

Archbishop Greenfield, like his monarch, was reluctant to take proceedings against the Templars. He was, in fact, their "stern and uncompromising champion".¹ But, at the mandate of Pope Clement, a Provincial Council was held at York in May 1310. This powerful assembly of ecclesiastics came to no decision, and a second Council was held, which terminated on July 30th, 1311.

Although the charges brought against the Templars were not proved, it was decided that they should enter various monasteries of the diocese, and do penance for their errors!

Twelve months after, in accordance with the Bull of the Pope (April 1312), it was declared from the Episcopal Palace at Cawood, and in the churches of the province, that the Templars had ceased to exist, and that any person "dressing or conducting himself as a Templar" should be punished.

An inventory of the possessions of the Templars at the Castle Mills, and another of their possessions at Copmanthorpe, taken soon after the second Council at York, have been preserved.

The officials who made these inventories "appear to have had a busy day of it on the 1st December 1311, as they then took account of the goods and chattels in and about the mills by the Castle of York, and also seem to have performed the same office in the manors of Copmanthorpe, Temple Newsam,

¹ J. G. and L. A. B. Waller, *Monumental Brasses*, under the date of 1315.

and Temple Hurst, though the first only is near York, the others being in the neighbourhood of Leeds and Snaith, at least fifteen miles apart, and quite as far from their headquarters.

"If diligence in the discharge of an odious office establishes any claim to approbation, these men may fairly challenge it, for they might have afforded a pattern to the Puritan sequestrators of whom Bishop Hall complains¹; they diligently noted every worn-out robe, every cracked plate, and every broken-down cart, as well as the broad acres, the flocks and herds, and the crops, the Church furniture, the tables and boxes, and the brewing utensils."²

These inventories do not include arms. There can be no doubt that all armour, weapons, and horse-furniture were seized when the Templars themselves were imprisoned.

The various properties of the English Templars passed, by an Act of Parliament in 1324, chiefly into the hands of the Knights Hospitallers, or, as they are often called, the Knights of St. John, the Templars being each allowed a pittance out of their forfeited estates.

The Castle Mills, in the City of York, proved an exception to the operation of this Act. These

¹ "There came the sequestrators to the palace . . . to appraise all the goods that were in the house, which they executed with all diligent severity, not leaving so much as a dozen of trenchers, or my children's pictures, out of their curious inventory."

² *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1857, Pt. II, p. 519, where a complete copy of the inventories is given.

mills, upon the dissolution of the Templars, became the property of the Crown, and were known as the King's Mills. They were subsequently bestowed upon Sir Thomas Hesketh of Heslington, who gave them for the support of an hospital in that village. They afterwards passed into the hands of the Foss Navigation Company, and finally into the possession of the Corporation of the city, which body caused them to be taken down for the purpose of facilitating modern improvements.

Seven years after the suppression of the Templars, the Pope gave permission for those members of the Order who still remained in monasteries to take, if they were so disposed, the vows of the brotherhoods with which they were respectively residing. Within the diocese of York, only two are reported as accepting the Papal proposal. Robert de Langeton entered the convent of Gisburgh, and Henry de Kerby was admitted into the religious house at Selby.¹

So passed away, after an existence of nearly two hundred years, this great military power, the victim of jealousy, hatred, and intrigue, without striking a blow on its own behalf, and without being permitted even the opportunity of a legal defence.

A relic of the Templars' Chapel at Castle Mills is to be seen in the lower room of the Hospitium, in the ground of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. It is a stone, about 12 in. long by 10 in., on which

Dixon and Raine, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 376, note f.

a shield bearing a cross is cut. At present this stone is catalogued as 20 in the Early English section.

There is only one known effigy of a Templar in existence, and that represents John, Count de Dreux, in undress, buried in the church of St. Yvod de Braine, near Soissons, in France.



Fig. 15.—JOHN DE DREUX.²

The mail-clad effigies on the pavement of the Round Church of the Temple on the Thames Embankment do not represent Knights Templar, but "Associates of the Temple", persons only partially admitted to the privileges of the powerful Order.¹

Gent, in his *History of York*, describes a Templar effigy which used to exist in York Minster. He says: "Adjoining to the south-west pillar of the lantern, lies the effigy of a Knight Templar in remembrance of the ancient family of the Manleys, whose seat was not far from

Whitby, having on his shield three eagles displayed on a bend, his body covered with armour, and his

¹ C. G. Addison, *The Temple Church*, p. 88; *Epochs of History*, p. 32; *Old and New London*, vol. i, p. 152.

² The illustration is taken from Bernard de Montfaucon's *Les Monumens de la Monarchie Française*, as reproduced in F. W. Fairholt's *Costume in England*.

feet lying crosswise, as a token of his being engaged against the Infidels in the Holy Land." This monumental relic was removed when the nave was relaid by the Earl of Burlington in 1736.

Drake tells of a strange use to which the figure of a Templar was once put. One mile from Micklegate Bar without the city, on the opposite side of the road from Knavesmire, there is a piece of common land called Hob Moor. Drake says: "How long it has borne that appellation we know not; but the pasture-masters of Micklegate Ward, some years ago, had a mind to perpetuate it by placing an old statue on a pedestal, and putting underneath it this inscription:—

"This statue long Hob's name has bore,
Who was a Knight in days of yore,
And gave this common to the Poor."

"The figure is no more than that of a Knight Templar of the family of Ross, as appears by his shield, and it was very probably dragged out of the ruin of some of our demolished monasteries."¹

¹ For an entertaining discussion of this effigy, see Robert Davies, F.S.A., *Walks through York*, pp. 97-99.

CHAPTER IV.

The Battle of Myton.

IN October 1319, the twelfth year of the reign of Edward II (1307-1327), there occurred, in connection with York, a quasi-military exploit of a most disastrous character.

The Scotch had possessed themselves of Berwick-upon-Tweed, to which place Edward laid siege, with all the forces at his disposal.

In order to draw off the English from the besieged town, a large contingent of Scotch troops under Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, crossed the border towards the west, and wasted all the country to the gates of York.

The King, hearing of this new predatory incursion, sent word to William de Melton, Archbishop of York, to raise the Militia, and punish these wily foes.

The Archbishop was joined in his dangerous adventure by John de Hotham, the Bishop of Ely, and Nicholas de Fleming, the Mayor of the city. Shopkeepers, husbandmen, labourers, grooms, and large numbers of priests, monks, friars, and other ecclesiastics, obeyed his summons to arms—in all numbering about 10,000 men.

The Scots, not caring to besiege York with its strong defences, and failing in their purpose to cause a diversion of the English army which lay before Berwick, commenced their march homewards. Very unwisely, the Archbishop determined to follow them, and, unluckily for him, his impromptu army overtook the experienced warriors of Scotland at Myton, near the confluence of the River Swale with the Ouse, about twelve miles from the city. It has been said :

“In all the trade of war, no feat
Is nobler than a brave retreat !”¹

It would have been well if Archbishop Melton had conceived such an idea. But the desire for revenge, burned in every breast, and retreat was not thought of for a moment.

The Scotch showed great tact in breaking up and assaulting the undisciplined host of York. By a feigned flight, they drew their pursuers into the toils of a strongly posted ambuscade. “’Tis a principle of war, that when you can use the lightning, ’tis better than cannon”; thus Napoleon emphasized the value of employing natural phenomena to the disadvantage of an enemy. The Scotch were wide-awake to every advantage their position offered. Noting the direction of the wind, they fired a number of haystacks, and rejoiced to see the blinding smoke drifting into the faces of the English. This was their golden opportunity of an

¹ Butler, *Hudibras*.

easy victory, and they secured it. Under cover of the smoke, they swooped down upon their would-be pursuers, and scattered them in every direction. The loss of the English amounted to between 3,000 and 4,000, of which 2,000 were drowned, the river here being both wide and deep.

Nicholas de Fleming, the Mayor, was among the slain. His body was brought from Myton, and found sepulchre at the church of St. Wilfrid. This church stood on a site between Lendal and Blake Street, and was so ancient as to be a rectory before the Norman Conquest. The building known as "Judges' Lodgings" in Lendal, stands upon part of the ancient burial-grounds. At the abolition of the church, the parish became united to that of St. Michael-le-Belfrey. "An endowment was given to the Church of St. Wilfrid, on condition that daily Mass should be said for the soul of Nicholas de Fleming. A forty days' indulgence was also granted to those parishioners who, being truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, should in a faithful mind say, in behalf of his soul, a Pater Noster and an Ave Maria."

The loss sustained by the Scotch on this occasion was very insignificant, and they "made their way homewards, carrying with them an immense booty. The Scots, in memory of their opponents,¹ gave to that contest, if such it may be called, the title of 'The White Battle'; and the English soldiers, in

¹ It is said that three hundred ecclesiastics perished.

bitter ridicule of the prowess of the clerical warriors, called that meeting and its debate 'The Chapter of Myton'.¹

This event is commemorated by a window in the Guildhall of the city. The official description of the window is as follows:—

"In the middle portion is seen Nicholas Fleming and the armed citizens, ready to commence their march against the enemy. The Mayor holds in his right hand the bâton of military command, while the left grasps the hilt of his sword. Behind him, to his right, is the banner-bearer of the city, presumably a professional soldier of knightly rank, the Baron Fitzwalter having held the corresponding office in London. The banner itself has only the red cross of St. George, which represents the flag of England of that time. Behind the Mayor is a page carrying his shield, which is diapered only, and without heraldic bearings, though Fleming may very likely have been entitled to them. To the left is the alderman who has taken charge of the city for the time, and one of his brethren, who is too old for warfare; both are wishing the Mayor 'God speed!' To his right, and also behind the figures already mentioned, are the citizens, in full military equipment, waiting only for the word to march. In the lowest compartments are the shields of Sir Simon Warde, Sheriff of Yorkshire, King Edward II, and of England or St. George."

¹ *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 403.

CHAPTER V.

Military Riots: English Forces at York.—Their Object.—John, Lord of Hainault.—York a Military Camp.—A Serious Quarrel.—Marriage of King Edward.—The Hainaulters again.—A Battle at Dawn.

IN the first year of the reign of*Edward III (1327-1377) the English forces were assembled at York for the purpose of repelling their old foes of the North,¹ for a body of light cavalry, numbering twenty thousand men, under the leadership of Thomas Randolph and James Douglas, were ravaging the border counties, and had even forced their way far into Durham.

Edward invited the assistance of Lord John Beaumont, of Hainault, who responded, and came with his retainers to York.

It is estimated that for six weeks sixty thousand English, and upwards of two thousand foreigners, were quartered in the city and its suburbs.

Hollinshed relates that the Scotch, by the aid of partisans, and with the view of deriding English

¹ For a summons by Edward III for all the gentry of Yorkshire to go against the Scots, see *Lansdowne MS.* 860, fol. 59.

valour, placed upon the door of the Minster some lines, which ran :—

*"Long beards hartlesse, painted hoods witlesse,
Grie cotes gracelesse, make England thriftlesse."*

This was a feeble joke, and the great display of England's martial strength at York so scared the Scots that they retired, and no blood was shed immediately between the two nations.

But matters were by no means peaceful within



Fig. 16.—YORK MINSTER.

the great camp itself. The English troops and the foreigners did not agree, and very serious riots resulted. The Lincolnshire and Northampton archers seem to have suffered most severely, for three hundred of these "quivered warriors" were slain by the Hainaulters. In

those days a church stood in Fossgate, dedicated to St. Clement, and there eighty of the Lincolnshire men were buried.¹ The Hainaulters were

¹ Leland, quoted by Drake, p. 103.

heartily glad to part from their English acquaintances, for the protection afforded them by the King barely saved them from the vengeance of the enraged English troops.

Nor was this the end of the quarrel. Edward celebrated, with great magnificence, the Christmas of 1328 in York, and, on the 24th of the following month, he was married in the Minster to Philippa of Hainault. The bride arrived in the city during the Christmas festivities, and was accompanied by her uncle, John of Hainault, and a numerous retinue. The presence of the Hainaulters was not welcome to the English, though they rejoiced in the marriage of their youthful king. The visitors were the first to give occasion for offence, and the outrageous character of their conduct clears the English of any charge that might be brought against them as to being eager to discover a pretext for a quarrel. The English challenged the Hainaulters to meet them in open fight, the result being that very early one morning, before the city had fairly awakened from its slumbers, the selected representatives of the disputants met, and a deadly struggle ensued. The figures seems incredibly large, but it is said that nearly 250 English fell in the contest, and nearly 700 Hainaulters were either slain or drowned in the river.

Such a narration can accomplish little good, unless it provokes devout gratitude that the improvements in the morals of both our civil and military life are now such as to render scenes of deadly riot almost an impossibility.

CHAPTER VI.

*How the Disgrace of Myton Defeat was Retrieved: The Battle of
Neville's Cross.*

IN the autumn of the year 1346, David II of Scotland crossed the border with an invading army, while the English sovereign (Edward III) was absent from his kingdom fighting for the French Crown, and, as the consummation of his defiance to English arms, he fired the city of York, and then retired.

The good Queen Philippa was in York, and as in more peaceful times she showed great energy in encouraging her people in the manufacture of excellent cloths, so in this martial hour she proved herself equal to the requirements of the occasion.

Supported by the Archbishop, William la Zouche, and the powerful nobles of the North, she summoned a large army, which came upon the enemy at Neville's Cross,¹ near Durham. There can be little doubt the Queen remained in York, though the contrary has often been asserted.

¹ The cross which was erected here to commemorate this battle is described in Gough's *Camden*, vol. iii, p. 120. This cross was broken down and defaced in the night, 1589. *Antiq. of Durham Abbey*, pp. 34-37.

The battle was fought on October 17th. The English archers wrought terrible execution among the Scottish forces, but the contest rapidly became a struggle, "hand to hand and foot to foot".

Soon the invaders were compelled to fall back. The Scottish king, surrounded by a handful of trusty friends, stood like a tiger at bay, even when his troops were breaking away in wild confusion, believing that he was slain. When he was wounded, and his sword had been hurled from his grasp, he resisted his opponents in a most primitive fashion. He wielded his mailed fist like a mace, and dealt Sir John Copeland, who had called upon him to surrender, a disfiguring blow upon the mouth. Sir John, however, secured his prize, and had the honour of delivering the royal captive to Philippa in York, who, in turn, marched him to London to present, in due course, to her husband.

Fully half of David's army was slaughtered, and a large number of his nobles were made prisoners like himself.

The disgrace of the defeat of Archbishop Melton, in the days of Edward II, at Myton, was thus retrieved, for not only did Archbishop Zouche command in person the second corps of Philippa's army, but the victorious troops also embraced a considerable number of the clergy of the York diocese.

A beautiful legend has been preserved concerning the co-operation of the monks of Durham with their brethren from York, on this occasion. We are

told that, following directions vouchsafed in a vision, the abbot and monks of Durham sought the field of battle, and, in the midst of the terrific conflict, they knelt, unarmed, in prayer for the success of Queen Philippa's troops. An ensign of St. Cuthbert, their patron saint, floated above them from the point of a slender spear. Around them on every side resounded the shouts of the victors, the cries of the vanquished, and the groans of the dying, mingled with the clash of arms. But no violence came near those kneeling monks—not even an arrow or bolt, by chance, struck into that consecrated praying group. And so they prayed, until the storm of the battle was hushed, and they could minister in peace to the spiritual needs of the dying—friend and foe.

The memory of Archbishop la Zouche is preserved by a chapel on the south side of the Minster, towards the east. When the eastern portion of the Minster was rebuilt, the original chapel, founded by this Archbishop, was pulled down for the purpose of enlarging the choir and adjacent parts of the building.¹

¹ In tracing the history of the defences of the city, and noting the military events of the Plantagenet period, no reference has been made to the reign of Richard II (1377-1400). The reason is obvious. The name of this unfortunate monarch is associated with the city chiefly because of the civil honours he bestowed on its officials and citizens. These are matters which do not fall within the scope of our subject



THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

The Rebellion of Archbishop Scrope: Henry IV unpopular.—Scrope's Protest.—A Large Army.—Treachery of the King.—Scrope's Death.—His Associates.—His Tomb, and Superstitions of the People.—A Relic.



WHEN Richard II was deposed, and had ended his imprisonment by a wretched death in Pontefract Castle, the man who was chiefly responsible for his sad end was not welcomed by the people of York when he assumed the dignity of Henry the Fourth (1399-1413).

Of the many plots to displace Henry, one was organised by Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York,¹ and others.

¹ There is an interesting portrait of this Archbishop (then Bishop of Lichfield) in the act of baptizing Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, as an infant, in *Cotton MS.*, Julius E. iv, aft. 6, f. 16. Drawing by John Rous.

It is said that against the King, whom he boldly excommunicated, the Archbishop drew up a series of articles, which he caused to be attached to the doors of the Minster and the city churches. Among these charges were the following :—

1. That he had invaded the Kingdom, and imprisoned and then barbarously murdered the King.
2. That he had murdered Religious Men and Temporal Lords.
3. That the Kingdom had not prospered under his government.
4. That Wales and other possessions had been lost.
5. That taxes had been extorted.
6. That valour had received no recognition, and the peasantry were oppressed.

The proposals of the warlike prelate went much further than the displacing of Henry. His programme embraced the arrangement of the kingdom to the satisfaction of the people, the re-conquest of Wales, and other pretentious schemes. So well did the revolt at first prosper, that Scrope paraded at the Forest of Galtres, near York, 20,000 armed men.

The enterprise, however, proved abortive, for Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, and Prince John of Lancaster, entered into a treaty with the Archbishop, and, by means of promises that all wrongs should be redressed, persuaded him to disband his army.

In Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, Westmoreland is thus made to expostulate with the Archbishop :—

“You, Lord Archbishop,
Whose see is by a civil peace maintained ;
Whose beard the silver hand of Peace has touched ;
Whose learning and good letters Peace hath tutored ;
Whose white investments figure innocence,
The dove and very blessed spirit of Peace,—
Wherefore do you so ill translate yourself,
Out of the speech of peace, that bears such grace,
Into the harsh and boist'rous tongue of War ?
Turning your books to graves, your ink to blood,
Your pens to lances, and your tongue divine
To a loud trumpet, and a point of War ?”¹

The pledges given by the King's party were only a ruse to secure the person of the Archbishop. When his forces, on his assurance that the peace was a conquest in which “neither party was the loser”,² had retired to their homes, he was immediately seized and imprisoned at York.

Henry commanded Chief Justice Gascoigne to condemn the Archbishop to death, but the valorous spirit of this judge was as conspicuously displayed on this occasion as when he ordered the imprisonment of the King's son for contempt of Court. He decisively refused to become a party to the barbarous intrigue of the King. Henry secured the requisite condemnation from Lord William Fulthorpe, and Scrope was beheaded on a site between York and Bishopthorpe, on June the 8th, 1405.

¹ *Henry IV*, Part II, Act iv, Scene 1.

² *Ibid.*

Death of Archbishop Scrope. 111

The circumstances of his death are thus narrated by a sympathetic historian :—"The poor unfortunate Archbishop was put upon a horse, about the value of forty pence, with a halter about its neck, but without a saddle on its back. The Archbishop gave thanks to God, saying, 'I never liked a horse better than I like this!' He twice sang the Psalm *Exaudi*, being habited in a sky-coloured loose garment, with sleeves of the same colour; but they would not permit him to wear the linen vesture used by bishops. At the fatal place of execution he laid his hood and tunic on the ground, offered himself and his cause to Heaven, and desired the executioner to give him five strokes, in token of the five wounds of our Saviour, which was done accordingly."¹

Lord Mowbray, Earl Marshal of England, Sir John Lamplough, Sir William Plumpton, and others, who took part in this enterprise, suffered death in a similar manner, and the head of the Archbishop, and that of Mowbray, were put on pikes and exhibited upon the walls of the city.

Burial was granted to the Archbishop in the Minster, and, owing to his popularity, his grave was frequented by large numbers of sympathisers.

It is not surprising that in those days, when the common people were enshrouded in ignorance and superstition, that the public veneration gave rise to a belief in a series of miraculous and monstrous

¹ Thos. Gent, *History of the Famous City of York*, p. 75.

events, attesting the saintliness of the Martyr-Bishop (for as such he was enthusiastically regarded), and Heaven's displeasure against the King who had secured his death.

This popular enthusiasm was regarded by the King with uneasiness, and he ordered the tomb to be rendered inaccessible by being covered with logs of wood.

Archbishop Scrope's memory is now perpetuated by a plain altar-tomb on the north-east of the Lady Chapel.

There is also another relic of this Archbishop which is worthy of attention. There is preserved in the vestry of the Minster a wooden bowl, with a silver-gilt rim, and silver feet of cherubs' heads, bearing this inscription :

"Becharde arch-beschope Scrope, grant un to all tho that drinkis of this cope *¶* Etti dayis to pardon."

"Robert Gobson, beschope mesm grant in same forme afore-said *¶* Etti dayis to pardon, Robert Stensallis."

This Indulgence Cup was given by the Archbishop to the York Guild of Corpus Christi. It afterwards passed into the possession of the Cordwainers' Company, and was presented to the Minster authorities in 1808 by Sheriff Hornby, then Master of the Cordwainers' Company.

CHAPTER II.

Chivalry: A Tournament in York.—A King's Favour.—Decay of Chivalry. An Archbishop's Armoury: Some items.—How they were accumulated.

BEFORE passing to the stirring events of the later portion of this period, two minor matters merit brief attention.

Though tournaments had been forbidden, even under forfeiture of life and possessions, in the reign of Edward I (1272-1307),¹ the latter part of the Plantagenet and the first part of the Lancastrian periods witnessed a revival of these practices. York is not without its traditions in this respect. Early in the reign of Henry IV, "he came to York, and saw a duel, or martial combat by challenge, fought there betwixt two foreign and two English knights, in which the latter prevailed. One of the English, Sir John Cornwall, so pleased the King by his valour shown in the combat, that he gave him his sister, the widow of John Earl of Holland and Huntingdon, to wife."² Said Edmund Burke once, deplorably, "The age of chivalry is gone!" In

¹ Madox, *Baronia Anglica*, p. 284.

² Speed, quoted by Drake.

the sense that he employed the word—reverence for womanhood—chivalry still lives in the heart of every true man. The disappearance of that chivalry which necessitated such developments of military art as the wanton and ferocious tournament and *mêlée* excites the regret of none.

There is a document published by the Surtees Society, *Testem. Ebor.*, i, 399, which is both interesting and instructive in many ways. It is the will of Henry Bowet, Archbishop of York, who died at Cawood, 1423. Under the heading of *Garderoba* there is a list of ancient arms and armour.

Among other items the following are named: Jake Deffence (military coat); Qwysschewes (cuisses, armour of the thighs); Paunce (armour for the abdomen); Schynbaldes (armour below the knees); Pectorale (breastplate); Closs (headpiece). Beside battle-axes, lances, etc., there are two "Stokgunnes de ferro", specimens of the earliest form of firearms.

Many of the objects mentioned belong to a period considerably earlier than the time of the Archbishop, and they had doubtless been handed down to him by his predecessors in the occupation of Cawood Castle, which had probably been a fortified stronghold since Saxon days.

CHAPTER III.

The War of the Roses: The Battle of Wakefield Green.—Death of the Rival of Henry VI.—The Battle of Towton.—Cause of Henry VI Overthrown.—Flight of the King.—The Pharsalia of England.—Edward enters York.—Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

TWO of the battles of the famous War of the Roses were associated with York, but not so intimately as to require a detailed description here—the battles of Wakefield Green and Towton.

In the former, fought December 31st, 1460, the Red Rose of Lancaster, represented by the reigning monarch, Henry VI (1422-1461), was triumphant, and Richard, Duke of York, the aspirant to the Crown, was slain, and his head, encircled by a mock diadem of paper, was displayed above Micklegate Bar.

To this latter event Skakespeare alludes when he puts these words into the lips of Queen Margaret upon the battle plain at Wakefield:—

“Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
So York may overlook the town of York.”¹

¹ *Henry VI*, Part III, Act i, Scene 4.

And again, when King Henry and Queen Margaret enter York, she is made to say

“Welcome, my lord, to this brave town of York.
Yonder 's the head of that arch-enemy,
That sought to be encompassed with your crown.”¹

The heads of notable adherents of the Duke of York were also exposed over the Bar, or other parts of the city walls. Among those who thus suffered were Richard, Earl of Salisbury; the Earl of Rutland, who was the second son of the Duke, and only seventeen years of age; Sir Richard Limbricke, Ralph Stanley, John Harrow, and Captain Hanson.

At the battle of Towton, fought in a blinding snowstorm, which raged to the confusion of the Lancastrians, on Palm Sunday, March 29th, 1461, Richard's son, the Earl of March, who had succeeded to his father's title, and had also assumed his father's claims to the throne, completely overthrew the Lancastrian troops, chiefly by the valiant conduct of his bowmen, and thus secured for himself the allegiance of the North—the South having already decided in his favour.²

While the battle of Towton was being fought, the King, Henry VI, and his Queen, Margaret, were in York awaiting the issue of the day. On receiving from the Duke of Somerset and the Duke of Exeter, who had ridden in haste from the battle-field to

¹ *Henry VI*, Part III, Act ii, Scene 2.

² Parliament called him to the throne, March 4th.

York, the news of the irretrievable defeat of their cause, they fled the same night from the city by Bootham Bar, with their son, Prince Edward, and a few followers, and escaped to Scotland.¹

The Duke of Wellington is reported to have said "that nothing, except a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won." Never, in the annals of English battle-fields, has the victor been summoned to deplore such a field of death as that held by the triumphant Yorkists at Towton. Historians agree that in the battle, and subsequent pursuit, 40,000 men perished. Drake, after Camden, calls this battle the *Pharsalia*² of England.

After his victory, Edward entered York by Micklegate Bar, and the first sight to greet him was the ghastly display of the heads of his father and those who had suffered with him. He had the hideous spectacle removed, but only to supply its place with the heads of some who had opposed him, and fallen into his hands at Towton, of whom we may name the Earl of Devonshire, Sir William Hill, the Earl of Kyme, and Sir Thomas Foulford. This act of retaliation is also noticed in the drama of *Henry VI* (Part III, Act ii, Sc. 6):

"*Warwick*: From off the gates of York fetch down the head,
Your father's head, which Clifford placed there;
Instead whereof, let this supply the room;
Measure for measure must be answered."

¹ Henry died in 1471, after years of exile and imprisonment.

² A terrible battle between Cæsar and Pompey.

Among those whose lives were sacrificed on the Lancastrian side in this stubborn and bloody contest, was Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. The Earl was the same age as King Henry VI, and at five years old received the honour of knighthood from the infant monarch, who had himself just been knighted by his uncle, the Duke of Bedford. After the death of his father, whom he succeeded in the title and estates, he became the chief supporter of the Lancastrian interests in the North.

At the battle of Towton the Earl was mortally wounded—not slain on the field, as is often stated—and was brought to his palace at York, where he expired in a few days. Referring to his death at the family residence, an old record has this entry :

“Item, it is talked now for truth, the Earl of Northumberland is dead.”¹

It has also been pointed out that it “is clear he was not killed outright, from the coat of arms in Drake,² which indicates one who died in his bed.”¹

The palace of the Earls of Northumberland, which has been referred to, stood on the left ascending Walmgate, towards the Bar, opposite the church of St. Dennis. In later times it was used as an inn. The site is now occupied by shops.

The Earl was buried in the family vault in the

¹ MS.

² Copied from an ancient window in the church of St. Dennis Walmgate.

Percy, Earl of Northumberland. 119

north aisle of the church of St. Dennis. The tomb is not now visible, the effigies having been removed, and the site being covered with pews of modern date.

The estates of the Earl were confiscated, and his titles transferred.





THE YORKIST PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

Edward IV: Suffering entailed by the War.—The King's Compensation.—The Bow.—The Utility of the Bow.—Public Butts in York.—An Ancient Arrow.—The Earl of Warwick.—His Alienation from Edward.—His Intrigue re the Hospital of St. Leonard.—His Success.—His Defeat.



HERE can be no doubt that the city of York suffered very considerable loss in consequence of the intestine strife of this time.

The city had been well disposed toward the cause of the Duke of York, and when Edward (1461-1483) became sovereign, he did well not to forget this friendliness of the "Mayor and beloved citizens".

By a Royal Patent, dated June 10th, 1464, a grant of £40 per annum, for a term of twelve years, was given to the city, the amount being derived from the King's customs collected at Kingston-upon-Hull. A copy of the original grant, which appropri-

ately recognises the fidelity and sufferings of the citizens, is to be found upon fol. xvii of the Appendix of Drake.

Under the feudal system the cavalry had been the chief military force. For centuries the overpowering rush of mounted knights had decided almost every battle. But the fourteenth century witnessed a great transformation. An army was gradually created, the foremost place in which was held by the bowman, in which we see the originals of our infantry regiments. In all the contests of this period the bow played a very important part. "So fully was Edward IV convinced of its effect at Towton, that in the fifth year of his reign an Act was passed, commanding every Englishman to have a bow of his own height; and that butts should be provided in every township, at which the inhabitants were obliged to exercise every fast day and holiday",¹ or, in case of neglect, to incur the penalty of one halfpenny.

In *Illustrations of Antient Armour at Goodrich Court*, by Meyrick and Skelton, Plate xvi, Fig. 8, there is given "an unique specimen of the antient English arrow. It was found in excavating around the base of Clifford's Tower, September 1828, and was probably shot into that position in some defence of the building during the wars of the rival Roses, as in Henry the Eighth's time this fortress, according to Leland, was in ruin." It may appear heartless to

¹ Hargrove, *History of York*, vol. i, p. 111.

question the heroic history of this interesting relic, but it must be remembered that York, like every other town, possessed its public butts, and it is generally believed, on reliable authority, that these butts occupied a site in the vicinity of Clifford's Tower. These facts suggest another origin of the arrow at Goodrich Court.



Fig. 17.—ANCIENT ARROW.
Length: about 2½ feet.

As Edward fought his way to the throne he had a powerful ally in the Earl of Warwick, known as the King-maker.

Warwick, however, became so thoroughly estranged from Edward, owing to the latter's marriage to a lady of the Lancastrian party, that he transferred his influence to the cause of Henry, who was confined to the Tower of London.

He made strenuous efforts to rouse the people of the North against Edward. The manner in which the Earl and his emissaries proceeded was somewhat singular. Within the city of York was a notable hospital for the care of the poor and diseased, founded in Anglo-Saxon days by Athelstan, as an expression of gratitude to God after a victorious campaign in Scotland.¹ This King made a handsome grant to the hospital, derived

¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Trans. ed., vol. ii, p. 204.



Fig. 18. CLOISTER TO ST. PETER'S.
HALFPENNY: *Fragmenta Vetusta*.

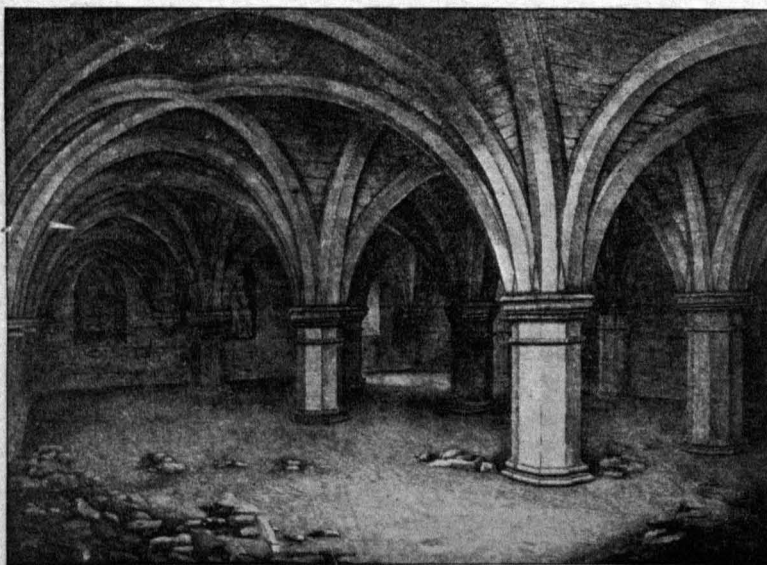


Fig. 19. CLOISTER TO ST. LEONARD'S.
HALFPENNY: *Fragmenta Vetusta*.

"From these Cloisters being * * * * different in style of Architecture, I have been induced to give the name of St. Peter's to one, and of St. Leonard's to the other; although they have been generally known by the name of St. Leonard's Hospital."—HALFPENNY.

from the corn harvest of the diocese. This revenue was confirmed and increased by later monarchs, King Stephen rebuilding the hospital and dedicating it to St. Leonard, instead of St. Peter as formerly. The ruins of this building lie immediately to the right on entering the grounds of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Museum Street.

The income of the monks at the time of Edward IV must have been very considerable.

Reports were circulated at the instigation of Warwick that these funds were needless, and were misappropriated. All holders of land were excited to withhold their gifts, and to rise, in order to demand future exemption from payment.

The spirit of insurrection spread so rapidly that 15,000 men were marshalled to proceed against the city. The insurgents met with a severe reverse near to York, but they were not crushed. On a second attempt they succeeded in taking Edward prisoner, but he escaped and fled to the Continent.

Within a few months he returned,¹ and very cleverly ingratiated himself into the goodwill of the people of the North. He met Warwick in battle at Barnet on Easter Sunday, 1471. Here the King-maker was slain, and from this time Edward was established upon the throne.

¹ This episode is very graphically described in Lytton, *The Last of the Barons*.

Richard III, unless the result of the murage toll, first granted by Henry III, which seems very feasible, since no entry of any order, or expense incurred, appears upon the city records. The Bar exhibits a much later style than Micklegate Bar."¹

The first plot to dethrone Richard occurred a few months after his accession, and was originated by a former supporter, the Duke of Buckingham.

Richard appealed to the city of York for the support of arms.

Among the records of the city is the following memorandum :

"Mem. 13 Oct., 1 Rich. III. John Otyr, yeoman of the Crown, brought the following letter to the lord-maior, aldermen, sheriffs, and communalty,

"By the King,

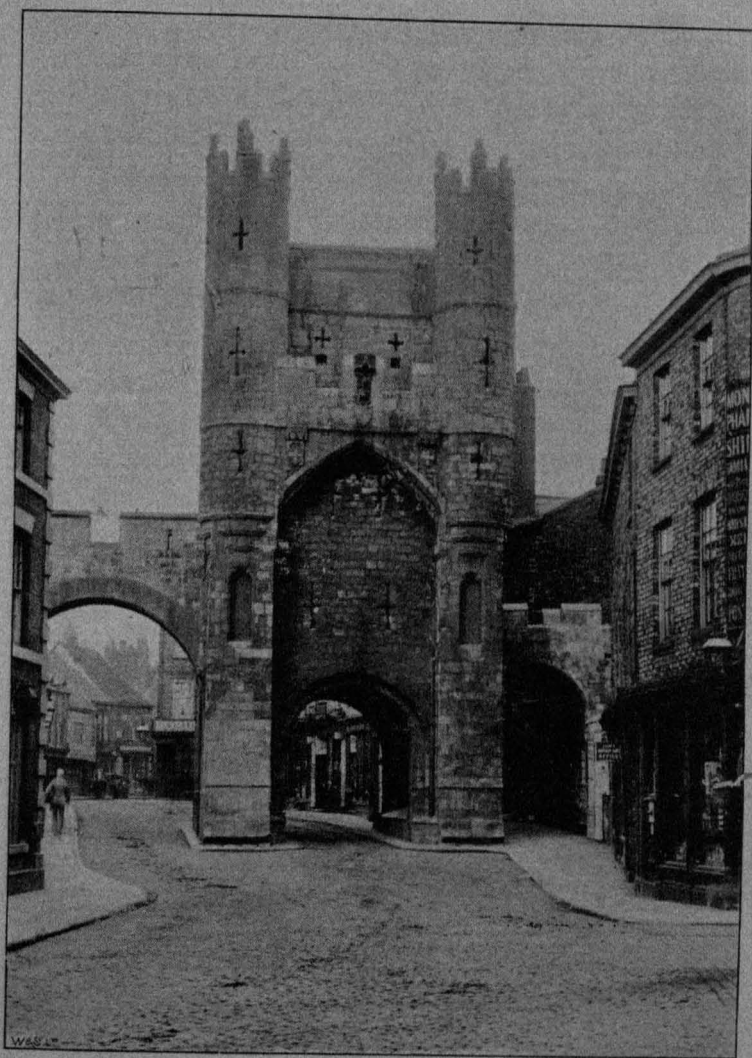
"Trusty and wel-beloved we grete ye wele, and let ye wit that the Duke of Buckingham traiterously is turned upon us, contrary to the dute of his legeance, and entendeth the utter destruction of us, you, and all other our true subgiets that have taken our part ; whose traiterous entent we, with God's grace, entend briefly to resist and subdue. We desire and pray you in our hearty wise that yee will send unto us as many men defensibly arraied on horseback, as ye may godely make, to our town of Leicestre, the 21 day of this present month, withouten fail, as ye will tendre our honner and your own wele, and we shall so see you paid for your reward and charges as yee shall hold yee wele content. Geving further credence to our trusty pursuivant this berer.

"Geven under our signet at our cite of Lincoln, the xith day of October.

"SUPERSCRIBED.

"To our trusty and right well beloved the maire, aldermen, sheriffs, and communalitie of the citie of York."

¹ Lockwood and Cates, *Fortifications of York*.



MONK BAR

Opp. p. 126.

It was not found necessary to carry out the request of the King, for Buckingham was betrayed and his life forfeited.

With the growing jeopardy of the King, the Council of York, not knowing what contingency might arise, took special and repeated measures to ensure the safety and defence of the city and the inhabitants. In 1485 four hundred men were also put under arms for the purpose of joining the King. These troops had not proceeded far before they heard that the King had been defeated and slain at Bosworth by Henry, Earl of Richmond. They hastily returned to the city, and were disbanded after bearing arms four-and-a-half days.





THE TUDOR PERIOD.

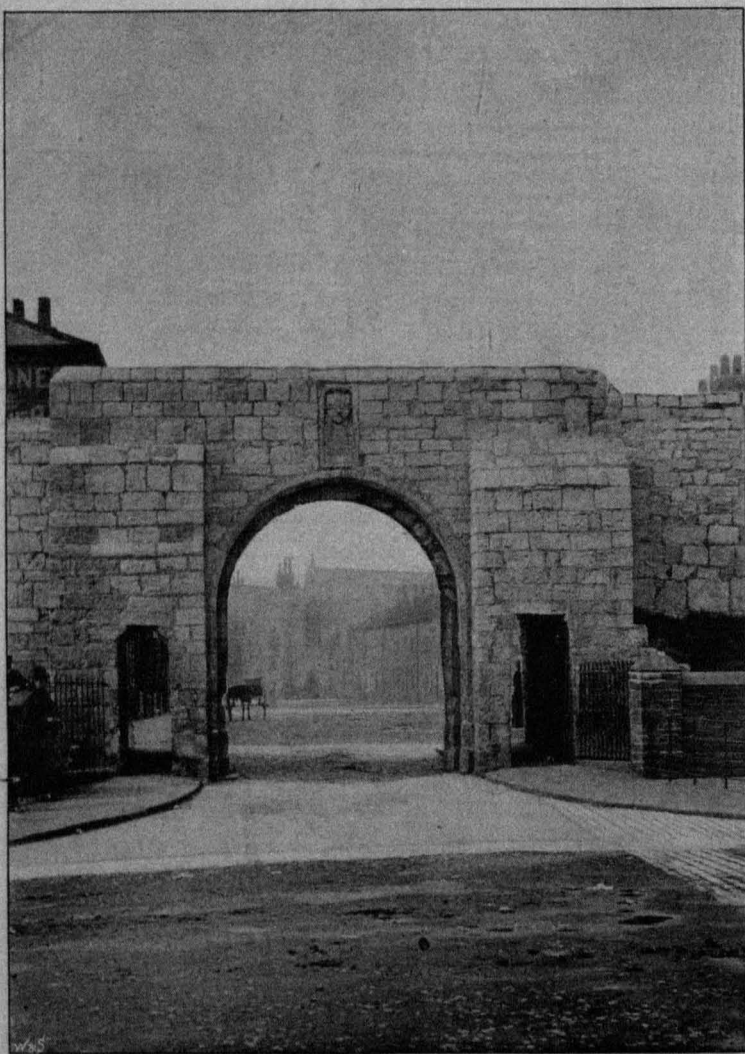
CHAPTER I.

*Henry VII and the Citizens.—Proposals from Lambert Simnel.—
Restoration of the Walls.—Fishergate Postern built.—The
Walls in the Reign of Henry VII.—The Battle of Flodden
Field.—Walls on the Foss Islands.*



WHEN Henry, Earl of Richmond, a man of violent hatred toward the House of York, came to the throne as Henry VII (1485-1509), the city, which had been so loyal to Richard III, feared what the rule of the victor of Bosworth Field might portend. But the citizens had an early opportunity of conciliating any vindictiveness which might have moved the heart of Henry against the people of the North.

The supporters of the impostor, Lambert Simnel, made overtures to the city of York. Their proposals were rejected and reported to the King, who responded very cordially to the communication of the authorities, and urged the necessity of taking every



FISHERGATE BAR.

Opp. p. 129.

possible precaution for the preservation of the city.

This episode caused the people of York to repair and fortify their walls.

The walls connected with Fishergate underwent complete restoration.

Above the outer face of the arch at Fishergate may still be read :

“Ao Domini MCCCCXXXVII Sr Willm
Tod, Knight and Mayre, this wal was mayd
in his dayes LX yerdyg.”

Within the gate is the following inscription, but it is hidden from view by modern repairs :

“A. Dm. MCCCCXXXVII. Sr Willm
Todd, knight and mair jou-ates some tyme
was shyriffe did this cost himself.”

Fourteen years later, Fishergate Postern, standing near the extremity of the wall from Fishergate, toward the confluence of the Ouse and the Foss, was built.

During the reign of the next monarch, Henry VIII (1509-1547), the walls were apparently in an excellent condition, both as to their masonry and military equipment. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, one of the most interesting books in old English literature, gives a careful description of them, which, greatly simplified, may be read as follows :

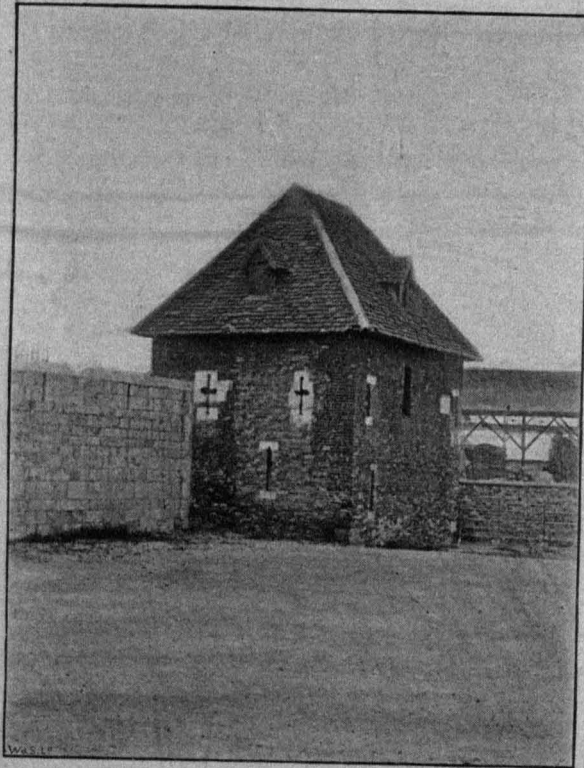
“The city of York is divided by the river Ouse, but that part which is on the east side is twice as great as that on the west. The great tower at

Lendall¹ had a chain of iron to cast over the river ; then another tower, and so on to Bootham Bar ; from thence to Monk Bar, ten towers ; and to Layerthorpe Postern, four towers ; for some distance the deep waters of the Foss defended this part of the city without the walls ; and from thence to Walmgate Bar, three towers ; then Fishergate Bar, walled up in the time of Henry VII, and three towers, the last a postern, from which by a bridge over the Foss to the Castle—the ruins of five towers was all that remained of it. On the west side of the river was first a tower, from which a wall passed over the dungeon to the castle on the Old Baile, with nine towers, to Micklegate Bar, and between it and North Street Postern, ten towers ; the postern was opposite the tower at Lendall, to draw the chain over the river between them."

During the absence of Henry VIII in France, 1513, James IV of Scotland invaded England. This adventure cost the Scotch king his life. The Earl of Surrey, Lord Lieutenant of the North, proceeded against him, and the two forces met at Flodden Field,² where James was repulsed and slain.

¹ Now utilised by the Waterworks.

² Under the date of 1664, Gent narrates the following singular event :—"This year, on the 8th of December, died one Henry Jenkins, a fisherman, at Ellerton, upon the river Swale, aged 163. He had sworn in a tryal at York to 120 years past, at which time he was butler to the Lord Conyers. He remembered Fountains Abbey in its splendour. He remembered the time of the *Battle of Flodden Field*, having carried arrows as far as



THE RED TOWER.

Opp. p. 131.

York contributed in some measure to this decisive victory, for five hundred of the Earl of Surrey's troops were raised in the city and the vicinity. The body of the Scottish king was brought to York, and exposed to public view until the return of Henry from France, when it was sent to him at Richmond.

In 1558, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, the walls adjoining the Red Tower on the Foss Islands were renovated.

Northallerton, which were furthered from thence to the army by another boy." *History of York*, p. 226.

CHAPTER II.

Numerous Revolts and Executions: Simnel's Revolt.—Sir John Egremont and Fishergate.—Pilgrimage of Grace.—Sir John Nevill.—Seamer Rebellion.—The Banner of the Five Wounds, and Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland.

UNDER the Tudors, very numerous executions took place in York for treason and armed revolt. The narration of these events belongs to the history of the county and the North generally, rather than to the history of this city in particular. Little more can be attempted here beyond a list of the principal executions :

1. In the third year of the reign of Henry VII, some of the sympathisers with the rebellion of Lambert Simnel attempted to seize the King, when he was celebrating St. George's Day in the city, and thereby forfeited their lives.

2. In this reign John à Chambre and others fermented a rebellion, of which Sir John Egremont was chosen leader, to oppose the levying of a tax imposed to maintain an army sent to Brittany by Henry to sustain the rights of Anne, heiress of Duke Francis. This rebellion was confined to Yorkshire and Durham, all other counties having readily paid the impost. Upon the suppression of

the revolt, Egremont escaped to Flanders, but Chambre and some of his associates were executed at York.

Fishergate was burned by the rebels ; but, instead

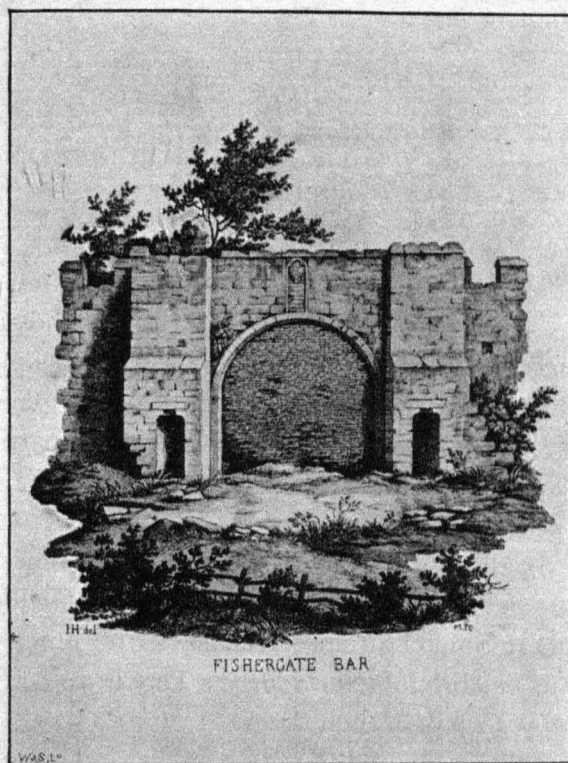


Fig. 20.—FISHERGATE PRIOR TO 1827.¹

of restoring it, the city authorities caused it to be built up. Leland speaks of "Fisschar Gate, stoppid

¹ The illustration is reproduced from Halfpenny's *Fragmenta Vetusta*. There is a similar picture in Cave's *Picturesque Buildings*.

up sins the communes burnid it in the tyme of Henry VII." This gate was not reopened until 1827.

3. An effort, which received the pious designation of "The Pilgrimage of Grace", was made in the reign of Henry VIII to restore Papal power in the kingdom. Robert Aske, Esq., of Aughton, because of the prominent part he took in this revolt, was hung in chains¹ on Clifford's Tower.

4. In 1541, Sir John Nevill and ten other persons were executed for rebellion.

5. Six years later, the leaders of a rebellion which broke out at Seamer, near Scarborough, suffered death in like manner.

6. In 1569, an attempt was made to dethrone Queen Elizabeth (1558-1603), and to put Mary Queen of Scots upon the throne. Like "The Pilgrimage of Grace", this rebellion had a religious origin, and the malcontents bore a device known as "The Banner of the Five Wounds". This was, in fact, the last armed revolt made in England to attempt the restoration of the Papal power. "Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in this rash enterprise. Not less than 800 persons are said, in the whole, to have suffered by the hands of the executioner. Between Newcastle and Wetherby, a district sixty miles in length by forty in breadth, there was not a town or village in which some of the inhabitants did not expire

¹ Drake, p. 127.

on the gibbet."¹ Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, Simon Digby, John Fulthorpe, Robert Pennyman, and Thomas Bishop, were executed at York.

The Earl of Northumberland evaded capture by hiding in a wretched cottage for about two years. At length he was betrayed and brought to York. A scaffold was erected in the Pavement, near St. Crux Church,² and there, on August 22nd, 1572, he gave his neck to the headsman. He died "avowing the Pope's supremacy, denying subjection to the Queen, affirming the land to be in a schism, and her obedient subjects no better than heretics."³

The Earl was buried in the Church of St. Crux, but no monument was erected to his memory.

His head was placed upon a pole above Micklegate Bar, where it remained for about two years, when it appears to have been stolen. An old MS., quoted by several writers, says: "In the year 1574 the head of the Earl of Northumberland was stolen, in the night, from Micklegate Bar, by persons unknown."

The helmet, sword, and gauntlets of the Earl were preserved in the Church of St. Crux, and the helmet is now to be seen in the Mission Room, which has been recently erected upon part of the ancient site.

Many of the victims of these executions were

¹ Grainge, *The Battlefields of Yorkshire*.

² Removed in 1885.

³ Speed.

subjected to the barbarous practice of those days, "hung, drawn, and quartered", and their heads and limbs were displayed upon the gates of the city, and upon Clifford's Tower. Micklegate Bar was more degraded by this horrible practice than any other public position in York.

CHAPTER III.

Spurriergate: Ancient Military Trades.—The Spurriers.—An Important Craft.—Earliest form of the Spur.—Rowelled Spurs.—Ripon Spurs.—Spurriers settle in York.—Spurriergate, when so named.

SOME of the various crafts which flourished in ancient York were connected with military life, *i.e.*, the armourers, arrowsmiths, and spurriers. The latter industry has left a permanent memorial of its existence and importance here in by-gone days by giving its name to the southern extension of Coney Street, *viz.*, *Spurriergate*.

In mediæval days, when all journeys were undertaken on foot or horseback, and when cavalry formed a much larger proportion of the army than at present, the spurriers formed a powerful body of craftsmen.

Originally,¹ and for a long time afterwards, spurs were merely pricks or pyramidal goads, such as may be seen on cross-legged effigies of the times of

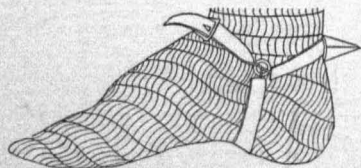


Fig. 21.

¹ The use of spurs was first introduced into Britain by the Romans.

the Crusades (Fig. 21), or on the seals of our kings and barons prior to the reign of Edward III (1327-1377). This form of spur was varied by the insertion of a



Fig. 22.

neck between the goad and the heel. Fig. 22 is an engraving of such a spur, made of brass, and belonging to the thirteenth century.

The rowelled spur was invented in the reign of Henry III (1216-1272). Sometimes a person of Norman or Plantagenet times is represented on one seal wearing the single goad, and on another wearing the rowelled spur. A most formidable pattern of the rowelled spur came into use in the time of Henry V (1413-1422), Fig. 23.

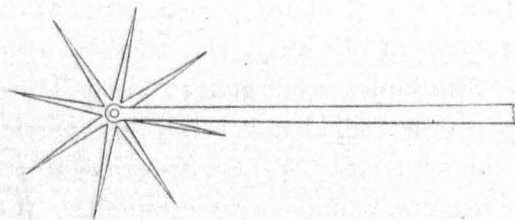


Fig. 23.

The neck was very long, and from the heel to the tip of the spikes, which were also long and very sharp, this spur measured from six to seven-and-a-half inches.

In the reign of Henry VIII this absurd and cruel horse-goad gave place to a short star-like pattern,

somewhat similar to the one in use at the present day, Fig. 24.¹

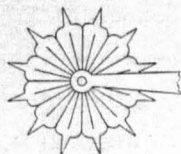


Fig. 24.

Sometimes spurs were ornamented with gold and silver, and were even made of these costly metals. There seems to have been no limit to the excess of fashion in this item of equestrian outfit. Spurs were even garnished with diamonds and other precious stones, examples of these extravagances of the spurrier's art being still preserved.

In Yorkshire, the spurriers flourished chiefly at Ripon, especially in the sixteenth century. "As true steel as Ripon rowels," is a well-known saying, and other references to "sharp Rippon spurs" could be easily quoted. Spur-makers settled in the vicinity of the present Spurriergate in York at a very early date. In a rate-roll of the parish of St. Michael,² in the first year of Edward III, two spurriers are named. Surnames were not in general use then, and they are described as "John, the spurrier", and "Alan, the spurrier". When Spurriergate received its present name cannot be ascertained. We know it was not so called in the early period just referred to, for, in a document of that date, the Church of St. Michael is said to be in "Conyng Street". Coney Street then embraced Lendal, the present Coney

¹ Drawn from Fairholt, *Costumes*, p. 604.

² The church stands at the corner of Spurriergate and Ousegate.

Street, and Spurriergate. In the fifteenth century the name "Conyng Street" was still retained. Perhaps *Spurriergate* was first employed in the Tudor period (sixteenth century), for in the next century both names were in use. In 1651, we find the street spoken of as "Little Concy Street, *alias* Spurriergate". At this time the spur-makers were incorporated in the trades' guild of St. Anthony, and subscribed yearly toward the repair of the Hall in Peaseholme Green. Within a century the craft, as a separate industry, had ceased to exist in York.





THE STUART PERIOD.

CHAPTER I.

An Important Period.—Charles I in York, 1639.—Charles in York, 1640.



THE most important epoch in the later military history of York is the period comprised by the reign of Charles the First, 1625-1649.

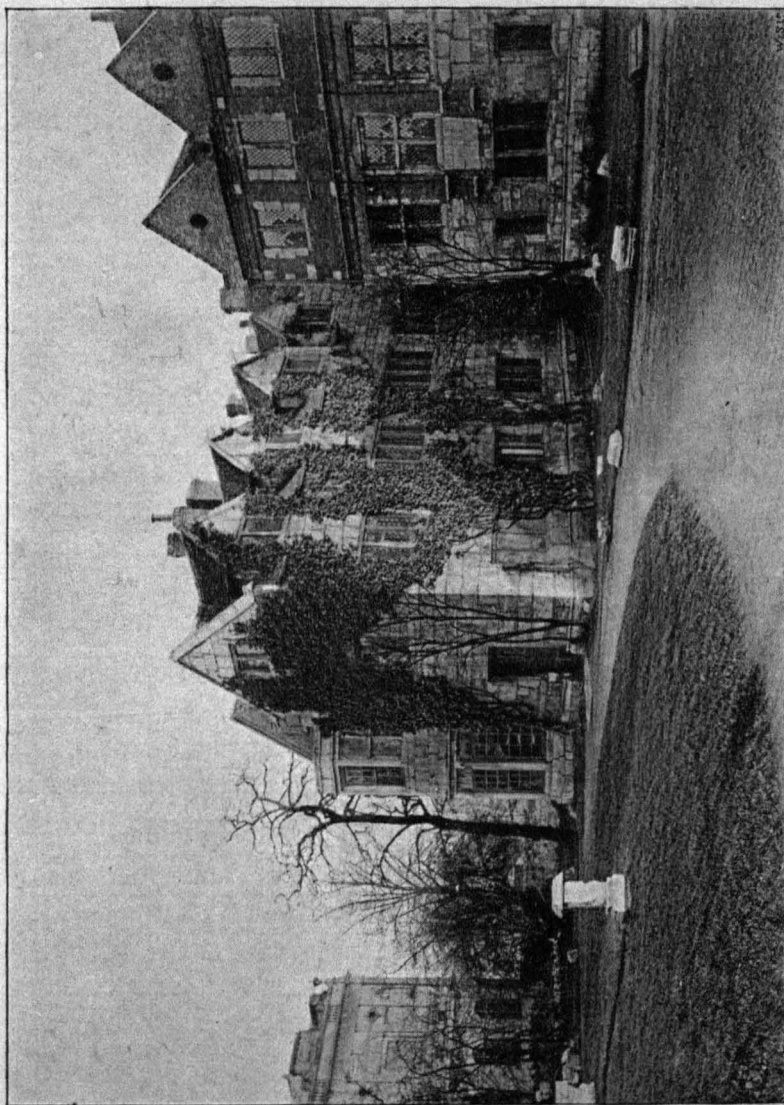
When Scotland determined by the *National Covenant* to resist the attempts made to supplant Presbyterianism, Charles hastened to York (1639), and made it the rendezvous of the army, being resolved to put down the Covenanters by force of arms. "He was received by the Lord Mayor in state at Micklegate Bar, and saluted by a volley of musquetry from six hundred of the trained band, who were here drawn out in order, dressed in buff coats, scarlet breeches silver-laced, russet boots, black caps, and large feathers. When the King had reached the Manor

House, the trained bands performed their exercise in the fields on the opposite side of the river, and greeted the royal visitor with four other discharges of their firearms."¹

A month later, Charles marched for the North. No battle was fought, an agreement being entered into by the two nations, known as the "Pacification of Berwick".

In the following year (1640), the Scotch assumed a most hostile attitude. They crossed the Tweed, defeated the English troops, and took possession of Northumberland. This event again called the King to York. "On the 31st of August he rode about the city, attended by the Marquis of Hamilton, several general officers, some aldermen and citizens, and marked out several entrenchments and fortifications. On the 7th of September writs were issued for the assembling of the Peers of the Realm at York; and on the same day Sir Jacob Astley entered the city with the whole of the royal army, amounting to twelve thousand foot and three thousand horse. Half of these were encamped in Clifton Fields, and the other on the opposite bank, having a bridge of boats to connect them. At the same time fifty pieces of ordnance, one hundred and thirty-two wagons loaded with powder, shot, and matches, with several carriages of picks, spades, and shovels, arrived from the King's magazines at Hull. Many cannon were planted before the camp, where several

¹ Lockwood and Cates, p. 34.



KING HENRY VIII'S MANOR HOUSE.

ramparts and bulwarks had been thrown up, and a guard was kept at every Bar and Postern. As an additional security, Charles requested the gentry of Yorkshire to support the trained bands for two months, to which they consented. On the 24th of September the Peers met in the Deanery, where the great hall had been prepared for their reception. The petition of the Scots was read, and sixteen noblemen were appointed to conclude a treaty with them at Ripon. At the same time it was resolved that two hundred thousand pounds be borrowed of the city of London to defray the expenses of the King's troops. "Edward, Lord Herbert, greatly exasperated at the Scottish claims, advised Charles to fortify the city of York more strongly, and refuse them."¹

Nothing was done, however, either in adding to the fortifications of the city or resisting the Scotch. Terms were made between the two countries, to the disadvantage of Charles, by the Treaty of Ripon.

¹ Lockwood and Cates, p. 35.

CHAPTER II.

*Premonitions of the coming Storm: Charles repulsed from Hull.
—He holds Court at York.—The Royal Printing Press.—
His Bodyguard.—The King's Order respecting the Militia.—
A Monster Assembly at Heworth Moor.—The King's Address.
—The People's Petition.—The People's Appeal to Parliament.
—Parliament stops War Supplies.—The King goes to Nottingham.*

WHEN the estrangement between the ill-fated monarch and the Parliament caused him to leave London, in March 1642, he visited Yorkshire, where demonstrations of loyalty had never been wanting.

Hull was, at this time, the largest arsenal in the country, and thither the King proceeded, on April the 23rd, for the purpose of inspecting the armaments of the place. To this the King had been urged by the "Gentry and Commons of the County of York", in a petition presented to him at York on the previous day, April 22nd, 1642. This petition was as follows:

"To the King's most Excellent Majesty, the humble petition of the Gentry and Commons of the County of York.

"Most Royall Sovereign;

"Encouraged by Your Majesties many Testimonies of your Gracious Goodnesse to us and our Countie, which we can