lords in lyke wyse.

Item, the Kyng cometh to London ward, and, as it is seyde, rereth the pepyll as he come; but it is certayn ther be comyssyons made in to dyvers schyres that every man be redy in his best aray to com whan the Kyng send for hem.

Item, my Lord Roos is com fro Gynes.

No more, but we pray to Jesu have you in his most mercyfull kepyng. Amen.

Wretyn at London, the Munday next after Seynt Powle day.⁵

Yowr broder,

WILLIAM PASTON.

¹ William de Waynflete, Bishop of Winchester.

² See p. 504, Note 3.

³ "Then follows," says Fenn, "a long account of private business, which is here omitted."

⁴ Sir Anthony Widville, afterwards Lord Scales and Earl Rivers.

⁵ The Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul is on the 25th of January.



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parties toke not to herte to make the payementes here so hastely as they ded there, I had no comffortable answeere of spedyng the seid payementes here. And also I was not put in truste a mong the seid attorneyes there to yeve on peny for my maister sowle, but I paid it of myn owne purse befoore; nother in trust ne favour to geve an almesse gowne, but that I praid for it as a straunger schulde doo, alle be it myn autorite is as grete as theris, and rather more as I tolde you. And also my Lorde of Canturebury and Maister John Stookes, his juge, had geve autorite to ministre to a certein somme till the testament were proved. And these preidents consedred wolde discourge any man to a bide but a litel amonges hem that so straunged hem self from me and mistrusted me, be thut any cauce ye knowe wele how that my maister man servauntes were put in gretter truste and familiarite to handell, geve, and telle out of the bagghes my maister money bothe at Seint Benetts and in Norwich in divers places by grete summes and litell. And ye as other my maister servauntes and I that helped gete my maister goode and brynge it togedre were straunged, and as it semyd by there demenyng mistrusted to oure grete vilanye and rebuke, wheche muste be answerd the causes why, and we declared [i.e., *exculpated*], and so shal I make it for my pore person, and for my maister sowle heele. It is not soiled (?) knowen that I was one of the cheeffe that kepte bothe my Maister Paston and myn oncle¹ in my maister favour and truste, and if I wolde have labored the contrary, by my sowle—that is the grettest othe that I may swere of my silff—they had never be nygh my maister in that case they stonde nowe. And if they woll labour to damage or hendre me, all the worlde woll mysreporte of hem and litel truste hem, nowther they schal not have wurschip nor profight bi it. I wolde be to them as lowyng and as wele willyng as I gan, so I fynde cause, and other I wolnot be to my fadre, and he weere a liffe. I requere

¹ Botoner's wife, whose Christian name was Margaret, was a niece of Thomas Howes, parson of Blofield. He therefore calls Howes his uncle

you a[n]swere for me as I wolde and have do for you whan som of hem have seid ful nakedly of you, and suche as ye deeme hafe mysereported causeles of me, I pray you that they see my letter as weele as my frendes. My maister also, (God yelded is sowle) graunted to me a liffelode accordyng to my degre, that I, my wiffe, and my childre, schulde have cause to prey for hym. My wiffes uncle¹ was present in his chapell at Castre as wele as my wiffe, and comaunded her oncle to chese the londe. This is trowthe be the blissed Sacrament that I receyved at Pasch [*i.e.*, Easter]. And because I demaunded my right and dwte of my Maister Paston, he is not plesed. I have lost more thanne x. mark worthe londe in my maister servyce, by God, and not [*unless*] I be releved, alle the worlde schal knowe it elles that I have to gret wrong. Wolde God I kowde plese bothe Maister Paston and my oncle in reson, who preserve you.

Wrete hastely the vij. day of Feveryere.

Your,

W. BOTONER, *dit* Wurcester.

348.

A.D. 1460, 6 April.—W. LOMNER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter must be after the death of Sir John Fastolf, and before John Paston had gone to take possession of his lands in Norfolk. Saxthorpe was one of Fastolf's manors which so came to him. The year may therefore be presumed to be 1460.

To the right worchipfull and reverent and myn good mayster Paston, Squyere, be this taken.

MY ryght worchipfull mayster, I recomaunde me to yow, besechyng yow to hold me excusyd that I awaytyd noon otherwyse opon yow and my mastras at my comyng from Nor-

¹ See Note on last page.

wich ; for yn good feyth I was soo seke that I hadde moche labour to come home, and sythen that tyme I have badde my parte, &c. And, Sere, as for Berney, he begynnyth to falle ought of the popell conceyte faster than ever he fell yn, for serteyn causez, &c. I shalle telle yow yn haste. But, Sere, blyssyd be God, as for yow, your love yncreasith amonge hem, and so I prey God it mot, for and I herde the contrarie, ye shuld sone have wetyng. The under-shrefe dotht Mortoft favour, and lete hym goo yn Norwich as hym lyst, and al the contre abought me sey right evyll of hym for a mayntenor of the Kynges enime ; for there ben an C. [*hundred*] purposid to ride to the Kyng for hym, and he come neer this contre, for they sey thow he hadde never doo with his bandes he hath seid a now to die. I have warend the under-shrefe ther of, &c. Sere, forther, I am yn bildyng of a pore hous. I truste God that ye shulle take your loggyng ther yn here after whan ye come to your lordshippis on tho partes. And I durste be soo bolde on your maystershep to aske of yow xij. copill of oken sparris, I wold hertilly prey yow not to have them, but ther they may be for bore beste, and that is at a yard of yourz yn Saxthorpe, callid Barkerz. I have eshe but noon oke, but litell now comyth the fellyng ther of, &c. And me semyth ye myght take mony for wood ther that stant and seryth and doth no good but harme, and with yn fewe yeres ye shulnot wete where it is become, &c. Also ther be serteyn materz betwyn soom of your tenuantez and me. I abide your comyng and doo not [*naught?*] at the reverens of yow ; they be knowelle yn the contre. And God have yow yn his kepyng.

Wretyn on Palme Sunday.

Be your servaunt,

W. LOMNER.



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And now last at Seynt Benettes, where he so worschippful a justise and as kunnyng in lawe as ever was zour fadyr, &c. as alle men knowyn, &c. And zour brother J. P. brokyn owt be occasyon of zour langage, and takyn wytnesse of Malmysbury, a man of my Lord of Caunterbury, whiche hath spokyn with the seyd justise the last terme in Westmyster Halle. And there he seyde more tymes than one, "Sire, this the fyrst tyme that ever I spake with zour Lordschip, &c." And sythe after ze weryn at Seynt Benettys forseyd, ze komyn not gentyllly but ryte malicyously disposid to myn Lady Felbrygg, and dede your devoyr to haf put hym out of hir conceyt, and it wolde not be, &c. And what vyolens my Mayster J. P., germanus vester, dede to W. Wayt,¹ &c. up on hise owne grownd at Musshold, &c. And after al these materys, bare me on hand² that I had seyde to on of the worthiest of the schyre that the seyd justise be gan the brekyng at Seynt Benettes; for I suppose I seyde thus to my Lord, Fyz Water, *alias* my Mayster Radclyff, to whos in I went to, and zaf hym a potel of swete wyne, he demaundyng me of that brekyng, &c., as I remembre me and suppose I seyde, "W. Y., justise, began to myn knowlache and understondyng." Whan he seyde so fumowsly, "Who so ever sey that of me, he lyeth falsly in hise hede, &c." And my Mayster Radclyff rode forthe with owt of towne to Dokkyng and Brumham, and with hym rode W. Y., sone to the justise. And yf the seyd Radclyff teld this to W. Y., I wote never. And yf he dede I merveyle sore. But and al go to al, as is like to go, I may not sey nay, but I trow I seyde so. Radclyf and ze bene grete frendes. I wold ze wold lat hym knowe the trowth, &c.

This mater mevyd the justisis wyf, and than he be gan hise mater more boldly, seying to me before the pryour and miche pepyl, that it was told hym the same day that I seyde, as for the brekyng, the justise began. "Forsothe," seyde I, "whan I came into the chambre there, the fyrst word I hard was this,

¹ See page 150, Note 2.

² See page 90, Note 2.

that ze seyde to my mayster J. P., ‘Who that ever seyth so, I sey he lyeth falsly in hise hede,’ &c.” “Ya,” quod the justise, “ze schuld haf told what mevyd me to sey so to hym.” And I seyde I cowde not tellyn that I not herd, &c. Et Judex—“Ze schuld haf examyned the mater,” &c. And I seyde, “Sire, it longyd not to me to examyne the mater, for I knew wele I schuld not be juge in the mater, and alonly to a juge it longyth to sene and stodyen illam Sacrae Scripturae clausulam, whiche holy Job seyde, *Causam quam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam.*”

And than, “No,” seyth he hardyly, “ze schal not not be Juge, but yf ze had owt me as good wil as ze dede and do to Paston, ze wold than have sergyd the cause of my gret greef, why I seyde as I seyde, &c. But I haf sey the day, ze lovyd me beter than hym, for he yaf zow never cause of love as I haf done,” &c. “Sire,” I sey, “he hath yovyn me cause swyche as I am behold to hym for,” &c. “Ya,” seyth he, “ze schal bere wytnesse, &c., and the other Mayster Clement and W. Schipdham.” Cui ego—“As for the wytnesse I schal bere, I schal sey and writyn as I knowe,” &c. Cui ille—“I made hise testament,¹ and I knowe,” &c. Cui ego—“I saw nevyr testament of your makynge; and as for on testament that he made, and I knowe bothe the writer and maker, after hise wyl and intent, ze stonde stille there in as ze dede than,” &c. Et tunc gavisus est, &c. Et ille—“I knowe ze haf a gret hert, &c., but I ensure zow, the Lordes above at London arn infoormyd of zow, and they schal delyn with zow wele anow.” Cui ego—“He or they that hafe infoormyd the Lordes wele of me, I am behold to hem; and yf they be otherwyse infoormyd, I schal do as wele as I may. But be myn trowthe I schal not be aferd to sey as I knowe for none Lord of this lond, if I may go saf and come, quod non credo; per Deum, propter evidencias multas,” &c. Tunc prior—“Domine, non expedit nec rationi seu veræ con-

¹ This seems to refer to the will of Sir John Fastolf, though he is not named.

scientiæ congruit, quod vos contendatis cum Magistro Paston, vel ipse vobiscum, pro bonis defuncti, quæ solum sua et non vestra sunt. Miror valde," inquit, "cum prioribus temporibus tam magni fuistis amici, et non sic modo, quare valde doleo." Cui Judex—"There is no man besy to bryng us to gyder, &c., so that I kan wele thynk it were lytil maysteri." But in feyth I knowe wele the Juge, W. Wayte his mawment [*i.e.*, puppet], hise boy Yimmys, with here hevedy and fumows langage, have and dayly do uttyr lewd and schrewd dalyauns, &c.

I sent zow bode of dyvers thinges be M. Roger Palle, and I haf no answer, &c. I schuld go to Castre, and a man of my Lordes Norfolk told here he came fro London, and there he had commonly voysid that the Duke of Norfolk schuld be the Kynges comaundement kepe hise Esterne at Castre for safe gard of the cuntre ayens Warwyk and other swich of the Kinges enmyes whiche may lytely be lyklynese aryve at Waxham, &c. My mayster zour brother, J. P., ne ye, ne M. T. Howys, ne I may not esily be brokyd in the Jugys conscyens, &c. Sir Jon Tatirshales man spake with yow at London, and than ye seyde to hym to hafe comyn in your owne persone to our Lady or this tyme, whiche was cause of myn abidyng here, &c. I schal, be the grace of Jesu, be at Castre on Soneday next, &c. W. W., J. B., junior, Colinus Gallicus,¹ et T. Upton multum, ut suppono, fuerunt assidui ad informationem malam dandam dominis diversis hujus regni contra vestrum germanum J. P., M. T. Howes, me, etc.; sed confido in vobis quod vos confiditis in Christo Jesu et Sanctis omnibus, qui vos vestros et vestra dirigat in agendis. Recommendetis me, si placeat, Magistro meo Johanni P., uxori, et matri, cum filiis suis nepotibus vestris, et Thomae Playtere vestro dilecto amico. Et quare vobis jam scribo et non vestro germano J. P. alias scietis, etc.

Vester orator continuus,

F. J. B., Minorum minimus.



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name to myn suster Ponyngges,¹ as ze and I comunyd onys togeder, cownsellyng her to take good avyse befor sche sold her wood at Wrenham; and he schuld knowe ther by weder Ponyngges wer in Kent ar nat, &c. I understond that this Bokkyng and Worceter have grett trust in ther awne lewd consaythe, wathe some ever it menythe, &c. Bokkyng told me this day that he stood as well in consaythe with myn Maister Fastolff iiij. days befor he dyed as any man in Englund. I sayd I sopsyd nay, ner iij. zere before he dyed. I told hym that I had hard dyveres talkynges of hym as men sayd, qweche I sopsyd schuld nat easly be browthe a bowthe, and he swore that he talkyd never with no man in no mater that schuld be a zen zow, &c. It is he that makythe William Wurbeter so froward as he is.

I wold ze had a witesse of Roberd Inggloes, thow he wittnessyd no more but that myn master had his witthe, becawse he was so lathe with myn master Fastolff. Worceter sayd at Castre it schuld be nessesary for zow to have good witesse, as he saythe it schuld go streythe with zow wytheowt zowr witesse were rythe sofycyent. Myn cosyn Berney can tell zow, &c.

Item, remembre to make the parson to make an instrument up on his sayyng. I funde hym rythe good qwan I spak with hym at Caster; and remembre the newe evydens.

Item, Arblaster and I spakk togeder. I felle hym rythe feythefully disposyd to zow ward, and he schall mow do myche good and he go to Lundon, for he can labore will a monge Lordes. He and I comunyd togeder of myn Lord Awbre;² lethe hym tell zow quat it was, for he will speke with zow to morow. It is full nessesary to mak zow strong be lord chep, and be oder menys. Myn Lord Awbry bathe weddit the Duke of Bokyngham dowter,³ and he was lathe with Master

¹ Elizabeth Paston, now wife of Robert Poynings.

² Aubrey de Vere, son of the Earl of Oxford, who suffered death, with his father, in February 1462.

³ Anne, eldest daughter of Humphry Duke of Buckingham.

Fastolff be fore he dyed, and he is gret with the Qwene.

God have zow in His kepeng. Wretyn at Norwyche the secund day of May.

Be zowr broder,

W. PASTON.

Omnia pro pecunia facta sunt.

351.

A.D. 1460, 8 May.

THE ABBOT OF LANGLEY TO JOHN STOKES.

[From Fenn, iii. 398.]

To the ryght worchepfull Sere, Mayster John Stokes.

RYGH T worshypfull Sere, I recomaund me to yow; and for asmyche as it is informyd me that it was appoynted that alle the executors of the worshepful knyght, Sere John Fastolf, whos soule God asoyle, shuld be at London as on Monday next comyng, of wheche executors I am namyd for on, as I ondyrstond; wherfore, in as myche as ye be ordenary and on of the same executors, I prey yow tendre my laboure withoute my comyng, be youre dyscrecion myght be more profyt to the dede; for I conseyye it shuld be but charge to the dede, and lytell avayleable, consyderyng that John Paston, Squyere, and Thomas Howys, parson of Blofeeld, schall come up at this time, wheche were¹ the persones above all other that the seyde Sere John Fastolf put in hys most sengulere love and trust, and wold they shuld have the kepyng and dysposicion of hys goods, as wele in hys lyve as after hys deseas, to dyspose for the well of hys soule; and that non other namyd hys executors, but only they tweyn, shuld have ony kepyng or dysposyng of ony part of hese goods duryng ther lyves; and that alle other namyd executors shuld supporte them and geve them to the seyde John Paston and

¹ This word is omitted in the literal transcript in Fenn.

Thomas Howys here good avyse in performyng of hys desyre in that behalve. Wherfor that it lekyth yow in ony thyng ye desyre me to do in thys cause or matere to geve yowre feyth and credence to the seyde John Paston and Thomas Howys; and so desyred me the seyde Knyght feythefully to do, that knowyth God, whom I be seke preserve yow from alle adversyte.

Wretyn in the Abbey of Langeley, the viij. day of the monyth of May, the yeere of oure Lord m^lcccc.lx.

Yourre preest,

ABBOT OF LANGELEY.¹

352.

A. D. 1460, 19 June.

JOHN PASTON TO MARGARET PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B. M.]

This letter appears to have been written the year after Fastolf's death.

To my trusty cosyn, Margaret Paston, at Norwich, be this delyvered.²



RECOMAUNDE me to you, letyng you witte that I sent a letter to John Russe and Richard Kalle that thei, by th'advyse of Watkyn Shipdam and William Barker shuld send me word of whom alle the maneres, londes, and tenementes that were Sir John Fastolfes wern holde, preyng you that ye wold do them spede them in that matier; and if my feodaryes, whiche lye in the tye of my gret cofyr, may ought wisse therin, lete them se it.

Item, I wolde that William Barker shulde send me a cople of the olde traverse of Tychewell and Beyton. And lete Richard Kalle spede hym hidderward, and come by Snaylwel, and take suyche mony as may be getyn there, and that he suffre not the mony that the tenauntes owe to come in the fermours handes.

¹ His name was Nicholas.

² Below this address is written, in another hand, "To Richard Calle, at Caster, be this deliverid in hast."



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to all people, that wè, ne noon of us. intende not to favour or tendre hem, or any other of suspecte fame, but rather to corecte suche be the lawe, for we made our seid letters soly for kepyng of the pease and justice, and not for favour of suspecte condicione. And the Holy Trynyte kepe yow.

Wreten at London the xxij^{ti}. day of Jule.

To all Meyers, Sceryves, Balyfys, Constables, and all the Kynges Offecers and Ministres in Norfolk, and eche on of hem.

354.


A.D. 1460?

ANONYMOUS TO YELVERTON AND PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is by an unknown writer, and very uncertain as to date. It shews that Tuddenham, Wentworth, and Heydon, all adherents of the House of Lancaster, were desirous of a compromise with Yelverton and Paston. The year 1460, some time after the battle of Northampton, is perhaps as likely a period as any.

To the right worshipful Seres, my right welbeloved and trusted cosyns, William Yelverton, Justice, and John Paston.

IR, please your right worshipfull maystership that Mayster Paston come to London as on Thursdaye att none last past, and I trust verelye all maters here were resonablye labored to his comyng, and now they shal be better. Neverthelesse, I have ben mevid of tretye by dyvers personez sith I came bidre, as wele for Tudenham, Wentworth, Heydon, and other at this tyme not wel willed to yow and yourez, seyng that such money as is spent a twix yowe is but wastfully expendid and to non use vertuose. I fele by theym they be not right corageous in theyr werkes, ner nought wold if they myght have a resonable trete. I meve not this that ze shold

thenk that they had conquered me by noyans, but I do it to avertise yow for th'eschewyng of the importable costes that hath ben born by yow, and yet lyke to bee, aswele in the elde maters hangyng as in newe at this tyme to be grownded, if this werre shal rest and hold a twyx yowe, and specially for the ease of hym that shalbe sollicitour in the same. Ye nede at this terme rather to have had thre sollicitours than in any other terme past this iij. yere, on concydyng the maters hangyng, &c; of which please yow to send yowr gode advyse and wille yf ye thenk it to be don, and els not, for this is but a mocion, &c.

355.

A.D. 1460, Oct.

FRIAR BRACKLEY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 382.]

This letter appears to have been written just before the sitting of the Parliament of October 1460, of which John Paston was a member. Warwick's brother was then Chancellor. No signature is attached to this letter in Fenn's literal copy, although the name is appended to the modern transcript.

To my Mayster Jon Pastone, Esqwyer, be this letter presentid.

Jesus, Maria, &c.

RYTE reverent Sire, after durecommendacion, we sey in this cuntre that Heydon is for Barkschir in the Comon Hows. And the Lady of Suffolk¹ hath sent up hyr sone² and hise wyf to my Lord of York to aske grace for a schireve the next yer, Stapilton, Boleyn, or Tyrel, qui absit. God send zow Ponyng, W. P., W. Rokewode, or Arblaster. Ze haf myche to done; Jesu spede zow. Ze haf many good preyers, what of the covent, cyte, and cuntre. God safe our good Lords, Warwik, alle hise bréther,

¹ Alice, widow of William, Duke of Suffolk.

² John de la Pole, second Duke of Suffolk. He married Elizabeth, the Duke of York's daughter.

Salisbury, &c., fro al fals covetyse and favour of extorcyon, as they wil fle uttyr schame and confusyon. God save hem, and preserve fro treson and poyson; lete hem be war her of for the pite of God; for yf owt come to my Lord Warwik but good, far weel ze, far weel I, and al our frends! for be the weye of my sowle, this lond wer uttirly on done, as God forbede. Her [*their*] enmyes bostyn with good to come to her favour; but God defende hem, and zeve hem grace to knowe her frends fro her enmyes, and to cherisch and preferr her frends and lesse the myte of alle her enmyes thorw owt the schiris of the lond. And [*i.e.*, if] my good Lord Warwik, with my Lord his brother Chanceler¹ and my Lord her fadyr² woldyn opposyn, as dede Danyel, Fortesku, Alisaunder, Hody, Doctor Aleyn, Heydon, and Thorp, of the wrytyng made be hem at Covyntre Parlement, they schuld answer wers than sub cino or sub privo (?), and this generally wold I sey at Powlys Cros, etc., and [*i.e.*, if] I schuld come there, &c. It is verifyed of hem, 1^o Jeremiae, 8^o, *Vere mendacium operatus est stilus mendax scribarum*, &c. And think of two vers of zour Sawter, *Scribantur hæc in generatione altera (hujus scilicet parliamenti) et populus qui creabitur laudabit Dominum*,³ &c. *Deleantur etiam tales perversi scriptores de libro viventium et cum justis non scribantur*.⁴ Et non plura, sed vos, vestros et vestra conservet Jesus graciose in prosperis et graciosius dirigat in agendis.

Ex Norwico, feria quarta,⁵ nuncio festinante.

And I prey zow for Godds sake to be good mayster to Jon Lyster, &c. And I prey zow think, in this Parlement, of the text of Holy Scripture, *Quicumque fecerit contra legem Dei et contra legem Regis judicium fiet de eo, vel in condemnationem substantiæ ejus, vel in carcerem, vel in exilium, vel in mortem* (Primo Esdræ, vij., et parti 2^o Esdræ 8^o):

¹ George Nevill, Bishop of Exeter.

² Richard Nevill, Earl of Salisbury.

³ Psalm ci. (or cii) 18.

⁴ Psalm lxxviii. (or lxxix.) 28

⁵ *Feria quarta* means Wednesday.



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parte sua, &c. Deo teste non fecit (?)¹ vos magistri sui, &c. Hæc omnia et plura dixit idem miser magistro Clementi, a quo hæc omnia et plura didici &c. Item dicit quod vos timetis adire locum parliamenti quia non vultis præstare pecunias Regi nec Reginæ et aliis; et ideo pigritia vestra in hoc passu erit bonis mortui satis nociva, &c. Ego tot et tanta audivi de illo quod, per Deum, nunquam confidam in illo, &c.; est enim miser multum malencolicus et in toto colericus, et, salva patientia vestra, reddat compositum de singulis, antequam capiat onus testamenti, &c.

Judex² cras venturus est, &c., et sicut se hic gerit vestra caritas notitiam habebit, &c. Rogo detis mihi licentiam recedendi ad conventum Norwici, ad mutandum vestimenta mea propter sudores, &c., et ad studendum pro sermone, &c., ad honorem Dei, &c., qui vos vestros et vestra salvet in sæcula. Amen.

Vester orator,

FRATER J. B.

On the back :—Item dixit magistro Clementi quod ipse non vult esse Frere, veni mecum, nec canta secum, nec Dacok, nec facok, nec Frater, lava pedes, &c. Item dicit vos instruxisse magistrum suum contra eum de auferendo evidencias, &c.; et ipse plures labores habuit pro eo quam vos vel aliquis alius, &c. Custodite literam ultimo a me vobis missam, &c. Utinam Upton et ipse essent extra locum, &c., quia hic fiunt consumptiones maximæ, &c.

Endorsed in a 16th century hand:—A lettre much dispraising W. Worcester, from Doctor Brakley.

357.

A.D. 1460, 12 Oct.

CHRISTOPHER HANSSON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 198.]

This letter must have been written in the year 1460, when the Duke of

¹ The word is "ft" in the MS. And to make sense of the passage, I think another word must be omitted. "Non fecit vos *amicum* magistri sui," i.e., he did not make you out to be any friend of his master.

² William Yelverton.

York came over from Ireland, his party having been victorious at the battle of Northampton and gained possession of the King's person.

*To the right worshipfull Sir and Maister, John Paston,
Escuier, at Norwiche, be this delyvered in hast.*

RIGHT worschipfull Sir and Maister, I recomaund me un to you. Please you to wete, the Monday after oure Lady Day¹ there come hider to my maister ys place,² my Maister Bowser, Sir Harry Ratford, John Clay, and the Harbyger of my Lord of Marche, desyryng that my Lady of York³ myght lye here untylle the comyng of my Lord of York and hir tw sonnys, my Lorde George⁴ and my Lorde Richard,⁵ and my Lady Margarete⁶ hir dawztyr, whiche y graunt hem in youre name to ly here untylle Mychelmas. And she had not ley here ij. dayes but sche had tythyng of the londyng of my Lord at Chestre. The Tewesday next after, my Lord sent for hir that sche shuld come to hym to Harford [*Hereford*], and theder sche is gone. And sythe⁷ y left here bothe the sunys and the dowztyr, and the Lord of Marche comyth every day to se them.

Item, my Lord of York hath dyvers straunge commissions fro the Kyng for to sitte in dyvers townys comyng homward; that is for to sey, in Ludlow, Schrofysbury, Herford, Leycetre, Coventre, and in other dyvers townys, to punych them by the fawtes to the Kyngs lawys.

As for tythyngs here, the Kyng is way at Eltham and at Grenewych to hunt and to sport hym there, bydyng the Parlement, and the Quene and the Prynce byth in Walys alway. And is with hir the Duc of

¹ The Nativity of Our Lady is on the 8th September. The Monday following was in this year the 15th.

² Probably Sir John Fastolf's place in Southwark.

³ Cecily, Duchess of York.

⁴ Afterwards Duke of Clarence.

⁵ Afterwards Richard III.

⁶ Afterwards Duchess of Burgundy.

⁷ The modern version in Fenn reads: "And she hath left here."

Excestre and other, with a fewe mayne, as men seythe here.

And the Duc of Somerset he is in Depe [*Dieppe*]; withe hym Maister John Ormound, Wyttyngham, Andrew Trollyp, and other dyvers of the garyson of Gyanyys, under the Kyng of Fraunce safcondyte, and they seythe here, he porpose hym to go to Walys to the Quene. And the Erle of Wyltschyre¹ is styлле in pece at Otryght at the Frerys [*Friars*], whiche is seyntwary.

Item, Colbyne ys come home to my maister is place, and seyth that, at your departyng² ouzt of London, ze send hym word that he schuld come hedder to the place, and be here un tylle your comyng a zene; and so he is here it, and seith he wolle take no maister but be your avyce, nether the leese [*nevertheless*] awaytythe uppon Maister Oldhall the most parte at Redre³ at his place.

Item, Maister Ponynge hath enteret on an two or iij. placys uppon the Erle of Northomberlond, and he stondyth in good grace of the Kyng, my Lord of Marche, my Lord Warwyk, and my Lord of Salysbury. Most parte of the contre abought his lyflod hold aythe withe hym. And my maisteras your sister⁴ is not delyverd as yet; God yef hir god delyveraunce.

No more to you at this tyme, but and ze wolle comaund me any servyce y may doo, it is redy. And Jesu have you in his blessid kepyng; and I beseche you this letter may comaund me to my maisteras your moder, and my maisteras your wyfe, and alle your houshold.

Wreten at London the xij. day of Octobre.

Your owne Servaunt,

CHRISTOFER HANSSON.

¹ James Butler, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond.

² Paston must have left London and gone to Norwich not long before the Parliament, which began on the 7th October; and, as we have already observed, he did not return in time for its commencement.

³ Redriff or Rotherhithe.

⁴ Elizabeth, wife of Robert Poyninge.—See No. 322.



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day after Seynt Feythesmesse, or tyll the Tewysday sevenyth after at the ferthest, and at tho dayes I hard no word fro hym. And so uppon the Thursday after had I word that the under-eschetour schuld sytte at Ocle¹ the Tewysday after Seynt Luce;² and so I tarye as yette, and trust verely to be with you the Saterdag at the ferthest after Seynt Luce. Item, Sir, if my Maister of the Rolles³ be not come, I trust to God to com tydely i now, as for the traversys; and if ye besi you to the innyng ther of or I com, Richard Ley schall delyver hem you, if ye send to hym for it; for I left hem with hym to gete hem in if he mygth, and promysed hym a reward for his labour. Item, my maistres⁴ and all folkes be heyll and mery, blyssed be Jesu, ho have you in his blyssed governans and proteccion.

By your,

THOMAS PLAITER.

360.

A. D. 1460, [21 Oct.]

THOMAS PLAITER TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter must have been written immediately after the taking of the inquisition referred to in the preceding. The list of the jury who took it is on a separate paper found apart from this letter in which it was enclosed. The names of those indicated as sworn are identical with those on the official record (Inquisitions *post mortem*, 38 and 39 Hen. VI., No. 48), but seven additional names are included, besides one that is struck out.

To my maister, John Paston, Esquier.

A[FTER] my most speciall recomendacion, like your maisterchip wete that the office⁵ is taken at Ocle in lyke forme as Suthwell⁶ can schew you, for Fraunceys Costard hath sent it hym, and the jentylmen that passed uppon the office wold

¹ Acle in Norfolk.

² St. Luke's Day is the 18th October. The Tuesday after it was the 21st in 1460.

³ Thomas de Kirkeby.

⁴ Margaret Paston.

⁵ The inquisition.—See p. 501, Note 1. ⁶ Richard Southwell.—See p. 493

fynd nor medyll nouthur with the tenurs nor ho is next here [*heir*]. Wherfor if ye wol have other wyse found, Fraunceys Costard hath under take it, but it schal not be by suche men of worchip [as] is yn this. Item, the under-chryf was at Ocle, and ded and sayd to the jentylnen al that ever he cowde to the lette of the matter. And as for Suffolk, I understand they have no warant, so I tarye as yet what cas that ever falle. And if ye wold that I tarye not, that it lyke you by the brynger her of to send me hasty wurd.

I send you the names of the jure here in.

Your, THOMAS PLAITER.

On a separate paper formerly enclosed in the preceding is the following List:—

*Jurati pro Domino Rege.*¹

Willelmus Rokewood, armiger, jur'.
 Johannes Berney, armiger, jur'.
 Radulphus Lampytte, armiger, jur'.
 Johannes Byllyngford, armiger, jur'.
 [Jacobus Arblaster, armiger, jur'.]²
 Willelmus Deymayne, armiger, jur'.
 Willelmus Dawbeney, armiger, jur'.
 Willelmus Julles, jur'.
 Christofre Norwiche, jur'.
 Thomas Holler, jur'.
 Johannes Berkyng, jur'.
 Robert Bryghtlede, jur'.
 Robertus Spany, jur'.
 Johannes Bernard, jur'.
 Rogerus Iryng, jur'.
 Robertus Townesende.
 Johannes Grygges de Ranworth, jur'.
 Robertus Regestre, jur'.

¹ This is a panel of the jury drawn up before the inquisition was taken. The heading and the word "jur'." opposite the names of those sworn have been added afterwards.

² This name is scored out with the pen.

Johannes Maunvyle, jur'.
 Willelmus Rysyng.
 Johannes Doke.
 Robertus Jekkes, jur'.
 Johannes Why[te].
 Henr[icus] . . . ratte.
 Car[ol]us Barker.
 Johannes Cappe.
 Thomas Paternoster.

361.

A.D. 1460, 21 Oct.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iv. 194.]

Reference is made in this letter, as in the preceding, to the holding of the inquisition on Sir John Fastolf's lands at Acle, which was on Tuesday the 21st October 1460, the day this letter was written.

*To my ryth worchepfull husbond, Jon Paston, be thys
 delyveryd in hast.*

RYTH worchepfull husbonde, I recomand me to yow. Plesyth it yow to weet that I receyvyd yowyr letter that ye sent me by Nycolas Colman on Sondag last past. And as for the mater that ye desyiryd me to breke of to my cosyn Rokwode, it fortunyd so that he came to me on Sondag to dyner sone aftyr that I had yowyr letter; and when we had dynyd, I mevyd to hym ther of in covert termys, as Playter shall informe yow eraftyr. And as I thowt by hym, and so ded Playter also by the langwage that he had to us; that he wold be as feythfull as he kowd or myte be to that good Lorde that ye wrot of, and to yow also, in ony thyng that he kowde or myte do in case wer that he wer set in offyse, so that he myth owte do; and ther to he seyde he wolde be bownde in a m^l. ii. [£1000] and he was so myche worthe.



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'Ther is gret talkyng in thys contre of the desyir of my Lorde of York.¹ The pepyll reporte full worchepfully of my Lord of Warwyk. They have no fer her but that he and othyr scholde schewe to gret favor to hem that have be rewyllers of thys contre be for tyme.

I have done all yowyr erandys to Syr Thomas Howes that ye wrote to me for. I ame rythe glade that ye have sped welle in yowyr materys be twyx Syr Fylyp Wentworthe and yow, and so I pray God ye may do in all othyr materys to hys plesans. As for the wrytyngys that ye desyirid that Playter schulde sende yow, Rychard Call told me that they wer at Herry Barborys, at the Tempyll gate.

The mayir² and the mayires sent hedyr her dynerys thys day, and Jon Dame came with hem, and they dynyd her. I am beholde to hem, for they have sent to me dyvers tymys sythe ye yed hense. The meyr scyth that ther is no jentylman in Northefolk that he woll do more for than he wole for yow, if it laye in hys poer to do for yow. J. Perse is styll in prisone, but he wolle not confese more thane he ded when ye wer at home. Edmond Brome was with me, and tolde me that Perse sent for hym for to come spek with hym, and he tolde me that he was with hym and examynyd hym, but he wold not be a knowe to hym that he hade no knowlage wher no goode was of hys masterys more thane he hade knowlageyd to yow. He tolde me that he sent for hym to desyir hym to labor to yow and to me for hym if ye had be at home; and he tolde me that he seyde to hym ayen that he wold never labor for hym but [*unless*] he myth know that he wer trwe to hys mastyr, thow it lay in hys power to do ryth myche for hym. I suppose it schulde do none harme thow the seyde Perse wer remevyd ferther. I pray to Gode yeve grace that the trowthe may be knowe, and that the

¹ The claim made by Richard, Duke of York, to the Crown in Parliament on the 17th October 1460.

² John Gilbert, Mayor of Norwich.

dede may have part of hys owne goode. And the blissyd Trinyte have yow in Hys kepyng.

Wretyn in hast at Heylysdn the Tuesday next aftyr Seynt Lwke.

Be yowyr,

M. P.

362.

A.D. 1460.—PIERS TO MARGARET PASTON.

This and the letter following appear to have been written by the prisoner spoken of in the end of Margaret Paston's letter immediately preceding. We may therefore suppose them to belong to the same period, or probably a few months earlier, before the Yorkists were in power, although, as will be seen hereafter, Perse did not regain his liberty till January 1462.

*To myn right reverent and worchippfull Maisterez
Paston, be this delivered.*

RIGHT reverent and wurchippfull maisteres, I recomaunde me un to yow, beseching yow of your good maisteresshipp to be myn good maisteres to help wit your gracious woord un to myn right reverent and wurchippfull maister and your to take of me, his pore presoner and your, suerte queche I xall fynd to be bounde for me to brynge me un to all answeere, in to the tyme that myn maister and ze have dimisse me wit myn suerte. And bescheche your good maistereschipp to prey myn mayster that he will yeve yow lycense wit his wurchippfull counsaill and youre, in case that myn maister may nout tarie, that ze in his absence may take myn seid suerte. And if it please his heyghnesse and youre, that I may have answeere ayene be the bryngere of this, and here up I xall send for myn suertes, queche I trust in Good xul be to your plesure. No more att this tyme. I prey God evyr have yow in kepyng.

Be your pore presoncre,

PIERS, sum tyme the servaunt of
John of Berneye

363.

A.D. 1460.—PERSE TO SIR ROBERT ROKESBY.

[From Fenn, iii. 432.]

To my right worschipfull Sir, Robert Rokysby.

RYGH T wurshipfull Sir, I recomaunde me to you, besechyng you, of your good emastership, that ye wol wechesafe to specke to Richard Kowven that he myght brynge me or sende me the money that is betwen hym and me in all the haste that he maye, for in goode feythe I badde never more neede for to have help of my goode as I have at this tyme, for, Godwot, it stonde right straunge with me; for the false chayler that kepeth me entretethe me worse thanne it weere a dogge, for I am feterid worse thanne ever I whas, and manaced in the hands by the daye and nyght, for he is a feerde of me for brekyng a weye. He makethe false tales of me, throw the means of a false qwene that was tendyng to a Frensheman that is presoner to my Lord Roose,¹ and for be cause of that he bronde me every day be John of Berney, that is goone to the tother Lords;² but I truste to God oonys to qwite hys meede. And, Sir, I thanke you mekel of that ye have doone for me or seide; and, Sir, I shal deserve it a yerst you, be the grace of God, for i' feythe I am be holden to you more thane to all men that ever I founde syn I cam in preson.

No more to you at this tyme, but God have you in His kepyng.

Be your servaunt and bedman,

PERSE.

¹ Thomas Lord Roos. He fled to Scotland with Margaret of Anjou after the battle of Towton in 1461, and was beheaded at Newcastle after the battle of Hexham in 1464.

² The Lords of the Duke of York's party.



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cerunt, et sapientia nulla est in eis. Propterea dabo mulieres eorum exteris; agros eorum hæredibus alienis, &c. I wolde myn Lord Chaunceler and my specyal Lord Erl, utinam Duke, of Warwyk, with al her trewe affinyte, schuld remembre this text, which is Holy Scripture, &c., as I wold do by for the Kyng and hise Lords at the Cros;¹ for the principil of this text hath be contynued in dayly experiens sithe bifore the Parle-ment of Bury;² but the conclusion of this text came never zet to experiens, and that is gret rewthe. De dominorum fidelium atque communium morte satis injuriosa multiformiter lamentanda discernendo per singula ex paucis scit discretio vestra perpendere plura, &c. Et ubi ego (scilicet in ecclesia Pauli) palam prædicavi hunc textum, *Non credas inimico tuo in æternum* (Ecc. 12^o), et quidam hujus regni doctor et episcopus, utinam non indignus, asseruit eundem textum Scripturæ Sacræ non incorporatum, quia³ doctor Nicholaus de Lira super eundem textum dicit, etc. &c.⁴ Sipienti, non insipienti scribo. Plura habeo vestræ reverentiæ scribere quæ jam non expedit calamo commendare. Uxor Johannis Berney de Redham jam infra triduum peperit filium, &c. Magistra mea uxor vestra sana est cum filiis vestris et filiabus et tota familia. Conventus⁵ noster inter cæteros habet statum vestrum specialissime recommendatum in missis ac orationibus, consuetisque suffragiis; et cum jam sitis in parlamento præsentis pro milite electo, uti vobis consulo verbis Pauli Apostoli, *Labora sicut bonus miles Jesu Christi*;⁶ et alibi, Job utendo verbis, *Militia super terram est vita hominis* (Job [7]). *Viriliter igitur agite et confortetur cor vestrum qui speratis in Domino* (in Psalmo).⁷ *Quis, inquit Sapiens, speravit in Domino et*

¹ Paul's Cross.

² In 1447.

³ This word is printed by Fenn "q," which is explained as *quare* on the opposite page. But a mere q with a mark of abbreviation never means *quare*.

⁴ This "&c. &c." occurs only in the version of the letter *in extenso* on the right hand page in Fenn.

⁵ Fenn reads "cognatus," but the word in the original is contracted, and is represented in the literal version, thus, "C't's."

⁶ 2 Tim. ii. 3.

⁷ Psalm xxx. (xxxii.), 24.

*confusus est, et permansit in mandatis Domini et derelictus est?*¹ quasi diceret, nullus.

Ex Norwico feria quinta post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ.²

365.

A.D. 1460, 29 Oct.

MARGARET PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The date of this letter is ascertained by the statement at the end that, on the morrow, a "day" was to be kept at Bungay for Fastolf's lands. The inquisition on Fastolf's lands in the county of Suffolk was held at Bungay on Thursday before all Saints, 39 Henry VI, *i.e.*, 30th October 1460.—(Inquisitions *post mortem*, 38 and 39 Hen. VI, No. 48.)

To my ryth welbelovyd brodyr, Clement Paston, for to delyver to hys brodyr Jon, in haste.

RYTH w[urshepfu]ll husbonde, I recomande me to yow. Plesyth yow to weet that I receyvdy a lettyr on Seynt Symondys evyn and J[w]d, that came frome Jon Paston,³ in the wyche lettyr he wrot that ye desyryd that I scholde do Jon Paston or Thomas P[layter] looke in the gret standyng chyste in on of the gret canvas baggys whyche standyth ageyns the lokk, for the copys of the fals inqwest of ofys that was fownde in Northefolk, and for the kopy of the comyssyon that came to Jon Andrewys and Fylpot and Heydon, and othyr thyngys towchyng the same mater, I have do. Jon Paston sowte all iij. grete baggys in the seyd kofyr at ryth good leyser, and he can non swhyche fynde. Plesyth it yow to remembre ye sent me word in the fyrste lettyr that ye sent me, that ye wolde that Playter scholde asent hem up to yow to London, and I schewyd hym yowyr wrytting howe that ye wrote to me ther in. I suppose be cawse

¹ Ecclesiasticus ii. 11, 12 (v. 10 of our English version).

² The name "John Brackley" is appended like a signature to the modern version of this letter in Fenn, but not to the left hand copy, which professes to be a literal transcript.

³ The elder son of that name.

he purposyd to come up to London hym selve hastely, he sent yow none answer ther of. Rychard Calle tolde me that alle swwhyche thyngys were lefte with Hery Barbore at the Tempyle Gate when the last terme was doo, and soo I sent yow worde in a lettyr whyche was wretyn on the Twesday next aftyr Seynt Looke,¹ and ther in was an answer of all the fyrst lettyr that ye sent me. I sent itt yow by yonge Thomas Elys. I sent yow anoþyr lettyr by Playter, the whyche was wretyn on Saterdag² last past.

Item, I receyvyd a lettyr frome yow on Sondag,³ of the wyche I sent yow an answer of ma lettyr on Seynt Symondes Evyn and Jwde by Edmunde Clere of Stokysby; and as sone as I hade the seyd lettyr on Sondag, I sent to Syr Thomas Howes for the mater that ye desyryd that he scholde inqwer of to Bokyng, and I sent a yene sethe to the seyd Syr Thomas for to have knowlage of the same mater yestyrdaye, and I have non answer of hym yet. He sent me worde he scholde do hys part there in, but oþyr answer have I none yet of hym. I sende yow in a canvase bage, inselyd by Nycolas Colman, as many of Crystofyr Hansonys acomptys as Jon Paston can fynde ther as [*where*] ye sent worde that they were. Rychard Harbard recomawndyth hym to yow, and prayth yowe that ye wole wychesave to remembre the lettyr that scholde be sent fro my Lorde of Warwyk to a man of hys beyng at Lowystofete; and if it be not sent to hym, that it plese yow to do purvey that it may be sent to hym in haste, if it maye be, as to morow ther schall be keppyd a day at Bowunggey for Mastyr Fastolfys londys be for the exchetore; and there schall be Wylliam Barker and Rychard Call. Ye schall have knowlage in haste what schall be do ther. And the blyssyd Trinite have yow in Hys kepyng.

Wretyn in haste at Norwyche on the Wednysday next aftyr Seynt Symond and Jwde,

Be yowyr

M. P.

¹ See No. 361

² October 25th.

³ October 26th.



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367.

A.D. 1461, 23 Jan.

CLEMENT PASTON TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, i. 202.]

This letter appears to have been written after the battle of Wakefield, when the victorious army, led on by Margaret of Anjou, was marching southwards.

To hys rythe worchyppfull broder, John Paston.

RYTHE reverent and worchyppful broder, I recomawnde to yow, certyfyng yow that yowr letter was delyveryd to me the xxiii. day of Januar abowthe none seasson, and Rychard Calle rode in the mornyng, and therfor I brak [*opened*] yowr letter, if ther wer any astr mater; and I dede Christofer Hauswan goo to my Lord of Cawnterbure¹ to tell him, as yowr letter rehersyd, and my Lord seyde he badde spokyn with yowr man ther of the day be fore, and if the Byshop of Norwyche wod nct doo so mwche for him, he hys the les behold to him. Notwithstandyng, he sayde, he wold save yow harmles agens John Yowng; but and ye do well remember thys Lord have many maters to thyng on, and if it be forgeten, the harm is yowrs, and also if the word [*world*] torn, John Yong will not doo at hys prayer.

And my Lord Fitzwater² is ryden northewards, and it is sayde in my Lord of Cawnterbery's howse that he hethe takyn ij^c [200] of Andrew Trolloppys³ men. And as for Colt,⁴ and Sir Jamys Strangwysse, and Sir Thomas Pykeryng, they be takyn or ellys dede. The comyn voysse is that they be dede. Hopton⁵ and Hastyngs⁶ be with the Erle of Marche, and wer no

¹ Archbishop Bouchier.

² Who this Lord Fitzwalter was, our Peerage historians are unable to tell. He was slain at the battle of Ferrybridge on the 29th March 1462.

³ Andrew Trollop, whose desertion of the Duke of York at Ludlow in 1459 caused the dispersion of the Yorkist leaders. He was killed at the battle of Towton in March 1461, fighting on the Lancastrian side.

⁴ Thomas Colt.—See Rolls of Parliament, v. 348.

⁵ Walter Hopton.—See Rolls of Parliament, v. 368.

⁶ William, son of Sir Leonard Hastings.—See Rolls of Parliament, *ib.*

at the fewlde.¹ Wat word that ever he have fro my Lords that be here, it is well doo, and best for yow, to see that the contre be allweys redy to come bothe fote men and hors men, qwen they be sent for; for I have herd seyde the ferthere Lords will be here soner than men wen, I have arde sayde, er iij. weks to an ende; and also that ye xwld come with more men, and clenlier arayed than anoder man of yowr cwntre xwld, for it ly the more up on yowr worchyp, and towcheythe yow more nere than odermen of that cwntre, and also ye be mor had in favor with my Lords here. In this cwntre every man is well wylling to goo with my Lords here, and I hope God xall helpe hem, for the pepill in the northe robbe and styll, and ben apoyntyd to pill all thys cwntre, and gyffe a way menys goods and lufflods in all the sowthe cwntre, and that wyll ask a myscheffe. My Lords that ben here have as moche as they may do to kep down all thys cwntre more than iiij. or v. schers, for they wold be up on the men in northe, for it ys for the welle of all the sowthe.

I pray yow recomawnde me to my moder, and that I prayed her of her blyssing. I pray yow excwse me to her that I wryte her no letter, for thys was y now a doo. I dare not pray yow to recomawnde me to my swster yowr wyff, and the masenger I trow be so wysse he can not doyt. Ye mwst pay him for hys labor, for he taryd all nyt in thys town for thys letter.

Wrytyn the xxiiij. day of Janware in haste, wan I was not well at hesse. God have [you] in Hys keping.

By CLEMENT PASTON,

Yowr broder.

368.

A.D. 1461, 31 Jan.

THE PRIOR OF BROMHOLM TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 404.]

As executor to Sir John Fastolf, Paston must have taken possession of Caister soon after his death. The Duke of Norfolk, however, pretended a

¹ The battle of Wakefield.

title to it and, as we shall find hereafter, had dispossessed Paston by June 1461. This letter, dated on Saturday after the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, must therefore have been written in January 1461, as in 1460—the only other probable year—that feast (25th January) fell on Friday, and a letter written on Saturday after the feast would not have referred to the Friday after the same feast as a past date.

Amicabili magistro nostro, Johanni Paston, armigero.

HUL reverend and worshipful, after all dewe reverence and recommendacion, your pore Preste besecheth humble it plese your good maystirship to understande be this simple bylle that on the Friday next after the Feste of the Conversion of Seynt Poule laste paste I was at your place at Castre to a tolde yow what answer I hadde of Sir Thomas Howis, parson of Blofeld; and in as moche as ye wer not at hoom, I tolde it to my mastras your wyfe; and God thanke her of her jentilnes, she made me grete cher, and mor over a vysed me to sende yow a bille ther of to Lundon. This was his answer, whan I had talked to hym as I cowde in lyke wyse as ye averted me to do. He answered a geyn in these wordes, "Nere is my kyrtyl, but nerre [*nearer*] is my smok." And this was his menyng that ye schulde be mor ner us and tender to us than he, and that ye schulde rather owe us good wyl than he, and that we schulde labour rather to yowr maystirship than to hym; and also that good that he had to dispose he had be sette it, and of passel he tolde me he had delyvered the Abbõt of Langele fourescor li., wher of, as he seyde to me, ye grutched and wer in maner displesed, not withstandyng ye seyde a geyn to hym ye shulde geve as moche. And he seyde to me ye named the places wher; and therfor he avysed me to labour effectually to your good maystirship, for ye mych [*might*] helpe us ¹ wele. For he seyde ye had moche good of the dede to dispose, what of your fader, God blisse that sowle, what of Berney, and what now of his good Mayster Fastolfe. And as for Sir John Fastolfe, on hoose soule Jesu have mercy! he seyde to

¹ *us.* The word is *no* in Fenn's literal copy, which must be a misprint.



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*A Lettre to J. Paston, ar., from his wife.*¹

PLEASE it you to wytte that it is lete me witte by on that owith you good wyll that there is leid awayte up on you in this cuntre, yf ye come here at large, to bryng you to the presence of syyche a Lord in the north as shall not be for your ease, but to jopardie of your lyf, or gret and importable losse of your goods. And he that hath take up on hym this enterprise now was undr-shireff to G. Sayntlowe. He hath gret favour herto by the meanes of the sone of William Baxter that lyth beryed in the Grey Freres; and, as it is reported, the seid sone hath geve gret sylver to the Lords in the north to bryng the matier a bowte, and now he and alle his olde felaweship put owt their fynnes, and am ryght flygge and mery, hopyng alle thyng is and shalbe as they wole have it. Also it is tolde me that the fadr of the bastard in this cuntre seid that now shuld this shire be made sewir for hym and his beires hens forward, and for the Baxsteris heyres also, wherby I conceyve they thynke that they have none enemy but you, &c.

Wherfor like it you to be the more war of your gydyng for your persones saufgard, and also that ye be not to hasty to come in to this cuntre til ye here the world more sewer. I trowe the berar of this shall telle more by mowthe, as he shall be enfourmed of the rewel in this cuntre. God have you in His kepyng.

Wretyn in hast, the secund Sunday of Lent by candel light at evyn.

By yours, &c.

M.

370.

JOHN DAVY TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iv. 78.]

This letter was written some time after the death of Sir John Fastolf—not unlikely, as Fenn imagines, in the reign of Edward IV.; but the exact date is immaterial.

¹ This title is taken from an endorsement in a later hand.

On to my Maystyr Pastone, be this lettre delyveryd.

RYTH wurchopful Sere, I recomaund me on to you. And iff it lyke you I have spokyn with Bussard, and demaundyd hym iff he had ony evydens, dedys, or copyis, or ony other evydens of ony place or off ony lyfflod that longget on to my mayster,¹ and seyth, Nay, be is feyth, and be is trowthe, for, if he badde, he wold send hem on to you with a good wyl; for he seyth it xud don hym non ese. And, Ser, iff it plese you I askyd hym if he knew ony evydens that he had delyveryd on to William Wossetyr, bill, or deds, or ony other evydens that xuld longgyn on to ony purchas or off ony lyfflod on to my maystrys, and he seyth, Nay trewly; for he scyth the last tyme that he wrot on to William Wusseter, it was be ffor myssomyr, and thanne he wrot a cronekyl of Jerew-salem, and the jornes that my mayster dede whyl he was in Fraunce (that God on his sowle have mercy!); and he seyth that this drow more than xx. whazerys [20 quires?] off paper, and the wrytyng delyveryd on to William Wursseter, and non other, ne knowyth not off non other be is feyth.

Be your man,

J. DAVY.

371.

THOMAS SHOTBOLT TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

Beyond the evident fact that this letter was written between the death of Sir John Fastolf in 1459 and that of John Paston in 1466, there is not much clue to the date.

To my worshipfull maister, Maister Paston of the Temple.

WORSHIPFULL Sir, soo ye will send a polletik person to Ludgate in secrete wise to comune with me, and lete hym not in no wise speke

Sir John Fastolf.

of you to hove (?) youre good maistership, and a resonable remedy shall ease you of a gret part that the criour cleymeth of you for Maister Fastolffs detts of xiiij. or xiiij. yere at the lest, and be that perave[ntu]re of the hole *qui in uno est reus morbus [in omnibus] reus* Sir, remembreth your worship if y doo to ease you, lete me not be discoveryd, for ye knewe not your worship y wold not doo thus. What ever ye have of me, ye may sey it is found in the stywardes boks, and y know that ye have desired favour to have hym seese for your worship that procur hym ageyns you; whoo so shall kom to me, he may kom in Maistre Nevills name, for with hym have y a doo. As for your own servaunts, y ferd me lest they be knowyn whethir it be servaunt or othir, send knowleche of my reword and a bille under your seall or your own hands, or bothe on your worship to have it close that y be not blamyd for that; y shall telle you her after. Wretyn in Ludgate.

Your servaunt and there prisoner,

THOMAS SHOTBOLT.

372.

A WHITSUNDAY SERMON OF FRIAR BRACKLEY.

[From Fenn, iii. 392.]

The original MS. of this sermon was endorsed, of course in a much later hand than the document, "An ancient Whitsunday sermon preached by Frier Brackley (whose hand it is) in the Friers Minors Church, in Norwich." Of this and the remaining papers in this volume the dates are very uncertain.

FRIENDS, this holy tyme, as owr moder Holy Chirch maketh mension, the Holy Gost came from bevyng, and lighted in the disciples of Crist, inflamyng them with connyng, and strenghyng them with grace. And be cause the doctrine and prechyng of them shuld go thurghought all the werd, furst thei wer to be enfourmed and taught connyng, and to be strenth with awdacide and grace,



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nesse. A man joyth sumtyme in gold and sylver, and in gret substaunce of erdly gods, in bewte of women, but this joy is not perfyght—but this joy is not stabill, but it is mutabill as a shadow; for he that this joyth in the bewte of his wyffe, it may fortune to morwyn he shall folwyn her to chirch up on a bere. But if ye wull knowyn what is a full and a wery joy, truly forgevenesse of synne and everlestyng blisse, wher as is never sikenesse, hunger, ner thurst, ner no maner of disseas, but all welth, joy, and prosperite, &c. Ther be iij. maner of joys, the on void, a nother half full, the thred is a full joy. The furst is plente of werdly gods, the seconde is Gostly grace, the threde is everlestyng blisse. The furst joy, that is affluens of temporall gods, is called a veyn joy, for if a man wer set at a bord with delicate mets and drynks, and he sey a cawdron boyllyng a forn hym with pykke and bronston, in the which he shuld be throwyn naked as sone as he had dyned; for he shuld joy mych in his deliciose mets, it shuld be but a veyn joy.

Right so doth the joy of a covetouse man, if he sey what peyn his sowle shuld suffre in helle for the myskepyn and getyn of his good, he shuld not joy in his tresore, ut in Libro Decalogorum, “Quidam homo dives,” &c.

Semiplenum gaudium est quando quis in præsentia gaudet et tunc cogitans de futuris dolet, ut in quodam libro Græco, “Quidam Rex Græciæ,” &c. Her ye may se but half a joy; how [*who*] shuld joy in this werd, if he remembred hym of the peynes of the toder werd? “Non gloriatur fortis in fortitudine sua, nec sapiens in sapientia sua, nec dives in divitiis suis.”¹ De quibus dicitur, qui confidunt in multitudine divitiarum suarum; quasi oves in inferno positi sunt.² “Qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur.”³ Therfor lete us joy in hope of everlestyng joy and blis. “Gaudete quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in cælo,”⁴ ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum. A full joy is in bevyn. Et in hoc apparet quod

¹ Jerem. ix. 23.

³ 1 Cor. i. 31.

² Psalm xlviii. (xlix.) 6, 14.

⁴ Luke x. 20.

magnum gaudium est in cælo, quoniam ibi est gaudium quod “oculus non vidit, nec auris audivit, et in cor hominis non ascendit, quæ Deus præparavit diligentibus,”¹ et ideo, fratres, variis linguis loquens [precor] ut gaudium vestrum sit plenum, vel habeatis gaudium sempiternum.

373.

THE EARL OF OXFORD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 138.]

To my right trusty and right welbeloved John Paston.

Right trusty and right welbeloved, I grete you wele. And I am enfourmed that William Mathew of Norwich, Bocher, hath brought an accion of dette agayn Nicholas Hert, a tenaunt of myn, berer hereof, and hath supposid by his accyon that my said tenaunt shuld ow hym lxxs. for his hire of tyme that he shuld a ben servaunt to my said tenaunt; wher it is said to me for trouthe that he was aprentyce to my said tenaunt, and never othwise with holde but as aprentice, and owith no mony to haf of hym. I send to yow my said tenaunt to gif yow clere informacyon of the mater, and I pray you that ye wole calle the jury before yow that arn impanellid betwen thaym, and opne thaym the mater at large at myn instaunce, and desire thaym to do as concyens wole, and to eschue perjury. And the Trinite kepe yow. If ye take the mater in rule, I pray therof, and wole be content.

Wretyn at Wevenho, the xxviiij. day of Decembr.

THE ERLE OF OXENFORD.

374.

SIR JOHN WINGFIELD TO JOHN PASTON.

[From Fenn, iii. 140.]

To my welbelovyd brother, John Paston, Squier.

Brother Paston, I recomaunde me unto you, praying you that ye take the labour to speke with Thomas Ratclef of Frammesden for the delyveraunce of part of an hous which lythe in his wode at Fraumesden, which hous the owener hath caryed part therof to Orford, which so departed, the remenant that remayneth ther in his wode schall do hym lytell good, and yt schall hurte gretly the warkeman and the owener therof also, which is my tenaunt, and [*i.e.* if] the hous schuld be set upon my ground.

¹ 1 Cor. ii 9.

I wright unto you in this be halfe, be cause I understond he woll be moche avised by you, and yf he do ony thyng at my request, I schall do as moche that schall plesse hym; and also the pore man schall gef hym ij. nobles or xxs. rather than fayle. I pray you be as good a mene for hym as ye may in this be halfe, as my verry trust is in you, and I schal be redy at all tymes to doo that may be to your plesur. I trust to Jesu, who have you in His kepyng, and sende you joy of all your ladyes.

Wretyn at Lederyngham, the Tewesday in Whisson weke.

Your brother and frende,

WYNGEFELD J.

375.

[JOHN PASTON?] TO [RICHARD] SOUTHWELL.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

This letter is printed from a corrected draft in a hand which may be that of Margaret Paston, writing in her husband's name. The beginning may perhaps refer to the impending marriage of Richard Southwell with Amy, daughter of Sir Edmund Wichingham, which took place, according to Blomefield (x. 274), about the beginning of Edward IV.'s reign. From the mention made of Osbert Mundford, however, the letter cannot be later than 1460. The ravishment of Jane Boys, as here related, corresponds so closely with that of Dame Joan Beaumont, of which notice will be found in the Rolls of Parliament, v. 269, that we might almost surmise the same person is spoken of; but this can hardly be.

BROTHER Suthwell, I comand me to yow, certifying yow that, on Thursday be the morwe, I spak with my cosine Wichingham at London, where he lete me wet of the letter sent to Lee, wherby I conseyye the stedfast godlordship and ladiship of my Lord and my Lady¹ in this mater, &c., whech gevith cause to all her servaunts to trost verily in them and to do hem trew servise. I lete yow wete that the seid Wychyngham, when I departid from hym, had knowleche that Jane Boys shuld that nyght be come to London, and he put in a bylle to the Lordis for to have delyverauns of hyr and to have hese adversarys arestid. And this nyght at Norwiche was told me newe tydyngges that she shuld on Thursday after my departyng a be before the Lordis and there asaide untrewly of her self, as the berer hereof shal informe yow if ye know it not before; of

¹ Probably the Duke and Duchess of Norfolk.



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to deye for it; and the same prest seid he wold not wedde hem togedyr for M^l/i.

Item, she sent divers tokenes of massage to Sothwell be Robert Inglose, wheche previth welle at that tyme she lovyd not Lancasterother.

Item, a man of the master of Carbrokes come dyvers tymes in the weke before she was raveshid to Wychynghams hous, and inquerid of her mayde whedyr her mastras was insuerid to Sothwell or nay, the wheche prevyth well that Lancasterother was not sure of her godwill ne knew not of her counseyl, for if he had, he ne nedid not to have sent no spyes.

Whech seen, I avyse yow to move my Lord and my Lady to do in this mater as affettually as they have do before, for this mater touchyth hem, consideryng that they have begonne; and dowl not, what so ever falle of the woman, well or evel, my Lord and my Lady shal have worchep of the mater if it be wel laborid, and also ye shall have avayl therof and the advers parte chall gret trobil.

Also it were necessarie that Wychyngham were sent to and cofortyd in hese seute, and that he avysid hym of seche articlis and preves of the mater as I have sent to yow and put hem in writing, but not to disclose non tho preves to non creature unto that tyme that it fortune the mater to be tried be enquest, or other wyse take end, but avyse hym for to seye to the Lords and all

(?) in generall termes that what so ever Lancasterother or hese douter seyn nowh, it shal be wel prevyd she was reveshid ayens her wyll; and let him desire of the Lordis that his dowter mith be in his kepyng, and at large fro Lancasterother un tylle the mater were duly examynd. I wold this mater sped the bety[r] be cause my Lady spoke so feythefully to me therin, and that mevyth me to wryte to yow this long symple lettyr of myn intent. ¹ [Also wher ye be informyd that vj. men of Osbern Monforthes shuld a be at the seid raveshing, I certifie yow verily it was not soo; for Osbern Mondeford wol do in the mater all that ever he can or may

¹ This passage is crossed out in the MS.

to help to punisse the doer, and desirith to know the grownd of that tale, of whsch I pray send me word if and what ye will ellis.] God kepe yow.

Wret at Norwich the Soneday nex before the fest of Sent Margret.

Item, [if] she had be of hes assent affter the time she was in hes possesscion in Lynkolin shire, hit had be bett—¹

376—383.

ABSTRACTS.

[From Paston MSS., B.M.]

The following letters and papers cannot be referred to any certain date, though probably of the reign of Henry VI. Being of very little interest, they are noticed as briefly as possible merely for the sake of completeness.

376.—W., Bishop of Norwich, to William Yelverton, steward of his lands, and John Intwode, his surveyor.—Desires them to inquire at Bacton into the demand made by Richard Blake in a bill enclosed, and minister to him as right and law will.—London, 8 Nov.

377.—Memoranda of John Berney against Simon Corbrygg, who obtained lands by a charter forged by Broke, a scrivener, late owner of Weggs, and has injured Berney for eight years past or more in the possession of the manor of Cleyhall.

378.—William Jenney to John Paston, Esq.—Has been shown by his neighbour, Robert Tylyard, a piece of evidence of certain “lyfelode” he has in Whetacre, by which it appears that Lord Wellys should have no ward of the same, unless he can produce contrary evidence. As Paston is of my Lord’s council, and has the rule of his “lyflode” in this country, desires he will write to him that the matter be indifferently seen.—Theberton, 13 Dec.

379.—J. Burton to Margaret Paston.—Sends hogsheads of wine by Plumton the carter, &c. Desires her to send the money to “dawn” William Dallyng.—Dated, “Wednesday after I parted from you.”

¹ Sentence left incomplete.

380.—W. Cotyng¹ to Margaret Paston.—Has received to-day £9:0:2 from Simon Miller, her farmer at Tichwell, for Midsummer payment. Sends it by Roger, servant of the Parson of Thorp. Simon has paid five shillings for finding a man to the King for Tichwell, and but for me you would have paid a mark. Charges for repairs. As for your lining cloth, my brother is still beyond the sea.—Brankaster, 31 July.

381.— ——— to ———.—My father and I bought the reversion of Olton, &c. of Ralph Lampet and Alexander Kyngyston. They have now made a new sale of it to William Jenney without giving notice to me or my father. We ask your mediation with Jenney, whom we trusted most.

382.—Eliz. C[lere] to John Paston.—Concerning a pasture in the town of N. overgrown with whins. Wants advice as to the conditions of the right of pasturage. Your mother prays you to think on Horwellebery.—25 May.

383.—Memoranda to inquire:—(1.) If William Cofe were enfeoffed in Rothnall Hall? (2.) If Tylerd knew William Cofe of Northcofe² before the day of his death two years, one year, half a year, or a quarter, &c.; what seal he used? (3.) If Tylerd were not about him, to common with Gernyngham and such as were about him. (4.) Item, in case it can be understood that he made none estate, “than lete Wodesyde goo to Robert Prymer in his owyn name, saying that John P. (Paston) is his good mayster in hys mater,” &c.

¹ He was rector of Swainsthorp, to which he was presented by William Paston and John Dam in 1444, and which he exchanged for the living of Tichwell in 1450.—Blomefield, v. 63.

² William Cove of North Cove, Suffolk.—See Suckling's Hist. of Suffolk, i. 48.

END OF VOLUME I.





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Sir JAMES MACKINTOSH. LATIMER, . . . brave, sincere, honest, inflexible, not distinguished as a writer or a scholar, but exercising his power over men's minds by a fervid eloquence flowing from the deep conviction which animated his plain, pithy, and free-spoken Sermons.—*History of England*, ii. 291. Ed. 1831.

14. Sir THOMAS MORE.

Translation of Utopia. 1516–1557.

A frutesfull and pleasaunt worke of the best state of a publique weale, and of the new yle called Utopia: VVritten in Latine by Sir THOMAS MORE, Knyght, and translated into Englyshe by RALPH ROBYNSON.

LORD CAMPBELL. . Since the time of PLATO there had been no composition given to the world which, for imagination, for philosophical discrimination, for a familiarity with the principles of government, for a knowledge of the springs of human action, for a keen observation of men and manners, and for felicity of expression, could be compared to the *Utopia*.—*Lives of the Lord Chancellors (Life of Sir. T. More)*, i. 583. Ed. 1845.

In the imaginary country of Utopia, MORE endeavours to sketch out a State based upon two principles—(1) community of goods, no private property; and consequently (2) no use for money.

15. GEORGE PUTTENHAM,

A Gentleman Pensioner to Queen ELIZABETH.

The Art of English Poesy. 1589.

The Arte of English Poesie.

Contrinued into three Bookes: The first of POETS and POESIE, the second of PROPORTION, the third of ORNAMENT.

W. OLDYS. It contains many pretty observations, examples, characters, and fragments of poetry for those times, now nowhere else to be met with.—*Sir WALTER RALEIGH*, liv. Ed. 1736.

O. GILCHRIST. On many accounts one of the most curious and entertaining, and intrinsically one of the most valuable books of the age of QUEEN ELIZABETH. The copious intermixture of contemporary anecdote, tradition, manners, opinions, and the numerous specimens of coeval poetry nowhere else preserved, contribute to form a volume of infinite amusement, curiosity, and value.—*Censura Literaria*, i. 339. Ed. 1805.

This is still also an important book on Rhetoric and the Figures of Speech.



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19. JAMES I.

A Counterblast to Tobacco. 1604.

(a) *The Essays of a Prentise, in the Diuine Art of Poesie.*

Printed while JAMES VI. of Scotland, at Edinburgh in 1585; and includes *Ane Short treatise, conteining some Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, which is another very early piece of printed Poetical Criticism.

(b) *A Counterblaste to Tobacco.* 1604.

To this text has been added a full account of *the Introduction and Early use of Tobacco in England*. The herb first came into use in Europe as a medicinal leaf for poultices: smoking it was afterwards learnt from the American Indians.

Our Royal Author thus sums up his opinion:—

“A custome lothsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmefull to the braine, dangerous to the lungs, and in the blacke stinkling fume thereof, nearest resembling the horrible Stigian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.”

20. Sir ROBERT NAUNTON,

Master of the Court of Wards.

Fragmenta Regalia. 1653.

Fragmenta Regalia: or Observations on the late Queen ELIZABETH, her Times and Favourites. [1630.]

Naunton writes:—

“And thus I have delivered up this my poor Essay; a little Draught of this great Princess, and her Times, with the Servants of her State and favour.”

21. THOMAS WATSON,

Londoner, Student-at-Law.

Poems. 1582–1593.

(a) *The Ἑκατομπαθια or Passionate Centurie of Loue.*

Divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Author's sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farwell to Loue and all his tyrannie. 1582.

(b) MELIBŒUS, *Sive Ecloga in obitum Honoratissimi Viri Domini FRANCISCI WALSINGHAMI.* 1590.

(c) *The same translated into English, by the Author.* 1590.

(d) *The Tears of Fancie, or Loue disdained.* 1593.

From the *unique* copy, wanting *Sonnets* 9–16, in the possession of S. CHRISTIE MILLER, Esq., of Britwell.

22. WILLIAM HABINGTON,

Castara. 1640.

CASTARA. *The third Edition. Corrected and augmented.*

CASTARA was Lady LUCY HERBERT, the youngest child of the first Lord POWIS; and these Poems were chiefly marks of affection during a pure courtship followed by a happy marriage. With these, are also Songs of Friendship, especially those referring to the Hon. GEORGE TALBOT.

In addition to these Poems, there are four prose Characters; on *A Mistress, A Wife, A Friend, and The Holy Man.*

23. ROGER ASCHAM,

The Schoolmaster. 1570.

The Scholemaster, or plane and perfile way of teachyng children to understand, write, and speake, in Latin tong, but specially purposed for the priuate brynging up of youth in Ientleman and Noble mens houses, &c.

This celebrated Work contains the story of Lady JANE GREY's delight in reading *PLATO*, an attack on the *Italianated* Englishman of the time, and much other information not specified in the above title.

In it, ASCHAM gives us very fully his plan of studying Languages, which may be described as *the double translation of a model book.*

24. HENRY HOWARD,

Earl of SURREY.

Sir THOMAS WYATT.

NICHOLAS GRIMALD.

Lord VAUX.

Tottel's Miscellany. 5 June, 1557.

Songes and Sonettes, vwritten by the right honourable Lorde HENRY HOWARD late Earle of SURREY, and other.

With 39 additional Poems from the second edition by the same printer, RICHARD TOTTEL, of 31 July, 1557.

This celebrated Collection is the First of our Poetical Miscellanies, and also the first appearance in print of any considerable number of English Sonnets.

TOTTEL in his *Address to the Reader*, says:—

“That to haue wel written in Verse, yea and in small parcelles, deserueth great praise, the workes of diuers Latines, Italians, and other, doe proue sufficiently. That our tong is able in that kynde to do as praiseworthyly as ye rest, the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted Sir Thomas Wyat the elders Verse, with seuerall graces in sondry good Englishe writers, doe show abundantly.”

25. Rev. THOMAS LEVER,

Fellow and Preacher of St. John's College, Cambridge.

Sermons. 1550.

*(a) A fruitfull Sermon in Paules church at London in the Shroudes.**(b) A Sermon preached the fourth Sunday in Lent before the Kynges Maiestie, and his honourable Counsell.**(c) A Sermon preached at Pauls Crosse. 1550.*

These Sermons are reprinted from the original editions, which are of *extreme* rarity. They throw much light on the communistic theories of the Norfolk rebels; and the one at Paul's Cross contains a curious account of Cambridge University life in the reign of EDWARD VI.

26. WILLIAM WEBBE,

Graduate.

A Discourse of English Poetry. 1586.

A Discourse of English Poetrie. Together with the Authors iudgement, touching the reformation of our English Verse.

Another of the early pieces of Poetical Criticism, written in the year in which SHAKESPEARE is supposed to have left Stratford for London.

Only two copies of this Work are known, one of these was sold for £64.

This Work should be read with STANYHURST'S *Translation of Æneid, I.-IV.*, 1582, see p. 64. WEBBE was an advocate of English Hexameters; and here translates VIRGIL'S first two Eglogues into them. He also translates into Sapphics COLIN'S Song in the Fourth Eglogue of SPENSER'S *Shepherd's Calendar*.

27. FRANCIS BACON.

afterwards Lord VERULAM Viscount ST. ALBANS.

A Harmony of the Essays, &c. 1597-1626.

And after my manner, I alter ever, when I add. So that nothing is finished, till all be finished.—SIR FRANCIS BACON, 27 Feb., 1610-[11].

*(a) Essays, Religious Meditations, and Places of perswasion and disswasion. 1597.**(b) The Writings of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight the Kinges Sollicitor General in Moralitie, Policie, Historie.**(c) The Essaies of Sir FRANCIS BACON Knight, the Kings Solliciter Generall.**(d) The Essayes or Counsells, Civill and Morall of FRANCIS Lord VERULAM, Viscount ST. ALBAN. 1625.*



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1. William Caxton,

our first Printer.

Translation of REYNARD THE FOX. 1481.

[COLOPHON.] *I haue not added ne mynussed but haue folowed as nyghe as I can my cople which was in dutche | and by me WILLIAM CAXTON translated in to this rude and symple englyssh in th[e] abbey of westmestre.*

Interesting for its own sake; but especially as being translated as well as printed by CAXTON, who finished the printing on 6 June, 1481.

The Story is the History of the Three fraudulent Escapes of the Fox from punishment, the record of the Defeat of Justice by flattering lips and dishonourable deeds. It also shows the struggle between the power of Words and the power of Blows, a conflict between Mind and Matter. It was necessary for the physically weak to have Eloquence: the blame of REYNARD is in the frightful misuse he makes of it.

The author says, "There is in the world much seed left of the Fox, which now over all groweth and cometh sore up, though they have no red beards."

2. John Knox,

the Scotch Reformer.

THE FIRST BLAST OF THE TRUMPET, &C.
1558.

(a) *The First Blast of a Trumpet against the monstrous Regiment of Women.*

(b) *The Propositions to be entreated in the Second BLAST.*

This work was wrung out of the heart of JOHN KNOX, while, at Dieppe, he heard of the martyr fires of England, and was anguished thereby. At that moment the liberties of Great Britain, and therein the hopes of the whole World, lay in the laps of four women—MARY of Loraine, the Regent of Scotland; her daughter MARY (the Queen of Scots); Queen MARY TUDOR; and the Princess ELIZABETH.

The Volume was printed at Geneva.

(c) *KNOX'S apologetical Defence of his FIRST BLAST, &C., to Queen ELIZABETH.* 1559.

3. Clement Robinson,

and divers others.

A HANDFUL OF PLEASANT DELIGHTS.
1584.

A Handful of pleasant delites, Containing sundrie new Sonets and delectable Histories, in diuers kindes of Meeter. Newly deuised to the newest tunes that are now in vse, to be sung: euerie Sonet orderly pointed to his proper Tune. With new additions of certain Songs, to verie late deuised Notes, not commonly knowen, nor used heretofore.

OPHELIA quotes from *A Nosegaie, &c.*, in this Poetical Miscellany; of which only one copy is now known.

It also contains the earliest text extant of the *Ladie Greensleeues*, which first appeared four years previously.

This is the Third printed Poetical Miscellany in our language.

4. [Simon Fish,
of Gray's Inn.]A SUPPLICATION FOR THE BEGGARS.
[? 1529.]*A Supplicacyon for the Beggars.*

Stated by J. Fox to have been distributed in the streets of London on Candlemas Day [2 Feb., 1529].

This is the Fifth Protestant book (not being a portion of Holy Scripture that was printed in the English Language.

The authorship of this anonymous tract, is fixed by a passage in Sir T. MORE'S *Apology*, of 1533, quoted in the Introduction.

5. [Rev. John Udall,
Minister at Kingston on Thames.]

DIOTREPHES. [1588.]

The state of the Church of Englande, laid open in a conference betweene DIOTREPHES a Byshepp, TERTULLUS a Papiste, DEMETRIUS an usurer, PANDUCHUS an Innekeeper, and PAULE a preacher of the word of God.

This is the forerunning tract of the *MARTIN MARPRELATE Controversy*. For the production of it, ROBERT WALDEGRAVE, the printer, was ruined; and so became available for the printing of the Martinist invectives.

The scene of the Dialogue is in PANDUCHUS'S Inn, which is in a posting-town on the high road from London to Edinburgh.

6. [?]

THE RETURN FROM PARNASSUS.
[Acted 1602.] 1606.

The Returne from Parnassus: or The Scourge of Simony. Publicly acted by the Students in Saint Johns Colledge in Cambridge.

This play, written by a University man in December, 1601, brings WILLIAM KEMP and RICHARD BURBAGE on to the Stage, and makes them speak thus:

"KEMP. Few of the vniuersity pen plaies well, they smell too much of that writer *Ouid* and that writer *Metamorphosis*, and talke too much of *Proserpina* and *Iuppiter*. Why herees our fellow *Shakespeare* puts them all downe, I [*Ay*] and *Ben Ionson* too. O that *Ben Ionson* is a pestilent fellow, he brought vp *Horace* giuing the Poets a pill, but our fellow *Shakespeare* hath given him a purge that made him beray his credit:

"BURBAGE. It's a shrewd fellow indeed:"

What this controversy between SHAKESPEARE and JONSON was, has not yet been cleared up. It was evidently recent, when (in Dec., 1601) this play was written.



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10. Richard Stanyhurst,

*the Irish Historian.**Translation of ÆNEID I.-IV. 1582.*

Thee first foure Bookes of VIRGIL his Æneis translated intoo English heroical [i.e., hexameter] verse by RICHARD STANYHURST, wyth oother Poëtical diuises theretoo annexed.

Imprinted at Leiden in Holland by JOHN PATES, Anno M.D.LXXXII.

This is one of the oddest and most grotesque books in the English language; and having been printed in Flanders, the original Edition is of *extreme* rarity.

The present text is, by the kindness of Lord ASHBURNHAM and S. CHRISTIE-MILLER, Esq., reprinted from the only two copies known, neither of which is quite perfect.

GABRIEL HARVEY desired to be epitaphed, *The Inventor of the English Hexameter*; and STANYHURST, in imitating him, went further than any one else in maltreating English words to suit the exigencies of Classical feet.

11. *Martin Marprelate.*

THE EPISTLE. 1588.

Oh read ouer D. JOHN BRIDGES, for it is a worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrste Booke of that right worshipfull volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, JOHN BRIDGES, Presbyter, Priest or Elder, doctor of Diuinitie, and Deane of Sarum.

The Epitome [p. 26] is not yet published, but it shall be, when the Bishops are at convenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle.

Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bouncing Priest, at the cost and charges of M. MARPRELATE, gentleman.

12. Robert Greene, M.A.

MENAPHON. 1589.

MENAPHON. CAMILLAS alarum to slumbering EUPHUES, in his melancholie Cell at Silixedra. VVherein are deciphered the variable effects of Fortune, the wonders of Loue, the triumphes of inconstant Time. Displaying in sundrie conceipted passions (figured in a continue Historie) the Trophes that Vertue carrieth triumphant, mangre the wrath of Enuie, or the resolution of Fortune.

One of GREENE'S novels with TOM NASH'S Preface, so important in reference to the earlier *HAMLET*, before SHAKESPEARE'S tragedy.

GREENE'S "love pamphlets" were the most popular Works of Fiction in England, up to the appearance of Sir P. SIDNEY'S *Arcadia* in 1590.

13. George Joy,

an early Protestant Reformer.

AN APOLOGY TO TINDALE. 1535.

An Apologye made by GEORGE JOYE to satisfye (if it may be) W. TINDALE: to pounge and defende himself ageinst so many sclaunderouse lyes fayned upon him in TINDAL'S uncharitable and unsober Pystle so well worthye to be prefixed for the Reader to induce him into the understanding of hys new Testament diligently corrected and printed in the yeare of our Lorde, 1534, in Nouember [Antwerp, 27 Feb., 1535.

This almost lost book is our only authority in respect to the surreptitious editions of the English *New Testament*, which were printed for the English market with very many errors, by Antwerp printers who knew not English, in the interval between TINDALE'S first editions in 1526, and his revised Text (above referred to) in 1534.

14. Richard Barnfield.

of Darlaston, Staffordshire.

POEMS. 1594-1598.

The affectionate Shepherd. Containing the Complaint of DAPHNIS for the Loue of GANYMEDE.

In the following Work, BARNFIELD states that this is "an imitation of Virgill, in the second Eglogue of Alexis."

CYNTHIA. *With Certaine Sonnets, and the Legend of CASANDRA.* 1595.

The Author thus concludes his Preface: "Thus, hoping you will beare with my rude conceit of *Cynthia* (if for no other cause, yet, for that it is the First Imitation of the Verse of that excellent Poet, Maister *Spencer*, in his *Fayrie Queene*), I leaue you to the reading of that, which I so much desire may breed your delight."

The Encomion of Lady PECUNIA: or, The Praise of Money. 1598.

Two of the Poems in this Text have been wrongly attributed to SHAKESPEARE. The disproof is given in the Introduction.

15. T[homas] C[oo]per.

[Bishop of WINCHESTER.]

ADMONITION TO THE PEOPLE OF ENGLAND.

An admonition to the people of England. VVherein are answered, not onley the slaunderous vntuethes, reprochfully vttered by MARTIN the Libeller, but also many other Crimes by some of his broode, objected generally against all Bishops, and the chiefe of the Cleargie, purposely to deface and discredit the present state of the Church. [Jan. 1589].

This is the official reply on the part of the Hierarchy, to MARTIN MARPRELATE'S *Epistle* of [Nov.] 1508: see No. 11. on p. 24.

It was published between the appearance of the *Epistle* and that of the *Epitome*.

16. Captain John Smith,

President of Virginia, and Admiral of New England.

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- (5.) The History of Virginia, New England, and Bermuda. 1624.
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(2.) *A Treatise of the new India, etc.* Translated by RICHARD EDEN from SEBASTIAN MUENSTER'S *Cosmography*. and printed in 1553. *The Second English Book on America.*

(3.) *The Decades of the New World, etc.*, by PIETRO MARTIRE [PETRUS MARTYR], translated by RICHARD EDEN, and printed in 1555. *The Third English Book on America.* SHAKESPEARE obtained the character of CALIBAN from this Work.

A List of 837 London Publishers, 1553-1640.

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