

English Events in Caspar Weinreich's Danzig Chronicle, 1461-1495

LIVIA VISSER-FUCHS

THE AUTHOR of the Danzig Chronicle — *ich Caspar Weinreich* — was probably a member of a local family of small merchants, captains of their own ships, several of whom are mentioned in other sources though he himself does not appear elsewhere. His attitude towards the patriciate of Danzig — evident from his notes — suggests that he did not belong to the most affluent and influential circles, but was certainly more than a private citizen, showing on occasion some inside knowledge of municipal affairs.

His work is contemporary with events but not wholly original on local matters: for some of the latter he used at least one chronicle by a well-informed fellow-citizen of some importance, one Christof Beier.

In 1466 Weinreich's Danzig had finally, with great effort, freed itself from the ruthless and oppressive rule of the Teutonic Order and in his life-time it was proudly going through a period of recovery, evident from its activity in trade and industry and the rebuilding and embellishment of the city. It held an important position among the Prussian towns of the German Hanse, but as with all Hanse members its own interest came first and foremost and in its external relations it often acted as an individual entity.

In the second half of the fifteenth century Danzig traded with Portugal, Spain, France and the Low Countries, exporting wool and grain, and bringing home salt, herring, oil, hops and nuts. Trade with England — exchanging 'Baltic goods and English cloth' — was lively, too, but relations with this country were always problematic, shattered again and again by large and small acts of piracy on either side. The arrival of Yorkist rule in 1461 seemed to herald a more stable period, but gradually the English attitude — made possible by better commercial relations with Burgundy — hardened the reaction of the Hanse, increased their unity against England and led to open war. The result, eventually, was one-sided: on the one hand the virtual exclusion of English merchants from the Baltic, on the other the full restoration of Hanseatic position and privileges in England.²

Danzig's spheres of interest are, understandably, reflected in Weinreich's historical notes; 'although he never varies the tone of his drily annalistic record' and one often wishes he would give more information and more details, he touches on all the subjects that must have lain close to the heart of a fifteenth century seaman and citizen of a sea-going state.

He relates the adventures of captains and their ships: the weather that troubled them or the number of enemies 'they sailed into the ground'; how many lives were lost and what goods were taken. He takes pride in the ships that were built (or captured) by his fellow-citizens, describing their size and referring to many of them and their captains by name.

He reports floods in Sealand, campaigns against the Turks in Hungary and party-troubles in Holland and Flanders; the date and place of the Hanse-diets (= meetings) and who came to them; war and peace between England, France and Burgundy and the fateful activities of Charles the Bold in Germany and Switzerland.

Towards the end of his life he pays more and more attention to the internal affairs of his city: houses that were built or the fires that destroyed them; who was mayor and who married whom among the upper-ten; how a tumbler in the *Artushof* performed such dangerous tricks with two swords that a guest from Holland fainted at the sight.

His jottings are mostly superficial, but certainly wide-ranging: he gives accurate lists of the price of fish and grain at one time and he worries about foreign princes coining 'black money' at another; in 1492, he says, there was so much herring in the Sound that fishermen hauled in their catch 'on one side of the ship and threw it overboard on the other, because they could not sell it'; in another year it snowed on May-day 'and all the mountains were white in the morning, until the sun rose, and then everything was gone'.

Occasionally his choice of words gives a touch of liveliness to the bareness of his facts: after Henry VII's invasion of France in 1492 (which ended in the treaty of Etaples) the King 'went back to his country of England and left the King of the Romans (Maximilian, Henry's former ally), sitting between two chairs'.

More important to us, however, is the fact that among his various bits of news he also made notes of such events in England as reached and interested him. These are fairly numerous for the first two decades of Yorkist rule and it is probable that Weinreich spent these years in England and the Low Countries or sailing the Narrow Seas between them. From 1481 to 1496 (the year his chronicle ends) Prussian news dominates and it is most likely he spent his old age in Danzig, only recording the more 'notable' happenings of the outside world.

The news and the rumours reported by Weinreich are very similar to those found in other continental sources, and there is no evidence that he ever had access to any written source on English events. There is little or nothing to be said about the trustworthiness or the historical value of his work, but it is interesting to read *what* he knew. I think it is arguable that many parts of England itself at the time knew no more and had no less distorted news of the doings of 'the great' than this — not always — far-away Hanse merchant.

Weinreich's notes have not survived in the original manuscript, but in a sixteenth century copy by the Warsaw antiquary Stenzel Borbach (died 1597). The nineteenth century editors modernized the spelling, punctuation and the capitals, especially in the 1855 edition; I have observed their usage. Editorial additions to the translation, mostly meant to render the text more readable, are in square brackets; words found in the German text, but superfluous in our eyes, have been put in round brackets.

I have attempted to preserve some of the flavour of the original, but since I am no expert on either middle or modern German, I harbour no illusions that the translation is faultless. However, a fair knowledge of both, the occasional resemblance of Weinreich's language to modern colloquial Dutch (and, of course, to middle Dutch) and some faith in common sense, made me venture upon the task. I hope it is evident that I would be very glad of readers' comments and suggestions, not only about the translation, but also concerning the contents themselves and the implications of Weinreich's version of known events.

1461 Anno 1461 war konig Edwart in Engelandt volmechtigk konig, des hertzogs son von Jorke. Sie huldigten im und entfingen in in die nortkoste von Engelandt, und seines vaters haubt wart zu Jorke von der porte genomen und ander groten hern hoffte in ire stette gesetzt, die konig Edwart widerumb liz abhauen.

Item umb dieses vorgenanten konigs wegen und umb konig Harren willen, der vor im konig war und vertriben wart in England, manich grosser her und edelman ihre haubte abgehauen umb dieser beider konige willen. Als do man den konig Edward kronete zu Lunden, do weren nicht mehr lebendig von hertzogen in Engeland den 2, und sunst plach ir 15 zu sein; so weren sie abgehauen und geschlagen. Was do vor ander groffen und edelleute mitte todt blieben, mag man merken.

In the year 1461 King Edward, the son of the Duke of York, came to power as king in England. They did honour to him and welcomed him on the northcoast of England, and his father's head was taken from the gate at York and the heads of other great lords whom King Edward had beheaded in their turn, were put in its place.

Item because of the foresaid King and because of King Harry who was King before him and [who] was expelled from England, many a great lord and nobleman was beheaded (because of these two kings). When King Edward was crowned in London, no more than two dukes were alive in England and there used to be fifteen; to such an extent had people been beheaded and killed. One can imagine how many other earls and nobles also died.

1464 Item diesen winter nam konig Edward in Engelandt eines edelmans weib zu einer konigin, und die war auch gekronet gegen aller herren, dank. Man wolde sagen, ir man wer im streit erslagen; ein part sagten, er wer zu Rotzester

von der brugge gedranget; ein part sagten auch, er wer mitte im vorgehen parlamente gekopft. Er war ein schlechter ritter; und der konig kreg das weib lieb, als er beyr ir ofte bankete hild. Und wiwol die kronung in Engelandt held, das ein konig solde eine junkfer zur ehe nemen, wer sie auch sein mochte, jedoch echtgeborn, aber keine witwe nicht; diese aber nam der konig wider aller seiner herren dank.

Item denselben winter brochte minlort Warwig konig Harrien gefangen binen Lunden und furder in dat Scepside auf die Thuer auf einen kleinen pferde, ein stroehut auf seinem haupt und eine tae umb seinem leib gebunden, und an iklicher seide ging ein ander tae und hilden in so; und die bufen lieffen umb in und behoneten in, und do war niemand wider jung noch ald, der in eher mit knien oder sonst mochte bitten bey verlust seines leibes.

Item in this winter King Edward in England took a gentleman's⁶ wife to queen, and she was crowned, too, against the will of all lords. People said that her husband was killed in battle; some said he was pushed off the bridge at Rochester; some said that he, too, had been beheaded during the previous parliament. He was a mere knight; and the king fell in love with the wife when he dined with her frequently. And although royal custom in England demands that a king should marry a virgin, whoever she may be, legitimately born and not a widow,⁸ yet the King took this one against the wish of all his lords.

Item that same winter my lord of Warwick brought King Harry into London a prisoner and [led him] through Cheapside to the Tower on a small horse, a straw-hat on his head and a rope tied round his body; and on either side another rope [was fastened] and so he was held; and the rabble surrounded him and mocked him, and there was no one, either young or old, who dared rather to do him honour, kneeling or otherwise, for fear of his life.⁹

1465 Item dasselbe voryor war in Engelandt das alde geld abgesetzt und war all neue pagament gemuntzt, so das lb. sterlings do nicht besser war dan 8 mark Preysisch.

Item that same spring the old money was abolished in England and completely new money was minted, so that the pound sterling then was worth no more than eight Prussian marks.¹⁰

1466 Anno 1466 hilden die Englichen gutten fride mit jederman, und man horte nirgents von orley.

In the year 1466 the English were at peace with everyone and nothing was heard of war anywhere.¹¹

1467 Anno 1467 segelten etliche schiffe ausz Engelandt in Island von Brustow, und die Englichen slugen dar todt des konigs vogt von Denmark und nemen dar den leuten ire fische mit gewald und theten do vil ubermut.

In diesem yor schreib auch konig Christiern von Denmark an den konig von Engelandt, das im solch hohmut und schaden geschehen wer; er solde die Englichen underweisen und dorzu halden, das sie den schaden bussen solden.

Item disen somer zogen aus Dantzke vil schippers zum konig von Denmark mit etlichen reitern und gutten hoffleuten auff sein sold.

In the year 1467 several ships from England sailed to Iceland from Boston¹² and the Englishmen killed the governor of the King of Denmark and took the fish of the people there by force and committed many reckless acts. In this year King Christian of Denmark also wrote to the King of England that such outrage and damage had been done to him; that he should reprimand the Englishmen and see to it that they would pay for the damage.

Item this summer many captains went from Danzig to the King of Denmark with several soldiers¹³ and good commanders, to serve him for pay.

1468 Item in dem yor war unser koffman zu Lunden gefangen; das kwam her von des konigs von Denmark wegen. Dan er liesz den Englichen vil schiffe nemen in dem Sunde mit grossem gut; das teten meistens unsere leute, die von hir gezogen woren zum konige auf sold anno 67.

Item in this year our merchants were arrested in London; that happened because of the King of Denmark. For he had many English ships taken in the Sound, together with many goods; this was chiefly done by our people, who had sailed from here to the king in the year 67 [to be] in his pay.¹⁴

1469 Anno 1469 war grosz zwitracht in England zwischen der herschafft, das so vil mete zukwam von des koffmans wegen. Dan die Kolners hatten sich alleine ausgedinget und lissen die andern in der last steken.

Item der konig von Engeland hatte zu sich gezogen und aufgeworfen vor grosse hern, die der konigin frunde und bruder weren, dan sie oder ire nigte abgehauen woren und des koniges vereter gewest weren. Und als Warwig und seine frunde, die in zu einem konige hatten helfen machen, do hild er nichts dorvon. Umb des willen war im Warwig sehr hasz und vil edelinge und das gbeste gemeine volk, die auf den deutschen koffman hagerden, welche hern in beyfilen, den fillen sie wider bey.

In the year 1469 there was great discord in England between the lords and this was chiefly because of the merchants, for the men of Cologne had made a treaty on their own and left the others in the lurch.

Item the King of England had the Queen's friends and brothers live with him and made great lords of them, although (?) they or their knights had been beheaded and had been traitors to the King. And Warwick and his friends, who helped to make him King, he no longer regarded at all. Because of this Warwick hated him greatly and so did many noblemen, and the common people, who grumbled against the Hanse merchants, supported those lords who supported them. And so the discord between the lords started.¹⁵

1470 Anno 1470 auf des neuen yors tag nam Paul Benke mit der barse und Merten Bardewig mit einem cravel auf der trade den Joen von Neucastel ausz Engelandt, ein schiff von 300 lasten und brochten in 8 tage dornoch zu Berschug und rede in vort zur orleyen ausz.

Item dieselbe faste weich Warwig ausz Engeland in Frankreich, und der hertzog von Burgundien rede mit grosser macht in die sehe und wolde in mit gewaldt geholet haben ausz Frankreich; Heine von der Fere war amiral von der sehe.

Item umb s.Jacobi ausz do kwam Heine, der her von der Fere, ausz der sehe ausz Frankreich mit allen den schiffen und die Osterlinge, die dor mang weren; die dem hertzogen von Burgundien musten dienen.

Item umb Bartolomei ausz zog vort Warwich ausz Frankreich wider uber mit grosser macht in Engelandt und setzete konig Harry wider zum konige.

Item anno 70 umb Michael ausz weich konig Edward ausz Engelandt vor Warwig und kwam mit 7 schifen ins Marsdiffe, und der lort Schalis kwam in die Welinge, des konigs weibes bruder.

In the year 1470 on New Year's day [25 Dec. 1469] Paul Beneke with the bark and Martin Bardewig with a carvel captured the *John of Newcastle* from England, a ship of 600 tons (?), on the fairway¹⁶ and eight days later they brought it to Berschug¹⁷ and started to prepare it for war.¹⁸

Item in this same [i.e. the date of the previous entry, not given here] Lent Warwick fled from England to France and the Duke of Burgundy went to sea with a great force and would have brought him out of France by force; Henry of Veere¹⁹ was admiral of the sea.

Item about St. James' day [22 June or 25 July] Henry, Lord of Veere, came from France from the sea with all his ships; the Easterlings who had to serve the Duke of Burgundy among them.²⁰

Item about St. Bartholomew's day [24 August] Warwick sailed from France back to England with a great force and made King Harry king again.²¹

Item in the year 70 about St. Michael's day [29 September] King Edward fled from England before Warwick, and he came with seven ships in the Marsdiep, and Lord Scales, the brother of the King's wife, came in the Wielingen.²²

1471 Anno 1471 zu mitfasten do reidede konig Edward stark zu mit seinen schiffen, und die osterlinge mit 7 schiffen, und des herren von Burgundien schiffe: als Merke Simons son und etliche ander, und brochten in wider in Engelandt in die Hummer mit macht.

Item dieselbe faste nam Paul Benke die Madlene von Diepen und den Schwan von Kaen; do krieg er innen den meier von Lunden, der hiesz Tomes Kuegk.

Item auf den pasca tag do gewan konig Edward den streyt und sloch Warwigen und ander grossen herren.

In the year 1471 on Mid-Lent Sunday [24 March²³] King Edward made great preparations with his ships, and the Easterlings with seven ships and the lord of Burgundy's ships: like that of Mark Simonsz. and several others, and they brought him again to England to the Humber with an army.

Item that same Lent Paul Beneke took the *Magdalen* of Dieppe and the *Swan* of Caen; and in them he found the Mayor of London, called Thomas Cook.²⁴

Item on Easter day King Edward won the battle and killed Warwick and other great lords.²⁵

1482 Item diesen sommer umb Jacobi ausz zog ausz Engeland der lort von Northumberland, sein name Ritzert, des koniges bruder von Engeland und der dux Abbaviel, des konigs bruder von Schotlandt; sie zogen in Schotlandt zu lande und zu wasser und machten den konig von Schotland unmechtig und fingen in und legten in auff den Tuer und nemen von im seine schwester, mit der hatte er 2 kinder, und setzten ab das schwartgeldt.

Item this summer around St. James' day [probably 25 July] the Lord of Northumberland — his name was Richard, the brother of the King of England — and the Duke of Albany, the brother of the King of Scotland marched out of England; they went to Scotland by land and by water and deprived the King of Scotland of his power and laid him in the Tower²⁶ and took from him his sister, by whom he had two children,²⁷ and they abolished the 'black' money.

1483 Item in der faste weich duc Abbafiel in Engeland ausz Schotlandt und gab den Englischen ein Dunbarrii und Sudbarwik. Und vort auf pasca starb konig Eduard in Engeland.

Item vort diesen somer lisz sich Ritzert des konigs bruder mechtig machen und kronen in Engelandt und liesz seines bruders kinder todten und die konigin auch hemlich wegbringen.

Item diesen sommer kegen den herbest zogen die Schotten vor Dumbary mit macht und wolden das gewinnen; aber sie lissen es ungewonnen vor den Englischen.

Item in Lent the Duke of Albany fled from Scotland to England and gave Dunbar and South Berwick to the English. And shortly after Easter King Edward died in England.

Item later this summer Richard, the King's brother, had himself put in power and crowned in England and he had his brother's children killed, and the Queen put away secretly also.²⁸

Item this summer towards autumn the Scots came before Dunbar with an army and would have taken it; but they left it, untaken, to the English.

1485 Item den somer nomen die Frantzen, don sie den neuen konig Ritzmundt hatten in Engelandt gebrocht, den Holandern und Sehelandern wol 70 barsen, ein part mit heringe geladen, ein part auch nicht.

Item anno 85 in somer war konig Ritzart in Engeland todt geslagen umb Laurentii ausz, der seines brudern kinder Edwards hatte todten lassen; und fort qwam einer ausz Frankreich, der hiesz Ritzmundt, der war do konig gekronet. Man sagte, er wer von Harren geslechte.

Item in the summer the French — when they had brought the new King Richmond to England — took as many as seventy barks of the Hollanders and Sealanders; some had a cargo of herring and some had not.

Item in the year 85 in the summer King Richard of England, who had had his brother Edward's children killed, was killed about St. Laurence's day [10 August]; and soon there came one out of France, who was called Richmond, and he was crowned King. People said he was related to Harry.²⁹

1487 Item anno 87 war wider ein neue zwitracht in Engelandt zwischen irem konige Ritzmundt und den herren des landes, so das welche von dem hern wichen ausz Engelandt in Seheland und machten do mit grosser macht ausz mit hulffe der alden frauen Caroli von Burgundien wol 19 schiffe vol werhaftiger man zu sigeln in Irland, dar war der vorgeanten alden frauen ires brudern duc Klarens son und den mit macht einzubringen in Engelandt zum konige zu sein, bei seinem namen Jores und den Ritzmund zu vertreiben.

Item denselben sommer und voryor qwam uber ausz Sehelandt vil schiffe in Irlandt zu hulffe dem jungen her, Jorgen genant, des duc Klarens son und zogen mit im over in Engelandt umb einen streit. So qwam im entgegen konig Ritzmundt, der do ausz Frankreich war gekommen in Engelandt und war do vor einen konig gekronet, mit grosser macht dem andern entgegen und gewan den streit und sloch den jungen, der wolde einwesen.

Item in the year 87 there was again new discord in England between their King Richmond and the lords of the land, so that some lords fled from England to Sealand and prepared a great army there with the help of the widow of Charles of Burgundy: as many as nineteen ships full of fighting men to sail to Ireland, where the son of the foresaid widow's brother the Duke of Clarence was, and to bring him with an army to England to be King by his name of George and to expel the Richmond.

Item that same summer and spring many ships came out of Sealand to Ireland to help the young lord, called George, the son of the Duke of Clarence, and went with him to England to fight. King Richmond, who had come from France and who had been crowned King, marched against him with a large army and won the battle and killed the boy who would be king.³⁰

1489 Item auf dieselbe zeit kwam auch zeitunge ausz Engelandt, das die bauren hetten todt geslagen den Northumerland mit 2 ritters umb schatzunge, die er in wolde auflegen. Geschehen 8 tage noch ostern. Item der konig Ritzmundt Harry zog hirumb zu Jork und liesz 20 von den haubtleuten von den bauren hir umb hangen und ein firteilen.

Item at the same time [spring] news came from England that the peasants had killed the Northumberland with two knights because of taxes that he wanted to impose on them. [This] happened eight days after Easter.³¹

Item the King Richmond Harry went to York for that reason and had twenty of the leaders of the peasants hanged for it and one quartered.

1490 Item diesen sommer hatten die Englischen unserm kofman in der sehe grossen schaden gethon; und dem kofman war nicht al velich zu wanken in Lunden auf der strossen.

Item this summer the English did great damage to our merchants on the sea; and [our] merchants could not walk the streets of London in safety.

1494 Item diesen somer rees die witte rose gegen den konigk von Engelandt.
Item this summer the White Rose rose against the King of England.

1495 Item diesen somer zog uber ausz Holand in Irland die witte rose, und vort auf den herbst zog er in Schotlandt.

Item in this summer the White Rose went from Holland to Ireland and later in the autumn he went to Scotland.³²

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. M. M. Postan, The Economic and Political Relations of England and the Hanse from 1400 to 1475, in E. Power and M. M. Postan, eds., *Studies in English Trade in the Fifteenth Century*, London 1951, p.139.
2. *Ibid.*, p.137.
3. Much of this information and all quotations in my introduction are taken, and translated, from the introductions to the editions of Weinreich's notes and from the notes themselves. There are two almost identical editions: Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Danzigs, der Lande Preussen und Polen, des Hansabundes und der Nordischen Reiche*, ed. Th. Hirsch and F. A. Vossberg, Berlin 1855, and Caspar Weinreich's *Danziger Chronik etc.*, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, ed. T. Hirsch, 4 vols., Leipzig 1861-70, vol. 4, pp.725-800. The first is the more complete edition, to which several interesting appendices were added.
4. The *Artushof* (literally = 'Arthur's court'): the building that housed the Danzig 'Brotherhood of Arthur' and the more select 'Brotherhood of St. George', the guilds of merchants, shipowners and seamen. It was the centre of their social life: here captains and traders met to drink their beer during regulated evening opening hours, here guests from foreign countries were received and business was transacted. In 1476/7 fires destroyed the old houses and enabled the city to erect a proud new building, finished in 1481 and in part still extant (see P. Simson, *Der Artushof in Danzig*, Danzig 1900).
5. Literally = 'in the northcoast'; Weinreich probably just meant 'the North', 'the northern parts'.
6. Weinreich's *edelman* probably covers everyone from the man who has 'the capacity to receive knighthood' (the untranslatable *rittermässig*; see M. Keen, *Chivalry*, New Haven/London 1984, pp.144-5) upward. Literally = 'the coronation'.
7. *junkfer* means 'virgin', but there is also some connotation of nobility. Concerning the news of Edward IV's marriage C. A. J. Armstrong in his edition of Dominic Mancini's *De occupatione regni Anglie per Ricardum Tertium* (*The Usurpation of Richard the Third*, reprinted Gloucester 1984, p.109) is perhaps correct — though implicitly exaggerating the accuracy of the information that is supposed to have reached the English themselves — when he states that continental sources (Weinreich among them) 'are only of interest in recording some of the gossip circulating abroad'. Even if true, however, this is no excuse silently to add personal conclusion to gossip and say (p.110) that Weinreich 'reported that Richard III appealed to this English custom' (that the King should marry a virgin) 'as one of the reasons justifying his claim to the crown'. There is no such remark in Weinreich's notes, neither here nor in those for 1483 (see below). It is more likely that he was in the region at the time and reports what was said either in the English ports and in London or on the other side of the sea (and probably everywhere). There is nothing to suggest that he recorded these events only after Richard III's accession, which would give more substance to the conclusion quoted above.
9. This actually happened in June 1465; Weinreich's mistake about the date makes it less likely that he was present, but he does give far more details than any of the other (near-) contemporary continental sources that have the same story.

10. For the recoinage of 1464-5 see Charles Ross, *Edward IV*, London 1974, pp.377-8 and references given there. Another continental town-chronicler, Jan Allertsz., recorder of Rotterdam, (see note 28), records discontent at Edward's measure. He says that it was one of the causes of the rebellion in 1469.
11. By 'everyone' Weinreich probably means the Hanse towns; this must have been a rare situation.
12. *Brustow* should be Boston; probably the mistake originates with Bornbach, the copyist.
13. *retiern*: a *retier* or *ruter* in this context means a soldier serving in a ship, a marine.
14. This affair of 1467-8 is one of the most troubled episodes in the history of Anglo-Hanseatic relations; it is discussed by Ross, *Edward IV*, pp.121, 311 and 365-6; by Postan (see note 1), pp.133-4; by F. R. Salter, *The Hanse, Cologne and the Crisis of 1468*, *Economic History Review* vol. 3 (1930-1) pp.93-101 and esp. by E. M. Carus Wilson, *The Iceland Trade, in Power and Postan*, *Studies* (see note 1), pp.179-80. Ross and Postan omit to stress that in this case the English themselves were the immediate cause of the hostilities, but the details are given by Carus Wilson (including quotations from a *sega* written on the event and the courageous resistance by the governor of Iceland's wife). As Weinreich records and the King of Denmark claimed English ships *had* sailed to Iceland in spite of an agreement made in 1465 that there was to be no trade between (Danish) Iceland and England except by special licence from the King of Denmark. Denmark retaliated by capturing English ships in the Sound (1468, this is where Ross and Postan start the episode) and Weinreich makes it clear that Danzig captains and marines *were* in Danish pay at this time, even if not with the blessing of their fellow-citizens. Unfortunately for the merchants of the Hanse all its members were seen as one enemy by the English and any of their captains and ships, whether pirate, mercenary or innocent merchant, could (it was thought) be taken in retaliation for the action of any other. Edward acted on this principle when he imprisoned all Hansards in England, raising a storm of protest among continental princes. They all disassociated themselves and their subjects from Denmark, and Danzig itself disowned any of its citizens that may have been in Danish pay, denying that any of them had taken part in the attack; Weinreich, however, appears to know that they had.
15. Weinreich may be exaggerating the role of the Hansards in the outbreak of the rebellion in 1469, but his note also implies how divided the English were in their attitude towards them; there was certainly no general hatred. Edward had the best of both worlds by singling out the men from Cologne for special treatment (Salter, *The Hanse*, pp.94-6), to which they had no objection, but Weinreich naturally had.
16. A *crauel* appears to be the same as a carrack (see e.g. S. Rose ed., *The Navy of the Lancastrian Kings*, London 1982, pp.40-6). In Hanseatic documents the word *trade* means the route usually taken by ships, the fairway; the word is related to the English 'trade' and to middle Low German/middle Dutch *tra* or *trade*, 'that which is trodden'.
17. The harbour or roads of Veere on the island of Walcheren in Sealand, north of Middelburg and Flushing (see notes 19 and 24).
18. This event and many similar entries not given here (see note 25) not only illustrate the conditions under which Edward had to sail when he fled from England in October 1470, but also show what kind of men chiefly assisted him in his return. Paul Beneke from Danzig was a privateer and the hero of the Hanse sailors; he appears to have been extremely 'active' in these years: in '69 (when Edward was a prisoner and Warwick, the enemy of the Hanse and of Burgundy, ruled England) he was licensed by Charles the Bold to sell goods taken from the French and the English in the Duke's lands; he had some obscure connection with the exiled Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, in January '70; he served in the Anglo-Burgundian fleet blockading Warwick in France in the summer of the same year, and early in September, during the autumn-storms that enabled Warwick to run the blockade, his ship was perhaps blown all the way to Scotland and he did not return to Sealand until 1 October; he was probably one of the captains whose ships brought Edward IV back to England and shortly after he came across Sir Thomas Cook fleeing from new 'troubles' (see below: 1471); in 1473 he led the epic capture of the galley *St. Thomas* (see note 25); he retired to a quiet and probably wealthy life in Danzig in 1475 and died in 1480.
19. (De) Veere literally means 'the ferry', i.e. to the opposite town of Kampen; because of this Veere was also called Kamp-veere, the 'Camfer' of English contemporary records.
20. Warwick left England early in April and rendered the Narrow Seas generally unsafe for foreign shipping until the blockade was formed in June. Around 2 July he suffered a heavy defeat, perhaps while on his way to invade the north of England; what happened exactly is not known. It is conceivable that the Burgundian admiral returned temporarily to his base in Sealand after this battle.

21. Early in September, see note 18.
22. This appears to be correct and is corroborated by other documents (see *The Ricardian*, vol. 6, no. 81 (1983), p.186 (map) and vol. 6, no. 82 (1983), pp.221-2 + notes). Weinreich probably knew all the channels and estuaries very well.
23. *Mitfasten* is either the fourth Sunday in Lent or the week preceding it (17-24 March 1471); actually Edward sailed on 10 March. Among the captains assisting him were probably the above named Paul Beneke from Danzig (note 18), possibly Herman Rink from Bremen, Merk Simonsz from Veere, Robert Michelson from Hull, Steven Driver from Middelburg (perhaps an Englishman: he also served Edward before and after his return and fought for him at Barnet and Tewkesbury) and John Lyster, an Englishman.
24. Another episode in Sir Thomas Cook's apparently eventful and circuitous flight is lit up in a curiously vivid way by an entry in the archives of Bergen op Zoom. Three Sealanders tell a rather involved story: in July 1471 the Easterling Richard Lorwart had asked them to transport some packs of cloth (taken from an eel-ship coming from England) and some five or six passengers from Flushing to another port. Two of the Sealanders found the Hanse captain 'standing in his doublet and dividing the stolen cloth' and the third saw him talking to *here Thomas Coock, meyer te Lonnen plach wesen* ('one-time mayor of London'), who had just left the carvel of John Pohest, a privateer from Hamburg. Cook turned out to be one of the prospective passengers. Once they were under sail Richard Lorwart told the seamen to set course for Veere and there they put ashore both goods and passengers 'beneath the crane' (H. J. Smit, *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis van de handel met Engeland, Schotland en Ierland 1453-85*, Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatieën, vol. 66, The Hague 1928, part 2, nos. 1631 and 1636).
25. Between this and the next entry quoted, Weinreich makes mention of several richly laden English ships taken, of sea-battles and of the violent deaths of several privateers. Paul Beneke is again prominent: on 27 April 1473 he captured a large galley, the originally English *St. Thomas*, on its way to London and laden with cloth, fur, spices and other valuables. She was one of Tommaso Portinari's, the Medici agent in Bruges, and she also carried the famous *Last Judgment* triptych by Memlinc, destined for Florence. The painting thus found its way to the altar of the 'Brotherhood of St. George' (see note 4) in Danzig Cathedral, where it has remained (see Appendix 1 of the 1855 edition of Weinreich) until it was moved to a museum in the same city.

There is little or no other news about England until 1482.

26. Weinreich may have meant the Tower itself or just any prison.
27. A like story is reported (truthfully it seems) of Jean, Count of Armagnac (died 1473) and his sister Isabel. It accords 'well' with the various contemporary allegations of homosexuality and bastardy, each serving its own purpose, whether true or not, of defaming a political opponent.
28. Compare: Jan Allertz., recorder of Rotterdam (died 1489) (in *Nederlandse Historische Bronnen*, vol. 2, ed. H. ten Boom and J. van Herwaarden, The Hague 1980, pp.1-95): 'Item. This king of England was Duke of Gloucester in the time of king Edward his brother, and after king Edward's death he killed two of his brother's children, boys, or so he was accused: but anyway, they were killed and he himself became king, but he did not rule for long. And he was defeated in the land of Kent in a battle the day before St. Bartholomew's eve (23 August), and it was on a Monday in the year eighty-five, by one who was called Richmond and this Richmond was crowned king in the same year eighty-five'.
29. It looks as if Weinreich did not realize that Henry Tudor himself defeated Richard III, but thought that he came over after the King had been killed. The news of the Low Countries' ships captured by Henry's returning French seamen must have reached Danzig before the battle of Bosworth itself became known.
30. Apart from Weinreich's confusion over young Warwick's Christian name it is remarkable that the note contains no hint that he was a pretender.
31. Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was murdered at Topcliffe in Yorkshire on 28 April 1489; Easter fell on 19/20 April, so Weinreich is perfectly right. One of the main causes of the rebellion was the attempt of Northumberland to collect the subsidy granted by Parliament for the war in France; any other more 'personal' reasons for the Earl's death were apparently unknown to Weinreich.
32. This is the last entry on England. The chronicle ends in September 1496. I have left out a few items dealing with the trade-war between England and the Hanse in its later stages.