

people perceaved that much delay was used in these courtes, and few matters ended, and when they were ended, they bound no man by the law, then every man was wery of them and resorted to the common law.

In the moneth of october came into Englande Mathew Byshop of Sedonon and Cardinall, called commonly the Cardinal of Swyshes, from the Emperour Maximilian. This Cardinal was a wise man and of great boldenes, and was wel entreteined in the court and of the kyng. And at his contemplacion and for old love, the kyng lent to the Emperour Maximilian a great summe of money: wherof the company of Friscobalde, and Antony Caveler Genevoy undertoke thexchange, but they paied not the Emperour at his day, not withstanding thei had received the money of the kyng. This Friscobald and Antony Caveler by meanes of rewardes, geven to great lordes of the counsail borrowed of the king xxx. M.l. and had long daies for the paiment: but Friscobald was shortely consumed, and Anthony Caveler could not be sene, and so the kyng was not payd at his daies, and many English merchauntes were by these men undone, for they spent liberally of every mans goodes.

This yere the kyng kept his Christmas at his maner of Grenewiche, and on the xii. night, according to the old custome, he and the quene came into the hal, and when they were set, and the quene of Scottes also, there entred in to the hall a Gardeyn artificiall, called the Gardeyn of *Esperance*. This Gardeyn was towred at every corner, and railed with railes gilt, all the bankes were set with floures artificial of silke and gold, the leves cut of grene sattyn, so that they semed very floures. In the middest of this Gardeyn was a piller of antique worke, al gold set with perle and stone, and on the toppe of the piller, which was vi. square, was a lover or an arche embowed, crowned with gold: within whiche stode a bushe of Roses red and white, al of sylke and golde, and a bushe of Pomegranates of like stuf. In this gardeyn walked vi. knightes and vi. ladyes rychely appareyled, and then they discended and daunsed many goodly daunses, and so ascended the gardeyn agayne, and were conveighed out of the hal, and then the kyng was served of a great banket. After this Christmas, the kyng exercysed hym selfe muche in hawkyng.

In this ceason, the Genowayes, Frenchemen and other
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straungers sayde and boasted them selves to be in suche favoure with the kyng and hys counsaill, that they set naughte by the rulers of the citie : And the multitude of straungers was so great about London, that the pore Englishe artificers coulde skace get any living : And most of all the straungers were so proude, that they disdained, mocked and oppressed the Englishemen, whiche was the beginning of the grudge. For amonge all other thynges, there was a Carpenter in London called Willyamson, whiche bought two stockedoves in Chepe, and as he was about to paye for them, a Frencheman toke them oute of his hande, and said they were no meate for a Carpenter : well said the Englysheman I have bought them and now payed for them, and therefore I will have them, naye said the Frencheman I wil have them for my lorde the Ambassadour, and so for better or worse, the Frencheman called the Englishe- man knave, and went a waye with the stockdoves. The straungers came to the Frenche Ambassadour, and surmysed a complainte againste the poore carpenter, and the Ambassadour came to my lorde Maire, and said so muche, that the carpenter was sent to prison : and yet not contented with this, so complayned to the kynges counsaill, that the kynges commaundement was layde on hym. And when syr Jhon Baker knyght and other worshipful persones sued to the Ambassadour for him, he answered, by the body of God that the Englyshe knave shoulde lose his lyfe, for he said no Englysheman shoulde deny that the Frenchemen required, and other answere had they none.

The pryde of
Frenchemen.

Also a Frencheman that had slayne a man, should abjure the realme and had a crosse in his hande, and then sodeynly came a greate sorte of Frenchemen about hym, and one of them said to the Constable that led him, syr is this crosse the price to kyll an Englisheman. The Constable was somewhat astonied and answered not. Then said another Frenche- man, on that pryce we would be banyshed all by the masse, thys saiying was noted to be spoken spitefully. Howebeit, the Frenchemen were not all onely oppressors of the Englyshemen, for a Lombarde called Fraunces de bard, entised a mannes wyfe in Lombarde strete to come to his chambre with her husbandes plate, whyche thyng she dyd. After when her husbande knewe it, he demaunded his wyfe, but answere was made he shoulde not have her, then he demaunded

demaunded his plate, and in lyke maner aunswere was made that he shoulde neither have plate nor wyfe. And when he had sewed an accion against the straunger in the Guylde hall, the straunger so faced the Englisheman, that he faynted in his sute. And then the Lombarde arrested the poore man for his wyfes boorde, while he kept her from her husbände in his chamber. This mocke was muche noted, and for these and many other oppressions done by them, there encreased suche a malice in the English mennes hartes, that at the last it brast oute. For amongst other that sore grudged at these matters, there was a broker in London called Jhon Lyncoln, whiche wrote a byll before Easter, desyryng doctor Standiche at hys Sermon at saint Marye Spyttell the Mondaye in Easter weke, too move the Mayre and Aldermen, to take parte with the comminaltie agaynste the straungers: The Doctor aunswered that it became not hym too move anye suche thinge in a Sermon. From hym he departed, and came to a Chanon in saint Mary Spittell, a doctor in Devinitie, called doctor Bele, and lamentably declared to hym, howe miserably the common artificers lyved, and skase coulde get any woorke to fynde them, their wyfes and chyl dren, for there were such a number of artificers straungers, that tooke awaye all the lyvyng in maner. And also howe the Englyshe marchauntes could have no utteraunce, for the marchaunt straungers bryng in all Silkes, clothes of Golde, Wyne, Oyle, Iron, and suche other marchaundyse, that no man almoste byeth of an Englyshman. And also outwarde, they carye so muche Englyshe Wolle, Tynne, and Leade, that Englyshmen that aventure outwarde can have no lyvyng: Whiche thynges saied Lyncoln hathe bene shewed to the counsaill, and cannot be heard. And farther sayed he, the straungers compasse the cytie rounde aboute, in Southwarke, in Westminster, Temple barre, Holborne, Sayncte Martynes, Sayncte Jhons strete, Algate, Towre hyll, and Saint Katherines, and forstall the market, so that no good thyng for them commeth to the market: Whiche is the cause that Englyshe men want and sterve, and they lyve habundauntly in great pleasure. Wherefore sayed Lyncolne master Doctor, syth you were borne in London, and se the oppression of the straungers, and the great misery of your awne natyve countrey, exhorte all the cytezens to joyne in one against these straungers, raveners and

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and destroyers of your countrey. Master doctor hearynge this, saied he muche lamented the case if it were as Lyncolne hadde declared, yes sayde Lyncolne, that it is and muche more, for the Duchemen bryng over Iron, Tymber, lether and Weynskot ready wrought, as Nayles, Lockes, Baskettes, Cubbordes, Stooles, Tables, Chestes, girdels, with pointes, sadelles and painted clothes so that if it were wrought here, Englishemen might have some worke and lyvyng by it. And besyde this, they growe into suche a multitude that it is to be looked upon, for I sawe on a Sondaie this Lent vi. C. straungers shotyng at the Popyngaye with Crosbowes, and they kepe suche assemblies and fraternities together, and make suche a gathering to their common bore, that every botcher wil holde plee with the cite of London: wel sayd the doctor, I will do for a reformation of this matter asmuche as a priest may do, and so receaved Lincolnes byll and studied for his purpose. Then Lyncoln very joyous of hys enterpryce went from man to man, saiyng that shortly they shoulde heare newes, and dayly excited younge people and artificers to beare malice to the straungers. When Easter came and doctor Bele shoulde preache the Tuesdaye in Easter weke, he came into the pulpit, and there declared that to hym was brought a pitifull byll, and red in this wyse. To all you the worshypfull lordes and masters of the cytie that will take compassion over the pore people your neighbours, and also of the greate importable hurtes, losses, and hynderaunces, whereof procedeth the extreme povertie too all the kynges subjectes that inhabite within this cytie and suburbes of the same, for so it is that the alyens and straungers eate the bread from the poore fatherles chyl dren, and take the livyng from all the artificers, and the entercourse from all merchauntes, wherby povertie is so muche encreased that every man bewaileth the misery of other, for craftes men be brought to beggery and merchauntes to nedynes: Wherefore the premisses considered, the redresse muste be of the commons, knynt and unite to one parte, and as the hurt and dammage greveth all men, so muste all men set to their willyng power for remedy, and not to suffre the sayed alyens so highly in their wealth, and the naturall borne men of his region too come to confusion. Of this letter was more, but the doctor red no farther, and then he began *Cælum cæli domino, terram autem dedit*

dedit filiis hominum, and upon this text he intreated, that this lande was geven too Englishemen, and as byrdes woulde defende their nest, so oughte Englishemen to cheryshe and defende them selves, and to hurte and greve aliens for the common weale. And upon this text *pugna pro patria*, he brought in, howe by Goddes lawe it was lawfull to fyght for their countrey, and ever he subtellie moved the people to rebelle against the straungers, and breake the kynges peace, nothyng regardynge the league betwene prynces and the kynges honoure. Of thys Sermon many a light person tooke courage, and openly spake agaynste straungers. And as the devell woulde, the Sunday after at Grenewyche in the kynges gallery was Fraunces de Bard, whiche as you hearde kept an Englishe mans wife and his goodes, and yet he could have no remedy, and with hym were Domyngo, Anthony Caveler, and many mo straungers, and there they talkynge with syr Thomas Palmer knyght, Jested and laughed howe that Fraunces kepte the Englischemans wyfe, sayng that if they had the Mayres wyfe of London, they would kepe her : syr Thomas sayed, Sirs you have to muche favour in England. There were diverse Englishe merchauntes by, and hearde them laugh and were not content, in so muche as one William bolt a Mercer sayed, wel you whoreson Lombardes, you rejoyse and laugh, by the masse we will one daye have a daye at you, come when it wyll, and that sayng the other merchauntes affirmed. This tale was reported aboute London, and the younge and evell disposed people sayed, they woulde be revenged on the merchaunte straungers, aswell as on the artificers straungers. On Monday the morow after, the kyng removed to hys maner of Rychemonde.

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UPON this rumour the xxviii. daye of Aprill, diverse younge men of the citie assaulted the Alyens as they passed by the stretes, and some were striken, and some buffeted, and some throwen in the canel. Wherefore the Mayre sent diverse persons to ward, as Stephyn Studley skyfner, and Bettes and Stephenson and diverse other, some to one counter, and some to another, and some to Newgate. Then sodeynly was a commen secret rumour, and no man could

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could tell how it began, that on May daye next, the citie would rebell and slaye all Aliens, in so muche as diverse straungers fled oute of the citie. This brute ranne so farre that it came to the kinges counsail, insomuch as the Cardinall beyng lord Chauncelour, sent for Jhon Rest Mayre of the citie, and other of the counsayl of the citie, and demaunded of the Mayre in what case the citie stode, to whome he aunswered that it was wel and in good quyete : Nay sayd the Cardinall, it is informed us that your young and ryotous people wyll ryse and distresse the straungiers, heare ye of no such thing? No surely sayd the Mayre, and I trust so to governe them that the kynges peace shalbe observed, and that I dare undertake yf I and my brethren the Aldermen may be suffered. Wel said the Cardinal, go home and wisely forsee this matter, for and yf any suche thing be, you may shortly prevent it. The Mayre came from the Cardinals at iiij. of the clocke at after none on May even, and demaunded of the officers what they harde, diverse of them aunswered that the voyce of the people was so, and had ben so ii. or iii. dayes before. This heryng the Mayre sent for al his brethren to the Guylde hall in great hast, and almost vii. of the clocke or the assemble was set. Then was declared to them by Master broke the recorder how that the kynges counsail had reported to them that the comminaltie that night would ryse, and distresse al the Aliens and straungers that inhabited in the citie of London: the Aldermen aunswered they harde say so, but they mistrusted not the matter, but yet they sayd that it was wel done to forsee it. Then sayd the recorder, it were best that a substantiall watche were set of honest persons, housholders, whiche might withstand the evell doers. An Alderman sayde, that it was evell to rayse men in harneys, for if suche a thinge were entended, they coulde not tel who woulde take their parte. Another Alderman sayd, that it were best to kepe the younge men asonder, and every man to shut in hys doores, and to kepe hys servauntes within. Then with these opinions was the Recorder sent to the Cardinal before viii. of the clocke, and then he with suche as were of the kynges counsayll at his place, commaunded that in no wyse watche shoulde be kept, but that every man shoulde repayre to his awne house, and there to kepe hym and hys servauntes tyl vii. of the clocke of the mornynge :
with

with whiche commaundement, the sayde Rycharde brooke sergeaunt at the lawe and recorder, and syr Thomas Moore, late undershrife of London, and then of the kynges counsaill, came to the Guylde hall halfe houre and before ix. of the clocke, and there shewed the commaundement, of the kynges counsaill. Then in all hast, every Aldermen sent to his warde that no man should styrre after ix. of the clocke out of his house, but to kepe his doores shut, and hys servautes within tyll vii. of the clocke in the mornyng. After this commaundement, syr Jhon Mondy Alderman came from his warde, and founde two young men in Chepe playnyng at Buckerels, and a great company of young men lokyng on them for the commaundement was then skace knowen, for then it was but ix. of the clocke. Master Mondy seyng that, bade them leave, and the one younge man asked hym why? and then he sayd thou shalt know, and toke hym by the arme to have had him to the counter. Then all the young men resisted the Alderman, and toke him from master Mondy, and cryed prentyses and clubbes. Then out at every doore came clubbes and weapons and the Alderman fled, and was in great daungier. Then more people arose out of every quarter, and oute came servyng men, and water men and Courtiers, and by a xi. of the clocke there were in Chepe vi. or vii. hundreth. And oute of Paules churcheyarde came iii. hundreth, whiche wist not of the other, and so out of all places they gathered, and brake up the counteryes, and tooke out the prisoners, that the Mayre had thether committed for hurtyng of the straungers, and came to Newgate and tooke out Studley and Petyt, committed thether for that cause. The Mayre and Shrifes were there present, and made Proclamacion in the kynges name, but nothyng was obeyed. Thus they ranne a plump thorow saint Nycholas Shambels, and at saynt Martyns gate, there met with them syr Thomas Moore and other, desyryng theym to go to their lodgynges: And as they were intreatyng, and had almost brought them to a staye: The people of saynt Martynes threwe oute stones and bates, and hurte dyverse honest persones, that were perswadyng the ryotous people to ceasse, and they bade them holde their handes, but still they threwe oute bryckes and hoate water. Then a sergeaunt of Armes called Nycholas dounes, whiche was there with master Moore,

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entreatynge them, beyng sore hurt, in a fury cryed doune with them. Then all the misruled persons ranne to the doores and wyndowes of saynct Martyn, and spoyled all that they founde, and caste it into the strete, and lefte fewe houses unspoyled. And after that they ranne hedlynge into Cornehill by Leaden hal, to the house of one Mutuas a Frencheman or Pycardy borne, whiche was a greate bearer of Frenchemen, were they pyckpursses, or howe evell disposition soever they were of, and within hys gate, called Grenegate, dwelled dyverse Frenchmen that kalendred Worsted, contrary to the kynges lawes: and al thei were so borne out by the same Mutuas, that no man durst medle with them, wherfore he was sore hatet, and yf the people had found hym in their fury, they would have striken of his head: but when they found hym not, the water men, and certeyn young priestes that were there fell to rifynge: some ranne to Blanchechapelton, and brake the straungers houses, and threwe shooes and bootes into the strete: This from x. or xi. of the clocke, continued these ryotous people, duryng whiche tyme a knight called syr Thomas parr, in great hast went to the Cardinall and tolde him of thys ryot, which incontinent strengthened his house with men and ordinaunce. And after, this knight rode to the king to Richemond, and made the report much more then it was: Wherfore the king hastely sent to London, and was truly advertised of the matter, and how that the ryot was ceased, and many of the doers apprehended. But while this ruffling continued, syr Richard Cholmeley knight, Lieutenaunt of the Towre, no great frende to the citie, in a frantyeke fury losed certayn peces of ordinaunce, and shot into the citie, whiche did litle harme, howbeit his good wyl apered. About iii. of the clocke, these ryotous persons severed and went to their places of resorte, and by the waye they were taken by the Mayre and the heddes of the citie, and some sent to the Towre, and some to Newgate, and some to the Counters, to the number of iii. C. some fled, and specially the watermen and priestes, and servyng men, but the poore prentises were taken. About fyve of the clocke, the erles of Shrewesbury and Surrey, whiche had harde of this ryot, came to London with suche strength as they had, so dyd the Innes of court, and diverse noble men: but or they came, all the ryot was ceased, and many taken as you have heard.

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Then were the prisoners examined, and the sermon of docter Bele called to remembraunce, and he taken and sent to the Towre, and so was Jhon Lyncoln : but with this ryot the Cardinall was sore displeased. Then the iiii. day of May was an Oyer and determiner at London before the Mayre, the duke of Norffolke, the erle of Surrey and other. The citie thought that the duke bare them grudge for a lewde priest of his, which the yere before was slayn in Chepe, in so much the duke then in his fury sayd, I pray God I may once have the citezens in my daungier : and the duke also thought that they bare him no good wil, wherfore he came into the citie with xiii. C. men in harneys to kepe the Oyer and determiner. And upon examinacion it could never be proved of any metyng, gathering, talking or conventicle at any daye or tyme before that day, but that the chaunce so happened without any matter prepensed of any creature saving Lyncoln and never an honest person in maner was taken but onely he. Then Proclamacions were made that no women shoulde come together to bable and talke, but all men should kepe their wyves in their houses. All the stretes that were notable stode ful of harnessed men, which spake many opprobrious wordes to the citezens, whiche greved them sore : and yf they woulde have bene revenged, the other had had the worsse, for the citezens were ii. C. to one : but lyke true subjectes they suffered patiently.

When the lordes were set, the prisoners were brought in thorough the stretes tyed in ropes, some men, some laddes, some chyldren of xiii. yere. There was a great mournyng of fathers and frendes for their chyldren and kynsfolke. Emong the prisoners many were not of the citie, some were priestes, and some husbandmen and laborers, the whole some of the prisoners were ii. C. lxxviii. persons. The cause of the treason was, because the kyng had amitie with all Christen princes, that they had broken the truce and league, contrary to the statute of kyng Henry the V. Of this treason diverse were endited, and so for that tyme the lordes departed. And the next day the duke came agayn, and the erle of Surrey with ii. M. armed men, which kept the stretes. When the Mayre, the duke, and the erle of Shrewsbury and Surrey were set, the prisoners were arreigned, and xiii. founde gilte of high treason, and adjudged to be hanged, drawen and quartered, and for execucion wherof, were set
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up xi. payre of galowes in diverse places where the offences were done, as at Algate, at Blanchechapelton, Gracious strete, Leaden hal, and before every counter one, and at Newgate, at s. Martens, at Aldrisgate, at Bishops gate. This sight sore greved the people to se galowes set in the kynges chamber. Then were the prysoners that were judged, brought to the places of execucion, and executed in most rigorous maner, for the lord Edmond haward sonne to the duke of Northfolke, and knight Mershal shewed no mercy, but extreme cruelty to the poore yongelinges in their execucion, and likewise the dukes servauntes spake many opprobrious wordes, some bad hange, some bad drawe, some bad set the cite on fyer, but all was suffred.

On Thursday the vii. day of May was Lyncoln, Shyrwyn, and two brethren called Bets, and diverse other adjudged to dye. Then Lyncoln said, my lordes, I meant well, for and you knew the mischief that is ensued in this realme by straungers, you would remedy it, and many tymes I have complained, and then I was called a busy fellow: now our lord have mercy on me. Then all the sayd persons were layd on the hardels, and drawen to the standarde in Chepe, and first was Jhon Lyncoln executed, and as the other had the rope about their neckes, there came a commaundement from the kyng to respite execucion. Then the people cried, God save the king. Then was the Oyer and determiner deferred tyll another daye, and the prisoners sent agayn to warde, and the harnesssed men departed oute of London, and all thynges quyet.

The xi. daye of Maye the kyng came to his maner of Grenewiche, where the recorder of London and diverse Aldermen came to speake with his grace, and al ware gounes of black coloure. And when they perceaved the king comming out of his privie chambre into his chambre of presence, they kneled doune, and the recorder sayd: Our most natural, beninge and soveraigne lorde, we knowe well that your grace is displeasid with us of your cite of London for the great ryot late done: we assertein your grace that none of us, nor no honest person were condiscendynge to that enormitie, and yet we, oure wyfes and chyl dren every houre lament that your favour shoulde be taken from us, and forasmuche as light and ydle persones were the doers of the same, we moost humbly beseche your grace to have mercy
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of us for our negligence, and compassion of the offendours for their offence and trespasse.

Truly sayd the kyng, you have highly displeased and offended us, and ye oughte to wayle and be sory for the same, and where ye saye that you the substanciall persons were not consentyng to the same, it appereth to the contrary, for you never moved to let them, nor sturred once to fyght with them, whiche you saye were so small a nombre of light persones, wherefore we must thynke, and you cannot deny, but you dyd wyncke at the matter, but at this tyme we wyll graunt to you neither our favor nor good will, nor to thoffenders mercy, but resort to the Cardinall our lord Chauncelour, and he shal make you an answer and declare our pleasure, and with this answer the londoners departed and made relacion to the Maior.

The xviii. day of this moneth the quene of Scottes, which had bene at the Courte and at Baynardes Castell, a whole yere at the kynges charge, and was richely apoynted of all thinges mete to her estate, both of Jewells, plate, tapisstry, Arras, Coyne, Horsses, and all other thinges of the kynges gift and liberalitie, departed out of London toward Scotland with great ryches, albeit she came into Englande with muche povertie, and she entred into Scotland the xiii. daye of Juyn, whome her husband receaved at Berwick : but the Englisshemen smally hym regarded. All her charges within the realme, comminge to the courte and returnynge, were of the kynges purse.

Thursdaye the xxii. day of May the kyng came into Westmyenster hall, for whome at the upper ende was set a clothe of estate, and the place hanged with Arras, with him was the Cardinall, the dukes of Northfolke and Suffolke, the erles of Shrewsbury, of Essex and Wilshyre, of Surrey, with many lordes and other of the kynges counsaill. The Mayre and Aldermen, and al the chief of the citie were there in their best livery (according as the Cardinall had them apoynted) by ix. of the clock. Then the kyng commaunded that al the prisoners should be brought foorth. Then came in the poore younglinges and olde false knaves bounde in ropes all along, one after another in their shertes, and every one a halter about his neck, to the number of iiii. C. men and xi. women. And when all were come before the kynges presence, the Cardinal sore layed to the Mayre
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and comminatie their negligence, and to the prisoners he declared that thei had deserved death for their offence: Then al the prisoners together cryed mercy gracious lord, mercy. Then the lordes altogether besought his grace of mercy, at whose request the kyng pardoned them al. And then the Cardinal gave unto them a good exhortacion to the great gladnes of the herers. And when the generall pardon was pronounced, all the prisoners shouted at once, and altogether cast up their halters into the hal roffe, so that the king might perceave thei were none of the discrettest sorte. Here is to be noted that diverse offenders which were not taken, hering that the king was inclined to mercy came wel appareled to Westmynster, and sodeynly stryped them into their shertes with halters, and came in emong the prisoners willingly, to be partakers of the kynges pardon, by the whiche doying, it was well knowen that one Jhon Gelson yoman of the Croune, was the first that began to spoyle, and exhorted other to dōe the same, and because he fled and was not taken, he came in the rope with the other prisoners, and so had his pardon. This compaignie was after called the blacke Wagon. Then were all the galowes within the citee taken doune, and many a good praier sayed for the kyng, and the citezens toke more hede to their servautes.

In June the kyng had with hym diverse Ambassadors, for solace of whom he prepared a costly Justes, he hymself and xii. agaynst the duke of Suffolk and other xii. his base and bard was the one halfe clothe of silver, and the other halfe blacke Tinsell. On the silver was a curious lose worke of white velvet embraudered with Golde, cut on the Silver and every cut engrayled with golde, so that that side was golde, Silver and velvet. On the blacke tynsell syde was blacke velvet enbroudered with golde and cut, and every cut was engrayled wth flat gold of Damaske. The base and barde wer broudered with greate letters of massy golde Bullion, full of pearles and stones, merveyulous riche: al his compaignie wer in like suite, saving that they had no juelles. The kyng had on his hed a ladies sleve full of Diamondes. On the kyng attended gentlemen, Armourers, and other officers to the number of Cxxv. persones all in white Velvet and white Sattyn, horse and harneis for horsemen. Cappes and Hosen for footemen, all white at the kinges cost. This royally

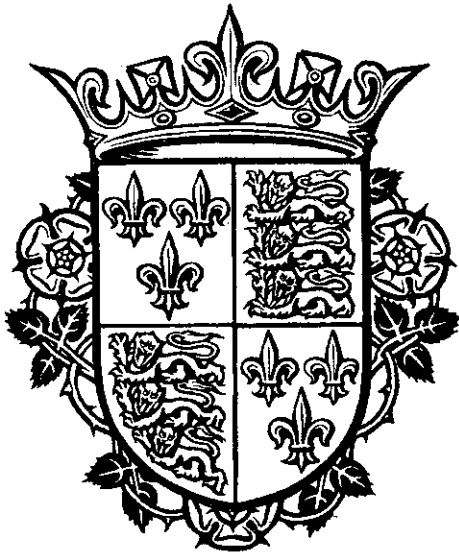
THE LIVES OF THE KINGS

HENRY VIII

BY EDWARD HALL

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
CHARLES WHIBLEY

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