

John Proctor  
The historie of Wyates rebellion,  
second edition  
London  
1555

<i> <sig a>

The historie of wy=  
ates rebellion, with the  
order and maner of resi=  
sting the same, wherun=  
to in the ende is added an  
earnest conference with  
the degenerate and sedi=  
cious rebelles for the  
serche of the cause  
of their daily  
disorder.

Made and compyled  
by Iohn Proctor.

Mense Ianuarii.  
Anno 1555.

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In the ende ye shall  
finde a table, directing to  
the principal pointes con=  
teyned in this booke.

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To the most excellent  
and moste vertuous ladye our  
moste gracious Soueraigne, Marie  
by the grace of God Quene of Eng=  
lande, Fraunce, Naples, Hierusalem  
and Irelande, Defendour of the faith,  
princesse of Spayne & Sicilie, Arche=  
duchesse of Austria, Duchesse of Mil=  
laine, Burgundie and Braband, Coun=  
tesse of Haspurge, Flaunders & Ty=  
role, your Maiesties moste faythfull,  
louynge, and obedient subiecte Iohn  
Proctor, wissheth all grace, longe  
peace, quiet raygne, from God  
the father, the sonne, and  
the holy Ghost.

IT HATH been  
alowed, most gra=  
cious soueraigne,  
for a necessary po=  
licie in all ages, as  
stories do wytnes, that the fla=  
gicious enterprises of the wic=  
ked, whiche haue at any tyme

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attempted with trayterous force  
to subuert or alter the publike  
state of their countreies, as also  
the wise and vertuous polices

of the good, practised to pre=  
serue the common weale, and to  
repell the enemies of the same,  
shuld by wrytyng be committed  
to eternal memorie: partly that  
they of that age in whose tyme  
such thinges happened, mought  
by the oft reading conceiue a cer=  
tayne gladnesse in consideringe  
with them selues, & beholdinge  
as it were in a glasse from what  
calamitie and extreme ruine, by  
what policie & wisdomes their  
natiue countreis were deliuered,  
besides the great miserie & peril  
they them selues haue escaped:  
partly for a doctrine and a mo=  
nition seruing both for the pre=

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sent & future tyme: but cheiflye  
and principallye that the tray=  
tours themselues, who through  
hatred to their prynce or coun=  
trey shall eyther of their owne  
malicious disposition be stirred,  
or els by other peruerse counsel  
therunto induced, may alwaies  
haue before their eyes the mise=  
rable end that happeneth as  
iust reward to all such caytiues  
as eyther of ambition not satis=  
fied with their owne state wyl  
seke prepostorously to aspire to  
honoure, or of malice to theyr  
prynce, will enter into that hor=  
rible crime of priuie conspiracie  
or open rebellion. The industrie of  
writers doth sufficiently declare  
in a numbre of stories that con=  
spiracie & treason hath alwaies  
turned to the authours a wret=

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ched & miserable ende, & if their  
persones happen at any tyme to  
escape temporal punishment, as  
rarely they haue done, yet their  
names, specially of the notorious &  
principal offenders, haue ben al=  
waies had in suche vile & odible  
detestation in all ages & among  
all nations, as for the same thei  
haue been euer after abhorred  
of all good men. These general  
considerations mouyng other to  
indict and penne stories, moued  
me also to gather together and  
to register for memorie the mer=  
ueilous practise of Wyat his de=  
testable rebellion, litle inferior to  
the most daungerous reported in  
any historie, either for desperate

courage in the authour, or for the monstrous end purposed by his rebellion. Yet I thought no=

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thyng lesse at the begining, then to publishe the same at this time or at this age, minding onely to gather notes therof where the truth mought be best knowen, (for the which I made earnest and diligent inuestigation) and to leaue them to be published by others hereafter to the behof of our posteritie. But hearing the sundry tales thereof farre dissonant in the vtterance, & many of them as far wide from truth, facioned from the speakers to aduance or depraue as they fantased the parties: and vnderstandyng besydes what notable infamie spronge of this rebellion to the whole countre of Kent, & to euery membre of the same, where sundrie & many of them to mine owne knowledge shewed them

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selues most faithfull & worthy subiectes, as by the story self shal evidently appeare, which either of hast or of purpose were omitted in a printed booke late sette furth at Canterbury: I thought these to be special considerations wherby I ought of duety to my countrey to compile & digest suche notes as I had gathered concerning that rebellion, in some forme & fashion of historie, & to publish the same in this age & at thys present, contrary to my first intent, aswel that the very truth of that rebellious enterprise myght be throughly knowen, as that also the shire wher that vile rebellion was practised, might by opening the ful truth in some parte be deliuered from the infamy which as by report I heare is made so ge

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neral in other shires, as though very few of Kent wer fre from Wyates conspiracie: most humbly beseching your highnes to take this my traueil in so good and gracious parte, as of your graces benigne & gentle nature it hath pleased you to accept my former bookes dedicated vnto your highnes. Wherby I mind

nothing lesse then to excuse or ac  
cuse any affectionatly, but to  
set furth eche mannes doynge  
truely accordyng to their deme  
rites, that by the contemplation  
herof both the good may be in=  
coraged in the execution of perfit  
obedience & vnspotted loyaltie,  
and the wicked restrained from  
the hatefull practice of suche  
detestable purposes.

The blessed Trinitie preserue your highnes.

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To the louyng reader.

The safe & sure  
recordation of  
paynes and pe  
ryls past, hath  
present delec=  
tation (sayeth  
Tullye.) For  
things, were they neuer so bit  
ter and vnpleasaunt in the exe=  
cution, being after in peace and  
securitie, renewed by report or  
chronicle, are bothe plausible  
and profitable, whether they  
touched our selues or other.

Beynge thus in this poynte  
persuaded (louyng reader) I  
thoughte it a traually neyther  
vnpleasaunt for thee, nor vn=  
thankful for me, to contriue the  
late rebellion practised by Wyat,

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in forme of a chronicle as thou  
seest. Whereby as I meane not  
to please the euill, nor displease  
the good, so I mucche desire  
to amende the one by settinge  
before his eye the lamentable  
Image of hateful rebellion, for  
the increase of obedience, and to  
helpe the other by setting furth  
the vnspotted loyaltie of suche  
as aduenturouslye and fayth=  
fullye serued in thys daunge=  
rous time, for the increase of  
knowledge and policie the bet=  
ter to repress the like dangers,  
if anye hereafter happen.

And further although herby  
I couete not to renewe a feare  
of a daunger past, yet would I  
gladly increase a care and stu=  
die in euerye good mans heart  
to auoyde a like daunger that

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may happen, & most tymes hap

peneth, when a daunger with much difficultie auoided is not sufficient warnynge to beware of the next. I haue forborne to touch anye man by name, Wy= at onelye excepte, and a few e o= ther which the story would not permit to be leaft out. Yet take me not that I meane to excuse anye mans faulte thereby. For what shoulde I shewe my selfe so vngrate or vnnaturall vnto my naturall countreimen, as namelye to blase them to the worlde, whome eyther theyr owne good happe, or the queenes surpassynge mercye would to be couered at this time?

And although I touch some by name, terming them in certayn places traytours and rebelles,

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iust titles of their desertes, yet (God is my witnes) I do it not of malice or enuye to anye of their persons. I neuer hated anye of them, no not Wyat him selfe: whome, although he was vtterly vnknownen vnto me, yet for the sundrie and singular giftes, wherwith he was largelye endued, I had him in great admiration. And now I rather pitie his vnhappie case, then malice his personne. And doe muche lament that so manye good & commendable qualities were abused in the seruice of cursed heresie, whose rewarde was neuer other then shamefull confusion, by one waye or other to all that folowed her wayes. Finallye, if thou suppose I haue not fully set furth

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the whol case al as it was I shal not againsai it: neither thought I it necessarie so to doe, but rather so muche as for this time might be both plausible & profitable, & shuld satisfie such poyntes as in the dedicatorie epistle to the queenes maiestie are expressed. Herafter it may be that further be sayd touching this matter. In meane tyme thou hast no iust cause I trust to be offended with this my present enterprise, either for the maner of handlinge, or for the matter herin handled, the one hauynge sufficient perspicuitie,

and plaines, thother ful trueth:  
for which I haue made such di=  
ligent inuestigation, as I haue  
found it, & haue herin expressed  
the same, especially so much  
as concerneth Kent.

VALE.

<1>

wyates rebellion, with  
the order and maner of re=  
sisting the same.

The dange  
rous nature  
of heresie.

WHAT a restlesse  
euil heresie is, euer  
trauailing to bring  
furth mischeif, ne=  
uer ceasing to pro=  
trude al those, in whose heartes  
she is receyued to confusion: by  
what plausible allurements at  
her entrie she catcheth fauoura=  
ble intertainment, with what  
waies of craft and subteltie she  
dilateth her dominion, & finally  
howe of course she toyleth to be  
supported by faction, sedition, &  
rebellion, to the great peryll of  
subuersion of that state where  
as a plague she happeneth to  
fynde habitation, aswell the la=  
mentable historie of the Bohe=  
mians & Germaines, with al o=

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Heresie the  
special grund  
of Wyates  
rebellion.

ther treating of like enterprises  
by heretikes, as also Wyates  
late conspiracie practised with  
open force doeth plentuously de=  
clare. Who as it should evidently  
seme by the trade of his life and  
the late disclosing of him selfe,  
was so feruently affected to  
heresie (although he laboured by  
false persuasion otherwise to  
haue couloured it) that burninge  
inwardly with a prepensed trea=  
son in his brest, for the continu=  
aunce of the same within the  
realme, he persuaded to himself  
such an impossibilitie therin (the  
Quenes highnesse prospering &  
bearing the scepter of high go=  
uernance) as could by no mea=  
nes be brought about without  
rebellion, the onely refuge as I  
sayde that indurate heretikes

Rebellion  
the onely re  
fuge of He  
retikes.

<3> 2 <sig A>

Wyat per  
suaded that  
the quene &

haue alwaies sought for main=  
tenaunce of their heresie, liuing  
vnder a Catholike prince. He  
therefore beinge thus inflamed

heresy could not raigne together.

Wyates repaire to London to styrre other to his rebellion.

could no lenger conteine, but immediately vpon the beginning of the quenes most happy reigne forsaking his habitation in the countrey, went to London, of purpose to stirre the duke of Suffolke & his brethren, with others of power in further countreys, whom he knew to be like affected to heresies, & consequently to burne in semblable desire for continuance of the same: leauing neuerthelesse suche behind him in Kent to sollicite hys and theirs unhappie case, whome he knew so much addicted therunto as in his absence for their diligence in such a ministerie neded

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no ouerseer. He remayned in London, tyll he thoughte hym selfe throughlye furnyshed euery waye, and euery where within the realme to attempte hys determined enterpryse, when apt time shoulde serue.

Wyates retourne into kent.

Whyche done, he returned into Kente, not of purpose then to procede: But vnderstandyng his strengthe practised there by his agentes to set thinges in order, and so to retourne to London, abidyng the tyme appoynted therefore by hym and his complices. But so it befell in the meane tyme, that at his beinge in the countrey, the counsell committed a gentleman of that shyre to ward, one to Wyat aboue all other moste deare, whereby the com-

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Wyat prevented the time.

mon brute grewe, that he suspectinge his secretes to be reueled (and vpon that occasion to be sent for by the counsel) felt him selfe, as it were for hys owne suertie, compelled to anticipate his tyme. But whether that were the cause or no, doubtfull it is. But certaine it was, that Wyat then proceding in his detestable purpose, armed him selfe, and as manye as he coulde: And geuinge intelligence of his determination to his complices, aswell at London as els where, the Thursdaye after at Maydston in the market time, beinge the xxv. daye of Ianuarye, in the fyrste

The fyrste daye of Wyates styrre at Maydstone.

yere of the queenes raygne, by  
proclamation in writinge pub=  
lished his deuillishe pretence.

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The cause  
why Wyat  
made not re=  
ligion the  
outwarde  
pretence of  
his rebellion

And consideringe with hym  
selfe, that to make the pretence  
of his rebellion to bee the resto=  
ring or continuaunce of the new  
and newely forged religion  
was neither agreable to the na=  
ture of heresie (whiche alwaye  
defendeth it selfe by the name  
and countenance of other mat=  
ter moore plausible) neyther  
so apte to further hys wycked  
purpose, being not a case so ge=  
neral to allure al sortes to take  
parte with him: he determined  
to speake no worde of religion,  
but to make the colour of hys  
commotion, only to withstande  
straungers, and to aduance li=  
bertie. For as he made hys full  
reckninge that suche as accor=  
ded with hym in religion, wold  
wholly ioyne with hym in that

The colour  
of Wyates  
rebellion.

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rebellion: So he trusted that  
the Catholikes for the moste  
parte, woulde gladlye imbrace  
that quarel agaynst the straun=  
gers, whose name he tooke to  
become odible to all sortes, by  
the sedicious and malicious re=  
porte, whiche he and hys hadde  
maliciously imagined and blo=  
wen abrode agaynst that nati=  
on, as a preparatiue to their ab=  
hominable treason. Hys Pro=  
clamation therefore published  
at Maydstone, and so in other  
places, persuaded that quarell  
to be taken in hande only in the  
defense of the realme from o=  
uerrunnyng by Straungers,  
and for thaduancement of li=  
bertie. Where in verye dede, hys  
only and very matter was the  
continuaunce of heresy, as by

Wyates pre=  
paratiue to  
his rebellion

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his owne wordes at sundrie ti=  
mes shal hereafter appeare.

And to the ende the people  
should not thinke that he alone  
with a fewe other meane gen=  
tlemen, had taken that traite=  
rous enterprise in hande with=  
out comfort & ayde of higher po=  
wers, he vntruely & maliciously  
added further to his proclama=

Wyates vn  
true persua  
sions to fur  
ther hys re  
bellion.

tion, by persuasion to the peo=  
ple, that all the nobilitie of the  
realme, and the whole counsell  
(one or two onely except) were  
agreable to his pretended trea=  
son, & would with all their po=  
wer & strength further the same,  
which he found most vntrue to  
his subuersion. And that the lord  
Aburgauenye, the lorde War=  
den, syr Robert Southwell,  
high shyreffe with all other gen

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tlemen wold ioyne with him in  
this enterprise, & set theyr fote  
by his to repel the straungers.

How wiates  
vntrew per  
suasions ab  
used the peo  
ple.

This proclamation, and such  
annexed persuasions made at  
Maydstone on the market day,  
and in other partes of the shire,  
had so wrought in the heartes  
of the people, that diuers which  
before hated him, and he them,  
were nowe as it seemed vpon  
this occasion, mutuallie recon=  
ciled, and sayde vnto him. Syr,  
is your quarell onely to defend  
vs from ouerrunning by straun=  
gers, and to aduance libertie,  
and not agaynst the Queene?

The nature  
of an here=  
tike is to sai  
one thinge &  
thinke ano  
ther.

No, quod Wyat, we mynde no=  
thinge lesse, then anye wyse to  
touche her grace: but to serue  
her, and honour her accordyng  
to our dueties. Wel, quod they,

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geue vs then youre hande, we  
wyll stycke to you to deathe in  
this quarell. That done, there  
came to hym one other of good  
wealthe, sai yng: Syr quod he,  
they saye I loue potage well,  
I wyll sell all my spones, and  
al the plate in my house, rather  
than your purpose shall quayle,  
and suppe my potage with my  
mouthe. I truste, quod he, you  
wyll restore the ryght religion  
agayne. Whiste, quod Wyat,  
you maye not so much as name  
religion, for that wil withdraw  
from vs the heartes of manye:  
you must only make your qua=  
rel for ouerrunninge by straun=  
gers. And yet to thee be it sayd  
in counsell, as vnto my frende,  
we minde onely the restitution  
of Gods word. But no wordes.

Wyates  
owne wor=  
des to proue  
heresy to be  
the ground  
of his rebel  
lion.

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By these hys wordes it appea=

red, that hys principall entent was not to kepe out strangers, whiche commonlye doe not inuade to oure hinderaunce, but by rebellion amongst oure selues: nor to aduaunce libertye: whiche euer decayeth through treason: but to aduaunce herebye, the ladye regent of his lyfe and doinges. This same thursday as Wyat, Thomas Isley, and others, were occupied at Maydstone with proclamations to styrre the people, & suche lyke: So were others his confederates occupied in lyke manner by proclamacions at Milton, Ashforde, & other townes in the East partes of the shyre. Through whose allurementes the multitude were growen so

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Thapprehension of maister Christopher Roper by the rebels

earnestlye affected to Wyates purpose, that they suffred maister Christopher Roper (a man of good wurshippe, and so esteemed of them) to be taken of Wyates ministers, and caried out of the market place, wythoute any maner of rescue, for that he hauinge his heart and eye full fixt vpon the queene, not onlye withstode the readinge of Wyates traiterous proclamation at Milton, but also in the same place proclaimed him, & al hys traytours. And beyng roughlye charged therewith by Wyat and other his galautes when he was broughte to Rochester, he answered, this tonge spake it, and doeth now auowe it. They suffred maister Tucke also, & maister Dorrel of Cale-

master Christopher Ropers words to Wyat.

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Thapprehension of maister Tucke and maister Dorrel.

hyll beinge gentlemen of good wurshyppe, and lustices of peace, to bee taken out of theyr houses by the Rebelles, and conueyed withoute anye maner of rescue, in the daye tyme to Rochester, beyng twentye miles distant, where they with maister Roper were kepte as prisoners in great daunger of life. In lyke maner syr Henrye Isleye, Antonye Kneuet, William Kneuet with others, were at Tunbrige, Seuenoake, and other townes in the West partes of the shyre, styrrynge the

How Wyat wrote to the shireffe of his entent to styrre.

people by alarummes, drummes and praclamations.

Now ye shal vnderstand that the euening afore the publishing his pretence at Maydestone, Wyat sent a letter by one Tho=

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mas Monde (a man of muche honestie) to sir Robert Southwell being Shiref of the shyre, vnto whome longe afore as I can vnderstande, he had neither spoken nor written other then in difiaunce, they being in contention for maters of religion as it was said. Neuerthelesse to serue his purpose, dissemblinge his great malice and haute courage, he wrote a letter to him of suche effect as foloweth.

The effecte of wyates letter to syr Robert Southwell Shireffe of Kent.

After heartie commendations there hath been betwene you and me many quarells and grudges, and I euer the sufferer, & yet haue you sought thende,

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which is now frendly offered vnto you, if you be willinge to receyue it. But whatsoever priuat quarrell you haue to me, I doubt not but your wisdom is to muche, seyng so manye perils at hande to vs both (this pretended mariage taking effect) to dissent from vs in so necessarie a purpose, as wherin we nowe determine to entre for the common wealthe of the whole realme. And that you may the better vnderstand our pretence, I send you the copie of our proclamation comprehendinge the somme and effect of our meaning, whervnto if the common wealth shal fynde you an enemy, saye not hereafter but that you were frendly warned. we forbear to write to the lorde Aburgaueny, for what you maye do with him, if you list we know.

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The stile of wyates proclamation.

A proclamation agreed vnto by Thomas Wyat, George Harper, Henry Isleye knightes, and by diuers of the best of the shyre, sent vnto the commons of the same.

Wyates false presumption of the best of the shyre.

Because. Forasmuch as it is now  
spred abrode, & certenly  
pronounced by the lorde  
Chancelour & other of the coun  
sel, of the queenes determinate  
pleasure to mary with a stran=  
ger. &c. We therefore wryte vn=  
to you, because you be our ney=  
ghbours, because you bee oure  
frendes, and because you be en=  
glishmen, that you wyll ioyne  
with vs, as we wil with you vn  
to death in this behalfe, prote=  
styng vnto you before God, that  
no other earthlye cause coulde

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Such coun=  
selours he  
meaneth as  
woulde fa=  
uour heresy  
&.ce.  
Lo loud lie

moue vs vnto this enterprise,  
but this alone, wherin we seke  
no harme to the quene, but bet=  
ter counsel & counselours, which  
also we would haue forborne in  
al other matters sauing only in  
this. For herin lieth the helth &  
welth of vs al. For trial herof &  
manifest profe of this intended  
purpose: Lo now euen at hand,  
Spaniardes be nowe alreadye  
ariued at Douer, at one passage  
to the nombre of an hundreth  
passing vpwarde to London, in  
companies of ten, foure and vi.  
with harnes, harquebusses and  
moriars with match light, the  
formest company wherof be al=  
readie at Rochester. We shal re=  
quire you therfore to repaire to  
such places as the bearers her=  
o<f> shal pronounce vnto you, there

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to assemble & determine what  
may be best for thaduauncement  
of libertie and common wealth  
in this behalfe, & to bring with  
you suche ayde as you may.

The ende of wyates pro=  
clamation.

The messenger that brought  
the letter with the proclamation  
from Wyat to the shireffe being  
not priuie to the contentes ther=  
of, & hauing charge vpon his life  
to returne an answere with all  
spede, importuned the Shyreffe  
so muche therfore (although he  
sawe him greatly busyed in ge=  
uing aduertisement throughout  
the shire of Wyates traitorous  
determination) as he neuerthe=  
lesse to satisfie the messenger whom  
he knewe to bee a ryght honest

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man (notwithstanding his diligence was abused in so leude a message) made hym aunswere out of hande as foloweth.

The shireffes aunswere to the messenger that brought Wyates letter.

Neghbour Monde, rather to satisfie your importunitie, then to answer Wyates letter, whome in thys case I disdaine to answer, or to speake with you apart comminge from a traytour, you maye saye vnto him that as in dede I haue been desirous of his frendshyp for neyghbourhoodes sake, so haue I muche more desired his reformation in diuers poyntes of great disorder, wherby he cer

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taynly knew aswel by my spech to hym selfe, as other meanes comming to his knowledge, that I haue sithens the beginning of the queenes raygne holden him and some of his colleges in this conspiracie vehemently suspected for like matters, as nowe they haue attempted. Wherin seinge he hath not deceiued me, but by opening him self hath manifestly verified mine opinion conceived of him, I purpose not to purchase his frendship so deare, as for the gaine of him to lose my self & my posteritie in perpetual infamie. And if suche thynges whiche his fonde head hathewayed for perilles, to the condempnation of the whole wisdom of the realme (thei allowing the same for good) had been

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in dede as perillous, as he with others, for want of due consideration, demeth them, his duetie had ben to haue opened his opinion therein as an humble & reuerent petitioner to the quenes highnes, or to some of her graces counsell. But to presse hys soueraigne in any suite or vpon any occasion with weapon & armour by sturring her subiectes to rebellion, that is and alwayes hath been accompted the part of most arrogant and presumptuous traytours, and so doe I

note him and his mates as you may tell them, & shall God wyl=linge prouide for them according=ly. Nowe good man Monde it shalbe in youre choyse whether you will carie this message or no. But as your frende I shall

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aduse you to seeke oute better company. The messenger excu=sing him selfe by ignoraunce, de=parted to Wyat with answee. And sone after returned to the shireffe vnder whome he serued the quene very faythfullye.

The shireffe being made pre=uiie (as ye haue heard) by Wyat to his trayterous pretence the night before he stirred, & wan=ting no good wyll as it shoulde seme, with the helpe of the lorde Aburgaueny, who was as for=ward as he, to haue resisted the reading of Wyates proclama=tion at Maydstone the daye folow=inge, and to dispase his force, sent for gentlemen & yeomen in all hast to that end. But before he could gather power mete to attempt the repressing of suche

<23> 12

a force (sundrie of hys neygh=bours of greatest possessions, & townes moste populous, whiche should haue been his chief aide, being contrary bent, Wyat accom=panied with a force well armed & weponed marched to Rochester The same thursday, Harper & other meting him in the wai, wher fortifyng the East partes of the towne, & breakinge vp the bridge towards the West, he abode the commynge of hys appoynted strength, suffring al passengers to passe quietlye throughe the towne to London, or to the sea, ta=king nothing from them but only theyr weapon. And beyng the Fridaye all daye at Rochester, and not hearynge from Isley, the towne of Tunbridge, and other his coniurates of the West

<24>

part of the shyre, he adressed an earnest letter the Saterdaye mornynge to Isley, the Knet=uetes, and other, wyth the towne of Tunbridge, requi=ringe them to accellerate theyr

The rifling  
of sir Henry  
Sidney his  
armourie.

comming vnto him. Accordyng  
whereunto Isleye, the Kneue=  
tes, with other beinge newlye  
retourned from Penshurste,  
where they rifled Syr Henry  
Sydneye hys armourie (he  
beynge attendaunte vppon the  
Queenes highnes as a fayth=  
full subiect) perceyuinge Wyat  
to longe for theyr commynge,  
resolved to obserue theyr pro=  
mise, & marche forwardes that  
night towardes Wyat. But  
vnderstandinge that the Lorde  
Aburgaueny, the Shireffe, and  
George Clerke hadde nowe

<25> 13

gathered a force, & were preste  
to encountre them, first or they  
departed out of the towne, thei  
thought it good by some kinde  
of proclamation to alienate the  
peoples heartes from them, as  
they did in maner folowinge.

The copie of the proclamation made  
at Tunbridge by syr Henry Isley,  
Antonye Kneuet, and his brother  
with other.

You shal vnderstand that  
Henry lorde Aburgau=  
nye, Robert Southwell  
knight, George Clerke gentle=  
man, haue most traiterously to  
the disturbance of the common  
wealthe, styrred and rayseed vp  
the Queenes most louing sub=  
iectes of this realme, to defend  
the most wicked & deuilishe en=  
terprise of certeine of the wicked

<26>

and peruerse counselors, to the  
vtter confusion of this her gra=  
ces realme, and the perpetuall  
seruitude of all the Queenes  
most louing subiectes. In con=  
sideration wherof, we sir Tho=  
mas Wyat knight, syr George  
Harper knight, syr Henrye Is=  
leye knight, Anthonye Kneuet  
Esquier, with all the faythfull  
Gentlemen of Kent, and trusty  
commons of the same, do pro=  
nounce the sayd Henry Lord  
Aburgaueny, Robert South=  
well, and George Clerke gen=  
tleman, to be traytours to God,  
the crowne, and the common  
wealthe.

This done, with all speede  
calling their company together

by noyes of drummes, and  
leauinge their directe waye to

<27> 14

Rochester, for that they would  
not come vnder the wing of the  
Lorde Aburgauenye, and the  
shirefe, thei marched that night  
to Seuenocke. Takyng order  
with such as were left behinde  
in the towne, that they shoulde  
be in a readines to come when  
soeuer they shoulde be sent for  
by Wyat, & that by no wayes  
they shoulde beleue anye tales.  
For (quod they) the counsayle  
will nowe sende abrode flyng  
lies and tales to discredit vs,  
and discomforte you, for it is  
their policie. Antonye Kneuet  
after he was lept to hys horse,  
toke one by the hand, and sayd:  
fare you well. And yf you hap  
to heare that I am taken, ne=  
uer beleue it, for vndoubtedlye  
I wyll eyther die in the fielde,

<28>

or achiue my purpose. But with  
in foure and twenty houres he  
brake his promise, and ranne  
away no faster then his legges  
could carye hym.

The heraul  
des comming  
to Rochest.

Well, I shal now leaue them  
marchinge to Seuenocke, and  
returne to Wyat at Rochester.  
This present saterday came vn  
to him from the queenes highnes  
an Herauld and a trumpetour.  
Wyat at the sound of the trum  
pette came to the bridge, where  
the Herauld was with his cote  
armour caryng the armes of  
England on his back. But Wyat  
without vsing any reuerence to  
him, either for his cote or office,  
woulde not suffer him to come  
into the towne to declare hys  
message, & pressing to come in he

<29> 15

offered to strike him: whervpon  
the Herauld staid & did his mes  
sage there, so that onely Wyat  
with a fewe with him heard it.  
Which as men could gather by  
report of them that heard it, was  
promise of pardone to as many  
as would retier to their houses  
within .xxiiii. houres after the  
proclamation, & become good  
subiectes. But Wyat woulde  
not suffer his souldiours in a=

The Lorde  
Wardens  
greeting to  
Wyat.

ny wise to heare it, nor anye o=  
ther proclamation commynge  
from the queene. In the meane  
time also syr Thomas Cheynie  
lorde Warden, beinge a moste  
faythfull and noble Subiecte,  
had sent him suche salutations  
as of honour oughte to be vsed  
to a traitour. And beinge verie  
desirous to be doing with him,

<30>

and to proue on his bodie what  
in wordes of greatynge he had  
affirmed, felte yet by his discre=  
tion and long experience great  
causes of staye. For Wyat desi=  
red nothing more then his com=  
minge furth, persuadinge that  
he wanted no frendes aboute  
hym, nor any other that would  
take in hande to repressse hym  
wyth force gathered in that  
shyre. And vndoubtedly doubt=  
full were the heartes of the  
people, and merueylouslye bent  
to faouere Wyat and hys pur=  
pose, as by daylye euentes ap=  
peared. The lord Aburgaueny  
and the shiref, who the Sater=  
daye nexte after Wyates styrr  
were at Mallinge in the waye  
towards Rochester (where  
Wyat lay) hauing with them a

<31> 16

companye of well appoynted  
subiectes, in whome not wyth=  
standing for the more part they  
had good opinion of trustines  
and honesty, yet hauing the ge=  
neral case of the peoples dispo=  
tion in theyr eye, and not with=  
out cause, suspectinge in their  
bande amongst so many fayth  
full & good some such to be, vp=  
on trust of whose trustles and  
britell ayde, it were no good  
policie to aduenture farre, pon=  
deringe therewith that this il=  
lusion of the people whereby  
thei were so farre drawn from  
their right course and duetye,  
grewe cheifelye by suche craf=  
tye and false persuasions as  
Wyat and his mates had sette  
furthe in sundrie partes of the  
shyre, by waye of proclamation

<32>

in writing, wherein amonge o=  
ther grosse lyes they hadde set  
furth also matters of vntrueth

to discredit the lorde Aburga= ueny and the shireffe, as Wyat in his persuasions, that they woulde ioyne with hym. And Isley in his proclamation, that thei had traiterously assembled the Queenes louinge subiectes against her grace & the realme. It semed vnto them very good & necessary to spende some tyme at Mallinge in aduisinge and lessening the multitude, and by way of exhortation to impugne those traiterous proclamations, and refell suche grosse and false lies therein conteigned, and finally to dissuade the people (which that day beinge the market day were assembled to a great num=

<33> 17

bre of al sortes) from the tray= tours & their attemptes. And accordinglye the Shiriffe had penned an exhortation to that purpose, whiche was pronounced out of writing in Malling, and sent after by hym into other partes. The hearinge whereof, dyd vndoubtedly muche moue the people, as after shall app= peare. I shal report the same in substance truelye: howe be it not fullye in the same fourme and maner, as I founde it, and as it was penned and pronoun ced by the shireffe. Who in thut= teraunce and settinge furthe thereof, spared not to speake playnlye and touche sharplye, as then the present tyme and case employed vehement occa= sion.

<34>

An exhortation made by sir Robert Southwel knight shireffe of Kent, at Mallinge the Saterdaye, beinge the xxvii. day of Ianuary, and market dai there to a great assemble of people, refelling and confuting Wyat and his complices trayterous proclamati= ons, Wyat beinge at Rochester foure miles distaunt.

Louinge neighbours and frendes, where of late there hath been most pe= stilent and trayterous procla= mations, as ye haue heard set furthe by Thomas Wyat, Ge= orge Harper, Henry Isley, and others, as most arrant traitors

to the quene and the realme, some of them the quenes auncient enemies afore time, and double traitours, yet not withstanding, accomptinge them selues to be the best of the shyre in their pro

<35> 19 <sig C>

clamations, and in the same reputed and pronouncing other as traitours, whome ye canne witnes to haue been from time to time, true & faythful subjectes to the quene & this our common weale: as the lorde Aburgaueny here present, my selfe, and other gentlemen now prest and readie with you, according to our duetie, to serue our noble quene: I shall neede to spende the lesse time to declare vnto you, howe euill they be, or howe euill their enterprise is, that they haue taken in hand: for asmuch as this their arrogant presumption and presumptuous pride in aduauncing them selues so far from all trueth, and in deprauing of other so maliciouslye for executing their bounden duetie,

<36>

oughte abundantlye to persuade what they bee to all of consideration, withoute further circumstaunce. But for as much as in their proclamations, they fill the eares of the quenes liege people with grosse & manifest lies to styrrer them against her grace, in the vtterance wherof they vse this demonstration, loe, signifyng some notable thing nere at hand for credit worthy impression in their memorie, as loe, a great nombre of strangers be now arriued at Douer in harnes, with harquebusses, morians and matchlight: I say vnto you neighbors & friends vpon payne to bee torne in pieces with your handes, that it is vntrue and a manifest lye, inuented by them to prouoke &

<37> 21

irritate the quenes simple people to ioyne with them in their traitorous enterprise. And therefore I haue perfecte hope, that you beinge afore tyme abused with their craftie and deceitful treason, will not nowe ones a=

gain hauing experience of their former euil, be trapped for any persuasion in so haynous a snare as this most vile and horrible crime of treason. Do you not see & note that as in the beginning of the quenes most gracious raign, some of them sought to depriue her grace of her princely estate and rightful dignitie, minding to aduaunce therunto the ladie lane doughter to the duke of Suff. so are they & others newlye confedered with the Duke and hys brethren, beinge in ar

<38>

mes at this present for the same purpose, and daylye lokinge for ayde of these traytours and othert of their conspiracie as by the queenes most gracious letters signed with her owne hand and readie to be read here, may plainly appeare vnto you? And will you now neuertheles ayde them any waies, or sit styl whiles they go about thus wrongfully and traiterously to depose their and our most gracious soveraigne ladye and queene, the comfort of vs al, the stai of vs al, the only sauegarde of vs all, to whom can no displeasure or danger chaunce, but the same must double redounde to al & euery of vs? No frendes & neighbours, I trust neuer to liue to see you so farre abused. They go about to

<39> 23

bleare you with matters of strangers, as thoughe they shoulde come to ouerunne you and vs also. He semeth verie blind and willingly blinded that wil haue his sighte dimmed with suche a fonde miste. For if they ment to resist straungers, as thei minde nothing lesse: they woulde then prepare to go to the sea coastes and not to the quenes most royal person with such a company in armes & weapon. Ye can consider I truste, this noble gentleman the lord Aburgaueny here present beinge of an auncient & great parentage, borne among you, & such other gentilmen as you see here, which be no strangers vnto you, my selfe also (although a pore gentleman, who I trust at no time hath abused you) hath som

<40>

what to lose aswell as thei, & wold  
be as loth to be ouerrunne with  
straungers as thei, if any suche  
thing were ment. But for that we  
know most certenly, that ther is  
ment no maner of euill to vs by  
those strangers, but rather aid,  
profit, & comfort against other  
strangers our auncient enemies,  
with whom thei as most arrant &  
degenerate traitors do in dede  
vnkindly & vnnaturally ioyne:  
we in her graces defense wil spend  
both life & what we haue beside  
to the vttermost peny agaynst  
them<> Wel, I can no more now sai  
vnto you, but vnderstanding the  
quenes highnes as a most mer=  
ciful princesse to be ones agayn  
determined to pardon as many  
as by their traiterous & deceit=  
ful proclamations, & other illusi

<41> 25

ons, wer allured to this last trea=  
son, so thei repaire to their habi=  
tations within xxiii. houres af=  
ter her graces proclamation read  
& become true subiectes to her  
grace, to aduise such as hath ta=  
ken part with those traitors, or  
haue withdrawen them selues con=  
trarie to their allegiance, from  
the aiding & seruing of their so=  
ueraigne, according to their du=  
ties against her enemies, thank=  
fully to accept and imbrace her  
most gracious pardon, and vse  
meanes of them selues to appre=  
hend those arrant and principall  
traitours, & make a present of  
them to the quenes highnes, or  
leaue them to themselves as most  
detestable traitours: who be=  
ing once so graciously and mer=  
cifully forgeuen coulde not but

<42>

cary the clemencie of the same in  
their heartes to the furtherance  
of all obedience whiles thei ly=  
ued, if ther had been any sparke  
of grace in them. And further I  
haue to say vnto you, that as these  
traitors by their proclamations  
without authoritie haue moued  
you to styrrre against the queene  
your soueraigne, and appointed  
you places, where to mete & con=  
sult for the furtheraunce of theyr  
traiterous purpose, & to bring with

you such aid as you can, so shall I require you, & in her graces name charge you that bee here present, not to come there, but that you and such as be absent taking knowledge herby, repair to such places as I the quenes shireffe & officer shal appoynt you, with such ayde as you can

<43> 25 <sig D>

bring for the better seruice of the queene & the shire, wher you shal be assured to receiue comforte, thanks, and honestie to thende of youre liues and your posteritye. And thother waye but endles shame and vtter vndoinge to you and yours, whiche shall be worste to your selues, and yet a great grieffe to vs youre neighbours, whose aduise in all other youre priuate causes you haue been content to folowe, & nowe in this waightiest that hathe or maye happen to you, will refuse vs and folow them that hathe euer abused you to your & their vtter confusion.

At Malling the xxvii. of Ianuary, Anno Mariae primo.

God saue queene Marye and all her well wyllers.

<44>

The shireff readinge this exhortation, caused one Barrham a gentleman and seruaunt to the lorde Aburgaueny to pronounce it as he read it, so loude and so distinctlye as the people assembled rounde aboute hym to a verie great numbere in maner of a ringe might easly here and vnderstand euery word proceding from Barrham, who of his owne head cried out vnto them: You maye not so mucche as lyfte vp your finger against your kyng or queene. And after the people had hearde the shireffes exhortation, & cried God saue queene Marie, whiche they dyd moste heartely, spending therein a conuenient tyme, the shyreffe vsed these wordes vnto them. Masters (quod he) althoughe I a

<45> 26

lone dyd speake vnto you, yet what wordes were spoken too you by me were also spoken to

The shiref  
fes spech to  
the multi  
tude.

you by the lorde Aburgauenye  
and all the gentlemen here pre=  
sent, in whose persons I then  
spake, and now require at your  
handes a playne and resolute  
aunswere. Wyl you nowe ther=  
fore ioyne with such as you see  
euidently to be arrant traitours,  
or els with the lord Aburgau=  
nie and suche gentlemen as you  
see here present, that wyl liue &  
die with you in defense of oure  
rightfull queene agaynst these  
traitors? The people with one  
voyce defied Wyat and his com  
plices, as arrant traitours and  
saied that they now well espied  
they had but abused them.

The peo  
ples answer  
to the shiref

Wherefore in defense of queene

<46>

Wyates pro  
mise of Bar  
rams re=  
warde.

Marie they woulde dye vpon  
them, expressinge their mindes  
with suche earnest shoutes and  
cries, as shewed to procede vn=  
fainedly from their hartes, which  
after was confirmed by a bet=  
ter experience the day folowing  
as ye shall anone here. But by  
the waye ye shall vnderstande  
that Wyat hearing of this pro=  
clamation, sayde: I know that  
Barram well, but yet I neuer  
tooke hym to haue so wyde a  
throate, yf I liue I may happen  
to make hym crowe a hygher  
note in another place. What  
trowe ye should then haue be=  
come of the authour? In the  
Sundaye folowinge the lorde  
Aburgauenye the shiref and the  
rest of the gentlemen were de=  
termined to haue marched in

<47> 27

The Duke  
of Norf. &  
sir Henrye  
Gerninghams  
comminge  
to Graues=  
ende.

the morninge earelye towards  
Rochester to haue ayded the  
duke of Norfolke and sir Hen=  
rye Gerningham captain of the  
garde then being at Grauesend  
towards Wyat with a certain  
bande of whitecotes to the num  
ber of .vi.C. sent vnto them from  
London, whereof Breet and o=  
thers were their captaines. Ro=  
ger Appulton gentleman was  
also at Grauesende with the  
duke attendant to serue, where  
in lykewyse was Thomas  
Swane gentleman.

Roger Ap=  
pulton and  
Thomas  
Swan trus  
tie gentlemen.

This satterdaye at night the  
lorde Aburgauenye suspectinge  
that Wyat and hys complices

lynge within foure myles of them, and beinge so muche pro= uoked, in that they were in the day so rightly set forthe in their

<48>

The lorde Aburgaueni set the watche in person

A lorum at Malling.

colours at Malling, would for reuenge worke some annoiaunce to them or his band that night, either by a cammasado or by some other meane, did therefore to preuent the same set a stronge watch in the market place at Mallynge and other partes of entrie into the towne: and gaue the watch word him selfe before he wolde take any rest. But betwene one & two of the clocke in the night when euerye bodie was taken to rest sauing the watche, there happened a lorum, sundrie cri= inge: treason, treason, we are al betraied, in such sort that suche as wer in their beddes or new= lye rissen, thoughte verely that either Wyat with his band had been in the towne or very nere. The thing was so soden & hap=

<49> 28

A meaning of the rebels to bourne maister George Clarkes house.

pened in such a time as men not acquaynted with lyke matters were so amased, that some of them knewe not well what to do, and yet in thend it proued to nothing. For it grewe by a mes= senger that came verye late in the nighte desiryng to speake with the lorde Aburgaueny or maister shireff to geue them cer taine aduertisement that sir Hen rie Isleye, the two Kneuettes and certayne other with .v.C. weldishe menne were at Seue= nocke, and woulde march in the morning early from thence to= wardes Rochester, for the ayde of Wyat againste the duke of Norff. and in their waie burne and distroi the house of George Clarke aforesaied. Wherupon the Lord Aburgaueny and the

<50>

shireffe by thaduice of the gentle men afore named, for that the saied Clarke had been a painful and seruisable gentleman, chaun= ged their purposed iourney from Rochester, to incounter with Isleye and hys bande, to cutte them from Wyat & saue Clarke from spoile. And so in the mor=

The merching of the lord Aburgaueny and the shiriffe too incounter Isleye.

ninge earely beinge sundaye, the lord Aburgauenye the shireffe, Warram Sentleger, Richard Couert, Thomas Roydon, Antony Weldon, Henry Barney, George Clarke, Iohn Dodge, Th. Watton, Heughe Catlyn, Thomas Henley, Christopher Dorel, Heughe Cartwright, Iohn Sybil Esquiers, Iohn Clarke, Darsie of Wrotham, Thomas Chapman, Iames Barram, Iasper Iden, Iohan Lambe,

<51> 29

Wrotham heathe.

Barrowe grene.

Walter Heronden, Walter Taylor, Iohn Raynoldes, Thomas Tuttesham, Iohn Allen, and Thomas Holdiche gentlemen with yomen to the number of .vi. C. or there aboute merched oute of Mallinge in order tyll they came to Wrotham heath, where they mought easely here the sounde of the traitours drommes, & so makinge haste pursued them till they came to a place called Barrow grene, thorough which laye their right and redie waye that the traitours shoulde take merching from Seuenocke towards maister Clarke.

The lorde Aburgaueny beinge verye glad that he had preuented them in winning the grene, sent out spialles to vnderstande their nerenesse, and to discriue

<52>

The shrinkinge of the rebels.

their numbre, reposinge them selues there tyl the retourne of his spialles, who at their cominge, saied that he neded not to take further paynes to pursue them, For thei were at hand commynge towards hym as fast as they could march, which was gladde tydynges to the lorde Aburgauenye and hys bande. And taking order furthwith to sette his men in araye, he determined to abide theyr comminge, aud there to take or geue the ouerthrow. Which the traitours vnderstandynge, whether it was for that they misliked the match, or the place to fight, whiles the lord Aburgauenye and his band were busye in placing them selues, they shrancke as secretlye as they

<53> 30

coude by a bie waie. And were so farre gone before the Lorde Aburgauenie vnderstode thereof by his spialles, as for doubte of ouertaking them afore their comming to Rochester, he was driuen to make suche haste for the ouertakinge of them, as diuers of his fote men were farre behinde at the onset geuinge.

The displaynge of the rebels ensignes.

The first sighte that the Lorde Aburgauenie could haue of them after thei forsoke their purpose waie, was as thei ascended Wrotham hill directlie ouer Yaldam, Maister Peckams house, where thei thinkinge to haue great aduauntage by the winninge of the hill displaied their ensignes brauelie, seeminge to be in great ruffe. But it was not longe after or their corage

<54>

The rebels ouertaken. Blackesoll fielde.

was abated. For the lord Aburgauenye, the shireffe, and the rest of the gentlemen, with such other of the queenes true and faiethfull subiectes, as wyth great paynes takinge to clyme the Hyll, and to holde waye with the horsemen, ouertoke the rebelles at a fielde called Blackesoll fielde in the parishe of Wrotham a mile distant from the very top of the Hyll, where the lorde Aburgaueny, the shireffe, the gentlemen aforenamed, and other the quenes true & faithful subiectes handled them so hotte & so fiersly, that after a smale shot with long bowes by the traytours, & a fierse bragge shewed by some of the horsemen, they toke theyr flighte away as fast as they coude. Yet

The skyrmishe.

<55> 31

of them were taken prysoners aboute thre skore. In this conflict Warram Sentleger (who brought with him a good company of souldiours, & alwayes a seruisable gentleman) also George Clarke, Antony Weldon, and Richarde Clarke did verie honestlye behaue them selues.

William Sentleger hearynge of a fraye towardes, betwene the Queenes true Subiectes and the traytours, came to the lord Aburgaueny into the field with all haste, not an houre be-

fore the skirmishe, who with  
the rest of the gentlemen, with  
certaine of the lorde Aburga=  
uenyes and Shyreffes ser=  
uautes, beinge all well hor=  
sed serued faithfullye, and from  
thence chased the horsmen tyll

<56>

The chase  
of the horse  
men.

they came to a woode called  
Hartley woode foure miles di=  
stant from the place where the  
onset beganne. The Queenes  
true subiectes did so muche ab=  
horre their treason, and had the  
traitours in suche detestation,  
as with greate difficultie anye  
escaped with life that were ta=  
ken prisoners, and yet were thei  
al very wel armed & weopened  
and had also great aduantage  
by the place of fight. Sir Hen=  
rye Isleye laye all that night in  
the woode and fled after into  
Hampshire. The two Kneuettes  
being wel horsed were so haste=  
ly pursued, as thei were driuen  
to leaue their horse, and creepe  
into the woode, and for haste to  
rippe their bootes from theyr  
legges, and runne awaye in the

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vampage of their hose. The  
chase continued so longe as  
nyghte came on before it was  
full finished. Thus was Isley,  
the Kneuettes and their bande  
ouerthrowen by the faythfull  
seruice of diuers gentlemen and  
yomen seruinge vnder the lorde  
Aburgauenye and the shyreff,  
whose forwardenesse, corage,  
and wysedome, in thys trayte=  
rous broyle, no doubtte was ve=  
rie muche prayse worthie, as  
wel for their spedie accellerati=  
on of their strength, which (con  
sidering how they were euerye  
waye compassed with the trai=  
tours) was no smale matter in  
so litle space, and for their wise  
and politike handlinge also in  
kepinge them together from  
Wyat, who merueylouslye and

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by sundrie wayes soughte to  
allure them away. For had not  
they in their owne personne to  
the encouraginge of their com=  
panye aduentured farre, and  
by their wisdom, discretion,

and greate charge, politikelye handled the matter, some thinke that Wyat hadde been at London before he was loked for by anye good man, with no smale trayne: whose iourneye was greatly hindered, and hys companye verye muche discomfited by this repulse geuen to Isleye and his band. Where amongst other thinges Gods secret hand was greatly felt to the great comfort & present ayd of true subiectes against the traitours, who hauinge suche aduantage of the place (as in dede they hadde)

<59> 33 <sig E>

were lyke rather to gyue then receiue so foule an ouerthrowe. But this it is (you see) to serue in a true cause, and her whome God so fauoureth, that he wyll not suffer the malice and rage of her enemies at anye tyme to preuaile against her: to whome he hath geuen so many notable victories and soo miraculous; that her enemies myghte seme rather to haue ben ouerthrown Spiritu Dei, then vanquished humblye. The lorde Aburghuene the shiriffe and the gentlemen with them, after they had geuen humble thankes to God for the victorie (whiche they did verie reuerentlye in the field) & taken ordre for the prisoners, were driuen to deuide them selues for wante of harboroughe, and

Thankes  
geuen too  
GOD for  
victorie.

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vittaille for the souldiours that had well deserued bothe. The lorde Aburgaueny and certen with him wente to Wrotham. The shireffe & certen with hym to Otforde, where they hadde muhe to doo to get vittaile for their souldiours. The lorde Aburgaueny and the shiriffe suspecting that some of those gentlemen latelye discomfited in this skirmishe woulde not longe tarrye in the realme, but make shift to passe the seas, yea, and by spyng all vnderstandinge Wyat hym selfe with some of hys companye therunto bent, deuised to laye the countree aboute, that they mought not escape. And considering that they woulde not do it at Douer nor in that coste, they

knowing the lorde Warden to

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Thomas  
Dorrell of  
Scotney the  
yonger.

haue suche watche vnto theim,  
but rather for sundrie respectes  
at Rye or moore Southward,  
and hauynge greate proufe of  
Thomas Dorrell the younger  
hys fidelitie, he returned the  
same Dorrel, being newly come  
vnto him with .lxxx. men well  
appointed, into Sussex, geuing  
him streight charge that con=  
sulting with sir Iohan Guyld=  
forde, they should both day and  
nighte set sure watche for the  
passinge of any that way to the  
sea cost, & further to take suche  
ordre as no munition, fishe, wyne  
or other vitaille comming out of  
those partes should passe to the  
releif of the traitors.

Antony Kneuet, notwithstan=  
ding great and streight watche  
layed rounde about the countree

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Harpers  
runninge a=  
waye from  
Wyat.

by the shiriffe for thapprehensi=  
on of him and other that fled,  
arriued that sundaye at nyghte  
late at Rochester, where hys  
newes were so ioyful, that Har  
per furthwith found the meane  
to ridde him selfe out of their com  
pany without any leaue taking,  
and ran to the duke of Norff.  
to whome he semed so greatlye  
to lament his treason, that the  
duke piteinge hys case (the ra=  
ther for the longe acquaintaunce  
betwene them in tymes paste)  
receiued hym too grace. But  
within a daye after he ran from  
the duke and returned to hys  
olde mate, as hereafter shal ap=  
pere. Wyat hearinge of Isleye  
his ouerthrowe, and vnderstan=  
dinge by the proceding at Mal=  
linge the daye before that those

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thinges sette furthe in his pro=  
clamations, wherby he thought  
his strength at home to be most  
surely knit vnto him, were now  
become rather a weakenynge  
then otherwise: the people there  
being readie to fal from him for  
his so abusinge of them, he fell  
into so great extreme anguyshe  
and sorowe, as writing a letter  
of expostulation to some of his  
familiaris abroad, in reprehensi=

Wyats bewailing his case with eeaes  
Wyats cote of fence quilted with angels.

on of their infidelitie, in that they sticked not to him so faste as they promised, he bedewed the paper whervpon he wrote with teares issuing so abundant=lye from his eyes, as it woulde beare no inke, and so leauing to write, callinge for a priuie cote that he had quilted with angels not long afore, whiche mought

<64>

Wyates practise to flye by sea.

serue bothe for his defense, and refuge for hys necessitie beinge in another countree, he practised with suche as were nere vnto him where they mought haue redie passage and most for their suretie to take the sea. For Englande sayed he, is no place for vs to rest in. His company also shranke from him as fast as they coulde deuise meanes to escape: wherunto Thomas Isleye and others had a greater respecte then himselfe, he semying to take care for nothings, but howe he mought safely conuey him selfe, beinge well frended, as it was thought with some of the ship=maisters.

Wyat mated

Thus was Wyat so mated by the lorde Aburgaueny, the shy=refe and their band, as he was

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at his wittes ende, as ye haue hearde, and cheifely by keypyng him from that, whiche by spiall about him they afterwarde vnderstode him specially to desier, whiche was offer of battail: he and his beinge fully persuaded that there coulde bee no greate force raised agaynst him in the shyre, whereof the moste parte should not be his when it shuld come to the shewe. Wherein although he mought be deceiued, as in dede he was, yet his quarrell with the disposition of the people thereunto well considered, with the end of hys traueil, whiche coulde be but spoyle and rauens, redy meanes and lures to drawe the careles multitude vnto him: It semed to the lorde Aburgaueny & suche as serued

<66>

with hym better policie for to werye Wyat & weaken him by the cutting away of his strength

from him, then to offer him bat=  
tell tyll the duke of Norffolkes  
comming: whome the lorde A=  
burgaueny & the shyriffe knewe  
to be at hande towardes Wyat:  
vnto whom they and al the gen  
tlemen of their band after their  
skirmishe with Isley, made the  
haste possible they myght.

But before their commyng the  
case was wonderfully chaunged  
to the great discomforte of all  
the quenes true subiectes: and  
that came to passe that of al men  
was lest feared. For who was  
it that suspected such cruel and  
malitious disposition to remaine  
in anye Englyshe hearte to=  
wardes hys countrye, in anye

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subiectes thought towarde his  
Soueraygne, that receyuyng  
her graces armoure, weapon,  
and money, woulde haue play=  
ed so traiterous a part as these  
captaynes did with their band?  
It is so straunge a case as the  
world neuer saw. It is so mali  
cious a part, as the lew wold  
not haue done the like, hauyng  
receyued hys hyre to serue.

So it was that the noble  
Duke beyng an auncient and  
worthy captayne, & yet by long  
imprisonment so dyswonted  
from the knowledge of our ma  
licious world, & the iniquitie of  
our time, as he suspectinge no=  
thyng lesse than that whyche  
folowed, but iudgyng euerye  
man to accorde with him in de=  
sier to serue truelye, marched

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further the Mondaye aboute  
tenne of the clocke in the mor=  
nyng from Grauesende to  
Strowd towardes Rochester,  
and aboute foure of the clocke  
in the after noone of the same  
dai, he arriued at Strowd nere  
vnto Rochester, hauyng with  
him the captayne of the garde,  
Maurice Griffith now bishop  
of Rochester, Sir Edwarde  
Braye, sir Iohn Fogge knigh=  
tes, Iohn Couerte, Roger Ap=  
pulton esquiers, and Thomas  
Swan gentleman, with cer=  
tayne of the garde, and other  
to the number of CC. or there  
aboute, besides Bret and other

The dukes  
marchinge  
from strowde  
to Rochest.

The names  
of the gen  
tlemen ser  
uing vnder  
the duke.

Bret chiefe  
captayne of  
the whitco=  
tes.

fiue captaynes, who with their  
bande beyng sixe hundred all  
in whitecoates taried behinde  
at a hyll called Spittell hyll,

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nere vnto Strowd, whyles the  
Duke went to Strowde to see  
the planting of the ordinaunce.  
Whiche beinge readie charged  
and bente vpon the towne of  
Rochester, and perceyuyng  
Wyat and the other traytours  
by hanginge out of theyr flag=  
ges vpon the bridge wall, to be  
in great brauerie, whiche consi=  
deryng the miserable state they  
were in the night before, coule  
not be (hadde they not recey=  
ued some newe comfote by  
some trayterous meane,) the  
Duke commaunded one of  
the peices to be fired for shotte  
into Rochester. And as the gun  
ner was fyeriing the piece, syr  
Edwarde Brayes eldest sonne  
came in all the hast to the Duke  
sayinge. Syr dyd not I tell youre

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grace this morninge that yonder  
false wretches wold deceiue you?  
Howe know you that quod the  
Duke. why syr (quod Braye) you  
maye see them as false traytours  
bent agaynst you. And immedi=  
atly Bret and other captaynes  
of the whitcoates with theyr  
bande being vpon the hyll and  
at the backe of the duke, made  
greate and loude shoutes sun=  
drie tymes cryng: we are all  
englishe men, we are all englishe  
men, fashioninge them selues  
in araye readie bent with their  
weapons to set vpon the duke  
if he had made any resistance.  
Wherevpon the duke and the  
Captayne of the Garde com=  
maunded the pieces that were  
bent vppon the towne, to bee  
toured vppon Bret and hys

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bande. But vpon further consi=  
deration the shotte was spared.  
And the Dukes grace with the  
captayne of the Garde syr Hen=  
rye Gernyngham consideringe  
not without bledinge heartes  
their chiefe strengthe thus tour=  
ned vppon them, so that they  
were nowe enuironed both be=

The reuolt  
of the Cap  
taines of the  
whitcotes &  
their band.

Harper re=  
toured to  
his olde  
mate.

hynde and before with trayte=  
rous enemies, shifted them  
selues awaye, as did also their  
companye. After whose depar=  
ture Wyat accompanied with  
twoo or thre and not many moe,  
came oute of Rochester halfe a  
mile from the towne at the lest,  
too mete the sixe Captaines of  
the whytcoates. Amongest  
whome was Harper, notwith=  
standinge hys crouching and  
knelinge before the Duke, and

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faire promises that he would<e>  
vndertake that Wyate shoulde  
haue yelded. Who fotinge afore  
the other Captaynes, with hys  
sworde drawen, saide to Wyat.  
I promised you a good tourne and  
saye not nowe but I haue paied  
it. Whoo had seen the imbra=  
sing, clyppyng and congra=  
tulation vsed at thys metynge,  
frome traytour to traytoure,  
myghte iustlye wonder therat.  
Shortly after they had wel cla=  
wed one another, they went to=  
gether lyke them selues into  
Rochester. When this of all o=  
ther moste infortunate chauce  
came to the knowlege of the  
Lorde Aburgauenye, the shy=  
reffe & their frendes, they were  
not a litle troubled with the  
straungenes of the case, muche

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doubtinge that the people whi=  
che before seemed to be brought  
to good frame, woulde be im=  
paired by this alteration, and  
suche as were afore euill dispo=  
sed woulde not be greatlye a=  
mended thereby.

The shiref  
fes being at  
Maydston.

The shireffe beinge the same  
night at Maydstone, that had  
come the same daye from Ot=  
forde fourtene myles distaunte  
to meete with Thomas Guil=  
forde, Steuen Dorrell, Ed=  
ward Horden, Iohn Robartes  
and Iohn Finche Esquiers, to  
marche towardes the Duke,  
and in the mornyng soe farre  
from any mistrust of that whi=  
che folowed the same daye at  
Rochester, as hauinge no sure  
place to conueye the prisoners  
taken the dai before in the skir=  
=

<74>

mishe with Isleye. He lefte the chiefest and trustiest of his seruantes and frendes, bothe gentlemen and yomen of al his bande at Malling for the sauergarde of the prysoners, where also laye the Lorde Aburgaueny and his bande, doubtinge that Isleye and the rest that escaped woulde haue made some meane that night to haue recovered the prisoners, sundrye of them being men of good welth and well frended, and liynge within foure miles of Wyat.

The shirif  
fes secrete  
retourne to  
Mallinge.

Upon these newes whether it were for the absence of the lord Aburgaueny and his strength, or mistrustinge false measure in the towne, or moued with example of the reuolte of the whitcotes, he thought (it should

<75> 41 <sig F>

seeme, Maydston no mete place for him to make any abode, nor yet good policie, al partes considered, to disclose the time of his remouing, but iudginge playnlye him selfe thonly marke of these partes, whereat the traytours shotte, or falling any waies into their handes, so newly after the case of the duke, one part of the tragedie to be then ended: he returned to his strengthe, geuing knowledge to the gentlemen remayninge in Maydstone to repaire to his house for consultation, what was to be done for the redubbinge of that vnhappye chaunce. In whiche consultation there dyd rise so manye different opinions, some saiyng they would to the Queene, and some to the Earle of Penbroke

<76>

being her graces lieuetenant, that the shiriffe without further debating, intreatinge the lorde Aburgaueny and certayne gentlemen to remaine and entertaine suche of their bandes as they coulde holde tyll his retourne, whiche he promised shoulde be without delay, went to the counsel for knowledge of their pleasure: where he taried vneth two houres but returned in post the same night. And at his comming the lord Aburgaueny and he assembled as many of their force

as they could call together.

The traitours and their fren=des were growen as men reui=ued from deathe to lyfe, flatte=ring them selues that a thinge so farre aboue mennes expecta=

<77> 42

tion coulede not haue happened to them so fortunatlye, but by Gods miraculous prouision, as fauouring greatly their case: & so blewe it abrode as well by winde as by writinge, the more part of the people beinge readie to beleue it, as the case in the heades of the multitudes was wonderfullye chaunged bothe for strength and opinion.

Wyates aduertisement to the duke of Suffolke

Wyat aduertised by his letter the duke of Suffolke of his victorie by Gods prouision (as he termed it). Whose letter was intercepted in Essex, as the messenger passed the ferie, by a ser=uaunt of syr Robert South=wels, and brought to the coun=sell. He wrote also to the duke of Norff. but in another style, his letters being open & impor=ting suche matter as foloweth.

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Wyats letter to the Duke of Norffolke.

Be it knowen to al men, and speciallye to the duke of Norffolke that I haue taking nothing in hand, but that I wil maintaine with the expense of my life: which before it depart out of my bodie, shalbe solde full dere. &c.

An inuention against the neuters.

Such of those partes as honge in the wind, as neuters, wher=of were no small nombre that had lurked in caues al the tyme=pest, watching but wher sholde become the victorie: that for ex=ample of the euill were nothing inferiour to the arrantest tray=ours, but rather for a nombre of respectes muche worse, began to appeare verie cherefull, geuing them selues great than=kes for handling the matter so finely, that conueiyng them selues out of the way by their policie,

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could auoide charge and peril so wittely. And as they met with suche as had serued faiethfully (with whom thei durst be franke) thei spared not to open their mouthes largely, powring out suche

language as could be but lamentable, or rather odible to euerie true eare, to vnderstande any subiecte so farre peruerted from hys allegiaunce and dutie, that for gayne or securitie of their owne persones, would reioyce in sittinge styll as indifferent, where the crown is a partie: or to persuade securitie to them selues be they neuer in so stronge a holde, where their soueraigne is in perill. Whiche (all things rightly weyed) semed a straunge persuasion, to accompt either gayne or sauinge in spa-

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ring some parte of the accidentes by sitting still, to aduenture the losse of the principall, where vpon life & the wholle dependeth: or by affectinge a litle corruption inordinatly, to lose bothe honest fame and good opinion of his countree, whiche euery honest man oughte to seke to preserue as tenderly as the wel doinge of him selfe and his wholle posteritie. Thus maye we euidentlye se the diuers effectes of diuers inclinations accordyng to trueth & vntrueth of perfite obedience preuailing in mennes hartes. These neuters or counterfetes that woulde be neither open foes, nor aduenturous frenedes, but as wyly vultures hovering in the winde to catch & gripe some parte of the pray, al-

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thoughe they would no parte of the pray, persuaded them selues to saue that whiche in their opinion the true heartye subiecte should lose by geuinge suche aduenture: that was securitie of bodie & goodes. Whiche graunt they saued, yet in the iust iudgemente of the honest they deserued therby the same blotte of infamie that is due to the open enemies. On the other side the true and faiethful, whose hartes and handes suche dimme colour of vnthankfull policie could not withhold from the vtterance of nedefull seruice in such general case of daunger, thought it rather a gaine to aduenture bo-dye and goodes, wherby either to preserue the heade and the

wholle, which was cruelly pur=

<82>

sued, or at least by defense of the same to purchace vnto them & their names the honest opinion of vnspotted membres, and the immortalitie of good fame, wherewith trueth alwaies rewardeth vnfained seruice. For such an incomparable vertue is faiethfull loyaltie, so muche abhorryng all corruptible allurementes, that whose hartes shee hathe in gouernance, with suche neither sauour of gaine, nor hope of securitie, neyther persuasion of frendshippe, ne other intisement can so muche preuaile, as for any respect they wil digresse from the right course of true seruice. Where the contrarie wanting that perfection, to tast the gaine of fortunes corruptible membres, wherafter they gape

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to obtayne quiet to the restyue carcasse and lucre to them selues, the thinge they onely seke, are easlye drawen to Runne a cleane contrarie race.

This naughtie broode therefore of counterfetes, of all other not tollerable in a common weale, are speciallye to be looked to in their begynnyng, leaste their euill example by long sufferance growe to suche a president at the laste, that the common saynge, Good to slepe in a whole skinne, beinge espied to escape without daunger or reprehension, bee taken vp for a pollicye, and thereby outweye the iuste peize of bounden duetye.

After this moste vnhappye chaunce, the traytours wyth

<84>

their newe adiunctes, fell to a graet and solemne counsell that same nyghte at Rochester, for their procedinge in their pretended treason. In discourse whereof proceded suche vnfittinge talke as well towardes the Queenes hyghnes, as her honorable counsell, tendinge to the alteration of the whol state, as abhorred the eares of some of the selfe traytours, that vn=

A consultation of the rebels after the reuolte by the whit cotes.

derstandinge by that talke the  
ende of their purpose, whereof  
before they were ignoraunte,  
wished them selues vnder the  
earthe, for beyng so vnhap=  
pye as to be so much as acquaint  
ted with so damnable an enter=  
prise. Such an opinion had they,  
as they demed very fewe coun=  
sellers or officers of authoritie

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or of nobility within the realme  
worthy the place whereunto  
they were called. And persua=  
dinge greate choyse to be amon  
geste them selues for the sup=  
plyng of that want, suche o=  
uerweninge had they of them  
selues, and made so sure a re=  
keninge of the victorie, as they  
disposed the honourable offices  
of the realme among them selues.  
Wyat thought him selfe now so  
sure of the victory, as seing him  
that offered to sell his spones  
and all the plate he had, rather  
then his purpose should quaille,  
and suppe his potage with hys  
mouth, warranted him that he  
shoulde eate hys potage with  
siluer as he did. England when  
good counsell shoulde stande it  
in moste auaylable stede, neded

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no better counselours then such  
as they were, yf they had halfe  
the witte thei thought them sel=  
ues to haue, coupled with grace  
and honestie. But what they  
had in dede, their actes declare  
playnly to their owne confusion,  
as it hath alwayes, & euer here=  
after shal, to as manye as be of  
like disposition. One of them  
that had some witte in dede, al=  
though he wanted grace, per=  
ceyuing by their talke in what  
fonde frensie they were entred,  
to interrupte them therein, he  
sayde, that suche matters were  
good to be treated of at fur=  
ther oportunitie. But for the  
present, it were mete to diuise  
vpon their nexte iourneye, and  
whether it shoulde be good po=  
licie in them mindyng to march

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towards London, to leaue the  
Lorde Aburgauenye and the  
shirefe at libertie, that annoyed

A devise to apprehende the shireffe.

their frendes, & by al likelyhode woulde not so cease, as they maye or dare at their backe beinge left at large. One of them takinge vpon him firste to answer, thought nothinge more necessarie then their sequestration. And if his aduise myghte haue ben heard in the beginning, the shireffe should haue been in hold (as I haue heard) before any thing shuld haue been attempted. But the captaines to the whitcotes, mete counselours for such an enterprise, hauinge the spoyle of London in their eyes, woulde not dispute that was paste: but for the present they persuaded cleane contrarye to

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The misrekening of the rebels vpon London.

the former opinion: saying that their goinge aboute the apprehension of the shireffe shoulde be but a losse of time. For London sayde they, longed soore for their comminge, whiche they coulde by no meane protracte without breidinge great peryll and weikenes to them selues. And hauing London at their commaundement, wherof they wer in no maner of doubt, yf it were not loste by theyr slouth, their reuenge to the lord Aburgaueny, the shireffe, with other their enemies wold easlye folow. Wyat sauoring full well their disposition, & vnderstanding their meaning by their argumentes, & knowing also that withoute his assentinge therevnto, he coulde not longe haue

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The assault of Cowling castell.

their companye, yelded to their counsell. And so beyng out of measure exalted into hault courage and pryde by the reuolt of the white cotes, he marched the daye after beyng Twesday in great pompe and glory, caryng with him vi. pieces of ordinaunce (whiche they had gotten of the quenes) besides their owne, to Cowling castle, a holde of the Lorde Cobhams, foure myles distant from Rochester, and not much out of their way towards London, where the lord Cobham was. Wyat at his comming to Cowling castle, bent his ordinaunce against the gate, & with

great and sundry shottes & fyre  
brake and burned vppe a waye  
through the gate. The Lorde  
Cobham defended his castle as

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stoutly as any man might do,  
hauing so fewe against so great  
a numbre and so litle munition,  
him selfe discharging his gunne  
at suche as approched the gate  
right hardely. And in that as=  
sault two of his own men were  
slaine. After this assault & talk  
with the lorde Cobham, Wyat  
marched to Grauesende where  
he reposed that night.

Wyates  
marching to  
Dartforde.

The com=  
ming of the  
maister of  
the horse &  
syr Tho=  
mas Corne=  
walles to  
Wyat.

From Grauesende he & his  
bande marched the wednesday  
nexte after to Dartford, where  
he reposed that night: whether  
came sir Edwarde Hastings  
maister of the Quenes horse,  
and sir Thomas Cornewalles  
knightes, both of her graces ho=  
norable preuie counsell, sent from  
the quene to Wyat, to vnderstand  
the cause of his commotion, and

<91> 49 <sig G>

also (as it was sayde) finding  
any repentant submission in him  
to promise pardon, or at the lest  
great hope therof. Wyat vnder=  
standing their comming, & taking  
with him certen of his band, went  
to the weast ende of the towne  
where he had planted his ordi=  
naunce, & at the lighting of mai=  
ster Hastings & syr Thomas  
Cornewalles from their horsse,  
Wyat hauing a partesyn in his  
hand, aduanced himselfe somewhat  
afore suche gentlemen as were  
with him, & vsing but litle reue=  
rence due from a subiect to counse=  
lours, traced nere them, to whom  
the maister of the horsse spake  
in substaunce as foloweth. The  
quenes maiestie requireth to vn=  
derstand the very cause, wherfore  
you haue thus gathered together

Pryde.

<92>

in armes her liege people, whiche  
is the part of a traitour, and yet in  
your proclamations and persuasi=  
ons you call your selfe a true sub=  
iecte, which can not stande toge=  
ther. I am no traitor quod Wy=  
at, & the cause wherfore I haue  
gathered the people, is to de=  
fend the realme from ouer running

Wyates ar=  
rogant aun  
swere.

by straungers, whiche muste  
folowe, this mariage takynge  
place. why quod the queenes agen=  
tes, there be no strangers yet come,  
whome eyther for power or num  
bre ye nede to suspecte. But yf this  
be your only quarrell, because ye  
mislyke the mariage: wyll ye come  
to communication touching that  
case, and the quene of her graci=  
ous goodnes is content ye shall be  
hearde, To whom Wyat shaped  
suche answer, as clerly mought

<93> 50

declare his malicious entent &  
traiterous heart to the quenes  
owne person and royall estate.  
I yelde therto quod Wyat, but  
for my suertie, I wyll rather be  
trusted than trust. And therefore  
I demaunde the custodie of the  
tower, & her grace in the tower,  
the displacing of certen counsel=  
lers, and placing other in their  
roumes, as to me shall seeme  
best. Vpon this leude answere,  
longe and stoute conference was  
betwene them. In so muche that  
the maister of the horse said vn=  
to him with a stout corage, wy=  
at, before thou shalt haue that thy  
traiterous demaunde graunted, thou  
shalte dye and .xx.M. with thee.  
Shortly after the maister of the  
horse, with maister Cornewal=  
les finding him an arrant trai=  
tour, & desperatly set to all mis=  
chiefe, retourned to the quenes  
maiestie. The common people be=  
ing with him, & calling to their  
remembrance how Wyat in al ap  
parance made his whole matter  
of styr, for strangers, & no waies  
against the quene, & perceyuing  
how vnreuerently he vsed him  
selfe aswell to the quenes harrold  
at Rochester, as to the priuie coun=  
sel at Dartford, & considering  
with themselves also that he wold suf  
fer none of the quenes procla=  
mations to be read among them:  
their hartes began to ryse a=  
gainst him. And among them sel=  
fes sundrie of them much murmu=  
red, wissinge with the losse of  
all thei had, they had neuer been  
acquainted with Wyat nor his  
doinges: and in dede sought as

<94>

tour, & desperatly set to all mis=  
chiefe, retourned to the quenes  
maiestie. The common people be=  
ing with him, & calling to their  
remembrance how Wyat in al ap  
parance made his whole matter  
of styr, for strangers, & no waies  
against the quene, & perceyuing  
how vnreuerently he vsed him  
selfe aswell to the quenes harrold  
at Rochester, as to the priuie coun=  
sel at Dartford, & considering  
with themselves also that he wold suf  
fer none of the quenes procla=  
mations to be read among them:  
their hartes began to ryse a=  
gainst him. And among them sel=  
fes sundrie of them much murmu=  
red, wissinge with the losse of  
all thei had, they had neuer been  
acquainted with Wyat nor his  
doinges: and in dede sought as

<95> 51

A craftie policie.

many waies as thei could to be rid of him. Whiche perceiued by Wyat and his mates, they de= used a brute to be sounded in his bande, that the lord Abur= gaueny & the shyreffe did cause to be hanged as manye as they could take comming from Wyates bande. Wherewith the people standing in a great mase what to doe, were wonderfullye per= plexed. The queene vnderstan= ding by the master of the horse and sir Thomas Cornewalles, the arrogancie of Wyat, and notwithstanding that she per= ceyued her merciful inclination rather to prouoke him then o= therwise, yet semed she nothing willinge euen then by violence and force (as she easly mought) to suppress him. But yet a lon=

<96>

The suit of the nobles to the quene

ger time to suffer and abide, yf by delay and mercie, her enemy mought be wonne to reconcilia= tion. The nobilitie which were at that time with her grace, per= ceiuing such surmounting mer= cie, rather to increase then anye wayes to abate courage & ma= lice in the insolent and proude heart of the traytours, & fur= ther vnderstandinge that the traitours demed the contation or forbearing to procede rather of debilitie & feare, then of mer= cye, and clemencye, counsel= led with her grace, that wyth her gracious leaue and licence, they mought set vpon hym and his band, before he should passe Blacke heath: declaring that to suffre suche an arrogant tray= tour, being but a meane mem=

<97> 52

The quenes answer to the nobles.

ber to approche thus contemp= tuously so nere her royall per= son (as it were in defiaunce of her grace, & her true subiectes) shoulde greatlye redounde to their dishonours in the opinion of all faythfull men throughe= out the world. The quene gaue them all moste heartie and lo= uing thankes, saying that she nothinge doubted of their true heartes towarde her. Yet was she lothe to make anye profe or triall therof, in suche quarell as shoulde be with losse of bloude.

For to repressse them with violence, and subdue them by the sworde, could not haue so happy successe, but manye of my pore subiectes (quod she) should derelye bye it, with the losse of their liues. Wherefore she deter=

<98>

mined to suffer as longe as she mought, and to forbear that practice, til there were no other hope ne remedie. For albeit, in the Capitall traitours there coulde be but great default, yet in the multitude, she was persuaded to be no malice, but onely misled by their captaines, and rather seduced by ignorance then vpon any euyl purpose ment to her grace. Wherefore she desired them to be contented: for she was fully determined to continue her merciful sufferance, and other her gentle meanes soo longe as shee mought, and vanquish her enemies without the sword, if any sparcle of obedience, or natural zeale remaine in their heartes. Notwithstanding she required

<99> 53

them to prepare and retayne their force in a readines, if their stonie heartes should driue her to vse extremitie.

But her highnes doubtynge that London beinge her chamber, and a citie holden of dere price in her princelye hearte, might by Wyat and suche Ruffens as were with him, bee in daunger of spoyle to the vtter ruine of the same: her highnes therefore, as a moste tender and louinge gouernesse, went the same daye in her royall person to the guilde halle, to forsee those perylles: where amonge other matter procedinge from her incomparable wysedome, her grace declared how she had sent that day, two of her priuie counsel to the traitour Wyat,

The Queenes speche in the guild halle in London.

<100>

desirous rather to quiet thys tumulte by mercie, then by iustice of the sword to vanquishe, whose most godly heart fraught with al mercie & clemencie, abhorred from al effusion of bloude.

Her highnes also there shewed the insolent and proud answere returned from Wyat. Wherat the faithful citezens wer much offended, and in playne termes defied him as a most ranke trai tour, with all his coniurates.

And touching the mariage her highnes affirmed, that nothing was done therin by her selfe alone, but with consent and aduisement of the whole counsel, vpon deliberate consultation, that this coniunction and seconde mariage shoulde greatly aduaunce this realme (where

<101> 54

vnto she was firste married) to much honour, quiet, and gaine. For (quod her grace) I am alreadie married to this common weale, & the faythful membres of the same, the spousall ringe whereof I haue on my fynger, which neuer hitherto was nor hereafter shalbe leaft of. Prote stinge vnto you nothinge to be more acceptable to my hart, nor more aunswereable to my wyl, then youre aduaancement in wealthe and welfare, with the furtheraunce of Gods glorye. And to declare her tender and princely heart towardes them, she promised constantlye not to depart from them, although by her counsel she had been much moued to the contrarye, but woulde remaine nere & prest, to

<102>

aduenture the spense of her royall bloude in defense of them.

Suche matter passed from her besides, as did so wonderfully inamour the heartes of the hearers, as it was a world to heare with what shoutes they exalted the honour and magnanimitie of Quene Mary.

This done her grace returned towardes white hall, and passinge thorowe the streates, beinge full of people, pressinge to beholde her grace, wherein they hadde singular delite, and pleasure: One amongst all moste impudent of all others, stepped furthe sayinge: youre grace maye doe well to make youre forewarde in battayll of your Byshoppes and Priestes,

A malepart  
artificer.

for they be trustie and wyll not

<103> 55

deceyue you. For whiche wor=  
des he was commaunded to  
Newgate, who deserued to be  
hanged at the next boughe for  
example of all other, so impu=  
dentlie and arrogantlie to as=  
saulte his Soueraygne and  
Queene, with suche seditious  
and trayterous language.

The voice went that he was an  
hosier, out of al doubt he was  
a traitour & an heretike, whose  
heart was whollye in Wyates  
bosome, althoughe his bodye  
was absent. For it was not possi=  
ble any faithfull subiect or true  
christian to vtter suche shame=  
lesse speche to his liege Ladye  
and Princesse as he dyd then.  
But suche is the fruite of here=  
sie, contempt of God and man,  
as by dayly experience is seene.

<104>

Wyates  
marching  
to Detford  
strande.

The thursdaye nexte aftere  
Wyat hauing .xiii. ensignes in  
his bande, and not paste foure  
thousande men, although they  
were accompted of a far grea=  
ter nombre, marched to Det=  
forde strande, eight myles from  
Dartforde, and within foure  
miles of London. Where, vpon  
such aduertisemente as he re=  
ceyued by spiall of the queenes  
beinge in the Guilde hall, and  
the order of the people to her,  
he remayned that night and the  
next whole daye, diuerse of his  
owne companie doubtinge by  
his longer tarynge there then  
he did in other places, with o=  
ther presumptions, that he wolde  
haue passed the water into Es=  
sex. His prisoners as maister  
Christopher Roper, George

<105> 56

The depar  
ting of mai=  
ster Christo  
pher Roper  
and maister  
Dorrell from  
Wyat.

Dorrel of Calehil, Iohn Tucke  
Esquiers, who were kepte  
verye straytlye beinge sickelye,  
and hauinge within the towne  
no conueniente harborowe or  
attendaunce, were licensed by  
Wyat vpon promisse of their  
wurshyppe to be trewe pryso=  
ners, to prouyde for them sel=  
ues out from the towne where  
they best myght. But they thin=  
king no part of theyr worshippe

Wyates  
marchinge  
to South  
warke.

stained in breaking promise with  
a traitoure, soughte waies to  
escape, & came no more at him.

On the Saterdaye folow=  
inge verye earlye Wyat mar=  
ched to Southwarke, wher ap=  
prochinge the gate at London  
bridge fote, called for the ope=  
ninge of the same: whiche he  
founde not so readie as he lo=  
<106>

ked for. After he had ben a litle  
whyle in Southwarke, dy=  
uerse of the souldiers wente to  
Winchester place, where one  
of them beyng a gentleman,  
began to shewe his game, be=  
fore all the cardes were full  
dealed: I meane to ryffle and  
spoyle, whiche in dede was the  
determinate ende of theyr pur=  
pose, but the tyme was not yet  
come, not they come to the place  
where they shoulde begynne it.  
Wherunto Wyat hauyng fur=  
ther respecte then the younge  
gentleman hadde, shewed hym  
selfe with sterne and fiery vi=  
sage so mucche to be offended  
with his doinges, that he made  
diuers beleue that he woulde  
haue hanged hym vppon the  
wharffe.

<107> 57 <sig H>

Which wherof it grewe, either  
of hatred to the euil, or of pol=  
licie to purchace credite to a fur=  
ther mischeif, as wel the nature  
and course of rebellion, as also  
Wyates owne wordes may eas=  
ly let vs vnderstande. Who the  
mondaye nexte afore his sturre  
deuising with two of his frendes  
for the execution of his preten=  
ded purpose, one of them at length  
said vnto him: I haue no doubt  
but you shalbe hable to assemble  
a great force, but howe you shal  
be hable to continue the same  
with you, hauing not sufficient  
treasure and money, the onlye  
bayte wherwith the multitude  
is holden, I stand much in doubt.  
What then quod Wyat? Marye  
sayd the other, me thinketh a  
good way for youre prouision

<108>

therof, after youre force is once  
gathered, that ye apprehend the  
lorde Warden, the lorde Abur=

gaueny, sir Robert Southwel,  
sir Thomas Moyle, with other  
of whose heartes and affection  
toward you and your case you  
stande in doubt: wherby ye shal  
not onlye haue them in saftie,  
whiche are most like within the  
shire to withstande your enter=  
prise, but also prouide you bothe  
treasure and money (which they  
wante not) for the relief of your  
bande. Ah quod Wyat, is thys  
the best counsell ye can geue? If  
we pretende to kepe out straun=  
gers, & begin oure quarell with  
the spoile of our owne countree  
men, what wil the whole realme  
trowe ye then deme of vs? Nay  
your aduice is nought, and your

<109> 58

waye the nexte waye to accele=  
rate oure confusion. For if we  
wyll goo forward in our mat=  
ter, and make the beest of it too  
our purpose: spoyle, and tiran=  
nye may not be our guides. We  
must by all meanes deuise, and  
al litle inoughe, to continue good  
opinion in the heades of the mul=  
titude of some plausible ende  
to succede by our sturre: other=  
wise we vndoe oure selues. For  
perceiuing at our entrie that our  
myndes runne of spoyle, whoo  
wil not rather resist vs, & abide  
the aduenture of that, wherof we  
beare them in hande, then to be  
in certaine to be spoyled by vs?  
And I see no cause whye you  
shoulde doubte of wante of mo=  
ney, seinge ye knowe that suche  
gentlemen as are confedered

<110>

with vs keping appointment,  
their souldiours shall come re=  
die furnisshed to beare theyre  
owne charges for .ix. daies, and  
our happe shal be verie harde, if  
we be not at London shortelye  
after we stirre, and that with so  
great a company as shalbe oute  
of daunger to be stopped by any  
of the shire vpon suche a sodene,  
or letted of entrie into London  
finding halfe the frendes there  
as we thinke to haue. And be=  
ing ones in London, and hauing  
the tower in our handes, I trust  
you thinke we shall not lacke  
money longe after, yf any be to  
be hadde there, or in the Alder=

Wyates re=  
kening of the  
spoile of the  
tower and  
London.

mens coffers. To that sayd the other, that had spoken as yet neuer a worde: I knowe com= moners in London that haue

<111> 59

more redy money then some of the Aldermenne. Softe quod Wyat, I praye you in anywyse forbear all suche talke tyll we come to the place where we wold be. In meane time let vs worke secretly, and by all tokens and signes, shewe our selues to fauoure and mayntayne our pretence of straungers only. Such and the like communication was betwene Wyat and two other, the monday before his risynge. Wherby it is euident that their finall entent was to aduaunce them selues by spoyle of other mennes goodes, although they pretended otherwise. And to colour the same, Wyat so fell out with this gentleman for riffling the lorde Chauncelours house, that he made a number beleue

<112>

he woulde haue hanged him out of hande, had not Bret and o= ther entreated for hym.

The Lorde William Haward Admirall of Englande.

When they had lien in Southwarke a day or two, and founde them selues deceiued in London, whiche by the greate diligence and politike handlinge of that worthy and faiethfull knyght the lorde William Haward Admirall of England, that had the speciall charge therof with the aide of sir Tho. Whight knyght maior of London, his bretherne and citezens was soo well preserued, as the traitours thereby were disappointed of that they loked moost certenly for. Wyat as a man desperate, and setting all at sixe and seuen, aduenturinge the breakinge downe of a wall out of an house ioyning to

<113> 60

Wyates comynge into the porters lodge at the bridge fote.

Care away

the gate at the bridge fote, whereby he moughte enter into the leades ouer the gate, came downe into the lodge aboute a leaue n of the clocke in the night: where he founde the porter in a slomber, and his wife with o= ther waking, watchinge a cole. But seing Wyat, they began so=

denly to starte as greatly ama= sed. Whist, quod Wyat, as you loue your lyues, sit you still, you shal haue no hurt. Gladde were they of that warrante, pardye. What should thei do, people bet= ter accustomed with the tankerd of bere, to passe furth the night, then acquainted with target, and speare too indure to fyght? Wyat & a fewe with hym went furthe as farre as the drawe bridge: on the further side wher

<114>

of he sawe the lorde Admirall, the lorde Maiour, sir Andrewe ludde, and one or two other, in consultation for ordering of the bridge, wherunto he gaue dili= gent eare a good tyme and not seene. At length conceyued by their talke moore then he could digest, & perceyuyng the great ordinaunce there bent returned sayinge to his mates: this place is to hotte for vs. And when he was come to hys colleges and declarynge vppon his exployte what he had hearde and seene, they then all together fell to a newe counsell what was to be done. Some woulde then re= tourne to Grenewiche, and so passe the water into Essex, wherby their company as they thought, shoulde encrease, and

The rebels  
at their wit  
tes ende.

<115> 61

enter into London by Algate. And some woulde to Kingston vpon Teames, and so further West. And some, of the whiche Wyat himselfe was chiefe, wold retourne into Kent, to meete with the Lorde Aburgauenye, the lorde Warden, the shyreff, sir Thomas Moyle, sir Tho= mas Kempe, sir Thomas Finch, that were at Rochester comming on Wyates backe with a great com= pany wel appoynted: falsly per= suading hm selfe that he should find among them mo frendes then enemies. But whether his de= sire to returne into Kent grew vpon hope he had to fnde ayde there, or whether it was to shifte him selfe awaye, it was much doubted of his owne com panye. And some of them that

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knewe him well, excepte they were muche deceyued, reported not longe before their execution, that his desire to retire into Kent was onelye to shyfte hym selfe ouer the sea.

The Lorde Wardens beinge at Rochester towardes Wyat.

The Lorde Warden beinge nowe come to Rochester as ye hearde, and verye honourablye furnished with horse and menne well appoynted to no smale number, enteringe in consultation with suche gentlemen as were there, for the better procedyng in their seruice, shewed a great desier too accelerate the onset vpon the traitours: least malice shuld impute both his former & present staye, rather to want of forwardnesse, then to good policie. Wherefore he desyred to pursue after them with all ex-

<117> 62

pedition. Wherunto the gentlemen then beinge in armes with hym, sayed. As for your lordshyps contation hetherto, it shalbee weyed, not as fooles by fansye and malice deme, but as wyse menne shall measure it by theyr discretion of wysedom. We see not but vnaduised hardinesse & preproperous haste in mooste matters haue these twoo companions: Errour in the beginning, and Repentaunce in the ende. And for thys oure case, whoo so vnderstandeth the same, can not but confesse youre lordships deliberate forbearing to haue proceded of great wysedom, as wherin hast coulde li-tell preuaile. And wheras your lordshippe is so desirous to pursue after Wyat and hys bande,

<118>

you see howe they haue lyen in Southwarke and within four myles of London these foure dayes, and yet not medled with by the queenes armie beyng so nere. Which is neither for want of men, nor of forwardnesse in that noble gentleman the earle of Penbroke the queenes leutenant, but vpon greate policie and further respect, no doubt then we seeme to conceyue.

The earle of Penbroke the queenes leutenant.

Wherefore your lordshypp maye do better to pause, and firste to aduertise the queenes maiestie

and the lorde leuetenaunt both  
what youre lordeshyppe vppon  
graue and deepe consideration  
hath conceyued in this doubt=  
full tyme, and also in what rea=  
dinesse youre lordshyppe is and  
other gentlemen wyth you,

<119> 63

whose pleasures knowen, we  
maye then happelie procede in  
seruice bothe with good conten  
tacion to them aboue, and best  
suertie for our selues. Other=  
wyse if fortune shoulde not fa=  
uour our iourneye, ther may be  
thought in vs more impotent  
wyll to haste, then prouident  
policie to spede. And daunger  
hereby can none folowe, our en=  
emies liynge betwene her gra  
ces armye and vs, consyde=  
rynge withall, that London is  
so well furnished and so willyng  
to resist their entrie. Wherevp=  
on the Lorde Warden went in  
poste to the Queene, leauynge  
the Lorde Aburgauenye and  
the rest of the gentlemen with  
his and theyr bande vntyll his  
retourne, whiche was verye

<120>

shortlye after. Whom accordyng  
to hys firste purpose with the  
rest of the gentlemen marched  
furthe towards Wyat. Whiche  
who had seene so well oppoyn=  
ted, and with what wyllinge  
heartes they went, and hadde  
known withall the fayethfull  
dealinge of sundrye gentlemen  
besydes in other partes of the  
shire, oughte to saye, that not=  
withstandinge there were ma=  
nye euyll, yet were there manye  
worthie gentlemen and honest  
fayethfull yeomen in Kent free  
from Wyates conspiracie: & that  
the same receiued some iniurie  
at his hande, that takinge vpon  
him to set furthe anye Croni=  
cle, shoulde name onelye foure  
gentlemen of thys shyre to bee  
workers against Wyat. For al=

<121> 64

though euery man pursued him  
not in the beginnynge, manye of  
them dwelling farre from him:  
yet were they aswell occupied  
where they were, and asmuche  
towards Wiates confusion, by

stayinge and withholding great force through their earnest persuasions and labour, that elles woulde haue been with Wyat.

Nowe to retourne to Wyat, whom in this meane tyme Bret & thother captaines espyinge to haue a desire to be gone, dissemblynge the knowledge thereof, wrought all the secrete meanes they coulde deuise, to staye hys going, as hauing the weight of their lyues depending vpon thys enterprise as well as he. One of them by agremente in theyr consultation sayde to him. You

<122>

see (quod he) with what difficul tie you kepe your soldiers here not withstanding thei be in a towne where they are in a maner as pent in, & thereby the more vn easie to get away, being so narrowly loked to. And now yf you shall leaue the town & retire into Kent, as some of your company suspect you wyll, wherby bothe they and al other shal iudge you to be in despayre of the aide of London (the hope wherof hath been hitherto the greatest occasion of stay of suche as be already here, & the comfort for the coming of other to the increase of youre power) you maye assure your selfe, that such as be here will nat tarye longe after with you, findinge time to escape, as they shall easly inough being at

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large, nor such as be absent will haue hast to repayre vnto you, when they shal perceyue you to be in dispaire of London: and so shall you weaken youre selfe to the comfort of youre enemyes, and discomfort of your frends. Bret vnder colour of singular affection to Wyat deuisynge an apte occasion to auoyde suspicion, whiche wanted not among them, required to speake with him aparte, and hauynge him alone, sayde: It shal not be amisse that for your owne suretie you haue in remembraunce the effecte of the seuerall proclamations made at Dartford, the one by master William Roper wherin you were betraytered, the other by maister Appulton

Bretes  
wordes to  
Wyat.

whithe as I here, was also

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made at London and in other partes of the realme, wherein is promysed the inheritaunce of an hundred pounce lande to suche as canne apprehende and present you to the queene.

Now what fantasies may grow in the heades of your owne felowes for the sauegarde of them selues, of whome you haue had alreadie some experience, it is to be doubted. Or what may grow in the heades of youre souldiours, when fayling of the ayde of London they shall be in dispair of your enterprise, it is also to be doubted. On the other parte, when suche of Kent on whom it semeth you repose some truste, shall here of your retire, their disposition perhaps wyll be muche chaunged. And ther-

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fore it standeth you in hande to looke to the matter substantiallye.

Trustles  
traytours.

Wyat hauing the same confidence in Bret, that Bret wolde Wyat to haue had in other, remembering his moste deceitfull treason to the queene, contrary to the truste reposed in him for the conducte of the whitcotes, and feling his greife doubled, and his desier to conuey himselfe awaye so muche the more increased by Brettes secret talke with him (as the stricken deare) wandereth aside, all alone complayning with him self his most vnhappie fate. And soone after callynge Thomas Isleye vnto him, sayde: Ah cosyn Isleye in what extreme miserye are we? The reuolte of these captaines

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with the whitcotes semed a benefite in the beginning, & as a thing sent by God for our good, and to comfort vs forward in our enterprise, whiche I now fele to our confusion. Ah cosyn, this it is to enter suche a quarrel, which notwithstanding we nowe se must haue a ruthful end, yet of necessitye we must prosecute the same.

Wyat as desperate finding other to accorde with Brettes

Wyates  
marchinge  
to kingston.

opinion vpon his conference with  
them, by whom for direction of  
his trayterous iourney he was  
cheifely aduised (althoughe for  
his shyfting awaye there were  
other whom he better trusted)  
marched the tewesdaye beyng  
Shrouetewsdaye out of south=  
werke to Kyngston vpon Tha=  
mes, ten myles distaunt, where

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Wyates  
passage at  
kingston.

thei arriued about .iiii. of the clock  
in the afternoone. And finding  
xxx. foote or there aboute of the  
brydge taken awaie, sauing the  
postes that were left standing,  
practised with two mariners to  
swim ouer to conuey a barge vn  
to him. Which the mariners (temp=  
ted with great promises of pre=  
ferment) did. Wherein Wyat and  
certain with him were conuai=  
ed ouer: who in the tyme that  
the numbre of the souldiours  
bayted in the towne, caused the  
bridge to be trimmed with lad=  
ders, planckes and beames, the  
same tyed together with ropes  
and bourdes, as by ten of the  
clocke in the night was in suche  
plighte, that both his ordinaunce  
and band of men mought passe  
ouer without peryll. And so a=

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bout xi. of the clocke in the same  
night, Wiat with his band with=  
out either resistance or peril mar=  
ched ouer the bridge towards  
London, hauing such a louyng  
heart in his body to the quene, as  
before dai he ment to haue ben at  
the court gate. Which he could  
neuer haue attempted hauing any  
sparcle of that good zeale in his  
brest to the quenens suretie as to  
further his treason, he outward=  
ly pretended to the world, conside  
ring the daunger that mought haue  
growen by the feare therof to her  
grace. But as god wold partly  
by werines of his souldiours, &  
partlye by breache of the whe=  
les that caried his ordinaunce,  
it was nine of the clocke of the  
day folowing, beyng Ashewed=  
nesday before he came so far as

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Hide parke. Where his courage  
(being tofore as ye haue heard  
not very lusty) began now vtter=

lye to die, beholding as it were before his face the present bane & confusion, whervnto his malicious entent was shaped. Yet desperation being his leude guyde, he marcheth forward & commeth within the power of sir William Herberd earle of Penbroke being that day the quenes lieutenant general in the field. Who yet with diuers other noble men and faithfull subiectes (beynge then in armes with hym, preste and readie to receyue so impudent a race of traytourous rebels to their deserued breakefast) vnderstandyng partlye by sure spial, partly by their owne vewe, that the rebels exceded

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not the numbere of foure thousande, and most of them naked, voyde of all policie and skill, considering with al, that they could not set vpon Wyat & his whole band but great effusion of blood shoulde folowe, the queenes armie being so gredie to be reuenged, & the other so impotent to resist, determined rather by policie to atcheue the victorie, then by bloude shedde to confounde the rebels. Wherin they should please God, aunswere the queenes mercifull expectation, and purchase vnto them selues moste renowne and honour of that dayes seruice. Vpon these resolutions they permitted Wyat with the fore part of his bande to passe quietlye alonge, and throughe betwene the quee-

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nes maiesties horsmen, the lord Clinton being marshall of the field and captaine of the barbed horses and dimilaunces on the south side, lacke of Musgraue being captayne of the lighte horsmen on the Northside: The great ordinaunce being charged to shote full vpon the breast of the rebels comming eastwarde: The earle of Penbroke with the maine battell or fotemen aswel for handgunnes morishepikes, bowes and byls, standyng in goodly aray on the Northeastsyde, behinde the said great ordinaunces, ready to set vpon the rebels in the face com-

ming towardes Holborne: Wy=  
at comminge in the forefront of  
his bande perceiuinge that he  
was thus beset with horsmen

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on bothe sides, the great ordi=  
naunces and the fotemen before  
his face Northeastward, so that  
he coulde no wayes escape, but  
necessariye muste fal into their  
handes, althoughe for policie  
he was suffered, and a greate  
part of his men to passe so farre  
quietly and without resistaunce  
through the horsmen, he soden=  
ly forsooke hys waye enten=  
ded thorowe Holborne, & with  
might & maine as faste as they  
coulde, he and his mates ranne  
downe vnderneath the parke wal  
of bricke, adioynynge to the  
Queenes manour house called  
saint lames. The lorde Clin=  
ton obseruinge his tyme, fyrste  
with hys dimylaunces brake  
their araye, & deuided Wyates  
bande in .ii. partes. Then came

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the light horsmen, who so hard=  
ly persued the taile of his band,  
that they slewe manye, hurte  
more, and toke most of them.

Whiles the sayd horsmen were  
thus in fighte with the taile of  
his bande, Wyat him selfe and  
v.C. men or there about peked  
on styll all alonge vnder saint  
lames parke wall, vntyll he  
came to charinge crosse, where  
diuers of the quenes housholde  
seruautes and others fought  
with them, and in the ende kil=  
led xvi. of the rebelles. Neuer=  
theless Wyat hauinge escaped  
with a part of his company mer=  
chinge alonge in battaile raye  
entred into Fletstrete, & came  
ouer Fletebridge toward Lud=  
gate. And although no man re=  
sisted his passage throughe the

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streetes thus farre, yet when at  
length he perceiued that he had  
no helpe of frendes at London,  
and the suburbes as he loked  
for, lefte his men standinge styll  
in battail araye, and rode backe  
as farre as the temple barre gate,  
with a naked sword in his hande  
the hiltes vpward (as some re=

port) at whiche gate he woulde haue gone throughe towardes Charinge crosse to the residue of his men, but he was then stopped by force of the Quenes true subiectes, who wolde not suffer him to passe without temple bar. At the length cam one sir Morryce Barkley knight vnto him, & requyred him to consider that he coulde not preuaile in thys wicked purpose, and that his men were all taken and slayne

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in the filde, and therfore willed him to cease of from any further occasion of bloude shed, exhorting him to yelde him selfe prisoner, & to stande to the queenes mercie. Whiche to doe Wyat refused, and saied that he woulde rather be slain then yelde to any man. And yet neuerthelesse (as it chaunced) there came a Harrold of armes immediatlye riding in the quenes coote Armor to this place: to whose cote shortly after Wyat submitted hym selfe prisoner, & so went to the court at Westminster, and ther was brought before the priuie Counsell, & shortly after with in one houre sent from thense to the Tower of London prisoner.

Amongest other things this is to be remembred, that whiles

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the sayde Wyat, and certein of his men (as aforesayde) were comming thus towardes Flete strete, a certein Captaine of the saied rebels with diuers of hys souldiours returned from Charinge crosse, downe to the court gate at whytehalle, and gaue a larume before the gate, and shotte diuers arrowes into the sayde courte, the gate beyng open, in so muche that one maister Nicolas Rockewod beyng a gentleman of Lyncolnes inne, and in armour at the said court gate, was shotte throughe hys nose with an arrowe by the rebels. For the comminge of the saide rebels was not loked for that way: but thought that the Queenes Armye shoulde haue ioyned battell with them in the

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feld, according to promise made by the sayd Wyat on his behalf, who promised that he would come to the quenes fotebattel, & fight with them pyke against pyke and man to man. Which when it came to the verie point, he refused & shranke a bye way by saint lames parke walle, for his refuge, as you haue heard before, where many of them were slain by horsemen, so that they came not nie the quenes power of the fotebattel. Which increased some desperate boldnes in the despairing rebelles, not without great discomfetur to all the court, & the citie of London, perceiuing that he was himselfe and so many rebels with him come through the quenes armye thus farre. Whereupon grewe great admiration a=

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mongest them that knew not their doinges in the fielde, how for policie and to auoide muche manslaughter Wyat was suffered purposely to passe along. In so muche diuers timerous & colde hearted souldiours came to the Quene crying, all is lost, away away, a barge, a barge: yet her grace neuer chaunged her chere, nor woulde remoue one foote out of the house, but asked for the lord of Penbroke, in whom her grace had worthely reposed great confidence. Answere beinge made that he was in the fielde: Well then quod her grace, fal to praiser, & I warant you we shal heare better newes anone: for my lord wyll not deceaue me, I knowe well: yf he would, GOD wyll not, in whom my chiefe trust is,

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who will not deceaue me. And in dede shortlye after newes came all of victorie, howe that Wyat was taken.

This daye the Iudges in the comen Place at Westminster satte in armoure. The Maior, Aldermen, and the housholders of the Citie, by .iiii. of the clocke in the morning, were in armor: The lorde William Hawarde, highe Admirall beinge emongest them. Who (as I haue tofore said) was by the Queenes maiestie appointed Captaine generall &

Liuetenaunte for the tyme, to conferre in counsell, and ioyne in execution with the lorde Maioure, & his brethren for the sure and spedie gardinge, and warding of the Citie, to the preservation whereof the Queenes

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grace had speciall regarde. The gates were diligently watched euery gate with .C. men, Moregate being closed vp and rampiered. Thus was this wylie heretike, and open traytour Wyat and hys complices brought to their confusion, and to the ende, which neuer missed al suche malicious disposed wretches: Partlye by the wysedome and policie of him that was armed in the filde, the worthie Earle of Penbroke: but chieflye by the mightie hand of God, at the contemplation of her highe merites, and vertues, who remaining in the closet of stedfast hope, & confidence, beinge appointed with the armor of faith, fought with ardent and continuall prayer, in perfecte deuotion, vnder the

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banner and ensigne of God: who in dede alone gaue thys victorie, and alone with out pollicie & might of man ouerthrewe her enemies. Yet so that he therwith declared his special fauor & pleasure towardes his seruaunt that noble knight the Earle of Penbroke, in appointing hym chiefe champion thys daye to defende hys chosen and electe Virgin, whose faieth hathe not bene wauering in his catholike religion, nor his truth & seruice doughtfull at anye time towardes hys prince. Wyat, as is said, was committed to the Tower. So were diuers other gentlemen, as sone after was Henrye Graye duke of Suffolke & hys .ii. bretherne: the duke beinge so hardlye pursued by the lord Hastings earle

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The duke of Suffolkes apprehension by the earle of Huntingdon.

Huntingdon was by him apprehended in Leyceter shire: whereby he declared him selfe as well in honour and vnspotted loyaltye, as in parentage, & patrimonie to succede hys great grand=

father the lord Hastings: whose fidelite and stedfast trueth to= wardes kinge Edwarde the fourthe, and hys chylde, the Cronicles reporte, to hys im= mortall honoure.

Of the common people there were suche a nombre taken in the chase by the Earle of Pen= broke, that besides the vsuall gailles sundrie churches in London were made places for their sauegarde, tyl order was taken for their enlargement.

The duke was arrayned by his Peires, and by verdict founde

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giltie of treason before the duke of Norff. beinge lorde Cunst= ble, and that daye his ludge. Both he and hys brother Tho= mas, at seuerall dayes made their ende at Tower hyll by losse of their heades. Sundrie other of Wyates complices be= inge arraigned and condemned vppon their confession of trea= son, suffered in diuers partes of the shyre: as Henrye Isleye knyghte, Thomas Isleye hys brother, and Water Mantell at Maydston, where Wyat firste displaied his standerde. Anto= nye Kneuet, William hys bro= ther, with another of the Man= tels at Seuenocke. Bret at Ro= chester hanginge in chaynes.

And of the common sorte verye fewe were executed, saue onely

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Wyat ar= raigned.

of the white cotes that (to saye trueth) deserued it treble. Wyat him selfe last of al was arraigned at Westminster (the Earle of Sussex, sir Edward Hastings, & sir Thomas Cornewalles be= ing his luges). Where and be= fore whome he moste earnestlye craued lyfe, not by plee of hys matter, or iustifying of him self, but by earnest suite in humble submission for the queenes mer= cye. It semeth not amisse here to make reporte of suche special wordes as by him were vttered at his arraignement, whiche I my selfe hearde standinge not tenne fote from him at that time. By the whiche wordes maye appeare both what he him selfe thoughte of his doynge, howe

Wyates wordes at his arraig= ment.

much he misliked the same, and

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also howe penitent and sorow=  
full he was therfore.

Certeine wordes procedinge  
from Wyat at hys ar=  
raynemente.

My Lordes, I muste con=  
fesse my selfe giltie, as  
in the ende trueth muste  
inforse me to saye, and that I  
am iustly plagued for my sinnes,  
which moste greuouslye I haue  
committed agaynst God, who  
hath suffered me to fal into this  
beastlye brutishnesse and horri=  
ble offense of treason. And loe  
in me the like ende, as all suche  
that haue attempted like enter=  
prises from the beginning haue  
had. For peruse the Cronicles  
through out, and you shall finde  
that rebellion neuer from the be=

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ginning prospered. For the loue  
of God all you gentlemen that  
be here present remembre, and  
be here taught by the examples  
paste, and also by thys my pre=  
sent infelicite and haynous of=  
fense. O moste miserable, mis=  
cheuous, brutishe, and beastlye  
furious imagination of myne.  
For I thought that by the ma=  
riage of the Prince of Spayne,  
thys realme shoulde haue been  
in daunger. And I that haue  
liued a free borne man shoulde  
with my countreye haue been  
brought to bondage and serui=  
tude by aliens and straungers.  
Which brutishe beastlines then  
seemed reason, and wrought so  
farre, and to suche effecte, as it  
ledde me to the practise and vse  
of this committed treason, that

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nowe vnderstandyng the great  
commoditie, honour, and suertye,  
which this realme shall receyue  
by this mariage, if it shal please  
the Queene to be mercyfull to  
me, there is no man liuing that  
shalbe more trustie, and fayeth=  
full to serue her grace, no nor  
more readie to die at her hygh=  
nes fote, what so euer the qua=  
rell be.

Thus farre touchinge Wy=

ates wordes at hys arrayne=  
ment, I thought not superflu=  
ous here to reporte, to the ende  
that all other blindly fallen in=  
to the same errour, woulde by  
the example of Wyat, rise also  
with him to repentaunce, aswel  
confessinge to the worlde with  
open voyce their detestable mis  
chiefe, as also frome the verye

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heart with teares detesting the  
same, as in vtterance of the  
former wordes he plentifullye  
did. He lost his head at Tower  
hil, & his bodie deuided, was set  
vp in diuers partes about Lon  
don. Other poore men being ta  
ken in Wyates bande and kepte  
a time in diuers Churches and  
prisons without the citie, kne=  
linge all with halters aboute  
their neckes before the queenes  
highnes at whit halle, her grace  
mercifully pardoned to the num=  
bre of vi.C. whoo immediatlye  
thereupon with greate shoutes  
casting their halters vp into the  
ayre, cried: GOD saue youre  
grace, GOD saue your grace.  
Howe be it sundrie of them that  
dyd weare halters afore the  
Queenes hyghnes were after

Of such as  
did penance  
by wearing  
of halters  
before the  
queene.

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by meanes called before the lu  
stices in the countrey to be ar=  
rayned. But her grace beinge  
moued thereof by the shyriffe,  
woulde them to bee no further  
vexed.

Thus haue ye heard of Wy=  
ates ende, and some of his com=  
plices, by whose lamentable tra  
gedie and others of lyke sorte  
that happened in oure age, not  
onely we, but suche as shall suc  
cede vs maye be abundantlye  
taughte, to forsee what it is to  
entre into rebellion. For neither  
could Wyat with hys stoutnes  
nor yet with the pretence of hys  
quarrell coloured with a mea=  
ninge to defende hys countreye  
from ouerrunninge by straun=  
gers, nor yet through the ayde  
of sundrie conspiratours of great

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power, ne by anye other policie  
preuayle. Sixe of the gentle=  
men that were offenders were

pardoned goinge to their execu= tion by the queenes clemencie at Rochester, as were also all the other of the whole Kentishe gentlemen remitted, a fewe of the rankest excepted, that onelye for example suffered.

The Queenes hyghnes not longe after sent oute her com= mission to sir Thomas Moyle, sir Iohan Guildforth, sir Tho= mas Kempe, Warram Sent= leger, Thomas Roydon, Chri= stopher Roper, George Dorrell of Calehil, George Fane, Iohn Tucke, Iohn Robartes, Tho= mas Louelace, Iohan Leo= narde Esquiers, with others, not onelye to bayle and sette at

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large suche as were in prison in the countree for that offense, beinge of no smale nombre, but also to compoude by their dis= cretion with the offenders ac= cordinge to the qualitie of their offenses. Which maner of order being not hard of in the like case, or at the least verye rarelye, de= clared a singular clemencie and benignitie in the queene, that being folowed so cruelly, would yet be so moued with pitie as to vouchsafe to aunswere them with suche lenitie, in the execu= tinge of so fewe in comparison to so great a nombre & so large a cause, beeing all in her graces mercy to dispose at her plesure, & beside suffre the rest to escape with so smale abashement of their countenance after so hai=

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nous offense. He that shall per= use this storye diligently, and consider al partes therof exact= lye with remembraunce of thin= ges past, sithence the beginning of the Queenes mooste happye raygne, must of force recognise of what condition so euer he be, the magnificence, mercie, and fortitude of thys mooste noble princesse, as from time to time with such pacience to indure so greate malice of her owne sub= iectes, with suche lenitie to for= beare the reuenge of so intolle= rable outrage, with suche mer= cie in the ende to pardon and re= mit so haynous and great offen=

dours. Happie was it with those haynous offendours, that her graces most worthie and honourable counsell were so agre=

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able to her vertuous inclinati= on, as inclined rather to pursue mercifull pardon for continu= aunce of life, then to prosecute reuenge by execution of death. It is to be wished by all good men with one assent, that pro= uoked with so greate clemencie these degenerates reforme them selues, and forbear thus to at= tempte so gracious a princesse, vnto whom by gods authoritie the sworde is not vaynely com mitted, leste thereby they pro= cure to them selues damnation in sekinge by suche outrage theyr owne deathe and confusion.

From the desire wherof we see by a numbere of euidente argu= mentes, the Queenes highnes and her honourable counsell to be soo farre as (by all meanes

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they can imagine) they seeke to eschewe that they by moste wylfull and malicious meanes folowe to their subuer= sion.

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An earnest conference with the degenerates and sedi= tious, for the serche of the cause of theyr greate disorder.

Here I purpose to shut vp this tra= gicall treatise tou= chinge the display= inge of Wyat and his aduenture, and yet not to ende my trauell concerning the same, but shall gladlye debate and conferre with thee louyng countreman suche speciall and necessarye matter, as further riseth therof, tending as well to our mutuall comfort presently, as also to a generall doctrine to indure to oure posteritie, not withoute presente terror to the wicked race: whose hertes broile

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in desire to rebel. Al which poin

tes this present storie doth plenteouslie performe to him that listeth to learne. Wherby firste the good & godly may be comforted, as by this experimete, to consider howe God alwayes defendeth his chosen and electe vessell, our moost gracious and mercifull princesse, against the malicious and cruell assaultes of her enemies, be they neuer so craftie, neuer soo stronge.

And secondlie a generall doctrine therewith taughte, or rather by newe experience renewed, so many times taughte before, that the ineuitable end of rebellion is certeine confusion to the rebell. Of these two the third necessarily springeth, as a terrible prohibition in the heartes of the

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wicked neuer after to attempte the lyke villanie againste Gods anointed, whereof they can at no tyme skamble other part then final confusion, lynked to perpetuall infamie. And to make perfite impression herof in your heartes, you degenerates, that can not satisfie your selves with so vertuous a princesse, but thus from tyme to tyme moleste her highnes with seditious rumors vprores, and rebellion, I here appeale to you chiefly, & require you to enter into the secret closet of your owne hearte, and to ponder with me in egall ballaunce of due consideration the incomparable vertue, mercie, and benignitie of this most worthy princesse oure queene, with your owne mischiefe, crueltie,

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and intollerable malice. And then let truth giue sentence, whether this disorder groweth of a lack in the head, or of a malicious corruption in the membres. Can ye imagine any thinge to be required of God, to be in a princelye Magistrate, either for the advancement of his publike weale, wherof he is accompted the lying soule, or for the contentation or commoditie of the polytike body his people, wherof he is reputed the principall heade, which is not plenteouslie founde in this our moost gracious mai-

stres? Can you wish her to haue any thynge touching vertue, or vertuous ornament worthy her royall person, whiche she alre dy hathe not? Whose honourable name for the singular vertues,

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and rare qualities, naturallye graffe in her most royall person euen from the cradell, as well the ample theater of the whole world hathe in admiration, as also malice, and enuie it selfe in such veneration as neuer durst raise any sinister, or contrary report of her vertuous life to this dai. Is there any thing on the other syde that ye can wisse to haue for your owne commoditie that by her you enioy not? Hath there ben at any time, any prince in the order of his publike regimente more carefull for the aduaancement of his subiectes to welth, or for the preseruacion of them in tranquillitie and suertie, then her grace is? Can you doubte of this, that haue had experience & triall therof, so many waies?

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Haue you not seene euen in the verie beginning of her most happye raigne, all suche bloudie and laqueous lawes, by her royall assent repealed, and the rigoure of those taken awaye, as haue or hereafter mighte decaye, and weaken the noble and faithfull membres of her realme? Could you require greater prouffe of incomparable clemencie, fauor, & loue towardes her people in generall, then this? Haue you not seene her fre repaire of many noble houses by her graces liberal restitution, or rather giftes of stately Castelles, honours, Manours, and Lordshippes, which by her lawes withoute offense of iustice her gighnes moughte haue retained, the same being inuested in her graces noble pro-

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genitours by the due order of the lawes? Can you require any greater token of princelye pitie then this? Haue you not seene her highnes not onely forborne all demaundes of Subsidies or taxes, but also freelye dispense

with great paimentes of money due to her by former graunt to her predecessours, not withstanding the large and diuers occasions her highnes hadde to require aide, as well for the great debt she founde this realme in, as for large expenses she hathe susteined in resisting the rebellion of her owne people? Could you haue a greater euidence of loue towards her subiectes then this? Haue you not seene & daily may see diuers eskape by pardon mercifullye remitted, and suffe=

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red to lyue in theyr accustomed wealth and pleasures that deserued once twice to dye, as open enemies and traitours? Could ye desire greater mercie & lenitie in her grace, then this? Haue ye forgot howe her grace at the beginninge of her happie raigne did, and styll dayly doth call vpon all and singular her magistrates hauinge any iudiciall authoritie to se the lawes so egally distributed thorough out her realme & dominions, without respecte to the persons, that none moughte haue iuste cause to complaine of wrongful vexation, or oppression? Could ye desire playner demonstration of her highnes equite & iustice then this? What haue you then to allege for your excuse that prac=

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tise suche malice & spite against so gracious, so mercifull, so liberal, so iuste, and so louing a princesse? What shoulde moue you thus vnkindlie & vnnaturally to rayse rebellion against her grace, to the molestation of her royall personne, and perturbation of the whole realme, and finally to youre owne confusion? What fault fynde you in her, whome the whole worlde iudgeth to be moste perfyte and sounde? Can you not loue her, whome the whole worlde hath in admiration for her vertues? Can you not forbear forcible and traiterouslie to molest her whome euery good and godlye man findeth him selfe bound in conscience with expense of bodie and goodes to defende?

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What esteeme you her grace to be? Is she not youre lawefull queene, whome Gods expresse commaundement bindeth you to honour and obeie for conscience sake? Hath she not in her handes full authoritie to commaunde, and power to compelle? What esteeme you youre selves to be? Are ye not subiectes by the like commaundement of God bounde to serue, loue, and obeye?

Finally, is not her grace such a one, in whome God by sundry tokens and dayly experimentes declareth himselfe to delite and to be well pleased, thus continually protecting and defending her wyth the ouerthrowe and shame of her enemies. Alas contrey men, what wicked spirite possesseth your entray=

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les, that can not be satisfied with suche a gouernesse, worthy all duetie and reuerence? What euill ghost hath plunged your heartes in suche straunge malice, that notwithstandinge so manye and great benefites employed by her and receaued by you, you can fynde in youre heartes to assaulte her with rebellion, or in any wise suffer any one euill motion to enter into your thoughtes against her? Yf you can not denye but she dayly and hourelly careth for you and yours, as a most carefull princeesse why then shoulde you not answer her princely zeale with faythe and duetie, as it becometh trew subiectes? God sayeth, you shall not resiste youre prince, yf you doe, you resist me

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(sayeth he) with present peryll to your soules. Man saieth, you can not rebell against your soveraigne, but my lawes muste condemne you for traytours.

Experience proueth vtter confusion & perpetual infamie to be the fatall & ineuitable end of rebellion. What advantage then are you in hope any waye to fynde by rebellion, when thereby you haue heaped the coles of vengeance vpon your heades at Gods

hand, you haue receaued mans  
iudgement to youre perpetuall  
shame and reproche, and in the  
ende you are assured by infalli=  
ble experience, confusion to bee  
yours guerdon? Maye not you  
of all other thinke youre selues  
most infortunate to enuie this  
noble Queene for her vertue,

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whose fame reacheth so farre?  
Or are ye soo fonde to thynke  
that you can obscure the same  
by rebellion, whiche is illustra=  
ted and set furth by youre mali=  
cious attemptes, no otherwise  
then golde is tried by fyer?

No the whole worlde muste of  
necessitie wondere at you for  
your intollerable euyl and rest=  
les malice, and extoll her grace,  
for her incomparable pacience  
and endles mercie. What, can  
you not like her noble mariage?  
Is the misliking therof, the cause  
of this youre degenerate mis=  
order? Mighty God, do you cha  
lenge such singular knowledge  
in Gods worde, suche speciall  
influence of the holy spirite, de=  
myng all other in respecte of  
you & youre colleges, to be blin=

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ded, voide of al trueth: and thus  
directly against knowledge, a=  
gainst Gods expresse trueth a=  
gainst the suggestion of the good  
sprite rebelliously styrre against  
your natural princesse, faining that  
your quarrel, which you your sel  
ues knowe to be against God &  
nature, as to bridell your soue=  
raigne in the franke choise of ma  
riage, the fredom wherof was ne  
uer denied to the meanest subiect  
in the world? Alas countrey men,  
hath blinde malice soo bleared,  
the eyes of your common senses  
that you see not how manifest=  
lye you bewraye aswel the bru=  
tishnes of your heartes, as also  
the hoped fruite of your religion?  
In hope of your reconciliation,  
I coude finde in my hearte to  
debate further with you of this

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weightie matter. But as you  
be iustlie condemned of arrogan  
cie in fainge a quarrell in the  
person of the realme, for that

which the wisdome of the same  
by common consente, for the ma=  
nifolde commodities growen  
therby hath allowed for a bene=  
fite, so shoulde not I auoide the  
note of much folie, if I woulde  
take in hande to defende by ar=  
gumentes (as a doubtfull mat=  
ter) that soo manye wise men  
haue allowed. Yf then your so=  
ueyaigne ought without youre  
interruption to enioye that you  
can not endure to be denied to  
yours selues (I meane the free  
choise of mariage) yf also the  
same be confirmed by them, vn=  
to whome for their authoritie  
you are bounde to geue place:

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It followeth that as this ought  
not to be the cause of youre vn=  
naturall outrage, euen so it can  
not be otherwyse, but that (ac=  
cordinge to the vniuersall sen=  
tence and opinion of other chri=  
stian realmes conceaued of you)  
the inordinate desyre to retaine  
false religion, so farre abuseth  
you, that you forget duetie to  
God, your prince, and your coun=  
trie. O blinde and malicious  
ignoraunce, do you not see how  
by youre vnlawfull practice it  
plainlie appeareth bothe what  
you be, and frome whome this  
goodly lewell (for the whiche  
you do so striue) commeth: Can  
you be thought any other then  
ingrate, arrogant, degenerat, &  
deuilish, hauing a disposition to  
rebell? Wherein you folowe the

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Deuil authour of malice, strife,  
and diuision, and forsake God  
who is delited in peace, suffe=  
raunce, and obedience? Can your  
irreligion be thought other then  
a mere illusion proceding frome  
the Deuil, which the authours  
and followers haue euer sithence  
soughte to supporte with false=  
hode, sedicious rumours, rebel=  
lion, and tyrannye? Merueill it  
is that any man wylbe so wyl=  
fully blinde, or so sottishe, as to  
beleue that to be of God, which  
neuer by integrite of life entred:  
neither by pacience, and tollera=  
tion was persuaded: ne yet by  
miracle confirmed. Did Christe  
him selfe at anye tyme rebell to

stabilishe his religion? Yea did he not patiently suffer moste pite= full death rather then he would

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resist? And yet you must graunt me, that beinge God & man, he lacked not power to haue ouer= throwen whom he liked. But it was contrarie to the nature & vertue of his true religion, which by much pacience, & not with vi= olence, by tolleration, & not rebel lion was first persuaded & esta= blished. Did any of the apostels the folowers of Christe and his true religion, notwithstandinge manye times, & in many places they were refused with theyre doctrine, persecuted, and cruelly pursued, did they at anye tyme rebell? What then shall I esteeme you that be open rebels, or what geare shal I mesure your religi on to be, whiche alwayes is not otherwise supported then by re= bellion, treason, and tyrannye?

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Will you here of me what your selues are ashamed to discover? Came not this your religion by a fleshely and carnal meane into this realme? Were not the fruites that came in there with many= fest contempte of magistrates, licentious and dissolute liuing, oppression or rather open robberye of the pore, dissolution & breach of godly order, lawes, and cere= monies, whereby the people were kepte in due feare, and loue to= wardes God and man? Further was it not here settelled and mainteined by manifest tiran= ny in the innocent bloude of ma= ny wyse learned Martyrs, and nowe in the ende, by you defen= ded with open rebellion against your natural & lawefull quene? Mercifull God howe cometh it

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to passe, that anye man hauinge the vse of hys commen senses shoulde not perceiue what thys illusion is, and whence it came? Nowe as you haue hadde your eares open to here me in thys discourse, open also youre mou= thes and saye to me, whether this religion thus grounded vp= pon suche foundation as you

knowe, expressed in fleshely ly=  
uing, continued with suche blou  
dye practise, defended with suche  
malicious and vngodly rebelli=  
on is to be indured in any Chri=  
stian region, or in anye wyse to  
be thought to procede from God.  
Giue sentence your selfe of what  
degre so euer you be, I seke noo  
other iudge.

O Englande Englande, yf  
thou hadest wordes to speake,

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as thou hast greife to complayne:  
If thou couldest as well strike  
our eares with thy lamentable  
voyce, as thou doest perce oure  
heartes with thy great and in=  
comparable sorowes, wouldest  
thou not, if sobbinge teares let=  
ted not thye vtterance, speake  
in this sorte and these wordes?

A Prosopie of Englande vnto  
the degenerat Englishe.

O you seditious and dege=  
nerat, know you what  
you doe, when you thus  
moleste and vexe her to whome  
I wholly am owne and due: and  
you of duetie bounden to obeye  
and serue? Can ye eyther purge  
your selves before God, who pla  
gueth suche disobedience with

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eternall damnation, or excuse  
you before manne whose lawes  
adiudge rebellion to shamefull  
death? Are ye so desperate that  
you feare not to offende them  
for their power, whose sharpe  
punishementes ye can not a=  
uoyde? Be you so farre from  
all humanitie, that you can not  
honour, loue, and obey her for  
her knowen vertues, the bran=  
dishinge beames wherof, might  
melte the rage of the forren en=  
emies? Be you so vnwyse to  
thynke that your malice towar=  
des her toucheth onely her per=  
son, and not me, onelye mole=  
steth her & not me? O you  
wicked children, if I may nowe  
call you children: Is thys the  
fruit of the new profession? Doth  
the suggestion and influence of

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this your newly imbraced lear=  
nyng worke suche vngodly mo=

tions in your brestes, thus seditiously, and rebelliously to disturb her, whom duetie bindeth eche godlye subiect to obey: thus vnnaturally to vexe, & hassarde me, whome nature stirreth eche natural borne child to preserue? Be you content to haue the fruition of my commodites, to repe the frutes of my pleasures, and thus to vexe me, thus to molest me, thus to indaunger my condition in her, whose carefull studie is onely to reforme both you and me, to bringe vs bothe to that auncient and blisfull state whiche thorough you, and the lyke was loste & brought to extremitie? Suppose you to haue your comodities by me, when I

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by you am made bonde, and seruile? Thinke you to escape miserable seruitude, when I by your disorder & sedition am made thral to forren enemies? Be you so mad to iudge your selves to be in seruertie when youre seditious riot hathe wroughte my confusion? Am I not the common parente out of whose bowelles you wer born: In whose lappe you were receiued: with whose sustenance you were norished: In whose armes you were fostred? Haue you any continuance of welth quiet, honoure, or dignitie, that by me was not receyued, through me is not mainteyned, and in me finallye continued? Was not I carefull for you or you were borne, to prouide clothes to couer your naked mem-

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bres: to produce sustenance and foode to drawe furth life begon in you: To preserue frendes vn-to you: and reserue habilitie to them that might attende, companye, and comforte you? What haue you but by me? And what are you in hope to haue without me? And wyll you thus requite my tender loue and kindnesse, with suche hatefull rebellion? What so euer I haue done for you, I haue done the same for your progenitours, frendes and kinsmen. And can neither their cause styrre you, nor your owne case moue you to be good to me,

by whome you all stande? You haue been the occasion, at the least, the mischiefe, whiche you with mischiefe striue nowe to defende, that these manye yeres

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I haue lost manye and diuers of my liuelye and sounde membres, being cruelly cut from my politike bodie, and haue also susteyned the great contempt and breache of godlye and wise orders deuised for preseruacion of mine estate, and conseruacion of my membres in their dewe and ordinarie course. Whereby how odible I haue sithence been to my selfe, and hateful to all christian realmes, aswell the general voice of all forren countries daylye strikinge your deafe eares doeth witnessse, as also the playne speache vttered not longe ago by a moste faiethfull & true membre of my sister Scotland the earle of Huntley confirmed. Who beinge here, and hearynge some here either for bragge or

The earle  
of Huntley.

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praysse, tellinge howe manye Scottes in Scotland English souldiours hadde slaine: What great maistrise haue you done, quod then that good Scottishe earle, when with armie royal ye come into Scotland, & ther kil a fewe Scottes, and one abiect Scotte without armes or policie commeth home to youre owne houses, and distroyeth ten thousande Englishe people in a daye both bodye and soule with heresie? The same beinge afterwarde moued to become English, and to be sworn to me and my lawes: No, quod he, I am a trew christian Scotte borne, and so I wyll remayne. For as I am I knowe no enemie but the Englishe man, but beinge once sworne Englishe, where

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shoulde I assure me of one sure frende, that haue nowe but one knowen enemye? For be you out of doubt, althoughe ye Englishe men haue not warre with all forren princes christian, yet assure your selues to be in perfite peace with none: but when

time shall serue, to haue the  
whole world in armes agaynst  
you, if ye procede as yet ye doe,  
rather like to become Turkes  
then to continue Christians,  
whose religion ye dayly refuse,  
and sette furth heresy. In the  
meane time, the whole worlde  
wondereth at youre blindnesse,  
that you see not your own mad=  
nes and impietie. I speake thus  
in this sort not as a Scotte to  
an Englishe man, but forget=  
ting all priuate quarrels as one

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christian to another, lamenting  
in my heart to behold the wret=  
ched condition and present face  
of thys your realme, whereof  
I heard muche or I came here,  
and here I finde trewe muche  
more then I heard.

O frendlye, wise and moste  
trewe saying, ful of counsel and  
witte, yet spoken to suche in  
whose stonie heartes it coulde  
make no impression, whereby  
hath followed not onelye sub=  
uersion and shameful confusion  
to diuers of them to whome it  
was spoken, but also my daun=  
ger euer sithence more and more  
encreased.

And nowe that it hath plea=  
sed the highe GOD of his vn=  
speakable mercie to appointe so  
vertuous a gouernesse ouer me,

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at the sounde of whose heauen=  
lye and manifolde vertues, as  
he hathe hitherto compounded  
my quarrels abrode, and as it  
were holden forrene handes  
backe, beyng wyllinge to pur=  
sue me, and to make example of  
me by shameful ende, as I was  
example to the whole worlde of  
all disorder, impietie, and here=  
sie: so now by her ministry and  
authoritie, he meaneth mercy=  
fully to cure and heale my man=  
gled bodie, to repayre myne a=  
based state, to restore my good  
and wholesome lawes, to re=  
forme my disordered membres.  
Whiche her noble grace accor=  
dinglye pursuinge with all her  
might and authoritie, findinge  
also like disposition in my prin=  
cipall membres her highnesse

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honourable and noble subiectes, nowe you, onely you, I saye, sporne agaynste Goddes mercifull worke, and as moste enemies to my prosperous estate, cease not to hinder, what God hathe ment to me, & what his chosen instrument, this most vertuous lady doeth attempte to compasse for me: deusinge daye by daye sedicious, false and traiterous brutes, rumours, & tales to molest and trouble her, to confounde and derstoye me. And rather then ye wyll be reduced from erroure to trueth, and reformed frome disorder to better gouernance, by the callinge and persuasion of gods true instrument and chosen ministresse, ye wyll beleue what that most vile and deuelishe ra-

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ble of Antichristes ministers by their pestilent bokes teache you in corners, as that by gods law ye maye rebell agaynste youre head. O cursed and hellishe generation. I beseche you consider bothe me and youre selues. You haue been the cause of my greate griefes, and yet you enuie me the remedie. You knowe if I perishe you can not florishe, yet disdaine you to be reformed, that I maye bee confirmed in myne auncient and blisfull state. You resiste to be subiect to good gouernance, that my benefites might be performed in you, to youre great furtheraunce: and contrarye too your alleageaunce, contrarye to nature, wil thus vexe and trouble me. Yea, by youre dede, al-

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though not by your wil perhaps deliuer me into the handes of them that bee my foes, but in dede moste enemies to youre selues. I saye no more but referre you to consider what I haue sayde, and waye with your selves in what case I stande, and wherunto I was broughte by thys illusion, whiche hathe so deformed me and bewitched you. And further by my sister Boheme, consider what I maye

come to, and am like to be, if you  
ceasse not this your wilful and  
desperat outrage. Finallye doe  
not forget the strange diseases,  
sundrie plages, great dearthe,  
whiche I haue longe suffered,  
as cleare tokens of Goddes ven  
geaunce to bee bente ouer you  
and me, and the blessing of hys

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mercifull handes to bee taken  
from vs. So now ponder with  
your eares my wordes, that I  
haue spoken, that my sorowe  
may reache your heart. And if  
you thinke me worthie whome  
you shoulde vtterly destroy and  
bring to hateful confusion, then  
maye you lawefully mainteine  
that you haue taken. Ponder I  
beseche you louinge countree=  
men, what our commen parent  
and natiue countree Englande  
hathe saied. Call therewith to  
your remembraunce what shee  
myghte saye in waye of iuste  
complaine: and then see if by  
anye meanes you can either ex=  
cuse your selues as not acquain  
ted with the cause of her greiffes,  
or accuse her, as causeles com=  
playning afore she hathe nede.

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I suppose you not to bee so  
grosse and so blind, that you see  
not your disorder: nor so impu=  
dent and shameles, that you ac=  
knowledge not your knowen  
malice, nor yet so desperate and  
so vtterlye destitute of grace,  
that you wyll not hereafter re=  
fourme your selues, partly dis=  
comforted by the manifolde euils  
folowinge such vnnatural prac=  
tises, partly allured by the high  
merites and incomparable mer  
cie of so gracious a princesse as  
God hathe appointed nowe to  
gouerne ouer vs. I here wyll  
end, as one pityng your former  
case, and yet not despairinge  
your better gouernaunce  
here after.

FINIS.

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A table containing the prin=  
cipal matters sette furth  
within the booke.

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rebellion. Eodem.  
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The colour of wyates rebellion. eodem  
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to wyat. eodem.  
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well shireff of Kent. eodem  
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sistance of wyates traitorous pretence. eo.  
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through Rochester their weapon. eod.  
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and other to hast their commyng vnto  
him. eodem.

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Tunbridge by sir Henry Isley, Anto=  
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counsel. fol. xiiii.  
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Sir Henry Isley his flight into Hamp shyre. eodem.

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The two kneuettes hardly escape. eo  
Wyates iourney to London hindered by the ouerthrowe of Isley. fol xxxii.  
Thankes geuen to God for victory. 33.  
Watche layde aboute the sea costes for the staye of wyat and his from passing the seas. fol. xxxiii.  
Harper runneth away from wyat to the duke of Northfolke. eodem.  
Wyat bewaileth his case with teares. 35.  
Wyates coate of fense quylted with angels. eodem.  
Wyat practiseth to fly by sea. eodem

Wyat mated by the lord Aburgauenye  
and the sherif. eodem  
The duke of Northfolkes marching  
from Stroude to Rochester. fo xxxvii  
Bret cheif captain of the whitcotes. eod.  
The woordes of sir Edwarde Brayes  
eldest sonne to the duke. fol. xxxviii.  
The reuolte of the captaines to the  
whitecoates and their bande eodem.  
The duke and sir Henry Gerningham  
discomfeted. fol. xxxix.  
Harpers wordes to wyat. eodem  
The sheriffes beyng at Maidstone. xl.  
The sheriffes secrete returne to Mal=  
ling. eodem

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The traitours reuiued. fol. xli.  
Wyates letter to the duke of suff. fo. xlii  
Wyates letter to the duke of norf. fo. 42  
An inuectiue against the neuters. eodem.  
Good to slepe in a whol skin. fol. xlv.  
The consultation of the rebels after  
the reuolt of the whitecotes. eodem.  
The rebelles opinion of their owne  
wisdome. fol. xlvi.  
A deuise to apprehend the shiref. fo. xlvii  
The misrekeninge of the rebelles for  
London. eodem.  
The assault of Coulyng castel. fol. 48  
The comming of sir Edward Hastin=  
ges and sir Thomas Cornewalles to  
Wyat. eodem  
Wyates proude answeere to sir Ed=  
warde Hastings. &c. fol. xlix  
A motion of the nobles to the Quene.  
fol. li.  
The Quenes answeere to her nobles.  
fol. lii.  
The Queenes speche in the Guylde  
halle. fol. liii.  
A malepart artificer. fol. liii.  
Wyates marchynge to Detforde  
strande. fol. lv.  
The departing of maister Christopher

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Roper and maister Dorrell from  
Wyat. fol. lvi.  
Wyates marching to Southwark. eod.  
The riffling of my lorde chancelers  
house. fol. lvii.  
Wyat deuiseth with his frendes before  
his styrre. eodem  
Wyat mislyketh to beginne with  
spoyle. eodem  
Wyates rekening of the spoyle of the  
tower and London. fol. lviii.  
Wyates bragge to hange a gentleman.  
fol. lix.  
The lord William Hawarde admiral  
of Englande. eodem  
wyates comminge into the Porters

lodge at London bridge fote. fo. lx.  
The rebels at their wittes end. eodem  
The Lorde wardens being at Ro  
chester. fol. lxi.  
The earle of Penbroke the Queenes  
leiuetenaunt. fo. lxii.  
The Lorde warden goeth in poste to  
the Queene. fo. lxiii.  
Brettes wordes to wyat. fol. lxv.  
Trustles traitours. fol. lx  
wyates marching to Kingston. eodem  
wyates passage at kyngston. fo. lxvii.

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wyates courage dieth. fol. lxxviii.  
wyat is suffred with the fore part of his  
band to passe through the horsmen. eodem  
The Lorde Clinton marshal of the  
fielde. fol. lxxix.  
wyat forsaketh hys entended waye  
through holborne. eodem.  
The Lord Clinton deuideth wyates  
bande in two partes. fol. lxxx.  
Sir Morrice Barkeley knyght. eod.  
wyat yeldeth hymselfe to an Harrol  
des coat. fo. lxxx.  
Rebels at the court gate. eodem  
Nicolas Roukewod shotte throughe  
the nose. fo. lxxxii.  
The Queenes wordes to them that  
cried al is lost. eodem  
The ludges syt in armour. fol. lxxxiii.  
The gardinge and wardinge of the  
citie. eodem  
The praise of the earle of Penbroke,  
fol. lxxxiiii.  
wyat committed to the Tower. eodem.  
Henry Gray duke of Suff. and his ii.  
brethren committed to the Tower. eod.  
The prayse of the Lorde Hastynges  
eodem.  
wyat arrained. lxxvi.

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wyates wordes at hys arrainment.  
eodem.  
Of suche as did penaunce by wearyng  
of haltes before the Quene. fo. lxxvii.  
The Queenes commission to diuers  
of the shire to bayle and sette at large  
the prisoners fol. lxxviii.  
The Queenes wonderfull mercye.  
fol. lxxix.  
Englande speaketh. fo. lxxxxi.  
The earle of Huntleys wordes to the  
duke of Sommerset. fol. lxxxiii.

Imprynted at London  
by Robert Caly within the pre  
cincte of the late dissolved  
house of the graye Freers,  
nowe conuerted to an  
Hospitall, called

Christes Hos=  
pitall.  
The x. day of Ianuary  
1555.

Cum priuilegio ad imprimen=  
dum solum.

<John Proctor (1521–1558) was a Somerset man, educated at Oxford, loyal to the old religion. In 1553 he was appointed master of the free school just founded in Tonbridge; the insurrection led by Sir Thomas Wyatt occurred a few months later (January–February 1554). Annoyed by the short account of the rebellion which he found in John Michell's 'Cronicle' (circa March 1554), Proctor wrote this book. It was published in December 1554, and apparently sold out straight away; a second edition appeared in January 1555. Both editions were printed by Robert Caly. This file is a transcription of the second edition, which has a few corrections. (It also has a few new misprints, but none worth fussing about.) I have expanded the abbreviations for 'that', 'the', 'thou', 'with'; otherwise I have not interfered except to number the pages.  
– C.F. December 2011.>